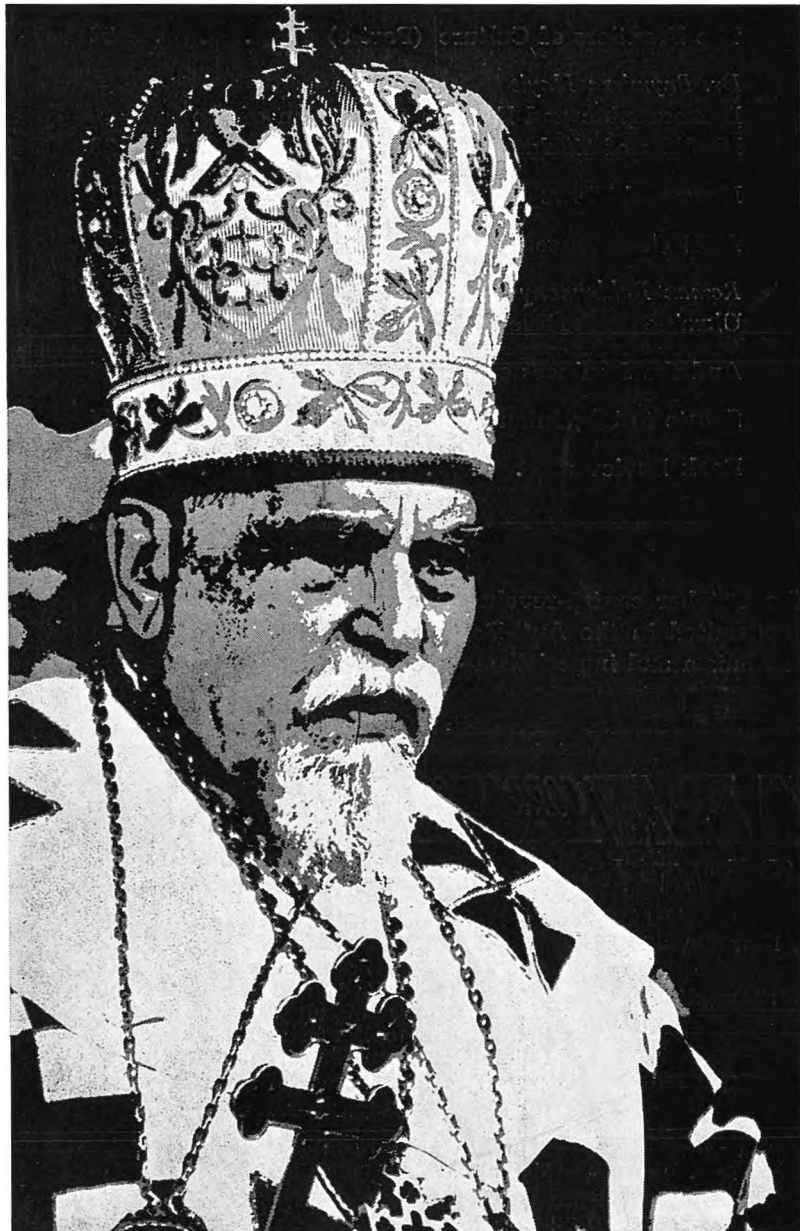


ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



The ABN extends its most cordial birthday wishes to His Beatitude Josyf I — the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, a Martyr for God and Fatherland, and an inmate for over 18 years in Russian prisons and concentration camps — on the occasion of the Patriarch's 90th anniversary.

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On back cover page:

On the occasion of the October contra-revolution a mass demonstration was held by various nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) protesting Russian colonialism and imperialism — Ottawa, Canada, November 15, 1981.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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 Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A.
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The Church of the Martyrs

A report by Patriarch and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj on the Ukrainian Catholic Church after 35 years of persecution

The liquidation of the Ukrainian Church

My saintly predecessor, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytskyj, died on 1st November, 1944. God gave me the difficult, but great task of being his successor at the moment when our Ukrainian Catholic Church was faced with liquidation at the hands of the Soviets with the help of the Moscow Patriarchate.

On 11th April 1945 I was arrested together with all the other bishops. Within a year more than 800 priests followed us into imprisonment. From the 8th to the 10th of March 1946 the illegal synod of Lviv was convened and under atheistic pressure announced the "reunion" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian controlled Orthodox Church.

Ten bishops murdered or otherwise dead

This "reunion", and with it the outward liquidation of our Church, was put through with brutal force. The bishops were deported to all parts of the Soviet Union and almost all without exception died or were killed in prison. Each of us had to go his own way of the cross. Now that I am 88 years old, memories of Jeniseisk, Mordovia, Polaria, Inta and Siberia have grown pale, but at that time it was a hard reality. I thank God that He gave me the strength to bear this cross for nearly 18 years, and I bow my head in reverence to my ten brothers in the episcopate, the more than 1,400 priests, 800 sisters and tens of thousands of the faithful, who by their imprisonment sealed their loyalty to the Pope, the Apostolic See and the universal Church with the sacrifice of their lives.

Choice between apostasy and deportation

Our priests were given the choice of either joining the "Church of the Regime" and thereby renouncing catholic unity, or bearing for at least ten years the harsh fate of deportation and all the penalties connected with it. The overwhelming majority of priests chose the way of the Soviet Union's prisons and concentration camps.

From 1945 to 1955 one of our best priests suffered in the camps of Potma, Sarovo, Javas, Uljanovo and Polivanovo. He wrote to his parishioners: "I accept this imprisonment as a penance and offer it up for you, that you may be spared this cross. I bless you and pray for you. Five times a day I pray for all my parishioners. On Sundays I celebrate the Divine Liturgy. Every day I pray a moleben (devotional prayer)... They wanted to force me to apostasy, but I refused... God's cause must be victorious. Keep the faith of your fathers!"

For those priests who survived their ten years of imprisonment, the end of their persecution was by no means in sight. I was sent news about a monk in the Carpathians: "In 1968 he was again sentenced to three years' imprisonment for giving religious instruction to children. He served this sentence to the last day. In 1973 he was given another eighteen months' imprisonment for

having prayed at a woman's sick-bed... The Russian government holds the view that the Ukrainian Catholic Church is forbidden and therefore considers even praying in a private house as a crime against the State."

The faithful without priests

Nevertheless, the faithful remain true to their faith. In remote villages, where the church has been closed and the priest deported, they sometimes secretly open up the church, sing vespers, molebens and even those parts of the Divine Liturgy intended for the people. I quote here from a report that recently reached me: "Every Sunday the faithful come to the church and together with the cantor they sing Mattins and the Divine Liturgy, that is, of course, only the responses, because we have no priest. A chalice is placed on the altar and candles are lit."

The faithful are so attached to divine worship that, if they trust the orthodox priest, they take part in his services also.

The atheistic system has missed its goal

In spite of the persecution that has now been going on for 35 years, we can gratefully declare that our Church, condemned to perish, is not only alive but is growing, both in Western and Eastern Ukraine and everywhere in the Soviet Union where our deportees are living, especially in Siberia.

Our Church numbers at least four million faithful in the Soviet Union who have remained true to Rome. Their faith is so strong that it bears rich fruit: we have priests, monks, sisters, numerous vocations and a clandestine hierarchy. The atheistic system has not succeeded in destroying the faith. Parents, who have grown up in a godless State, are bringing up their children in a Christian spirit. Dissidents who were educated in atheistic schools talk about God and defend the Church. A 35 year old woman proudly admits before a court of law that she had her four children baptised and teaches them prayers and the catechism. In answer to a tourist's question whether he prays, a fourteen year old schoolboy replies seriously and without hesitation: "Of course I pray."

Perpetual adoration in Ukraine

The letters I receive from our faithful are encouraging. The Mother Superior of our sisters sent me her Easter greetings this year. She wrote: "We observe adoration of the Blessed Sacrament day and night... Some of our daughters have married." That means that some of the young sisters have taken their perpetual vows.

Clandestine sisters, working as nurses, bear wonderful witness to Christ, to whom they lead many seekers. Their life of self-sacrifice inspires other young girls to follow their example. Even atheistic doctors, who know that they are sisters, appreciate their dedication so much that they want to keep them in their hospitals at all costs.

No shortage of vocations

A young doctor from beyond the Carpathians is studying theology with the help of borrowed books in order to become a priest. Young doctors, engi-

neers, lawyers, etc., are dedicating themselves to God as priests or monks. A clandestine bishop wrote to me in a letter of 8th January 1980: "We shall soon be ordaining the new priests, who have studied theology by correspondence courses. Our sisters bring the written questions to the candidates and collect their answers. The oral exams are held in spring or summer out of doors in the country. The ordinations then follow."

In a letter of 11th February 1980 an experienced priest assured me: "There are some excellent men among the newly ordained priests." That is high praise, but how much faith is needed to accept the grace of the priesthood in the Church of the catacombs? And how much sacrifice is needed to persevere in this vocation? To bring this home, I will tell you the story of one of our priests.

The story of Father Mykola

We will call him Mykola. As the son of deeply religious parents he felt the desire to become a priest when still very young. Catacomb priests taught him theology. He was ordained in 1975.

The ordination took place in a cellar in the presence of trustworthy persons. There were eleven other ordinands besides Mykola. The catacomb bishop was assisted by a few elderly priests. It was a moving ceremony. No one wore liturgical vestments as greatest caution is called for in pastoral work in the catacombs. As his priestly equipment Mykola was given vestments and liturgical objects all packed into a little shaving case. The contents? A little cup, a little spoon, a strip of coloured silk to serve as an epitachelion, or stole, and two little bottles with water and wine. He put the bread in his pocket, wrapped in a serviette. The twelve newly ordained priests celebrated their first Divine Liturgy together with their bishop in the cellar. With his blessing they went out into the new catacombs to begin their work there in the service of Christ and their persecuted brothers.

On a journey with a clandestine priest

How do Father Mykola and his eleven friends work? The young priests purposely look for a poorly paid job that leaves them some margin of freedom for movement. They celebrate the Liturgy as circumstances permit. Wherever he goes Father Mykola looks for trustworthy persons. Early on a Sunday morning he goes into a village and mingles with the people standing outside the church.

"Will the Liturgy be celebrated?" he asks.

"The people are praying alone because the priest has been deported," is the answer he is given.

Father Mykola goes into the sacristy and asks the old sacristan whether he may celebrate the Divine Liturgy. The sacristan at first looks at him suspiciously but is finally convinced and helps him to vest. Father Mykola goes up to the altar and begins to sing. Those present answer with tears in their eyes. It is so long since they last saw a priest and heard the word of God. When the priest leaves the church he is again a simple labourer. The sacristan takes him home to lunch and invites a few other reliable persons. They ask Father Mykola

to stay a few days, as there are so many unbaptised children, also sick persons who want to confess and many graves to be blessed. He stays in the village and carries out his pastoral duties...

The Mother of God protects him

Father Mykola is mostly lodged in a house in which he can also hide in case of necessity. On a few occasions he was betrayed, but the faithful were always able to prevent his arrest. When he performs his priestly functions some persons always keep a look-out. If it is impossible to celebrate the Liturgy in the church, he does so in the home of a trustworthy believer. Sometimes he secretly baptises even the children of party officials by night. In this way he and his friends travel through Ukraine. He visits not only the catholic faithful but also the orthodox. The whole Ukraine believes that the Holy Mother of God protects him and that Mary sends her priests to comfort the poor people.

The story of Father Mykola, which I have taken from a report written in October 1979, bears witness to a heroic faith that grows in oppression and is capable of moving mountains. But at what price is it won? An orthodox dissident, Oles' Berdnyk, experienced this when in December 1979 he was once more arrested after writing to the Pope: "I was born and brought up in a country in which atheism is the official teaching. By struggle and in suffering I have found Christ and learned the reality of His life..."

A way of the cross strewn with corpses

The same was experienced by one of our catacomb bishops, who was recently discovered while performing his duties. In vain the KGB used threats and torture to persuade him to cooperate. They also promised him a certain measure of freedom in an attempt to split the unity of the Church from within, but this too failed, because the bishop knows that there is no other way for the Church than the way of the cross. This way of the cross of the Ukrainian Church is still strewn with corpses today.

In March 1980 the body of one of our priests, Anatol Gorgula, was found at Tomashivka, a village in the district of Rohatyn. He had been bound, poured over with petrol and burned. His faithful reported to me that his only guilt had been that of loyalty to the Church and celebrating the Divine Liturgy.

In May 1980 at Zymna Voda, near Lviv, a sixty year old priest, Ivan Kotyk, was found murdered in the factory where he worked. His face was blue, his nose full of coagulated blood, all his teeth had been knocked out and bread forced into his mouth. His faithful buried him to the singing of hymns and there were so many mourners that the funeral procession was 600 meters long.

What our young confessor Josyf Terelia wrote on a scrap of cloth to Pope Paul VI on 6th March 1977 is still true today: "Bitter times have come for the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine. We, the faithful of this Church, are compelled to have our children baptised in secret, to marry, to confess and to be buried in secret. Our priests groan in labour camps and psychiatric wards: they are being psychically destroyed... I live in a country in which it is a crime to be a Christian. Never before have the faithful of the Church of Christ been exposed to such persecutions as today. The Ukrainian catholics have been de-

prived of everything: ordinary family life, freedom of speech, the celebration of our Church's liturgy. We are in the catacombs! For the word of God, the living spirit is crucified. Of the 34 years of my life I have spent 14 in prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric wards... Unless there is a counteraction by all the forces of Christianity, no end can be expected to the crimes of the godless world... We implore our catholic brothers to defend the tormented Greek-Catholic Ukrainian Church."

The living Church of the martyrs

Our Church is not dead, as many in the free world believe or perhaps even wish, because she stands in the way of their all too human plans. Our Ukrainian Church is alive. The best proof of this is her martyrdom. She suffers because she believes, and she believes because she suffers. And she rejoices to be allowed to suffer for God, as I read in a letter of May 1980: "We are the chosen of the Lord; it is a grace to be allowed to suffer for God and His Church."

For our faithful the fact that our Church still exists after 35 years of the bloodiest persecution is a miracle of divine grace that compels them time and again to reflect. This miracle makes their faith unshakable.

The communist regime also knows, that the battle for men's souls, which it began with such self-confidence and such boasting 60 years ago, has not brought the success they expected. The frequent appeals made in the press to young people, including those in communist youth organisations, not to take part in religious services, and the continued mockery of holy places and believers clearly prove that the majority of the people still adhere to their faith. This faith is so strong that it even has the power to draw young people away from the influence of their communist leaders and bring them to God. Only those who have actually lived in the atheist hell can understand what task the Church is fulfilling in my homeland as a teacher of faith and morals.

Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian, then still a dissident in the Soviet Union, could justly write in 1973: "The Church is so deeply rooted in our cultural life that it is impossible to interfere with her without at the same time breaking up the whole spiritual structure of the nation."

That is true, but the Church has also an even more profound significance for our people: together with other religious bodies that reject political collaboration with the communist dictatorship she is the pillar and bulwark of truth and morals for all who want to commit themselves to living the gospel.

The importance for the diaspora and the universal Church

The existence and spiritual strength of the Church in my homeland are of the utmost importance for the faithfulness of those Ukrainians who have been scattered all over the world as refugees or emigrants and have remained true to their Church. But for the existence of the Mother Church there could be no question of a diaspora Church! Just as the Jewish people in captivity in Babylon inevitably adapted to heathen customs as soon as they forgot Jerusalem, so too the Ukrainian diaspora would lose its identity but for its inner links with the Mother Church. This fatal assimilation sets off a process not only in the ethnic but also in the religious field that would end for our people with the loss of its inward nature and its catholic faith.

As in the divine communion of life, which in the words of Saint Paul we call the "Mystical Body of Christ", the existence of a Church exerts its influence on all other particular Churches, no one may remain indifferent to the Ukrainian Church. Robbed of all institutional, organizational and material means, like the defenceless Christ she is a source of inward strength and true renewal for all her sister Churches. Here she is making her own valuable contribution to the spiritual treasures of the universal Church.

The importance for ecumenism

When considering the place and significance of the Ukrainian catholic Church in the framework of the universal Church, we must speak about the reunion of all Christians. Unity in Christ must be restored and the deep wound of separation in the Mystical Body be healed. The Second Vatican Council gave us this task. In Eastern Europe people have been working for centuries at this task.

Although today the so-called ecumenical dialogue is being carried on with the greatest zeal, it is unfortunately limited to the small circle of the higher clergy and the experts. The people are brought into it very little in the West and not at all in the Soviet Union. But in the Soviet Union the cross of persecution borne together has given rise to a true ecumenism which, purified by uncompromising confession of the faith and the blood of the martyrs, reaches down to the most fundamental principle of the gospel: to seek what is of God and not what is of men. For catholics and orthodox, baptists and other denominations suffer in the same way for Christ's sake. This suffering makes them all in a similar way children of God and of His Church. This is a gain of inestimable value. Modern ecumenists would do well not to lose sight of this new state of affairs.

And the communist regime?

We may also ask the question what our Ukrainian Church can expect from the communist regime. Absolutely nothing!

In the communist system there is no room for the Church. If she is in any way tolerated this is for the sole and exclusive purpose of achieving ends that have either nothing to do with the Church or are against the Church. And if we discover positive Christian elements in the Church structures tolerated by the Russian empire, these have been determined not by the will of the ruling communists but by the will of God. The true welfare of the Church cannot be hoped for from a system that on account of its diabolic character must in principle fight against God, the Church and every religion.

Our brothers and sisters in Ukraine therefore count on God alone, who by a miracle of His Providence can stir up men even at a distance of thousands of miles to become instruments of His merciful love. For many years now this work of love in helping my martyred people has been carried out in a noble manner by Father Werenfried's "Aid to the Church in Need". On behalf of my forgotten and unknown Ukrainian Church I thank him and all of you for the inestimable help she has received from you. Our gratitude is all the greater as we feel that you give us not only your money but also a part of your heart.

Your task of helping

Far more important than material help is the spiritual and moral support you can give. It is your task and your duty never to forget your persecuted brothers. The former professor and rector of our seminary at Lviv, Dr. Ivan Chorniak, who died a saintly death on 26th January 1980 after a Calvary of 35 years, asked me in his last letter to do everything possible to influence public opinion, shake up the conscience of the world, demand the elementary right of religious freedom for all oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union, and to prevent the Church of Silence from being silenced to death by those who are well able to speak. Now that the day draws near on which God will call me from this life, I avail myself of this opportunity, which may be the last, to carry out my martyred brother's last wish.

But it is not enough just to speak. You must pray and work, and above all you must lead a consistently Christian life. When at last the day comes on which our persecuted brothers can again admire moral strength, unshakable faith and defence of all human rights in the Church of the free world, on that day they will draw fresh courage to continue their struggle. Then their hearts will be filled with greater trust. Then their yoke will be easy and their burden light (Mt 11, 30). Amen.

Rome, 28th of July 1980.

V A S Y L S T U S

Vasyl Stus was first arrested in 1972 because of his continuing protests against the Russification of Ukraine and for his defense of imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals. He steadfastly refused to renounce his convictions and asked to emigrate out of the USSR. He has close relatives in Canada who vouch for his upkeep.

In the autumn of 1975 Vasyl Stus was taken to Kyiv for "reeducation." While in prison he suffered with stomach ulcers and for a time was denied treatment and forced to do hard labor in the colony. Eventually he was sent to Leningrad for treatment where a large section of his stomach was removed in 1976. He was sent back to the labor camp.

In prison Stus continued writing and translations. Hundreds of these works were confiscated. He was forced to burn all his correspondence. He was subjected to constant harassment and denied the special diet required for his health.

In 1977 he was exiled to a remote part

of the USSR and kept under close surveillance and constant harassment and intimidation. Nonetheless, he announced his intention of joining the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Completing his sentence, he returned to Kyiv in 1979 and attempted to become an active member of the group.

As a young man Stus took teacher training, taught school and served in the Soviet Army. His poems and literary articles were published in Ukrainian periodicals. While working in the Shevchenko Institute of Literature in 1965, he spoke out against the imprisonment of Ukrainian writers and cultural workers. He was dismissed from doctorate studies at the Institute and denied publication of his poems and articles. He obtained work in construction as a laborer, but was fired, ostensibly for holding a job, "alien to his qualifications."

After 1965 his writings were widely circulated in the Ukrainian Samizdat which brought him a reputation as one of the

finest poets in the Ukrainian language. Two of his books of poems have reached the West: "Winter Trees" 1970 and "A Candle in a Mirror" 1977. Stus's achievements as

a poet have been recognized by invitations to lecture at US Universities and by honorary membership in the International PEN Group.

VASYL STUS POEM

*How well it is that I am not afraid of death
And do not ask how heavy is my cross,
That I do not bow my head to you, malevolent judges,
In the forboding of what unknown mile-posts I have
yet to pass.*

*I have lived and loved without acquiring defilement,
Odium, malediction, or regret.
My people! I will yet return to you,
And in my death I will become restored to life.*

*In my torment, and with my candid face,
I will bow down to the ground to you, as your son,
And honestly will glance into your honest eyes,
As I become one with my native soil.*

(Translated by C. H. Andrusyshen).

To declare Helsinki Accords null and void

*H. E. Alexander M. Haig Jr.
Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, DC 20500*

New York, Dec. 15th, 1981

Your Excellency,

Because of Russian intervention in Poland by proxy through its communist puppets and the suppression of national and human rights in all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, we strongly urge the government of the United States of America to declare the Helsinki Accords null and void, to cease all economic assistance and all forms of trade relations with the Russian empire and its satellite states including communist Poland.

Signed,

*American Friends of the ABN:
Peter Wytenus — Lithuania — Chairman
Michael Shpontak — Ukraine — Vice-Chairman
Charles Andreanszky — Hungary — Secretary General*

*AF ABN
P.O.Box 255, Cooper Station
New York, NY 10003*

In Defense of Poland

The determining factors of Russian imperio-colonialism are not simply military occupation and economic exploitation, but also the imposition by brutal force of a Russian way of life and of a Russian *Weltanschauung* (world view), of a communist socio-economic and political order, of an atheistic doctrine and of "socialist realism" in the realm of culture. No less significant methods of subjugation, other than the Russian occupational forces, are a police system of mass terror and one-party rule.

The liberation struggle of the Polish nation is contraposing the Russian occupational system with its own order, based on the idea of freedom and the spiritual and social values inherent to the Polish nation. The role of the Church and the organization of all spheres of life along the principles of the socio-political movement "Solidarity" has led to the creation of a new, organized, non-communist force in Poland. The problem of authority was and always will be central in the development of the nation's liberation struggle. The previously bankrupt communist system and Party in Poland has been even further rendered impotent, degenerate and totally corrupt, as the foundation of the Russian occupational system. For this reason a military dictatorship was established in Poland with the aid of the army, which was infiltrated by the KGB and into which Moscow incorporated soldiers from the Soviet army, dressed in Polish uniforms.

Martial law is meant to stunt that, which cannot be stunted, but at most only momentarily stemmed: the anti-Russian liberation struggle undertaken on all spheres of life.

Having had a bitter experience with Afghanistan, Moscow concealed its military intervention, its dictates and its active participation in Poland with its Polish-speaking lackeys, who primarily serve Russian imperialist interests.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) fully supports the Polish nation in its liberation struggle for national independence and freedom. In a common front, the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries can achieve their common goal: the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations and the reestablishment on its ruins of national, democratic, independent states within the ethnographic boundaries of the heretofore subjugated nations.

The ABN strongly condemns the Russian intervention in Poland and the suppression of the liberation aspirations of the Polish nation. We call upon the nations of the Free World to immediately terminate all economic, political and cultural relations with the USSR and its "satellites", including the Warsaw communist military junta.

The ABN appeals to the West to proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire into national, independent, democratic states of all the subjugated nations.

The ABN appeals to the nations of the Free World to initiate a policy of liberation of the subjugated nations, by supporting the national-liberation movements of these nations. The West should render aid to the subjugated nations — and not to their subjugators!

The ABN appeals to the Free World to immediately terminate all forms of aid to the USSR and its "satellites", in particular all forms of electronic and technological aid, thereby discontinuing their arming of the Russian empire.

The ABN takes the position that the furtherance of the policy of détente and cooperation with the Russian imperialists and their puppet governments in Russia's colonies creates the preconditions for new Russian imperio-colonial conquests and the subjugation of new peoples, since the goal of Russian imperialism is the conquest of the entire world.

*Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
December, 1981.*

Dr. Ku urges Free World Support to Polish Struggle for Freedom

Positive support must be extended by all free nations and peoples to the heroic struggle of the Solidarity members and others of Poland against the terrorist Red rule, says Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, honorary chairman of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL).

Noting that "a fierce anti-Communist surge, unprecedented in the course of Polish military rule, is being recorded through bloody clashes of people against party dictators," Dr. Ku says this demonstration of Polish will power for freedom is "a strong reflection of the keen anti-Communist determination of East Europeans and other captive masses of peoples behind the Iron Curtain."

Dr. Ku, who also heads the WACL ROC Chapter, says "the death-defying rise of Poles for freedom, survival and religious belief commands our deep respect and full support." Such campaigns, he

says, are inevitable reactions of sensible people to "totalitarian and terrorist Red rule that only aggravates economic dislocation and social turmoil in a void of freedom."

WACL is for the freedom of all mankind, Dr. Ku says, adding that all the world's freedom-loving and justice-respecting nations and peoples should provide the Polish anti-Communist fighters with strong encouragement and effective support.

"Let us at the same time provide positive support to the masses of people on the Chinese mainland who are fighting against Communists and for freedom," Dr. Ku says. "Our endeavor must continue so that all will rise together to topple Red regimes of the East and the West and win a final victory of freedom in the 1980s."

"Russia — I stand before you, Ancient Dragon, with a naked chest, but unafraid... You cannot overpower me, because I am the Immortal Spirit of Ukraine...!"

Oles' Berdnyk, 1979

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

of the Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (revolutionaries-Banderites) took place in the fall of 1981, with official delegates and summoned participants from all the continents of the world taking part in the proceedings, according to the statutes of the OUN Charter. All generations of OUN members were present at the Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN, in particular a large contingent of younger cadres, who took an active part in the deliberations and the decision-making processes of the Assembly.

The Assembly of the OUN is the highest source of authority and the highest legislative body of the OUN, the purpose of which is to rule on all questions of ideology, program, liberation strategy, external and internal policy, to determine the OUN's cultural and academic policies, the educational program for the youth and cadres and to establish the general directives of the revolutionary, national-liberation struggle and the common front of the subjugated nations. The Supreme Assembly of the OUN elects the members of the highest executive organs of the OUN.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN reviewed the current political situation in the world, in the Russian empire, particularly in Ukraine; the Assembly thoroughly analyzed the revolutionary situation in Ukraine and the entire Russian imperio-colonial system of subjugation. One of the central issues discussed at the Assembly was the threat of thermo-nuclear war. It was reaffirmed that the only alternative to such a war is the national-liberation revolutions of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, who are tearing asunder the Russian prison of nations and the Communist-bolshevik system — the source of all global conflicts and the principal threat of thermo-nuclear war.

On the basis of the conclusions reached by the educational and cultural department, the Assembly asserted, that the Ukrainian nation-state at its inception was formed by the indigenous Ukrainian population, thereby disclaiming the so-called "Norman theory", as well as the false theory of "three Russias", concurrently reconfirming that the genesis of the Ukrainian nation reaches far into antiquity.

Directives dealing with the further development of the revolutionary-liberation struggle of all strata of Ukrainian society on all levels were more precisely defined by counterposing the Russian-bolshevik system of occupation and the Russian way of life with the Ukrainian ideal of life, which can only be realized in an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State. The necessity of maintaining a cohesiveness of purpose in all the forms of opposition and struggle, undertaken by the wider national masses, was stressed.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly also underscored the necessity of the further development and mobilization of cadres for the expansion of the liberation struggle, since the cadres are the organizer and guiding force of the struggle. The Assembly placed emphasis on the need for expanding the military training and militarization of the entire nation. A particularly pressing issue is the need

for educating the youth in the spirit of national traditions and of instilling them with a sense of responsibility with regard to their active mobilization in the struggle for Ukrainian Statehood.

The Assembly analyzed the methods of Russification, through which the Russian occupier is trying to destroy all facets of Ukrainian life, from the language of the people, through the content of the nation's culture, to the "kolkhoz" system; the Assembly formulated a strategy for the struggle against Russification by fostering Ukrainian values and ideas. The so-called concept of liberation from under the Russian colonial yoke through evolution was denounced, since it is a concept that is inspired by the enemy and is designed to maintain the empire. To base our liberation actions on the imperialist Constitution of the USSR or on the various understandings reached by the empire would be tantamount to self-deception, because their aim is to maintain and expand the empire.

The Assembly condemned Russia's militant atheism and any ecumenical dialogue with the Russian imperialist Orthodox Church, emphasizing the necessity of ecumenism with the Ukrainian Catacomb Churches.

The Assembly endorsed the external policy of the OUN and adopted directives for the furthering of OUN's international posture, based on the positions of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

The Sixth Supreme Assembly made a thorough analysis of the Ukrainian diaspora, confirming its indivisibility from the Ukrainian nation and formulated a program of action with a view to the consolidation of the diaspora in support of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and in the entire empire, who are fighting for the reestablishment of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State. Emphasis was also given to the need for continued actions throughout the world in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners, most notably those who engaged in the armed struggle for Ukrainian Statehood.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN, which was convened on the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of Ukrainian Statehood on June 30th, 1941, adopted the position that it would be proper and sound policy to further this latest period of Ukrainian Statehood through the preservation of the continuity of the Sovereign Ukrainian Government, the OUN, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). It was determined that the all-national commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the OUN in 1979 was also a popular endorsement of the soundness of the OUN's liberation policies and struggle.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN extended its greetings to the Ukrainian nation, to the Ukrainian Catacomb Churches and their hierarchies, to Patriarch Josyf I, to all nationalists-revolutionaries and fighters for Freedom and Statehood for Ukraine, in particular those, who are being persecuted in Russian prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric asylums and in exile.

The reports of the Chairman of the Leadership, the members of the Leadership, the Council, the Auditing and Arbitration Boards of the OUN were discussed and approved by the Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN elected Yaroslav Stetsko Chairman of the OUN, as well as members of the OUN Leadership, the Chairman

and members of the Council, the Auditing and Arbitration Boards, according to the OUN statutes. A set of resolutions, a Manifest to the Ukrainian nation, separate Appeals to the Subjugated Nations, to the nations of the Free World, to the Ukrainian youth and to the Ukrainian diaspora were adopted by the Assembly.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN was convened in an international atmosphere of a global political crisis and, conscious of the ever-growing threat of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe, the Assembly adopted a Ukrainian global political strategy, as a solution to this crisis, through the liberation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations, which will thereby save the world from thermo-nuclear destruction.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN marks the beginning of a new stage in the revolutionary-liberation struggle of Ukraine; the OUN embarks into this era in the conviction that it is the embodiment of the Ukrainian nation, its avantgarde in the struggle, and that together with the entire nation we will achieve our liberty and independence!

*The Presidium of the
Sixth Supreme Assembly of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)*

WHAT HAS THE SOVIET RUSSIAN REGIME BROUGHT TO UKRAINE

HERE ARE THE PARTICULARS:

GENOCIDE, or the physical destruction of millions of Ukrainians through man-made famines, executions, arrests and deportations;

ETHNOCIDE, through the systematic Russification of the Ukrainian language and educational system, and the obliteration of the Ukrainian national identity;

SUPPRESSION of Ukrainian culture and distortion of Ukrainian history and literature;

DECIMATION of Ukrainian intelligentsia through the physical destruction of thousands of Ukrainian writers, artists, scholars, scientists and other intellectuals;

WANTON "LIQUIDATION" of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches through arrests, deportations and executions of their hierarchies, thousands of priests, monks and nuns and church lay leaders, and through confiscation of church properties and closing down of the church as an established organization;

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION of Ukraine's natural resources for the utilization of Moscow's totalitarian expansion and aggrandizement;

DESTRUCTION OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE (political parties, blocs) of the Ukrainian people;

VIOLATION OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE ON A GIGANTIC SCALE AND BRUTAL REPRESSION, PERSECUTION AND IMPRISONMENT OF THOSE WHO DARE SPEAK OUT IN THE DEFENSE OF THOSE RIGHTS.

ESTONIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Since 1940 the Soviet Union has proclaimed an alleged right to govern the people and territory of Estonia and is continuously engaged in trying to secure international recognition for the illegal annexation of Estonia to the Soviet Union. This claim rests solely on the aggression committed by the Soviet Union against Estonia in 1940 and thereafter, and it is completely without any legal foundation. It is in direct violation of treaty obligations and solemn international declarations on the right of all nations to self-determination. The people of Estonia have never voted to join the Soviet Union and they are firmly opposed to any Russian rule over them.

In order to clarify the status of Estonia, it is important to recall and examine certain facts in the relations of Estonia with the Soviet Union.

Estonia became an independent democratic republic on February 24, 1918 when she proclaimed her independence. The War of Independence fought by the people of Estonia against Soviet Russia, beginning with the Russian attack on November 28, 1918, culminated in the Treaty of Peace signed at Tartu, Estonia, on February 2, 1920, in which Soviet Russia renounced forever any claims to the territory of Estonia. Further, a number of agreements were concluded between Estonia and the USSR including the following: The Pact of Non-Aggression and Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts, dated May 4, 1932; The Convention of Conciliation, dated June 16, 1932; The Convention for Definition of Aggression, dated July 3, 1933. Estonia was a member of the League of Nations and strived in every way to maintain normal relations with the Soviet Union.

These relations came to a sudden halt with the signing of the Hitler-Stalin

agreement of August 23, 1939, known as the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact with its secret protocol about the territorial division of Eastern Europe, which also became the signal for the start of World War II on September 1, 1939.

Under Russian pressure and direct military threats Estonia was forced to sign the so-called Pact of Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union on September 28, 1939, although Estonia had officially proclaimed her strict neutrality in the European war on September 1, 1939.

Premier Molotov stated before the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet, as made public by the official Soviet news agency TASS and reported in *The New York Times* on November 1, 1939:

"The special character of these mutual assistance pacts in no way implies any interference by the Soviet Union in the affairs of Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, as some foreign newspapers are trying to make out. On the contrary, all these pacts of mutual assistance strictly stipulate the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory States and the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs. The relations of the Soviet Union with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are based on peace treaties concluded with the respective countries in 1920. We declare that all nonsense about sovietizing the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs."

On June 16, 1940 the Soviet Government delivered an ultimatum to the Estonian Minister in Moscow demanding the establishment of a pro-Soviet government in Estonia and also admission of an unlimited number of Soviet troops into Estonia. On June 17, 1940, Estonia was invaded and occupied by Soviet armed forces.

The Communist Party leader of Leningrad A. Zhdanov was sent to Tallinn to supervise the formation of a "Soviet" government in Estonia. So-called elections of the lower House of Parliament or National Assembly were announced on July 5 and held already on July 14-15, 1940 with complete disregard for the constitution and the electoral laws of Estonia. Only a Russian approved slate of Communist candidates was permitted. This puppet assembly passed a resolution proclaiming a "Soviet" regime for Estonia and sent a delegation to Moscow for the purpose of "requesting" admission of Estonia into the Soviet Union. Thus was manipulated Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union on August 6, 1940.

It may be noted that already on July 11, 1940, that is four days before the so-called elections in Estonia, the German ambassador in Moscow, Count von der Schulenburg, in his cable to the German Foreign Office, predicted that the Baltic republics will be incorporated into the Soviet Union. (Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-1941, Dept. of State 1948).

The upper House of Parliament or National Council of Estonia was never called into session to pass on the resolution for joining the Soviet Union. Neither was the constitution amended by a plebiscite.

There never was a national referendum in Estonia either on the question of proclaiming a "Soviet" regime for the country or joining a foreign country and abrogating the sovereignty of the Republic of Estonia.

There was no revolt of the population of Estonia against their government and consequently the theory of revolutionary change from within is not applicable in the case of Estonia.

The people of Estonia had no legitimate part whatsoever in the establishment of a Soviet Russian regime on their territory.

The facts referred to above have been fully proved and documented in innumerable official reports by diplomatic representatives and other observers in Estonia at the given time and now published in American, British and German official or semi-official records.

On July 23, 1940, the Acting Secretary of State of the United States Sulner Welles issued the following official statement:

"During these past few days the devious processes whereunder the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small Baltic republics — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion.

From the day when the peoples of these republics first gained their independent and democratic form of government the people of the United States have watched their admirable progress in self-government with deep and sympathetic interest.

The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak.

These principles constitute the very foundations upon which the existing relationship between the 21 sovereign republics of the New World rests.

The United States will continue to stand by these principles, because of the conviction of the American people that unless the doctrine in which these principles are inherent once again governs the relations between nations, the rule of reason, of justice and of law — in other

words, the basis of modern civilization itself — cannot be preserved.”

Throughout the past decades the United States has repeatedly confirmed these principles. On June 10, 1981 Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, stated in an address before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House of Foreign Affairs Committee the following:

“Some reference to US policy toward the three Baltic States — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — is in order. Our policy of not recognizing their forcible incorporation into the USSR remains unchanged. We continue to recognize and deal with diplomatic representatives of the last three Baltic governments.”

A voluminous record is also provided by the hearings conducted by a Committee of the US Congress, entitled:

Communist Takeover and Occupation of Estonia, Special Report No. 3 of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, Second Session, Under Authority of H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 438, Washington: 1954.

Between 1941 and 1944 Estonia was invaded and occupied by Nazi-Germany. Upon the return of the Red Army to Estonia in the fall of 1944, the Moscow appointed agents took over the rule of the country which manifested itself again in the complete suppression and liquidation of all elements of national independence.

The aggression committed by the USSR in Estonia in 1940 and thereafter in violation of solemn treaty obligations and the recognized precepts of international law stands condemned before the entire world. From this aggression cannot be derived any rights for the aggressor.

The acts of the Soviet Union must be judged also in the light of the frightful cruelties and human sufferings that the Russian occupational forces have caused in Estonia. The President of Estonia, Konstantin Päts, members of the Govern-

ment, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces together with tens of thousands of Estonians from all walks of life were arrested and deported to remote regions in the Soviet Union or liquidated on the spot.

President Päts died in the infamous Kazan psychiatric prison in Russia in 1956.

There have been several waves of mass-deportations of Estonians to remote areas of the USSR.

The economic losses suffered by the Estonian people since the occupation of their country are incalculable. All Estonian monetary assets, industries, shipping and other enterprises have been taken over by the agents of Moscow; the collectivization of the land has forced the proud and independent Estonian farmer into virtual serfdom.

To escape the tyranny of the Russian Communist invaders, between 75 and 80 thousand Estonians have fled to the Western free world. There is hardly an Estonian family in existence that has not been separated from its loved-ones or nearest relatives through the Russian occupation of their native land. Never before has a national tragedy of such magnitude befallen the Estonian people as during the imposed Soviet Russian rule now in power in Estonia.

In addition to the mental and physical suffering imposed by the Soviet Russian regime, the people of Estonia are being subjected to systematic Russification, which in essence amounts to a form of genocide. The steadily growing influx of Russians into Estonia, being promoted by the leaders of the Kremlin, has the calculated long-term aim of changing the demographic basis of the Estonian people, their culture, language, traditions and customs. A relatively small nation that is being exposed to such pressures is threatened with slow annihilation. Genocide has been condemned in the Western world and cannot be condoned in the Baltic States.

Those who dare to protest openly against the Russification pressures are arrested by the KGB and sentenced to long prison terms. A protest demonstration in 1980 by thousands of school children in Tallinn was dealt with in a most brutal way. Scores of individual dissidents have been jailed for "anti-Soviet activities". One of the latest victims was a young professor at the University of Tartu, Jüri Kukk, who went on a hunger strike in a Soviet-Russian prison-camp and died of unknown causes shortly thereafter.

Unquestionably, the people of Estonia share the feelings of the people of Poland in their present struggle for basic freedoms and justice.

Being an occupied country and ruled by a ruthless alien power which denies them basic national and human rights, the people of Estonia have no voice in their domestic or foreign affairs. They have been deprived of their right to appeal for justice to any international organization dealing with relations between nations.

While scores of nations in other parts of the world have attained freedom and independence in accordance with the universal right of self-determination of nations, the Estonian people are still being denied the right to regain their indepen-

dence. There is no question about the right of self-determination of all nations. No permanent peace can be achieved without due respect for the rights of nations now in bondage.

The record about the forcible annexation of Estonia to the Soviet Union is irrefutable. The presence of the Soviet-Russian military forces, secret police and administration on the territory of Estonia is contrary to treaty provisions and international law. The continuation of the Russian occupation of Estonia is not justifiable on any grounds.

The recent events in Poland have focussed attention also on the neighboring area which includes Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. It is important that the facts about the Soviet Russian invasion and occupation of these formerly free and independent countries is taken into account when there is any public discussion of the problems of Eastern Europe.

The people of Estonia, as well as Latvia and Lithuania, have never accepted Moscow's overlordship over them and they are continuously struggling to regain their freedom and independence.

Ernst Jaakson
Consul General of Estonia
In charge of Legation
New York

Editors' remark: In our September/October 1981 edition of ABN Correspondence the author's name of the article "Bulgaria forced into submission to Russian colonial domination" was mistakenly omitted. Although belated, we consider it necessary to add that this noteworthy report was written by Dr. KYRIL DRE-

NIKOFF, who through his bibliophile activity, made a name among the Bulgarian emigration. The footnote on page 22 from the abovementioned article, in which he is named the founder of a Bulgarian Historical Archive, also refers to Dr. Drenikoff.

Terror Against an 83-year-old Intellectual

(The case of Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj)

My personal current situation is quite tragic. I have been thrown out of my house. I receive no pension, although all of my life was spent in complete honesty in word and deed. Until the war I was a member of the Lawyer's Association in Lviv and later I was a judge in a Polish Appeals Court in Cracow. After the war I was employed as a juristic consultant in the ministry of land rights in Czecho-Slovakia. The higher organs of the Polish justice system considered my person in the highest regard. I was never sentenced or juridically punished. Presently, I receive no packages or letters. I am faced with a horrible death by starvation.

The area in which I live is strictly monitored. One gladly greets the sunset, but is never sure, whether one will again see the sun rise. In the spring of 1981 I was a witness to an attempted murder of one innocent woman, being carried out by one criminal type. She was a personification of the highest morality and community respect. The bandit struck her with an iron chain with such force that she fell on the rocks and sustained severe body injury. Although her skull was not fractured, her facial color began changing into different hues of black and blue. This discoloration persisted and she is persecuted with insomnia as a result from the beatings until this day.

I could not remain a disinterested observer to this tragedy and began imploring as to why this bandit was killing this woman. He simply yelled at me and threatened to kill me also. Later he tried to force his way into my apartment, so as to murder me. However, I chained my door and locked my windows from the inside and was thus able to escape from this perilous situation.

This bandit was never brought to trial for the attempted murder of an innocent woman.

I meagerly spend my days and nights in loneliness. I go nowhere and, in principle, accept no guests. My nerves are in a constant state of awareness. Once I hear some noise in the distance, I instinctively take a defensive position.

My son Roman came to see me; he knows of my condition and wants me to go to live with him, so that I can live the rest of my years in peace. However, our attempts in this regard remain fruitless.

Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj
Obolonia
Ivano-Frankivsk District (Ukraine)
1981.

Greeting sent to the ABN Conference, Toronto, Canada

We wish all our friends much success in the ABN Conference. Turkestan will continue to fight together with all peoples, who are oppressed by Russia. We are convinced that all subjugated nations are able to destroy the colonial empire of Moscow, thereby reestablishing their national independence.

With best wishes, Sincerely yours, Dr. Baymirza Hayit.

(November 7, 1981)

H U N G A R Y 1 9 5 6

A quarter of a century is a long time, yet I remember every day, every hour, every little moment of my life during the last week of October 1956 and the fateful time thereafter.

Reader, close your eyes and try to conjure up the time in question. Compare your experiences with my story and undoubtedly you will feel a deep sense of gratitude that you were born as an American, and you surely will count your blessings.

On Oct. 23, 1956, the Hungarian people rose up against communist oppression and defeated the occupying Soviet Russian military might. On Nov. 4, 20 divisions, armed to the teeth, and 2,000 tanks launched a general attack against Hungary, while the world stood by, paralyzed. The ensuing moral indignation and outrage could not stop the destruction of the country.

Scores of books could not describe vividly enough the conditions that forced a small nation of 10 million people to rise up against the mighty Soviet Union. The eternal, all-pervasive fear, the unbelievable political and police pressure, the disappearance of those who offered the slightest resistance, the horrors of the torture chambers, the enforced uniform behavior prescribed for the whole population, the confiscation of property — including the family home, the insane industrialization program that resulted in mass poverty and economic bankruptcy, the Soviet Union's blatant and cynical exploitation of the country, the deadly attack against the national heritage of Hungary; the lies, the deportations of tens of thousands on two hours notice, and the infamous concentration camps made every Hungarian anxiously pray for deliverance.

The people were hurt deeply by many indignities. The "doorbell frights" (the dreaded secret police always rang the

doorbell in the wee hours) kept fear and anxiety at a feverpitch level. The humiliation was deep as Soviet Russian war memorials sprang up everywhere, when even the World War I monuments of the Hungarian Fallen Heroes were systematically dismantled. Hungarians craved national independence and the dignity and rights of the individual, with freedom of speech, assembly, religion and democratic representation.

Then the dam broke on that fateful Oct. 23. After many months of political mobilization, the masses finally took to the streets, led by college students, and an unforgettable rebirth of patriotism filled the souls of every man, woman and child. Strangers embraced each other in the streets. Forests of red, white and green flags covered the parks, roads and houses. Happy slogans were repeated over and over, a healing spirit of national unity prevailed in everyone. And then: In front of the Budapest radio station secret police opened fire on an unarmed crowd. Hundreds fell, dead or wounded.

The revolution began. The Hungarian armed forces refused to join the massacre and took the side of the revolutionaries. By dawn, Oct. 24, the Soviet army was mobilized. It inflicted heavy casualties on the people and destroyed a large portion of the capital city of Budapest, but it could not eradicate the resistance. Soviet soldiers began to fraternize with the people, and freedom seemed to be winning.

But world politics determined otherwise. At that time, a contest had been going on for the Suez Canal, through which much of the world's oil was transported. Oil was more important than the blood of Hungarians. Khrushchev was permitted to wage a second war against Hungary, which had had only five days of freedom.

Resistance lasted for months. 30,000 Hungarians died, 40,000 were deported to Siberia, 240,000 escaped, and about 3,000 were executed after the Revolution. Among them was the legally constituted premier of the country, Imre Nagy. Pain, the terrible revenge of the victor, and the silence of cemeteries followed.

In my imagination I am back in Budapest 25 years ago. I see the endless human masses in the streets happily demonstrating for changes. I hear the swooshing sound of the hated red stars dropping to the ground from the tops of buildings, as volunteers pry them off their pedestals. I see the mighty fall of the giant statue of Stalin, the cruel representative of an inhuman system. I hear the deep barking of their heavier guns, the rumbling of the tanks, their deafening, clanging noise, the incessant rattling of submachine guns.

I vividly recall the stomach-churning sweet smell of the corpses, the sour odor of burnt-out buildings. I pause by the remains of a Russian soldier who was flattened to an inch by a tank of his own troops. I see the 16-year-old young rebel boy next to me as he drops his gun, turns pale, and whispers in a shocked voice: "I killed a man."

I feel my knees trembling as I face the wall for execution, my wife and others beside me. I hear my quivering voice as I turn and protest, just barely overcoming the numbing, paralyzing fear of death. What shook me from my fear was that I didn't want to die, helpless, with a bullet in the back. I wanted a small role in my own fate. (Is it providential that this self-created delay saved us?)

I see the building across the street, the headquarters of the Communist Party. The dead, the victims of the previous "annihilation" are being removed from the pavement. The cruellest martial law prevails against those who dare to take up arms against the regime. I hear the abusive

shouts of the henchmen as their officer steps forward and violently motions me to turn back toward the wall.

Then a small, stocky figure appears from the party building, in a general's uniform. I recognize him to be the minister of defense. He talks to the officer in charge and returns to the building where all the leaders are huddled together, afraid of their own people. Evidently there is a policy change. We are led away to a makeshift prison. The women's identity papers are processed and they are let go. Our hands are tied behind our backs and we are herded toward the complex which houses the ministry of defense. In spite of the humiliation, the absolute uncertainty of our future, my fear subsides. I know God has spared us for a reason.

The awareness of life returns to my soul, into every cell of my body. We walk toward an unknown destiny with guards on all sides, yet I can't help feeling that life has true meaning only if it is enhanced by freedom and honor. I become deeply aware that what we are fighting for represents infinitely higher values than our daily human existence. As these things pass through my mind while the cord cuts deeply into my wrists, I know that my spirit has risen to the occasion.

I have no recollection, however, of many hours of the two and a half days I spent, forced to stand motionlessly before a wall, ankle-deep in water in the foul, windowless basement of the Ministry of Defense Building. Instinctively, I knew that I had to constrict my interests and just float and pray for survival. I remember, however, that a young man there gave me a four-leafed clover and I was able to smile as I thanked him.

I detest violence, yet during those fateful days I accepted as horribly natural a scene which today would look obscene: a shady-looking man, dead, with a bullet in his head and a poster on his chest stating:

“He was caught looting and brought disgrace of our beautiful, pure revolution.”

My wife, a physician, had seen many deaths before, yet she said these words with tears in her eyes: “A 17-year-old boy was bleeding to death in my arms. I couldn’t help him, because a tank shot away the motor of our ambulance as we sped toward the hospital, and I had nothing to patch up his multiple wounds. He just kept holding on to me and said over and over: “I won’t die, will I, Doc. Tell me, Doc, tell me I won’t die!”

I still see before me the makeshift graves of the mostly young. They were buried where they fell, in the parks, near the streets. The graves had many candles on them, placed there by strangers.

Fearing that the second invading army also might fraternize with the Hungarians, the Russian deployed Asiatic troops from remote parts of the Soviet Russian empire. These soldiers were told that they were fighting against “imperialists,” not against the people of Hungary. Captured Soviet soldiers had on their bodies a map of Budapest with SUEZ written above it and the Danube River designated as the Suez Canal.

The ingenuity of people fighting for a just cause was amazing. The Soviets could not capture the Royal Hill section of Budapest for days because the people laced the steep roads with liquid soap taken from nearby hardware stores. The tanks had no traction, and the behemoths crashed down the hillside.

The personnel of one Soviet tank surrendered when they saw two kids slowly pull a black iron frying pan tied to a string in an alley. At the same time, two other kids did the same thing at the other end of the alley. The Russians, thinking they were land mines, gave up.

For about five days after Oct. 23, I slept only a few stolen hours here and there. All my years of previous schooling

did not provide me with as much as the experiences of those few days. I learned a lot about myself. I learned that courage is not fearlessness, but the conquest of fear. I understood deeply that nothing is more important than the proper formation of character on rightly perceived moral foundations. I was impressed with the power of national unity and dedication to common principles.

My political activities during the revolution, meetings and negotiations with Imre Nagy and Janos Kadar and after my escape with the vice president of the United States, Richard Nixon, remain vivid in my mind. But they will not surpass the memory of the simple heroism of ordinary people who are united in the struggle for a better tomorrow. I bow my head before the victims, the dead and wounded, the “punished” and the survivors who to this very day preserve in their heart the hope of a free and happy society.

After 24 years in this country, I have no doubt in my mind that America is the best hope of the world. In spite of all its problems, the United States is the embodiment of all the human values, organizational and material advantages that the best of humanity always fought for, even if they weren’t lucky enough to achieve them.

When I arrived in this country on Jan. 5, 1957, I expected to see thousands of jobless people begging in the streets. That was how the communist propaganda ceaselessly portrayed the dire misery of millions of unemployed. Communism lied, because it failed. I believe now more than before that the Hungarian Freedom Revolution of 1956 was the beginning of the end of Soviet Russian imperialism.

It is my firm conviction that the Soviet Union now restrains itself in the case of Poland because of the bitter experiences it had with Hungary 25 years ago.

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THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

(Translation of a document recently smuggled from Ukraine)

Part 8

The Position of the Ukrainian Churches and their Activities

The Orthodox Church which functions today on Ukrainian territory, apart from the fact that it is subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate, despite even its tenets which are contrary to and irreconcilable with those of communist ideology, belongs to the mainstream of Moscow's imperialist state politics. According to Russian historical tradition the Church is rigidly controlled by the interests of the State and together with the latter has one aim: the creation of a Great State, Pan-Russianism and aspirations of world hegemony. As a result, Ukraine is not allowed to have its own national clergy and Ukrainian Church Hierarchy. Consequently, only the emancipation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, and subsequently the return from abroad and transfer to Kyiv of the Throne of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church together with its Chief Hierarch, will return the Russian Church to its pro-

per task, giving the Ukrainian Church national unity, thus ironing out the quite natural conflicts between the two Churches.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is without doubt our national Shrine which has created imperishable national value and saved us as a nation in the fullest sense of the word. However, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is not only an extraordinary phenomenon of the national spirit. It is an original, major offshoot of the Universal Catholic Church. By its progressive growth, farsighted reconstruction and historical proximity to the people, it has become an example, a prototype for many reforms in the present development of the Catholic Church. As the incarnation of the spiritual uniqueness of the people, for centuries the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been the bastion of its originality, the protector of national interests and the Apostle of our Sovereignty on the political crossroads of the world. This is particularly true of modern times during the office of Metropolitan Sheptytskyj and Cardinal Slipyj. This very Apostleship of Faith and national interests and the unshakeable unity with the people, provoked the savage hatred, intolerance and treacherous, perfidious attempt to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the imperialist Muscovites who strangle anything that is genuinely national.



I strongly believe that I am a better American because I am a good Hungarian. I feel deep love for the United States and I hope that the banner of freedom which Hungary tried repeatedly to raise in the course of her heroic and bloody history will never be lowered in this country. To the contrary, let us hope that more and more maturing nations will join us in the quest for a true brotherhood of nations in freedom.

Joseph M. Ertavy is a psychotherapist in private practice with his wife, Katarine, in Atlanta. In Hungary, he was an educator and a revolutionary commander.

For three decades now the Ukrainian Catholic Church has existed underground in the catacombs as in the days of Nero. Condemned to death, subject to unbelievable persecution and a campaign of mass terror against its clergy, the Church naturally is not as powerful as it was in the past, however, the invader cannot de-

stroy it. "Conquered death by death". It lives on and has faithful in each parish. Masses and Holy Communion take place illegally in safe, private houses in villages and towns. This has been the state of affairs for the last three decades. Only in the last few years as a result of the internal political situation, by virtue of the sacrifices made by the priests of the UCC together with the simultaneous support of the population which erupted in spontaneous outbursts of protest in many villages or individual communities united by parishes, legal Mass is now being celebrated in certain villages in Western Ukraine. The Liturgies are said in closed churches not functioning officially due to the "lack" of Orthodox clergy but saved by the inhabitants from ruin, fire and similar crimes committed during the period when churches were plundered by groups of bandits under orders from party headquarters, and criminal brigades provoked into doing this "job" by operation sections of the political gendarmerie as a form of penance for earlier crimes; or this "job" was sometimes given to prudent collaborators, the "Herostrates" of the XXth century for a reward, privileges and a career. The colonialist power treated these people as colleagues and partners in the destruction of Ukrainian shrines, rites, traditions and cultural values.

The colonialist's arsenal bristles with methods of destroying churches, chapels and synagogues, ranging from direct destruction by fire to their conversion into warehouses or production plants. Nevertheless, some of the village churches are still intact. The possibility of semi-legal Masses and the partial essentially only nominal de facto emergence of the UCC from the underground can be explained by several factors. First of all, this has been brought about by the influence of world events — a change in the internal state of affairs in the empire and on the

outside, the forced retreat of the regime to the benefit of our Church: *and also the exceptional steadfastness and sacrificial spirit of the UCC pastors who together with the faithful have for more than 30 years kept and preserved the national Faith like the first Christian martyrs.**

The partial emergence of the UCC from the underground was also made possible without doubt by the action of Ukrainian Resistance Movements during the last decade and the unremitting wave of national opposition to the policy of ruining the Faith and Church as one of the means of denationalization. The resistance was strengthened by the considerable authority of the Ukrainian clergy, its organic unity with the people, its readiness to sacrifice itself in the name of preserving the national spirituality, the prototype and symbol of which is His Holiness Patriarch of the Kyiv Halych Patriarchate Cardinal Joseph Slipyj and the Clergy of the UCC. *The extensive activities of the Clergy and the selfless work of our emigres abroad in defence of the Church, helped her to withstand and survive the most difficult years.* All this together brought about the formation of separate national parishes of the UCC. However, one of the most important facts involved are the profound changes in politics as a whole in the empire, the atmosphere of increased public activity of the population and the influence on it of foreign mass media information, on the one hand, and the gradual retreat of the cast of party bureaucrats on the other. The third factor is the West's awareness of the threat to itself from the aggressive totalitarian regime and in conjunction with this the pressure of world opinion on it which has resulted in the minutely perceptible re-

*) We have preserved the italics of the article as it appeared in Ukrainian (cf. Liberation Path No. 6 1980). The same applies to subsequent italics.

straint in the arbitrariness of the empire's repressive machine, the attempt to act secretly (which is not always easy when one has wider contacts with the world) and utter deviousness, the search for more treacherous, tactical nuances ranging from the traditional well-trying campaigns of wide repression to the "legality" and "legal principles" game in the face of the West. Included here are the legal norms of conduct fixed by the final act signed in Helsinki.**

Naturally, we should be prepared for further sacrifices and repressions. Moscow will not accept the fact that its imperialist position is visibly weakened. The long-term major aim of strangling the Church has not been achieved, and who better than Moscow, doubtless in its own way, appreciates the boundless devotion to God and the unparalleled service to the people of the UCC clergy. Who better than Moscow understands the danger to itself inherent in the singleness of interest, the organic unity of the nation and Church, the joint struggle for the life of the people and the Faith, in the preservation of today's values and the national spirit? For this very reason Moscow strives with ferocious hatred to stifle and destroy the Church, spreading lies about its activity, continuing persecution, pogroms, harassment, it has waged and will continue to wage a terrible war against the UCC. Nevertheless, the Church is on the threshold of a *major rebirth*, while her decisiveness, even her sacrifices at opportune moments in history, during the birth of national consciousness, do not bring extinction but life growth and increased morale. They are of exceptional value since they bring us closer to the Ultimate Aim.

***) The next section from the original Ukrainian has been omitted for technical reasons.

Aid to Ukrainian Jewry

One of the most important tasks and principles (belonging to the national problem as a whole, the deep, organic purposeful solidarity of two peoples related spiritually and by historic fate, connected by close historic bonds and who for a long time and today in particular have been in the grip of the jaws of criminal ethnocide) of the Ukrainian liberation movement and all national forces, was and will remain in the coming years the struggle to reopen Jewish synagogues on Ukrainian territory and concentrate actively on fully renewing the national and cultural life of Ukrainian Jews.

Ukrainian Jewry is an inseparable and organic cell of the Jewish Nation, a huge tract of virgin soil, an independent and unique, spiritually powerful entity in the Ukrainian organism. According to Ukrainian State Law its own national and social life is guaranteed. The existing communities and synagogues which unite Ukrainian Jewry first and foremost have the right to print newspapers and publish in Hebrew-Yiddish, have access to information channels, educational establishments, internal government and autonomous military detachments and without question, the guaranteed right to vote in free, public elections, leave for the home of their fathers and have Israeli organisations or an economy functioning on their territory.

However, severely restricted by the empire's system of "law and order" throughout the USSR, particularly in Ukraine an elementary unit of the empire, the Jews even to a greater extent than other oppressed nations have been deprived of national rights, subject to constant forced assimilation and in recent decades in conjunction with the empire's interests in the Middle East, and the collapse of Moscow's politics in this region, Ukrainian Jews have become exposed to a violent

campaign of anti-semitism, as part of Moscow's global anti-Israeli strategy. Via the empire's information channels a mechanism of unprecedented debauchery and infamy has been set in motion and a campaign launched of total zoological anti-semitism, persecution and attacks. Cynical propaganda and mass dissemination of slander, malice and hatred is transmitted through every possible channel and in every social echelon. However, the press and publishers, radio and television, on account of world public opinion, are forced to limit their use of Goebbelian "black propaganda" unleashed without restraint or any elementary moral norms. Its sources, its system of spreading rumours, operates according to the principle "anything goes". It does not stop at the most vile means, pouring out torrents of filth maligning the Jews. OUN and the active Ukrainian emigration abroad are perhaps the only ones in a similar position. The dirt splashing from the "blackstream" is relished by the Russian settler on other national territories. It incenses him, firing the genetically inherited "Kill the Jews, save Russia" and the historical destructive streak of this 5th column. This infects the local inhabitants thus masking the actual colonisers, those really responsible for the material shortages and the difficult predicament of the masses. The aim is to make the Jews the object of "ridicule, malice and letting off steam".

Antisemitism is the result of a dangerous inferiority complex, the malicious psycho-pathological state of the Russian chauvinist philistine whatever his rank. The mentality of the riff-raff and criminal element is a mass phenomenon which requires decisive, principled opposition, exposure and neutralization. Ukrainian Jewry is our long-standing and dependable political ally. We don't need to make historical analogies of the Ukraino-Judea type, or talk about political unity and

the joint struggle against the occupant during the time when we were a state or research into Ukrainian-Jewish connections and alliances in the past. Today the political situation is different, the Jewish people have regained their statehood, while we have a thorny path to tread before our statehood is regained.

However, the Jews in the empire need our help, protection and cooperation. The Jews are subject to callous Russian-style pressure. Their rights are severely curtailed, which means in effect restrictions on education, similar restrictions on most jobs, and the persecution of anyone who openly and proudly calls himself a Jew.

The Jewish question is inseparable from the national problem in the empire, including Ukraine. This subject should be dealt with extensively in the manifesto of the Ukrainian opposition and they should devote to it as much attention as to our question. It is one of the most important tasks of the Ukrainian liberation movement. The level at which this problem is formulated and the measure of its conception will be evidence of the maturity and scope of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Defence of the rights of Ukrainian Jewry, the fight for the development of its national culture and the reinstatement of Hebrew in the press, publishing houses and schools, the most vital element in national culture; the encouragement and actual transfer of Russian-language Jewish cultural workers to their native sphere or the Ukrainian sphere; demands to reopen on Ukrainian territory all the former synagogues, Jewish schools, newspapers and journals; the struggle for legislation to guarantee dual citizenship and exit to Israel, are the minimum components of the Jewish national problem in Ukraine. They require everyday attention, purposeful action and have in the joint struggle with the Jews for a renaissance in national and social life, →

Demographic and Economic Situation of the Muslims of Turkestan*

by Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The Muslims of Turkestan are in their own regions in a majority, but within the total population of the Soviet Union they are in minority. According to official government statistics, there were 262.084.654 people living in the Soviet Union in 1979. Of these, 40.167.390 live in Turkestan, particularly in the so-called Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan 15.389.307; in Kazakhstan 14.684.283; in Tadjikistan 3.806.220; in Kirgizistan 3.522.832 and in Turkmenistan 2.764.748.¹ This means that over 15% of the entire population of the Soviet Union lives in Turkestan, at the present time.

The population of Turkestan is made up of four different ethnic groups. The Turkestanis and the Muslims the original inhabitants of Turkestan, head the list. It is a well-known fact that the Soviet-Russian authorities have, since 1924, categorically rejected the term *Turkestan*; instead, the Soviet-Russians use the term Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizistan, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan, or generally *Middle Asia and Kazakhstan* and in the British and American terminology at present days also "*Central Asia*". We will use the term Turkestan and Turkestani, because it is a term which is universally accepted by the Muslims in Turkestan when they want to express their racial, cultural, historical and religious solidarity. On a local scale, they regard themselves as Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz's, Tadjiks and Turkmens, etc.

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become more urgent in recent years. They remain topical and are inseparable from the great responsibility of each mature Ukrainian to the fate of his nation.

(to be continued)

From the published results of the Soviet Census of 1979, there were 26.409.931 Turkestanis living in the Soviet Union in the year 1979. There were 12.455.978 Uzbeks; 6.556.442 Kazakhs; 2.897.697 Tadjiks; 1.906.271 Kirgiz's; 2.027.913 Turkmens; 303.324 Karakalpaks; 210.612 Uighurs; and 51.694 Dungans.² Of these, again, there were 25.624.314 Turkestanis living in Turkestan; 785.617 persons on the other hand were living beyond its borders, in other regions of the Soviet Union. The number of Kazakh-Muslims who live outside their homeland is considerable. 539.976 Kazakh-Muslims and 90.643 Uzbek-Muslims were living beyond the boundaries of Turkestan. The Uzbeks with 12.365.335 people are a supporting column of the total Islamic population of Turkestan. As a consequence of Soviet-Russian deportation policy, 1.322.430 Muslims from other Islamic countries of the Soviet Union (*Tatars: 1.154.203; Azerbaidjanis: 156.672; Daghestanis: 11.555*) were compelled to live in Turkestan. Baluchis and Persians have been living in Turkestan, too, for centuries, as a component part of the Muslim population. Together with all other Muslim-groups 27.766.490 Muslims were living in Turkestan in the year 1979.

The Russians constitute the second most powerful group in the population of present-day Turkestan, with regard to their numbers. In the year 1979, 9.312.825 Russians were living in the Soviet Republics of Turkestan. 5.991.205 of them are to be found living in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan; 1.655.658 in Uzbekistan; 911.703 in Kirgizistan; 395.089 in Tadjikistan and 349.170 in Turkmenistan. These Russians have posts as civil servants in the State administration, in industry as skilled workers and

specialists in all branches of economic life, as scientists and soldiers and skilled farm workers and, in addition to this, as leading functionaries of the Communist Party organizations in Turkestan. From all of the Russian population of the Soviet Union, 137.397.089, 1,37⁰/₁₀ live in Turkestan, but these Russians constitute currently 20,1⁰/₁₀ of the total population of Turkestan.³ The Russians are already in the majority in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan with 5.991.205 people, vis-a-vis of the Kazakh-Muslim population of 5.289.349. The population of this Soviet Republic is made up of 40,8⁰/₁₀ Russians and 36⁰/₁₀ Kazakhs. And the non-Muslim part of the population is, thus 48,9⁰/₁₀. Hence the colonization and Russianization of this region of Turkestan has made considerable progress.

The government of the Soviet Union has also been able to increase in Turkestan the number of *Ukrainians* and *Byelo-Russians*. There were 1.185.791 Ukrainians and 181.491 Byelo-Russians living in Turkestan in 1979. These national groups can also be considered as deported groups, but many of them are regarded as rulers in Turkestan, alongside the Russians. Although these groups acknowledge their own national heritage, they have no opportunity of cultivating their own culture and, thus, operate within the framework of the Russian culture. Many of them have already been "russianized" in Turkestan, so that they are obliged to act in accordance with Russian political and economic objectives.

After World War II, many Germans were also sent to Turkestan. It was clear from the 1979 Census that there were 1.041.117 Germans living in Turkestan. This national group has not developed any close contacts with the Turkestanis, either, but is under the influence of Russian culture. Of the 1.936.214 Germans living in the Soviet Union in 1979, only 790.762 of them were living in the Rus-

sian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, whereas more than half the Germans had been dispatched to Turkestan. There is no official source which could give the necessary information to explain why the Soviet-Russian leadership has carried out the resettlement of the Germans in Turkestan with such intensity.

A number of Koreans have also been living in Turkestan, since 1937/38. They were deported to Turkestan from the Far East regions of the Soviet Union, in order to put a stop to the influence of the Japanese upon this national group. In 1979, 205.810 Koreans were living in Turkestan, particularly in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Among the smaller national groups in Turkestan there are also 114.575 Jews. A number of these Jews have been living in Turkestan for over 1.000 years and the other, larger part was dispatched to Turkestan from the European part of the Soviet Union. The Jews in Turkestan make up a homogenous group, from a religious and ethnographic point of view. But from a cultural point of view, they separate into two groups, a native Jewish group and a European Jewish group. The native Jews are close to the Turkestanis, from a linguistic and cultural point of view, whereas the newly-settled Jews are close to the Russians, linguistically and culturally-speaking. Similarly, there are 91.147 Armenians, 14.608 Georgians and a few other representatives of European national groups such as Latvians, Estonians, etc. living in Turkestan. According to the Census of 1926, there were 28.978 Arabs living in Turkestan.⁴ The Arabs were not mentioned in census reports for the first time in 1939. And, after 1936, Soviet-Russian statistics failed to include this national group of Turkestan. We do not know what happened to them. The following Table⁵ can give a survey of the trends in the demographic development of Turkestan:

Group of the Population	In Nos.		Increase within 20 years (1959-1979)
	1959	1979	
<i>A. Basic Population</i>			
Uzbeks	6.015.416	12.365.335	6.349.919
Kazakhs	3.621.610	6.556.442	2.934.832
Tadjiks	1.396.939	2.897.697	1.500.758
Turkm.	1.001.585	2.027.913	1.026.328
Kirgiz	968.659	1.906.271	937.612
Kara-			
Kalpaks	172.556	303.324	130.768
Uighurs	95.208	216.612	121.404
Dungans	21.928	51.694	29.766
Tatars (only in Turkestan)	779.821	1.154.203	374.482
	14.073.422	27.479.491	13.406.069
<i>B. Colonists</i>			
Russians	6.213.384	9.312.825	3.099.441
<i>C. Deported Population</i>			
Ukrain.	1.034.727	1.185.791	151.064
Byelo-			
Russians	107.348	181.491	74.143
Germans	731.201	1.040.117	308.916
Koreans	212.472	205.810	6.662
<i>D. Other National Groups</i>			
Armenians, Azerbaidjanis, Georgians, Latvians, Estonians, Baluchis Daghistanis, etc.	1.015.124	1.705.665	690.541
Jews	106.759	114.575	7.816

One can see from the Table that the Muslim population in Turkestan has gone up to 13.406.069 in the space of 20 years. This increase took place as a consequence of a normal increase in the birth rate. Soviet-Russian officials are of the opinion that the population will increase even further. It is expected, for example, that the population of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan will consist of 22 million people in the year 1990 ("Sovet Ozbeki-

stani", newspaper, Tashkent, 5. 2. 1981, p. 5). The number of Russians, who are regarded not only as foreign nationals in Turkestan, but also as the executors of the supreme power of the government of the Soviet Union or voluntary specialists, has increased to 3.099.441. The increase in the birth rate has been very slight, as far as the Russians are concerned. The influx of colonists has been more intensive. This means that there has been an annual increase of 154.972 in the number of Russians in Turkestan. The Koreans have gone down in numbers, in the course of twenty years, by 6.662, instead of a natural increase in the population occurring. Soviet-Russian sources give no information about the reason for such a decline in the number of Koreans in Turkestan.

The total population of Turkestan is made up of 7.757.000 family units (the position as of January 1979). 1.330.000 of these families consist of only 2 people (e.g. young married couples) and 1.760.000 families are made up of 7 or more people. Other families consist of 3 to 6 people. Muslim families attach great importance to adding to the number of their children. They categorically reject abortion, for Islamic religious reasons. Besides which, the original populations of Turkestan (Muslims and Turks) are predominantly of the opinion that their country can only be saved from the Russian expansion of the population by means of an increase in the number of Muslim children; and that only their own fellow countrymen can prevent the colonization of Turkestan by the Russians. The Muslims, for example, in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, have drawn particular attention to themselves, recently, as regards the question of the increase in the number of children. In this part of Turkestan (in other words — in Uzbekistan), there are 852.000 families made up of 7 or more relatives.⁶ Each family in Turkestan comprises, on an average, 5,8 people, despite

the 1.333.000 married couples who are still childless; in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, each family is made up of 3,5 people, on an average.

The demographic dynamics of the population of Turkestan depend, too, on the birth and rates. The birth rate (births per 1.000 persons) increased slowly during the year 1978, compared with the year 1970; the death rate decreased (at the same time). The balance between births and deaths (per 1.000 persons) is shown in the following Table:⁷

Regions	Births		Deaths	
	1970	1978	1970	1978
Uzbekistan	33,6	33,9	5,5	6,9
Kazakhstan	23,4	24,4	6,0	7,4
Kirgizistan	30,5	30,4	7,4	8,1
Tadjikistan	34,8	37,5	6,4	8,3
Turkmenistan	35,2	34,4	6,6	8,0
Total:	31,5	32,12	6,38	7,74

From this Table, it can thus be seen, that the birth rate increased very slowly, in the course of the 9 years in question, i.e. by 0,62 per 1.000 people, whereas the death rate increased by 1,36.

The composition of the population of Turkestan, broken down into groups according to age, has not yet been made public following the Census of 1979. The only official information about the years of birth of the native, Muslim population of Turkestan, information which is provisional, is based on the results of the

Census of 1970. The following Table⁸ shows the break-down of the Muslim population of Turkestan according to age: It can thus be seen from this Table that 2.129.184 people of the native Muslim population of Turkestan belong to the age group of 60 years and higher. It is also remarkable that in the year 1970 from 16.227.000 Muslims there were about 59% i.e. 9.542.684 children of the age group 0-15 years.

Of the 40.164.000 people living in Turkestan in 1979, 21.822.000 lived in rural areas and 18.282.000 in towns. It is predominantly the Muslim population of Turkestan which lives in the rural areas. The entire rural population is arranged in 3.404 "Sowkhozoes" (State farms) and 1.922 "Kolkhozoes" (Collective farms), in other words, Farmers' Cooperatives, in which the agricultural workers do not get paid a weekly wage but live, instead, from the proceeds of the sale of their products; and 526 mixed agricultural enterprises.⁹ This rural population cultivates (the position in 1978) 42.700.000 hectares of arable land, including 2.898.000 hectares of cotton plantations.¹⁰ In the Northern agricultural regions of Turkestan, particularly in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, however, the Russians constitute the absolute majority of the rural population, because these areas were settled expressly by the Russians under the slogan "Opening up of the country". In 1979 there were 2.336.000 people

Age	Uzbeks	Kazakhs	Kirgiz's	Tadjiks	Turkmens
0-10 years	3.553.570	1.939.130	215.689	852.301	585.914
11-15 "	1.183.250	661.823	94.056	264.021	192.930
16-19 "	643.961	379.460	64.234	140.830	102.094
20-19 "	903.717	609.154	179.944	212.368	147.103
30-39 "	995.826	528.458	202.149	241.345	164.295
40-49 "	661.752	378.680	170.654	155.220	114.046
50-59 "	337.047	250.391	133.817	85.463	71.046
60 + "	756.259	447.477	295.966	156.794	101.051
Age unspecified	119.711	74.275	73.335	27.541	46.805

working in the Kolkhozes in Turkestan and 2.511.000 in the Sowkhozes and 526.000 people working in mixed agricultural enterprises.¹¹

The increase in the urban population has come mainly from the ranks of the Russians or the Ukrainians. Turkestan currently has 220 towns. In the larger towns, for example in the capital cities of the Soviet Republics of Turkestan, the majority of the population is Russian, and the Muslims, on the other hand, have remained in the minority, in their own towns. The following Soviet statistics help to prove this:

There were 564.584 Russians and 512.962 Uzbeks living in *Tashkent* in 1970 — now the Uzbeks are in this city in majority; there were 512.900 Russians and only 88.237 Kazakhs living in *Alma-Ata*; there were 284.676 Russians and 53.059 Kirgiz living in *Frunze* (formerly Pishpek); there were 157.083 Russians and 98.114 Tadjiks living in *Dushanbe*; and, finally, there were 108.144 Russians and 96.752 Turkmens living in *Ashkabad*.¹² The Russians either occupy positions of authority or act as specialists, using Turkestani towns as their bases. The towns of Turkestan can, thus, be considered as centres of power of the Russian imperio-colonial government.

Russian industrial workers are also in a majority, when compared to their native Turkestani work colleagues. In 1959, only 27,68% of the workers in Turkestan were Turkestanis.¹³ The situation has not changed drastically up to the present day. The government of the Soviet Union sent industrial workers to Turkestan on an intensive scale. The Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan has been particularly affected by this settlement policy. The number of urban dwellers in this region of Turkestan, for example, increased in the year 1946-1956 at the expense of the Russian Socialist Federative

Soviet Republic (54,2%); others came from the Soviet Republic of Ukraine (16,1%). This state of affairs is regarded by Soviet-Russian sociologists as the "mechanical growth" of the urban population.¹⁴ Soviet-Russian academicians admitted openly that the Russianization of the towns had come about as a result of the influx of Russians. In the period 1926-1970, for example, over 160.000 Russians were accommodated in the city of Frunze. And only 32.000 Kirgiz's on the other hand, lived in this city in the year 1977. Should Western academicians, however, express the opinion that colonization policies of this nature were not practised anywhere in either Asia or Africa by countries with colonies in these continents,¹⁵ then Soviet-Russian officials attempt to deny this state of affairs. The Russians maintain that the migration of the Russian population was not a forced colonization of the country, but, rather, "brotherly aid, which emanated from the Russian working population and the working population of other nationalities; and it was intended to help the native nationalities of Central Asia and to promote the economic and social development as well as the realization of industrialization, collectivization, the Cultural Revolution and the solution of other tasks involved in the building-up of socialism".¹⁶

* Paper presented to International-Seminar on Economic Status of Muslim Minorities of the King Abdul Aziz University (Jeddah/Saudi Arabia) in Sherbrooke — Quebec — Canada, 31. 12. 1981.

¹ *Naselenie SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1979 goda*, Moscow 1980, pp. 10-11.

² "Westnik Statistiki", Journal, Moscow 1980, No. 7, pp. 41-42.

³ See for more: *Naselenie* (1), pp. 29-30.

⁴ Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt 1956, p. 217.

⁵ *Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda*, Vol. IV. Moscow 1973, pp. 13-15; "Westnik Statistiki" 1980, No. 9,

FREEDOM RALLY RESOLUTION

On the occasion of the freedom rally held in New York City on November 7, 1981 in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of an Independent Ukrainian State, proclaimed on June 30th, 1941, the following resolution was passed:

Whereas, June 30th, 1941 marks the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of an Independent Ukrainian State, proclaimed in Lviv on June 30th, 1941 on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, and

Whereas, by this Proclamation a Ukrainian Government was established in Lviv with Yaroslav Stetsko named Prime Minister, having secured the pastoral blessings of the leaders of both Ukrainian religious denominations, and

Whereas, June 30th, 1981 marks the beginning of a period of history known as the Underground Ukrainian State, as it is known in international law, and

Whereas, this Proclamation of Independence launched a war of liberation, led by the military units of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, and fought on

two fronts against two of the most brutal and tyrannical military powers in the history of man — Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and

Whereas, the Proclamation of June 30th, 1941 represents a crucial turning point in World War II, since the Nazis, infuriated with the Ukrainian Government's and the OUN's refusal to cooperate with Hitler, were forced to arrest Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, Stepan Bandera, all the members of the Ukrainian Government and countless of Ukrainian nationalists, later either murdering them or sending them to concentration camps, thereby revealing their true imperialist aims with regard to Ukraine and the other countries of Eastern Europe,

Be it therefore resolved:

1. that the Ukrainian community in the United States stands in unswerving solidarity with the heroic struggle for free-

pp. 61-70; No. 10, pp. 72-73; No. 11, pp. 60-63.

⁶ "Westnik Statistiki", 1980, No. 2, p. 20.

⁷ *Narodnoe Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 goda*, published by Central Statistic Office, Moscow 1978, p. 24; *Narodnoe Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 goda*, Moscow 1979, p. 27.

⁸ *Itogi* (5), pp. 361-363.

⁹ *Narodnoe Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1979 goda*, published by Central Statistic Office, Moscow 1980, pp. 290, 302. In the year 1978 were 3269 Sowkhos and 2024 Kolkhozs. *Narodnoe Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 goda*, Moscow 1979, p. 266; F. I. Kolodin, *Sotsialnaya struktura sela v usloviyakh razvitiya Socializma*, in "Istoriya SSSR", Journal, Moscow 1981, No. 1, p. 7.

¹⁰ "Westnik Statistiki", 1980, No. 3, p. 73-75.

¹¹ Kolodin (9), p. 7.

¹² *Itogi* (5), pp. 218, 233, 290, 299, 311.

¹³ *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Kirgizskoy SSR*, Journal, Frunze 1979, No. 4, p. 66.

¹⁴ S. A. Pogodin, *O nekotorykh izmeneniyakh v chislennosti gorodskogo naseleniya Kazakhskoy SSR*, in "Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Seriya Obshestvennykh Nauk", Journal Alma-Ata, 1980, No. 5, p. 47.

¹⁵ G. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1965, p. 164.

¹⁶ E. P. Chernova, *Razvitiya narodonaseleniya stolitze Kirgizstana — simvol druzhby i sotrudnichestva*, in "Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Kirgizskoy SSR", 1979, No. 1, p. 78.

(to be continued)

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dom and national independence being waged in Ukraine and the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism;

2. We believe that independence and national freedom will be realized in the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism through simultaneous and synchronized revolutionary uprisings on the territories of these nations;

3. We believe that the example of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian nation during and after World War II under the leadership of the OUN-UPA continues to represent for the subjugated nations the proper stratagem for the present revolutionary processes under way in those countries;

4. We urge the Free World to morally and materially support the forces for freedom and independence in the subjugated nations, since their struggle and their eventual liberation will secure for the world a genuine world order based on the principles of national self-determination and independence, international

cooperation, and true sovereign equality among all nations of the world;

5. We welcome the actions of the United States Congress, whereby on the occasion of the Captive Nations Week appropriate observances and ceremonies were held in the US Congress recognizing the significance and contemporary relevance of the Proclamation of the Reestablishment of the Independent Ukrainian State by honoring former Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

6. We sincerely hope that by these actions the United States Congress will fulfill the spirit and letter of the Captive Nations Week proclamation by assisting the revolutionary national liberation struggle of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations by utilizing all appropriate means at their disposal, including material assistance to the liberation movements of these nations.

*Organisations of the Ukrainian
Liberation Front*

THREE ALBANIANS MURDERED

Three Albanians were recently shot to death in Germany, near Heilbronn. The victims were two brothers, Bardosh and Joseph Gerwaliw (31 and 36 years of age respectively) and Zek Kadr (28). All three were active in the struggle for an independent Republic of Kosovo.

In Kosovo, which is an autonomous province of Yugoslavia, there have lately been a number of large-scale disturbances

and protest actions. The majority of the population of Kosovo is Albanian.

The three murdered victims were riding in a car, when suddenly two men began shooting at them at close range. Two of them were killed instantly, while the third died in a nearby hospital from sustaining severe shot wounds. However, before dying, he managed to state that this shooting was the work of the Yugoslavian secret service — the UDBA.

News and Views

Zena Matla-Rychtycka

The Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko addresses the Illinois House of Representatives

Springfield, the capital of the State of Illinois, is a city of only a little over one hundred thousand population, in comparison to Chicago containing a population of over three and a half million, but it is the seat of power of the entire State of Illinois, wielding vast influence in the Federal Government as well. Springfield is one of the older American cities, containing many historical landmarks such as the tomb of Abraham Lincoln. The marble capitol rotunda, four stories high, the wall frescos throughout the entire capitol, and the elegance of Governor Thompson's office impress visitors with awe.

During their stay in Chicago, occasioned by their participation in the commemorative activities of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Restoration of Independent Ukraine, the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko were invited by Illinois House of Representatives Minority Leader Elmer W. Conti to visit Springfield and address the State of Illinois House of Representatives. Therefore, on October 14, 1981, accompanied by a delegation from Chicago, the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko met with Rep. Elmer W. Conti, together with Rep. Myron Kulas. Thereafter, together with Reps. Conti and Kulas, they



Yaroslav Stetsko addressing the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois in Springfield — the state capital.

were greeted by the entire House of Representatives. Following an introduction by Reps. Conti and Kulas, the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, upon taking the podium, received a standing ovation, which, as this correspondent has been informed, is a most unusual occurrence among the "hard-boiled" Illinois politicians.

In his address, the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko stressed that the contemporary international situation is particularly grave, the expansion of Russian imperialism is well known to us all. Policies of friendship, appeasement, containment, convergence and détente have proven useless in stemming the centuries-old brazen Russian imperialism, which aims at complete world domination. He said that, while we applaud the current US administration's resolve, under the leadership of President Reagan, to bolster its military readiness, both in areas of nuclear and conventional armaments, and to finally stand up to Russian racism and imperialism, we are nonetheless appalled by the contemptible and immoral defeatist policies of appeasement, pursued by several Western European nations. He continued, that the West must realize that within the Russian empire there exists a new ideological and political revolutionary superpower, the subjugated nations, which

is destroying the empire from within. The Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko concluded by demanding that the West at least cease in helping to subjugate us, if it does not wish to help us liberate ourselves! And, again the unusual happened, the entire Illinois House of Representatives jumped to their feet for a truly lengthy standing applause. It seems, even our Illinois "hard-hearted" politicians have hearts! The entire address received wide press, radio and television coverage in Springfield and Chicago.

Following the visit to the Illinois House of Representatives, Reps. Conti and Kulas, conveyed to the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, an invitation from Illinois Governor Jim Thompson. Firstly Governor Thompson conferred with the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Stetsko in private, and then the entire delegation was invited to join them for photographs.

This most pleasant and successful visit to Springfield was concluded by the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko placing a wreath on the tomb of Abraham Lincoln.

When evening fell, the Honorable Yaroslav and Mrs. Slava Stetsko were leaving Springfield, but, in the opinion of this correspondent, although they may forget Springfield in their far-away travels, Springfield will never forget them.

"NO EMPIRE IS ETERNAL"

In a New Year's address to the French nation, Socialist President, Francois Mitterand, invoked the "long shadow of Yalta" in denouncing the Russian imperialists for their military suppression of the Polish liberation struggle. "Anything that rids us of Yalta", said President Mitterand, "is a good thing". To acquiesce to the Russian imperialist view on Yalta is in itself a form of Finlandization of Europe, according to the French President. He does not subscribe to the convenient theory that Moscow will become less repressive if more technology and aid is offered by the West. "The only way of putting pressure on the Soviet Union is to reduce the level of high-technology transfers to the Soviet Union as a part of a concerted Western plan".

Finally President Mitterand feels that the solution to the present global crisis will present itself only when "the Soviet-Russian empire starts to crumble from within". In his own words — "No empire is eternal!"

Chicago Hosts Conference of AF-ABN

On Saturday, October 17, 1981, the Chicago Chapter of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations hosted a review conference which was attended by several members of the AF-ABN National Executive, many members of the Chicago Chapter and several guests from other Chapters in the USA. In addition, the Conference was enriched by the attendance of the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the ABN Central Committee and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Department of the ABN Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of "ABN Correspondence".

The Conference was opened by the Chairman of the Chicago Chapter, Dr. Myroslav Charkewycz, who also presented the Agenda to the floor. Following his introductory remarks, which outlined the history and activities of the ABN from 1943 to the present, as well as its current aspirations, Dr. Charkewycz introduced the Conference Keynote Speaker, the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko.

In his presentation, the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko skilfully analysed the basic differences in ideological perspective of the two superpowers — the USA and the USSR, putting them in juxtaposition with respect to today's tragic global political picture. On the one hand, Russia is committed in its drive for world domination by its very constitution. Unable to further its territorial gains by overt military force, the Russian Empire seeks to subvert the social fabric of the non-communist world by various other types of warfare: political, guerilla, terrorism and internal social unrest, all of which it sees as legitimate and necessary modes of furthering its aim. In direct contrast, NATO is a defensive pact which strives

to protect the free world in a traditional military fashion and, because of the assumed passive pose of reaction, dooms itself to failure in the ideological battle.

Superimposed on this scene is the threat of thermonuclear war which Russia has skilfully used as a bargaining point and means of diverting attention from its fostering of "fraternal liberation struggles" in many parts of the world while, in direct contrast, the western world is content to ignore the social unrest within and the liberation struggles of the nations subjugated by Russia. Mr. Stetsko forcefully pointed out that once the threat of nuclear war had come into existence, it could not be negotiated away. In order to tip this balance in favor of the West, the United States should adopt a more realistic and aggressive attitude towards Russia in its leadership of the free world. In order to effect such a reversal, Mr. Stetsko suggested that the US should incorporate the following points into its political and military strategy: the Russian Empire should be engaged in the ideological battle by the West's recognition of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the only legitimate representatives of those nations in international forums, including the United Nations; access to the mass media should be provided for these liberation movements to facilitate contact with their countrymen as well as the people of the western world; the transmissions of Radio Liberty should be oriented to the liberation struggles of the subjugated nations; the USA should provide military training and other material assistance to support the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations; a charter of independence should be proclaimed for all nations subjugated by Moscow and communism; the USA, as

a champion of liberty, should establish a Freedom Academy as a counterpart to Moscow's Lumumba University which trains unsuspecting students to further Moscow's global aims; lastly, a Department of Insurgent Warfare should be established either within the Pentagon or within NATO Headquarters.

Mr. Stetsko concluded his remarks by alluding to the fact that the philosophy of the ABN is not totally unrecognized by leaders of the western world by quoting Major General J. F. C. Fuller: "Only the unity of the western nations and their agreement with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain can ensure final victory. The reason should be obvious — it is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel."

Mrs. Slava Stetsko presented the Conference with an overview of ABN activities with respect to various international events of the past year, centering around the preparations for and the conference of the World Anti-Communist League which took place in Taipei, Republic of China. The WACL Conference was attended by representatives of many western governments and military commands and, since it had the full support of the Government of the Republic of China, it was a most successful event. In particular, Mrs. Stetsko drew the attention of the Chicago Conference to the fact that the WACL had amended its Charter to recognize the ABN as a WACL regional organization. In the past, such a change had been resisted by some members, since the ABN in its representation of the subjugated nations had no formal governmental recognition. In this instance, the modification to the Charter was pas-

sed unanimously indicating a marked change in the attitude of other member nations to the standing and role of the ABN within this world body.

Mrs. Stetsko commented on the lively contact which ABN had developed with many representatives of the Afghan insurgent movement during the last year and cited several instances of co-operation in the production and dissemination of literature for consumption by the occupying armed forces of Soviet Russia in Afghanistan.

Reviewing areas of future activity, Mrs. Stetsko informed the Conference of preparation in hand for an ABN Conference in Toronto prior to the resumption of the review of the Helsinki Accords in Madrid during 1982. Mrs. Stetsko assured those present that the ABN would be most active during the upcoming Madrid Conference in its propagation of the position of the subjugated nations.

Mr. Charles Andreanszky, the General Secretary of the Executive Board of the AF ABN, concentrated on the requirements of the AF ABN in order that it should become a more active body in the future. Motivated by the belief that the world can no longer afford to take the risk of allowing Russia to expand its sphere of influence as it did following the Second World War, the AF ABN had to take upon itself the responsibility of education and influencing the course of history, as unlikely as many Americans felt this role to be. Grounded in a strong love of their home countries, the membership of AF ABN has worked now for decades to further this aim. Although this factor is vital to future activity, it must be strengthened and tempered by others, namely the setting of realistic long range goals, the maintenance of an activist lifestyle and the propagation of a humanist view of the world.

The Executive of the AF ABN has every intention of following these themes through its term of office by working towards placing its activities on a professional plane. Mr. Andreanszky announced the formation of four Committees (Political, Credential, Finance and Cultural) which were presently engaged in planning activities for the current term. It was the hope of the Executive of the AF ABN that these Committees will be mirrored in each existing and new Chapter in order to provide assistance in these areas of work. Through the realization of a necessary budget the Executive hoped to provide the services of a full-time employee at the AF ABN headquarters in New York, better information services for its membership as well as greater mobility for AF ABN speakers to visit existing Chapters and assist in the formation of new ones.

Mr. Andreanszky re-affirmed his belief that it was possible to invigorate the AF ABN and strengthen the American link of a world-wide organization. When faced with the threat of ever-spreading communism, such an organization has no alternative but to succeed.

Professor Arthur Voobos, Vice-President of AF ABN Presidium and Vice-Chairman of the Chicago Chapter, afforded the Conference a rare insight into the perspective of the Arab peoples on the conflict between East and West. As a scholar, Professor Voobos has had many opportunities to travel in the Near and Middle East during the last thirty years. Most recently, while in eastern Turkey, he witnessed the exodus of Christian refugees from Iran, which was only a repetition of similar situations which have plagued that part of the world for so many years. The picture is one of a country destabilized by Russia then controlled either directly or otherwise. The feeling is that America has provided Rus-

sia with the premise for such action by firstly helping to build Russia's might through trade then by taking no action to counteract Russia's expansion. Thus, although many Arabs have no wish to find themselves in the Russian sphere of influence, for they know well the fate of Islam in the Soviet Union, they have little choice when faced with apparent American indifference to their position. In the context of the battle between freedom and slavery, the Arab world is confused by American trade with an ideological and physical enemy and by an apparent refusal to protect its interests. Such actions are perceived as being without moral backbone, but those in the unfortunate circumstances created by American action and inaction find themselves unable to influence such American policy.

When faced with such tragedy, Professor Voobos exhorted the Conference to take heart, renew its faith in the strength of its own principles and continue to work towards the creation of a world of peace and mutual respect.

Prior to the conclusion of the Conference, Ms. Victoria Mazur, Recording Secretary of AF ABN Chicago Chapter, presented the draft of a Memorandum to President Reagan, for comment by those present. During the period devoted to discussion, several suggestions and proposals to the Executive of the AF ABN were made. Dr. Alexander Ronnett, Vice-President of AF ABN Presidium and Executive Vice-Chairman of the Chicago Chapter, requested that the Executive pay specific attention to the creation of an AF ABN Washington Lobby which would present opinions on questions of concern to American politicians. Mr. Rychtycky suggested that attention should be paid by AF ABN to educating Americans about the national composition of the Soviet Union as a means of furthering the ide-

ological battle with Russia. Mr. Rosola of Phoenix, Arizona informed the conference of a projected meeting between the North and South American branches of WACL to take place in Mexico in the near future.

At the conclusion of the Conference, the Honorable Mr. Stetsko summarized the problem of prime importance facing the world — how to solve the world's political crisis while avoiding nuclear war. The answer must lie in the destruction of the Russian Empire from within through the national liberation movements. At the moment, the strength of the Russian Empire lies in the weakness of the

West — a weakness of morality, ideology and politics which are of benefit to Russia and her fifth column as are the anachronistic concepts of a “balance of power” and “détente”. While President Reagan's position with respect to Russia is still not entirely clear, Russia may continue to present itself as the center for “Liberation” while presenting America as a reactionary force because of America's inactivity.

“Ultimately”, said Mr. Stetsko, “the realization of the importance of the ideological battle in the continuing conflict between Russia and the West will be the salvation of the USA.”

Dr. Charkewycz elected Chairman of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Chicago Chapter

Chicago, Illinois (ZMR) — The Chicago Chapter of American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held its General Meeting on September 19, 1981. After opening remarks and a moment of silent contemplation in memory of Mrs. Ulana Celewych-Steciuk, a long-time Chairperson of the Chicago Chapter, a nomination for Meeting Chairperson and Secretary took place, resulting in the election of Ms. Zena Matla-Rychtycka and Victoria Mazur respectively.

Thereafter, an address was delivered by Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz, in which he analyzed the functions and priorities of AF ABN, and the need for renewed vigor in future activities of said Chapter. Lengthy remarks with reference to Dr. Charkewycz's address were voiced by Mr. John Kosiak.

In addition, the meeting resolved to send a mailgram to President Reagan, supporting his political stand and economic policies.

Upon motion of Prof. Anton Bonifacic, seconded by Mr. Andriy Steciuk, the following officers of AF ABN, Chicago Chapter were unanimously elected:

Chairman — Dr. Myroslaw Charkewycz (Ukraine), Executive Vice-Chairman — Dr. Alexander E. Ronnett (Rumania), Vice-Chairmen — H. Jausuff Azem (Albania), Prof. Anton Bonifacic (Croatia), Dr. Do Dang Cong (Viet Nam), Dr. John F. Drac (Slovakia), John Hebling (Germany), Dr. John Kosiak (Byelorussia), Dr. George Paprikoff (Bulgaria), Rev. J. Prunskis (Lithuania), Prof. Arthur Voobos (Estonia). Treasurer — Andriy Steciuk (Ukraine), Secretary-General — Zena Matla-Rychtycka (Ukraine), Secretary-Correspondence — Natalia Huminiak (Ukraine), Secretary-Publicity — Borys Jurkiw, Secretary-Recording — Victoria Mazur (Ukraine), Alternate Executive Officers — Dr. Agustin Vasquez (Cuba), Mykola Yaremenko (Ukraine), Yaroslav Zahorodnyj (Ukraine).

Following the election, the newly elected Chairman, Dr. Charkewycz thanked the participants for their trust in his abilities and promised to do his utmost to expand the membership of the Chicago Chapter and improve and invigorate its activities for greater success in the future.

US Rep. Don Ritter on Russian Invasion of Afghanistan

Washington, D.C. "The hope of East European nationalities are linked to the Afghan Freedom Fighters," Congressman Don Ritter said at a breakfast meeting sponsored by the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups and the Committee for a Free Afghanistan.

The event was held at the Rayburn House Office Building on November 17th. Ritter (R-PA), Co-Chairman of the US Congress — European Parliament Action Group on Afghanistan, said "the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan parallels Soviet Russian action in eastern central Europe and invasions within the USSR."

Ritter, whose Congressional district embraces ethnic communities, and who is recognized in the area of ethnic affairs in Congress, said that "The Afghans represent the front line against Soviet expansion today. They show that the Soviet Russian empire is not invincible."

"It's up to us in the American ethnic communities to support them."

In December 1979, Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan. "That," Ritter noted, "is the grossest violation of the Helsinki Accords, signed in 1975." He further noted that, "Poland had a chance to pursue its own destiny because Afghan Freedom Fighters have been tying up the Soviets."

Ritter, a member of the Helsinki Commission, said the Soviets have literally been destroying Afghanistan by bombing villages, burning crops, poisoning wells, and forcing some 2.5 million people out of Afghanistan into refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran. "That's the equivalent of pushing 36 million Americans into Canada and Mexico," noted Ritter.

Attending the seminar was a bipartisan group of Congressmen and leaders from seven ethnic groups representing six East and Central European ethnic groups.

These included Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Bulgarian, Baltic peoples and Ukrainian organizations. Also present were representatives from the US State Department, Robert Peck (Director of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh Desks), Ernestine Heck (Afghanistan Desk) and Gary Crocker (Political and Military Affairs). Representatives from the Voice of America were also present.

Professor Hamid Naweed, former vice-chairman of the University of Kabul's Art Department, described the recent history of the installation of the communist government and the subsequent invasion and occupation. He drew parallels to Soviet Russian behavior in Eastern and Central Europe.

Leonard Walentynowicz, consultant to the Polish American Congress and former Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs, said the Afghan Freedom Fighters have contributed to Soviet restraint toward Poland's Solidarity movement.

John Hvasta General Secretary of the American Council of the Slovak World Congress and Radi Slavoff, Secretary-Director of activities for the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, both assured the gathering of their organizations firm support of the Afghan Freedom Fighters.

Jaan Elias, information director of the Joint American Baltic Committee, told how his friends and relatives in the Baltic Countries are being forced to fight in Afghanistan. He noted that the war is so unpopular that the bodies of Baltic soldiers killed in action are not shipped home but buried in Afghanistan. Their parents, Elias said, are told by Soviet authorities that their sons had suffered an "unfortunate accident."

To this point, Ritter added, that the same was true of Ukrainians killed in

Afghanistan. (John Bassarab, Ukrainian, was unable to be present).

Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, Director of the American Hungarian Federation and Vice President of the NCAEG, said the Afghan Freedom Fighters resemble the Hungarian Freedom Fighters of 1956 and urged the United States and other freedom-loving nations to increase their as-

sistance to the Afghan Freedom Fighters.

National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups President, Edward Yambusic, moderated the meeting and closing remarks were heard by Karen McKay, Executive Director of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan. Both these groups cosponsored the breakfast along with Congressman Ritter.

25 Years ago we wrote:

After the Elections in Poland (1956)

The victory of Gomulka and his party must have been easy. Although the casting of ballot papers proceeded without perceptible terror, the voters went to the polls with full consciousness that the elections were being carried out in the shadow of Muscovite bayonets. The voting for the candidates, alien to or even opposing Gomulka's policy might have produced only one result: *the armed intervention of the Muscovite forces* and the compulsory setting up of a puppet government, similar to the Kadar government in Hungary (*italics added*).

Moscow by its attitude has shown that it would not release Poland from its sphere of influence but at the price of complete destruction. By their voting for Gomulka the Poles realised the threat of Moscow and acted accordingly. Therefore the results of the elections cannot be considered in any way as the victory of national Poland, alien to every form of Muscovite control over it. It only marks oppression which has the outward forms of giving people freedom to choose. But on the other hand too much over-emphasis on the victory of "the Polish Socialism"

cannot please Moscow. Moscow has no great choice in the Polish matters, either. It has the choice between Gomulka, whom it loves not so sincerely, and military intervention, which would again deliver a serious blow to the Communist movement outside the USSR. Thus Moscow first called up Gomulka for conferences, set limits to his rights and afterwards elected him. And it means a kind of concession, a certain compromise, particularly obvious in view of the hardening of its policy in Hungary, in other satellite countries and the USSR itself.

"The Polish Socialism" received the majority of the votes polled and formally its position is thus fortified and legalised. But in fact it is, probably, far weaker now than it was in October last year.

Together with the increased control in the other countries of the Communist bloc, Poland's chances to be an exception must lessen every day. One day this unnatural compromise will collapse.

((*ABN Correspondence, Vol. VIII. No. 3/4. March-April 1957*).

ABN CONFERENCE HELD IN TORONTO

Over 250 delegates representing organizations of 15 national communities whose countries of origin are under Moscow's colonial rule, met in Toronto on November 7-8 for the second Canadian Conference of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), an international organization whose aim is the restoration of independence and democracy in close to thirty states who have fallen directly or by proxy under Soviet-Russian occupation or domination.

Founded 35 years ago at an underground conference of the national liberation movements of the nations subjugated in USSR, in the forests of Volhynia, Ukraine, ABN has steadfastly maintained that only the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and its expanding empire can be a guarantee for lasting peace.

Unlike other anti-communist movements whose main aim is the struggle against communism as merely an ideological phenomenon, ABN stresses the need of combatting Russian imperialism and expansionism whose present-day form is couched in "bolshevik" marxist-leninist terminology and messianic pretenses. ABN maintains that a defeat of communism without the break-up of the colonial conglomerate controlled by Moscow would only replace one form of imperialism with another, with no guarantees for independence of the subjugated nations.

The Toronto Conference was only the second to be held in Canada — the first was held in 1953 — but its timeliness was underscored by the participation of representatives of the Afghan liberation struggle who presented a film documenting the use of chemical warfare by the Soviets occupying Afghanistan.

Delegates of the Polish Canadian Action Group outlined the current situation in Poland where the popular upheaval

led by "Solidarity" is under the ever-present threat of being quashed by yet another armed Soviet intervention, while some recent refugees (boat people) from Vietnam documented the tragic results of the abandonment of that nation by the US. Other participating nationalities represented: Ukraine, Slovenia, Slovakia, Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Croatia, Albania, Bulgaria and Byelorussia.

The conference passed a number of resolutions and communiqués and established a framework for the reactivation of the Canadian Chapter of ABN.

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

Following is a brief rundown of the two-day event:

The Conference opened with a prayer by a Rumanian priest, Rev. N. Zelea, followed by opening remarks by the Conference Chairman, Dr. Swiatoslaw Paduchak and Secretary-General of ABN-Canada, Wasyl Bezkhlibnyk.

Dr. S. Paduchak gave a brief historical outline of the goals and activities of ABN in general, while Secretary W. Bezkhlibnyk spoke about ABN-Canada.

ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko greeted the Conference on behalf of the Executive Board of ABN stressing the need of further strengthening a common front of struggle against Russian imperialism and its colonial system.

The first and second sessions chaired by Orest Steciw and Bui Bao Son, were of informative nature. Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Director of External Activities Desk of ABN) spoke about ABN activities

throughout the world, Charles Andrean-szky (Secretary-General of the ABN) about the activities of the American Friends of ABN, Ron Gostick (President of the WACL Chapter-Canada) about the goals and activities of the World Anti-Communist League, and Rev. Simon Izhyk about the ABN activities in Western Canada. They were followed by representatives of participating nationalities who reported about the political activities of their respective organizations in Canada. A report was also presented on behalf of the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee.

The second working session dealt with the assessment of the current situation in the captive nations, and the present status of their liberation struggle. Reports were presented by spokesmen of each participating nationality.

Topical issues

The key issue under scrutiny at the Conference was "The politics of the countries of the Free World and the liberation struggle of the nations under Soviet Russian and communist domination: current trends and future prospects". Each of the speakers addressed the problem from a specific vantage point.

Yaroslav Stetsko spoke on the idea of the subjugated nations as being a "neglected superpower" in the strategic and military planning of the West. Among other demands, he called for political and material assistance to the liberation movements of the nations under Soviet Russian domination; recognition of the national liberation movements by the countries of the free world; access for the representatives of the liberation movements to various forms of mass media.

Dr. Edward O'Connor, aide to several US presidents and former director of the Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression under Eisenhower, said that "the captive nations are a most powerful de-

terrent to nuclear war" and that the policy of détente was a "profound mistake in judging the motivations of the Russians, whose aim to dominate the world is unmoderated".

British Tory MP *John Wilkinson*, a specialist on strategy and European security, warned about weakening western defence systems, condemned opposition to attempts at strengthening western defense capabilities, named Moscow as a keyrole player in the current "pacifist" outcry about the West's rearmament, and stressed the potential of the subjugated nations in any confrontation with Moscow.

Prof. Troung Quang Si, formerly from the University of Saigon, analysed the situation in Vietnam and the rest of South-East Asia. Canadian Liberal MP *Jesse Flis* spoke about the significance of "Solidarity" in Poland, and called for Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the face of a common foe. Ontario MP *Yuri Shymko* spoke about the significance of the ideals of ABN, while conservative MP *John Gamble* addressed issues pertaining to Canadian policies and the threat posed by Soviet Russia. The Mayor of the Borough of Etobikoke *Dennis Flynn* addressed the audience on the significance of freedom for man and nations. *Dr. Anatoly Bedriy*, a Ukrainian publicist, analysed from a historical perspective ABN's strategic and tactical principles of struggle, and summarized many of the ideas expressed by the other speakers — the key issue being the idea of a common front of the Moscow-dominated nations with the countries of the Free World. *Imam Said Zafar* spoke about the role of Islam (and religion in general) in the struggle against bolshevism as an ideology and a system, while *Dr. Bashir Zikria* and *Masood Khalili* addressed themselves to the current situation in Afghanistan.

All materials from the proceedings of

Ukraine on the Eve of Atomic Armageddon

1. Devil's Alternative — in Novels and Life

The life of a human being as well as of a nation does not consist of few earthshaking historical events, but rather of many daily dramatic problems, which have to be successfully resolved and through such resolutions, influence the following chain of "dramas". The fabled Ukrainian Ivan found in folk culture, having arrived at complex crossroads, usually had to make a decision: "If you go to the left — you will get lost... If you go to the right — you won't return"... Sensibly, he chose the middle, straight path and, overcoming many obstacles, won the kingdom and the princess for his bride.

The English, however, treat the problem of the crossroads more glaringly and, probably, more realistically. They are engrossed in the problem of hopelessness — the so-called devil's dilemma, a situation in which any decision would prove to be unsatisfactory and destructive. "The Devil's Alternative" may be compared to a Ukrainian saying, which

the Conference will appear in a special issue of "ABN-Correspondence".

Greetings from Ontario Premier William Davis were read to the conference by Ontario MP Yuri Shymko, while alderman William Boytchuk provided greetings on behalf of the City of Toronto.

In conjunction with the ABN Conference an ABN delegation paid official visits to the municipal authorities of the City of Toronto and the Borough of Etobicoke. Etobicoke Mayor Dennis Flynn held an official reception and luncheon for ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko and his party.

may be paraphrased as: "No matter whichever way you turn, death awaits you..."

Realistic Novel

The concept of devil's alternative was brilliantly adopted by Frederick Forsyth in his novel under that title ("The Devil's Alternative", by Frederick Forsyth, published by The Viking Press, New York, 1980, \$ 12.50). Government leaders of United States and Great Britain (together with governments of their allies) had to decide upon action regarding Ukrainian independents-terrorists, who seized by force the largest oil tanker in the world. These descendants of Ukrainian immigrants, rejected immigrant prattle, and decided upon a revolutionary act of the kind that would attract world attention to the question of occupied Ukraine.

They demand from Russia the release of their revolutionary partners — Jews, who assassinated the head of KGB and found themselves in the jaws of their own dilemma — to escape from Soviet Union to Israel or to die. In the meantime, the giant oil tanker at sea near Netherlands may be exploded any moment and thereby cause ecological catastrophe for Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, Scandinavia and France. There are no doubts as to the gravity of the situation either in Moscow, Washington or London.

For leaders of the United States and Great Britain, who desire (in this novel) peaceful "coexistence" with the Soviet Union, this constitutes a real devil's dilemma. Whatever decision they might arrive at, it would be wrong for them and would cause destruction of life and material, followed by greatly diminished authority of their governments within their own countries and in world public opinion.

In Forsyth's novel, "The Devil's Alternative", various characters, in their own webs of circumstances, find themselves before such devil's dilemmas. A storyteller of rare quality, fully familiar with insurgent-revolutionary activity and guerilla-freedom struggle, Frederick Forsyth captures the reader's imagination with his tale and complexity of conflict between West and East, and the contrast between the ethnics of Judaism and Christianity, and the ethnics of Soviet Russians. Ukrainian characters are clearly described as idealistic and at the same time humane. Their ideo-practical cooperation with Jewish revolutionaries on Ukrainian territory is something completely new in Western literature, even though such cooperation existed in the Middle Ages, in Cossack times, under joint Polish-Russian yoke, and in recent liberation struggles in Ukraine. Such cooperation exists today between Ukrainian independents and Jewish patriots in Ukraine itself, as well as in Russian prisons and concentration camps.

Frederick Forsyth convincingly illustrated before Western readers the devil's dilemma faced by Ukrainians and Jews under Russian domination, as well as the one faced by the West, that, in its naivety and hypocrisy, is ready to violate its own principles in the name of its illusions of peace and coexistence with Russia.

To date, not one Western writer has ever expounded the Ukrainian problem before millions of readers as sharply and convincingly as did this author, a subtle expert of Anglo-Saxon psychology and the "realistic politics" of Anglo-American statesmen. In addition, he does not possess any illusions as to the true character of Russians, particularly in their Marxist-Leninist phase. Anyone who wishes to rid oneself of the remainder of one's illusions in connection with these three aspects should definitely obtain this novel, read it

carefully and recommend it to family and friends.

Vital Interest

The concern here is not only with aesthetic enjoyment and cultural entertainment which a thoughtful person derives from reading a quality novel. Today, Ukrainian world community stands before its own devil's alternative, which cannot be resolved as easily as the hero of our fairy tales Ivan solved his dilemmas. Hence, this problem cannot be postponed to a later date, because the day of the "armageddon" — the day of final and greatest conflict in the world — is near and independent of our wishes.

The Ukrainian problem (precisely as in Forsyth's novel) lies in Ukraine finding itself in a no-man's-land, between two fronts — the fronts of Bolshevik Russia and democratic West, headed by the United States. Both contestants face their own particular devil's alternatives. Both are seeking the most satisfactory solutions for them. For the reason that, upon one or another solution of America's devil's dilemma depends the very essence of "to be or not to be for Ukrainian nation", every thoughtful Ukrainian should familiarize himself or herself with this question.

Since Ukrainian patriots do not have any direct influence upon the resolution of "Russia's dilemma" and since their influence should and must be more concrete and forceful in connection with America's dilemma, then first let's look carefully at the crossroads upon which today stands the American leading sphere of political and military strategists. Thereafter, we will examine the "Russian devil's dilemma", and only then, in view of this diabolic situation, we will be able to analyze "the devil's dilemma of the Ukrainian nation" and, possibly, suggest

And the dominoes continue to fall...

A Speech by the Delegation of the Free Vietnamese Association on Captive Nations Week

The delegation of the Free Vietnamese Association is very pleased and honored to enthusiastically support the Captive Nations Week Convention. We are especially honored today to have the opportunity to speak to you, dear and honorable delegates, and through you to express our concerns to those of any opinion, or any political affiliation, or to any government which is interested in facing the alarming Indo-chinese problem.

Early in the third decade of this century, the Vietnamese communist leaders chose to name their organization "The Indo-chinese Communist Party" instead of the Vietnamese Communist Party. In doing so, they dreamed long ago to take control of Laos and Cambodia for two main reasons:

1. To obtain a larger border to better protect and consolidate their safety in Vietnam.

2. To use the territory of Cambodia and Laos as a base for expansion in South East Asia, reaching into Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Burma on behalf of the Soviet-Russian determination to dominate this important area and to control strategic balconies on the Pacific and the Indian Oceans.

some practical and realistic solution thereto.

Although the devil's alternative in practical life may seem less dramatic than in a novel, in this instance it concerns the very existence of Ukrainian nation upon its territory in the post-atomic epoch. Therefore, as cautioned Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet, we all have to, not only read, but also think — independently.

*Translated from Ukrainian by
Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

Since December of 1978, Hanoi has successfully installed its armies, of 200 thousand in Cambodia and 60 thousand in Laos; in this way it has accomplished its first aim. The second step is evidently in preparation at this very moment. If nothing can be done immediately to stop it, to destroy Hanoi's expansionist strategy, it is certain that the worst will soon be coming.

Ladies and Gentlemen: We are now reunited here to commemorate the 23rd annual Captive Nations Week. We would recognize that since 1975 and after the fall of South Vietnam, the list of members of Captive Nations has tragically increased, enrolling also Uganda, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua, in addition to Afghanistan which was most recently invaded by Soviet Russia. This now explains why in the 1960s, American and international opinion strongly believed and considered South Vietnam to be a latch in a domino game. So, the fall of South Vietnam into communist hegemony must necessarily and inevitably carry away other chessboard countries. Now is the time to stop such a vertiginous downfall. Fortunately, we can see that the present American administration has wisely determined to react strongly in El Salvador. And on top of it all, we have to appreciate the current American policy toward Cambodia in backing the creation of a third force under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk and ex-President Son Sann for opposing the 200 thousand Vietnamese communist army occupying this country.

However, we should express our skepticism, our preoccupation and anxiety about the efficiency of this attempt. Indeed, the Hanoi force is not weak at all in Cambodia. On the contrary it is very

strong and its army is strong enough and ready to invade Thailand if it chooses.

The issue which preoccupies Hanoi resides rather in South Vietnam, where the whole population is now against communism and is ready for a mass uprising. Hence, for the success of this effort, the Cambodian problem should be related better with South Vietnam's and vice versa. Cambodia would be like a motion, a right motivation for action, but South Vietnam is really an "Achilles Heel", Hanoi's most vulnerable spot. The solution is to knock out Hanoi and force Hanoi to abandon Cambodia and Laos as accorded in the 1954 Geneva agreement, and withdraw from South Vietnam according to the 1973 Paris pact.

Ladies and Gentlemen: As captive peoples in various captive nations, we know well what communism is. And we should say that in this 20th century a communist regime is the worst on the Earth!

And so it is such a tragic shame, a dis-

honor for the Free World, to have to lengthen, year after year, the list of Captive Nations. It is now time to shorten the list.

We are hoping that you, dear delegates, and through you our ancient allies, will be willing to help us to liberate our country and so liberate the whole Indochina peninsula.

We are hoping also that the almost one million Vietnamese refugees settling over the Free World would have the same faith, the same courage and the solid determination as our great friends, the Jewish People, for starting very soon an exodus back to our fatherland.

We hope that the liberation of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos could be realized in a very near future.

We hope that one day, all of us can be reunited here at this same place, in this greatest city of the World, not to commemorate Captive Nations Week, but to celebrate the Liberated Nations Week.

"AFGHAN FIGHTERS ASK FOR WEAPONS"

Soviet troops could be expelled from Afghanistan if enough weaponry for 50,000 rebel freedom fighters is provided, a delegate of the Afghan Liberation movement said yesterday.

"We want nothing except the Russians out of Afghanistan," said Masood Khalili, President of the Afghanistan Islamic Association of Freedom Fighters in America.

"We are trying to get armaments," he said in an interview prior to a speech to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations conference.

"The Soviets are expanding, invading and killing thousands of people," he said bitterly. "Why should we give them a chance? The free nations have to do something."

He said the Mujahideen (religious freedom fighters) who have fought the Soviets

for over three years are "people wanting a bullet, a gun, something to get the Russians." Because of the mountainous terrain and the determination of the rebels who attack unsuspecting Soviet troops, Khalili said "a small illiterate nation has been holding the Soviets for three years.

"The minute they find a chance to kill the Russians, they attack," he said.

The boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow and Washington's lifting of the Soviet grain embargo did little to help Afghanistan, he said.

He said US President Ronald Reagan began his term of office saying he would help Afghanistan, but has done little since.

"Sometimes I think the free world wants to use Afghanistan as a card to play with," he said.

(Toronto Sun, Nov. 1981)

SALUTE TO UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Address by Mr. Donald A. Martin, National Director of the British League of Rights, to the Public Rally at Speakers' Corner, Marble Arch, London, on Sunday 21st June, 1981, on the occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. & Mrs. Yaroslav Stetsko, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Ukraine, a nation with an ancient history, this month commemorates the 40th Anniversary of the restoration of Independence on June 30th, 1941.

The Russian communist yoke was thrown off by Ukrainians during the early years of the Second World War. Unfortunately, this independence was very short-lived. Another dictatorship — Hitler's Nazis — suppressed this independence.

At the end of the Second World War, the Russian Communists were permitted to return, when the Western Allies could have insisted on Ukrainian Independence. However, this treacherous action by the West is nothing new. Without the finance, aid and trade from the West, Russian Communism would not survive.

Following the brutal invasion of Afghanistan by the Russian Communists we heard a lot about sanctions against the Russians. But now the West is trading with and holding the Russian communist empire together once again. But the Afghans are still fighting for their freedom, and the Russian Communists cannot defeat this Afghan resistance.

There is a lesson to be learnt here by the West. The Russians are NOT strong and invincible — they are weak. Like the bullyboy at school, who when stood up to, is nothing but a coward, so the Russian Communists when stood up to are also cowards.

The greatest weapon available against the Russian Communists is the Captive Nations. The spirit of Ukrainian Inde-

pendence has never died. It should be given every assistance by the peoples of the free world. Ukrainian patriots are ready everywhere to help remove the Russian communist yoke, not just from Ukraine but the world.

Everywhere I have travelled in the world I seem to find Ukrainians! I have always admired your community spirit, the way you have — far from your homeland — preserved your customs, your language and your culture. On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the restoration of Ukrainian Independence I salute the Ukrainian people and in particular your former Prime Minister, Yaroslav Stetsko and his marvellous wife Slava.

I look forward to your 50th Anniversary, and pray that it may be able to be celebrated in a free Ukraine to make it a truly golden occasion.

Mr. S. Rudzitis — Latvian Speaker for Captive Nations

Thank you very much for the possibility to join you today in commemorating the 40th anniversary of the day when the Ukrainian people once again demonstrated their desire to be free and independent and not to be slaves under the Russian communist or any other dictatorship. This proved once again that even after many years of Soviet Russian occupation, the Ukrainian national spirit was not dead and there were outstanding leaders — I am referring to the prime minister, Mr. Stetsko, who was not afraid to guide the Ukrainian nation to the restoration of the well-deserved independence even when the fight was against two enemies at the same time.

The struggle is still on and today when we are once again paying tribute to freedom and those men and women whose lives are dedicated to their country, we want to say again to the Free World that the Ukrainians and all other peoples in captivity will one day destroy the Russian communist empire themselves but we wish to ask you not to help our enemies, who are also the enemies of the Free World. If you wish to help, help your friends and natural allies. Help those who are fighting for independence, freedom and democracy and against slavery.

President Reagan recently said that we can see the beginning of the end of Russian communist imperialism, which means the end of terrorism, lies, holocaust, colonial power. If it is so then we can also see the first rays of the sun of freedom. We start to see the fulfilment of the Ukrainian people's goal for which they fought in 1918 and 1941 — freedom and

independence, and for which Mr. & Mrs. Stetsko and the Ukrainian nation in Ukraine and the free world are struggling today. No enemy can proclaim victory unless the enemy has captured the people's minds and souls. And they will never be able to do so to the proud Ukrainian people.

Honouring today the freedom fighters of 1941, the nationalists and patriots, and honouring Mr. & Mrs. Stetsko, I am more than pleased and honoured on behalf of the Captive Nations Committee to congratulate you and to thank you for your sacrifices and guidance in the fight against our common enemy and to express our firm belief that freedom will be restored in Ukraine, and that your nation and all captive nations too will be admitted once again to a free Europe and the union of free and democratic nations.

July 12th, 1981 Detroit, USA

Imprisoned Poles are being deported outside of the borders of Poland

(UCIS, Toronto) According to a recent account of an eyewitness, who recently returned from Rumania, imprisoned members of Solidarity are being deported to Rumanian prisons after the proclamation of martial law in Poland.

On Sunday, December 27, 1981, at the railroad station in Suchav, which is located in the Rumanian sector of Bukovina, a full train arrived from Poland, with twelve Polish cars, but on a Rumanian locomotive. The curtains on the train cars were closed. In one car with a broken window, screaming was heard, amidst which the words "solidarity" were understood. When the eyewitness approached this car, he was able to see through the broken window three men, who stated

that they had been recently arrested and wanted to know more of their current whereabouts. They further explained that they were from the Katowice region of Poland and that they had not eaten anything for five days. They were led to the train blindfolded. These men then asked for something to eat and for cigarettes. When the eyewitness returned with cigarettes, bought at a nearby store, he could no longer come close to the train, since it was surrounded by the militia, who were no longer permitting anyone to approach the train.

The Rumanian train crews later said that a similar train had recently arrived at a nearby village of Botoshani. One train car usually has 60 passengers.

Dear Friends,

An old legend tells that St Andrew the Apostle blessed the hills of Kiev and foretold the victory of Christianity in the Ukraine. It is known with certainty that St Clement, the third successor of St Peter, was exiled by the Emperor Trajan to the Crimea, died there as a martyr and left an indelible influence on the Church in the Ukraine. Five hundred years later another exiled pope, Marlin I, died a martyr's death on the Ukrainian coast for the unity of the Church.

Martyrdom for the unity of Christians has remained the glorious mark of the Ukrainian Church. After the eastern schism she was the first Church to renew her union with Rome at Brest-Litovsk, and she has again and again sealed her loyalty to the Apostolic See with rivers of blood and mountains of corpses.

This martyrdom reached its climax after the Second World War when, through the activity of Stalin and the Patriarch of Moscow, Ukrainians who were faithful to Rome were forcibly incorporated with the orthodox Church. Countless laity, hundreds of priests and nearly all the bishops perished as a result of this unecumenical use of force, which those in authority in the Patriarchate of Moscow still look upon as a glorious page in the history of orthodoxy.

Cardinal Yosyf Slipyi survived the terror. Even when offered the patriarchal see of Moscow on condition that he renounced union with Rome and denied the papal primacy, he remained faithful

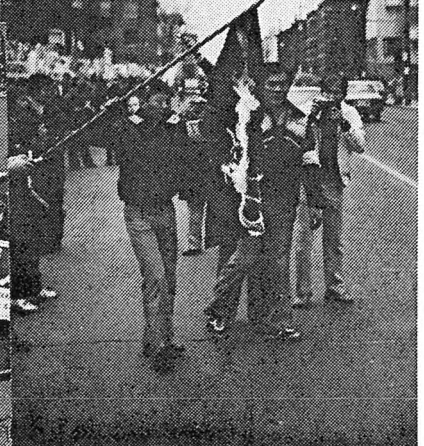
and continued his way of the cross, which lasted 18 years.

At the beginning of the Vatican Council his seat was vacant, while the delegates of Patriarch Alexis, a man who shared responsibility for the persecution, were present. A storm of protest arose.

Pope John XXIII intervened personally. On 9th February 1963 the unshakable confessor was released. From Rome, where he has since lived, he continues to guide his Church, which with your help still lives on in the catacombs and in emigrant communities. In this brochure he himself reports on the catacomb Church, persecuted in his home country for more than 35 years.

After the war a German soldier gave me a precious cross he had rescued from a burning church, asking me to bring it back to the Ukraine. I entrusted it to Cardinal Slipyi so that, as patriarch of his Church, with this cross he may bless the second Christian millennium of the Ukrainian nation from the hills of Kiev, as did Andrew the Apostle. We may cherish the hope that he will, for "thus says the Lord: As a shepherd keeps all his flock in view, when he stands up in the middle of his scattered sheep, so shall I keep my sheep in view (...) I am going to take you from among the nations and gather you together from all the foreign countries, and bring you home to your own land (...) You will live in the land which I gave your ancestors. You shall be my people and I will be your God." (Ez. 34, 12; 36, 24 and 28).

Werenfried in Straate



ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Afghan freedom fighters — the Mujahideen — atop a captured Russian helicopter.

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HAPPY EASTER TO ALL OUR READERS

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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The Free World's Last Chance

Declaration of the VI Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

The VI Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) held in 1981, on the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of Ukrainian Independent Statehood on June 30, 1941, was convened in accordance with its rules and statutes, to assess its policies and actions with a view to achieving the final victory over the Russian occupier and colonizer of the Ukrainian nation through the revolutionary reestablishment of a free, independent and sovereign Ukraine.

Mindful of the leadership role of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, since its founding in 1929, in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, the VI Supreme Assembly reaffirmed the soundness of its long standing policy of reliance on its inherent strength, and cooperation and coordination with the liberation movements of the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, which have adopted a single liberation strategy that represents their common aims and goals, as reflected by their alliance, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

In reviewing the report on the current situation in Ukraine and the work of the Organization, the VI Supreme Assembly paid tribute to the heroes and martyrs — the best sons and daughters of the Ukrainian nation — who have laid down their lives in the struggle against the Russian occupier of our homeland. The VI Supreme Assembly confirmed that the Russian occupational forces have intensified their imperialist campaign and have made an all out effort to destroy the underground national-liberation movement against Russian subjugation. Over the last decade, thousands of Ukrainians have been arrested or murdered by the occupation forces and at least 60 percent of the political prisoners in the Russian empire, in its jails, concentration camps and psychiatric asylums, are Ukrainians. In the face of this onslaught the Ukrainian liberation movement has continued to mobilize all segments of the Ukrainian nation into an all-national liberation struggle. Special attention was directed toward the mass demonstrations, strikes and underground activities that have continued despite the new wave of terror and repression unleashed by the occupational forces. In this regard it was noted that reports of these developments, having reached the West, have not received the proper attention and dissemination, due to the current moral and political crisis in western societies.

Détente and balance of power — a path to capitulation

The peoples of the West and their Governments, unable to fully comprehend the already acute and ever-growing danger to their own survival as free nations, have now for over thirty years continued to delude themselves into believing that coexistence can be maintained with the Russian empire on the basis of establishing a balance of power. Furthermore, the peoples of the West have been lulled into a false sense of security, (which their Governments have not

sought to dispel) that ultimately the interests and goals of the western nations and the Russian empire will converge.

This represents a fundamental breakdown of the understanding on the part of the western nations that the values and heritage of western social and political traditions preclude a convergence of interests and goals with the Russian empire, and that the basis of the confrontation and conflict with the Russian imperialists is, in fact: the incompatibility between human rights and totalitarianism, respect for national rights and colonialism, recognition of national sovereignty and national subjugation, international cooperation and hegemony.

The peoples of the West must wake up to the fact that current developments in Ukraine, Afghanistan, Poland, Turkestan, the Baltic Nations, Georgia, Byelorussia and throughout the Russian empire are leading to the destruction of this prison of nations. In the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations are to be found the rudiments for a new era of peace, justice and a new international political order based on freedom for all nations and freedom for the individual.

Nevertheless, the Governments of the West continue to rely on policies of détente, appeasement, containment and balance of power in formulating western strategy toward the Russian empire. The further pursuance of these policies underscores the de facto capitulation of the West with regard to the historically uninterrupted Russian aim of conquering the world. Détente and balance of power are only a well-orchestrated, deceitful Russian ruse, intended to conceal their systematic drive to impose Russian imperio-colonial hegemony and a Russian way of life on the entire world.

Without an elementary agreement on common aims between partners — there can be no balance of power!

NATO, under the leadership of the USA, has not yet repudiated the anachronistic, essentially imperialistic concept of dividing the world into spheres of influence, even though by adamantly clinging to this concept, the West is forced into a vicious circle in continuously having to redefine previously agreed-upon spheres of influence, according to each new Russian colonial conquest.

Despite the fact, that the West not only refused to support the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, but also considerably contributed to the preservice and further expansion of the Russian empire during and after World War II, the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) led a war of liberation on two fronts against Nazi Germany and bolshevik Russia and continued this liberation struggle against the Russian empire until the present day.

The Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War

Deeply concerned with the tragic and potentially cataclysmic consequences of the West's strategy, that is purportedly designed to forestall war and nuclear holocaust, but which is inherently flawed and, therefore, will ultimately lead to such a war, the VI Supreme Assembly of the OUN appeals to the nations of the Free World to abandon, *in their own self-interest*, their policies which are based on the perpetuity of the Russian empire and to work with the liberation movement of the Ukrainian nation — the OUN, and the liberation movements of the other nations subjugated by Russia. The only viable and realistic alternative to a thermonuclear Armageddon is a political and mili-

tary strategy based on coordinated and synchronized revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the nations, subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. The primary threat of a nuclear war, its *causa sui*, lies in the continued existence of the Russian empire. This threat can be precluded only with the elimination of its cause through the dissolution of the empire by national-liberation revolutions!

Is the West to become a reactionary or revolutionary force?

The international map of the world is being transformed on the basis of the national ideal and the disintegration of empires. This process is the natural consequence of the struggle of indigenous liberation movements seeking their rightful, sovereign place amongst the nations of the world. The Western nations can either become a progressive force by supporting the national liberation forces of the subjugated nations struggling against the most tyrannical and brutal empire in the world — the Russian empire, or they can continue to contradict their own noble traditions and interests by further pursuing their policies of reactionism, by defending the existence, perpetuity and stability of the Russian empire, thus ignoring the divergence between their own interests and goals and those of the Russian empire.

Only by adopting the first alternative could the West transform itself into the primary progressive force in the world, with Russia as its reactionary adversary. Such a development would herald the emergence of a new powerful alliance between two superpowers, the West and a new ideologically and politically revolutionary superpower, the subjugated nations, which are internally tearing asunder the Russian empire.

The struggle in Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Azerbaidjan, Hungary, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Latvia, Czechia, Slovakia, Georgia, Estonia and all the other subjugated nations, if properly synchronized, would lead to the dissolution of the Russian empire.

Our appeal to the nations of the Free World is based on the knowledge that the subjugated nations within the Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World provides the strategic *raison d'etre* for defeating the last remaining empire and the greatest threat to humanity. A strategy of synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian empire is the only alternative.

Our Demands and Proposals

With a view towards effectuating a qualitative change in the political strategy of the West *vis-a-vis* the Russian empire — the USSR and its “satellite” states — the VI Supreme Assembly of the OUN adopted the following concrete proposals and demands, which are meant to serve as a foundation for such a change:

The West should proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE for all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the “satellite” countries, publicly affirming the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations into independent and sovereign nation-states, each within its ethnographic boundaries.

In pursuance to such a declaration, the West should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by creating a network of centers for psycho-

logical warfare based on the political and ideological concepts of the OUN and the ABN in respect to all subjugated nations. Such centers should be made available to the OUN and ABN and their efforts directed at the subjugated nations in the USSR and its "satellites".

The nations of the Free World should provide access to various forms of mass media for the OUN and other national-liberation movements.

At the United Nations and at other international forums the West must recognize the national-liberation movements as the only genuine representatives of the will and aspirations of these nations.

Radio broadcasting stations should be placed at the disposal of the OUN, through which we could freely promote our national ideals and concept of liberation, independent of the détente-orientated policies of NATO.

The political content and aims of the existing Western government-sponsored radio broadcasts, such as the "Voice of America", BBC and "Radio Liberty", must be overhauled, with a view towards propagating a concept of national liberation and the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations into national independent states, each within its own ethnographic boundaries.

In order to reverse Russia's psychological and political offensive against the West, led under the deceitful ruse of "support for wars of national and social liberation", the West should apply to the USSR the UN Resolution on De-Colonization, i.e., the dissolution of empires, as well as the UN Resolution on Namibia dealing with the legality (from the standpoint of international law) of rendering military assistance to a subjugated nation in its armed struggle against a forcibly imposed foreign yoke, in this case against Russian imperio-colonial domination.

The United States, as the leader of the Free World, should establish a Washington-Shevchenko Freedom Academy, as a counterpart to the Moscow Lumumba University.

Recognizing the crucial significance of the subjugated nations and their liberation struggle, a Department of Insurgent-Liberation Warfare should be established in the Pentagon and/or in the Headquarters of the NATO Alliance. The primary aim of this Department would be to develop a new political and military strategy in cooperation with the OUN and similar national-liberation organizations of other subjugated nations, which would be wholly supportive of our strategy of coordinated, simultaneous and synchronized revolutionary uprisings against Russian imperialism on the territories of these nations.

Appeal

The OUN advances these proposals from the first line of the universal struggle for Freedom and Justice against Russian imperialism and communism, in the firm belief that the Free World will finally come to realize the immense threat with which it is presently faced: the inexorable drive of Soviet-Russian expansionist imperialism to conquer the world. We point out that it is in the interests of the Free World to promote the cause of national liberation behind the Iron Curtain as the only viable means for effectuating the dissolution of the Russian empire and communist system as a basis for building a just and free international order, founded upon mutual respect of each nation's right to sovereignty, independence and freedom.

We are not seeking to be liberated by the West. That is our task and our's alone. Freedom *ex gratia* — is not freedom! Our motto continues to be: "He who liberates himself — shall be free; he who is liberated — shall be led into slavery!"

This does not mean, however, that we do not seek or need the assistance of the Free World — assistance which ought to be rendered not only in recognition of the interests of the subjugated nations, *but also in recognition of the interests of the Free World!*

By helping us — you are helping yourselves!

We wish to point out that we have the right to demand of the Free World to at least desist from helping our enemy in its quest to continue subjugating our nation. It is in this context that the OUN, conscious of its solemn obligation towards Ukraine and all freedom-loving humanity, seeks to sensitize the nations of the Free World to the **ONLY ALTERNATIVE THEY HAVE LEFT FOR PRESERVING THEIR OWN FREEDOM AND AVERTING A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST: AN ALLIANCE WITH THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THEIR REVOLUTIONARY, NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET-RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM.**

*The Presidium of the VI Supreme Assembly of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) 1981*

The Voice of the Women of Afghanistan

Keshvar Kamal — head of the Revolutionary League of the Women of Afghanistan. Mrs. Kamal, whose husband is fighting against the Russian imperialist occupation forces in the ranks of the Afghan insurgents — Mujahideen, recently concluded a tour of Europe propagating the cause of independence for her country. Mrs. Kamal also visited the offices of the ABN Central Committee on January 26, 1982, where a press conference was held later that evening.



Russian Ascendancy on Bulgaria

By Dr. Kyril Drenikoff

Today Bulgaria is undergoing economic exploitation in favour of neo-colonialism by the Soviet Union. In the framework of a so-called socialist division of work and, following the line of economical integration adopted by the Bulgarian Government, we witness economic looting of Bulgaria by the Soviet Union.

Indeed, a real economic "diktat", called a reciprocal agreement USSR-Bulgaria, has been signed in Sofia in 1979. It binds Bulgaria for a period of 10 years, ie. from 1980-1990. This agreement has been prepared by the Russian President Katuchev of the Bulgarian-Soviet Commission of economic cooperation. It relates to the specialization of the cooperation called "bipartite". In reality, it obliges Bulgaria to share in the edification of a material and technological basis of the Soviet Union in the following fields: extraction of petroleum, production and conveying of natural gas, production of ore, production of other raw materials, production of energy, productions of machines, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy.

Thus, in the framework of the economic integration politics, Bulgaria has already constructed in the valley of the Volga and in the region of Komi, several enterprises for the production of wood and for woodwork, after having organized the cut and evacuation of the roads and bridges.

Thousands of Bulgarian workers and specialists, equipment and construction material have been supplied for construction of the cellulose-works at Ilimsk, the industrial combine for the production of asbestos at Kiembayevsk, etc.

Bulgaria is forced to participate in the construction of factories for the enrichment of ore at Dniepropetrovsk, at Michailovsk, Bubinsk, etc. It participates in the construction of the gas pipeline called the "Union" which has to conduct the Si-

berian gas to the Western border of the Soviet Union as far as Uzbekistan, where more than a thousand Bulgarian workers and engineers are working in the building industry.

Following the signed agreement Bulgaria is obliged to supply the enterprises called communes, located on USSR territory, with equipment whose value exceeds annually 670 millions roubles.

This heavy obligation contributes to the increase of the Bulgarian commercial deficit towards Russia. A non-negligible importance in this deficit is due to the increase of USSR petroleum prices. Indeed, during the period of 1974-1979 the price of petroleum with which the Soviet Union supplied its partners of the COMECOM has increased by about 150%. The principal of economic integration obliges Bulgaria to make 50% of its external trade with the USSR and 25% with the other member countries of the COMECOM.

The deficit of the external trade of Bulgaria with the other Western countries is no less heavy. At the end of 1979, this deficit exceeded the astronomical figure of 3 milliards dollars.

The catastrophic situation of the country's finances is aggravated by the following elements:

1. The deficiency of agricultural production is considerably below the forecasts of the plans; e.g. the production of cereals decreases noticeably and continually from 31,520 to 26,000 quintals.

2. The important decline in the number of tourists, especially of those coming from the West. As an appropriate measure the Government has totally fired the Tourist Committee to the Council of Ministers.

Subsequently, a remarkable decline in comparison with the forecast of the five year plan 1976-1980 has been recorded, the latter having undergone the following corrections:

a. Agriculture: the regression is of 6.3% instead of the 4% progression foreseen;

b. Industry: the growth is only of 6.8% instead of the 9.2% foreseen;

c. Construction: the progression is only of 5.7% instead of the 10.6% foreseen;

d. Services: the trend is the same: 6.10% instead of the 11% foreseen.

In spite of the disastrous economic situation, it is necessary to mention Bulgaria's obligation to help the other Communist countries: e.g. only to quote Cuba which has recently requested Bulgaria to send machine constructing engineers. Until quite recently the Cuban Government paid the modest wages of the Bulgarian engineers in U.S. dollars. Now the payment is made in roubles. As an immediate effect, there are no more candidates and the last group which left last June for Havana has been appointed officially by the BCP. Furthermore, let us cite Afghanistan which receives important aid in advisers, logistic material including the crew for helicopters and planes of the Afghan Airways "Ariana".

Finally, a third example is Nicaragua which receives technical assistance as to the modern means of controlling the population and of the organization for repression and concentration camps modestly called "camps for redressing by work".

Indeed, the alarming economic situation of Bulgaria is not considerably different from the economic situation of other countries of the COMECON. It is to be feared that the latter will be tempted to make Poland the scapegoat from the ideological point of view as well the internal politics of its members.

In this connection we should consider with great anxiety the sudden appearance of articles in the Bulgarian press which are clearly hostile towards Poland. The situation in Poland is presented in a tendentious manner. The workers' union "Solidarnost" is described as a mob of counter revolutionaries, violently anti-So-

viet, which even threatens the existence of the Socialist bloc. This is the more frightening as these attacks happened following the recent visit to Bulgaria of the Commander-in-Chief of the United Forces of the Warsaw Pact, General Koulikov, and of the Chief of the Headquarters, General Gribkov. Also on 28 June, 1981 the Bulgarian Government re-established the visa regime for Polish travellers going to Bulgaria individually.

In spite of the stirring in the Bulgarian direction, one should be afraid that the Bulgarian leaders may adapt themselves totally to the Soviet-Russian position. Todor Jivkov, whose party is preparing to pompously celebrate its 70th anniversary, seems to control the apparatus of the party and the Army, whose Chief, former seminarist and former non-commissioned officer of the Bulgarian Army, having received the marshal star, is completely devoted to the Russians. Thus, in order to drive still further his ascendancy, Jivkov has just recently replaced the President of the Council of Ministers, Stanko Todorov, though totally devoted to him, by another member of the Politbureau, Gricha Filipov, who was born and has for a long time lived in the Soviet Union. He too has married a Russian.

This is proof that the possibility of liberalization and democratization of Bulgaria is unrealistic because all Bulgarian problems are decided not in Sofia but in Moscow.

NEW BOOKS

CHILI — le crime de resister
by Suzanne LABIN (319 pp.)

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

Norilsk Uprising

The memoirs of Yevhen Hrycyak about the uprising of political prisoners in the concentration camps of Norilsk in 1953, which have been originally disseminated in sam-vydav¹ form, were recently transmitted to the West. The detailed description of this uprising — is the latest important document 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.

The author of the memoirs, Yevhen Hrycyak, was born in 1926, in the village of Stecev, Snyatyn County, Ivano-Frankivsk Province, was arrested in 1949 for his membership in Ukrainian nationalist underground during the time of Germany's occupation of Ukraine, and sentenced to death, which sentence was commuted to twenty-five years of imprisonment.

To date, Yevhen Hrycyak is well known because of his 1976 declaration to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (see Appendix "A"), which reached the West in 1977 and was disseminated widely in Ukrainian press.

Yevhen Hrycyak's memoirs about the Norilsk uprising 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 administrators of those camps.

The Karaganda-Norilsk Transit Points

August of 1952. Zone 8 of the Pishchan camp, MVS,² USSR, city of Karaganda.

August of 1952. Zone 8 of the Pishchan camp, MVS,² USSR, city of Kasmoke, don't change from one row to another! One step to the right or left and we'll fire without warning! Hands behind your backs! Forward! March!"

Four hundred tired and hungry prisoners plodded heavily in their felt shoes over the hard Kazakhstan ground. The long workday at the construction site ended and we were led home — to the camp. We walked in the customary way demanded by the convoy³ guards — in silence. Each one kept to himself with his own thoughts.

Several weeks ago, Stepan U. suggested to me the idea of organizing a political strike throughout the *entire Gulag*.⁴ But in spite of being totally captivated by the idea, I declined it as impossible to accomplish and, instead, suggested

¹ Sam-vydav means literally "published by oneself", and refers to unauthorized publication and dissemination of handwritten, typed, mimeographed or printed material.

² MVS — Ministry of Internal Affairs.

³ Convoy — the term in Ukrainian is "konvoy" meaning escort guard.

⁴ Gulag — the Soviet penal system under Stalin; an acronym for Chief Administration of Corrective Labor Camps.

organizing such a strike in just our own zone. Hopefully, in time, this action would spread in a chain reaction throughout the *entire Gulag*.

Now, returning from work, I pondered (for the hundredth time) my position. In my opinion, a strike involving the *entire Gulag* was a utopian idea primarily because of our own impenetrable isolation. We did not and could not have any positive contact not only with camps distant from us, but even with the different zones in our own camp. We were just incapable of organizing any coordinated action. Besides, we would still have to overcome such subjective obstacles as the constant fear which enveloped, not without cause, all the prisoners, and the infectious inertia and the endless internal quarrels.

These difficulties were so vast, we had neither the strength nor the skill to overcome them even in one specific area. Only some particular external force could rouse, unite and incite us — an incident which would deeply affect each of us.

Unfortunately, because we were not ready, advantage of such an incident was not taken.

This is how it happened — for some reason, only one brigade was being escorted from the work site. En route, the convoy guard behaved in such a brutal and vicious manner, the men stopped and sat down in protest. The convoy guards discharged several sub-machine gun volleys over the prisoners' heads, but no one got up. Then the guards released the dogs... Prisoners arrived at the camp torn and bloody.

This incident served as a good lesson to us, and now we were ready to capitalize on another such opportunity.

We came to the guardhouse and my thoughts were suddenly cut off. I was separated from the group of prisoners and, without any formal charges, thrown into a *punishment cell*. That same day, more than twenty men were placed in the *punishment block* — all Ukrainians.

After that, events started unfolding quickly.

The next day, one more Ukrainian was thrown into our cell, Vasył B., who explained that he had purposely behaved in such a manner as to be placed among us, because he had an important message for us: "The prisoners here want you to announce a hunger-strike tomorrow morning, and then, as a sign of solidarity, they will begin their general strike".

The next morning, we announced our hunger-strike, but to our great disappointment, the general strike did not materialize. We waited another day, but, again — nothing. Completely losing our hope, we discontinued our hunger-strike.

As it became clear later, the entire zone was ready to act, but no one was willing to assume the responsibility. This served as another valuable lesson to us.

The next day we all were transported to zone 5, which served as a deportation point. In addition to ourselves, other prisoners, consisting mainly of Ukrainians and Lithuanians, were brought here from the entire Pishchan camp. We understood that we were being sent out of the Karaganda area, but no one could say where we would be taken and what would be awaiting us there.

In the meantime, our first surprise was being prepared for us. We, two hundred and fifty Ukrainians and Lithuanians were consigned to the second

barrack. Forty other prisoners, of whom some were Ukrainians and the rest representatives of other nationalities, were placed in one section of the first barrack. After some time, eighteen more men were added to that section. These were members of the Mykola Vorobyov gang, well known in the entire Pishchan camp, because their function was to terrorize and to do away with Ukrainians.

The *Vorobyov thugs* arrived armed with knives and immediately began threatening the few Ukrainians who were in the first barrack.

From the window of the barrack, someone desperately called out to us: "Boys, the *suki*⁵ want to murder us!"

We jumped to our feet and feverishly tried to find a way out of our locked barrack. Some attempted to break the bars on the windows, while others tried to break down the door — but to no avail.

There was a large barrel of drinking water standing in the corridor. I poured the water out and, together with Bohdan M., started battering the door with it, but the door would not give way. Our only reward was the sound of the blows, which reminded us of distant cannon fire.

Meanwhile an exit was found. Someone managed to pull a brick out from under one of the windows and a small opening was made through which we were all able to crawl outside.

Here, we all gathered and formed a quick plan of attack. We had old scores to settle with the *Vorobyov gang* members and were all fired up with the desire to settle them. If only we could find a way of reaching them!

We all rushed to the door of their barrack, because we thought they would be easier to handle outside. It was hoped to either pull off the door hinges or knock out the lock. Since, we couldn't manage it with our bare hands and didn't want to show our helplessness, we had no choice but to continue pushing against that unbreakable door.

This door differed from those in the other barracks in that it opened unto the barbed barricade of the restricted zone instead of unto the center of the camp. Close by was the guard tower on which stood not the customary one but two convoy guards. Soon an officer also appeared on it. I watched his every move. He took out his pistol and slowly aimed it at us. A shot was fired, then a second, and a third... Shattered bricks and mortar showered down on our heads, the officer was firing over our heads at the wall. We did not retreat. Finally, we heard submachine gun fire. With a cry of pain, Vasyl Shcherba fell to the ground, seriously wounded. We scattered. The wounded Shcherba was carried to the hospital.

The camp "hospital" was located in this very same first barrack. The section we were trying to break into was separated from the hospital by a reinforced wooden barricade. Discovering this, we entered the adjacent room and ordered the patients to leave.

Then we broke up a metal bed and, armed with pieces of it, started to batter down the barricade. After a few minutes, a man-size opening was created. We met the *Vorobyov thugs* face to face.

⁵ Suki — "Bitches", term used for professional criminals who chose to collaborate with the authorities.

But the gang members defended themselves courageously. Two of them, hiding behind a wall, stood at either side of the opening, ready to stab anyone who dared stick his head through. Others, having overturned the stove which stood in the middle of the room, started hurling bricks at us and, when the brick supply became exhausted, they threw chunks of crystal sugar.

The two defenders at the wall opening proved to be the most dangerous to us. We tried in every way possible to grab or at least chase them away, but we just could not manage to do this. Noticing two fire extinguishers on the wall, we took them down, and started spraying the two with the foam. The foam got into one man's eyes. He roared in pain and ran away, holding his hands to his eyes. However, another man immediately replaced him.

I realized that we would never overtake them in this manner and suggested that we climb up to the attic, break through the ceiling, and attack them from above. Everyone left the room and started searching for a way to the attic. Upon stepping outside, we were stopped cold. Armed soldiers were running, directly toward us from the guardhouse. With them was the chief administrator of the Pishchan camp — Lieutenant-General Serhienko. That finished it!

On reaching us, Serhienko ordered us to immediately enter the barracks and allow ourselves to be locked up. When we protested, he threatened to use firearms. When we mentioned that he did not have the right to fire at us, since we were not posing a threat to him, he answered: "Oh, yes! We have the right. We know whom we are dealing with!"

We continued arguing with Serhienko for quite a while before reaching a compromise — we would re-enter our barracks and he would remove the *Vorobyov gang*.

We were locked up; the *Vorobyov gang* was removed. Night came and we all laid down to sleep, wherever one could.

The next evening, a *red echelon*⁶ left Karaganda, moving northward. Its freight cars were loaded with twelve hundred political prisoners, mainly Ukrainians and Lithuanians. At Petropavlovsk the train turned east and, after a few days, it arrived at Krasnoyarsk. Here the train stopped for the entire night and in the morning, after slowly crossing the Yenisei, halted again. Perhaps we had arrived!

Yes, we had arrived. We were released from the cars and escorted to a tiny transit prison which, as we knew, provided prisoners for the Norilsk camps.

We were ordered to sit down in front of the guardhouse, since they were not ready to receive us as yet.

From the other side of the tall board fence of the restricted zone, we heard the following exchange between the *blatnye*⁷ prisoners of the punishment block: "Prosecutor! Prosecutor! Is that you?"

"It's me."

"What's new?"

"Oh, nothing. Just some new boys have arrived."

⁶ Red echelon — a train for transporting prisoners, consisting of freight cars painted red.

⁷ Blatnye — literal slang translation "thieves", but used throughout concentration camps and prisons in a broad sense, meaning criminal prisoners.

"From where?"

"From Karaganda."

"Are they rich?"

"No. India!"

We hadn't even entered the compound, no one there had seen us, but the *blatnye* prisoners inside already knew that a fresh shipment of convicts had arrived from Karaganda, and that they were like residents of India, which, in their jargon, meant paupers who had nothing worth stealing.

The amount of information they had did not surprise us, because it was common knowledge that guards informed them of everything, as they always united with the *blatnye* prisoners against us — politicals.

We entered the compound, which was spread over a somewhat sloping terrain. On the left, the lower row of barracks was occupied by the *blatnye* prisoners and the upper row was assigned to us. The rows were separated from each other with a barbed wire barricade and a gatehouse, where a guard was always posted.

Before we even had a chance to get settled in the barracks, we found out that the *blatnye* prisoners were preparing to attack us. Since we knew that they could not do this without the blessings of the administration, we entered into negotiations with the transport chief. The result of these talks was that the chief threatened to use firearms against us. In answer to our claim that, in such cases, the guards did not have the right to fire at us, he said: "We do have the right, because we know *who* we have here!"

After getting settled in the barracks, we started going outside and gathering in small groups. In one group, someone began to sing:

A girl took a pail
And went for water,
When young fishermen
Of Cossack blood...

The song was picked up by others; the group of singers quickly grew. More and more men wanted to sing, so that another choral group was formed, again spontaneously. Probably for the first time in the history of the Yenisei river, the sound of Ukrainian songs flowed over it. When a singer tired, another took his place, and the singing continued until late in the evening. Our Lithuanian friends also could not control the urge to sing and formed their own choral group. Although we did not understand their language, we sensed that they, just as we, began by singing folk songs, and went on to nationalistic-patriotic songs.

I stepped aside from the group and listened. It seemed as though the song was coming from some giant, whom no one dared to restrain — and no one did. The guards did not attempt to disperse us, and the *blatnye* prisoners did not try to attack us. For four days no one bothered us.

On the fifth day, we were crammed into prison barges and transported down the Yenisei river.

Judging from the kinds of prisoners chosen for this trip and the manner in which General Serhienko at Karaganda and the transport chief at Minusinsk spoke to us, we easily surmised that we were not an ordinary group of prisoners

to be used for some development project, but a group condemned to death. We were to be subdued and destroyed. Who could then say what kind of welcome we would receive at our destination, if indeed we ever reached it and were not instead drowned and lost, along with the barges, at the bottom of the Yenisei. There were many theories floating around, but no one knew anything for certain.

On March 8, 1952, we arrived safely at Dudinka. That same day, our train reached Norilsk. Here we were separated into two groups. The first, containing five hundred men, was led into zone 1 of *Gorlag*,⁸ located on the Vedmezhha Mountain or "Vedmezhka"; the second, containing seven hundred men, was taken to zone 5, which was located close to town.

Thus ended the Karaganda-Norilsk stage of our imprisonment.

⁸ Gorlag — Mountain Camp.

(To be continued)

23 Years Ago we wrote:

For Moscow the World War is not Over!

Whatever the Russian tactics may be and whatever the individual reactions of the West may be, there is one fundamental aspect which, in view of the fact that the front-lines of world politics are now on the move, one must bear in mind, — namely, that for Moscow the Second World War is not yet over! It is still being conducted with all the means available, no longer and in no way only against the remnant of Germany, in the form of the Federal Republic which is growing in strength, but, in effect, precisely against the Russian Western allies of yesterday, whose economic and military power is the real obstacle on the path of the unchangeable aims of world Communism. From this point of view, the so-called "German problem" and Germany are in reality only the first barrier, which is now to be pulled down at the cheap price of the hypocritical assurances of friendship of the kind that were made in Teheran and Potsdam. Tomorrow, however, — and tomorrow in the development of world politics may be a decade or two — it will inevitably be the turn of the chief "capitalist" and "imperialist" enemies.

To recognize this situation in world politics in all its far-reaching aspects is, for the West, identical with continuing a policy of superior strength unwaveringly; and, in doing so, Russian aggression must not be conceded a single step further, but, what is still more important, the psychological, economic and moral preconditions for the existence of Bolshevist tyranny over one-third of mankind must be definitely eliminated. This, in turn, is only possible by means of an active liberation policy in determined and firm solidarity with the subjugated peoples, so that mankind may, if possible, be spared an atomic war and so that the free world may not in the near future use up its forces for defense systems and be obliged to go on living, day in, day out, under the shadow of new aggressions. Otherwise, the witches' cauldron of the Russian Bolshevist world empire will continue to an ever-increasing degree, to be a source of imminent danger to the free peoples of the world.

*(ABN Correspondence,
Vol. X, No. 3/4,
March-April 1959)*

Current Problems in the Struggle Against Russian Imperialism

The liberation struggle of the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialists in the USSR and the satellite countries is as strong today as it was in the previous decades. Recent events in the various subjugated nations attest to the high vulnerability of the Russian empire to nationalist anti-Russian ideas, feelings and movements. The Russians moved into Afghanistan in order to check the dynamic spread of Islamic nationalism into the Islamic countries of the Soviet Union — Turkestan, Azerbaidjan and others. In Poland we are witnessing the rise of a popular anti-Russian nationalism. No one is questioning today the thesis that the so-called Brezhnev doctrine is in reality a doctrine for keeping the various conquered nations under Russian colonial yoke. Even the recent incident at the coast of Sweden reveals the growth of a Swedish nationalism in confrontation with the Russian empire.

As a constant proof of the existence of the national liberation struggle are the tens of thousands of prisoners, who were captured and thrown into slave extermination camps, psychiatric institutions and special political prisons far away from their homelands. Moscow's propaganda tries to present these prisoners to the world as common criminals or anti-regime ("anti-Soviet") activists. Moscow scrupulously attempts to mask the real nature of these prisoners, namely, that they were and are participants of the various national liberation movements. Strangely enough, the Russian dissidents Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, Nekrasov, Medvedev and others, in unison with official Moscow basically repeat the same lie, namely that there are no nationalist prisoners in the Soviet Union, except for a mere handful. The Russian dissidents call only those prisoners

"political" who allegedly demand only some human rights, a democratic and liberal system and a stricter implementation of the Soviet constitution.

The Russian emigrants propagate this falsehood for three reasons: first, there are no Russians sentenced for the advocacy of or activities leading toward the liquidation of the Russian colonial and imperialist state. The Russian political prisoners are at most, opponents or critics of the regime of its policies; these people want to reform or improve the imperialist system, with a viewpoint to maintaining the dominant position of the Russian people; second the Russian emigrants themselves oppose and combat the national liberation movements of the peoples conquered by Russia. By advocating an allegedly better regime for the Soviet Union than the present one, they attempt to ideologically disarm and subvert the anti-Russian revolutionary forces by trying to convince them that they are the "better Russians" from those governing presently in the Kremlin. In line with this stratagem, the non-Russian peoples should renounce their anti-Russian nationalist struggle and join the so-called good Russians in a common effort against the "bad regime". But this line of argument is virtually a repetition of Lenin's policy of the pre-1917's period, which brought about the rise of the present Russian empire. And it is no less surprising, that the majority of the Russian emigrants were members of the Communist-Russian elite and were well-educated in Leninist dialectics. The third reason for hiding the true nature of the non-Russian prisoners in the Soviet Union is based on the failure of the Western nations to recognize the USSR as a Russian empire and to support the nationalist movements of

the subjugated peoples. The Russian imperialistic emigres count on the readiness of the Western nations to support their minimalistic propositions. These Russians were trained in Bolshevik methods of psychological warfare, and they are now exploiting every occasion to cultivate the friendship of the numerous Russophile circles in the West, who bestow on these so-called good Russians Nobel prizes, give them ample access to the channels of Western media, which are then utilized for the propagation of their messianistic ideas, thereby counteracting the influences in the West achieved by the freedom-loving nationalist movements.

Using the Helsinki Accords of 1975 as a smoke-screen, Moscow shipped dozens of those so-called dissidents to the Western countries allegedly to get rid of the trouble-makers. But in reality the Solzhenitsyns, the Bukovskys, the Nekrasovs, the Maksimovs went to the hospitable democratic nations not with the intention of influencing and enhancing the struggle against Russian expansionist imperialism, but to prevent any assistance by the Western nations from being given to the liberation movements active within the Russian empire. In the last few years these Russian dissidents waged a much more dynamic campaign of psychological warfare against the liberation movements, than did the official Communist regime in Moscow. The propaganda of pacifism and peaceful coexistence demoralized and demobilized even many people in Western societies. At the very same time Moscow was feverishly building up its armed forces. Thus the so-called Russian dissidents pulled off a masterful "coup" in covering-up the tremendous arms build-up of the Soviet Union, which caught the West by surprise.

As an outstanding example of this Russian desinformist propaganda was the article by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in the

quarterly "Foreign Affairs", Spring 1980. Mr. Solzhenitsyn resolutely urged Western nations not to implement any policy which would bring about the dissolution of the "indivisibility" of the Russian empire. In other words, the West should not dare to support the anti-Russian anti-imperialist forces of the subjugated nations but should peacefully cooperate with the Russians on the basis maintaining the "integrity" of the Russian colonial empire.

Among the dissidents Moscow sent to the West is Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, who portrays himself as a Ukrainian, but in fact performs the task of defending the indivisibility of the Russian empire and combats the nationalisms of the enslaved peoples. It reminds us of the age-old Russian method of throwing its Quislings and modern-type Janizaries into the forefront of combat against their own people. In particular, Gen. Grigorenko propagates the fallacy that it is not the Russian imperialists and racists who enslave the various peoples but a mythical, non-national in composition, Communist "partocracy" (rule of the party). The fallacy behind this argument is exposed by the fact that all the non-Russian countries were conquered by the Russian S.F.S.R., that the absolute majority of the Russian people wholeheartedly supports the current regime in Russia, that Russians dominate all facets of life in all the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union, that tens of millions of Russians participate in the imperialistic and racist policies toward the conquered nations, and that the over-all cultural, economic, social and religious policies in the Soviet Union are conducted exclusively in the best interests of the Russian people. What's more, the primary aim of the entire Soviet system is the destruction of the non-Russian nations, and their Russification or assimilation into the Russian nation.

The official regime in Moscow and Russian dissidents residing in Western countries are both conducting a powerful scholarly and media campaign aiming to show that the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Russian peoples descend from the same original root. According to this desinformist propaganda the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples should be considered as branches of the Russian nation arisen in the 14th-15th centuries. But in reality, there existed a great Ukrainian state in medieval times, called Rus with its capital in Kyiv. The Russian imperialistic pseudo-scholars attempt to present this state as the original Russian state. However the roots of this Ukrainian state are to be found in the preceding Ukrainian national state known under the name of the Antae, which flourished from the end of the 4th century till the 6th century A.D. In turn, the Antae state has its roots in the long process of the formation of the Ukrainian nation dating from the third millenium B.C. during the period of the famous Trypillia culture. Thus the princely Rus state of the 9th through to the 14th centuries was an exclusively native phenomenon within the boundaries of the present-day ethnographic territory of Ukraine, although its political rule at some periods reached far beyond Ukraine's borders, encompassing at times regions, which later composed the territory of the Russian people. Every objective anthropologist, archeologist and historian can easily prove a completely different cultural-historical formative process of the Russian nation from that of the Ukrainian nation.

Another falsehood spread by the Russians throughout the world is the argumentation that in 1988 the Russian people will celebrate the 1000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into Russia. But actually, in 988 the Ukrainian-Rus Grand Prince Volodymyr

the Great brought Christianity to Ukraine, and Christianity became the Ukrainian national religion, with its own traditions, rituals, spiritual values and form. The Russian nation did not even exist in 988. Christianity was introduced into Russian territories much later and it soon became transformed into a Russian Church in form and in content. It exists to the present time as an imperialistic and chauvinistic institution headed by Patriarch Pimen, which always was and is in the service of the Russian empire. Incidentally Patriarch Pimen is a colonel of the Red Army.

Ukrainian organizations, participating in the ABN, strongly oppose such pseudo-scholarly gatherings as the conference on "Ukraine-Russia in their Historic Encounter", held at the MacMaster University in Hamilton, October 8-9, 1981, in spite of a few good speeches delivered there. We shall absolutely not cooperate with any Russian who does not work for the liquidation of the Russian racist empire and who does not support actively the struggle of the subjugated nations to reestablish their national independent states. But at the said conference, not a single Russian or Russophile professor avowed the anti-imperialistic stand. Instead of stressing the crimes toward humanity, perpetrated by the Soviet-Russians, at whose hands tens of millions of Ukrainians lost their lives, the organizers of the said conference were attempting to bridge the hostility between the conquering and the conquered nations and to pressure the Ukrainian side to an immoral dialogue. This conference should be considered as a classical example of the brainwashing tactics and psychological warfare against Ukrainian nationalism, used by the Russian imperialists.

Nations survive because of their own will. National liberation movements wage their struggle for survival and indepen-

dence regardless of whether they receive any assistance from the outside or not. The enslaved peoples cannot lose anything more than their chains. But the still free nations can lose their liberty and independence if they continue to indulge in a peaceful cooperation with the Russian racists and colonialists. Trade is a very important activity to all nations. But to trade with war criminals, with a terroristic and genocidal colonial power means to contribute to the strength and growth of this power as well as to give it moral support.

In 1918-1922 when Lenin and Trotsky sent Russian military forces to conquer Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasian and north-Asian nations, the outside world argued that this was a "Russian civil war" on the grounds that at some time in the past Russian tsarist imperialists conquered the said independent nations. When in 1940 Russian imperialists grabbed three more countries — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the Free World again did not react, though the Russians were at that time allies of Hitler's Germany. When in consequence of the Second World War, Russia subjugated the nations of Central Europe, there were some feeble protests in the West, but many prominent statesmen argued that Central Europe should be considered as war-booty of Russia. Later on, Cuba became a Russian imperial base, followed by Angola, Viet-Nam, Campuchia, Ethiopia, South Yemen. Even the most recent Russian aggression in Afghanistan tends to be slowly forgotten by many, who prefer "business as usual" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

When today the US Government found out that the USA is falling behind the USSR in military power and the Reagan Administration increased its efforts to beef up American military power, popular trends within the Western nations

came to the forefront opposing this American military build-up. It is to a large extent the result of the Russian psychological warfare of disinforming and brainwashing the free societies. The pacifists in the Western nations have no influence upon restricting the further growth of Russia's military might, but they present serious obstacles to their own nations' capacity to defend themselves from Russian aggression. Incidentally, many prominent leaders in the pacifist movement are close friends of the Russian emigrants and support their subvertive activities in the West.

I take the liberty to suggest a very close analogy between relations of Western nations with Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. When Hitler decided to liquidate Czecho-Slovakia in 1938, the Western nations sent the British Prime-Minister Neville Chamberlain to Munich to appease the imperialist instead of resolutely opposing him. When Hitler's imperialistic forces invaded and conquered Poland in 1939, the USA proclaimed a policy of neutrality toward the aggressor. The imperialist became bolder and bolder. Next came the conquest of Denmark and Norway, without a proper response from the Western nations. It was followed in 1940 by the German invasion of Holland, Belgium and France, succeeded by German expansion into the Balkans. When the USA finally joined Great Britain in the war against the Nazi imperialists, it cost the world tens of millions of casualties. Had the freedom-loving nations reacted jointly against German expansionism in 1938, it might have cost several hundred fewer casualties.

History repeats itself with Russia. The more it is permitted to conquer other nations, the more insatiable it becomes. If the Western nations had properly counteracted Russian expansionism under Lenin in 1918, it might not have cost the world

any casualties at all. It is true, the Entente Powers desired to oust the Bolsheviks from power in Russia. But they supported the wrong forces, namely Russian reactionary forces who did not differ from the Bolsheviks in that they also aimed to restore the Russian empire. Instead, the Entente powers should have supported the forces of the nations which were previously under the Russian colonial yoke. The efforts of the so-called White Russian forces collapsed because no non-Russians wanted to support the return to power of the former colonialists. Germany made a similar mistake in 1941. It moved against the Russian empire with an imperialistic and colonialist program of its own, instead of supporting the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia in their attempts to cast off Russian colonial oppression and to restore their own national states. Hitler lost the war not so much on the military battlefields as because of his racist and colonialist policy. Leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko and others urged Berlin in 1940 and 1941 to adopt toward Eastern Europe a policy based upon the principle of “Freedom and independence to all nations! Freedom to the Individual!” Nazi Germany crushed the Ukrainian State established by the Act of June 30, 1941 and national states restored by the Baltic peoples, as well as the aspirations of other peoples under the Russian yoke to regain their own

states. Thereupon all these nationally proud peoples turned against the German imperialists. In 1943 they established a coordinated international movement, composed at first of representatives of 13 nationalities, which gave birth to the ABN.

In turn, German loss of the war in Eastern Europe can be compared to the loss of wars by the French and Americans in Viet-Nam, where both of them had superior military forces to the Vietnamese Communists but lost the ideological war; the Communists cleverly manipulated the nationalistic ideas and feelings. There appeared in the “ABN-Correspondence” and in periodicals of the Ukrainian nationalists many articles during the Vietnamese war with predictions that it will be lost by the USA unless the nationalist idea is accepted for Viet-Nam. Similarly, in 1941 leaders of the OUN under Stepan Bandera predicted the loss of the war by Germany.

The leaders of the free nations can either learn from history or repeat tragic historical mistakes. The fate of each nation is in the hands of its own leaders. Regardless of the policies of the free nations toward the Russian racist and colonialist empire, the nations represented in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations will continue their common struggle to destroy the Russian imperialistic domination over them in order to restore their own sovereign national states.

N O T I C E

We hereby bring to your attention that Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk is the Chief Representative of the Financial Department of the Central Committee of ABN in the USA.

Mr. Ya. Shevchuk is authorized to collect debts owed to ABN. We, therefore kindly request your cooperation in this respect. Please contact him at the following address:

Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk 3438 Heresford Drive
Parma, Ohio 44134, USA

FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

(Translation of a document recently smuggled from Ukraine)

Final Part

Moscow's System Breeds Crime

An important indicator of the health of a society and the development and level of its culture is the number of offences against the criminal code as against the population. The level of democracy and humanitarianism of a regime is proportioned to the measure and guarantee of civil rights and the lawfulness of the repressions. Crime exists and has its reasons and characteristics in every state. The higher the level of culture and the more democratic the system, the lower the index. Thus in Sweden and Switzerland criminal offences as a social phenomenon were liquidated a long time ago. In the USA according to data published in the USSR the prison "population" is 270,000, as against a general population of 215 million. In Europe the overall percentage of crimes is even smaller. At the same time statistical data on the number of criminal offences, the most frequent crimes and the percentage of offenders in the USSR is kept secret. However, according to unofficial calculations made by competent members of the Russian opposition who had certain access to relevant sources of information, "the population" of the empire's concentration camps and prisons is 5-6 million. If in Western European countries prison terms vary from 6 to 12 months, then the corresponding figure for the USSR is 36 to 45 months. Thus, if the lack of elementary civil rights attests to the anti-national character of the Bolshevik regime and its usurpation of state power, then the heavy prison sentences and the severity of the prison regime are indicative of the brutality and violent nature of the system.

The official legal demagoguery attributes the existence of crime in "socialist society"

to two basic causes. Firstly, due to external influences from the capitalist world (in spite of the "iron curtain"!), that is "anti-soviet activity", the direction to this aim of official institutions and propaganda services, copying the capitalist way of life, moral "corruption" of the soviet population, particularly the youth, private ownership and the urge for profit and luxury, psychological individualism and other similar "subversive" expedients. Secondly, due to internal reasons, although here again "the influences of capitalism", only its "remnants" in peoples' consciousness: the surviving influences of faith, opinions, habits and traditions left over from the past, and their "moral" effect on peoples' minds. Why then is it that the number of crimes in Czarist Russia during the greatest increase in crime, together with the quite considerable number of political prisoners did not exceed 200,000, while one of the most important causes, the historical context of crime, as a product of the social system, is hushed-up completely? The reason is clear.

For this reason explanations of the causes of inveterate, mass crime given by official criminalists (the most reactionary apologists of the regime) are to put the case mildly, "narrow-minded" and hypocritical. The cause-effect relationship and the motivation of mass crime in the USSR are so broad that it is impossible to explain the problem and deal with it comprehensively in sketch form as one of the frontiers of the empire's communist culture. However, it is essential for our study to pose the problem, trace the fundamental causes and indicate the basic stage in the "development" and "blossoming" of this "frontier" of culture: the reverse side

of the culture in whose sphere the totalitarian regime proved to be a major inspiration and "considerable creative force". The crimes are not only moral and legal the humanitarian system is a façade. The forced slave labour of 5-6 million people has become a potent factor in rapid industrial development and growth; and from this point of view a whole system via the cruel exploitation of workers, particularly those on collective farms. Preaching "complete emancipation" and "the harmonious development of the individual" the system has even transformed the right to work into a new form of slavery and the workers into serfs and automatons of work; this occurred during the first two decades of its existence.

Today scientific and technological progress means that new kinds of relations are necessary which the regime is searching for. However, the share and pace of the bureaucratic machine which came to power by terror, established itself by terror and exists by force, is incapable of changing its coercive nature.

The epidemic of crime was in fact begun by terror. The Bolshevik takeover, civil war, mass terror and repressions during the first decades of the Bolshevik dictatorship caused famine and ruin, while the victims of this monstrosity left behind them hundreds of thousands of orphans and waifs, and anarchy. In addition, the newly formed regime declared as their own the classless elements and vagabonds, dredging up hundreds of thousands of people from the depths of society to the most elevated ranks. Given the prerogatives of power and carte-blanche to do anything they became a caste and gradually the essence and mirror of society, its basic product, growing faster than electrification, collectivisation and industrialisation etc., Since new blood was needed for self-protection and the strengthening of

the regime, the masses were corrupted by mass violence, mass demagogery and hypocrisy. The "product" formed became the criterion of social morality, law and culture. (Interfering once again in the chronology of events may we say in parentheses that crime has become the scourge of society which has today been transformed into a middle-class bureaucracy. However, the regime is powerless to prevent it. Radical changes in social policy and democratization are necessary and their implementation would mean the dissolution of the empire.)

The growth of crime and social malfunctions during radical upheavals is not peculiar to the Russians alone. We know that wars, revolutions and historical cataclysms, repressions and pogroms, and urbanization, together with the mass displacement of population, form the best feeding-ground for outbreaks of crime. It is also well-established that when long-standing or formed governments exist peacefully and make constructive decisions, provided that the content of the decisions are in keeping with and satisfy the needs of the vast majority of the population, there is a drop in the crime rate. It falls even in multi-national states where it is difficult to reconcile social and national interests without causing sharp conflict. In the USSR the crime rate has grown rapidly, another pointer to the regime's anti-national politics, collectivization being one of its most important weapons. Collectivization, depriving the peasants of private ownership of land, the means of cultivation and the fruit of the peasant's work, was aimed not only at strengthening the usurpation of power by the regime thus breaking down village structures, but, and this is one of the chief motives, the weakening of national liberation movements, particularly in Ukraine, the mainstay of which were the villagers and the national intelligentsia. With this

aim in mind Ukraine was the first to suffer mass repressions, and artificial famine was organized and tens of millions of Ukrainians perished. By these very means during the 1930's the Ukrainian liberation movement was bled dry and destroyed including general aspirations to statehood. These did not only continue but even spread during the time of the dictatorship. The forced collectivization effected by all means available to the dictatorship, from psychological pressure to confiscation of property: the destruction of the kulaks and the mass deportations to the North and Siberia led to violence, arbitrariness, the ruin of millions of lives and thousands of homeless orphans, and subsequently to fresh outbreaks of crime. This was the aftermath in Ukraine of the artificial famine in this large and most densely populated area. The famine, a crime against Ukraine, will be a constant weight on the Bolshevik dictatorship, exposing its coercive nature and colonialist character not only because it was artificial and killed 10 million Ukrainians but also because it brought about the demoralization and decay of national life which caused the next outbreak of crime.

Forced industrialization and the transfer of millions of inhabitants (15 million migrating annually) had similar effects. The liquidation of the clergy, the destruction of Churches, the debauchery of militant atheism, violence and anarchy accompanied by the unprecedented break up of established structures and traditional morals are also a major cause of this phenomenon. The culmination of this and the point of crime was the formation of a tight network of concentration camps which were filled with the victims of mass repressions. An integral part of the Bolshevik system, acknowledged by the then functionaries and subsequently by the leaders of the state, the camps could hold

and usually held up to 20 million people, more than half those who died during the Second World War.

The sacrifice and liquidation of the national life of the subjugated nations are the direct results of the deliberate policy of the regime. As a result, the whole complex of these processes produced over two million real criminals whose lives the regime had no right to ruin. The same applies to the millions of innocent victims. The war and the results of the anti-social policies of the stalinist leadership after the war increased the total number of criminal offenders. Only after the Krushchev amnesties and a whole series of social reforms which to a certain extent satisfied the needs of the empire's inhabitants was there a significant drop in crime in the late 50's and early 60's. By the end of the 60's it was already beginning to show signs of rapid growth and today the regime has at its disposal an army of criminals, 5-6 million people, about two percent of the entire population. Thus the USA has 270,000 criminals and the USSR has 5 million, a striking ratio between two countries with approximately the same population but with a different way of life and a varying degree of civil rights.

The vast majority of these 5 million belong to the most active, energetic and able-bodied age group, 18-20 to 45. This multi-million army is essentially a free (75% of the "wages" after food and clothing deductions, goes to the State) work force is not only a mass means for economic growth but primarily a pointer to the nature of society, its health and the level of its culture. In recent years even the newspapers have abounded with articles on problems, the decisions of the highest courts and bureaucratic campaigns shaped from above with a suitable range, calculated not so much to remove existing problems as to soothe the man in the street: "the fight against hooliganism",

“the fight against theft of socialist property”, “the fight against anti-social elements”. In other words, the struggle against mass crime, the problem of the “juvenile”, the large number of young delinquents, “young drug addicts” and so forth. The name and nature of the problems and campaigns are very significant, nevertheless, crime in comparison with the gross national product which is to be increased by a series of stimulating measures, increases in geometrical progression and has become the scourge of the regime. However, apart from the increased repression, harsher sentences, more severe regimes in concentration camps and prisons, particularly the methods of stultifying military drills and starvation which have been practised with particular persistence in recent years, the bureaucratic regime is incapable of implementing absolutely essential reforms and taking radical measures in this sphere of life. Each campaign ends in either complete failure or half-hearted temporary resolutions or forgetting which is tantamount to failure, followed by the next series of campaigns. The resolutions pile up, campaigns fail, while advertisements change like film captions. The actual cause is hushed up: the root of evil is the regime itself and its social politics.

The criminal world is aware of this to a certain extent and protests. True, in its own way, spontaneously and unorganised. There have not been strikes and mass riots in recent years, though there have been tens if not hundreds of thousands of individual protests. The most frequent kind are slashing of veins. It is such a mass occurrence that the organs of repression accustomed to this, call it common “blood-letting” and ignore it. Now other forms are spreading: cut-off ears, noses and pieces of flesh are sent by post through various channels to the highest state organs, to Brezhnev, Rudenko and

others. Convicts tattoo slogans on their faces: “Slave of the CPSU”, “Death to the communists”, “Down with Bolshevism” and so forth. The repressive system does not ignore such protests and some protesters are sentenced to long terms while others are condemned to death. The prisons and camps are ruled by the arbitrary repressive system and joint responsibility. The convicts live according to their own rules. Piracy exists between them, knife fights and other malpractices, banditry, gang warfare terrorising the weak, robbery, blackmail and extortion, card games, homosexuality and drug addiction. For every thousand convicted criminals there are on average 150-200 sodomists and approximately the same number of drug addicts. Depending on the regime and the criminal contingent their number may be bigger or smaller: nevertheless, the figures as statistical means are an objective reflection of the real state of affairs.

Open anti-semitism reigns in the concentration camps. Every Jew behind barbed wire, particularly traders, jewelers, stomatologists and so forth and also those on fabricated, criminal charges because they wanted to leave for their homeland, are cruelly persecuted, insulted by filthy judophobic obscenities and contempt. Ransoms are demanded or they are physically liquidated.

Traditional Russian judophobia is stoked up by official anti-semitic propaganda. The same applies to Ukrainians who consciously regard themselves as Ukrainians. This practice is particularly widespread outside Ukraine in the camps where criminals from various nationalities are concentrated. The policy of deliberate assimilation in all spheres of social life with no less marked and even more powerful and effective results is carried out in the camps. The system of mutual responsibility in the administration works as a catalyst

for these processes since the organs of repression consist mostly of Russian chauvinists or vetted communist collaborators.

A member of a different nationality having committed a crime is given the heaviest possible sentence. This is particularly the case with inhabitants of villages, towns and cities if they show signs though in no way overt of a natural inner as it were maternal national consciousness. They form the overwhelming majority and as a rule are not kept in local district concentration camps. They are sent out of Ukraine to camps with a mixed international contingent of criminals, where the lingua franca is exclusively Russian, to places where the prisoner feels particularly isolated from his national milieu, is alienated and open to contempt and intolerance. If he tries to fit in and "merge" with the background, he consciously rejects national particularism and is assimilated more quickly.

In this way on national and even ethnic territory the non-Russian inmates face concentration camps, (the same applies to the army) transformed into a gigantic mincing machine for denationalizing people, obliterating their national individuality, habits, mode of thought, converting them into a uniform, monolingual, plain form, an army of multinational workers assimilated by a degraded social structure, its nature, and the level of its social and legal justice which is indicative of its level of culture.

Conclusion

Having dealt with only individual sides of society in the empire and Moscow's imperialist policies towards the subjugated nations, we have only traced certain "frontiers" of social life. For obvious reasons we took Ukraine as an example. The notes have not been expanded either vertically or horizontally. Nevertheless, even from the traced con-

tours we have given in relief a realistic picture of the state of the Ukrainian people, their national life, culture and also the real face and strategic aims of the coloniser: to bleed the nation dry and destroy it in the all-consuming cauldron of the empire's Eurasian territory. Moscow's colonial policies, the bleeding dry of the nation and suppression of national-liberation aspirations of the peoples, are always implemented without mercy. Ukraine is one of the largest nations in Europe and a colony of Moscow: a nation which gave Moscow a name, a historical pedigree and a tremendous potential of creative and human resources. Ukraine's enormous natural resources, her soil, the most fertile in Europe, are exploited, bringing the coloniser huge profits and enabling him to increase his power and intensify exploitation. Ukraine is a geographic region whose location not only caters for considerable expansion but can prevent it, quickly change and shift the balance of power, begin and establish the decolonisation of a huge region of the Earth and many nations, and thus recivilize and bring (or help establish) real freedom and another "pedigree" for Rus- →

New Publication

BETWEEN DEATH AND LIFE

This excellent biography of **O. Meshko**, a 76-year old Ukrainian woman, once again imprisoned by the KGB for her stout beliefs, comes in hard cover and covers 176 pp. This book is a live and vivid recount of O. Meshko's great suffering under the Soviet Russian regime. This biography provides moving and interesting reading, a most valuable source of information, all of which, once begun, must be read from beginning to end.

(Price: \$ 12.50, £ 5.00, 25.00 DM).

sia. For these very reasons Ukrainians and Ukraine have been and continue to be a matter of top priority to Moscow, were subject in the past and are still subject to particularly cruel pressure and denationalisation.

Consequently, the picture of our life based on the notes is dramatic in content. It could have been even more tragic had it not been for the national achievement in resisting the coloniser, the heroic dedication and devoted selfless efforts of hundreds of thousands of the best sons of Ukraine in the fight for the nation's right to life, sovereignty and statehood. Today the achievements of past generations, personified by Mykhailo Hrushevskyj and Symon Petliura, Yevhen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko and Roman Shukhevych, Mykhailo Soroka and

Zenon Tershakivets are regarded with a feeling of national dignity, honour and pride and belong to the most precious values in our national treasury. The work continues. It grows and its scope widens. After unprecedented ruin, the baton has been passed on to new generations of apostles of freedom. Ukraine is on the threshold of qualitative changes in our national liberation struggle. The youngest generation is about to enter the arena, it has great potential and a favourable atmosphere both inside the empire and internationally.

We are about to see the development of new forces and coordinated action. Generations and methods may change but the ideal of our freedom remains eternal, inviolable and steadfast.

Translated by Volodymyr Slez



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko visiting the Mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau, with a group of Ukrainian compatriots on the occasion of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of Ukrainian Statehood on June 30, 1941.

A C O M P L A I N T

To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR — Brezhnev from Horbovyj, Volodymyr Hryhorovych Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

R. Dolyna, s. Obolonia Zelena, 27

The 4th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference is presently being commemorated by Soviet society and by the entire world. The purpose of this Act, which can be considered equal to the UN Declaration on Human Rights, is to bring about a healthier international climate, with a particular view towards ensuring the elementary rights of the individual and his family. The family is a natural and basic cell of every society and state. The family should be united and should live together, and the state must preserve this fraternal hearth. Furthermore, every individual everywhere has the right to freely relocate and choose a voluntary living place. In the USSR these noble and basic principles of a social order are guaranteed by law. They are to be respected by all of Soviet society. Need I remind you, comrade Brezhnev, that your signature also figures on the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference as the head of the Soviet state.

Unfortunately, I am deprived of the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of these resolutions of the Helsinki Conference and to live with my family, although I and my family both are insisting on this.

I was born on January 30, 1899 in the village of Obolonia in the Dolynsk Region of the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. I managed to obtain a higher education. I received doctorate degrees from the Karl's University of Prague and later from the Yagella University of Cracow. Before the war I was a member of the Lawyer's

Council in Cracow and during the war I served in the Polish Appeals Court in Cracow. After the war I worked as a juristic consultant in the Ministry of Land Affairs in Czecho-Slovakia. While in Prague I lived together with my family.

Regardless of my whereabouts, my conduct was always irreproachable. I was an assiduous worker and I was always given commendable reports by my immediate superiors. Appropriate documents in the archives of the Committee of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv will attest to this. Obviously, only an individual of exemplary moral stature could have been in the aforementioned positions. No one ever brought me to court, since never in my life did I commit a contemptible act. Therefore, in accordance with a legal presumption of innocence, I am a fully competent citizen. Only during the period of Stalin's "cult of personality" was I unjustly repressed.

In 1972 I returned to my native village. However, I was refused any material assistance in my old age from the organs of social welfare. I receive no pension or any other means of assistance. My nephew forcibly threw me out of my own house and I had to find refuge with strangers. My life is threatened with a death-by-starvation. Hence, one can logically conclude that here I am a forgotten and useless person.

During the time that I lived and worked in Prague I lived with my family. Even at the present my only son — Roman Horbovyj — lives there with his wife and children. They all want to take me back into their family circle and to ensure my means of livelihood. With this aim in mind, my son Roman had forwarded to me here a permit for permanent residency in neighbouring Czecho-Slovakia, concurrently taking upon himself

the responsibility of ensuring my material welfare. This permit was approved by the authorities of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

In May, 1979 in Dolyn I served the appropriate regional authorities with a request for permission to emigrate to the CSSR. However, in July, 1979 the oblast administration of Ivano-Frankivsk refused my request to return to my family. The passport offices in Dolyn informed me on September 1, 1979 that the Executive Committee of the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast rejected my complaint, retaining their original decision with regard to issuing me a passport. Hence, the moral behind these decisions of the au-

thorities of the USSR has generally been as follows: *the regime, in practice, is denying me my human right to exist and is separating me from my family, which wants and can guarantee my security for the rest of my tired life.* (italics added)

Please consider my tragic situation and assist me to return to my family, so that I may live out my life in peace.

Obolonia, September 8, 1979.

Dr. Horbovyj, Volodymyr

On September 1, 1979 I sent a similar complaint to the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR — W. Scherbitskyj.

“Russians use Chemical Warfare on Afghans”

The Soviet Union is using chemical warfare to snuff out resistance in Afghanistan, an Afghan Liberation Movement official charged yesterday.

Dr. B. A. Zikria told the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations conference that refugees examined in a Pakistani camp suffered from the effects of poisonous gas bombings in the Afghan province of Adaghar.

He said a 60-year-old Poplezai tribesman showed swelling of the face, hands, feet and abdomen, severe weight loss and palsy. He was one of several Afghan guerrillas bombed by eight Soviet jets in a mountain camp last July. None of them was wounded.

“Now we have documented proof,” said Zikria, an associate professor of clinical surgery at Columbia University.

Zikria, who toured Afghan refugee camps last month, plans to present his findings to the UN next week.

Despite awesome Soviet firepower, he

said Afghan resistance has accounted for thousands of Soviet casualties. “The caskets are no longer flown to Russia for burial. They are burying their dead in Afghanistan.”

Zikria estimated about 250,000 poorly armed rebels — less than half of them have guns and rifles, left over from World War II — control most of the country and hold Herat, the third-largest city.

Soviet occupation troops number close to 150,000 with the latest military installations in southern Afghanistan near the Pakistan border, Zikria said. He claims they include intercontinental ballistic missile launch sites, aimed at the Persian Gulf.

“The Soviet intensions are clear,” he said. “With control of access to the West’s oil supply, they can blackmail the world. Pakistan is the next test.”

(*Toronto Sun*,
Nov. 1981)

Demographic and Economic Situation of the Muslims of Turkestan

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

(Final Part)

The demographic structure of Turkestan was radically changed by means of the political and economic measures of the Government of the Soviet Union. This structural change was apparent, in particular, when it came to making the Nomads settle down by means of compulsion and the incorporation of women into the working process. There were over 664,000 Nomad families in Turkestan before 1930, of which ca. 540,000 were to be found in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan and ca. 124,000 in other regions of Turkestan.¹⁷ Compulsion was used to make these nomads settle down and, through the incorporation of the nomads into animal husbandry collectives, to employ them as animal breeders. The existence of free nomadic life thus came to an end in Turkestan. The other important change which restructured society took place when women were mobilized into doing jobs in industry and agriculture. The policy of incorporating Muslim women into agricultural work began on a large-scale in 1930, after the collectivization of the farmers had been full in force. Women were first called upon to carry out work in the cotton plantations.¹⁸ The policy of incorporating women into other branches of production, particularly in industry, followed after that. Only 21,20% of all industrial women workers in, for example, the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, were Uzbek Muslims, ten years ago (ca. 1970). In the year 1980, the percentage of these Muslim women in the total female industrial labour force had risen to 33%.

Women represent 44,50% of the working force in all branches of industrial life in Uzbekistan. When it comes to the expansion of the employment of women in the working force, an important Com-

munist Party leader issued the following statement: "We shall continue to do everything that we can to enable Soviet women to have a greater chance of actively taking part in the growth of Communism".¹⁹ Muslim women have a lot to put up with, physically employed as they are on a large-scale in the working process, including hard physical work such as the building of houses, irrigation schemes, roadbuilding, the extraction of industrial raw materials, in agriculture (e.g. earth work). They are forced to perform their domestic tasks (cooking, housework and the raising of children) on top of their daily labours. Soviet legislation does not recognize the continuation of the payment of wages during pregnancy or after childbirth. One could refer to this state of affairs as exploitation, Communist-style, because, in the so-called Capitalist countries, the law makes provision for women getting paid leave in the last months of a pregnancy and after giving birth. The Soviet authorities are only just getting round to considering the payment of ca. 50% or 70% of the basic wage in such cases: this has not, as yet, however, been put into practice.²⁰

The study of the living conditions of the population is a great task of great importance. This subject should be gone

¹⁷ *Izvestiya* (13), p. 63-64.

¹⁸ D. A. Aminowa, *K istoriografii uchastiyazhenshin v rozvitiiselskogo khozyaystva UzSSR*, in "Obshchestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane", Journal Tashkent, 1979, No. 5, p. 54.

¹⁹ See for more: R. A. Ubaydullaewa, *K problemy povesheniya effektivnosti ispolzovaniya zhenskogo truda v UzSSR*, in "Obshchestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane", 1980, No. 10, p. 44-49.

²⁰ R. A. Ubaydullaewa, *Khatin-Kizlar mehmatican faydalanishning social tamamlari*, in "Ozbekistan Komunisti", Journal Tashkent, 1979, No. 7, p. 35.

into very closely and scientifically. We can only give some hints at this stage. The population of Turkestan possesses no dwelling which adequately covers the requirements of the individual families. For example, in 1978, the entire housing in Turkestan consisted of 243,543,000 sq m., of which 186,510,000 sq. m. were owned by the State and 56,900,000 sq. m. were privately owned.²¹ This means that there were only 6,9 sq. m. at the disposal of each individual. If one allocates the entire housing space to families, however, it can be seen that each family (of a total of 7,757 families in 1979) has only got 31,4 sq. m. of housing space and it is irrelevant, too, how large the family is.

Another bad state of affairs, socially speaking, is to be found when one considers the medical care of the population. In 1978 there were 110,300 medical doctors in Turkestan and 403,000 other persons with medical training (but not doctors). 27 doctors, therefore, had 10,000 persons to care for. This implies that each doctor had ca. 370 patients in his care. Another way of looking at this piece of information is to deduce that the number of illnesses affecting the population is considerable.

Finally, to conclude this short introduction to the study of the demography of Turkestan, it should also be mentioned that scientific research into all the problems in this sector has not, up to now, been carried out either in depth or on a regular basis. Western and Islamic, Oriental research have both devoted very little attention to the demography of Turkestan. In the Soviet Union, too, this research field is not treated properly, although demographers and ethnologists have access to extensive source material. A "Council for the Coordination of the Scientific Research into the Demography and Sources of Employment in Central Asia and Kazakhstan" (= Turkestan) was founded as recently as January 1980. This Council forms

part of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Republic of Kirghizia and is under the leadership of Professor K. Karakayev.²² The rapid increase in the number of Muslims in Turkestan has become a political problem for the Soviet leadership of the present time. The Minister President of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, Khudayberdiev, for example, announced at the beginning of February, 1981, that the population of Uzbekistan would number ca. 22-23 million by the year 1990. He was of the opinion that employment would have to be found for these in Uzbekistan.²³ Brezhnev, on the other hand, demanded at the end of February, 1981, that the surplus labour force from Central Asia and a few of the regions of the Caucasus be employed in Siberia and the Northern regions of the Soviet Union.²⁴ Brezhnev's demand implies that the Soviet leadership in Moscow does not want the Muslims to increase in numbers in their own homeland. Nor it is wished that the Muslims remain in their own country. Measures for the deportation of Muslims from Turkestan to Siberia have already been introduced, for this very reason. In Siberia the Muslims will be given no opportunity of preserving their own cultural heritage and religious life and a gradual assimilation of Muslims with the Russian people will take place. Moscow is then going to be able to send numerous Russians or members of other ethnic groups from the European parts of the Soviet Union to Turkestan.

We have hitherto attempted to give a summary of the trends as regards the demographic development of the Muslims in

²¹ *Narodnoe Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 goda*, Moscow 1979, p. 398-399.

²² S. Karibjanowa, *Demografiya i trudo- vye resurcy Sredney Azii Kazakhstana*, in "Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Kirgizskoy SSR", 1980, No. 1, p. 100.

²³ "Özbekistan Kommunisti", Tashkent 1981, No. 2, p. 72.

²⁴ "Sovet Ozbekistani", Newspaper, Tashkent, 24 /2/ 1981, p. 6.

Turkestan who would be able, for the time-being, not only to safeguard their position of majority in their own country, but also to inhibit the unrestrained and progressive colonization of Turkestan by the Russians and other non-Muslim ethnic groups. However, the Soviet leadership intends to alter this state of affairs in Turkestan. It would appear necessary, at this point, to outline Turkestan's economic possibilities and the economic living conditions of the Muslims. It is no secret that Turkestan is the richest region of the Soviet Union from the point of view of the occurrence of raw materials. What part do these raw materials of Turkestan play within the scope of the Soviet Union's economic potential? The following facts ought to provide an answer: more than 45% of the coal reserves of the Soviet Union are to be found in Turkestan. Soviet experts reckon that the Karaganda-Coalfields alone, will be in a position to satisfy the Soviet Union's coal needs for the next 120 years. The coalfields of Tchura-Nura are equally important. More than 60% of the petroleum reserves of the Soviet Union are to be found in Turkestan. The oilfields of Tcheleken, Embe, Mangishlak, Neft-Dagh, Kum-Dagh and Andijan, etc. are all well-known throughout the Soviet Union. Soviet experts believe that the Neft-Dagh oilfields are among the largest oilfields in the world. The entire petroleum requirements of the Soviet Union can be met by the petroleum found in Turkestan. More than 50% of the Gas reserves of the Soviet Union are to be found in Turkestan. Gas from Gasli near Bukhara has already been led by pipeline as far as West Germany. There are 89 iron-ore beds and 7 manganese ore beds in Turkestan: the beds in the Turgay region alone, which cover an area of 6,000 sq. km., represent 18% of the entire reserves of the Soviet Union. Over 70% of the ore reserves of the Soviet Union are to be found in these orefields. According to

Soviet sources, 76% of the copper, ca. 86% of the zinc and lead reserves of the Soviet Union are to be found in Turkestan. The Kampirsay Chrom beds, on their own, contain 62% of the Soviet Union's chromium stocks. Prior to the discovery of the uranium field in Siberia, Turkestan was the uranium centre of the Soviet Union. The gold reserves of Turkestan are inestimably high. The gold content of the ore in the ore-fields of the Altay region amounts to ca. 54%. The Muruntau gold-field near Samarkand is the most important one as regards the extraction of gold in the Soviet Union. The Soviet economy can also draw on a wealth of important nonmetallic minerals (e.g. phosphor, sulphur, potassium and antimony) in Turkestan; these satisfy more than 70% of the Soviet Union's requirements.²⁵

It is also commonly known that Turkestani agricultural products have a special part to play in the agricultural economy of the Soviet Union. 100% of the Soviet Union's cotton, for example, is produced in the Islamic countries. In 1980, 9,900,000 tons of cotton were produced in the Soviet Union; 9,017,000 tons of which came from Turkestan and 883,000 tons from Azerbaidjan.²⁶ In 1979 3,491,000 tons of raw silk were produced in the Soviet Union: 2,305,000 tons of this (ca. 75%) came from Turkestan.²⁷ Rubber and jute are only obtained in Turkestan. Turkestan is regarded as the third most important corn-growing centre of the Soviet Union. It plays a special role, too, in the stock-farming sector. In 1980, 61,484,000 sheep were bred in Turkestan. As regards sheep-breeding, camel-breeding and horse-breed-

²⁵ For more information about the economic potential of Turkestan see: Baymirza Hayit, *Die Wirtschaftsprobleme Turkestans*, Ankara 1968, pp. 148-173.

²⁶ "Khlopkowodstvo", Moscow, Journal, 1981, No. 1, p. 4.

²⁷ *Narodnoe Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1979 goda*, Moscow 1980, p. 202.

ing, too, this country is of supreme importance in the Soviet Union.

Now that we have summarised the situation regarding the economic possibilities prevailing in Turkestan, the following question might reasonably be asked: what chances do the Muslims have of making use of this economic wealth? Are the Muslims able to use their industrial raw materials and agricultural products according to their own personal needs and national interests? What social position do the Muslims occupy within the context of economic life? We must, above all, remind people that in accordance with Soviet economic policy, nobody is permitted to own the rights to any industrial raw material or agricultural product. All raw materials, including the extraction and manufacture thereof, are under strict state control. The Muslims are employed primarily in the agricultural sector and in animal husbandry, as well as wage-earners in industry. They all earn their daily bread: so they do not die of hunger. But neither do they possess a reserve of wealth in case of need.

Raw materials for industrial purposes are extracted in Turkestan according to the Soviet leadership's needs and are taken to the Russian regions of the Soviet Union, to be processed there. Only once, in the year 1955, was the leadership of the Soviet Union honest enough to admit that the Eastern regions of the Soviet Union, including Turkestan, had remained backward as regards industrialization. It was evident, from the Prime Minister Bulganin's statement, that industrial production in Turkestan had not even reached the 8% limit of the entire industrial production of the Soviet Union,²⁸ whereas the industrial raw materials of Turkestan, as mentioned previously, occupy a position of hegemony in the Soviet Union. To use up raw materials, transport them to Russian regions and then re-import the finished products to Turkestan amounts to nothing less than the Russians exercising Imperialist economic po-

litics vis-a-vis the Muslims of Turkestan. Let us use another example to illustrate the rules of the colonial exploitation policy-"game" which Moscow plays. 92% of the cotton fibres of the Soviet Union are produced in Turkestan. But 85,6% of all cotton textiles are manufactured in the Ivanova province of Russia. Ca 70% of all cotton fibres of the Soviet Union come from Uzbekistan. But only 3,7% of the cotton textile goods of the Soviet Union are produced here.²⁹ A further example clearly illustrates the Russian imperialist exploitation policy in Turkestan. The following article appeared in a Soviet newspaper: "It is possible in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan to produce ca. 120-130 million tons of iron ore, 100 million tons of mineral oil, 35 million tons of steel and 2000 million kilowatt hours of energy annually. But Kazakhstan's part in the production of industrial and agricultural products is small. The industrial production of Kazakhstan represents 9,1% of the Soviet production as regards ores; 7,2% as regards coal; 3,6% in the case of electrical energy; 2,3% in the case of cast iron; 5,6% in the case of cement; 2,8% in the case of inorganic fertilisers; and 0,5% as regards steel".³⁰

Soviet statistics keep silent about the social organization of the Muslims of Turkestan within the context of the Soviet economic system. Muslim workers constitute a minority of the industrial workers in Turkestan; there are more Russians. The Muslims are chiefly employed in the agricultural sector and it is here that the Russians are in the minority. Russians occupy a position of complete hegemony in positions of management in industry, whereas

²⁸ "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda", Newspaper, Alma-Ata 19 /7/ 1955.

²⁹ Hayit (25), p. 186-187.

³⁰ "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda", 12 /11/ 1964.

Muslims play an unimportant role in industrial management.

Every type of article has to be handed over to the state without fail. The state then sells the industrial products back to the populace again. The buying and selling prices can only be set by the state, too. Paragraph 183 of the Penal Law of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan states that the private processing of cotton, cotton seeds as well as the sale of raw cotton and cotton products to private persons will be punished with up to two years' detention or one year's compulsory labour.³¹ The appalling situation of the Muslims with regard to their own raw materials and work can thus be seen. There are no Soviet or other statistics available in the case of the earning potential for Muslims. It was merely noted, on one occasion, that the monthly per capita earnings in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan in the year 1979 amounted to 159 roubles. This does not, however, mean that the workers and farmers earned the same amount each month. This only indicates a Soviet source. Those employed in the cotton plantations earned about 29 kopeks per hour in 1978; and in Uzbekistan, where 6 million tons of cotton are produced annually, 26 kopeks (1 rouble = 100 kopeks) per hour in fact were granted as wages.³² The provision of the populace with consumer goods is, as it always has been, one of the unsolved problems. People stand in queues for days on end in order to buy a particular article from one of the state-owned shops. One can buy everything on the black market, but the prices are very high. A kilo of mutton for example, costs in Uzbekistan ca. 10 US Dollars and a chicken 13 Dollars.³³

Soviet economic politics, with its centralized planned economy, controls from Moscow every possible branch of economic life in Turkestan. The Muslims in

Turkestan have no possibility of controlling their own economic life. The fulfillment of plans emanating from Moscow is mandatory for them. Therefore the Muslims in Turkestan will be forced to be dependent on Moscow as long as there is a planned central economy in the Soviet Union, even though they constitute a living part of the production force. The imperialist economic exploitation policy of Soviet Russia does not enable the Muslims of Turkestan to control their own economic and social life. That is the fate of the large Muslim minority in the Soviet Russian Empire.

Islamic demographic studies should also involve exact research into the terrible course of Russification, because the Soviet leadership is carrying out a policy whose aim is to russify young people, especially as regards language. It is a well-known fact that the children have to learn Russian, instead of their mother tongues, in the nursery schools (before their formal schooling begins). It would be a great tragedy, not only for Turkestan, but also for the Islamic world, if, within the none-too distant future, the Muslim youth of Turkestan, as well as the young Muslims of the Soviet Union, were to lose their national identity, by losing the ability to communicate in their mother tongues; and that thereby, they should be forced to relinquish the spirit of Islam.

³¹ See: Baymirza Hayit, *Soviet Russian Colonialism and Imperialism in Turkestan as an example of the Soviet type of Colonialism of an Islamic people in Asia*, Ankara-Cologne 1965, p. 86.

³² "Khlopkowodstwo", 1981, No. 3, p. 15.

³³ "Die Welt", Newspaper, Bonn, 4/12/1980, p. 1.

* The numbers quoted in brackets () in the Footnotes mean that the first-mentioned complete title and same source are to be found under these numbers.

Devil's Alternative of the United States and its Allies

Back in 1975, in the November issue of a magazine dedicated to the question of military power of Soviet block countries, Kremlin's thesis, that present military technology and military power of a communist state continue to constitute powerful means of prolonging its specific politics, was again reaffirmed.

"The Marxist-Leninist premise of war, as continuation of politics through military means, also remains true in an atmosphere of fundamental changes in military industry. Attempts of some bourgeoisie ideologists to prove that, as it were, thermonuclear arms place war, as such, outside the frame of politics and that nuclear war particularly would escape the containment of political control, are theoretically false and politically reactionary statements. Nevertheless (this article states) "historical interrelationship between politics and war continues to preserve its rightness also in utilization of the armaments of mass destruction . . . Today, a governmental power has under its direct control incredibly more effective means to wage such a war, as it ever had in the past . . ."

Even without these and similar theoretical foundations of Soviet-Russian military rulers with reference to the role of present military power in the expansive policies of Kremlin, governmental leaders of the United States and its allies realize the situation which is created by their opponent. Moscow unchangeably strives, by its growing military power, to expand its sphere of influence throughout the entire globe. If the West does not yield before this pressure, then Kremlin will utilize its thermonuclear armaments, because war — in accordance with the theory of Russian military and politicians — constitutes only the "continuation of politics". Meaning that, increased destructive power of current

military arms, particularly the multi-charged nuclear rockets, does not exclude the possibility of such "continuation" even by means of mass destruction.

Realization of this danger does not come easily either to politicians, or intellectuals, or to ordinary citizens of any democratic country. Such country's society, its cultural, political, economic and military establishments are wide open not only to its own citizens, but also to penetration by enemy agents with the help of spies, traitors-collaborators and cunning propagandists. They study thoroughly the establishments and the entire social structure of a particular democratic country and strive to disintegrate it. Today, United States is the main objective of this attack of Soviet-Russian termites.

Vitality of Democracy

Nevertheless, regardless of the considerable concrete successes of these termites, the sovereign democratic systems of the United States and its allies (particularly Great Britain, West Germany and France) did not shake or collapse under Kremlin's concentrated onslaught, which has been continuing for at least the last thirty years. It just goes to prove that these societies and its governmental establishments are healthy and still possess enormous energy to revitalize themselves after each successive attack of malignant cells invading their organisms.

In addition, American technological inventiveness helps American political and military leaders to balance qualitatively and quantitatively the most powerful army in the world and to secure for themselves qualitative superiority in nuclear arms. Today, American leaders do realize that the Soviet Union, with the help of its satellite countries, may before long gain

military superiority over the United States and its allies in every aspect of armaments. And this would mean surrender to Kremlin's mercy or lack thereof and politically and economically capitulate before each demand of Moscow in each and every region of the world and cosmos.

The beginning component of the American dilemma arises precisely in the context of such ominous aspects: If and how to re-educate its society of "kind-hearted herbivorous beings" into individuals of strong character, conscious of the value of their life-styles and able to understand the deadly danger facing them?... This would encompass the transformation of millions of beings, inclined to vegetate under no matter whose sun, into a nation capable and willing to defend itself, even with arms, against evil intentioned saboteurs.

Persons of Ukrainian heritage, who constitute a portion of American, or in general "western" societies (as well as their fellow citizens of other nationalities possessing the same outlook as Ukrainians) have a sacred obligation to help, psychologically, intellectually and physically to re-arm the United States and its allies. This effort is in the interest of Ukrainian men and women, who themselves, or their descendants, found security in these countries and who benefit from all the freedoms of said countries' socio-political structures.

At the Borders of the Dilemma

The actual devil's alternative of the United States and its allies will arise when (namely-today) their leaders will be forced to decide practical strategic aspects of defensive, retributory, preventive or even total attacks in the event of Kremlin's "continuation of politics" of pressure by means of mass destruction, even in a limited extent.

If experts are to be believed, then United States today, even without the helping hand of its principal allies (nuclear

superpowers — Great Britain and France, and trustworthy conventionally armed West Germany), is more than able to completely destroy Russia in its present imperialistic structure. It is true that twenty-five thousand principal objectives on U.S.S.R.'s giant territory surpass the quantity of nuclear rockets contained in the arsenals of Western allies. However, in order to wreck havoc upon the orderliness of Russian superpower structure, destruction of such multiple targets is not essential. Destruction of qualitatively limited targets will enable the survival of many more inhabitants of the Soviet Union, even in the event of a complete war with total utilization of nuclear arms from all bases — land, air and sea.

Moreover, it is not the aim of strategic nuclear arms to destroy entire populations and all industrial regions. Their foremost aim is to destroy enemy nuclear complexes, military bases and selected economic objectives, which might help the enemy military machine to revive itself for a second attack upon the defense centers of Western allies. In addition thereto, nuclear arms should liquidate the political leadership of the Soviet-Russian aggressor in all of its complexity and impede its military coordinating action. Parallel therewith and in appropriate succession, it would be imperative, by separate attacks, to paralyze the general economic industrial structure of this "prison of nations" in order to disallow the rebirth of its offensive-defensive abilities.

Among the theoreticians and expert practitioners of strategic research, constant debates take place about the size and succession of such attacks, about "limited atomic operations", "singular integrated operational plan", or about "attack coordination". For our deliberation, it is enough to know, that in the realm of probability, today United States is able to destroy seventy per cent of Soviet "bases of economic revival". In such event, European

part of the U.S.S.R., together with the Ural complex, and some regions of Soviet Asia will sustain complete ruin.

Ukraine under Probable Attack

Regardless of whether it would be a selective attack of retributory-preventive character (in answer to Moscow's selective nuclear strike), or so-called "singular integrated operational strike", in either case, Ukraine will find itself inside the perimeter of inter-continental and medium-range rockets with multiple atomic warheads. Moscow's rocket silos are situated in the regions of Kyiv, Derazhnya, Pervomaysk, etc. To eliminate these long-range and inter-continental rocket bases, the Western allies believe it essential to render useless Donbas, as an important "base of economic military revival" of the military potential of the Soviet Union.

As peace-loving peoples in action, and not only in words, Americans are constantly making compromisory concessions to the impudent Moscow imperialist, who understands and respects only "the language of the fist". Present American military "fist" (if it were not weakened by iron-eating termites) is so powerful, that its possible consequence frightens even its owners — American political and military leaders. They absolutely sincerely admit their "devil's alternative":

— Whatever our decision may be in our defensive nuclear strategy, then in one way or another millions of people will perish and their countries' principal economic regions will be destroyed. In the meantime, Moscow is not concerned with such thoughts, because for Kremlin's lords even thermonuclear war — constitutes only the continuation of their politics and diplomatic games, the aims of which are the ancient Russian imperial ends.

Sympathizing with American political and military leaders, Ukrainians in the free world should, in the interests of Ukrainian nation, search for a "third way

out" from this devil's alternative, since without this "third way out" Ukraine faces complete annihilation.

Devil's Alternative of Kremlin — when and how?

Russian-Bolshevik theoretician, N. Bukharin, who was respected by Lenin and shot by Stalin's order, in his time stated: "The problems of a country with communist regime are, in fact, the same problems that a capitalist economy possesses, only turned upside down . . ." The same might be said today about atomic devil's alternative of the Kremlin. It is the same destructive dilemma which is facing the leaders of Western democratic superpowers, only "turned upside down".

Official and private leaders of the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and France are concerned with the thought that whatever decision they make in the event of Russian attack, it would be death-dealing for millions of people — soldiers and civilians. Moscow is not concerned with this question, because Moscow leaders have never, throughout the history of their empire, had any regard either for human losses in a war, or for the suffering of their own population caused by its usurpational expansive escapades. Twenty million people, of that ten million Ukrainians, were killed through Moscow's fault in World War II. So it is now, when two of the most gigantic superpowers in human history — symbol of individual freedom and democracy, United States, and a true "prison of nations", Russia, under the guise of the Soviet Union — stand opposite each other, the nightmare of destruction of millions of human beings in atomic war does not interrupt the peaceful slumber of Kremlin's lords.

They do not fear losses, because their armed forces consist of forcefully hammered-out paste-up of soldiers of many nationalities. In addition thereto, the Russian "fist" is dressed in an iron glove con-

sisting of armies of its satellite countries — Poland, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria.

In a planned attack upon Central and Western Europe, the armies of so-called Warsaw Pact will consist firstly of Ukrainians and their neighbors — the Poles and East Germans. But, yes, principally of Ukrainians... It is because, Soviet infantry is drafted mainly from Ukrainians and Baltics, with a certain number of Russians and a very small percentage of Caucasians and Asians.

Although in the middle and higher military command structure there are quite a few Ukrainians, the greatest number of Ukrainians are among soldiers, non-commissioned officers and junior officers. Research indicates that Ukrainians constitute the basic training apparatus of Soviet infantry and, in smaller degree, of other military branches. By their willingness to perform over the norm (in the name of rank advancement) and stern discipline maintained among their troops, Ukrainians are precisely the ones that constitute nothing less and nothing more than the "backbone" of the Soviet armed forces. Therefore, once the West can secure the support of these soldiers, the Soviet army will be effectively demobilized.

During the first days of atomic conflict in Central Europe, Ukrainians in Soviet armed forces will sustain the heaviest losses, probably comparable to the losses that will be sustained by Poles and East Germans. Precisely because the soldiers of these nationalities have been selected to become the piercing front-line vanguard against territory which is held by the strongest and most persevering West German and American troops, armed with conventional and atomic weapons of the tactical, namely battle-line, type.

Being a highly educated group in the national composition of the Soviet armed forces and speaking Russian in almost numerical totality and much better than

soldiers of other nationalities, Ukrainians, with their desire for attainment of top ranks, occupy immeasurably large number of key positions in the Soviet-Russian military structure. Russians constitute the majority mainly in submarine and surface navy, and customarily fulfill the most important command and technological functions in military and civilian defense structure of the superpower.

The command level of the Soviet Union contains approximately one hundred and twenty thousand individuals, overwhelming majority Russians. Starting with members of the Politbureau (Political Bureau) and Soviet government, all of them are Party administrators and military chiefs, who, on the day of the eruption of atomic conflict will be secreted in the most important regions of the empire, in absolutely secure bunkers deep underground. Possessing a communication system with military combat and economic centers of their particular command regions, appropriately secured from cut-off, they will be able to individually continue the war even in the event of the destruction of principal leadership. However, said principal leadership, in order to avoid being destroyed by the first nuclear strike of its opponent, will certainly not be concentrated in one single place.

Appropriately placed military units, consisting principally of Russian nationals, will be utilized to guaranty Moscow the ability to outlast the first destructive nuclear rocket attacks and "revitalize the battle-readiness" of the Soviet Union for the second phase of the war. Only a deliberate, conscious aggressor is able to plan for such an eventuality.

This means that today Kremlin finds itself at the borders of devil's dilemma of a completely different character from that disturbing the souls of the strategists of the West. It is not planning how to reduce the quantity of innocent human victims — its own and foreign citizens, but only *when* to attack the countries of the West

and *how strongly*. Moscow has plenty of Ukrainians, Baltics, Caucasians and Asians, together with soldiers of satellite countries, and can fight to the last such soldier or civilian. In a protracted conflict, Kremlin hopes to secure victory for the Russians, who will have the last military word in such "Armageddon" and survive the atomic ruin.

As of now, together with realistic military maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact, there are being staged theoretical games throughout the circles of military and Party civilian leaders of the Soviet Union. Most likely, none of the theses have proved victorious — neither the thesis of preventive nor the thesis of total atomic war against the West. However, psychologically Kremlin is ready for either conflict, because its leadership — completely correctly — believe in the Marxist-Leninist thesis borrowed from Clausewitz: "War is the continuation of politics", directed toward the achievement of peaceful aims. But, one explanation is essential — these aims are expansionist, constituting the foundation of the principal goal — conquest of the globe and cosmos by the Russians.

In the meantime, Kremlin leaders are constantly playing with fire on the outskirts of war, because they realize that whichever militarily stronger country, having "peacefully" conquered oceanic and land bases on all continents and having established cosmic military stations, will be able through the ponderability of the gravity of its military mass decisively influence world events. An old doctrine of the Red Army, borrowed from the Mongols, has found its utilization in the present, in the epoch of so-called co-existence. When an opponent's society, like an apple, ripens and decomposes, through being bored by a worm from inside, then it will fall even from the slightest push by ready-for-anything armies of the Soviet Union and Moscow's enslaved allies.

Kremlin is left with only a slightly

troublesome alternative — *when* and *how strongly* to attack; but the loss of human life is of negligible importance to Kremlin, since it constitutes only the "necessary price" to be paid for victory.

Even a mention of this aggressive "plan for taking over the kingdom" should mobilize Ukrainians to immediate action. Let's not forget that enemy forces, the majority of which consist of Soviet-Russians, have placed Ukrainian nation on the crossroads of the devil's alternative — to be or not to be, literally in physical meaning of this statement.

Devil's Alternative of the Ukrainian Nation

Since the time that Moscow fraudulently obtained the secret of atomic bomb manufacturing, the situation of Ukrainian nation on its native, but not its own, land worsened. From that time, Ukrainians are living under the ominous shadow of inevitable atomic eruption over the important cities and industrial centers of their real fatherland.

The expansive strivings of Kremlin leaders with the goal of conquering the entire globe are inevitably drawing Ukraine into a military conflict, alien to it, with Western superpowers, especially the United States. This conflict is approaching with an ever increasing tempo and today the entire Ukrainian territory is located within the radius of potential targets of not only inter-continental, but also medium-range, rockets with multiple nuclear warheads.

At a time when politicians and strategists of the West are raking their brains on how to avert or at least limit the scope of such military conflict utilizing atomic armaments, Kremlin leaders do not lose any sleep over the number of victims of their aggressive politics, or over the thoughts or desires of the Ukrainian nation.

In America as well as in Great Britain, France and West Germany, the leaders of self-defensive countermeasures against Mos-

cow's intentions have to, whether they want to or not, include Ukrainian nation and its territory within the entire Soviet-Russian military potential — armed forces, industrial, natural and human resources.

In this manner, Ukrainian nation found itself in the situation of the fabled Ivan from Ukrainian folk sayings, having arrived at the terrible, devilish crossroad. "If you go to the left — you will get lost..." together with a great number of other nations subjugated by Russia... "If you go to the right — you won't return", since that path holds the danger of mass destruction, even in the event of so-called limited nuclear strike.

Possible Third Alternative

Then, why should not Ukrainians choose the third pathway, the direction of independence. The only thing they could lose would be the danger of complete annihilation, but gains could be considerable preservation of the fundamental physical entity of the Ukrainian nation and Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State.

However, this would entail depending only upon our own strength, upon our own initiative and persistence in the accomplishment of the sole plan of salvation with all the fibers of our national organism.

Ukrainian patriots in Ukraine and political prisoners in Russian locations of their internment should immediately formulate in the clearest manner possible their demands with reference to the desires of the Ukrainian nation to live their own lives, independent from Russia. Previous tactical courses, with demands of "strivings for human rights in the Soviet Union", etc., only weaken Ukrainian national position in the international situation. The nuclear-armed world has to finally learn and believe that Ukrainian nation desires the renewal of its independence and refuses to be "jointly guilty" for Moscow's crimes, particularly for the crime of preparation and execution of a nuclear attack upon the West.

Ukrainian political immigrants, through their political establishments, and descendants of Ukrainian settlers and immigrants, through their social organizations, in Western countries, must develop immediate and widespread action to bring this demand from Ukraine to the realization of American and its allied governmental circles in the system of NATO. Our youth in these countries may greatly aid in this endeavor by their direct participation in the work of the political-nationalistic camp, our central organizations, and religious structures.

Massive Comprehension

Invaluable function may be performed and is being performed by patriotic Ukrainian communities of democratic countries of the West. Through personal contacts, verbally and through correspondence, transmittal of newspaper information and radio-announcements to family and friends in Ukraine, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and even Russia, it is imperative to bring to their knowledge information about the danger threatening them from the ripening atomic conflict between Russia and the United States.

Masses of Ukrainian men and women in Ukraine and the entire Soviet Union should familiarize themselves with the danger arising from not only the possible strike of atomic bombs and rockets from the West, but also from the radiation that rises as a result of ever-increasing use of thermonuclear energy in the Soviet Union. Even the so-called peaceful use of atomic energy there causes numerous illnesses, which, similarly to other catastrophes, Soviet press, television and radio never mention. Military tests of these weapons of massive destruction result in new human life sacrifices and damage to surrounding environment, to which fact, of course, Moscow government does not pay any attention.

Our countrymen in Ukraine (as well as citizens of other national republics under

Russian yoke) should realize that their sons and daughters constitute only statistical operating numbers in calculations of world revolutions of Kremlin strategists. Very soon Ukrainians will have to die, anonymously, at the battlefronts of West Germany, the Netherlands, the Baltic Peninsula and Chinese borders, for alien Russian empire, just as their ancestors died for tyrannical Stalin and his predecessors, the Tsars.

Realizing its role of "battlefield front-line horsemen of the Russian empire" in each of its epochs, Ukrainians in the armed forces of the Soviet Union, in industry, in civil defense and in governmental administration can (in a decisive moment) cause the complete break-down of Kremlin's principal plans. Because these plans — are a crime against the entire humanity, but especially against the Ukrainian nation, which has been designated for mass destruction.

Ukrainian fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters in each branch of Soviet super-governmental structure (military and civilian) should care about the safety of their blood brothers and sisters even before the eruption of atomic war. And in the "last grave moment", when the world atmosphere and stratosphere will be pierced by death-bearing birds — nuclear rockets, they should extend advice and helping hand to all persons of Ukrainian blood. Because their fate and their needs are the same — to save themselves from annihilation, which is going to be inflicted upon their native land by alien enslaver — Russian imperialism.

Ukraine — the Key to Freedom of Nations

Through the means of self-security and mutual preservation as well as active counteraction to foreign political-military system, which has to be conscientiously fulfilled by all members of our nation in each and every situation, reduction of the

volume of destruction and quantity of Ukrainian victims could be accomplished. But we have to be a conscientious nation, which attracts into its self-defensive whirlpool and draws to similar endeavors also other nationalities in Russian "prison of nations". Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Caucasians and Asian nations of the Soviet Union are awaiting Ukrainian example.

This means that the fact that Ukraine is the key to liberation of nations of the Soviet Union has to be realized. Nevertheless, the impediment to this indispensable process of self-realization of Ukrainian national masses is the traditional Russian system of control of assembly, press and mutual exchange of information, as well as all the means of Soviet internal disinformation. A Ukrainian in his native land and throughout the entire Soviet Union is kept in darkness of misunderstanding his own situation in each aspect. That is why of such tremendous value to them is even minute and accidental news about the growing tension between Soviet Russia and democratic United States and about the danger, which is hanging over the heads of fathers and mothers, children and elderly persons of Ukrainian blood.

Because such information might incite self-defensive endeavors and counteractions, which at the last moment might decide the question of Ukrainian nation being among the living or among the dead.

Ukrainians in the free world should also realize and understand their own devil's alternative — will they transmit the necessary information to the comprehension of Ukrainian national masses or postpone this "until tomorrow", when it might be too late. The answer to this question should be decided by each one of us in accordance with our own conscience.

*Translated from Ukrainian
by Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

News and Views

Ukrainians seek defeat of Russians

By RICHARD PALMER

Dismantling the communist empire at the seat of its power in Moscow is the goal of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations according to Yaroslav Stetsko, president of the A.B.N. central committee.

Interviewed while in Syracuse to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic, the former Ukrainian prime minister said:

"The complete destruction of the Russian empire through a Ukrainian national revolution and armed uprisings of all subjugated nations is the only means for achieving an independent Ukrainian state and the liberation of all nations subjugated by Moscow."

During World War II, Ukrainian nationalists fought the Germans and Russians to remain independent. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was formed in 1941 and was led by Stepan Bandera, who was assassinated in Munich in 1959 by a Soviet agent, Mr. Stetsko said.

Leaders arrested

Since the concept of an independent Ukrainian state was not in keeping with Nazi policy in eastern Europe, the country's leaders were arrested and thrown into prison. Many leaders, including Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko, were sent to concentration camps or executed.

Despite the loss of these prominent leaders, the Ukrainian people continued their support for an independent state. What has followed has been a constant movement by the Russians to strip Ukraine of its identity.

He warns "the contemporary international situation is particularly grave. The

expansion of Russian imperialism is well known to us all. Policies of friendship, appeasement, containment, convergence and détente have proven to be useless in stemming the centuries-old brazen Russian imperialism which aims at complete world domination."

Mr. Stetsko added the underground movement applauds the Reagan administration's resolve to bolster US military readiness, both in nuclear and conventional armaments and to finally stand up to Russian racism and imperialism. "We are nonetheless appalled by the contemptible and immoral defeatist policies of appeasement, pursued by several western European nations, most notably West Germany."

The local Ukrainian community held a banquet and concert commemorating the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. Mr. Stetsko and his wife were featured speakers at the Ukrainian National Home at 1317 W. Fayette St.

Syracuse Herald — American
Sun. Oct. 11, 1981.

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Reagan Takes Strong Stand Against Soviet Imperialism

Professor Lev Dobriansky, a Soviet specialist at Georgetown University in Washington, praised President Reagan's choice of the words "Soviet empire" and "imperialism" when referring to the USSR during a Captive Nations commemoration July 15, 1981 at the Rayburn House Office Building.

Yaroslav S. Stetsko, the last prime minister of Ukraine, who briefly headed an independent state in 1941, told of warning Adolf Hitler's government, as a German captive, that Ukrainian independence was the only hope of saving Eastern and Central Europe from Soviet domination. Germany attacked the Soviet empire in June of 1941.

"I openly stated that Ukraine and other freedom-loving subjugated nations would never cease their just struggle for liberty and independence," Stetsko told the 50 congressmen present.

Stetsko then quoted the British military philosopher, Maj. General J.F.C. Fuller, who wrote: "The Kremlin is living on a volcano and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not the hydrogen bomb but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel."

Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R-Ill.), who is of Polish descent, was master of ceremonies for the events marking Captive Nations Week. Captive Nations Week is observed under a congressional mandate which requires the president to issue a proclamation to the effect every July.

President Reagan's strong proclamation, chastising the "Soviet empire's" subjugation of 17 nations within the borders of the empire as presently constituted — not including the East-bloc nations dominated by the communists following World War II — was the most forceful since the Eisenhower years.

Succeeding presidents, until Reagan, soft-peddled the required proclamation. Indeed, in 1977, President Carter tried to avoid issuing any proclamation, finally producing a weak statement under congressional pressure (SPOTLIGHT, Aug. 8, 1977).

Russia constitutes only 40 percent or less of the land mass known today as the USSR. The 17 Captive Nations — Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, etc — account for the other 60 percent. Yet the spirit of nationalism is strong in all these subjugated nations, even to the new generations who have known no other life, because the burning desire for freedom is passed from parent to child.

Meanwhile, in a commemoration at the Cathedral of the Pines at Rindge, New Hampshire, preceded by a mass at St. John the Baptist Church in Salem, Massachusetts, Jozef Mlot-Mroz urged "freedom and independence" for all peoples enslaved in the Soviet empire.

"The communist ideology denies to Poland and to all the Captive Nation peoples their human rights and freedoms," said Mlot-Mroz, president of the Polish Freedom Fighters.

"For the Yalta shame, the Katyn Forest shame and for that genocide crime which together reached the lands that are now behind the Iron Curtain, we are demanding restitution," Mlot-Mroz said.

It was at the Yalta conference that President Franklin Roosevelt gave away Eastern Europe to the Soviets. It was at the Katyn Forest in Poland that thousands of Polish army officers were bound and executed by the Soviet empire, which tried to blame Germany for the atrocity. (Spotlight, July 1981)

Russians Killed Sadat, Ukrainian Leader Says

By EDWARD P. DUNN

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's assassination was the work of Russian spies said a Ukrainian Nationalist leader.

Yaroslav Stetsko, in Syracuse to keynote a celebration at the Ukrainian National Home, said, "This time it is clear they (the KGB) prepared the liquidation of Sadat."

Mr. Stetsko, a former Ukrainian prime minister and, according to associates, who also has been on the KGB's hit list, claimed the murder in Cairo was done in retaliation for Sadat's expulsion of Russian embassy staff members and others from Egypt in the past several weeks.

"The center of international terrorism is Moscow," Mr. Stetsko said in an interview Sunday in a West Side residence where he was resting before his dinner appearance Sunday night.

He said he believes the KGB had planned to kill Sadat some time ago. The recent actions by the Egyptian leader against Communists and others simply triggered the KGB assassination plot into action, he said.

Egyptian officials have said Sadat was killed by misguided youths led by a Moslem fanatic. Investigation of the slaying continues.

The 68-year-old leader of anti-Communist Ukrainians has been fighting for his people ever since he was toppled from power 40 years ago by Nazis.

Aged 28, Mr. Stetsko was elected leader of an independent government in Ukraine. Two weeks after he took power, he was arrested by the Germans because he wouldn't cooperate with the German command, he recounted.

His three years in Nazi concentration camps left many scars, including ones that left his left arm partially paralyzed because his body was "tested" while he was confined during the war.

He came to Syracuse Sunday to speak at a dinner commemorating the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian nationalism.

Mr. Stetsko in his speech outlined the need — and what he felt was the way — to loosen Moscow's grip on Ukraine and other "subjugated nations."

The "subjugated nations" are Ukrainians, Turkestanis, Azerbaidjanians, Tatars, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Latvians, Estonians and Siberians.

"The danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away. Soviet Russia has skillfully exploited Western fears of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to its (the Soviet Union's) ever-increasing conquests," he said.

"Our strategic alternative is based on the knowledge that the subjugated nations within the Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World, provides the strategic raison d'etre for defeating the last remaining empire."

He continued, "A political and military strategy, based on synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial empire is the only alternative to thermonuclear war."

Mr. Stetsko, who resides in Munich, West Germany, is committee president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and is a political writer adamantly opposed to détente.

"... the West actually helps to subjugate these nations through its policy of détente and economic and military aid to the

(Soviet) empire, such as technology, electronics and grain.

"Hence, our first demand is the following: At least cease in helping to subjugate us if you do not wish to help us liberate ourselves!"

The Post-Standard, Oct. 12, 1981

Flower power in Latvia

(From a correspondent recently in Latvia)

So far there has been no sign that the Soviet Union might be infected by a trade-union revolution on the Polish model. But the Kremlin has reason to be a little nervous about the growing tensions in the three Baltic states that were annexed by the Russians 40 years ago. Lithuania is the only one of the 15 Soviet republics which is predominantly Catholic, and the church — as in Poland — is a source of national unity. In its capital, Vilnius, there is an active group of dissidents and an underground weekly newspaper. In Estonia, there have been a series of demonstrations against the Russification of the republic; and its capital, Tallinn, is the only major Soviet city where people can watch news from the west (on Finnish television). The daily ferry service brings large numbers of Finnish tourists to the city, so that its inhabitants have a better idea than most Soviet citizens about the realities of life in the West.

Latvia, the most productive of the Baltic states, has in the past been more quiescent than its two neighbours. But now there is a growing wave of irritation about the shortage of food. Food shortages are familiar enough in much of the Soviet Union, but Latvia has traditionally been one of the most prosperous places in the whole country. It produces most of the Soviet Union's consumer durables as well as a large share of its motorcycles and locomotives. Riga is the biggest port in the country and is also a centre for Soviet women's fashions. Latvia's living standards

used to be the envy of the Soviet Union. Many Russians still regard Latvia as a paradise, but the Latvians do not.

Latvia's food shops are now as empty as those elsewhere. Long before opening time, queues form in front of the milk and meat shops in Riga's Kirov street. Instead of going to work, many people simply go shopping. It is quite common to wait for three hours in a queue for food. Western goods are available, but at a high price. The complete collection of the Beatles' records costs about \$6,000.

To meet the unprecedented shortage of food in Latvia, the authorities are now trying to encourage farming on private plots, which already produce 30% of the food for the republic. Until recently, the size of private farming plots was limited to half an acre. Outside Riga there are now clusters of small shacks: city-dwellers' private plots. And to help their development the government is encouraging the use of a revolutionary new technology — horsepower. The only problem is that the freelance farmers' favourite crop is not potatoes, as the authorities may have hoped, but flowers. Flowers are extremely important in Latvian life: men and women both like to bring bouquets home after work. Tulips and roses sell for as much as \$3 a stem — which makes them a profitable crop.

The Latvians reckon that they are getting a worse economic deal than their neighbours in Lithuania and Estonia, because too much of the state farm output is exported to the rest of the Soviet Union. In Lithuania, the food that is grown there is eaten by the locals. At weekends many Latvians make the two-hour drive south, to the town of Siauliai in Lithuania, to stock up on sausages.

Nationalism in Latvia has been reviving — partly because the Latvians are in danger of becoming a national minority in their own country. The success of Latvia's industrial development has attracted im-

migrants from the rest of the Soviet Union, so that some 45% of its population is now non-Latvian. Riga is full of Armenians, Georgians, Uzbeks and Russians, and the predominant language is Russian.

The protests against Russification have been sporadic and poorly organised, mainly by young people. For the young, the pejorative phrase "bourgeois Latvia" — used in the history books to describe the period of independence between 1918 and 1940 — conjures up a rich and romantic past. Many youths can be seen walking down the street wearing tee-shirts emblazoned in English with the slogan "Latvian power"; and they like to sing the old national anthem. Their most overt form of rebellion has been to desecrate Soviet monuments

and rough up Russians at random. These protests have been fuelled by opposition to the war in Afghanistan; rumours of atrocities in Afghanistan are commonplace in Riga.

Communist party officials in Latvia are aware of the mounting anti-Russian tension but have no clear idea of how to counteract it, except by stressing the concept of "Soviet brotherhood". However, at a recent meeting of the central committee of the Latvian Communist party, one member took the unusual step of criticising another official for making speeches in Russian instead of Latvian. A hint of things to come?

The Economist, 29 Aug. 81

BALTIC STATES' 40-YEAR-OLD REBUKE TO THE RUSSIANS

While the Reagan administration engages in a rhetorically tougher policy towards the Soviet Union, it is quietly continuing a rebuke to Moscow that has been going on for 40 years.

The United States has insisted on recognizing diplomats and diplomatic missions from the three Baltic States since they were annexed forcibly by the Soviet Union in 1940...

This US policy is based on "a deep commitment to the principle that thou shalt not extinguish national identities," explains the State Department Baltic affairs officer, Thomas Longo.

Periodically, the United States directly confronts the Russians on the Baltic issue. Sources say, for example, that the USSR was visibly agitated when a US delegate recently raised the Baltic question in Madrid at the European Security Conference.

Despite the small size of the Baltic missions, they appear to rile the 270-member USSR Embassy. The Russians "don't

choose to discuss with us" the Baltic missions, State Department sources say, but they "publish snide remarks in their internal publications" reflecting their pique.

The primary role of the Baltic missions is "symbolic," says John Bolsteins, of the Joint Baltic-American National Committee, an umbrella organization for Baltic-American groups in the United States.

The missions, he says, "are keeping the thought alive" that the Baltic peoples are "held by force," and that some day "the Baltics will be independent again."

Recognition of the Baltic missions, according to Mr. Longo, "is a totally unique response to a unique situation."

"In no other place was there extinction of fully acknowledged sovereign nations," he says. Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia retain membership in the United Nations and "even Afghanistan is still legally a sovereign and independent state."...

(An excerpt of an article which appeared in the Baltimore Sun of April 22, 1981.)

Russian Army massacred 300 Ukrainian Students

Why are we demonstrating?

We are demonstrating against the continuing persecution of Ukrainians by the KGB and the Soviet Russian occupation forces.

We are demonstrating against the economic and cultural exploitation of Ukraine by Russia.

We are demonstrating against Russian imperialism and demand the release of Ukrainian political and religious prisoners, who are condemned to hard labour camps and psychiatric prisons for inhumanely long terms, because they have demanded human and national rights for Ukraine.

Why have we chosen this date?

January has witnessed two tragic events in Ukrainian history. The first was on January 29, 1918 when 300 Ukrainian students, most of whom had never carried arms before, made a stand against the Russian Red Army who were invading Ukraine just a few days after her declaration of independence.

Almost all of the 300 students were massacred but their deaths became a symbol of resistance against Russian imperialism for future generations of Ukrainians. The students made their stand at a railway station

called Kruty, north of Kyiv, capital of Ukraine. The event has gone down in Ukrainian history as the battle of Kruty.

The second reason for choosing this date for our demonstration is that on January 12, 1972 exactly ten years ago the KGB carried out a massive and brutal series of arrests in Ukraine. Workers and intelligentsia were arrested and sentenced to inhumanely long terms of imprisonment after secret trials behind closed doors.

What were their crimes? Foremost was the fact that they were patriots who loved Ukraine and protested against Russian destruction of Ukrainian cultural and intellectual life. They dared to demand Ukraine's independence and a restoration of human and national rights.

We ask you to support us by writing to your MP and contacting the press.

Demand that the Ukrainian question be raised and that Ukrainian political and religious prisoners in the USSR be released immediately.

(Leaflet published by the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, Weston-on-Trent, Derbyshire and distributed at a demonstration, held in London Jan. 12, 1982).

CARDINAL IS NINETY

Rome: Cardinal Josef Slipyj, in exile here since his release from a Soviet prison camp 19 years ago, celebrated his 90th birthday yesterday with a message to Ukrainian Catholics to persevere in their faith "despite the persecutions they suffer."

The cardinal also renewed his call to the Pope for recognition of the title of patriarch, a rank which would give him authority to appoint new bishops and grant the Ukrainian Church greater independence from Rome.

"The patriarchate exists, it only awaits recognition by the Holy See of Rome", the cardinal said.

Twelve Ukrainian bishops from the West came to Rome to mark the cardinal's birthday and to participate in a mass at St. Sofia.

Cardinal Slipyj spent 18 years in Soviet labour camps, until he was freed in 1963 and came to Rome. He was made a cardinal in 1965. — AP.

The Guardian, Thursday, February 18, 1982

From Behind the Iron Curtain



LATVIA

Latvian Scientist Accused of Treason

In Riga on May 25, 1981 hearings began in the trial of Latvian scientist Juris Bumeisters. The trial was conducted in the highest court of Russian occupied Latvia and Bumeisters was charged with violating Section 59 of the Soviet Criminal Code which refers to treason. He is accused of being the head of the Latvian underground Social Democrats during the Russian occupation.

Bumeisters was born in 1918 and graduated from the University of Latvia with a degree in Science. He had been employed as a marine biologist at the Marine Institute in Riga as well as at the marine collective farm in Roja. The nature of his work had involved some sea voyages in the Baltic.

Bumeisters' brother, Prof. Valentins Bumeisters is a celebrated endocrinologist, and both are sons of a representative of the Latvian Social Democrats in the Latvian Parliament during Latvia's independence.

Even though Bumeisters' scientific studies and theories on marine life do not constitute any national secrets in the eyes of the West, according to Soviet law, these were apparently classified as top secret. It has been learned via the Swedish Press that Juris Bumeisters has been found guilty as charged and has been sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

A Recent Increase in Political Arrests in Latvia

The Case of Alfreds Zarins

According to 3 separate sources, a considerable number of arrests were reported in Latvia during the beginning of April. These began in Riga and quickly spread to the provinces. One source mentions something like a dozen citizens being arrested, while another speaks of over 20. It appears however, that the actual number of arrested citizens is far greater.

One of these persons is 58 year-old invalid, Alfreds Zarins. His arrest occurred in his flat in Aluksne from which he was transferred to Riga for interrogation.

Zarins was apparently imprisoned for anti-Russian activity, although the official reason has not been stated. He was accused of keeping forbidden literature, even though this included books on Latvian history and programs of Latvian cultural events. He was also quizzed specifically on the identities of the overseas Latvians he had met and on the ways in which he had spent time with them.

Zarins is also a poet, but the Russians had denied him his many requests to publish a book of his works. He had therefore searched for alternate ways to have his works published, one of these being the ethnic Latvian press in the West.

Alfreds Zarins has suffered 2 heart attacks in the last year and has spent a considerable period of time in hospital, having been granted sick leave until March 1, 1982.

In one of his last letters to friends in the US, he had said: "I still hope to be able to work for the good of the people and the country — if only fate permits..."

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Book Reviews

Expelled Latvian Writes About Soviet Threat to the World

In recent months, Canadian newspaper readers have had occasion to read the political commentaries of Ilya Gerol, a writer on Soviet affairs. Mr. Gerol, a Latvian Jew, was once a highly placed Soviet journalist. He was expelled from the USSR in 1979, for publishing an article critical of the Soviet regime. Since 1980 he has made his home in Vancouver, where he writes for Southam Press and teaches political science at the University of British Columbia.

Now a selection of Mr. Gerol's commentaries has appeared in book form, under the title "The Threat."

The "threat" of which the author speaks is that posed to the free world — and the world as a whole — by the Soviet Union. It is Mr. Gerol's contention that the people of the West — and, most importantly, their leaders — are ill-informed about the Soviet Union, its history, its character, its aims and its methods of operation.

Mr. Gerol attempts to fill that dangerous gap in Western knowledge by informing his readers of the true nature of the Soviet regime. He deals, in separate articles, with such matters as the internal workings of the Kremlin, the renaissance of religion in the USSR, the true face of the Warsaw Pact and the plight of minorities inside the Soviet Union.

While some of Mr. Gerol's articles shed light on the internal structure of the USSR, others analyze Soviet activity on the international front. The author speaks of the USSR's relations with China, its involvement with international terrorism, its adventurism in Africa and Asia and its interventions in the Middle East. In

each case he demonstrates how the Russians' actions are consistent with their major objective, which, he maintains, has always been "world revolution, world expansion and... Soviet socialism throughout the world."

In Mr. Gerol's view, the West can avert the threat of world domination by the USSR only by assuming a much tougher stance towards the Soviet Union. In this regard, he cites Nikita Khrushchev himself, who once stated: "The only language we understand is the fist." Policies of appeasement, such as détente, must be rejected, the author believes, for they are designed to give advantage to the Russians. Furthermore, the West must stop supplying the USSR with technology, lest it see the fulfillment to Karl Marx's prophecy that capitalists will themselves supply the rope with which they will be hung.

"The Threat" is not the first book to carry such a message, but Mr. Gerol's book should have wide appeal because it presents its thesis in a straight-forward, accessible manner. And a light touch is added by the inclusion, at the end of each article, of samples of Soviet humor. Here is just one example:

What is the largest country in the world?"

"Ukraine, because its border is in the Carpathian mountains, its capital in Moscow and its population in Siberia."

In Defense of the Ukrainian Cause *by Roman Rakhmanny*

In his Foreword to *In Defense of the Ukrainian Cause*, John Richmond, the literary editor of the *Montreal Star* stated: "Where injustice occurs it is necessary to know not only the nature of the injustices

themselves but their genesis. The author of this volume, concerned with the present and its future reverberations, has analysed the more significant (and little known) aspects of the Ukrainian situation. He has done so not from a parochial point of view but rather as an object lesson. An English poet, Blake, has said that infinity is contained in a grain of sand."

In Defense of the Ukrainian Cause is a collection of political commentaries and essays by Roman Rakhmanny on "the more significant aspects of the Ukrainian situation." The commentaries span a period of thirty years and deal with a variety of topics. The collection, meticulously edited by Stephen D. Olynyk, Ph.D., is arranged into seven parts, each reflecting a different phase or aspect of the Ukrainian national movement in the postwar period. In Part One, the author addresses the armed insurgency of the Ukrainian liberation movement during and immediately after World War II, directed against both Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. In Part Two, he follows the armed struggle as it evolved into the political mode, and at the same time became intertwined with the broader issues of the Cold War. In Part Three, the author deals with selected aspects of the social, political and religious milieu in which the Ukrainian movement has had to operate and, in a broader context, he poignantly illustrates the tragic condition of human existence in the Soviet communist society. As the Russians were celebrating their fiftieth anniversary of Bolshevik power, Roman Rakhmanny reminded them in his commentaries (in Part Four) that the Ukrainian national movement is still alive and growing, fifty years after the Bolshevik revolution.

In recent years, the Ukrainian resistance has taken a new form (national dissident movement). This is vividly described and

analyzed in Parts Five and Six. In Part Seven, the author addresses a wide range of social and political issues, problems confronting the Ukrainian diaspora in the Free World and the particular societies in which they live. *In Defense of the Ukrainian Cause* will interest readers in all walks of life. Particularly useful as a reader in ethnic studies, it will be a good introduction (in case study form) for students of national liberation movements. Those intimately concerned with human rights will find it packed with insight and stirring examples. For political observers, it presents a keen commentary on a potentially explosive force within the USSR: the force of nationalism.

Decline of an Empire

Helene Carrere d'Encausse is Professor at the Institute of Political Science in Paris and head of the section of the USSR in the Center of International Relations of the University of Paris. She is the author of a well received book, "L'Empire Eclaté" (1978) which has already had three printings in the United States under its English title: "Decline of an Empire: The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt" (transl. by M. Sokolinsk and H. A. La Farge, New York: Newsweek Books, 1980).

In her conclusions, speaking of three different groups of national communities in the Soviet Union, she starts with those "that show a tendency to grow weaker". Prof. Carrere d'Encausse writes the following:

"The Byelorussian nation can probably be placed in this category, in spite of the fact that at different times in Soviet history it has shown particularist tendencies. But, having been *set up artificially and given a language without historical justification* (emphasis added — A. B.), and being too close to Russia in its effort to differentiate itself from Poland and Lithuania, Byelorussia has been more subject to Russian influence than other nations."

If Professor d'Encausse had read fully what she quotes in one of her chapters, viz., Jan Zaprudnik's "Byelorussia and the Byelorussians" in the "Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities", she could have learned the following:

"The cities of Polotsk, Turau, Vitebsk and Pinsk with their churches and monasteries became centers of literacy, education and artistic creativity. The activities and writings of St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk, St. Cyril of Turau, and the highly developed and original architecture stand as best evidence of the achievements of medieval Byelorussia.

"In the sixteenth century, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Byelorussian was the language of official business and legal procedures, as well as literary works and religious polemics' (footnote: Byelorussian Soviet Encyclopedia, v. III, p. 237)."

Similar evidence can be adduced from innumerable authoritative scholarly sources disproving Prof. d'Encausse's statement that the Byelorussians were "given (!?) a language without historical justification."

This is truly a remarkable concept, and one utterly unknown to the scholarly world: that an autonomous, fully-developed language could emerge — like Venus — and somehow be "given" to a nation for whom it was until then unknown.

But more seriously, dozens of scholars, among them Lithuanian, Polish and Russian, in several different branches — linguistics, history and law among them — testify to the existence, uniqueness and antiquity of the Byelorussian language.

Madame d'Encausse had done serious damage to her credibility by resorting to such fatuous, discredited ideas.

A. Budzič

Ukrainians in Canada and the United States

A Guide to Information Sources

Published by Gale Research Co., *Ukrainians in Canada and the United States: A Guide to Information Sources* (236 pp.) is Volume 7 in the Ethnic Studies Information Guide Series. The annotated bibliography lists and describes nearly 1,000 books, dissertations, periodical articles, and pamphlets culled from English and Ukrainian sources. In addition, directory sections list 175 national organizations, more than 550 churches, one hundred periodical publications (active as well as retrospective), and ninety publishing house and bookstores in Canada and the United States.

While the first Ukrainian presence on North American soil has been recorded as early as 1608, the bulk of Ukrainian immigrants arrived later in successive waves, beginning 1876-1890 and ending 1946-1955. Driven from their native places by precarious political, social, and

economic conditions, some 2 million Ukrainian Americans and about 600,000 Ukrainian Canadians are now located in the US and Canada.

Ukrainians in Canada and the United States contains bibliographic and directory sections. Six sections cover the following major areas of interest: General Reference Works on Ukrainian Topics... Ukrainian Immigration, Settlement, and Contributions in Canada and the United States... Ukrainian Culture and Heritage Preservation and Development in Canada and the United States... Ukrainian Organized Group Life, Education, Social Interaction, and Politics in Canada and the United States... Bibliographic Addenda... Guide to Ukrainian Organization, Churches, Periodicals, Publishing Houses, and Bookstores in Canada and the United States.

Completing the guide are Author, Title, and Subject Indexes.

ABN Sent a Memorandum to Madrid Conference

In November, 1981, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations sent separate copies of a memorandum to the Chairmen of the delegations of the nations of the free world to the Helsinki-Madrid Conference. The memorandum, which in a concise and convincing manner presented the current state of national and human rights violations in the nations subjugated by Russia, was entitled — “The Helsinki Accords should be Annulled”. It was signed by the following members — national representatives of the ABN on behalf of the Central Committee: Yaroslav Stetsko — President (Ukraine), John J. Kosiak (Byelorussia), Prof. A. E. Voobus (Estonia), Charles Andreansky (Hungary), Dr. Alexander Ronnett (Rumania), Jacob Sola (Croatia), George Paprikoff (Bulgaria), and Vlodymir Tomko (Slovakia).

The memorandum’s primary point is that the Helsinki Accords have unilaterally benefited the Russian empire at the cost of the subjugated nations and the free world as well. With the signing of the Helsinki Accords, the memorandum goes on to argue, Moscow managed to consolidate, even legitimate, all its imperio-colonial territorial gains during and after the Second World War, *without the signing of a separate peace treaty!* In Helsinki, the Russian imperialists managed to maneuver the West into a position of de facto capitulation, whereby the West agreed *in principle* to the inviolability of the borders of the Russian empire, i.e., the USSR and its “satellites”. In return, as a mitigating measure, Moscow offered the West the now infamous “Third Basket” of human rights, the provisions of which were never meant to be observed within the Russian prison of nations anyway, as was evidenced many times over by the numerous arrests and long-term sentencing of almost all the members of the various Helsinki Groups of the subjugated nations, in particular the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The signatories of the ABN memorandum go on to state, that the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the subsequent Review Conferences held in Belgrade and Madrid have, in reality, erected an illusory blanket of security, since Moscow never abandoned its historic imperio-colonial aim of world domination. On the contrary, Russia has been incessantly mobilizing its imperialist-expansionist forces so that its inexorable drive to world domination will remain unaltered. How else is one to explain Afghanistan and, most recently, Poland?

In light of all this, the memorandum continues to argue, the process of detente, of which Helsinki can be considered the pinnacle, has been rendered completely bankrupt. Although it was meant to preclude the possibility of a thermo-nuclear holocaust, ironically enough the policy of detente has become the single most-pressing variable precisely working towards the precipitous eruption of such a tragic global conflagration!

The only strategic and political alternative that the West can adopt to avoid such a thermo-nuclear catastrophe is a policy of national liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, which will lead to the dissolution from within of the Russian prison of nations and the establishment on its ruins of national, independent and sovereign states, each within its ethnographic boundaries. This is the only guarantee for the emergence of a truly just and peaceful international order. To eliminate the threat of thermo-nuclear war, the West must first eliminate its only possible cause, viz., the continued existence and expansion of the Russian empire!

The authors of the memorandum suggest that the first step towards this goal would be a declaration on the part of all the nations of the free world, the participants and signatories of the Helsinki Conference, that the *Helsinki Accords are null and void*, especially in light of the continued flagrant violations of the primary tenets of this agreement on the part of the Russian empire. The only thing that can possibly stand in the way of such a necessary decision would be a glaring lack of will and political resolve among the leaders of the free world!

R. Z.



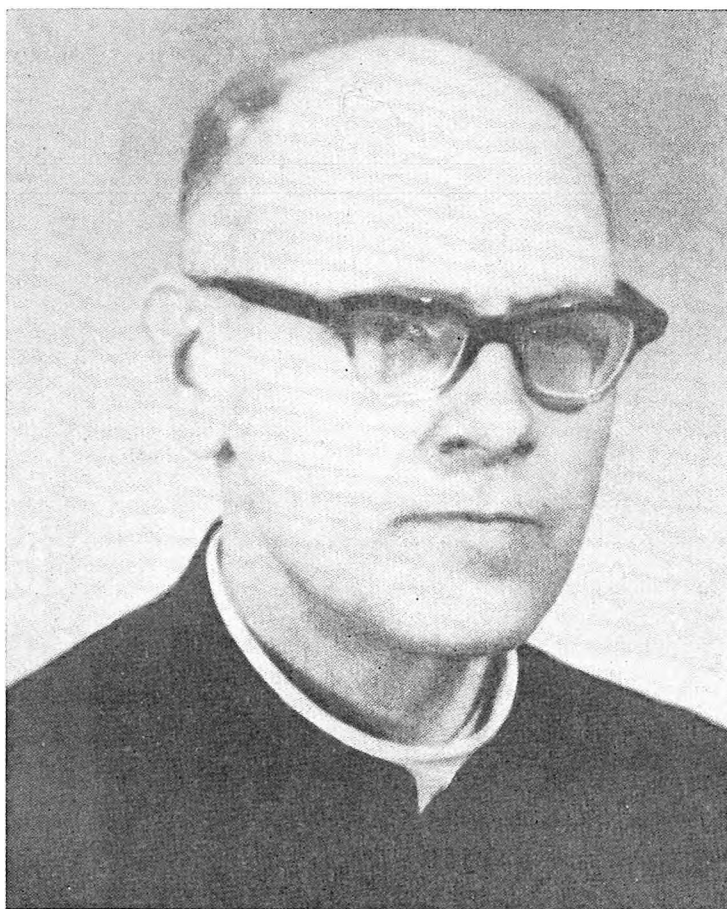
Copenhagen — demonstration in protest of Russian military intervention in Poland.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

A MARTYR FOR CHRIST



**REVEREND
BRONIUS
LAURINAVICIUS**

A Lithuanian priest —
a martyr for God and
Fatherland — recently
murdered by the Rus-
sian KGB in Vilnius,
Lithuania.

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ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

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In the shadow of the Russian military intervention in Poland

Russian imperialist expansionist policy has recently been leaving its malignant mark on all areas of the world. The free world, on the other hand, has not been able to galvanize any serious resistance to this Russian imperialist drive.

NATO is so deeply divided, that it cannot even agree upon a common statement condemning the Russian military intervention in Poland, which was effectuated through Moscow's agent-puppet regime and the forcibly imposed system of a Russian way of life. This attests to the powerlessness of the free nations of the West, divested of any patriotic idea, of a heroic morality and of a will to fight.

The isolated efforts of the new American administration to, in the very least, pose some type of limited opposition attests to the paralysis of will prevalent in the commercialized part of Western Europe.

The Socialist International, headed by Willy Brandt, in view of the mass terror of the Russian invader against the Polish workers, has again reaffirmed the servile attitude of several of the leaders of this "International" towards Russian imperialism in its modern communist form.

The policy of détente and balance of power has underscored the capitulation of the West with regard to the Russian aim of conquering the entire world. The so-called "Ostpolitik" of the Vatican has resulted in the complete demoralization of the Catholic Church in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. The ecumenical dialogue, which is being continued even by Pope John Paul II, has unilaterally benefited the imperialist, "Caesaropapal" Russian Church of Pimen.

The example of Afghanistan and the no-less significant example of the struggle of the Polish nation should clarify once and for all to everyone who can think, that détente and balance of power are only a well-orchestrated, deceitful Russian ruse intended to conceal their systematic drive to conquer the world. *Without an elementary agreement on common aims between partners — there can be no balance of power!* In view of Moscow's systematically effectuated plan to dominate the world, — to pursue a policy of balance of power — is absurd!

The nations subjugated in the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and the "satellite" countries — have been relegated by a concessionist-minded West to a Russian sphere of influence. As proof of this fact, we offer the following examples: the Ukrainian two-front war of liberation (1941-1951), the uprisings of prisoners in Russian concentration camps in the 1950s, the Berlin, Hungarian, and Poznan uprisings, the Czech and Slovak resistance — in not one of these cases did the West come to the aid of these fighters for freedom.

NATO, under the leadership of the United States, has not yet repudiated its conception of dividing the world, even though by adamantly adhering to this concept the West is forced to continuously redefine previously agreed-upon spheres of influence, according to each new Russian imperio-colonial conquest, whether it be in Africa, Asia, Latin America, or elsewhere. Furthermore, by signing the Helsinki Accords, the West cemented the indivisibility of the Russian empire and the inviolability of its borders, thereby against reaffirm-

ing that the liberation of the subjugated nations does not yet figure in their political strategy. Any hopes, that the subjugated nations, including Poland, may have had for obtaining aid from the NATO bloc in their liberation struggle, — have now become illusory and without content. It would be well enough, if the member-states of NATO in the very least were to decide to no longer assist the Russian imperialists in subjugating our nations with Western highly-developed technology, electronic, grain and even weaponry.

Our first demand with regard to a change in Western policy is the following: to declare the Helsinki Accords null and void; to terminate all forms of assistance to and trade relations with the Russian empire and its “satellites”, through which the further subjugation of our nations is perpetuated; to cancel all agreements with the Russian imperialists, which affirm Russia’s subjugation of our nations according to the so-called concept of “spheres of influence”; to apply the UN Resolution on Decolonization, i.e., the dissolution of empires, to the USSR, as well as the UN Resolution on Namibia, dealing with the legality, from a viewpoint of international law, of rendering military aid to a subjugated nation in its struggle against an imposed colonial yoke, in this case against Russian imperio-colonial domination; to include the US Congressional Resolution on Captive Nations from 1959 as an integral component of US foreign policy vis-a-vis the Russian empire — the USSR and its “satellite” states; to overhaul the political content of the radio-broadcasts of the “Voice of America” and “Radio Liberty” by proclaiming a GREAT CHARTER OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and to propagate this idea of independence and sovereignty for all nations, subjugated in the USSR and the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian empire.

Only then will it be realistic to speak of the beginning of real assistance on the part of the USA and the Free World to the subjugated nations. Until that time, our slogan remains — “He who liberates himself — will be free; he who is liberated — will be led into slavery!”

We do not believe in “liberation”, but in a common front of subjugated nations in the Russian empire, which will topple this prison of nations from within through coordinated, simultaneous and synchronized national-liberation uprisings, erecting on the ruins of this empire national and sovereign states, each within their ethnographic boundaries. *Freedom ex gratia is not freedom!* The revolutionary liberation front of subjugated nations strongly condemns the barbaric Russian military action against the Polish nation, achieved with the aid of Moscow’s communist lackeys. We completely support the Polish liberation struggle and call upon the Polish nation, its uncompromising, revolutionary, anti-Russian forces in particular, to unite with the common front of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), whose goal is the dissolution of the Russian empire and its communist system of subjugation through simultaneous liberation revolutions and the *reestablishment of independent nation-states of the presently subjugated nations within their ethnographic territories.*

Our strength is in ourselves! The world only comes to the aid of the strong!

Without the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations in extenso — there can be no independence for Poland, or for any of the other subjugated nations!

Blood, which is shed for freedom, is never wasted. From it new generations of heroes will arise!

Z. Karbovych

Islamic Faith and Culture violated in Afghanistan

The bloody Marxist-Leninist coup of April 27, 1978, the Taraki regime, Hafizullah Amin and later Babrak Karmal with Russian occupation forces have systematically persecuted, tortured, killed and eliminated innumerable religious leaders, Islamic scholars, students of sharia and imams of mosques.

The following are the names of such religious notables, whose elimination has been substantiated by either Amnesty International, the declaration of the interior department of Hafizullah Amin or by diplomats in Afghanistan:

Hazrat Mohammad Ibrahim Mojaddidi from Kabul, together with all his family totalling thirty people.

Relatives of Hazrat Miagul jan Aqa of Tagaab.

Religious leader Mohammad Ismail Mobaligh from Kabul.

Said Sarwar Waaiz from Kabul with his sons.

Mohammad Yussof Binish with his sons.
Senator Nadir Ali Jaghori.

Mawlawi shaikh Baseer from Konar.

Mawlawi Kamrani from Konar.

Mawlawi Shaikh Nooruddin from Konar.

Shaikh Ali Joshan Ahmadi from Jaghori.

Mohammad Hosain Nohzat from Kabul.

Shaikh Qudratullah from Kandahar.

Shaikh Hosain Ali Fayyaz from Ghazni.

Ramazan Ali Sharifi from Jaghori (former member of Parliament).

Shaikh Sarwar Sajadi from Herat.

Shaikh Abdul Ghani from Herat.

Shaikh Asadullah Roohani from Herat.

Hazrat Roohani from Herat.

Mawlawi Nejati from Kabul.

Shaikh Ishaq Jawadi from Kabul.

Shaikh Fazelat from Kabul.

Shaikh Aga Waiz.

Shaikh Mohammad Ali Modaris from Kabul.

Shaikh Misbaah from Kabul.

Shaikh Mohammad Amin from Kabul.

There are hundreds more of such notable religious leaders, whose names can be found in the official extensive list of the interior ministry of Babrak Karmal's regime. All told, they probably total about thirty five thousand.

Babrak Karmal, who was brought in from Soviet Union by the KGB on Dec. 27, 1979, following the Russian Red Army occupation of Kabul, has replaced the Islamic educational curriculum, even in elementary schools, with Marxist-Leninist programmes, which are presently taught by large numbers of imported Soviet Asian teachers.

It is well known that the Khalq and Parcham parties, two factions of the official communist party in Afghanistan, even before the military coup of 1978, used to tear and desecrate the holy Quran. Since the infamous coup they have continued to desecrate and burn the holy Quran and holy places such as mosques. They have even torn off from the necks of young muslim girls and boys the holy Quran or the Kalima or shahada on the street and have thrown them in the dirt and spat on them. These incidents have been witnessed by dozens and dozens of refugees and travellers.

Babrak Karmal and the puppet government before him have sent several thousands of elementary school children to Russia for "education". Thousands of teenagers and university students have also been taken to Russia for brain washing, indoctrination and specialization, so that they may establish "scientific socialism" as "the new order" in Afghanistan and other Muslim countries. Brezhnev still thinks that because he could use Cubans thousands of miles away as Russian surrogates in Africa, he will be able to do the same with Afghanistan's young

men in the Middle-East. By such efforts and their devious means, the Russians believe that they are paving their high ways to Islamabad, Kuwait, the Emirates, Tehran, Ankara, Damascus and even to Macca Mukarrama and Madina Munawara.

Babrak Karmal and his Kremlin boss Brezhnev shamelessly have published a green book entitled "In defence of Islam", a conference of ulamas and clergy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, June-July 1980, Baihaqi state publishing house Kabul 1980.

The following is an excerpt from the book: Speech by comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the D.R. of Afghanistan, at the opening ceremony of the first conference of the ulamas and clergy of the D.R. of Afghanistan, held in the grand hall of Salam Khana Palace. Babrak Karmal said: "...but to our deep regret, the destinies of oppressed peoples masses in the majority of Islamic

countries are in the hands of governments which in the same way as two hundred years ago, were subservient to the colonialists, so today they take orders from their former masters."

Such are the views of Babrak Karmal and his puppet regime regarding the present Islamic leaders, forgetting that he himself is not only subservient to the Kremlin's wishes, but is a servant and a slave of Brezhnev, who would like to destroy Islam in all that is Islamic.

Therefore brutal invasion and continued tyrannic occupation of Afghanistan, an independent, sovereign nation, a charter member of the Non-Aligned Movement, a nation that has been staunchly Islamic, a nation that has served Islam well with unswerving loyalty, a historic citadel of the North-Western Islamic world, should be regarded as an affront to all Islamic peoples and governments and should never be considered anything less than a most serious and profound threat to the independence and Islamic nature of the governments and the Islamic culture of the peoples of the area.

Freedom Day Observance in Taipei

The Freedom Day activities in the week of Jan. 17-23 included two mass rallies — the "Three People's Principles for All China" Rally on Jan. 21 with 60,000 participants, and the World Freedom Day Meeting of the Republic of China on Jan. 23 which was attended by some 3,000 high-level representatives of various sources, including government officials, parliamentarians and members of the diplomatic corps.

Some 110 visitors from 20 countries took part in the activities and many of them delivered powerful speeches.

N O T I C E

We hereby bring to your attention that Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk is the Chief Representative of the Financial Department of the Central Committee of ABN in the USA.

Mr. Ya. Shevchuk is authorized to collect debts owed to ABN. We, therefore, kindly request your cooperation in this respect.

Please contact him at the following address:

Mr. Yaroslav Shevchuk 3438 Heresford Drive
Parma, Ohio 44134 USA

For the Album of Future Generations

Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj, an 85-year-old Ukrainian lawyer, who spent 25 years in Soviet labour camps, is in failing health. Despite the fact that he is a citizen of Czecho-Slovakia, he is not allowed to leave Ukraine and join his son in Prague.

Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj began to lose the sight in one remaining good eye to a developing cataract. The only solution is an operation. His son, Roman Horbovyj's petitions to take his father over to his family were in vain.

The success of every idea depends on the quality of the supplemental variables, which determine its development. This principle is the basic condition of success of all social phenomena — whether trivial or historic. History is created by people, who excel by their talent, self-responsibility and courage, and for whom healthy and proper common sense is contingent upon the ideals of social aspirations and the interests of their nation.

The present century has placed our society on a historic trial. Although the First World War presented us with a propitious opportunity in our Liberation Struggle, we were not able to fully utilize it. On the other hand, World War II found us ready to realize our historic testament, but malign extraneous factors lacerated the wings of our liberation flight.

An admirable result of this was that on about June 16, 1941 the Ukrainian National Committee formulated a Declaration of the rights of the Ukrainian citizen, and later on June 22 the Ukrainian National Congress adopted a Manifesto which proclaimed the establishment of an Independent Ukraine.

On the next day I, as the Head of the Ukrainian National Committee, prepared a diplomatic note addressed to the Chancellor of the German Reich. This note clearly reflected the tone of the afore-mentioned Manifesto: that the master of the Ukrainian land will be the Ukrainian people within their own independent nation-state.

The address of that note was formulated by our artist, Svyatoslav Hordynskyj, in my presence. I personally handed a copy of this Manifesto to the head of Secret Service of the General-Governorship, Shtandartenführer Haim. and another copy was forwarded by mail to the Governor himself, Dr. Hans Frank.

At the beginning of July, 1941 this Manifesto was published in the "Lvivski Visti" (The Lviv News).

At that time the Ukrainian National Committee published its "Information Bulletin" No. 1. In this publication the proclamation of our statehood on June 30, 1941 was made public. This state was headed by Yaroslav Stetsko. Our administrative apparatus was then instituted and began working on all the lands accessible to us. These events are of great historical and educational importance. Let all future generations know of the manner in which we acted at this opportune moment.

One other aspect is noteworthy in this regard. Our noble, principled position infuriated the German leadership into a Teutonic rage. The Secret Service of the General Governorship wanted to liquidate three of our political leaders, among them Yaroslav Stetsko and myself. However, Berlin did not agree to this, stating that it would not be in the interests of Germany for these people to perish at the hands of the Germans.

Although we all had the opportunity to

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The Strategic Importance of Turkestan

Turkestan — land of the Turks, situated in Central Asia, has an area of approximately 4 million km² and accounts for around 19% of the entire territory of the Soviet Union. 5 of the 15 Soviet republics, (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizistan, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan) are located in Turkestan.

It is a well known fact that Turkestan is one of the most important centres of civilization, and also the centre of Islamic culture and intellectual life since the 8th century. Since 1925 this country has been referred to as "*Middle Asia and Kazakhstan*" in Soviet terminology. The Soviet Russian leadership is in no way prepared to tolerate the use of the term "Turkestan", because its intentions are to turn Turkestan into a laboratory for interbreeding people and races. This it intends to achieve by abolishing the feeling of national identity of the Turkestan people for the purpose of using the country as a base for the colonialisation by the Russians.

It is astonishing to find that since 1950 many western researchers have incorrectly adopted the Soviet term *Central Asia* instead of Turkestan, and have thus aided in supplanting the name Turkestan in the minds of the public in the West as well as in the Islamic Orient. In doing so no consideration was given to the fact that Turkestan is not Central Asia, but rather that it is located in Central Asia and that in the world's main encyclopaediae the geographic situation is clearly dealt with

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escape, not one of our political leaders went into hiding. On the contrary, they all firmly held their ground and were ready, under the immediate threat of death, to defend the honor, the dignity and the rights of their nation.

under the designation "*Turkestan*", (e.g. The Encyclopedia Americana, volume 27; Encyclopedia Britanica, volume 22, 15th edition, and the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, New York—London 1977, volume 26, 458, etc.) It is particularly significant that the Congress of the USA passed a bill relating to "*Captive Nations Week*" (Public Law 86-90) in July 1959, in which the name Turkestan is unequivocally mentioned. In spite of this, in the autumn of 1978 *Radio Liberty's* directors gave the order that the term Turkestan was no longer to be employed in the broadcasts, but that the term Central Asia and Kazakhstan were to be used instead. In so doing, an American organisation acted contrary to US law (Public Law 86-90). It would be advisable and also correct for us in the West to use the classical terminology *Turkestan* instead of the Soviet-Russian terminology "*Central Asia*", in order not to deny the national identity of this country and also to distance ourselves from Soviet influence.

At present approximately 42 million people live in Turkestan, more than 32 million of whom are Turkestanis and Muslims (Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Kara-Kalpaks, Uygurs, Tatars, Azerbaidjanis and Tadjiks), and the rest of whom consist of Russian colonialists or administrative personnel, military personnel and deported persons (Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Germans, Armenians, Koreans etc.).

It is common knowledge that the present-day territory of Turkestan was gradually conquered by the Russians during the period between 1715 and 1897. However, despite this it was possible for two states (Bukhara and Khiwa) to retain

their independence in internal affairs under Czarist Russian. On the occasion of the invasion by Soviet-Russian troops in 1920 these states were proclaimed as the peoples' republics of Bukhara and Khara-zim (= Khiwa). The government of Soviet Russia recognised by treaty the right of these two states to sovereignty. In 1924 these states were then abolished by the government of Soviet Russia by means of war operations, threats and infiltration, and their territories were annexed to the Soviet Union. The leaders of the Soviet Union do not try to conceal the global political and strategic importance of Turkestan. Its strategic importance is particularly obvious in the following areas:

Turkestan as a stepping stone between Asia and Europe:

The geographic region of Turkestan shares a border with the following countries: Tatar-Baschkiria, Siberia, Mongolia, China (with East Turkestan within the framework of the Chinese sphere of influence), India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and the Caucasia. These bordering countries have a total area of 33 million km². When considered together with its neighbouring countries, Turkestan, with its 4 million km², assumes the character of an extended region. Turkestan and the neighbouring countries maintain cultural, economic and religious relations with one another. Europe and the countries of the Middle East, can be quickly and easily reached from Turkestan. Thus, for example, Moscow is about 1,000 km. by air from the Turkestani border; Kharkiv (Ukraine) 770 km; Rostov/Don 710 km; Erzerum (Turkey) 1010; Baghdad (Iraq) 1210; Tehran (Iran) 640; Kabul (Afghanistan) 290; Islamabad (Pakistan) 600; Urumtschi (East Turkestan) 590; and the Persian Gulf about 1000 km. These figures clearly illustrate the favourable communication possibilities between Turke-

stan and Europe, the Middle East and Inner Asia. The geo-political situation which Turkestan enjoys presents the Soviet Union with the opportunity of initiating actions in all directions.

Turkestan as an important military base for the Soviet Union:

The Soviet military policy in Turkestan and also as regards the neighbouring countries is coordinated by means of two military zones: *Turkestan* (directly responsible for the Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan and the Middle East with India and Pakistan), and *Central Asia* (responsible for the Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kirgizistan and China, as well as Mongolia). In the case of x, military operations are undertaken from these military zones. According to the opinion of the Soviet Russian military leadership in Turkestan both of these zones are very powerful, being equipped with modern weaponry. These military zones are considered to be the main areas for planning the strategy and tactics of the Soviet Union's military leadership with regard to the Orient. Turkestan is also considered as the *Hinterland* for all Soviet Russian war plans and measures in the question of the Middle East, Inner Asia and Europe. Since December 1979 the world is well aware of the fact that the Soviet Russian invasion of Afghanistan was undertaken from the Soviet Russian military zone of Turkestan. Due to its geo-political situation (extended area, alternating landscapes: steppes, oases, plains, mountains), Turkestan is also the main storehouse for Soviet Russian weaponry such as atomic bombs, rockets, aircraft spare parts and army supplies. West and East Turkestan are considered to be the central store for Russian and Chinese atomic bombs, respectively. By the way the Soviet Union's rocket launching base is situated in Baikonur, Turkestan.

The Soviet Union is capable, if necessary, of meeting its war needs from Turkestan. In 1943 Stalin declared that "the middle Asiatic Soviet republics and Kazakhstan (= Turkestan) had become the most important arsenal of the Red Army". Another Soviet Russian publication revealed that during 1942 the same amount of war material was produced in Turkestan as in the entire remaining territory of the Soviet Union before the Second World War. Soviet Russian reflections of this kind reveal that the Soviet Union is in a position to supply its army from Turkestan, should the need arise. Now, it is not a secret that the Soviet armed forces in Turkestan are absolutely superior to those of all other countries in the Middle East.

Turkestan — source of raw materials for the Soviet Union:

It is common knowledge (and the Soviets themselves even admit this openly), that Turkestan is the main source for raw materials for the Soviet Union. As the main supplier of raw materials, this country is of decisive importance for the industry of the Soviet Union. Turkestan claims the following percentage of industrial raw materials of the Soviet Union (USSR = 100%): Coal, approx. 45%; petroleum more than 60%; earth gas 50%; iron-ore 70%; copper 76%; mercury, approx. 90%; zinc 86%; chrome, more than 80%; nickel, approx. 80%; phosphorus, sulphur, potassium and antimony reserves, more than 75%. There are also plentiful supplies of uranium, gold, silver and platinum in Turkestan. In a report relating to the riches of Turkestan, a Soviet newspaper gave the following example with regard to the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan: "It is possible in the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan to produce annually approximately 120-130 million tons of iron-ore, 100 million tons

of mineral oil and 35 million tons of steel." Assuming a normal rate of exploiting the mineral resources, the raw materials present in Turkestan alone suffice to supply the entire industry of the Soviet Union.

The agricultural wealth of Turkestan is also common knowledge. Thus, for example, Turkestan produces more than 95% of the Soviet cotton production; 75% of the raw silk; 60% of the fruit; 65% of the rice; 100% of the jute; 100% of the natural rubber and 100% of the karakul furs. This country is also known as the third corn house of the Soviet Union. Thanks to Turkestan's economic riches, it is possible for the Soviet Union to follow the political course of a world economic power. It would not be in a position to do this were it not for the economic potential present in Turkestan.

Turkestan as a centre of communist infiltration in the Orient:

The Soviet Union has announced on various occasions that Turkestan is to serve as the vanguard of communism in the Orient. The ideas of the Soviet leadership as listed below reveal Turkestan's role in the infiltration of communism in the Orient:

— "Turkestan is the main centre for spreading our ideas in the Orient";

— "Turkestan is to be the carrier of the germ of the communist revolution in the Orient";

— "Turkestan played the role of gateway from Asia to Europe in world history. It is now Turkestan's role to act as the gateway from Europe (meaning Russia — the author) to Asia";

— "Socialism and Communism are inevitable for the future of the peoples of the Orient".

There are many more similar theses held by the Soviet leadership with regard

to the use of Turkestan in Soviet policy in the Orient.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Russians have made much progress in infiltrating and spreading communism in the Orient (particularly in the Middle East). We can mention here as examples the origin of the Soviet slogan "the spirit of Tashkent", organisational propaganda measures, such as organising more than 50 international conferences, symposia of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in Turkestan, where the Soviet Russian system is represented as an "exemplary model" for the development of peoples, and finally the fact that many followers and sympathizers of Moscow's communism have been from the ranks of the developing countries. Here one is reminded of the use of oppressed Islam in the Islamic countries.

The Soviet Russian invasion and occupation of Afghanistan shows us that communism was exported first from Russia to Turkestan by means of armed force, where it continues to be enforced in the same way. The appearance of communism in Afghanistan came about in exactly the same manner as in Turkestan. It is also interesting to note that more than 20,000 Turkestanis are working as Soviet specialists in the Middle East and at the same time, are being used as instruments of Soviet infiltration.

Up to the present our goal has been to provide a general view of the strategic importance of Turkestan for the Soviet Union. It will now be necessary to deal with the country and its importance for Western strategy, particularly as regards the question of promoting freedom and combating Soviet Russian imperialism, and to report its influence in the Orient.

As everyone knows, this country which has been twice conquered by Russia (the first time under the Czars and the second time under the Soviet Russians) does not

have the right to lead an independent national existence or to enjoy the usual human rights and liberties. Turkestan is subject to the strict and absolute control of Moscow. The Soviet Union has done all it could to oppress Turkestan. Despite this, the people of Turkestan have not lost their will or desire for freedom. This became obvious in the struggle for liberation which took place in Turkestan in the years 1918 — 34, (and particularly up to 1923 on a large scale), also in the resistance of the Turkestan people under the Soviet Russian regime, in their attempts to preserve national customs, culture and traditions, not to mention the effectiveness of Islam in the national struggle against communism and also by the struggle for national liberation in Turkestan during the Second World War. It is not a secret that thousands of Turkestanis (Uzbeks, Turkmen, Tadzhiks), living in Afghanistan are now fighting in the front rows of the liberation front of Afghans against Russian expansionism. It is also a well known fact that when the Soviet Army invaded Afghanistan, the Soviet soldiers who came from Turkestan, were not willing to fight against the Afghans. It appears that communism was not capable of converting these Muslim-Turkestanis into "Soviet patriots". Furthermore, it has become known that numerous Soviet soldiers who come from Turkestan have gone over to the side of the freedom fighters (Mujahideen), and that many of them are now active training Afghan freedom fighters.

By initiating a process of liberation for Turkestan, the Western powers and the Islamic countries of the Orient could achieve a strategic position in world politics, particularly in the Middle East. Concerted action calling for national liberation for Turkestan would undoubtedly help, first of all, to effect a reinforcement of national identity. The

Western powers and the Islamic countries could take the stage as Turkestan's common friend for the purposes of establishing the country's national independence.

The founding of an independent state of Turkestan would mean that Russia and China would be separated from one another; there would no longer be a danger of Russian expansion in the Middle East; the security of the peoples of the Middle East would be guaranteed; Turkestan would return to being one of the Oriental, Islamic communities of the free world, and the world economy would have access to the economic potential of Turkestan. The demand for national independence for Turkestan in no way implies interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. The constitutions of the Soviet Union, including those of the Soviet republics offers, even if only formally, the conditions according to which each Soviet republic has the right to secede from the USSR. Even the international Basic Declaration, e.g. the UNO declaration of December 14, 1960, relating to colonialism and the rights of national self-determination and the international pact of December 19, 1966, relating to human rights, etc. do not deny either a national right to existence or human rights for Turkestan. The Congress of the USA which proclaimed in 1959 the Act relating to "Captive Nations Week", in which Turkestan was included as one of the captive nations, was unique in the history of the world. This Act represents a moral basis for the demand for freedom. The general assembly of the Muslim World League in Mecca, Saudi Arabia adopted a Turkestan Resolution in May 1965, in which it was decided that:

"The Muslim Congress urgently requests all Islamic states and also those states who are in favour of freedom to bring up the problem of Turkestan in the general assembly of the UNO."

The problem of abolishing Russian colonialism in Turkestan and the re-establishment of national independence in this country became the character of an international affair through the discussion which took place in the general assembly on the subject of colonialism. The British ambassador to the UNO made the following statement to the general assembly of the UNO on November 26, 1962:

"In 1815 the whole of *Ceylon* came under British rule at the same time as *Azerbaijan* was being occupied by Russia. *Ceylon* achieved its independence in 1947; when may we ask, can we hope to see *Azerbaijan* independent? *Nigeria* and *Ghana* came under British influence in the middle of the 19th century. *Lagos* was proclaimed a colony in 1862; a protectorate was declared for the *Gold Coast* in 1874. The same period saw the Russian conquest of the independent states of Central Asia with their ancient civilization; the last independent *Kazakh* state submitted in 1854, the conquest of the three *Uzbek* states of *Turkestan* was completed by 1876, and the whole of *Turkmenia* was finally subjugated and annexed in the early 1880's. After nearly a century of British rule *Ghana* became independent in 1957 and *Nigeria* in 1960; what is the target date for the independence of the Soviet Central Asian territories?"

That is the main question to be answered! Up to now the government of the Soviet Union has provided no answer to this question. Nor has any member state of the UNO asked the Soviets when they are going to answer this question. Thus the question remains: "What is the target date for the independence of the Soviet Central Asian territories" (= Turkestan)? The world has the right to obtain a reply from Moscow and thereby take measures to arrange a date for the independence of Turkestan.

Polish Fight for Existence

Memorandum to President Reagan

Since 1939, the Polish Nation has fought desperately for its biological existence and historical ideals. We have always based ourselves on peace, freedom, respect for human rights and nations' rights to independence, freedom of belief and religious tolerance.

Torn to pieces by invading powers, systematically ravaged for over 180 years, the Polish Nation has never thrown down its arms, continuing to fight the system of violence everywhere, under the banner of freedom and equality.

When the danger of totalitarian tyranny hung over Europe and the world, our Nation was the first to take up the fight with the Hitler-forces, and succumbed only after being treacherously attacked from behind by Soviet Russia. The thorny path of the underground and emigration began, and the fact that the United States existed as the great bastion of freedom and democracy in the world, has always strengthened us in our struggle.

"I saw Poland betrayed", the words uttered by the former US ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane were a quintessence of what he saw in Poland in 1945 after what the inglorious Yalta Agreement had committed Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe to continuing Soviet-Russian domination.

Today, 36 years later, Soviet-Russian agents under the disguise of the s.c. "Military Council for National Salvation" have again begun the ruthless destruction of the best forces in our nation, with the silent approval of great western banks and some internationally renowned politicians.

Mr. President, it is impossible to conceal the truth about the events in Poland. The "Military Council for National Salvation" has in its actions against democracy been assisted by the Soviet troops, that are *permanently stationed* in garrisons in Poland.

Long before Gen. Jaruzelski's take-over, it was well known that transports of Polish army uniforms were being sent to the Soviet Union and that several Soviet units stationed in our country were being exchanged for new ones. This hidden Soviet-Russian invasion of Poland was very well planned down to the smallest detail. But no one is faultless, an example may be the information released by the s.c. "Inter-Radio" station (seated in Prague) about the arrest of "Solidarity"-members, who at that time were abroad, some in the United States, some in West Germany, some in Sweden. This fact clearly shows, that the proscriptive lists were ready long before the military take-over.

Mr. President, despite the manipulations of the mass media (including "Radio Free Europe") in the West, the Polish people know that their country is in fact occupied by Soviet-Russia and intuitively feel that the present events are closely related to the activities of the Trilateral Commission, whose tentacles seem to have reached our country. Since August 1980 Poland has received millions of dollars worth of credits and loans from the West. We know that this help, so pompously called — "the help to the Polish People", in fact went to the gang that is in power, the s.c. PZPR (Polish United Workers Party) and through them — to the Soviet Union. These facts were and still are bitterly commented upon by the Polish people.

Mr. President, the Polish people can endure much suffering and we know that no credits or loans given by the West can save Poland from economic bankruptcy and starvation, because all the negotiations were held above our heads, not with "Solidarity" — the only and real representative of our Nation.

Mr. President, our only hope lies in the attitude of the United States. We were, are and wish to be a nation for which the American ideals lie close to our heart.

The party represented by me — the Confederacy for Independent Poland (KPN)

— has a great share in the making of “Solidarity”. It is a bloc of different groupings and parties of anti-communist character and the only political oppositional party in Poland (totally independent from the communists). Our goal is — full independence and freedom for Poland.

I don't think that I would be mistaken, if I claimed these postulates to be representative for the whole of the Polish people.

1. Recognize the present situation in Poland as a proven Soviet-Russian military intervention and occupation of Poland.

2. Recognize the events in Poland to be of international significance.

3. The United States of America should take immediate action against the military regime in Poland.

4. Immediate revision of the Yalta-Agreement as being absolutely contradictory to international law and human morality.

5. Stop all talks and negotiations with the representatives of the s.c. “Military Council for National Salvation” as being imposed on the Polish Nation by the Soviet Union.

6. Demand the immediate release of all political prisoners.

7. Admit the bankruptcy of the s.c. PRL (People's Republic of Poland) and confiscate all its property abroad.

8. Stop all economic help (loans, credits) to the communist leaders of Poland, since they have been imposed on us, and thus cannot represent the people.

We pray, no doubt with all the free world, that the words “I saw Poland betrayed” will never have to be repeated.

Hoping for an answer, I am Yours respectfully

Mgr. Maciej Pstrag-Bielenski
(official representative of foreign affairs)

(Editor's footnote: although the ABN fully subscribes to the political tenets presented in the preceding memorandum and fully supports the struggle for Polish independence, we would, nonetheless, like to add, that Poland's freedom can only be realised in a common front of all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, which will ultimately lead to the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations and the establishment on its ruins of national, independent and sovereign states, each within its ethnographic boundaries. *Freedom ex gratia is not freedom!*)

His Excellency Ronald Reagan
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr. President,

Because of the continuous suppression of national and human rights in Ukraine and all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, recently manifested by the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the Russian intervention in Poland by proxy, we

strongly urge the Government of the United States of America to declare the Helsinki Accords null and void, to cease all economic assistance and all form of trade relations with the Russian empire, the USSR and its satellite states.

Respectfully Yours,

Yaroslav Stetsko — Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

President of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

Byelorussia — a Soviet Russian Colony

Memorandum of the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America to the Members of the United Nations

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a member of the United Nations, is in reality the Soviet Russian Empire, consisting of many conquered non-Russian nations, peoples, nationalities and ethnic groups.

The Central Soviet Imperial Government in Moscow is employing very elaborate techniques and methods to keep the Soviet Russian Empire intact and the many colonial peoples in strict obedience.

To acquaint you with the reality of colonial life in the Soviet Union, we are making a short presentation about Byelorussia, one of the Soviet Russian colonies.

On March 25th, 1918 Byelorussia was proclaimed Independent, by the true representatives of the Byelorussian people, in the city of Minsk, which became the capital of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. The young Byelorussian Republic defended its freedom and national independence from the Soviet Russian aggression.

Unfortunately, Byelorussians were unable to defend their Free National Byelorussian state against the powerful enemy for very long. In 1921 the Byelorussian Democratic Republic was conquered and its territory was partitioned between Soviet Russia and a newly reborn Poland.

In 1939 western Byelorussia was forcefully incorporated into the Soviet Union, thus the entire Byelorussian ethnographic territory was under Soviet Russian occupation.

However, the Byelorussian people were oppressed but not conquered, their national spirit remained very strong.

By the end of World War II the Second Byelorussian National Congress, consisting

of 1039 delegates, convened in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia.

This Congress adopted the following resolutions:

1. Accepted as valid the Third Constitutional Articles, proclaiming independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic.

2. Not to recognize the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, as the national Byelorussian State, because it was created and forcefully imposed on the Byelorussian people by the Soviet Russian occupiers.

3. Annulled the rights of the Soviet Russian Government and the puppet Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to speak on behalf of the Byelorussian people, because they do not represent the will of the Byelorussian people.

4. Ratified the elected Byelorussian Central Council as the only legal national representatives and spokesmen of the Byelorussian people and their country, Byelorussia.

However, the Soviet Russian armies conquered Byelorussia again in 1944. The Soviet Russian Government restored the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic with its previous colonial status but with the reduced territory.

The Soviet Russian Government partitioned the ethnographic territory of Byelorussia. Over one third of ethnographic Byelorussian territory, with the cities of Smolensk, Vielikiye Luki, Roslavl, Bransk and others, was annexed into the Russian SFSR. The Soviet Russian Government is treating this part of Byelorussian territory as eternal Russian land and is persistently

and continuously Russifying the Byelorussian population of this territory.

The Byelorussian people in the Byelorussian SSR are treated by the Soviet Russian Government as a colonial commodity. Starting in 1928 thousands upon thousands of the leading strata of the Byelorussian people (even including Byelorussian communists), scientists, professionals, writers, poets, educators, artists, actors, clergymen, statesmen, doctors, officers, engineers etc., were eliminated. Farmers were decimated for their natural opposition to be forced into serfdom of the hated communist collective farm system.

Some of the above victims were executed by firing squads. Most of them were deported to the dreaded concentration camps in Siberia, where they were worked to death. Over 6 million of Byelorussian population have been destroyed by the Soviet Russian Government during 60 years of communist rule in Byelorussia.

The hope of the Byelorussian people, the young generation is being deliberately and systematically weakened. As a rule, young Byelorussian professionals after graduation are sent to work in Russia or other non-Russian republics. In this way they are prevented from improving the life of their own Byelorussian people and secondly they are cut off from their national Byelorussian roots.

In their place, Russian professionals, administrators and communist party members are imported into Byelorussia. These imported Russians take up positions of leadership, in the Byelorussian SSR, from top to bottom in: government, the communist party, industry, agriculture, education, communications media, literature, arts, sports, etc.

To substantiate this, the list of officers of the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of Byelorussian SSR, as of January 29, 1981, is shown below. Russian surnames speak for themselves, but we will mark them by an asterisk.*

1st Secretary — T. Ya. Kiselov,* 2nd Secretary — V. I. Brovnikov,* Secretaries: N. I. Dementey,* A. T. Kuzmin,* Yu. B. Kolokolov,* L. S. Firisanov,* Members: A. N. Aksenov,* Prime Minister of the BSSR, V. G. Baluyev,* Chairman of Government, Committee for the Security of the BSSR, V. A. Gvozdyov,* Chairman of Government, Planning Commission of the BSSR, E. F. Ivanovskiy, General of the Army, Commander of the Byelorussian Army Districts, M. I. Lagir,* Chairman of Committee for National Control, V. A. Mikulich, V. F. Mitskievich, the 1st Deputy to the Prime Minister of the BSSR, N. N. Polozov,* Chairman of Soviets of the Byelorussian Professional Unions, I. E. Polakov,* Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the BSSR, I. F. Yakushev,* Dept. of Literature in Central Committee of CPB. Candidates to the office: V. E. Lobanok, Deputy to the Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the BSSR, Mrs. N. L. Sniezhkova,* Deputy to the Prime Minister of the BSSR, V. P. Shaplyko,* the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth-Union of BSSR.

Byelorussian culture is being systematically and progressively eradicated and replaced by Russian culture. Transplanted Russians are organizing Russian choirs, orchestras, dancing and theatrical groups in the cities and towns of Byelorussia. In place of the native Byelorussian language, the Russian language is used in all government agencies, universities, high schools and even elementary schools, with the exception of some rural elementary schools.

Byelorussians are even afraid to speak in their native Byelorussian language on

the streets of Byelorussian cities, for fear of being accused of Byelorussian "bourgeois nationalism". Most of the books, newspapers and magazines in Byelorussia are published in the foreign Russian language, with the exception of a few with very small and limited in circulation publications in the native Byelorussian language, with the exception of a few Byelorussian language are interdicted and placed in special restricted depositories, not accessible to the people, but only to the special anti-Byelorussian propagandists. Knowledge of their national history is prohibited for the Byelorussian people.

By Russifying Byelorussia and other non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Russian Government is transforming them into one Soviet Russian people, and thus substantially increasing Russian manpower intended for expansionist purposes.

The whole world knows about the oppression and persecution of religion in the Soviet Union by the atheistic Soviet Russian Government. However, this same government is not ashamed to demonstrate an exceptional cynicism in manipulating the token clergy it keeps for the propaganda purposes. Thus, Pimen, the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia, in his published declaration of July 9, 1981 expressed his support of the policies of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union with respect to the American neutron bomb. Similarly, Athanasios, the Bishop of Pinsk and auxiliary Bishop of the Minsk Diocese in Byelorussia, in his published statement of September 4, 1981, supported the declaration of Patriarch Pimen and the policies of the Soviet Russian Government against the strengthening of American defense capabilities.

On September 2, 1981 the Council of Presbyterians of the Evangelical Christian-Baptists of Byelorussia signed a published appeal to the President of the United

States, Ronald Reagan, asking for a halt in the production of the neutron bomb.

While trying to weaken and disarm the western countries, the government of Soviet Russia is constantly increasing its own military strength. Russia is continuing its expansion from a position of strength. By solidifying its total and complete occupation of Afghanistan, Russia is grabbing dominating positions in various countries of Asia, Africa and Central America. By advancing a Finlandization of all of Western Europe, Russia is preparing for direct military action in that area.

Heavy industries, such as automobile, tractor, heavy metal tools, heavy electric motor factories, oil refineries, oil and gas pipelines from Siberia through Byelorussia to the West, are being expanded in Byelorussia.

All these heavy industries are not intended for local use in predominantly agricultural Byelorussia. But they are essential as closely located production and repair bases for the heavy armaments of the Soviet Russian Armies operating in Western Europe.

The unlimited growth of the Soviet Russian subversive and military expansionism all over the world, is posing a direct danger of destruction to the people of Byelorussia, as well as to the population of the entire world. We would like to ask you to debate this important and urgent international problem on the forum of the United Nations in the nearest future.

The liberation of Byelorussia and of all other Captive Nations from Soviet Russian colonialism, will diffuse and weaken the expansionist potential of Russia and bring a lasting peace to the world.

Very respectfully yours,

John Kosiak, President
Michael Sienko, Secretary

Norilsk Uprising

(Continuation)

II. Acclimatization

The *Gorlag* camp was prepared for our reception. The barracks assigned to us were separated from the main area by barbed wire. All the camp *suki* had received knives for "self-defense", because, as was explained to them, a large transport of *Banderist*⁹ cutthroats, who intended to wipe out all the camp activists, was arriving at Norilsk.

We were processed during the next four days. First we were thoroughly searched and given identification numbers. These numbers consisted of two parts — a letter of the Russian alphabet and three numerals. We received numbers accompanied only by letters: "U" or "F", which made it easy to indentify us amid the crush of other prisoners.

After this initial phase was completed, we were then divided into brigades, each brigade being assigned an administration-trusted brigadier. Each brigadier wore an arm band on his left sleeve with the word "Brigadier" on it.

On the fifth day, we were taken out to work. To our surprise, we did not hear the traditional "Attention, prisoners!" The convoy guards were not leading us, but stood on both sides of our path, creating a living protective corridor. We walked down this corridor in our brigade units. Brigadiers, like army sergeants, walked alongside their brigades.

After moving about one hundred and fifty or two hundred meters, we were halted before the gatehouse of the work zone, which was called "Gorstroy". This was a huge, surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers, tundra territory, inside which construction in various stages was taking place. The prisoners of *Gorlag* were building the city of Norilsk. All the work, from the conception of the projects to their completion, was carried out by prisoners.

We happened to come upon this enormous construction at a time when the city's central plaza was being built. We had the job of levelling the land and moving wheelbarrows of gravel from one place to another.

During the hour long lunch break, we scattered in all directions, searching for countrymen and new acquaintances. Here, as opposed to the residence compound, we were not separated from the other prisoners by barbed wire. Furthermore, the workers here were not just from zone 5, but also from zone 4 and, next to us, although separated by a narrow *barrier*, were the women of zone 6. Through the prism of the barbed wire, these women seemed incredibly beautiful and alluring.

But above all, we were interested in the behavior of our countrymen, who were afraid to approach us, when we called them to the barbed fence in the compound. Only a few of them returned our calls from a distance, and only in the Russian language.

Ukrainian language was not officially forbidden, but it was very dangerous to use it. Our language exposed us as Ukrainians or, as we were contemptuously

called "*Banderists*", and drew upon us the heavy burden of additional persecution and degradations. In Karaganda we had won the right to national pride, but here, in Norilsk, this right would still have to be fought for.

The countrymen whom we met here, asked us to moderate our behavior and gradually blend in — if we wanted to survive. "You have no idea what Norilsk is like", they cautioned us.

After we returned from work, we were all thoroughly searched at the guardhouse and again escorted to the prison yard. Our brigadiers then returned to the "staff headquarters" to inform the administration of our behavior and obtain new instructions.

The second working day differed in no way from the first.

On the third day, during the lunch hour, we again scattered over the entire work zone. I was walking alone, when suddenly I noticed a foreman's aid heading very decisively and aggressively toward me. I stepped aside, but he blocked my path, and asked in a threatening manner:

"You scum, what are you doing here? Where is your brigade?"

"We work on the site," I answered, "but this is our lunch hour and I have the right to be anywhere I want."

"I'll give you rights, you *Banderist!* You want to be a hero? We've seen worse than you and cut them down to size, and as for you, you snakes, we'll roast you like shish kebabs!"

I did not answer, but went on my way.

Separation from one's brigade and wandering around the work zone, even during the lunch break, was considered a breach of discipline and evidence of an unrepentant attitude. The foreman's aid had come to the construction site specifically for the purpose of putting an end to such flagrant behavior.

During the afternoon, the brigadier approached me with the complaint that we were not fulfilling our quota.

"Just look at us," I answered, "we are barely standing on our feet. What kind of quota do you expect from us? Have patience, don't be hostile. When we get back a little of our strength, which was exhausted during the transport, then you can demand work from us."

"And besides, aren't you a prisoner here, just like we are?" I continued. "You didn't volunteer to come here, anymore than we did. So why do you want to keep harassing us?"

The brigadier silently turned away and left us.

The work day ended. At the guardhouse, eight men were separated from us, handcuffed, and led to the *punishment block*. There, still handcuffed, they were beaten, thrown against the cement floor, kicked, and finally locked up in a separate cell.

On the next day, before leaving for work, my brigadier pulled a note from his pocket, and read: "Hrycyak, Yevhen and Melnyk, Dmytro are to remain in camp."

We stayed behind and, after receiving the appropriate signal, went out for inspection.

"What's this?" — the foreman's aid growled when he saw us. "Shirkers?"

"No," I answered assertively, "our brigadier left us behind."

"You are lying, you filth! The brigadier had no such orders from the administration."

"Check it."

We two and another of our countrymen were locked up in the corridor of the punishment block. We were not thrown in a cell, because we have not as yet passed through the "*molotoboyka*",¹⁰ since the "*molotoboytsi*"¹¹ were probably occupied elsewhere.

After two or three hours, the outer door suddenly opened and the chief of *Gorlag's* DD Section 1, Lieutenant Colonel Sarychev, entered, accompanied by one of the guards.

"Well, you scum," he growled like one of the *blatnye* prisoners, "doesn't the climate here appeal to you? Ha? Well, no matter! We'll immunize you to the climate... Half of you bastards we will cut up and send to the devil's mother!"

(Here Sarychev used vulgarities from the vocabulary of *blatnye* prisoners.)

We looked him straight in the eye and kept silent.

"Open the cell," he roared at the guard.

The guard first opened the metal plated doors and then the massive barred doors, and we all entered the cell, which was already overfilled with different *blatnye* and other regular prisoners.

"Who is your ringleader?", asked Sarychev.

"We don't have a ringleader, it's forbidden," someone answered.

"Forbidden! I have brought some men here, so who is going to *accept*¹² them, if there is no leader?"

"We accept only Russians — non-Russians we do not *accept*," another voice threw in.

"These are Ukrainians."

Apparently the cell occupants had no desire whatsoever to *accept* us. Sarychev understood this and began getting nervous.

"Mylovanov, are you in charge here?" he addressed a serious looking prisoner, standing in the center of the cell, who did not at all resemble a *blatnye* prisoner.

"No."

"This fellow here," Sarychev pointed at me, "said that if you ever leave the *punishment block*, he'll slash your throat."

"That's not true," Mylovanov answered. "He doesn't know me and I him. Why would he want to slash my throat?"

Sarychev angrily walked away. Some of the prisoners began asking him how long they were to be kept in the *punishment block*.

Sarychev answered in mid-stride that this would depend on their *behavior* and, upon reaching the barred door, he raised his fist in a threatening gesture and spoke:

"I'll expect you to *accept* the new men in accordance with all the rules!"

Sarychev was obviously in a hurry. He was not backing off from his threat to cut us up indefinitely, but planned to have it realized that very same day.

Before the work day ended and the prisoners of our section returned to camp, Sarychev had armed himself against us. The guardhouse defense was strengthened by several dozen convoy guards armed with machine guns and sub-machine guns. Six *suki* stood at the gate, armed with knives and metal clubs.

The entry into camp began. The guards searched the first five prisoners very thoroughly. As soon as they passed inside, the *suki* knocked them down, beating them with clubs, kicking them, threatening them with knives, and chasing them through the mud to the barracks where they were immediately locked up. This was repeated with the next group of five, and so on until the end.

Sarychev was counting on the hope that the "mutinous *Banderists*" could not tolerate the pressure and would riot. Then, under the pretext of suppressing a riot, he could open fire and thus fulfill his assignment perfectly.

The punishment block that night was comparatively peaceful.

Next morning, the aid to the *punishment block's* chief prisoner Ivan Gorozhankin burst into our cell. There were gleaming handcuffs visibly protruding from his pocket and a knife was thrust into his boot leg.

"You! You! You!" screamed Gorozhankin, pointing out individual prisoners. "To work! To work!"

Coming closer to us, he trembled with rage and began contemptuously:

"You base *Banderists*, with your filthy mouths! How did you manage to get here still dry? Good, good!... Well, am I going to have fun with you. Now get to work! Move! Move!"

Seven men were led out of another cell. They had been there two days, their faces bruised and swollen. One of them stayed behind, because he could not get up.

Gorozhankin divided us (the ones originally from Karaganda) into two groups of five and handcuffed the members of each group to each other. Then he ordered us to sit. There were other groups of five behind us, but they were not handcuffed.

We sat. Gorozhankin stepped aside, critically observing us in silence for some time, then whipped out the knife from his boot leg (its blade was wrapped in heavy paper), grasped it with both hands and struck us at random with the handle.

Having vented his rage, Gorozhankin led us to the guardhouse. Suddenly, he again became crazed with anger and ordered us to stop. We all halted together and sat down in the mud, because anyone who hesitated would have gotten beaten.

Here Gorozhankin had another outburst of rage, and then let us go on. I was in the first row on the right side. Gorozhankin walked a little behind, so I did not see him. Suddenly I felt a jarring blow at the back of my head, the pain rushing from my eyes, through my whole body, all the way down to the soles of my feet. Everything went black, and I thought I was going to faint. This was Gorozhankin giving me a generous taste of his knife handle.

Beyond the gate of the guardhouse, we walked accompanied by convoy guards. At a designated spot, Gorozhankin removed our handcuffs, distributed crowbars and shovels, and directed us to dig holes for utility posts. The holes were to be a meter square and a meter deep. The quota was ten holes per person.

I dug out few shovelfulls of softer soil and underneath found the ground frozen solid. Gorozhankin stood around with convoy guards and prodded us.

"Dig, dig you snakes! Chew that frozen ground! I want it to be one meter by one meter, or else..."

I dug out one corner of the hole, which instantly filled with water. Gorozhankin came up to me to see how much I had accomplished.

"Ah, yes," he said, feigning a pleasant, courteous manner, "just a little more, and it will be enough; we don't need it any wider here. Why should you wear yourself out unnecessarily?" Then he stepped back a safe distance and again screamed: "All right, you scum! Look alive! One meter by one meter!"

Later that afternoon, Gorozhankin suddenly separated us again into our groups of five, handcuffed us, and led us back to the compound. On the way, he sneered at us:

"Well my brave fellows, it appears that you are very delicate. And how they described you! Ho! Ho! Now you finally showed us what you're really like. Yesterday six men were able to chase your whole brotherhood from the guard-house gate all the way to the barracks, and not one bastard so much as raised his head. With such spirit, all you're good for is to hide underneath your berths! Ha! Ha!"

"And now, boys, I will tell you why you were released so early from work today. You will be divided into two groups — three hundred fifty men will be sent to zone 4, and the other three hundred fifty will remain here. In zone 4 as well as here, you will be separated and assigned by twos and threes throughout different brigades. Then you won't be able to make any moves. We will twist all of you into rams' horns."

That same evening we were marched through the tundra to zone 4, and the next morning were sent to work in our different brigades. In this manner, we left the internal isolation and found ourselves in the midst of prisoners of both zones 4 and 5.

Sometime during the next two weeks, the prisoners of both zones were shaken by the news: *Gorozhankin had had his head chopped off!*

(To be continued)

⁹ Banderists — in Ukrainian pronounced "banderivtsi", is a colloquial term derived from the name of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera (1909-1959), to describe members and sympathisers of the OUN led by Stepan Bandera.

¹⁰ Molotoboyka — a prison slang term used to describe a system of beatings executed by a group of *suki*, professional criminals who chose to collaborate with the authorities; same term is also used to describe the cell where such beatings took place.

¹¹ Molotoboytsi — a prison slang term used to describe a group of *suki*, professional criminals who chose to collaborate with the authorities, whose only function was to perform the beatings or "*molotoboyka*".

¹² Accept — the word *accept*, in the prison dialect, meant the person to be accepted was to be beaten to unconsciousness and pushed underneath the sleeping berths.

Petras Paulaitis — 35 years of Gulag

Estonian describes Lithuanian Camp Veteran

The author of this article, *Sergei Soldatov*, born in 1933, is one of the outstanding members of the Estonian democratic movement. This group had published in 1972 a memorandum addressed to the UNO and a letter to its Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim. In these documents they demanded independence for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In October, 1975, five members of the group were sentenced. Soldatov was sentenced to six years in the camps, which he completed in January, 1981; he was compelled to emigrate in May, 1981, and now resides in Munich. His son Alexander, who protested against his father's sentencing, was sentenced to five years. Alexander was released in August, 1981, but still lives in Estonia. *Petras Paulaitis*, the subject of his article, is one of the most distinguished Lithuanian "prisoners of conscience".

December of 1975... Following the verdict of the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR, I am on the way to one of the Soviet-Russian strict-regime camps to serve a long-term sentence for participation in the Estonian and all-Union democratic movement... A week later they have brought me to the gate of Camp 17 in the Zubovo-Poliansk rayon, Mordovian ASSR... Soon I am accepted into the brotherhood of the prisoners... They tell me: "On the occasion of your arrival — a banquet at Peter's. Don't be late!"

„Behind Bars almost since the End of the War...“

I follow the instructions, but keep thinking: Who is this Peter? In the evening, Miša Kheifetz takes me to a tall, lean man with somewhat sad, large grey eyes, and says: "Get acquainted! It's Petras — the Lithuanian patriot. He's been

behind bars almost since the end of the war".

...Stunned, refusing to believe my own eyes and ears, I stare for several seconds at my new acquaintance. More than thirty years have passed since the end of the war! Then I give him a firm handshake... We all sit down on his bed... Our modest party begins. I watch Petras attentively. Before me is a man who does not use his authority to overwhelm anyone, who does not impose his opinions, a man of intelligence, modest, gentle, with a sense of subtle humor. Yet, obviously, a very firm man, unbending where his fundamentals are concerned. Later I found out that in the camps Petras was a sort of secret "Red Cross" — he organized assistance to needy sick prisoners, to those who were deprived of the right to use the camp store, to the recent arrivals from prison, and others.

Later we were separated by it... I met Petras again in August 1976, and remained together with him until the fall of 1980. We became even closer friends during those years.

Concern about Lithuania's Fate and Situation in the West

Although advanced in years, Petras kept improving his profficiency in Italian. Each evening he was reading Lithuanian books or Italian texts... I must be grateful to Petras for being able to read uncomplicated Italian texts. Each Wednesday we drank a leisurely glass of tea and shared everything that had accumulated in our hearts... Petras would tell me about his life; he worried about Lithuania's fate and had bitter words on the situation in the West. He was profoundly moved by the fate of the Lithuanian patriots — Gajauskas, Petkus, Jaškunas, Simutis, Lapienis, Gimbutas, Stašaitis, and many

others. He was especially worried about Nijole Sadunaite, who was then living in exile and corresponded with us...

Historical Optimism and Faith in God

...Despite the difficult conditions, Petras was concerned with all his heart about the fate of his fatherland. A bright historical optimism and a profound faith in God's providence were typical for him. He was a great lover of nature, plants and especially, flowers. After long conflicts and quarrels with the camp administration, he prevailed and planted a small patch behind the barracks with sorrel, which he made available for everybody. He planted several beds with flowers under the windows of the medical section...

Protest Against Seizure of Lithuania

Petras Paulaitis was born June 29, 1904, in Jurbarkas. He graduated from high school with commendation and, having received a scholarship, went to study theology and philosophy in the Catholic University of Milan. Thereafter he worked at the Lithuanian Legation in Lisbon and as a teacher in Austria. In 1939 he returned to Lithuania, where he taught in the Jurbarkas high school. The events of 1940 left him indignant. He protested publicly more than once against the seizure of Lithuania and evaded arrest only by escaping. During the German occupation he was arrested by the Gestapo, but also managed to escape.

In the postwar period, Paulaitis took part in the resistance struggle, centering his efforts on the underground press. He was arrested (by the Russians) in 1947 and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Next came life in Stalin's terrible camps of Taišet and Norilsk. "Krushchev's thaw" followed and in 1956 the Commission of the USSR Supreme Presidium released Paulaitis after a superficial interrogation.

Petras managed to find a job as a

stoker in a canned goods factory in Kaunas; later he worked as a watchman for a fox farm... But the Lithuanian party bigwigs, who had done away with thousands of guerillas, were suffering from a guilty conscience. They began looking for a pretext how to get rid of Paulaitis. One of the students who was associating with him informed against Paulaitis to the KGB and accused him of conducting "nationalist and anti-Soviet propaganda". In the fall of 1957, Paulaitis was returned to the camp to continue his 25 year term. Ten years were added to this term for "agitating students", according to the new case. 35 years of imprisonment! Petras spent the greater part of his term in strict-regime camps.

...Paulaitis will finish serving his term in the fall of 1982 — very old, his health broken. He will end his servitude a heroic individual, who has suffered much, who never bent his will and whose love for his country, Lithuania, is inextinguishable.

"The Pride of Lithuania and of Mankind"

On June 3, 1980, we held a festive celebration of the 76th anniversary of Petras at the 3rd camp in Mordovia. During my congratulatory remarks, I expressed the following idea: "If during the fatal year of 1939, Petras Paulaitis had returned to Italy, the world would have had a scholar like thousands of others. A villa would have arisen on Italian soil. Scholarly works that exist in the hundreds of thousands would have been written... But Petras decided to return to Lithuania. And, as a result, we, political prisoners, have a camp patriarch, and mankind has been enriched by a unique destiny that will shine as a beacon for many generations of patriots in various countries! For decisions that create a unique life!" One of the fellow prisoners added: "Petras Paulaitis is the pride of Lithuania and mankind!"

Helsinki Accords — Capitulation of the Free World?

Memorandum of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine to the Australian Federal Government in connection with the current Madrid Conference

1. The Helsinki Accords of August 1, 1975, are a contradiction in terms, symbolising the capitulation of the Free World in the face of Russian expansionism. They can now be seen as the most significant diplomatic blunder since Neville Chamberlain's attempt to appease the appetite of Hitler's Nazi Germany. Articles III and IV recognised the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian colonial empire, thereby sanctioning the status quo of Russian aggression. At the same time, in Articles VII and VIII, the western powers proclaimed that human rights, fundamental liberties, and the rights of national groups to self determination must be respected.

2. The logic of the approach followed by Western Governments is one of appeasement, notwithstanding the fact that on December 19, 1960, the United Nations General Assembly passed a "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". It is their hope that by justifying the existence of the Russian empire, they can somehow win human rights for its citizens and in this way reform can proceed within. However, the process of causation runs in an opposite direction, as is demonstrated by history, and an appropriate analysis of the Russian empire. The question of political independence of national entities receives little emphasis in the calculations of the Western Powers, when more than half the population of the Soviet Union is made up of non-Russian nationalities. In no colonial empire in history has it been possible for the subjugated peoples to implement human rights irrespective of national rights, i.e. without restoring or attaining their national independence beforehand. Indeed, the attainment of full human rights for

the Russian minority of the Soviet Union is not possible without decolonization of the Empire. For the Russian regime, in establishing the mechanisms and institutions which are necessary effectively to subjugate the non-Russian nationalities, by the same token, impose totalitarianism upon their own people. Hence the governments of the Free World must recognise that the liquidation of the Russian empire, and of the communist system within it, are fundamental pre-requisites for the implementation of human rights and basic liberties.

3. The Russian imperialists are themselves well aware of the fact that the prospect of independence for their colonies is their greatest weakness. In particular, they know that Ukraine, a nation of 53 million, and among the largest half dozen economic entities in the world today, poses the single most import threat to Russian hegemony. The facts speak for themselves. Of all the political prisoners in the Soviet Union, Ukrainians make up between 60 and 70 per cent, even though Ukrainians constitute only 20 per cent of the total population. On November 9, 1976, several individuals active in the movement for national and human rights in Ukraine and in the USSR established the "Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords". The group is headed by Mykola Rudenko, a noted Ukrainian poet and philosopher, and member of the Amnesty International Group in the USSR. Other members of the Helsinki group include Oles Berdnyk, Gen. Petro Hryhorenko, Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Nina Strokata and Oleksij Tykhy.

Moscow's "goodwill" with regard to the Helsinki Accords may be gauged by its treatment of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitor groups:

Feb. 4, 1977, Oleksij Tykhy, teacher, arrested by KGB, sentenced to 10 years strict regime imprisonment and 5 years exile.

Feb. 5, 1977, Mykola Rudenko, poet, arrested by KGB, sentenced to 7 years strict regime imprisonment and 5 years exile.

April 23, 1977, Myroslav Marynovych, engineer, arrested by KGB, sentenced to 7 years strict regime imprisonment and 5 years exile.

April 23, 1977, Mykola Matushevych, historian, arrested by KGB, sentenced to 7 years strict regime imprisonment and 5 years exile.

December 1, 1977, Levko Lukyanenko, lawyer, arrested by KGB, sentenced to 10 years strict regime imprisonment and 5 years exile.

All were arrested and charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". In other words, it is illegal and "anti-Soviet" to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords within the Soviet Union. Clearly, the situation is farcical, with the "Accords" being meant only for "external consumption", i.e. to soothe the conscience of naive politicians in the West.

4. If anything, it is apparent that the Helsinki agreement with the Russian colonial rulers has contributed to an intensified oppression of the Ukrainian and other nations. This is undoubtedly due to the recognition of the status quo of enslavement and colonialism in Europe, while the West has not brought to bear any sanctions on Russia's flagrant violations of Articles VII and VIII. In fact, since 1975, the Russian imperialists have been growing even more bold. History

teaches that empires are, by definition, expansionist in their aims. Hitler did not stop in Poland. Similarly, we may rest assured that Russia will not stop in Afghanistan, just as it did not stop in Ukraine. It will continue to wage, either overtly or covertly, peripheral and localised wars which will expand its imperial frontiers. It is also inevitable that the governments of the Free World will at some point in time cease to tolerate the fall of independent nations. But at present the West is continuing to play the politics of détente, which is leading the world closer to a holocaust as conventional and nuclear arms escalation continues unabated. Therefore, it is paramount that the free nations of the world lend every possible assistance to the national liberation movements within the Russian empire. The only means of achieving lasting world peace is to decolonize the Russian empire, in line with the present era of decolonization in Africa, and throughout the world.

5. In view of the aforesaid, the Australian League for the Liberation of Ukraine calls on the Australian Federal Government, as the representative of a young freedom loving nation, to exercise all available measures to:

a) Affirm the inalienable right of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism in the USSR and the "satellite" countries to freedom and national independence as laid down by the Charter of the United Nations, and as recognised in its Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2045 (XXI) and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of their territory by Russia.

b) Exert pressure on Moscow to bring about the abolition of concentration camps and psychiatric prisons for political and religious prisoners, the release of political and religious prisoners, the cessation of

→

The Terrible Life of Yuriy Shukhevych

One day next March — presumably at Christopol Prison, 825 kilometers east of Moscow — political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych will be due for release — after 10 years in jail. However, he will then have to spend another five years in “internal exile” somewhere in Russia. His wife, Valentina, and his two children, Roman, 11, and Irena, 9 — address unknown in the West — may or may not be allowed to join him.

By the time Yuriy can become (in Russian terms) a free man in 1987 he will be 53. Of these years he will have spent 35 years in prison and in banishment. But as he was only 14 when arrested and sentenced for the first time he will have known comparative liberty as an adult for only four years. Shukhevych and his family have relations and friends in Australia who have undertaken to look after them if they can get there. Canberra has already given its blessing to such a move, but Russian permission seems remote.

Yuriy Shukhevych's crime is that his late father was the Ukrainian nationalist lead-

er Roman Shukhevych, killed in action against Russian troops, in March 1950, in a village near the western Ukrainian city of Lviv.



←
Russification, of national, political, social and religious oppression, and the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces from Ukraine and other enslaved countries.

c) Provide political and moral support for the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, a nation of 53 million with a 1000 year-old tradition of statehood and civilization which has been fighting for its independence for centuries.

T. O. Andruszko
President, ALFLU

P. Soroka
President, ALFLU (Victoria)

V. Rudevych
Executive Officer, ALFLU

When the war was over and Russia had annexed almost all Ukrainian lands, the Ukrainian nationalists continued the struggle against Moscow for another six or seven years under the leadership of underground organisations. These included the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR), the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Roman Shukhevych at the time of his death was secretary-general of UHVR, Commander-in-Chief of UPA and head of the executive of OUN.

Yuriy was 10 in 1944 when he and his mother were exiled to Siberia. Four years later, during the post-war wave of Stalinist purges he was arrested and sentenced

to 10 years' imprisonment without specific charges by a decision of a "Special Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR." Briefly released in April, 1956, on the grounds that he had been sentenced by an "institution lacking jurisdiction" he was rearrested shortly afterwards to serve the remaining one-and-a-half years of his sentence. The reasons for locking him up again were that he was the son of a "nationalist leader" (dead by then) and allegations that he had made "attempts to contact centres of Ukrainian nationalists abroad."

The Ukrainian Central Information Service (Toronto-London) reports Yuriy's subsequent travails:

"Shortly before the end of his sentence (in 1958) he was visited by a KGB major, K. Galsky-Dymtruk. The latter demanded that Shukhevych denounce his father and publicly condemn the OUN-UPA. Shukhevych refused his demands and on the day of his release, on August 21, 1958, was re-arrested and sentenced by a Lviv court held in camera, on the testimony of two criminal (non-political) prisoners, Burkov and Fomenko.

"These two prisoners gave false testimony, which was also admitted by Major Galsky-Dymtruk in a subsequent visit to Shukhevych when he again demanded that the former denounce his father and the OUN-UPA.

"Galsky Dymtruk stated that the false testimony had been necessary, and that Shukhevych would be freed without denouncing his father. Shukhevych wrote several protests in prison but refused to write an "appeal" for his release, to be addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, as he had been urged by the authorities in 1965.

"Shukhevych was released in August 1968, but was barred from living in Ukraine. He settled in Nalchik (in the Caucasus) where he remained 'free' for

3½ years. During that time he found work as an electrician, married and had two children.

"Shukhevych was arrested for the third time in March, 1972. (In 1970, he had signed, jointly with others, a declaration in support of prominent Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz). On September 9, 1972 he was sentenced in Nalchik, under Article 70-2, of the Soviet Criminal Code in a court held in camera, to 10 years of strict-regime imprisonment and five years of exile. He was accused of writing memoirs of his life in concentration camps, of showing interest in the circumstances surrounding the death of his father and of carrying on "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

"Thus Yuriy Shukhevych had been sentenced to a total of 35 years of imprisonment and exile solely for refusing to denounce his father and to condemn the OUN-UPA and Ukrainian nationalism. Shukhevych is seriously ill. As a "recidivist" he has been serving his third sentence in the Vladimir prison isolation section and last year was transferred to another high security prison in Christopol, Tartar Autonomous Republic." In the meantime, moves have been started to obtain Russian permission for the release of Yuriy from internal exile (when it begins in March) and for the emigration of the Shukhevych family to Australia. The prime movers of the campaign (recently joined by 37 prominent Australian academics) have been Amnesty International, the Australian Committee to Free Yuriy Shukhevych led by Michael Tkaczuk a young Ukrainian-Australian, and Yuriy's cousin in Sydney, Dr. Stephanie Strokon, a psychiatrist. Canberra has also been helping. The Australian embassy in Moscow has approached the Russian Foreign Ministry in Moscow in Shukhevych's interest — so far, it seems with scant success.

In a response to the Australian approach, the Kremlin stated that:

● Shukhevych was a Russian citizen and subject to Russian law.

● Dr. Stokon's relationship (cousin) was more distant than would normally be considered as grounds for a family reunion.

● The Foreign Ministry was surprised that the Australian embassy should concern itself so deeply with the fate of a Russian citizen.

Still the efforts to get Shukhevych and his wife and children to Australia continue, but his activities give little cause

for optimism. The committee to free him and his family itself state: "In 1979, Shukhevych renounced his Soviet citizenship and joined the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords on Human Rights. Yuriy also signed a statement along with fellow prisoners-of-conscience announcing that they would be conducting a second "decade of solidarity of peoples struggling against Russian-Soviet imperialism".

"Because of these actions there is a strong possibility that Russian authorities will fabricate a new case against Yuriy when he is due for release in March, 1982."

The Bulletin

March 6 — Bulgarian Independence Day

Dr. George Paprikoff
President of the Bulgarian National Front
New York
USA

Dear Dr. Paprikoff,
Dear Bulgarian co-Fighters,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and as the Prime Minister of the latest Ukrainian sovereign government on Ukrainian soil, I extend my most cordial greetings to the courageous Bulgarian nation on the occasion of your National Independence Day. May our common struggle soon bear the fruits of victory with the final destruction of the Russian empire and the communist-bolshevik unjust system of slavery and the reestablishment on their ruins of independence for the Bulgarian nation and all the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. As a Ukrainian, I would especially like to greet the Bulgarian nation, which has always maintained inseverable ties of friendship with the Ukrainian nation, which, in turn, regards the Bulgarian nation as a loyal ally in the revolutionary, liberation struggle against Russia. Together we must shatter the illusion about a non-existent Russophilism amidst the Bulgarian nation. Only the Bulgarian communist lackey servants of Moscow can be considered Russophiles. The heroic Bulgarian nation never was, nor ever will it be Russophile. We all know of the valour of Bulgarian warriors for Freedom, who belong to the most courageous of armies in Europe. I would like to assure you that only by simultaneous and synchronized national-liberation revolutions can we defeat our common enemy — the Russian occupant of our lands. Let us not create false hopes that the West will deliver us from slavery. Freedom *ex gratia* is not freedom. Our strength is in ourselves!

Long live the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations!

Long live free and independent Bulgaria!

Long live the close friendship between the Bulgarian and Ukrainian nations!

Sincerely yours,

Yaroslav Stetsko
President of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
Chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

Ukraine on the Eve of Atomic Armageddon

Illusory Calm in the Center of a Hurricane

In the current psychological climate of the Ukrainian and general public, it will not surprise me if some reader, having familiarized himself with the four preceding articles under the common title of "Ukraine on the Eve of Atomic Armageddon", will say skeptically: — Oh, the heck with him, this author!... For a while he frightened me, and completely unnecessarily. After the end of World War II, regardless of all the "cold wars" and vociferous nuclear confrontations between the superpowers of East and West, after all, peace did last for over thirty-five years... Also, America and the Soviet Union have already balanced their nuclear rocket armaments and in reality would not dare to utilize nuclear weapons. It is clear that, in such a war, neither opponent may hope for victory — both sides in a nuclear conflict are threatened with complete annihilation. Only the Red-Chinese leaders, during the time of Mao Tse-tung, boasted that since the Chinese population numbers almost one billion people, they will be the only nation, that will survive even a thermonuclear holocaust. By now, even Peking has discontinued this line of propaganda. Other authors, appearing in the Ukrainian press, following the voices of foreign writers, are saying that the Soviet Union is ideologically decrepit and can collapse from the first external strike. Therefore, the Kremlin leadership will not take such a suicidal step as the initiation of an armed conflict with the West, especially with the utilization of atomic weapons.

Foreseeing such thoughts (widely spread, according to specific plans, among our societies by the sowers of Soviet-Russian disinformation), I will say to my discerning and skeptical reader:

— I did not disseminate among my readers my "frightening ideas" about the deadly danger to the Ukrainian nation in the upcoming Armageddon (in the final and decisive battle between the powers of evil and the powers of good) with the purpose of scaring them or preventing them from enjoying their prosperity and all the conveniences of the highly developed countries of their residence. No, I am sincerely convinced of this danger to the existence of the Ukrainian nation and truly believe in the possibility of at least a somewhat narrowed solution to this "devil's dilemma of the Ukrainian nation". For us, the third alternative is possible only with an active approach to global conflict and with the prerequisite that Ukrainians will break with their traditional quietism — the benevolent submission to reality, as the saying goes, "whatever happens, happens..."

The belief in the so-called "permanent peace since the conclusion of World War II" is quite widespread in the West, where it is persistently nurtured by perfidious information of all open and secret formulators of public opinion, under the supervision of Moscow's center of disinformation. They speak of peace and the need to secure it through the path of "gradual disarmament" (SALT-1, SALT-2 Agreements, etc.) or at least through the path of reduction of the number of land forces on the European continent. At the same time, these experts in propaganda repeat the Kremlin's statements that it is the United States and its allies who create the fever of weapons races and are planning a preventive strike upon the Soviet Union.

Continual Wars

In the meantime, since the end of World War II, new wars erupted almost

yearly on different continents. They were predominantly internal conflicts where real disputes existed, as well as conflicts where the disputes were illusory or not serious, and where Soviet-Russian spy networks, with the help of its allies, especially Cuba, enflamed them into civil wars. During this thirty-five year period, Russia conducted four large armed interventions (East Germany, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and Afghanistan). Russia constantly interferes in the internal affairs of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and utilizes political pressure against China after the bloody border encounters in the regions of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers.

In June, 1981, we were able to enumerate at least twenty armed conflicts in the world, with millions of emigrants and escapees dying from hunger in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a specific result of direct or intermediate intervention of the Soviet Union and its subjugated allies.

With reference to the statement envisioning the Soviet Union as a giant upon clay feet, we must remember the following: that the sole true weakness of the Soviet-Russian empire lies in its national composition, which is correspondingly mirrored in the battle readiness or non-readiness for war of its army. However, this giant continues to stand today upon "iron feet", because the USSR is the Russian empire, with a Russian leadership and a ruling Russian nation, which, particularly in a critical situation, will always support its dictatorial or tsarist form of government.

Today, the Russian army, that is called the "Soviet Army", the Russian fleet, that is called the "Navy of the Soviet Union", the Russian administration together with the Russian Communist Party, that is called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, jointly control not only one-sixth of the globe (as did the Tsars with their

"hounds and kennel-masters"), but also have numerous important bases on all continents. Ideological and conceptual weakness does constitute a certain factor in weakening the structure of Soviet-Russian superpower, but this weakness is not such that may be counted upon as a serious detriment in Russia's road to aggressive nuclear strike against the West. All theoretical studies of Soviet armed forces contradict this and, to the contrary, prove the following: Nuclear conflict with "capitalistic West" is possible and the USSR will be the one to survive such conflict, since it possesses the same kind of armament as the West and, in addition, it propagates an ideological conception of a "war of liberation", — a conception that the West has yet to embrace.

As a matter of fact, this thesis is gaining ground also among Western researchers of the strategy of a possible nuclear war with the Soviet Union. They acknowledge that the West also needs an ideological weapon for victory over Kremlin dictatorship. In our opinion, this ideological weapon can only constitute the "liberation of all nations subjugated by Russia and the creation or restoration of their independent, sovereign states".

Need for Public Debates

Inasmuch as even in the Ukrainian emigre community this question continues to remain disputable, it constitutes a further proof of the need for public deliberations of the above mentioned alternatives or dilemmas. In view of the above, what could be said about our brothers and sisters in Ukraine!... They live in a closed socio-political environment. Their knowledge about the world and international problems is strictly limited by Russian censorship and is distorted by Russian propaganda.

Ukrainians in democratic countries have vast opportunities to learn about these

questions, arrive at their own conclusions, and even inform thereof a large number of their countrymen in Ukraine. However, free Ukrainians, residing in Western countries, are threatened not only by the dangers of the insidious propaganda of the Kremlin agitations, but also by the grave dangers from false peace-lovers ("doves") in their immediate environment. These "doves", through their pacifist songs want to deaden our sensitivity to danger and are attempting to transform our society of free-thinking, politically-conscious individuals into a heap of potatoes awaiting the next phase of its development, namely placement in the ground for the purpose of growing new sprouts and new green stems, desiring only sun, rain, wind and absolutely nothing else.

The biblical story of Noah's ark is being repeated. Then, just as today, people lived, ate, drank, sinned, got married, raised families, some died, others were born, became rich and enjoyed themselves in the conviction that their so-called peace will never end. No one believed Noah when he predicted universal cataclism. Most likely, the wise elders of that time, just as today's researchers of strategic nuclear warfare, supported Noah's contentions, but other false prophets appeased the people: "Do not listen to these pessimists, for many long years we have been living in peace and prosperity, in actual calm!"

But reality caught up with them. In accordance with Noah's predictions, massive destruction in a universal flood engulfed the unbelievers and those of little faith.

The Eye of the Fiery Hurricane

Peace-loving Ukrainian men and women in Ukraine and the Western world cannot allow themselves a similar luxury and cannot continue to live from day to day in prosperity of vegetating leisure. Because

their homeland, Ukraine, I am sorry to say, is located in the precise "eye of the hurricane". For a little while calm reigns in the center of the hurricane and people there can observe the beautiful view of their surroundings, not suspecting that suddenly the winds will change their direction, viciously strike at their homes, and sweep them off the face of the earth, together with their inhabitants.

If Ukrainians in the free world sincerely desire that the Ukrainian nation, at least in its minimal aspect, survive the hurricane of nuclear war, which imperial Russian policy will one day initiate, then they should help their countrymen in Ukraine (and in the entire Soviet Union) to undermine the political, economic and administrative might of Russia in all of its phases and in the decisive hour of the Armageddon, tear down the Kremlin's military preparations, each individual in his or her place, wherever he or she was assigned to by the strategists of Russian armed forces. It is enough to disturb the time-table of the war-machinery for even a few minutes for the Kremlin's entire diabolic plan to collapse.

In the camps of Western allies, free Ukrainians should undertake all possible measures in demanding the status of an unofficial ally for Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation. In order that, at least in a "limited atomic conflict", allied nuclear strikes be directed solely at Russian military-industrial centers, and not at Ukrainian cities and villages. Let the Russian aggressor, from the first moment of an atomic conflict, feel the destructive results of its own crimes against humanity. Also then let the Russian people either awake from their eternal blind servitude to their old and new tsars and conduct themselves the same way as Ukrainians will, or perish with their commanders-aggressors.

*Translated from Ukrainian
by Zena Matla-Rychtycka*

More Fatal than Guns

Future historians, in commenting on the 20th century's climactic battle between freedom and totalitarianism, will, undoubtedly, extensively analyze a widely overlooked but critically important facet of that struggle. It is one in which the West has a potentially overwhelming advantage. And yet, it is one which has been allowed to deteriorate to a point approaching total capitulation.

Beyond Western Imagination

As events in Poland and other parts of the Soviet-Russian empire indicate, Soviet-Russian vulnerability in the realm of ideas and popular loyalty is devastating. Dramatic though the Polish experience may appear, it merely scratches the surface of the enormous undercurrent of popular resistance that surges throughout Marxist-dominated countries. US failure to tap this force in pursuit of its own national survival is inexplicable. In doing so, we may unwittingly be discarding the only card we have in preventing a global holocaust.

Many "Sovietologists" have observed that Soviet-Russian rule hinges on its virtually absolute control of communications. The leaders of the USSR, unlike many of our own apologists and theoreticians, harbor no illusions about the reliability and loyalty of the populace. They view their subjects as a hostile and alien force that can be held in check only by denying them all forms of organization and communication other than through official channels. Andrei Amalrik, the dissident Soviet historian, has observed that the relationship between the rulers and the ruled is one of constant armed vigilance. It is no wonder, then, that the disciples of Marx seek, in the first in-

stance, to gain control of communications within the target countries.

Among the many dissidents, defectors, and refugees who have managed to escape their "Soviet homeland," there is virtual unanimity on one point: i.e., that Western efforts to compete effectively with the regime in the realm of ideas is virtually non-existent. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has warned that the West risks denying itself "the mighty nonmilitary force which resides in the air waves and whose kindling power in the midst of Communist darkness cannot even be grasped by the Western imagination." Another distinguished Soviet scholar and author, Lev Navrozov, has observed that "few Americans have an adequate idea of totalitarian propaganda: a well-led, well-trained, disciplined army of fairly knowledgeable and sophisticated journalists, historians, statisticians (and so on) working via media on the mind of every individual who has to resist them all alone, with no organized spiritual or physical support."

The Ideological Gap

With the change in administration, the nation has finally awakened to the perilous state of our national defense and the increasingly more militant and aggressive inroads of Marxist terrorists and guerillas. But despite budget-busting efforts to upgrade our strategic and conventional forces, military and political leaders acknowledge that parity may not be feasible during this decade. We must look elsewhere for a quick-fix shoring up of our defense structure.

In the course of the presidential campaign, many voters were heartened by Reagan's pronouncements that radio and other forms of communications were deemed to be an essential component of

our national defense strategy. But there appears to be, as yet, no concomitant movement on the part of the Administration to provide substance behind the campaign rhetoric.

A simple comparison of resources invested in the critical "battle of the airwaves" will serve to underline the enormity of the ideological gap presently existing. The CIA estimates Soviet-Russian spending on propaganda activities to be \$3.3 billion. By contrast, the US International Communication Agency has a budget of less than \$450 million. Even with the \$87 million the US spends separately on Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL), the Soviet-Russian effort is 7 times as large as ours! Proctor & Gamble spends more on advertising its detergents than does the US in promoting ideals of freedom throughout the world.

In addition to radio broadcasts, the Russian empire has greatly outdistanced us in virtually every area of ideological competition. Soviet-Russian "friendship societies" flourish in 126 countries. In 1978 the USSR offered over 4600 scholarships to Latin America in contrast with our 181. In 1979, over 55,000 Third World students were studying in the Soviet Union. The monthly magazine "Soviet Land" has a circulation 8 times that of America's "Span". We distribute some 200,000 books annually, while the Russians shower the world with 180 million books and pamphlets in 46 languages. Soviet-Russian broadcasts are directed to 165 countries in 82 languages, while the US broadcasts are limited to 45 languages. Ironic though it may seem, the avowed "dialectic materialists" appear to have a much better understanding of what ought to be a uniquely Western concept: "Ideas are more fatal than guns." (Lenin)

To deter Aggression

Although the Reagan Administration can not rectify within a short time span

the shortcomings of prior administrations, there is one segment of our communication program that is especially critical and requires immediate attention. These include radio programs directed at the bases of present and future aggression — the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Cuba.

Radio Free Europe, broadcasting to Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, broadcasting to the Soviet Union, are both supervised by the Board of International Broadcasting (BIB). In a recent report published by Freedom House, the strengthening of these "Freedom Radios" was urged as *vital* to the American national interest:

"There is no greater contribution to the national interest than to strengthen evolutionary tendencies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, tendencies which inhibit the ability of the Soviet leadership to pursue Soviet aggrandizement.

"Worker-controlled unions in Poland, for example, force a reordering of Soviet priorities ultimately influencing the global strategic balance and Soviet freedom of action *more surely than any new NATO weapons system.*

"The Freedom Radios, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, make a more significant contribution to this goal than any other single instrumentality or policy the United States has ever devised or is likely to devise."

Sharp Drop in Listeners

Despite such strong statements of support by scholars, politicians and study commissions, and despite the increasingly aggressive stance of the Soviet Union, support for the Freedom Radios has actually *declined* over the last decade.

In 1968, the two Radios employed 2,800 persons. This has been *reduced by 40%*. The FY81 \$93 million operating budget falls \$2 million short of minimal

needs. The impact of inflation and devaluation has drastically eroded the level of funding available from that of 1968. During FY80, for example, the shortage of funds had become *so acute* that 6 million Deutschmarks had to be *borrowed* from private banks in West Germany to allow for the rapid currency fluctuations.

The consequences of such an incredibly short-sighted perception of the strategic significance of these radios, has, predictably, resulted in a sharp decline in listeners. Our transmitters are obsolete, often more than 25 years old, and should have been replaced years ago. One such VOA transmitter, for example, was built by Goebbels in the 1930's.

In Eastern Europe, RFE broadcasts into Poland, Bulgaria, and Czecho-Slovakia have been intermittently jammed. VOA broadcasts, on the other hand, possibly reflecting the innocuous nature of their content, have not been jammed.

Broadcasts into the Soviet Union via Radio Liberty, have fared much worse. Even such weak signals as manage to penetrate are rendered inaudible through a \$300 million Soviet-Russian jamming effort — 4 times the amount the US spends on the programming itself. This jamming effort involves 2075 jammers and more than 5,000 employees. According to Solzhenitsyn, foreign broadcasts are often so jammed they cannot be heard at all in the cities.

Even BIB estimates show precipitous declines of 50% and more over a 36-year period in the size of the listening audience in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. The audience level in the USSR is presently estimated to be no more than 5% — despite continuing indications that the population hungers for news from the West.

Mismanagement

These alarming figures, however, are not entirely the result of inadequate fund-

ing. They do not account, for example, for the drop in East European listeners where the programs are not jammed.

A second and equally important source of decline lies with the severe personnel, management, and policy problems rampant in RFE, RL and VOA, compounded by BIB staffers and Board singularly unsuited to administer its responsibilities. Appointments to the Board are often in the nature of political pay-offs to valuable campaign supporters, without regard to the qualifications and expertise of the candidates. While these people may be perfectly well-intentioned, and qualified in their respective professional capacities, there is little evidence that any of them have any knowledge, interest, or understanding of the people and problems of Eastern Europe, beyond that gleaned from the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. Interestingly, the Board for International Broadcasting, although responsible for funding both radio stations, has acted irresponsibly in failing to impress on Congress both the urgency and importance of modernizing and enhancing broadcast facilities. With little else to do other than monitoring funding needs and appropriations, the BIB has often sought to actively interfere with the management of the stations, provoking tensions, turmoil, and contradictory directions and policy guidelines.

In the Board's annual reports, serious allegations of malfeasance or nonfeasance are often buried under reams of glowing, self-congratulatory verbiage. In the meantime the listening audience continues to decline, and programs are broadcast to the Iron Curtain countries which occasionally verge on the scandalous.

Overhaul Required

It is clear that nothing short of an overhaul of our radio broadcasts to Iron Curtain countries is called for. At the outset, we must rid ourselves of the patently

absurd notion that broadcasting facts, news, and informative commentaries behind the Iron Curtain is a "provocative" act or "internal interference". Radio broadcasts and other forms of propaganda from Moscow, the Warsaw Pact countries, and Cuba literally bombard our shores and that of our allies 24 hours a day without interference — oftentimes with deadly effect. No voices have been raised by those seeking to muzzle our own communication program that this represents "internal interference" in *our* affairs. What is more, a series of bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements between us and Communist countries *provides for* and *encourages* the "free flow of information" as an essential element of "peace and understanding" among the nations of the world.

Secondly, we must recognize that radio broadcasts into totalitarian countries are a vital component of our total national defense structure. The Directors should be selected from among responsible, knowledgeable, and concerned citizens. Serious business requires serious people.

Thirdly, we must commission a special investigative task force whose function it would be to weed out those who are not suited to act as America's voice to the captive peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A simple review of the scripts broadcast over the last 1-2 years would suffice to identify those who have no place in a sector that is continually the target of Soviet-Russian and East European subversion and penetration. By opening up channels of communication with the hundreds of loyal, dedicated, and concerned employees who have intimate knowledge of what goes on within these agencies, and would feel free to speak their mind, a wealth of information would become available to the investigators.

Fourthly, the human resources and research data available within these radio

stations is immense. A systematic effort should be made to select highly qualified, professional, well-compensated scholars, researchers, and writers from among the vast and talented reservoir of unquestionably pro-Western defectors, refugees, and dissidents who reside in various parts of Europe, the US, and Israel. These individuals are thoroughly familiar with their native "constituencies" from which they have escaped, have an innate understanding of their problems and concerns, and can act as a "think-tank" in advising American officials on trends, perceptions, and vulnerabilities within all levels of societies in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. Just as it would be difficult for most of us to grasp the essence of, say, the Chinese world-view and mentality, so it is difficult for native-born Americans to grasp the essence of the world-view of the nations subjugated in the Russian empire.

Particular attention should be directed in strengthening language broadcasts towards major non-Russian nationalities and religious groups in the USSR such as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the Baltic nations, and the Moslems of Central Asia. A continued sense of national identity and spiritual unity among these groups represents a major source of Soviet-Russian weakness which must be factored into our national security equation. The Ukrainian and Byelorussian broadcasts, in particular, directed as they are to over 25% of the most strategically and geopolitically placed population of the USSR, require immediate attention.

Our intent must always be to provide an alternative channel of communication to that of the Soviet-Russian leadership's ... a channel which would provide a factual glimpse of life inside and outside the Communist borders.

And, lastly, an immediate crash program should be launched to modernize

our radio broadcast facilities, extend their reach to areas east of the Urals, and include state-of-the-art technology which would allow us to evade Soviet-Russian jamming. According to an independent study endorsed by the Presidents of RFE and RL, the cost of such a modernization program would total \$130 million — roughly the price for one sophisticated bomber!

Victory Without Bloodshed

Even in these tight-budget times, we must recognize that radio broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain are the cheapest, safest, and most effective form of defense against Soviet-Russian aggression. General Bruce Clark, former Commanding General of American Forces in Europe, once observed that the Freedom Radios are the equivalent of several extra divisions — because a situation is created where Moscow cannot fully rely on those troops in a critical situation. Congressman Jim

Courter, an enthusiastic advocate of the Freedom Radios, has observed that “it must be the mission of our Freedom Radios to create such sympathy within the minds of foreign soldiers as to induce a “shaky aim” should they ever be ordered to attack.”

Since it does not appear that we will be able to close the armaments gap quickly enough to deter Soviet-Russian aggression, the alternative must be to deter aggression by reducing the Soviet-Russian leadership’s confidence in, and reliance on, its military and civilian resources.

A steady, unremitting stream of truth, news, and information about the West and internal developments within the Iron Curtain countries — presented dispassionately and professionally — would suffice to psychologically disarm all levels of society. The effect would be virtually imperceptible, but pervasive and very real at such times as the regime would hope to muster its forces against the West.



Chicago, Ill., October, 1981 — commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on June 30, 1941. Standing third from right — Honorable Henry Hyde — US Congressman, flanked on left by Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko.

Why ABN?

I do not intend to repeat or summarize all of the successes as well as the failures and shortcomings of our organization. You all read the relevant literature and are certainly well-informed about it. I would rather go back to "basics" and try to refresh our memories about the history, genesis and goals of the ABN as anticipated, seen, and realized by its founders and leaders. The appearance of a new enigmatic state in Eastern Europe, as the result of the so-called October Revolution and complete ignorance, as well as quite-often sinister plans of some Western leaders; a monstrous entity called the Soviet Union, changed the entire balance of power. This new state, fed by endless mistakes of democratic Western powers, repeated treasons, cunning and grand bribery, grew from a paper tiger into a vast, ruthless military, atomic superpower. Since then, the shadow of Kremlin's tower and blood-soaked red banners cast continuous, ominous threats over the entire free world. Few nations on this occasion recovered their freedom and liberty, only to become later, very soon or in two decades, puppet "socialistic republics", as a result of Hitler's "Ostpolitic" compounded by the historical mistakes or rather crimes of Yalta and Potsdam.

Iron or bamboo curtains divided the entire world into so-called socialistic blocs, greatly supported by the third world, under the very able leadership of Moscow with absolutely false, but enticing slogans and promises of "true democracy", "lasting and just world peace", "prosperity for all". The western democratic world, on the other hand, was unstable, confused, or with no leadership at all. The Russians became more and more arrogant and menacing, particularly after stealing secrets of atomic weapons with the help of their masterspies.

The present leaders started to realize the dream of the tsars, lenins, or stalins to conquer and enslave the entire world by means of aggression: so-called "small liberation wars" and wide, international terrorism. Instead of decisive resistance, they met indecision, decadence, hedonism, and the famous ideas of the fifties, "better red than dead". Only people from countries which lost their freedom and statehood as the result not of lost battles, but as a result of ignorance, false speculations, and misinformation, wailed in vain, imploring the free world to cast away its indifference and political blindness. The nations, which are today united in the ABN were the first to realize the true nature of "world communism", and tried very hard to convince the Western democracies to understand and deal with the Soviet Union, as the newest form of the old Russian imperialism, under a new disguise. The centuries-old fraud of panslavism and "defense of Orthodox Christianity" became irrelevant and obsolete because the new victims on the Kremlin's long roster were neither Slavs nor Orthodox Christians. God and the saints in the Orthodox icons and the outmoded ideas of panslavism were very quickly replaced by the concept of the previously mentioned "liberation wars for small nations" in distant lands and quests for quasi-everlasting peace through unheard of international terrorism. The relentless retreat of Western democracies and successes in Southeast Asia, Angola, Ethiopia, as well as North Africa made the Russian bear, as Hitler before, dizzy and victory-drunk. In their greed for conquest of the riches of the Persian Gulf, as well as the imperialistic need of warm water ports, modern Russian "suworows" decided to invade Afghanistan. Doing so, they not only finally awoke and partially

consolidated the democratic West but also antagonized and alienated millions and millions of unhappy Moslems within the borders of their shaky empire. The red Russian leaders must consider the one billion strong population on the Chinese mainland. They can ill afford to ignore the four thousand mile long border with peoples who do not know or wish to speak Russian and who are fighting for their freedom and national independence.

Only unheard of terror and the ambiguous stand of misinformed Western democracies slowed down the beginning of the fall of the Russian-Communist Empire. How can one convince starved Vietnamese or half-naked El-Salvadorians or even Cubans, that after almost forty years following the socialistic revolution, a country, which produced enough sugar to feed English hogs and enough wheat and beans to satisfy the needs of industrial Germany, is perpetually starving today? The Polish socialistic government is waiting not only for hard currency, but also for corn, rice, barley, aspirin, cotton and even soap.

The nations identifying with the ideas of ABN know best the complete and catastrophic failure of the political system which followed the end of World War I, a system with an artificial concept of "small Entente", peace in Versailles and the Curson line, which resulted in the bloodbath of World War II in a mere twenty years. And again, not only millions of former slaves of the Soviet Union, but millions of new slaves, who prior to World War II, enjoyed freedom and independence, became the victims of the masters of slavery, torture, slow death, fraud and genocide.

The small number of people with vision, who saw the tragic end of liberty and freedom as a result of the Russian Revolution, already in the late fall of 1943,

sensed the tragic repetition of history, as resulting from Hitler's criminal acts and mistakes, greatly supported by misinformed and naive Western leaders, among whom one was too weak to resist Moscow, and the other called Stalin, the biggest criminal in the history of mankind, "good old uncle Joe". The nations which in the fall of 1943 formed the nucleus of ABN from the initiative of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), protected by the budding UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), were the fourteen "socialistic republics" of the USSR.

The necessity of forming a safety belt, or buffer zone between two ever aggressive and imperialistic powers; a tsarist, communistic, or democratic Russia and Kaisers, Hitlers or democratic Germany was nothing new. However, the initiators and realizators of those plans could not even place this entity geographically. They egoistically saw only their narrow, particular goals and interests, leaving dozens of nations and millions of people as potential prey to either one of the aggressors. Many years after World War II, after the roster of captive nations grew longer and longer, it was almost impossible to convince, or even interest the Western world, the Western liberals and intellectuals about the true nature of the USSR. They even nominated Hitler's master and teacher, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, as "humanitarian of the century". For freedom-loving Americans, not only the poorly informed man on the street, but also the politicians, everything east of the River Elbe was "Russia" and for some still is. For them, the ideas of the ABN were irrelevant, non-realistic and, in the first place, disturbing to their dream of "everything is O.K." — the false sense of security of an ostrich with its head in the warm sand. The Berlin crisis and

wall, the Cuban crisis in 1963, Angola and Ethiopia were warnings that everything "is not O.K.". Yet only the cruel invasion of Afghanistan resulted in the very unpleasant awakening and realization that "Hannibal is really ante portas".

And permit me to continue my remarks in biological and medical terms. It is common knowledge that Soviet Russia is a cancer, a malignant growth of humanity with a destiny to kill by expansion, later by invasion and by forming distant tumors, called metastases, very far from the original site. The success of treatment depends not only on the nature of the primary tumor, its invasive power, but mainly on early detection and determination of the extent of distant spread. We know that the primary growth is in the Kremlin, in the headquarters of the KGB in Moscow, in "matushka" Russia. The killer's growth expanded with the bayonets of the Red Army and now lies in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Cossakia, Armenia, Georgia, Northern Caucasus, Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, and other subjugated nations. Next came the second stage of the deadly process, the invasion to the regional filters and defenders of the distant spread; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia and East Germany. Since there was no more regional protection, the killer, as a third and last stage of the disease, sent daughter tumors throughout the world, as far as Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Ethiopia and Afghanistan, and is at the present time storming El Salvador and other nations with low resistance. The treatment for each stage is different and I will not dare to touch upon it in my remarks. However, I will try to give the answer to the question which is the caption of my remarks.

Which conception is offering the greatest hope, and the only hope to fight, and win

the fight against the greatest historical enemy of civilized humankind without a thermo-nuclear holocaust? This new synonym, which pictures the supreme horror, is the main argument implied by Soviet-Russians and procommunitic forces against ABN activities. We are the only political formation which presents and offers a realistic antithesis to the thermonuclear war in the form of close to 150 million non-Russian, enslaved, persecuted, Russified by force, freedom-loving people. We are the only force, which by stressing the slogan "Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual" and accenting very strongly historical, ethnographic and nationalistic principles, removes the future seed of new conflicts and maybe even wars. Our organization, which is an open organization, a real bloc without any regional or special interest 'group, prevents the eventual emerging of some imperialistic tendencies and conflicts. We recognize the just principle, They egoistically saw only their narrow, particular goals and interests, leaving that every nation, be it 100, 60, 20 or 2 million strong, has the same God-given right to liberty and freedom. We are the only organization which has room for freedom-loving peoples from all countries and all continents. We have among us a strong representation of Moslem enslaved nations, with their watchful eye on Moslems within Soviet Russia, which in a few years will represent one third of the total population of the last empire. The nations of the ABN represent more than half of the total population of Soviet Russian prison of nations, who are fighting for liberty and independence.

In order to make the ideas of our organization more relevant and more attractive we need, according to the words of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, an acknowledged leader of the anti-bolshevik struggle, a psychological warfare center and head-

quarters deeply rooted in the ideological, political and tactical concepts, and goals of the ABN. The free world must recognize the representatives of enslaved, subjugated nations as the true and sole representatives of their nations.

Let me repeat after General J. F. C. Fuller, that when NATO is first in the

fight against Soviet-Russia, ABN, despite of all its organizational shortcomings is the only second potential front. Both are equally essential in not only the containment of communism and Russian imperialism, but also in the complete elimination of bolshevism, the main and only enemy of freedom for nations and individuals, and peace in the world.

News and Views

Canadian ABN Executive named

A General Meeting of ABN-Canada held in Toronto, Ont. on Tuesday, March 12, 1982, elected a new National Executive Committee for a term of three



years. Mr. OREST STECIW, a Toronto educator became the national Chairman of this organization.

The Canadian chapter of ABN presently consists of representatives of the following nationalities: Bulgarians, Croatians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Romanians, Slovak, Slovenians, Ukrainians and Vietnamese. Several other groups are contemplating ABN membership as well.

ABN-Canada became reactivated with a successful two-day conference held in Toronto last November with the participation of fifteen nationalities, the international President of ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko, and known politicians from Canada, the United States and Great Britain.

The newly elected National Executive Committee has planned a number of activities for 1982 in defense of the right to national independence of the peoples that are currently oppressed by Soviet Russia and communism. Judging by the vitality and commitment of the ABN members it seems certain that the ABN perspective on liberation and national and human rights will become a permanent feature on the Canadian scene.

Lithuanian Committee backs Reagan on Polish Crisis

Telegram to:

President Ronald Reagan

The White House

Washington, D.C. 20500

The Lithuanian people all over the

world support your firm and just position in the current Polish crisis. We fully understand and support the Polish SOLIDARITY and its principles, because Lithuania and the other two Baltic countries have been carrying the yoke of brutal Russian occupation and suppression for 40 years. We denounce the brutal and inhuman actions of the communist military regime against the Polish people. We support your position to discontinue all United States assistance to the Polish Government, and that sanctions be applied to the Soviet Union as well until the current tragic situation in Poland is resolved.

*Dr. C. K. Bobelis, President
Supreme Committee for the Liberation
of Lithuania*

Lithuanian Resolution

The Lithuanian Americans of Cicero, Illinois, assembled this 7th day of February 1982, at St Anthony parish hall to commemorate the restoration of Lithuanian's independence, do hereby state as follows:

Whereas, February 16, 1982 marks the 64th anniversary of the restoration of independence to the more than seven hundred year old Lithuanian State; and

Whereas, Lithuania was recognized as a free and independent nation by the entire world community of states. She was a member of the League of Nations. However, she was by force and fraud occupied by Soviet Russia in 1940 and illegally annexed by the Russians as a result of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, disregarding the Peace Treaty of 1920 and the Non-Aggression Pact of 1926.

This infamous pact was given a cloak of respectability at the Yalta Conference by the Allies, even though in the previously signed Atlantic Charter they obliged to restore the sovereign rights and free

self-government of nations that were forcibly subjugated.

Therefore, be it resolved

That we are grateful to President Reagan and Congress, that an official diplomatic non-recognition of the forced incorporation into the USSR of the three Baltic nations is the policy of this administration;

That we congratulate President Reagan for his firm stand against Soviet Russia, and for his support of the Polish people, which gives new hope for the self-liberation of the Captive Nations;

And further, be it resolved

To urge that stronger sanctions against Soviet Russia be enforced until in all of the Soviet occupied countries the human rights are respected and their independence restored;

That State Department representatives shall not be allowed to transact official business with the governments of the Russian occupied Baltic countries, such action being inconsistent with the policy of non-recognition;

To urge administration not to adhere to the Yalta agreement since in practice it is not conforming with the Atlantic Charter and justice;

That copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States of America, to the Secretary of State, to the US Congressmen and Senators from Illinois, to the State Representatives and Senator from our district, to the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to the House of Foreign Affairs Committee, and to the news media.

*Dr. Brone Motusis
Chairperson of the meeting
Stanley Dubauskas
Secretary of the meeting*

In Defense of Yuriy Shukhevych

On Friday, March 26, 1982 at 12:00 pm Ukrainian Demonstrators occupied the Soviet Russian News Agency "TASS" Bureau in the United Nations Headquarters in New York

On March 26, 1982 at 12:00 pm a group of *Ukrainian demonstrators occupied the Russian News Agency "TASS"* bureau, located on the third floor of the Secretariat Building of United Nations Headquarters in New York City.

The demonstrators have vowed to continue their sit-in in the "TASS" bureau until the Secretary General of the United Nations meets with them to discuss the fate of Yuriy Shukhevych, a Ukrainian political prisoner who has been in Russian concentration camps for over 30 years. The group also observed Mr. Shukhevych's birthday, March 27, 1982, when he became 49 years old. Since 1948, when he was 15 years old, Yuriy Shukhevych has spent virtually his whole life in Russian concentration camps.

The demonstrators were seeking to have the United Nations declare Ukraine a colonial country and were demanding that the Russian imperialists immediately and unconditionally withdraw their occupation forces from Ukraine. This action was in solidarity with the tens of thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners who have been arrested by the Russian secret police, KGB, for demanding sovereignty, independence and statehood for their enslaved country.

The Ukrainian militants said that the sit-in is a peaceful, non-violent effort to draw world attention to the continuing resistance of the Ukrainian nation to the brutal occupation and merciless colonization of their country.

The group presented documents detailing the massive violations of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, by the Soviet Russian regime to United Nations officials. They also pro-

posed a detailed plan for the decolonization of the Russian Empire.

Ukrainians take over Soviet office to demand Political Independence

New York — Seven Ukrainian-born Americans occupied the offices of the official Soviet news agency TASS in the United Nations building in New York for about 20 minutes, March 26.

The five men and two women were demanding Ukraine be made independent of the Soviet Union.

They also sought to discuss the fate of Yuriy Shukhevych — a Ukrainian they say has been in Soviet concentration camps for more than 30 years — with UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The demonstration started after the group broke away from a conducted tour of the building.

As UN guards escorted them from the third-floor office of TASS they sang patriotic songs and walked with wrists crossed above their heads shouting "Freedom for Ukraine."

They told reporters they were trying to draw world attention to the resistance of the Ukrainian nation to the occupation of their country.

Their demonstration marked Shukhevych's 49th birthday.

Ukraine is one of the 15 Soviet republics and covers 250,000 square miles in the south-west Soviet Union.

Gazette News Services

TASS's UN Office Invaded

United Nations, N.Y., March 26 (Reuters) — Seven Ukrainian Americans, chanting "Freedom for Ukraine" and de-

manding the release of Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet Union, invaded the United Nations bureau of the official Soviet press agency TASS. They were removed by United Nations guards after sitting on the office floor for about 20 minutes.

The New York Times
Sat. March 27, 1982

Students occupy Soviet UN office to demand Ukrainian Independence

The Montreal Gazette has reported that seven Ukrainian-born Americans occupied the offices of the official Soviet news agency TASS in the United Nations building in New York for about 20 minutes on Friday, March 26, 1982. The five men and two women were demanding Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union. They also tried to discuss the fate of Yuriy Shukhevych — a Ukrainian

political prisoner who has been in Soviet concentration camps for more than 30 years — with UN Secretary-General Xavier Perez Cuellar.

The demonstration started after the group broke away from a conducted tour of the building. As UN guards escorted them from the third-floor offices of TASS, they sang patriotic songs and walked with wrists crossed above their heads shouting "Freedom for Ukraine!"

They told reporters during an ad hoc press conference that they were trying to draw world attention to the resistance of the Ukrainian nation to the Soviet occupation of their country.

The demonstration marked Shukhevych's 49th birthday.

The action was staged by members of the Mikhnovsky Society of Ukrainian Students (TUSM) in the New York area.

"Ukrainian Echo"

From the US Congressional Record

Mr. President: June 30 marks an event of historic importance to the people of Ukraine. On this date in 1941, soon after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, Ukrainian underground fighters made a move to restore the independence of their nation by establishing a provisional government in West Ukraine.

One of the leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Yaroslav Stetsko, was proclaimed Prime Minister of this government and a Proclamation of the Restoration of Independence was issued.

This attempt to restore sovereignty to a country which in modern times had only experienced independence for a very short time between 1918 and 1921 was just a brief moment in the history of Ukraine. The Independence Proclamation

was negated by the German occupation forces, and Stetsko was banished to a concentration camp.

After its reconquest by the Red Army in 1944, Ukraine remains to this day a Captive Nation under the harsh and oppressive rule of the Soviet Union.

On July 12, 1981, the Ukrainian community of Southeastern Michigan commemorated the 40th Anniversary of this moment in history by honoring Yaroslav Stetsko at a banquet in Warren, Michigan.

The Ukrainian community of Michigan invited all people who cherish their freedom and commit themselves to the fight for human rights to join them in the commemoration of this event.

Carl Levin
US Senator

From Behind the Iron Curtain



LITHUANIA

Many attend Lithuanian Funeral

Fr. Bronius Laurinavičius, whose death was reported in KNS No. 140 was buried in Adučiškis three days after being run down by a lorry (new method to liquidate undesirable people — Ed.) in Vilnius. A huge crowd of Lithuanian Catholics, and over 100 priests, attended the funeral. The mourners were led by the two exiled bishops, Bp. Stepanovičius and Bp. Sladkevičius, and the officially recognised administrator of Vilnius diocese, Fr. Algirdas Gutauskas, was also present. Eleven sermons were delivered during the requiem Mass, which lasted four hours.

Fr. Laurinavičius, aged 68, was one of the outstanding members of the religious and patriotic movement in Lithuania. Since the 1960s, he had been protesting to Soviet Russian officials about their interference in church affairs, and violations of human rights in Lithuania. He was also active in the Lithuanian temperance movement, which was viewed with suspicion and hostility by the authorities. Only three days before his death, he was viciously attacked in the Communist Party daily *Tiesa* as a foremost enemy of atheism, and denounced for his pastoral activities among Lithuanian youth. He joined the Lithuanian Helsinki Group in 1979, and his death leaves only one member of the group, the poetess Ona Lukauskaite-Poškiene, at large: the others, except for one withdrawal and one emigration, are in labour camp.

National Uprising in Northern Caucasus

The Caucasian Liberation Centre in the USA announced that an uprising occurred

in northern Osetia, in the city of Orzhonikidze, between December 23-27, 1981. The army and tanks were called in to suppress the rebellion.

Everything started with a fight between two chauffeurs: an Osetian and an Ingushian. The Osetian was killed during the fighting. Parents and friends of the victim brought the coffin and the remains to the Communist Party District building which was located in downtown Orzhonikidze.

The secretary of the District Communist Party categorically refused to lead the investigation and threatened the people and pall-bearers with arrest.

News about the Osetian victim quickly spread to neighbouring regions and hundreds of people started gathering in the town. Someone from the masses shouted: "Down with the bloody Soviet Regime!" This signaled the storming of the District Communist Party building. The building was partially ruined and finally seized by the attackers. Students of the military academy were immediately called in. The Osetians relieved the cadets of their weapons in less than no time and the young cadets fled from the furious crowd. Many of the cadets sympathized with the people.

Several hours later, Mychajlo Solomjenzev, Secretary of the Central Communist Party of the USSR, flew in from Moscow.

By radio broadcast, he appealed to the Osetians to calm down and promised to lead the investigation immediately.

No one listened to the appealing words of Moscow's legate. Instead, the crowd started to increase near the District Communist Party building. Almost everyone was armed: some with knives, others with flame-throwers. The town transport system was completely halted. 283 thousand

people participated in the general uprising. All of the state buildings were completely occupied by the people.

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

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



Amnesty International has received reports that the Ukrainian prisoner of conscience, Ivan Svitlychny, aged 52, currently in internal exile completing a 12-year sentence, is critically ill. Mr. Svitlychny recently suffered a relapse after having suffered a stroke last August. His relatives have appealed to the Soviet-Russian authorities that he be released from serving the rest of his sentence in a remote area on the USSR-Mongolian border and be returned to his home city of Kyiv for proper and intensive medical treatment.

Ivan Svitlychny, a leading Ukrainian literary critic and scholar, was one of a group of young literary intellectuals who spearheaded the revival in the public and cultural life of Ukraine during the 1960s. After a long period of harassment by the authorities because of his activities, Mr. Svitlychny was arrested on 12 January 1972 during a major crackdown on Ukrainian dissent. Convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", he was sentenced to seven years of imprisonment in corrective labour colonies and five years of internal exile. On completion of the first part of his sentence, he was sent to serve his term of internal exile in

Maima in the Gorno-Altai Region some 3,640 kilometers east of Moscow.

While in internal exile Mr. Svitlychny suffered from kidney ailments and high blood pressure. On 20 August 1981 he had a stroke and underwent an emergency operation to remove a blood clot from inside his brain. He was left partially paralysed. On 17 December he suffered a relapse, and is reported to be in critical condition. His wife has expressed concern that he is unable to receive the full and proper medical treatment for his condition in his place of internal exile and has appealed to the authorities to terminate his sentence and allow him to be taken for specialist treatment in Kyiv.

Amnesty International has campaigned for Mr. Svitlychny's release as a prisoner of conscience. In view of the grave deterioration of his health, Amnesty International is now urging his immediate release as provided for by Article 100 of the RSFSR Corrective Labour Code ("Convicted persons who are suffering from chronic mental illness or other serious illness preventing the further serving of their sentence, can be freed by a court from further severing their sentence...").

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Telegrams, mailgrams, and letters urging the immediate release of Ivan Svitlychny on humanitarian grounds in accordance with the provisions of article 100 of the RSFSR Corrective Labor Code.

Save us unnecessary expenses!

Send in your subscription for

ABN Correspondence

immediately!

Book Reviews

"Turkestan im Herzen Euroasiens"

(*Turkestan in the Heart of Euro-Asia*)
by Dr. Baymirza Hayit

The author, who comes himself from Turkestan, has attracted the attention of readers in both the Western and the Oriental Islamic Worlds, through his numerous scientific publications (e.g. *Turkestan in the Twentieth Century*; *Soviet Russia's Orient Policy, using Turkestan as an Example*; *Economical problems of Turkestan*; *Turkestan between Russia and China*; all of which are published in the German language, and *Traces of Russian Imperialism in the World of the Turkes*, published in Turkish), brochures and essays. The Soviet press, on the other hand, has reacted by publishing libellous statements and carrying out a one-sided attack on the author's work.

In this book Dr. Hayit has attempted to present Turkestan (Soviet Central Asian Republics) to a wide section of the general public. Using references, he emphasises the concept of *Turkestan* as opposed to the term Central Asia, which is commonly found in both Soviet and Western publications. Turkestan is not Central Asia; it is merely situated in Central Asia. The author supplies us with a mass of general information about the geography, demography, history, the situation at present, economic potential, ethnology, and about Turkestan's cultural heritage and the role which Islam and the Islamic faith have played in Turkestan, both in the past and today. In the final section of the book, the author deals with the question of the abuse which Turkestan has suffered at the hands of the Soviet Russians in the Orient.

Actually, Turkestan is considered as the

center of Russian imperialism in the Orient. By quoting numerous passages from Soviet publications, fundamental thoughts of Moscow to the problem of Middle Asia are discussed. Yesterday it was Turkestan and today it is Afghanistan who are victims of Russian imperialism, and the author's question calls, "Who will be the next?"

The author is of the opinion that Turkestan is an effective instrument for the fight against Russian imperialism in the Middle East, provided that the idea of national freedom of Turkestan can be brought to bear in the right way. He is convinced about the fact that Turkestan will become free in the future, and he wrote:

"Finally one should not forget that the people from Turkestan according to its tradition and its character will not tolerate foreign rule for ever." The author wanted to present Turkestan mainly to German readers (the bibliography includes only German-language literature). It would be useful and necessary to translate the book into other languages. Those who want to understand the present tragedy of Afghanistan have to come to know the act of the Soviet Russians against Turkestan.

Dr. Isa Alper

The Uncertain Ally

British Defence Policy 1960-1990

Michael Chichester and John Wilkinson

Foreword by Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Sir Neil Cameron

Few would deny that a huge question mark hangs over the future of British defence policy and Britain's armed forces. How much longer can the country afford forces large enough to make worthwhile contributions to the four main strategic

roles assigned to it in NATO war plans; to maintain and modernise the United Kingdom strategic nuclear deterrent force; and to provide even a skeleton contribution to assist the USA in the defence of vital Western interests outside the NATO area?

Drawing on the events of the past twenty years *The Uncertain Ally* presents a critical review of the management of British defence and strategic policy. The authors explain how many of the defence problems facing Britain today have originated from economic considerations rather than in response to actual threats to national security. As a result they argue that the flexibility of sea and air power has been restricted in favour of a rigid and costly Continental commitment.

They conclude that radical changes in British strategic policy and in the shape and size of the armed forces are urgently needed to provide the country with the most efficient defence structure possible within prevailing financial and budgetary limits.

Contents: 1960-1980: A Backward Glance: 1960-1964: the failure to choose; 1964-1966: the Labour inheritance; The 1966 defence review; 1967-1970: the choice is made — the withdrawal to Europe; 1970: the legacy of Labour; 1970-1974 — the Conservative interlude; 1974-1977: the drift towards defencelessness — the 1975 defence review; 1977-1979: national security at risk; 1979-1980: the Conservative victory — a fresh approach. 1980-1990: A New Look for the Future: British defence policy today; The global threat; The alliance response — the British problem; Sharing the burdens of a global defence system — the case for a strategic summit conference; Restoring Britannia's Trident — the future of the Royal Navy; The future of the British Army; The Royal Air Force — its future role; Involving the people in national de-

fence — future manpower policy for the armed forces; The economics and management of defence; The time for decision.

The Authors

Michael Chichester retired from the Royal Navy as a Commander in 1961 after 30 years' service. Since then he has been a regular contributor to various international journals, writing on defence, strategic and naval policy issues.

John Wilkinson is Conservative M.P. for Ruislip-Northwood. He was a flying instructor in the RAF and subsequently worked on the Anglo/French Jaguar project management team and latterly as Personal Assistant to the Chairman of the British Aircraft Corporation. He is a former Secretary of the Conservative Parliamentary Defence Committee and is a Vice Chairman of the Committee on Scientific, Technological and Aerospace Questions of Western European Union. He is now Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Rt. Hon. John Nott M.P., Secretary of State for Defence.

Janis Sapiets

Baltic Tradition

Latvian Literature under the Soviets: 1940-1975 by Rolfs Ekmanis Norland (USA) 534 pp. \$27.50.

Latvians are not alone in having a history punctuated by traumatic interruptions, but, apart from their neighbours the Estonians, there are few — if any — European nations whose independent existence over the past seven centuries has lasted a mere twenty years. Conquered and ruled in turn by the Germans, the Swedes and the Russians, they lived in what amounted to cultural hibernation until 1918 when the old empire collapsed and the former Baltic provinces of Russia became independent republics. Lithuanians, Latvia's southern neighbours and

ethnically Latvian blood-brothers, can look back to several centuries of statehood and to a time when their rule stretched far south — a memory which, in times of adversity, has helped to boost their national self-confidence and morale. Since the First World War, however, the three Baltic nations have had a common history: a brief period of sovereignty followed by successive German and Soviet occupations, culminating in their incorporation in the Soviet Union in 1945. Of all the European countries they are the only ones never to have regained even a semblance of independent existence after the last war.

So far, there have been few serious attempts to provide an authoritative and comprehensive account of cultural life in the Baltic republics under Soviet rule, but the book by Dr. Rolfs Ekmanis, a Latvian-born professor of literature at the University of Wisconsin, goes a long way towards filling this gap. As the title indicates, the author deals only with Latvian literature, but the pattern of political and ideological shifts and upheavals is so similar in all the three countries that the reader of this massive work will gain a valuable insight into conditions prevailing throughout the area. In a sense, this is a pioneering work, which should awaken a much greater degree of interest in the literature of the Baltic nations whose geographical position on the periphery between the East and the West has shaped a unique cultural climate of individuality and a rich variety of literary traditions.

As the example of Latvia shows, the vitality of these traditions has manifested itself in the way Latvian writers resisted official Soviet attempts to force them into conformity, to make them accept the rather primitive and over-simplified literary technique of 'socialist realism'. Dr. Ekmanis quotes a young Soviet Lithuanian poet, Justinas Marcinkevičius, who in

1962, referring to Soviet literature of the Stalin era, spoke of its "varnished clichés and myths" and identified "lack of inventiveness, levelling of creative styles, avoidance of any new forms and fear of exploration" as the "main abscesses that made our literature grow sick and fall into decay". The formula for socialist realism included a projection of the current Party line into literature, glorification of the mythical new socialist man, and "Soviet patriotism" which, in practice, was an admission of the superiority of Russian culture and literature. The pressure on Latvian writers to conform began immediately after the first Soviet takeover of the Baltic countries in 1940, and quite a few writers, regarded as politically hostile to the new regime, were among the 30,000 Latvians deported to Siberia a week before the outbreak of war between the USSR and Nazi Germany.

One of the first steps of the Soviet administration was to institute censorship and to take over all publishing houses and printing presses, including even mimeograph equipment. Within a few months, three Lists of Banned Books and Brochures were issued naming more than 4,000 books on Latvian history and politics, on philosophy and sociology, as well as all books by those considered "nationalistic authors", which were banned, no matter what their contents, and had to be removed from all bookstores and libraries. In some cases books were burnt in order to eliminate "remnants of the shameful past". The process of establishing the new Soviet literature was interrupted by the German invasion in 1941, but resumed with even more vigour after the Soviet re-occupation in 1944 and 1945.

The campaign against vestiges of nationalism in Latvian literature reached its climax in the years between the end of the war and Stalin's death. Writers were accused of idealising the past, of formalism,

decadence, individualism, of putting love before the Party spirit; flowers, nightingales, lovers and similar subjects were condemned as an undesirable legacy of the past. Janis Plaudis was reproached for having written the poem "The Scent of the Soil" without mentioning that it was Soviet soil he had in mind. Writers were told that nature, love and other subjective themes were permissible, provided they did not depict "individual experiences"; when describing love between two persons of opposite sexes, authors had to convince the reader that "by loving one person, he or she does not stop loving the whole working class". Most pre-Soviet Latvian literature was denounced as having no merit whatsoever. One Soviet Russian critic said that "Latvian bourgeois literature consisted of little else but decadent novels and verse, and trash and pornography of the cheapest brand". Every writer was expected to pen at least a few poems each year containing greetings to Stalin. Anna Brodele's effort was typical:

Your name glows for us like the
 flaming sun,
Like an eternal flame that calls to battle.
To all of us you are the dearest friend,
You, our conscience and our honour.
Today these exhortations and hymns of praise seem like a grotesque parody on literature, and it is all the more amazing that the ideological steamroller did not crush what remained of Latvian literature entirely out of existence. Perhaps the time was too short. Stalin died in 1953, and the Party line began to waver.

In 1956 Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin's crimes of genocide against non-Russian nations and promised to carry out the "Leninist nationalities policy". Hopes of liberalisation rose in Moscow and soon spread to the national republics. In Latvia too the literary atmosphere was stirred by new ideas, the writers and cri-

tics came out with demands for sincerity and truthfulness, and even Andrejs Upits, one of the most loyal supporters of the Soviet regime, declared scornfully that the derision of the spiritual values of the nation and the banalisation of Latvian art and its theoretical foundations had left an ugly spot on Soviet culture. Circulation of books by hitherto banned pre-Soviet Latvian authors was partially resumed, and even some émigré writers were rehabilitated. Some of the deported writers returned from exile and were allowed to take up literary activity. One of them, Harijs Heislars, created a literary sensation with his poem "The Unfinished Song" which described his own fate. The poem was one of the first works of literature in the entire Soviet Union to deal openly with the theme of banishment to Siberia.

As Dr. Ekmanis points out, the Party soon decided to put a brake on the stormy discussions which threatened to burst all ideological constraints. The old slogans were brought out again: the need for vigilance against the imperialists and their bourgeois-nationalist agents, a decisive battle against all sorts of attempts to belittle the guiding and leading role of the Russian people in the Soviet family of nations. "Many times the Russians were assigned by history to play the role of other people's saviours," wrote Vasilii Savchenko, a historian at the Latvian Academy of Sciences. "In the history of the Latvian people the annexation of Latvia by Russia had an exceptionally great progressive significance." The attacks on "rebels" were particularly intensified after the 1968 events in Czecho-Slovakia, there were new arrests and some writers paid for their exuberance by imprisonment and exile, but the revival of Latvian literature, even though somewhat subdued, continued. The partial loosening of the ideological restrictions had revealed that the urge for self-expression and for freedom of creative

work among the writers was as strong as ever. The themes of ultimate human values, love and despair, hope and nostalgia, good and evil had returned and were refusing to go.

Dr. Ekmanis provides some excellently drawn literary portraits of the main representatives of the "new wave" of Latvian writers. Three or four of them will probably leave a lasting mark on literature. Margeris Zariņš, by profession a well-known musician and composer, experiments with new themes and new linguistic devices; endowed with an almost unbridled imagination, he tends to roll together time and place, creating a feeling of unreality and absurdity. Latvian literature has always been rich in poetry, and little has changed in this respect. Vizma Belševica studied at the Gorky

Institute of World Literature in Moscow together with Bella Akhmadulina and Andrei Voznesensky. In her poems, philosophical reflections about man's quest for truth and dignity merge with powerful emotions and national themes. Several times attacked by orthodox Party critics, she has nevertheless gained popularity far beyond the borders of Latvia, and three selections of her poems have been published in Russian, the most recent one (*April Showers*) in 1978. Ojars Vacietis is a sort of Latvian Yevtushenko, exuberant and expressive, conscious of his prophetic mission in the world. As Dr. Ekmanis says, Latvian writers have shown a remarkable resilience, they have not lost sight of universal human values, and their demands for freedom of expression "are old, as old as language, and they have survived all dictatorships".

Rev. Laurinavičius Murdered by KGB

The death of the *Rev. Bronius Laurinavičius* on November 24, 1981, was not an accident, but murder, inspired by the KGB, according to *Kronid Lubarsky*, exiled dissident and editor of *USSR News Brief*. The *Rev. Laurinavičius* was hit and killed by a truck in Vilnius, Lithuania. *East/West Service* (Pasadena, Dec. 15, 1981) quoted *Lubarsky* as saying that some circumstances surrounding *Rev. Laurinavičius'* death are very similar to those in the deaths of two other Lithuanian

priests in the past 15 months. The *Rev. Leonas Mažeika*, on August 8, 1981, and the *Rev. Leonas Šapoka*, in October, 1980. *Lubarsky* asserted that these deaths are tied together in the Soviet-Russian arsenal against human rights activists in the USSR. Slanderous articles attacking each priest appeared in party newspapers a few days prior to the deaths each time. The *Rev. Laurinavičius* was a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group.

NEW BOOKS

BOTH

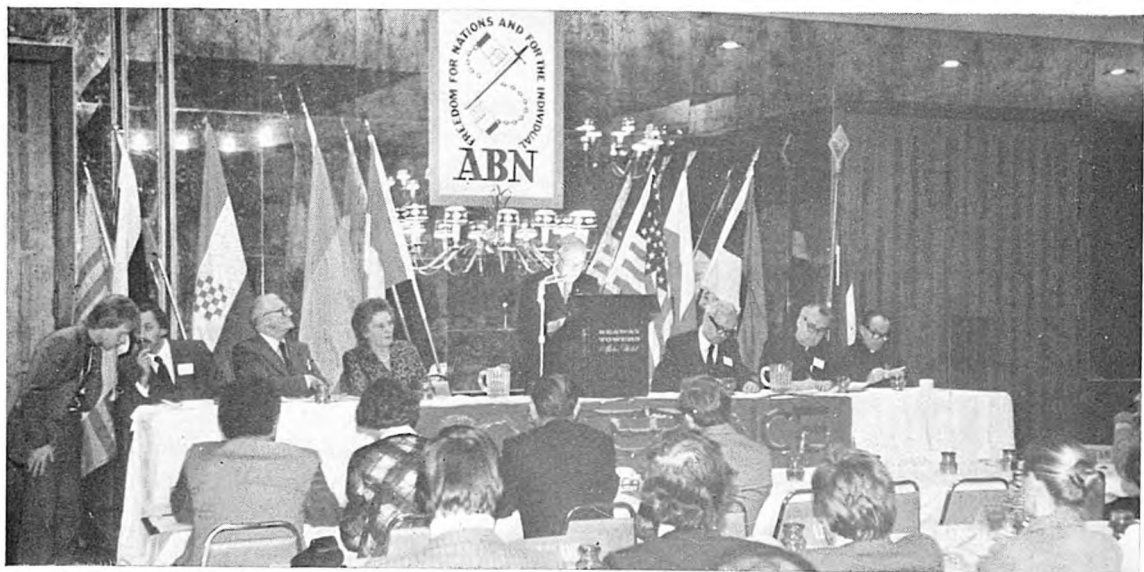
by **Antony C. Sutton**

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BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Ukrainians against Russian nuclear missiles in Ukraine — New York, 1982.

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BUSINESS AS USUAL...

The problems in Poland have demonstrated how far Western Europe, and Germany in particular, have become encircled by a Russian sphere of influence and how quickly the process of development of the position of non-alignment in Western Europe has progressed. Détente has been Western Europe's tragedy. Prosperity has weakened its will to resist. The Western European countries have spasmodically attempted to maintain impossible life-standards, which surpass their economic capacities. They have thrown themselves into self-destructive trade experiments with Russian despots and thereby face falling into ruin.

Russia took advantage of détente to build its own military potential up to an unprecedented degree, with the aid of technology and electronics of the West. In the shadow of détente and the Helsinki capitulation, Russia seized new countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Simultaneously, it established economic trade relations with Western countries, which were in the process of actual disarmament. The conventional arms of the Warsaw Pact are twice that of NATO, its thermonuclear and rocket weaponry also surpasses that of NATO, and the USSR navy is larger than that of the United States.

The USSR has tied to its political complex Germany, France and other countries. The agreement between France and the USSR, regarding gas supply from the USSR for the price of construction of a pipeline from Siberia to France in the next twenty-five years, makes France dependent on the Soviet Union as from 1984; similarly with Germany, who also signed a multi-billion dollar gas supply agreement with the USSR for the same twenty-five year period. This means that these countries are building Russian billion dollar gas pipelines, on account of receiving future gas supplies, thus becoming economically dependent on the USSR in order to become independent from the weak Arab countries.

At the time of the attack on Afghanistan, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt broke up western solidarity with his trip to Moscow to begin a dialogue, thereby making Russian barbarians again "worthy" of diplomatic relations. And at the time when President Jimmy Carter established a grain embargo against the USSR, Germany engaged in profitable "business as usual". President François Mitterrand behaved similarly when the Russians suppressed the struggle for freedom in Poland. Mitterrand attacks Russia verbally, but in practice signs gigantic business deals with it and supplies billions of dollars to the oppressors of Poland.

In precisely the same way, Chancellor Schmidt supposedly announced a boycott of the Moscow Olympics after most European countries already agreed to participate. Thereby he made it possible for these countries to betray their united front with the United States, since, if the German athletes had been the first to refuse to go to Moscow, other Western Europeans would also not have gone. This procrastination made it possible for Russia to destroy the unanimity of Western Europe. Germany paid for its withdrawal with billions of dollars. Probably, the social-democratic Federal Republic is acting out a new Rapallo.

Mitterrand loudly condemns Russia for Poland, but quietly (let us not forget, he has Russian agents in his own government — Marchais' communists!) he makes deals, which carry weight with Moscow as far as his hypocritical judgement is concerned.

But our information would not be complete, if we did not mention that American capitalists are building a tractor factory in the USSR, which will increase the effectiveness of grain production and thereby, in time, make the USSR independent from United States' grain supply. Obviously, this can only take place if the tractor parts do not break down and if the "kolkhoz" workers do not get fed up and tired of working for both the capitalists and the communist parasites.

What do all these business transactions of the West mean from a political standpoint? First of all, the West accepts the immutable principle that it is possible to trade even with cannibals, as Lloyd George taught us, and in the second place, and most importantly, the Politburo in Moscow judges the seriousness of the intentions of Western countries not by their declarations, their words, but by their deeds. That the West will not embark upon any decisive action is obvious to Russia from the facts that Chancellor Schmidt and President Mitterrand did sign a twenty-five year "business as usual" pact with it, that the United States is building a tractor factory in the USSR, is supplying it with grain, and does recognize the Helsinki Accords (which are worse than the Yalta Agreement, since at Yalta, at least, there was no insistence that the borders of countries seized by Russia in World War II were inviolable and some hope for peaceful resolution existed).

The West does not want to annul any agreements with the USSR, does not want to break off diplomatic ties or slow down trade, regardless of Russia's ever-new transgressions.

The criminals of the Politburo realize that they do not necessarily need everywhere the label of communism. They prefer to use extortion, as in the case of the gas pipeline, or a threat to increase unemployment in one or another country, if some billion dollar business deal falls through. The best evidence was presented by President Ronald Reagan in his statement that the grain embargo hurts American farmers more than the Russians. Chancellor Schmidt or President Mitterrand will say the same about the gas! Russia wields the whip of blackmail and simultaneously threatens to use its Damocles' sword — its two to one armored weaponry advantage!

Under such circumstances, Russia does not need communist ideals, because it can dictate to the Germans or the French by simply using brute force, by keeping Marchais at their throats, whose "buddies" sit in Mitterrand's government and very conveniently report everything to their "comrades" in the Politburo. Lenin was no fool when he said that the capitalists are braiding their own rope by their trade with the Soviet Union, with which the Russians will one day hang them. How can those, who possess no ideals for tomorrow, but to win the next election and lead a generally comfortable existence (regardless of the fact that tomorrow their children might live in Russian concentration camps or in the very same Siberia which their parents helped to industrialize), possibly stand up to Russia?

The Russian Empire truly stands on clay feet, but it is saved over and over

again by the West! Chancellor Schmidt of the German sovereign nation refers to Yalta as immutable and to the division of Germany in Postdam also as unalterable — is this normal? Does every German inevitably have to live luxuriously and have an inordinate amount of “kuchen”, bacon, sausage, beer? The social-democratic Germany cares about comforts of life, materialistic prosperity, not about ideals!

It is necessary to arm ourselves with conventional weapons and assist national revolutionary liberation movements in order to destroy, without atomic war, the Russian Empire and bolshevism! But this requires self-sacrifice, tightening of belts, a more severe life-style, fewer comforts. Capitalists and trade unions must relinquish their constant strive for increased profits; it would suffice to decrease the standard of living by only a half in order to achieve victory over bolshevism. It is essential to arm ourselves, to arm the nations subjugated by Russia, and not to get drunk on luxuries, vacations in exotic places and wasteful behavior therein, but to live simply and care about the future of one's children, country and nation!

The decay of morality is evident from the fact that the Croatian and Albanian freedom fighters are being openly murdered by the agents of Belgrade in Germany — the courts testify to this, but the Western governments remain silent in order not to damage their relations with the communist tyranny of Belgrade. The chief of German trade unions embraced and kissed Shelepin, who murdered Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

It is frightening to observe the reaction of the West to the USSR, the Russian Empire, to bolshevism, concerning the Polish fight for independence, and the high-handed behavior of the despotic imperialistic Russia, at a time when agents of Russia are murdering the workers and peasants in a country of these same workers and peasants. Socialists are continuing to conduct their business deals with the Kremlin executioners over the dead bodies of Polish workers!

These wonderful socialists! The true face of socialism is now uncovered; for the sake of business, the socialists strengthen the despotic, totalitarian bolshevik empire, this prison of nations and peoples, this prison of workers and peasants! For these socialists, the armed suppression of workers' revolts in Berlin, Budapest, Prague, Bratislava, and the massive strikes in Ukraine and Poland, have no meaning! Are these really the socialists of Bebel, Schumacher, Ivan Matteo Lombardo, or are these just the successors of Marchais, Honecker, Bierut, Kania, Jaruzelski? We must not forget that World War II began because of Poland. And it was sold to Stalin rather than Hitler. For this, twenty million people had to die? The socialists in power do not care that, because of Germans and Russians, Poland is enslaved. “Business as usual!”

And, finally, the most important point — is not our liberation concept correct, namely, that the road to freedom lies in simultaneous national liberation revolutions of the nations subjugated by Russia? Is not our thesis true — “Freedom given as a favor is no freedom at all!” Or, “Whoever frees himself is free! Whoever is freed by others, will be enslaved!”

And this isn't all! Can one expect support for the nations subjugated by Russia from the Western leaders who have signed twenty-five year billion dollar business agreements with Russia and therefore will defend it to protect their

own interests! The defenders of the Russian Empire sit not only in the Kremlin, but presently also in Bonn! And in Paris! And in other places! They are even among the ecumenical center of the Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches, who work together with the Russian "Patriarch" Pimen, collaborator of the atheist regime.

But all these defenders of the Empire forget that they are doing business without the participation of the master of the land, without the scorned, but real, power, without the *nations subjugated by Russia*, who will blow up their gas pipelines, their Togliattigrads built on sand! Siberia too will be independent, like the other countries! The laws of tomorrow will be dictated by the free nations, currently occupied by Russia, not by Russians. Both the Russians and the Western powers will be presented with our bill for payment! We do not advise making out the accounts or "counting your chickens before they hatch" without the participation of the master of the land, the nations subjugated by Russia, because it just might get too costly, as happened in Iran.

As for Poland, we advise the Polish people to reorient themselves upon a combined front with the other nations subjugated by Russia, rather than upon liberators from the West, because the West first needs to free itself from the bolshevik smoke-screen. If Lenin's cynical prediction about the capitalists and the hangman's noose is not to come true, our suggestion to them is, "physician heal thyself!"

Translated from Ukrainian by Natalia Garbera

*Those such as I are never published, yet other poems I know not how to write.
Do you wish to hear my minor, which always modulates into
a heart's restless sadness?*

*Please do, for today is the Sunday after Easter, and my head
will soon split from hearing the hayivky.**

*I let my arms fall,
And pensively I read Verlaine,
While outside the leaves flutter gracefully down.
They bring my heart not a bit of joy...*

Autumn...

*My expectations didn't ripen on the boughs of time,
But fell, as leaves off trees.
Evening's pensiveness sets upon the walls,
With Verlaine on my lap...*

Autumn...

*Chrysanthemums and asters dress in autumn crimson,
And the paths of life still remain a mystery.
My thoughts have sprouted antennas,
I've no strength to keep reading Verlaine...*

Autumn...

*Iryna Senyuk (Ukrainian poetess,
sentenced in Feb. 1973 to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years in exile)*

* *hayivky* — a traditional Ukrainian Easter Choral dance.

Hon. Michael Wilson, M.P. (Canada)

We must be ready to defend our Freedom

I am honoured to represent the Progressive Conservative Party in Canada at this conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. I would also like to congratulate our hosts at this conference, the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine. It is also a great pleasure for me to renew friendships with those of you whom I have met on previous occasions such as this. I might also say in passing that there are many of you from Etobicoke here; it is a pleasure to see all of you. It is truly an honour for me to participate in this conference with Mr. Y. Stetsko, your president, and the Prime Minister of Ukraine. I would like on behalf of all Canadians to pay tribute to your heroic resolve in your unceasing battle in seeking the freedom for your beloved Ukraine and all Captive Nations in ridding your homeland and these countries of all Bolshevik oppression. The tremendous commitment that you have made to establish the freedom of your nation is a great inspiration to all Canadians. It is also a reminder of how truly fortunate Canadians are to live in the free country that we have.

And yet, in the world today, we are constantly exposed to the deeply-held Soviet commitment to expand their influence and extend their hegemony, be it in Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Afghanistan, or as we have seen just in this past couple of weeks the threat that they pose to countries that are in so-called neutral zones. We must constantly be vigilant of Soviet ambitions. We must constantly be ready to defend our freedom. I am proud to have been a member of Joe Clark's government which took concrete steps to reverse the decline in Canada's commitment to NATO and to NORAD, because it is only the combined strength of all Western countries that will keep the Soviet bear in his den. But we must do more than that. We must do everything we can to support the brave people of Poland. We must say loudly and clearly to the Soviets that an invasion of Poland is totally unacceptable. And we must do our utmost to give to the Polish people their right to self-determination, their right to establish by themselves the future of their trade-union movement and of their country. The experiment in Poland is a great ray of light not just for Poland but for all freedom-loving peoples the world over. It is an inspiration and a hope that the iron grip of the Soviets is losing its force. More freedom in Poland can and must lead to more freedom, democracy and justice in all countries within the Soviet bloc. That is the purpose of your conference, — to review and strengthen the spirit of nationalism among the Captive Nations; most importantly, to pass on that spirit to the younger people inside the Captive nations as well as in countries like Canada where we must learn more forcefully what the Russian bear is up to. It is also important to ensure that those of us who have not suffered in the manner that Mr. Stetsko and many others have, to ensure that we will have the commitment and strength to carry forward the fight until together we are successful. I salute you and wish you well in the balance of your conference here in Toronto.

To be Strong in order to remain Free

This is a great honour for me to be able to participate in this 2nd Canadian Conference of the ABN. You speak Mr. Chairman about hospitality. I know about Canadian hospitality enabling me to join your conference here this weekend. I am in fact doubly privileged. First, I am the sole representative from the UK, indeed from Europe, and in this respect, Mr. Chairman, I congratulate you on the happy accident of your assignment. Had you held your conference a day or two earlier I imagine there might have been a lobby about the patriation of the Canadian constitution. As it is, I will make no comment whatsoever on the BNA of 1867. And even if Prime Minister Trudeau had not secured agreements with 9 of 10 provincial premiers I assure you I would not make any observations on what the concept of duality means for the Canadian nation or what the relationship between the provinces and the federal government should be, which are quite properly a matter for you, your provincial legislatures and the Canadian House of Commons. Secondly, I am privileged to be here over Remembrance weekend when we commemorate the signing of the Armistice on the 11th hour of the 11th month in 1918 to end the Great War. It was the 1st experience that mankind had suffered from the effects of chemical war-waged conquest, and 20 million people died in that war. Because it was so horrific many people naively hoped that it would be the war to end all wars. In commemoration of the two great wars, poppy sellers in England say "wear your poppy with pride" and I see many people here wearing their poppies this evening. It is of course the flower which is characteristic of the Flanders countryside in summer, a countryside whose memorial still stands carefully preserved even if it is not fully understood by the generation which visits it today. It is clear that the presence of liberty always demands sacrifice and as the Afghan representative so movingly reminded us earlier this afternoon it requires courage also. It is better, however, if free people make the necessary sacrifices in peace time in order to deter war and to save freedom. Despite all that has happened in this century it is still not understood how important it is to be strong in order to remain free. That wishful thinking which we have all heard about characterizes the attitudes of many of the people in free democracies today. However, aggressive tyrants are no match for neutralism or self-determination unsupported by strength. Since 1945 the experiences of Hungary, Czechs, Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, to name just a few, have confirmed that fact. Dr. Kissinger made a historic speech in Brussels on the 1st of September in 1979 in which he outlined the development of the pacifist movement. He said, "the amazing theory that vulnerability contributed to peace and invulnerability to the risk of war could not have occurred often enough in history". He rightly observed that "it was considered advantageous militarily to make your own country deliberately vulnerable". "Now", he said, "we have reached that situation, for which the arms control community has indeed become responsible". We know, however, that by allowing ourselves to be militarily weak the West is not only betraying its own interests about preserving individual liberties enshrined in a just and

impartial system of law and the democratic political system which characterized the whole free world, the West is also betraying the many millions of people from the Captive Nations who long for nothing so much as to be free and to share those liberties which the Western countries take so much for granted.

In particular, the advocates of détente, and they are strong and influential, particularly in Western Europe, fear the proximity of overwhelming military power on the part of the Soviet Union. These détente advocates persist unremittently with their policy of abject accommodation with what is undoubtedly the most monstrously evil tyranny the world has ever known, namely the communist imperialist system of Soviet Russia. It was, I thought, particularly ironic, therefore, that it should be on Swedish sandbanks that the Soviet submarine recently ran aground. Despite Soviet aggression upon neighbouring Finland, despite Hitler's invasion of Norway, Sweden has been in Western Europe the chief apologist for the so-called Nordic balance in this region and for détente in the continent of Europe as a whole. Yet Swedish action has clearly not been reciprocated upon by the Soviet Union. My parliamentary colleague in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill, the British war leader's grandson in his new book "Defending the West" quotes an alleged intelligence report of the Warsaw Pact heads of governors meeting in 1973, the year of the Helsinki negotiations. The East European comrades were very critical of the way in which the new policy of détente was working. "All this talk about human rights is very dangerous" they said. Unless all of this was abandoned, the domestic pot would soon boil over.

Eventually Mr. Brezhnev himself had to wage the argument that the Warsaw Pact would gain far more in just a few months than it had previously gained in a quarter of a century by confrontation with NATO. Mr. Brezhnev bluntly declared, "Trust us puppets. By 1985, as a consequence of what we are now achieving through détente, we will have achieved most of our objectives in Western Europe. We will have consolidated our position. We will have improved our economy and by 1985 we will be able to assert our will wherever we need to." Fortunately, in that coronation of forces the Soviet leadership fatally ignored the many millions of its own citizens and of the Captive Nations whose hatred of Soviet communism is profound. The Captive Nations will at the appropriate time ensure that the Soviet empire goes the way of all the other empires. As a Britisher, I can understand this perhaps better than most of you. It must dissolve into its constituent nations in face of the irresistible demand of its component peoples for the right to choose their own destinies with their own national individuality, in short, to be themselves.

We have an important role to play in that immeasurable development. To a considerable extent the finding of that historic moment depends on the vigour and on the determination with which we apply ourselves to informing our people and our governments of the issues which concern the Captive Nations in their struggle for freedom.

Hon. Jesse Flis, M.P. (Canada)

Young Poles in Search of a Higher Goal

I am indeed pleased to have been invited here today by the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine to actively participate at this ABN conference. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko for a lifetime of stringent dedication that they have given to fighting Soviet imperialism. During my recent visit to Poland in June 1981 I was representing Canada at the funeral of Cardinal Wyshinski. I learned that a new generation of Poles free from the psychic burden of World War II are rediscovering Poland's past to reclaim its future. This new Poland poses the greatest threat to the Soviet Union today. Young Poles are now searching for a higher goal and purpose in their lives by shrugging off the apathy of their elders, and as they do so they are channelling their energy into the Solidarity movement. The Polish nation has become more united to gain greater freedom against Soviet imperialism than it has ever been since President Franklin Roosevelt gave away Eastern Europe to Stalin and communism. The development of Solidarity and the right to form free trade unions independent of the Communist party strikes at the very heart of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and as a consequence, there may even be other free trade union movements in the subjugated nations under Soviet domination.

I believe that through Solidarity the Poles are joined with people like yourselves, carrying the banner of struggle for all nations and men. All of us believe in fundamental freedoms: freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful assembly. In addition every person in the world must be guaranteed his legal rights. Every country must ensure non-discrimination rights for its citizens. Ladies and gentlemen, these are some of the rights that exist in our own Canadian constitution. These are also some of the rights that all subjugated nations strive for.

I firmly agree with Mr. Stetsko and I quote you, Sir: "The Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel." The only way to avoid World War III is to support the subjugated nations. We must encourage all subjugated nations to establish their own free trade unions and not be manipulated by the Soviet empire's imperialistic propaganda machine which attempts to exploit ancient rivalries between East Europeans. I encourage everyone here today to remain strong and to resist the propaganda which is aimed at maintaining Russian imperialism in Europe. We must reach out to people in the West to make them aware of the real situation within the Soviet Union.

I would like to congratulate all the delegates at this ABN conference for speaking out for those who cannot speak for themselves. To the host of this conference, the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, I want to say "thank you for inviting me and long live a free Ukraine for all Ukrainians."

Thank you very much.

Hon. John A. D. Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain)

Ignored Element in the Military Balance

Politics of the countries of the free world vis-a-vis the liberation struggle under Soviet Russian and communist domination, current trends and future prospects.

I think you would expect me as a practising politician to be realistic and I'm sure you would also expect me to present my paper from the perspective of the West European allies. I shall do just that and I shall try to be reasonably brief. The countries of the free world are primarily concerned, as all countries are, with their own economic and security interests. These interests entail encouraging industrial outputs at home and access to markets and war materials overseas, and the stable and favourable international environment for trade with a minimum of tariff barriers and a well-ordered international monetary system. It is well appreciated that adequate security and a strong defence are prerequisites for national prosperity and the preservation of democracy. However, as you need no reminding, there is a great reluctance to make the sacrifices that a strong national defense entails. For example, there is growing concern in Western Europe at what is perceived by public opinion as a dangerous nuclear arms race. And there are reports and demonstrations, protests in the papers or on television, almost every day. You know as I do that this is no accident. But, these are the facts as they exist. No one, however, has the courage to argue that the nuclear threshold should be raised by increasing expenditure on the conventional forces to match the awesome military preponderance of the Warsaw Pact. This failure to collective will on the part of the nations of the free world is disturbing and unnecessary. It really is absurd that the Atlantic Alliance, which represents nearly 200 million more people than the Warsaw Pact and whose gross national products total 235 percent more than those of the Eastern Bloc, should find itself in an inferior military position. The trouble is that Western leaders imagine that public opinion in the free world would never tolerate reduced living standards necessary to match the military capability of the Soviet bloc. Sadly, this may be true; but I believe that it is not necessarily true. Very little attempt is made consistently to assess the nature of the threat we face. There is no coherent and systematic argument presented to the Western electorates of the need for defence. The USA to its credit, Mr. Reagan and his administration has sent the armed forces on a course of strengthening and modernization, which is wholly admirable. After the evident humiliations and failures of the Carter years, public opinion is at last glad to see the USA military capability restored to the point where American interests and allies in the world are better protected. In Western Europe the same robust and resolute and wholly commendable attitude to defence does not exist. To their credit, however, the governments of the U.K. and France are somewhat justified in claiming that they too fully meet the target agreed by NATO on the increase of defence expenditure of 3% per annum in real terms. But, I would remind you that the measure of their achievement is only a relatively praiseworthy one. The other NATO nations fall far short of this target as Mr. Michael Wilson, M.P. reminded us last night. Furthermore, the target

itself is an arbitrary one. It represents more a minimum estimate of what is politically acceptable for the nations of the alliance than the carefully computed military assessment of what is really needed to match the military capabilities of the Warsaw Pact. Governments of the Western world are spending much more than they receive in revenue allowing budget deficits to grow to the dangerous point where funding the government debt is a prime cause for the high level of interest rates, which in turn produce a state of global better-my-neighbour with, of course, the international monetary system suffering and, of course, the gulf between the rich and the poor nations growing, and the world recession deepening. Consequently, governments see reducing expensive defence equipment a cure, as an easy way of cutting government expenditure as a whole without incurring a political odium which would be entailed from trimming over-ambitious social security spending on other federal government spending programmes. As a result, the CIA estimates that although the Soviet Union has an industrial base far from the size of that of the US, the Soviet Union's defence expenditure exceeds that of the USA by some 25 to 45 percent. Even worse, the portion of the defence budget concerned with research and development and the acquisition of new systems is about 75 percent greater in the case of the Soviet Union, since the Soviets devote a much smaller portion of their defence budget on salaries and pensions for military personnel. This imbalance should theoretically be regressed because America's West European NATO allies spend more on defence for all their failings than the very much poorer Warsaw Pact East European satellite nations. However, because the Warsaw Pact is totally standardized on Soviet Russian equipment, supplies, and training, it makes much better use of its resources than does NATO, which dissipates its precious funds on unnecessary duplication and overlapping of completely national weapon programmes.

A former chairman of NATO's military committee summed up the situation well when he said that the Warsaw Pact is in effect spending twice as much as NATO on research and development and thus is closing the technological gap on which up to now we have relied to redress our almost inevitable numerical inferiority. In other words, we are facing the prospect that quantity may no longer be offset by Western quality. The failure to evolve a genuinely Atlantic and Alliance approach to our security means that the USA will be spending more and more on trying to develop a full range of military systems in a vain attempt to match the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Western Europe which together provides 80% of NATO's forces, will lack the resources either to develop a secure economy or to procure from the US the weapons needed for their joint defence. The reason for this is that the Europeans persist in a disorganized and nationalistic approach to weapon procurement. This is the road to what has been called "the structural disarmament of the West". The formula for unilateral disarmament is totally incredible and the West is presented with the impossible alternative of nuclear suicide or surrender. Surely, therefore, the time has come when the governments of the NATO nations undertake a sustained campaign that explains the truth about Soviet capability and Soviet intentions. The most significant part of that truth is, of course, the truth which has not been told about the Captive Nations, both within the

Soviet Union itself and within the East European Soviet satellite system and, of course, beyond in areas of the world like Afghanistan, like Angola and Ethiopia, Vietnam etc. This question of the Captive Nations is, of course, the ignored element in the military balance. There are all sorts of learned tomes produced concerning the military balance and I've got one here. But, this crude simplistic assessment of military balance is quite misleading without taking into account the potential of the Captive Nations within the Soviet satellite system. And I think we are increasingly bemused as Mr. Stetsko has so rightly explained. We are bemused above all by the nuclear balance and the fear that deterrents may no longer work because of the growing preponderance of Soviet nuclear power. Now if people were made to understand what the potential of the Captive Nations within the Soviet bloc was, then I think they would have a very different perception of the problem. Furthermore, I think there's a moral element to this. What is life under the Soviet Union really like? It should be a continuing, sustained, and thorough process of explanation. We fear that if the Western governments and politicians do this, we will be prejudicing liberation of the Soviet Union. But our whole experience in recent years has been that there never has been reciprocation on the part of the Soviet Union. We really have nothing to lose besides our own freedom, and so we have to face the issues fairly and squarely. On the nuclear question itself we must enlighten people that it was the Western European allies who asked for the deployment of modern theatre nuclear forces by NATO.

The Western European allies have been since 1977 facing a situation in which the Soviet Union has been deploying one new SS-20 a week. 250 now are being deployed, 170 of them on the Western front. We have no comparable system in Western Europe. Our bombers are reaching the end of their line. There is no strategic position more imperative, more necessary for the Western European nations than that they should permit the deployment of modernized theatre nuclear forces on their soil. Instead, they are bemused by the second tract of the so-called two-tract NATO decision of December 12, 1979 — the decision to undertake negotiations on limitations with the Soviets. While the US administration has agreed to this, the process is to begin on the 20th of November, but it should not be allowed to become a process whereby the long-term Soviet aim of the nuclear free-zone in central Europe should become allowed. In nuclear terms it really would be fatal because, of course, the SS-20 rockets of the Soviet Union even deployed East of the Ural Mountains could hit targets throughout Western Europe, whereas the cruise missiles and the Pershing II rockets just don't have that range. So as far as I'm concerned, there is nothing really to talk about until the Western nations have acquired equivalence.

Then, there is the whole question of linkage. The new US administration, to its credit, has thrown out the idea that there should be no linkage between the behaviour of the Soviet Union and the West's attitude to arms control. We must be quite firm and adamant in our insistence that we will judge the Soviets by their behaviour. Our response in the arms control field should match their deployment of weapons and should take into consideration their behaviour towards the subjugated peoples within the Soviet Union itself, within the Eastern European satellites, and within the communist countries which they

dominate. Once the canopy of Soviet imperialism begins to become broken down and the principle of self-determination is restored and the military threat to neighbouring countries is diminished, then, of course, is the time for the West to undertake a genuine process of disarmament. To conclude, the prospects and trends in the politics of the free world vis-a-vis the liberation struggle of nations under communist and Soviet domination are not promising ones. Just to go through the list very briefly for West European countries, Belgium has just seen the fall of its 5th government in three years. Holland has just seen the restoration of a coalition — extremely shaky. It's still a wide open question. The Danes have a social-democratic government which is not exactly strong on defence. The Norwegians have a more conservative government and Norwegian statements on defence have been much stronger. Their defence expenditure has grown, but it is a minority conservative government. France, under socialist leader Mitterand, seems to have a more robust attitude, since the French have a great sense of national pride, they are realists, even if at times their perception of their own national interest is not the same as the Alliance's interest. Nonetheless, France is spending a lot on defence, and even though there are four communist ministers in the government, they do not appear to have much influence on French foreign affairs, and Mitterand has been quite clear that he wishes to see nuclear deployment by the NATO countries before there is any arms control. West Germany's position is much more problematical and far more serious because the SPD, the senior partner in the ruling coalition, has been more and more infiltrated by the left. Chancellor Schmidt's position is uncertain. He is a rather sick man, it would appear, and the struggle for democracy has taken a toll on him, personally. The position of the SPD is one that should worry the West, because undoubtedly it's becoming more neutralist, more pacifist, more unilateralist. Italy has its economic problems; governments seem to succeed each other very quickly. There is a terrorist problem there of greater proportions and I wouldn't doubt if attempts are being seriously made by the Soviet bloc to destabilize Italy; and I just commend the fact that the Italians have been firm on the question of nuclear deployment on their soil. Along the Mediterranean, Greece has threatened to withdraw from NATO. Then there is Spain, very politically divided, with a government that is very worrisome about national affairs and defence methods; the country is very fundamentally polarized on the issue of nuclear deployment and it remains to be seen how that process will continue. Portugal shook off the possibility of a communist take-over in that country in the mid-70's with extreme difficulty. It seems to be more stable now, one can never be totally certain. In the United Kingdom, we have for the first time an opposition party in the present Labour Party which has broken the fundamental consensus which has always existed in British foreign and defence policies: their consensus was that the UK would always be a member of the NATO Alliance, that the UK would always permit the stationing of US forces on British soil, the deployment of US nuclear forces on British soil and, of course, the maintenance of the infamous British nuclear intelligence. All those things, apart from the membership in NATO, have been called to question in a new official policy of the increasingly left-dominated Labour Party. As a result, non-Marxists have broken away to form a new Social Democratic party, a centre-left party, and its in-

fluence may grow in British politics. Mrs. Thatcher is as robust as ever, but our economic problems have meant that our rhetoric has not been matched by our expenditure on defence.

So, to conclude, at a time when the world faces a global Soviet threat with the Soviet navy transformed from a coastal defence force to an instrument of projecting Soviet communistic power to all corners of the globe, we have an Alliance which is somewhat in disarray. I think those politicians in the West who really know the facts should explain them to their electorates, and no facts I think are more important than those which explain to the peoples of the West what really goes on behind the Soviet Union, how monstrous that tyranny is, how vigorously it must be resisted and how great a potential exists as yet untapped for liberation on the part of the peoples of the Captive Nations themselves.

Ukrainians in Great Britain congratulate US President Reagan

President Ronald Reagan,
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500,

Dear Mr. President,

The members of our Association have discussed the developments in Poland and the measures taken by your Government and take this opportunity to congratulate you for your wisdom, determination and courage.

Judging by the reaction from Moscow, one may assume that they have been hit where it hurts. For a long time now (almost from the birth of bolshevism), the Western countries have been aiding the Soviet-Russian and other communist dictatorships. As a result, most of the Russian industry was built with the help of Western technology and capital and the Soviet bloc countries owe to the West over 57 billion dollars.

The Free World has, unfortunately, helped to create the most dangerous power in the history of mankind. But we believe there is a ray of hope, and that the na-

tional liberation movements within the USSR and their sphere of influence, combined with continuous deterioration of the communist economy, will eventually bring the end to that tyrannical empire, provided the so-called Free World will stop bailing them out.

Beside using economic pressure, there is another very powerful element which could be very effective in ideological warfare against Russian expansionism. It is the nationality problem within the USSR.

Such nations as Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic states, Georgia and some others did not join the Soviet Union voluntarily, but were forcibly incorporated into an empire. These nations are constantly struggling to gain their own independent states, and are, therefore, the natural allies of the West and all other countries threatened by the Moscow imperialistic adventure.

Yours sincerely,

P. Rafaluk

Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain

For Liberation of 50 million Muslims

I would like to clear up one of two things from the very start for you. Even though I am one of the members of the Afghan delegation I am technically a member of every delegation present here who is fighting to liberate their country against Russian tyranny. I would be happy to join any other delegation that is determined and seriously dedicated in overthrowing the tyranny of Soviet-Russian occupation for so many years.

The subject of my talk in the title of this session suggests "the politics of the countries of the free world vis-a-vis the liberation struggle of the nations under Soviet-Russia". I would only narrow my presentation today as Mr. Wilkinson has done in his presentation towards the Western European scenario. I would examine and share with you what struggles, what feelings the Muslim nations from Indonesia to Morocco share and are apprehensive about struggling to liberate about 50 million Muslims who are suffering under the tyranny in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, and I have not been able to find out why, there is some sort of hostility toward Islam in the Western press. Let me share with you therefore some thoughts and feelings of the masses of the Muslims who feel strongly that Islam in totality is the only religious group that can destroy communism. When I say the only one, I mean, other religious groups like the Christians and Jews find themselves as a challenge to this Soviet ideology. Muslims, therefore, from the very inception believe "the people of the Book". Jews, Christians and Muslims must unite and should not fall into secularization of the religion and state that those are the tactics used by the Soviet-Russians.

Let me show you those feelings of

Muslim revival and renaissance in the early 20th century. A famous Egyptian leader returned from France and was asked by many of his admirers about France and Europe. "In Egypt there are a lot of Muslims, but no Islam" he replied. "In France, I found Islam, but no Muslims". Recently an Egyptian scholar visited the Soviet Union and when he returned he was asked "How did you like the Muslims in the Soviet Union?". He replied "In the Soviet Union there are no Muslims and no Islam, only Soviet puppets." So Muslims from the very inception "believe", and are fighting to revitalize their spirit of Islamic dynamism.

However, one good thing has come with all the sacrifices my brothers in Afghanistan have made; they have shown that Islam is a dynamic religion. There is another thing which comes out very clearly in the Western press. Why are there so many freedom-fighters and why are they not united? Why can't they have a single command to fight against a common cause? Fellow freedom-fighters, think about it! It would be much easier for the Soviet Union to destroy one command than it would be to destroy six different groups attacking from all directions to break up the entire Russian occupation.

Afghanistan's heroic struggle against the Soviet-Russian invaders has brought to Islam and to the entire world the hope that we can crystalize, we can become a catalyst against a mighty tyranny. And it would not be a coincidence, perhaps a conjecture that the Polish Catholic revival, which has been struggling for a long time in Poland, has started a movement among the Poles to use Afghanistan as a model for their religious revitalization, bringing the Catholic religion as well as

the Orthodox religion as a bulwark against communism.

Among the Muslim states the Soviet Union occupies the fifth place where almost 50 million Muslims make up the second largest religion next to the Orthodox Christians, and it is suggested that by 1990, if the population goes unchecked, the Muslims will become the largest single religious and national community in the Soviet Union. From the very first, the communism of Marx and Lenin viewed religion to be anti-scientific, a socially powerful illusion, an obstacle to the unity of the Soviet people in their struggle for the transformation of life. In other words, from the very beginning, the Soviet-Russians were interested in eliminating religion from Soviet life, or, in the case of Islam, a homogenous people, the Soviet-Russians want to make Afghanistan into a secular religious state, and the people of Afghanistan have totally rejected this ideology, and they are willing to lay down their lives.

You have all heard, I hope, that for the first time in recent history when the Sovietized, brainwashed, secularized citizens of the Soviet army from the Asiatic regions met the freedom fighters of Afghanistan, the result was Islam conquered and Soviet-Russian tyranny and communist ideals were staved. Non-compliance to military operations, massive defections, coupled with the desire of the Sovietized Muslims to learn Islam made things difficult for the Russians. It is now a reported fact that for the first time the Afghans were going to mosques in Kabul and other cities for Friday prayers, and there was surprise that these poorly clad, impoverished, economically depressed Muslims of Afghanistan are contented, are happy not because they were free to express their views, they were free to participate in what they believe, free to practise their way of life.

It is also reported that in the first few

months of occupation in Afghanistan, 10,000 copies of the Holy Koran were published, all of which were procured by the "Soviets". We know the results: there were defections and outright refusal to fight the Afghan freedom-fighters. Islamic sentiment is so deeply engrained amongst the Muslims of Afghanistan that Babrak Karmal himself had no other choice, and for the first time in the history of Soviet-Russian occupation the dedicated atheists decided "there is a God", and the people must go to the mosques to pray according to the Islamic way of life. This was the first defeat of the Soviet, atheist system. The Soviet-Russians have attacked Islam by banning the Arabic script and the language to foster the development of new ethnic national socialist entities. Religious marriages were denied legal validity. Muslims were forced to Russify their names. This was a very strange phenomenon, to have our names ending in "ov". This was intolerable to those who believed in a free Islam, and the Soviet-Russians are finding it difficult to extricate their mistakes.

The school girls of Kabul demonstrated to defend their own people: "What are you? Are you not men to fight against the occupiers? Give us arms and we will fight the emancipation of women known as slaves". Islamic values of ethics, morality, and justice, freedom of speech were replaced by a Bolshevik-style system. Since 1929 Muslims in the Soviet Union were forced to stay away from mosques, religious leaders were charged with fraud as counter-revolutionary agents, and every mosque, every place of worship had to be registered with the government. Islam was considered to be a cult, a danderous capitalist cult. Well, Islam is definitely "capitalist" since the relationship within trade is a personal prerogative of a free man. Mohammed himself was a business man, a trader. Many people in the West don't realize

that "capitalist" society and the free enterprise system work under the free prerogative of seller and buyer, quite different from the Bolshevik state-controlled society.

Let me show you how the Soviet-Russians have changed their ideology for the modern times. In the 1970's the Soviet-Russians realized that they could use Soviet propaganda wisely. I will show you how the "Soviets" use jargons to confuse the world. In 1970 there was a conference held in Tashkent titled "The Unity for Muslims and the Struggle for Peace against Imperialistic Aggression". In 1973 another conference was called, and in 1980, while occupying Afghanistan, the Soviet-Russians planned a large conference celebrating 15th century Islam titled "Let us Turn the 15th Century into a Century of Peace and Friendship Among People". All Muslim states were invited; some of them were promised lucrative aid in arms, but the conference was a failure.

What I have just revealed to you, most of you know in depth, for your countries have all suffered under Soviet-Russia. What is of interest to me is how we can use the forces of Islam and the Islamic

people for the complete destruction of the greatest tyranny and Satanic designs concocted by devils like Marx and Lenin. That's why you should join us and break down this tyranny once and for all.

From Indonesia to Morocco, the Soviet-Russians have tried to infiltrate a number of countries. They are quite successful, to their understanding, in Somalia, in the so-called democratic republic of Yemen. They are trying under the heading of Arab nationalism in Syria and Iraq. They are trying to use the Arab socialist system in Lybia. But let me share with you a hope. Muslims, because of the fight in Afghanistan, are not going to fall into the trap and all these regimes will be overthrown. They tried very hard to take over the Islamic republic of Iran; they have not been successful, and Iran has just started a very aggressive anti-Soviet campaign from the borders of Iran to the masses of Afghanistan, and God-willing, we will see the liberation of those peoples.

I resolve that we must share our common heritage and experiences of the Afghan struggle with you and you must share your struggle with us, so that very soon all the people of the world can get rid of the Russian menace.

Mr. Ron Gostick (Canada)

WHO ARE OUR FRIENDS?

I might say that I feel a little humble in a sense being here this morning because although I represent the Freedom Council of Canada which is the Canadian chapter of WACL, I myself have never lived behind the Iron Curtain, I have never experienced tyranny, I have enjoyed since my childhood days nothing but freedom. And so, in a sense, you may think that it would be difficult for me to understand problems you have been contending with these many years. I should mention that while I was in the Canadian Armed

Services in WWII, toward the end of that war, I began to understand that although Nazi Germany was crumbling and the Allies would shortly win the war, that in the place of Germany there was a world power, a totalitarian power rising that would be a far more menacing challenge to the free world than Germany had ever been. It was at that time when I was still in my mid 20's that I became extremely concerned about international communism, Soviet imperialism, and the future of the free world. And since that

time I have been engaged in publishing and in lecturing and in doing what I can to bring these questions to the attention of Canadians.

I'd like to say just a word about the aims and objectives of WACL. First of all, through all forms of the mass media, through personal contacts and so on, it is the purpose of WACL to face broadly known communism, aggression and subversive activities in our own country. Second, it is the objectives of WACL to aid liberation movements and captive nations on all fronts. And also, it is our purpose to do what we can to devise and promulgate effective strategies to counteract the international communist aggression.

This morning I would like to comment on WACL activities in a few words. First of all, our objective is to let the world know the real conditions behind the Iron Curtain. And sometimes when we read the Canadian press we don't get too clear a picture and it's only when we have an Afghan or a Hungarian uprising or a Czecho-Slovakian uprising or the situation in Poland, or somewhere else, it's only at those times that we seem to get a glimpse of what is really going on behind the Iron Curtain.

Another prime objective of WACL is to keep alive the spirit and the morale of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain — the captive peoples. One of the questions that Canadians need to ask themselves and this is something we haven't understood, most of us Canadians, we need to ask ourselves the question "Who are our real friends and allies?" My answer is that "our real friends and our real allies are the captive peoples themselves behind the Iron Curtain". And I couldn't agree more with Mr. Stetsko's

remarks to the effect that the real atomic bomb isn't in the United States or anywhere else in the free world, that the real atomic bomb is the captive peoples themselves and they constitute the greatest check against further Soviet aggression and the only ultimate alternative to nuclear warfare. These are some of the things that we Canadians must make known in this part of the world.

I would say now, returning to my own activities in Canada through our publications and the Canadian Intelligence Service, and other publications, that one of the things we are concerned with is realistic national defence. And when we think of national defence the thing that troubles me as a Canadian, aware of the international situation, is the fact that our government seems to be intent on giving aid and sustenance to and trade with the communist enemy. And it seems to me that when we are paying taxes in order to subsidize trade and the transfer of Western technology to the Soviet Union, to Red China, and so on, that we are not pursuing very sound defence policies at all but indeed we are building up the enemy, just like we built up Hitler in the 1930's. These are some of the things we are concerned with.

I'd like to close, ladies and gentlemen, this morning by simply saying that those of us of faith, and I don't think you would be here this morning if you weren't a man or a woman of a deep abiding faith, those of us with a glimpse of truth in reality and those of us who have seen at least a glimpse of truth in reality, and those of us who still have the freedom to speak, upon our shoulders is a tremendous responsibility, and thank God to the ABN for accepting that responsibility.

Hon. John Gamble, M.P. (Canada)

“We must isolate the enemies”

I am honored to have had an invitation to appear here before this distinguished gathering, and as your chairman has indicated, I had a commitment this morning within my riding and a Remembrance Day service. I think you may excuse me if you recognize that a member of parliament intending to avoid the kind of calamity which sent one of my colleagues from Great Britain into the political wilderness to which he made reference that it is absolutely essential to look after things at home. A remembrance day service, however, is something not too unlike, but we are taking care this afternoon of what you people have been doing over the past two days. That is, remembering for those who have come from the tyrannical grip of the Soviet Union or some of their vassal states. And for those who have not had that kind of personal experience recalling from your knowledge of friends and relatives in the subjugated nations, the kind of life that they are obligated to live, [it is] why you compare that life to the life enjoyed by the free world. When I say it's not unlike the service of remembrance with respect to the day set aside, in this case, a weekend set aside to pay tribute to people who lost their lives in the 1st and 2nd World Wars, for those lives that were lost in both cases with the intent and hope that it would be the last time that mankind would be subjected to the kind of tyranny and oppression that was about to engulf the globe. And the difference here is that the planning and expectation that goes on is to avoid the calamities of the past. Nations which are held in bondage are bound to belong to the mind of man and cannot themselves be chained. To be involved in a convulsion, eruption which ultimately will throw off those chains so long as the vehicle for the casting off of chains is available for us. And we in the West, we in the free world have an obligation to provide the means for the achievement of the goals that we all seek.

I had an opportunity this summer as a member of Parliament and as a member of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons for External Affairs and National Defence to travel to three diverse parts of the world. And I saw in East and West Berlin the kind of difference that exists in a microscopic fashion between Russian control and the free world. I had an opportunity to visit the Republic of China and there I addressed a group of delegates from around the world who were as concerned as are you about the trend and development of the suppression of freedom, and I met on that occasion some of the delegates that are here today. I also, in the month of September, as a member of the Canadian parliamentary group, attended a meeting of the inter-parliamentary union in Havana, Cuba. That meeting provided me with the opportunity to confront Fidel Castro directly, from a podium, much like this, before international delegates, about some of the abuses that I found imperialist, colonialist regimes, like the Soviet Union had imposed upon the world. And I spoke about those things, many of which I have heard today despite the fact that I had just come briefly for this afternoon session and I recall, after I had concluded, looking across from where I sat, there was a sign carrying the same words as the sign that I see here in front of me today, the sign be-

aring the name Bulgaria. And the puppet from Bulgaria rose to object to the tone of my address, rose to suggest that my speech be stricken from the record because it was offensive to Cuba and to the Russian masters who were sitting to my left as I spoke.

Well, needless to say, my response to that recommendation was that in the event it was appropriate to strike from the record offensive words, it should have been done in the opening session when the most offensive speaker of the day, Fidel Castro took the podium to address the congregation. And in the event that you are bitten by a rattle snake there is a real risk that without medical attention you will die. It is not necessary for everyone to be bitten and die to know that the rattle snake is poisonous. Nor is it essential for everyone in the world to be clobbered to death by the Soviet Union in order to recognize that they are our enemy. We have seen what they do.

I watched the film on Afghanistan and I might say that the Canadian delegation in an unusual tone of solidarity endeavoured to deal with the issues, with little success, the issues that I saw displayed this afternoon on that film. The Russian did not say a word, but the puppets they had from the Bulgarian delegation spoke in their favour. All those people who received foreign aid from Canada spoke in their favour and endeavoured to shunt the issue aside as though it did not exist. What is it that we do not do for the Third World that results in the withdrawal of their support and results in approval for what must be one of the most monstrous daily intrusions upon human liberty. The answer is: we endeavour to provide them with aid for the people in their country. The puppets who run those nations are more interested because they are dictatorships with arms and armaments which the Russians willingly supply so long as they fall into line, and they do. I was amazed to find, despite the fact that I would have thought that every Arab state would have risen up for the scalp of the Soviet delegates, that aside from the Egyptian delegation no one there wanted to support a motion to place on the agenda the atrocities committed by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

This cannot go on. In the event that we have friends, those friends must have our help. In the event that we have enemies, those enemies must receive not a dime of aid, no support; *we must isolate them*. We are fortunate in some respects in that the US has been relieved of one of the most useless presidents they have had in a long time, who played right into their hands as a nice generous man of the Soviet Union. Fortunately, we have a man now who knows what he is doing and who speaks the right way. It's a language the Russians understand and have understood since the time of Joseph Stalin.

It is imperative that all nations of the free world speak out with a clear and unequivocal voice because today we are on the threshold of potential loss of all that we hold dear; the greatest threat to mankind is in the East and it's spreading around the world like the plague. It no longer is appropriate to speak in terms of containment. It's no longer appropriate to talk in terms of peace at any cost. We've come to that before. I remember a man by the name of Neville Chamberlain who thought he had made a deal and with all due respect to my colleague from the U.K., it appeared that he had peace in his time. What happened was that the local time menace of 1938-39 began to march and spread destruction and tyranny wherever it went. In the same fashion, although under

a different name, the Soviet Union and its puppet states are doing it today. It is refreshing and helpful to look about and find there are people like you who are taking a stand and telling the people of the free world what they have to risk; their freedom, their liberty, their homes and their lives. It will all be gone. The mind of man is a marvellous repository for knowledge.

I really would have hoped that Canada, when it is really necessary, had a leader of a country who recognized that it is inappropriate to pat Fidel Castro on the back and suggest "Viva Castro". I would have hoped, looking at the motto behind me "*Freedom for Nations and the Individual*" that it would be inappropriate to have a prime minister who claimed that his favourite kind of government would be a "single-party" state. The day will come when the free nations of the West will stand together, knowledgeable of the fact, aware of the danger, and prepared to do something about it.

Mayor Dennis Flynn (Borough of Etobicoke)

Importance for the Canadian Media to know about Bolshevism

I would like to compliment your official host, the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, which has worked very hard to organize this conference and to bring together so many people with common interests. I would also like to recognize the two special humanitarians that are with us here tonight, Yaroslav Stetsko, the former Prime Minister of Ukraine and his wife Slava. And I say to Mr. Stetsko that his presence here, as well as his wife's, and his work at this conference is a source of inspiration to all delegates. It is fitting that this conference be held in metropolitan Toronto because this city is the most shining example of how people from every corner of the world can come together to live in peaceful coexistence. People of every known heritage call Toronto their home and they give to it multicultural riches for all to enjoy. It is my hope that those of you who are visiting with us for the first time, might find the opportunity to explore our many attractions.

As you know we have a place in our community internationally known as the Etobicoke Olympium. And, there is a young lady, sixteen years of age, Elsie Schlegel, who has performed in many world events as a gymnast. In this building, where she trained, because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, she was never

able to participate in the Olympic prize. I was proud of Canada's participation in the Olympic boycott, but I still feel genuinely sad for this sixteen year old athlete whose years of hard training for the Olympic medal were crushed by Soviet oppression. But more important, I am appalled at the lack of incentive by any active anti-Soviet nation or by the U.N. to ask the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan.

Recently, I consulted with Toronto Sun editor Peter Worthington on how the media provides coverage to new citizens. Those of you who live in Toronto well know that Mr. Worthington is a respected journalist and an expert on Soviet matters and has spoken out for a stronger Canadian foreign policy against the Soviets. It is Mr. Worthington's impression that there is a feeling among many new Canadians that they are discriminated against because the media tends to ignore them. This may be true and it would be far better for the media to accept these people rather than to reject them. Many of these new citizens understand Soviets and their actions and it is important that the Canadian media and all Canadians understand them too. I am sure that all of you here understand the tyranny of Bolshevism and I wish you all the best in the future.

No Human Rights without National Freedom

I come this evening to meet with you as someone who is no longer obligated to the daily chores of administrative duties, so I would like to speak of course in the context of the Captive Nations. Reflecting on my own experience of travelling the free world for many years and meeting practically all the heads of state of the free nations, I would like to present to you some conclusions that I have reached concerning neutralism, Russian imperialism and bilateralism. I would like to speak a few minutes on each.

Neutralism of course is by definition the so-called non-aligned Third World countries and then they have other labels that have been put on it in recent months. The United States of America proclaimed within the last two weeks that free lunch time is over. President Reagan did that at the conference in Mexico. We can see what the so-called non-aligned movement has done to the international monitoring system. There has been a collapse. We look at the condition of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. There has been no responsibility shown in the loan field whatever. There is no reason why the developing countries cannot get out of the debt that they owe. The game in Mexico City was simply this — stick the US with the debt. Let us have another round of free play to avoid responsibility. Well, as I mentioned a few moments ago, President Reagan made it very clear to them — get lost. We saved something different this time — we gave ourselves the opportunity to save ourselves, to develop ourselves. The leadership of the USA is not as naive as it is taken by some people to be at times. We know the conditions of every nation in the world — we know them quite well. I can assure you that we know the conditions of the newly-independent nations. What we are saying to them is this: in reality you have no technological abilities to develop your country, you have no managerial abilities, you have no experience in marketing, you have no financial resources. We can give those to you and we will give them to you when we bring the financial resources to you. You will not get free money. You are going to have to take responsibility for the development of your nation. That is going to save the world monetary system. If we don't do this, we will continue to wallow in debt, the American dollar won't be worth anything, the Canadian dollar as well, the pound sterling will be gone and there will be total economic decay. I think also, what must be said to the Third World is that there is a new morality in economics. This is going to be the test. The situation will be simple. It will be a free choice. There will be no apathy involved. Do you want Russian friendship? If that's what you want then go to bed with Stalin. You can continue to go on with your isolationism or you could enter into a responsible economic development of your countries. That will guarantee you your political independence. Nothing else will!

Let's turn now to the 2nd factor in our examination — *Russian imperialism*. Forgive me for the language that I am about to use. I don't use the word communism, for communism is a theory inside the Soviet Union and it is a mythology. There is no communism in practice there. It won't work, it can't work — impossible. It violates the very nature of man. You've got there monopolistic state

capitalism, old-fashioned Russian despotism, and you've got Marxism, but its a mythology. Despite détente and the agreements at Helsinki, have the Russians changed? I don't think so. I see no change whatever. All this has not changed the Russian objective of world domination. I assure you that there hasn't been any change, and that there can't be any change. This is not a 20th century phenomenon. This is a phenomenon of three to four hundred years. The messianic Muscovite must exercise his superiority over all the others. Its evidence today is stronger than ever.

Peter I must have a great smile on his face — “look at what I've done. I have enabled the Muscovite to terrorize the entire world” — nothing short of that. We look now at the results since détente. First we look at what happened to Afghanistan — what do the Afghans want from anybody? They are an ancient people who govern their own affairs. What about Poland — there are approximately 40 million Poles who know what's going on. There is a genuine nationalist movement there. I say to you that imperialist Russia is frightened to death. They know that they can't fight these people forever — these people are determined to run their own affairs. God willing, they will. Solidarity is doing a good job. Russian disinformation is busier than ever. Their techniques are flagrant all over the world, here in Canada, but particularly in the USA. Poland must be free. We see the Russian technique of denying food, denying fuel, bleeding them economically. The USA and the other countries of the free world have an obligation. We must help the people of Poland survive this coming winter. They need food desperately and they are going to need heating oil, and they will need more than anything else our moral support. Look at South-East Asia. Look at the trouble-makers there.

The Muscovites and South-East Asia. The whole Chinese peninsula — Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. Look at the trouble in Malaysia now. Look at what they are trying to do in Thailand. Look at the Middle East. Look at Iran. Look at what's going on in the Saudi Arabian peninsula. Look at the Russian manoeuvring going on in the Great Horn. Its an encircling operation — nothing short of that. Look at Sweden — a submarine 12 miles from the principal Swedish naval base. A pipeline is planned to include Russian manoeuvring in West Germany. I hope that silly notion has been given up. The USA is prepared to make excessive accommodations to make sure that industrial Europe is not short of the energy that it requires to continue its own development. They, (the Russians), don't need 16 billion dollars in order to bring the pipeline in there. Look at Korea — always border threats. This is Imperial Russia in the period of détente. I have not spoken about threats on nuclear warfare. All of us know about that. What we need to do is clearly and properly identify the enemy. Who is it we are fighting? Let us not waste our time in trying to struggle with a mythology. This is impossible. We have to get down to business. It is Russian imperialism which is the enemy! Russian imperialism, pure and simple. This is the enemy we must beat.

Now, I would like to speak a little on *bilateralism*. Do you know what trilateralism is? It began at Yalta. It would astound you how many times the word trilateralism is used in the official language of Yalta, the language that would save the world. Well it died a miserable death as we all know.

We know what happened in Central and Eastern Europe. We know what happened in the Orient. Russian deceit. The Soviet word meant absolutely nothing. Now we see in the early 70s a revival of the trilateral concept called Trilateral Commission. Who did it? The international bankers did it. What is its objective? To consolidate the industrial world — Western Europe, England, Japan, Canada and the USA. An economic effort to infiltrate imperial Russia with capitalism; and they got whacked. See, this was introduced almost completely in the federal administration of the USA. The Secretary of Defence was a member, the Secretary of State was a member. the Secretary of the Treasury was a member, who wasn't a member? They have done terrible damage to the whole world's economic system, particularly the monetary system that civilized nations depend upon. Now, finally, what is bilateralism? As I foresee it, it is the new umbrella. It involves primarily population, it involves ethnographic warfare, the psychological type. It involves fully the great Chinese civilization. On the one hand I see the free world, Europe, Canada, USA, on the other hand I see the Chinese civilization, a billion people. They are the crux of the issue "Land without people, people without land". They must get back the land that was taken from them by imperial Russia under Tsar Nicholas I under the so-called Unequal Treaties. I see the 90 million strong Russian threat. I see a common frontier with the Chinese civilization — 4,500 miles. How can the Russians police this? Especially, when a billion people are on the other side of the border and they need that land. How can they do it? It is a military and a mathematical impossibility. In Siberia there is a vast, vast area. Yet, the population there is not in excess of 25 million.

Think of the fertile lands that are there. Forget about the mineral resources untouched. This is what I propose as a new technique to put the squeeze on imperial Russia. Meanwhile, the Western countries and the countries of the Middle East will see their Muslim brothers being smothered in Turkestan and they will respond to this anger. That, I am absolutely confident of. I am sure that with the rebirth of the Chinese civilization we will see a resolution to their problem. Human rights can come only when national political freedom is attained. Nations must be set free to determine their own future, their own destiny. Then they will be responsible for protecting the rights of their own people. I think we are changing windows. Number one is national self-determination, a return of nationalism, a support for it. Human rights will follow.

I join with all of you in the hope that our next conference here in Canada will be witnessing the break-up of the unholy Russian empire.

Major General John K. Singlaub, USA (Ret.)

“A New Strategy for the 1980’s”

Address at the United States Council for World Freedom and the North American Region of the World Anti-Communist League Meeting at Phoenix, Arizona — April 23, 1982

President Reagan during his campaign spoke frequently about the growing Soviet military threat, both strategic and conventional, and about the serious “window of vulnerability” which would open in the early 1980’s. He was referring to the Soviet capability to use a minor percentage of their strategic missile force to destroy a major percentage of the total US strategic forces — land based missiles, submarine launched missiles, and strategic bombers.

On October 2 of last year, President Reagan announced a “comprehensive plan” for the modernization of our strategic forces. This program will end the relative decline of US strategic capabilities and will put the United States in a position to reshape the US-Soviet strategic competition in the year ahead. Presidential concentration on correcting the major deficiencies and weaknesses in our strategic forces is most appropriate because war at this end of the conflict spectrum poses the greatest threat to our national survival. It is absolutely imperative that we prevent war at this level of violence by demonstrating a capability to survive a Soviet first strike and then inflicting on them an unacceptable level of damage. By so demonstrating, we will deter the Soviet Union from using this military option as a deliberate way of waging and winning a war to continue planned Soviet expansionism. Most important, we must achieve this demonstrated capability to survive a Soviet first strike to prevent the Soviet Union from blackmailing us into inaction and acceptance of communist expansion by less violent means.

If strategic nuclear war is at the high end of the conflict spectrum in terms of

levels of violence and the greatest threat to a nation’s survival, it must be recognized as having the lowest order of probability of occurrence. In the middle of this spectrum of conflict is what is commonly referred to as conventional warfare. Here we are talking about war involving battalion and division formations equipped with tanks and artillery and deployed and supported by conventional air and naval forces. Here the level of violence is less than in strategic warfare and the threat to national survival is less. But the probability of occurrence is considerably greater for this second option than it is for the first.

The Reagan defense program is significantly improving our capabilities in the conventional forces as well. The program includes the procurement of ships and aircraft to improve our strategic mobility, new tanks and artillery to improve firepower, new radios to improve command and control, and more ammunition and fuel to improve readiness. When these programs are completed, our ability to respond to conventional military threat situations will be greatly improved. The Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force is being given some substance by this Administration for the first time since its creation a few years ago.

As we have previously stated, the most serious threat to the United States involves the recently acquired ability of the Soviet Union to destroy our strategic forces in a first strike. As we have pointed out, however, it is not the most likely attack to be launched against the Free World. The most likely force to be used is at the opposite end of the conflict spectrum — ter-

rorism, subversion, guerrilla and irregular warfare which is known as unconventional warfare.

The term "unconventional warfare" includes, in addition to terrorism, subversion, and guerrilla warfare, such covert and non-military activities as sabotage, economic warfare, support to resistance groups, black and gray psychological operations, disinformation activities and political warfare. The Soviet Union today, acting directly or through their proxies and surrogates, is heavily engaged in all of these Unconventional Warfare operations against the Free World. Because they are covert and generally conceal the involvement of the Soviet Union, there is a tendency to pretend that we are not under attack. We must understand that in the Soviet scheme of things, "conflict, struggle and violence are the driving force of human history." The Soviet empire, by the sheer necessity postulated by it, doctrinal axioms, is relentlessly expansionist. This expansionism is not the result of personality quirks of successive leadership groups but rather the direct result of ideological core beliefs which are deemed immutable. Since the Soviets have recognized that expansion by a direct assault on Europe entails grave risks, they have concluded that it is much safer to resort to an indirect, but no less menacing strategy elsewhere. We can be absolutely certain that the Soviet Union with the help of their surrogates such as Cuba, East Germany, North Korea, Libya, and others will continue to use this unconventional form of conflict to expand their empire through "Wars of national liberation as a part of the continuing class struggle" — to use their own words.

Unless we recognize that our enemies are exercising the "third option" in the conflict spectrum we cannot take the steps essential for our own defense. If we continue to ignore the unconventional or irregular warfare option we can be defeated just as certainly as we would if we ignor-

ed the threats posed at the upper end of the conflict spectrum.

The Soviets not only have a global strategy to implement their world-embracing ideology, but they have demonstrated a ruthless political will to employ their Special Purpose Forces of the Committee for State Security (KGB) to augment and complement in a covert way their overt foreign programs. Soviet unconventional warfare activities are managed at the highest level of government authority. In peacetime such as the current situation they are controlled by the KGB. In conventional war situations these special purpose assets might be placed under the operational control of the Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU) of the General Staff to operate in small groups against key political, military, command and control, transportation and industrial targets in the enemy rear area. Today these elite forces are used in civilian clothes by the KGB in destabilization, penetration, and other subversion operations throughout Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Central and South America. They are exceptionally well trained, superbly equipped, and fully funded.

On the other hand, the US capability to counter terrorism or to participate in unconventional warfare operations was seriously curtailed by specific actions of the last administration. Not only did President Carter direct the dismantling of the CIA's Human Intelligence Collection and Covert Action capabilities, but the military's Unconventional Warfare forces, in all services, were cut back drastically. Some evidence of this weakness was demonstrated in April 1980 during what has come to be known as "Jimmy Carter's Desert Classic" in Iran.

Today as we examine the situation around the world, if we are realistic, we find many places where the West is under direct or indirect attack by the Soviet Union using these unconventional methods. In many cases we don't even realize that

we are under attack because there is a tendency in the West to assume that the Soviet Union and its allies have the same standards of behaviour and the same humanitarian goals as ourselves. There has been a tendency to ignore what actually exists and concentration on what might be brought into existence. This denial of reality has produced serious misjudgements with often fatal consequences. As a result, we find ourselves forced into inactivity because we lack the capability and the will to exercise the third option for our own defense, to take pressure off of an ally, or to exploit to our advantage the the many vulnerabilities that now exist in the Soviet empire.

In distant Afghanistan, two years after the Soviet invasion to prop up an unpopular Marxist regime, the 85,000 Soviet troops have been unable to control the anti-communist Moslem freedom-fighters. In recent weeks there is new evidence that the USSR has already started to reinforce its troops there with large numbers of new troop formations. The intelligence coming from that area suggests that there are now over 110,000 Soviet forces in the country and that they plan to increase that number to 150,000 in time for the spring offensives against the defiant freedom-fighters. The communist Afghan Army continues to lose strength due to defections and casualties.

While the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with conventional forces, assisted by Soviet Special Purpose Forces, presented a serious challenge to the West, in my opinion, we were correct in refusing to use our conventional forces to repel that conventional attack. Afghanistan is at the extreme end of a logistical supply line for the United States but only a minor problem for the USSR. Because of the recently acquired strategic superiority of the USSR, it was clear that a threat to use our strategic forces lacked credibility. Disregarding what we might have done to

prevent this takeover if our intelligence and covert actions capabilities had been intact and judiciously employed, what is needed now is the ability to provide assistance and support to the valiant Afghan Freedom Fighters. Because our capability in this UW area is so seriously enfeebled, our efforts to support the Afghans must be handled through third parties without adequate supervision or direction.

In the mineral-rich, West African country of Angola the UNITA forces of Dr. Jonas Savimbi are conducting an heroic resistance to the occupation of Soviet, East German, and Cuban regular forces. These occupation troops constitute the only force which keeps the unpopular and ineffective communist UPLA government in power. The Savimbi forces completely control about 20% of the country and operate freely over another 40%. The morale of the UNITA force is very high and their support within Angola is increasing. The morale of the 23,000 Cubans is quite low with defections to UNITA causing serious problems for Fidel Castro and his communist masters. In my opinion, the United States should have the UW capability and the national will to assist the anti-communists in their valiant struggle for real freedom. At the present time a congressionally decreed limitation, known as the Clark Amendment, prevents the President from doing what is necessary and moral in this case. The issue in Angola is complicated by the fact that Gulf Oil has been extracting and refining oil in territory controlled by Angola and is, thereby, subsidizing the Soviet and Cuban occupation of Angola. In fact the Cuban military forces are providing the security for the Gulf Oil installations. Gulf Oil payments to Angola constitute the primary source of income for the communist UPLA government and its Soviet, East German, and Cuban protectors. It appears that it is the Gulf Oil lobby which is bringing pressures on the State Department and the House of Represent-

atives to retain the limitations of the Clark Amendment.

In neighbouring Namibia the communist movement known as SWAPO continues to launch terrorist raids from their sanctuary in that part of Angola under MPLA control. These raids against civilian villages are designed to destabilize efforts by the majority of the people of Namibia to form an independent, multi-party, non-communist government. Without Cuban and East German assistance, support and protection in their bases in Angola, SWAPO would cease to be a factor to be reckoned with in the area.

Closer to home, in fact in our front yard in Nicaragua, the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat is almost complete. There is no longer any serious effort made to conceal the fact that the leadership is now 100% Marxist. Most non-communists have been purged and the anti-communists eliminated. The Sandinistas are creating, with Cuban and Soviet assistance, an army and militia of over 250,000, equivalent to one-tenth of the population. The combined forces of Nicaragua and Cuba, even without the Soviet Brigade in Cuba, will be larger than any army south of the Rio Grande.

The national economy of Nicaragua is collapsing. The country already owes almost \$ 3 billion to foreign creditors, and this is increasing at \$ 2.5 million per day. This foreign debt incurred by the Sandinistas in only two years is almost equal to the giant indebtedness accumulated by the "corrupt" Somoza regime in 43 years of systematic pillage.

A very important fact came to light recently. According to an independent public opinion poll published on November 10 in Nicaragua, only 28% of the Nicaraguan people support the Sandinista revolution. I should add that after those results were published, public opinion polls have been outlawed.

After the fall of Nicaragua to the com-

munist supported Sandinistas, the Cubans announced that the next target in Central America would be El Salvador. The evidence is irrefutable that weapons and other support has been flowing from Cuba through Nicaragua to El Salvador. The basic strategy of the Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador has been to develop enough strength that they could destroy the five bridges over the Rio Lempa with the view of separating the eastern one third of the country from the rest. In keeping with this plan, one year ago the Marxists called for a general uprising or revolution. To the great surprise of Havana and Moscow, no one came to the party. In recent weeks they planned again to cut off eastern El Salvador with the view of establishing their own enclave. Thanks to some help from their neighbours including Guatemala, the guerrillas have been unable to achieve any significant military success. The guerrillas or terrorists in El Salvador, as in most areas under communist assault, must use military power to seize control because they do not have the support of the people. The counter-guerrilla forces of El Salvador could use some help from our counter-insurgency experts. Unfortunately, this part of our Unconventional Warfare capability was dissipated and lost by the last administration. Current USA policy in El Salvador is simply to prevent a communist military victory while hoping wistfully that some sort of political solution will emerge from the recent election.

Although difficult for impatient Americans, we must be prepared for a protracted conflict in that area. We must also recognize that if we permit the terrorists a sanctuary in Nicaragua or elsewhere, we will be adding an unnecessary handicap to the situation and increasing the probability of communist victory.

On the other side of the globe, on the Korean Peninsula, the North Koreans continue the covert offensive against South Korea while continuing to build up their

conventional military forces. North Korea continues its efforts to infiltrate agents into the Republic of Korea by crossing through and under the DMZ, by landing from specially constructed agent boats, by use of legal travellers from third countries, and by floating in with the tide up the Imjin and Han Rivers. The type, quantity, and disposition of North Korean weapons systems such as artillery and attack aircraft all indicate a concentration on offensive intentions rather than a concern for defense. The presence of US conventional combat forces standing alongside those of the Republic of Korea constitutes a deterrent against any overt north Korean adventure to the south. But, the defense plans for the Republic of Korea must take into account the ongoing unconventional war being waged against it today and appropriate forces and strategy have been developed to cope with it.

In all of the situations just mentioned, freedom-loving people are being subjected to communist-inspired warfare in which a response by the United States at either the nuclear or the conventional warfare option is either inappropriate or lacks credibility as an effective course of action. There are many other areas of the world where individual and national liberties are being repressed by the covert, unconventional warfare efforts of the Soviet Union and its proxies as it carries out its globally-oriented expansionist foreign policy.

In other areas of the world communist imperialism already has been imposed and Marxist governments now maintain control of vast populations by force of arms. This includes the captive nations of Eastern Europe, Africa, and Southeast Asia. In many of these nations resistance to Russian controlled communism is well-established and the populations are crying out for help and encouragement from the Free World, especially the United States.

To frustrate Moscow's global strategy it is essential to recognize and acknowledge

that it exists. The Soviet Union continues resolutely to be committed to revolutionary activism in all corners of the globe. With a single-mindedness of purpose, the USSR is forging ahead to secure its position as the world's paramount power, using multiple agencies and multiple military options for achieving this goal.

We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that communist doctrine calls for the avoidance of a direct confrontation when it meets a wall of resistance. It is prepared to take a step backwards whenever it meets an obstacle to its expansion even if the obstacle is little more than a wall of resolve.

The striking success of Moscow's foreign policy in recent years is the combined result of Soviet deception and Western self-deception. It is the unpalatable truth that the West is the Soviet's Strongest ally in its own destruction. This has been demonstrated by the continuing export to the Soviet Union of our most advanced technology and by our enthusiastic willingness to pull Soviet chestnuts out of the fire by paying off satellite debts and providing agricultural products to compensate for communist inefficiency in the socialist management of its own agricultural sector.

In order to stymie Soviet imperial ambitions, and to reverse the trend, the US has to come to terms with the existence of an enduring adversary relationship with the USSR, and to accept this challenge to the point of resisting it forcefully and exploiting to the maximum those weaknesses in the Soviet empire with a view toward rolling back communist tyranny and domination. What is needed as a matter of urgency is a national strategy which recognizes the whole spectrum of potential conflict and most especially the current unrecognized conflict of the Unconventional Warfare end of the scale. A central building block of this new strategy could be a return to the abandoned policy of containment as articulated by George Kennan in

1947 when he said that our policy should include: "... the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy". But in addition, because the Soviets have made such great progress in expansion since our policy of containment was jettisoned, the new national strategy must have a roll-back component which will give hope and encouragement to the captive nations and peoples of the world.

In addition to this expression of a new strategy, a demonstration of a new national will to carry out this strategy is required. This can be shown by the immediate assignment of the resources, hu-

man and financial, needed to carry out this new strategy. This would include as a matter of priority the revitalization of the Central Intelligence Agency and the reconstruction of that part of our military forces which will give us the capability to counter the ongoing attacks on our free world allies and also give us the option of exploiting the growing disillusionment and resistance inside the Soviet empire.

This strategy must be based on the indisputable fact that the USSR can ultimately only be contained by the ready availability and demonstration of American power. There is no substitute for American leadership in this great venture. If we don't do it now it may be too late.



Presidium table at the United States Council for World Freedom and the North American Region of World Anti-Communist League Conference, Phoenix, Arizona, April 23, 1982

Lithuanian Underground Appeal: "Ukraine, our Hope..."

Ukraine, you great and magnificent land! The mighty Black Sea washes your shores, the rapid Dnipro traverses your fields.¹

God in heaven bestowed upon you so much innumerable riches deep in your earth and vast steppes into which the ploughman has but to plant a seed for it to bring forth a harvest about which others can only dream. He granted you a mild climate and a comfortable geographical position. Your children he blessed with qualities of industry, jolliness, brightness of disposition, and optimism. But why were you passed over by chance to decide your own destiny? Why has the blood so copiously shed by your sons not brought you the fruit of freedom? Why, must one of the largest European nations — able to compete with any in the world in culture and development — live in a state of dependence?

Ukraine! Your history reaches back more than a thousand years. It was your land on which the Eastern Slavs first settled... Russia, is hell-bent on convincing everyone that she alone is the mother of (Ukraine and Byelorussia) and that all three of them are so close to each other that separation from "Mother" Russia is completely out of the question.

While your neighbor Russia was in the process of building a strong, centralized state of her own, you were kept busy fending off a multitude of enemies: Pechenegs, Polovtsians, Tatars, Poles, Lithuanians, Magyars, Moldavians, and so on. Yes, our Lithuanian forefathers, too, coveted your land and even had it under their thumb for a century or two. But at least we are able to say that our yoke shielded you from the much more bitter yoke of the Tatars, and that our rulers had no designs on your language, your religion, your customs, and no interest in replacing them with their own.

Ukraine! The freemen of your Golden Age, the Zaporozhian Kozaks, more than once shook the walls of Cracow, Vilnius, Bakhchisaraiy, and even Istanbul. Perhaps in time they would have created an organized state, too, if not for that year of misfortune 1654. For the fourth century in a row now you have been unable to extricate yourself from the "fraternal" clasp which has since turned into a pair of steel pincers. Rivers of blood were shed by your Kozaks, your peasants in rising up against the tsar's oppression, but it was all to no avail. Only with the collapse of the power did the blue and gold colors of the Ukrainian flag fly over your land.

In March 1917 the Central Rada was established in Kyiv. But that was not yet an independent body, subservient as it was to the Provisional Government of Russia. However, following many battles, a newly independent state — the Western Ukrainian People's Republic — was finally proclaimed on November 1, 1918, in Lviv. On November 14 of the same year, in the Eastern Ukrainian city of Bila Tserkva, the Ukrainian Directory — the governing body of independent Ukraine — was established. V. Vini-chenko headed the Directory, and S. Petliura — its armed forces. At first both Ukrainian republics struggled separately for their existence; later, they joined forces. Attacked simultaneously by the Bolsheviks, and by Denikin, and by the Poles, and by [illegible], Ukraine collapsed: its eastern part fell to the Bolsheviks, the western — to Poland.

Ukraine! You are once again enslaved, divided, and persecuted. In spite of unfavorable conditions, Western Ukraine produced many luminous figures: writers, artists, actors, scholars, and educators. In spite of all attempts to stifle it, Ukrainian culture remained alive, flourishing in

a variety of legal, semi-legal, and illegal manifestations.

Events in Eastern Ukraine ran a different course. On the pretense of fighting the bourgeoisie, Chekists consisting of Russians and Russified Ukrainians began mass arrests and liquidation of the nation's educated people. Many of your sons were executed, many died in prison, many escaped abroad. The remaining ones were thrown into a melting pot known as "building socialism". There they were subjected to intense assimilation, unrestrained Bolshevik brainwashing, and terrorization through labor camps and deportations. During the collectivization drive six million of your sons and daughters died of starvation (this is a land whose grain could feed the entire continent of Europe in the days of the tsar!). Finally, you suffered though Yezhov's rampage of 1937-38, which destroyed nearly all that was left of a nationally conscious intelligentsia. The onset of World War II thus found Eastern Ukraine exhausted, oppressed, bled dry... From the Caucasus to Berlin the earth is strewn with the bones of Ukrainians.

Things went differently in your western part. Even though the Polish occupation was by no means mild, it did not succeed in damaging the nation's soul, its spiritual values. The desire for freedom remained burning in the hearts of the Western Ukrainians, and they continued to seek by any means possible the freedom they had been seeking for centuries.

In preparing for war Hitler envisioned an important role for Ukraine. Seeking to take hold of its immense agricultural and industrial resources, he began circulating rumors about the formation of a "Great Ukraine" within the German sphere of influence.

But once again Ukraine found itself deceived. The Nazis were not inclined to be generous with human freedom. What

they had in mind all along was not the liberated Ukrainian, but the arrogant German setting foot on and taking root in this fertile soil, the German exploiting the local population and exporting the fruits of its labor to the German heartland. At some point, having grasped the real intentions of the oppressor, Ukrainians began resisting. One of the most active leaders of this Western Ukrainian resistance to the Nazis was the future national hero Stepan Bandera.

When Western Ukraine was taken over by the Soviet Army, the resistance movement, far from diminishing, entered a phase of even greater intensity. The entire country was gripped by a holy war for freedom. Stepan Bandera again was in command. His poorly armed partisans fought against steeled Russian soldiers and local traitors. The partisans dared to hope that the struggle wouldn't last long, that soon — a month, maybe half a year away — the Western world would come to their assistance, and that finally their centuries-old battle for freedom would be won!

But for yet another time the Ukrainians were disappointed. From the West came sympathy, and nothing else. Not surprisingly, sympathy proved inadequate in overcoming an enemy several times more powerful.

The blood flowed, the deportation trains moved east, vigilantly guarded by armed Chekists. In the east the cattle cars disgorged their human cargo into the camps of Komi, Krasnoyarsk, Kolyma, with their barracks, barbed wire, machine-gun towers, exhausting work, hunger, and Siberian cold, the daily degradations, the capricious behavior of the guards, the fury of the criminal dregs, and the daily barrage of words of hatred: *banderovtzi, khakhol...*³

But in camp the Ukrainians learned they were not alone in the fight against the Red Plague. It turned out that another

freedom-loving nation was also engaged in the guerilla war for its independence. And although there were many fewer Lithuanians than there were Ukrainians, the former's struggle lasted for a bitter decade, just as it did in Western Ukraine, before finally being subdued. Cattle cars were rolling to the east from Lithuania as well... The old prisoners say that during Stalin's time the greater part of the political prisoner population consisted of Western Ukrainians, followed by Lithuanians, Latvians, Russians, and others.

Misery, famine, humiliation, and freezing cold brought the men of two nations together. Former Lithuanian prisoners who are still alive today remember their Ukrainian brothers-in-misery with fondness. The Ukrainians probably have likewise not forgotten the Lithuanians. A common struggle against a common foe, together with a jointly shared condition of bondage, has brought our two nations together in a bond a hundred times stronger than any propagandistic "friendship among Soviet peoples"...

The current situation in Lithuania could be described in two words: quiet fury. This is what makes Lithuania such a vexing problem for the Chekists, a problem to which they'll be damned if they can find an answer.

Here and there we hear the names of Ukrainian fighters for freedom and human rights. Each year their ranks keep growing. If they are not as yet very numerous, that may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Party fears nothing so much as Ukrainian nationalism, to the exclusion even of an external foe. Against the latter the Soviets have ready a sufficient number of tanks, air carriers, and atomic bombs. But deploying this arsenal against an internal foe — in this instance, a rebellious Ukrainian people — would cause awkward problems of highly embarrassing nature. The KGB, therefore, is sensitive to even the slightest movement

towards resistance, hoping to crush it before it develops into something bigger. The Party understands that should an insurrection occur in Lithuania, it could be subdued without any catastrophic consequences. But if Ukraine were to rise up in revolt, that might shake or even topple the whole Soviet system right down to its rotting foundations, long held up only by crude force and coercion. This would explain the particularly close attention paid by the Chekists to the Ukrainian dissidents as well as the comparatively small number of the latter.

Yuriy Orlov recently calculated that out of the total number of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, 40% are Ukrainians and 30% are Balts. Those are sad statistics, and we pray to God that the numbers were smaller, but we may safely claim they are proportionate to the respective total numbers of national and religious freedom fighters and human rights activists in each area. Now, the more freedom fighters there are in a nation, the more prepared it is to receive freedom, and the higher is its consciousness, determination, and drive. Keeping in mind that at the present time there are 5.1 million Balts (not counting the Russians and other nationalities living in the Baltic republics) in the Soviet Union as compared to 40.7 million Ukrainians,³ the above statistic are somewhat shocking. We, Balts, feel inclined to cry out: if there were 40 million of us, nothing would remain of this 20th century prison of nations disguised as socialism except a painful memory!

A nation shall never achieve liberty unless a majority of its people thirst for it, unless they refuse to accept every evil — whether it be a decline in the quality of daily life, or a tightening of the bonds of national oppression, or an intensification of the persecution of freedom fighters — as an inevitable, almost natural calamity. If, on the contrary, a nation seeks to

identify the causes and perpetrators of these evils and then condemns them accordingly, it will grow strong and win. It must realize that when society's economic condition deteriorates, it is the Party and its ignorant, bureaucratized economic policy that is at fault. When national oppression intensifies, it is the Russian chauvinists inside the party apparatus that are carrying out a policy first put into effect during the reign of the tsar by the fierce reactionaries. When reprisals against those fighting for freedom are stepped up, it is the Party and its prop, the KGB, that are seeking to intimidate the people and leave them without those who would inspire and lead them in their struggle. A nation has but to snap out of its drowsiness and stagnation — and it will reach its goals. The road to liberty is long and hard. At first it winds through a nation's consciousness and heart. Then it opens up into the field of battle.

Our enemy is the world's largest state, armed to its teeth; for us to come against it alone is senseless. That is why we place our greatest hopes in you, Ukraine! If you rise up with us — victory will be ours!

We must help one another, we must coordinate our efforts. A voice of protest ringing out throughout the land and echoed by hundreds and thousands of other voices from every corner will have a much greater effect than a single voice crying out alone in the wilderness. There must also be cooperation between our underground press network. We must cooperate not only between ourselves but with other freedom-fighting peoples as well: Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, Georgians... Strength in unity!

The mere thought of what would happen if you, Ukraine, achieved your freedom is enough to take one's breath away. For so long a nation without rights (even though you were nominally repre-

sented in the UN, you were utterly dependent on Moscow), you, a supplier of natural, agricultural, and human resources to Russia, would take your rightful place among the largest and most developed countries. In population, only Russia, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and France would surpass you among the nations of Europe. In size — only Russia. Your highly developed industry, an agriculture of immense promise, a high level of national civilization — all of these are factors that would enable you to reach the sort of heights which a majority of the world's nations could only envy but about which you cannot even dream in your present state of subjugation. If you had freedom, your future would be radiant indeed!

You would then receive back into your fold several, perhaps even all ten million Ukrainians presently scattered all over the globe. They would come to you from the cities and villages of Russia, from the vast reaches of Siberia and the Far East, from Canada and the United States, from every corner of the earth. You would again become a true mother to them rather than an evil stepmother who is indifferent to her children's fate and even chases them away...

Wake up and arise, Ukraine! Freedom was the yearning of your best men of whom you are so rightfully proud. Let their wish come true, let the blood they have shed bring forth the sweet fruit of freedom! [...] *The Lithuanians*

¹ From *Aušra*, No. 20 (January, 1980), Lithuanian Underground publication.

² Offensive terms used by Russians to designate Ukrainians.

³ editor's footnote: The true figure for the Ukrainian population in the USSR is closer to 50 million.

⁴ Omitted the ending of this piece — a brief word of homage to Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's great national poet with a Lithuanian translation of his patriotic poems.

The Manifesto of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the highest revolutionary and political guiding body of the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine — turns to You, our great Ukrainian nation, in this decisive moment in world history, in this period of global revolutionary upheavals, at this time when the revolutionary situation in the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and its “satellite” countries — is becoming increasingly acute.

Ukrainian People, our Nation of Heroes and indomitable fighters!

Forty years ago, on June 30, 1941, by Your will and on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, an All-National Assembly presided over by Yaroslav Stetsko, proclaimed in the city of Lviv the renewal of Ukrainian Statehood. This momentous deed was carried out against the will and without the knowledge and/or approval of Nazi Germany. This Act of Independence heralded the beginning of a new epoch of Ukrainian Statehood and signalled the start of a two-front war of liberation against the two largest and most monstrous military, totalitarian, colonial tyrannies in the world — Bolshevik Russia and national-socialist Germany — the mortal enemies of Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

Ukraine's two-front war of liberation lasted for over a decade. It was organized and led by the armed underground of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, who was also the Deputy-Minister of Defense in the sovereign Ukrainian Government (UDP) led by Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko. Following the seizure and imprisonment of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, the members of the Ukrainian Government (three of whom were executed by the Gestapo), tens of thousands of OUN nationalists-revolutionaries and countless Ukrainian patriots, were also incarcerated in Nazi death camps. Nonetheless, the UDP never succumbed to Hitler's ultimatums to dissolve, and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), under General Roman Shukhevych's guidance, carried on with the functions and duties of the Ukrainian Government, thus maintaining the continuity of national authority in Ukraine.

It took the Russians, together with the Allied Forces, four full years to defeat Germany in the East; Ukraine on the other hand, was able to continue her armed struggle for liberation for over ten years, maintaining sovereign authority over vast areas of Ukrainian territory. It is significant to note that Ukraine declared war on Germany on June 30, 1941, over half a year before the United States was maneuvered into the war on December 11, 1941.

Moreover, the Russian imperialists collaborated with Nazi Germany for two full years, from 1939 to 1941, supplying the German war effort with invaluable technical assistance and material support, such as oil and grain. The two principal co-conspirators and instigators of World War II were Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany — the Central Committee of the CPSU and the NSDAP.

Subsequent to Germany's defeat, the Ukrainian Insurgent-Underground State (1941—1951) of the UDP—OUN—UPA—UHVR, founded by the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941, led a war against the armies of the Tripartite Pact, concluded in 1947 between the USSR, Communist Poland and the CSR, whose sole purpose was to defeat Ukraine's revolutionary armed forces and thus reimpose Russian colonial domination over all of Ukraine. The heroism of our patriots from Lemkivshchyna and Kholmshchyna saved millions of Ukrainians living in the western and central regions of Ukraine from mass genocide and forced deportations to Siberia.

Ukrainian Brothers and Sisters!

With our dynamic, indestructible, revolutionary potential, with our system of values and ideals of renewal, with our huge population and the creativity and inventiveness of our talented people, with our economic potential and crucial geopolitical position — Ukraine is the pivotal revolutionary factor for resolving the world political crisis. Through the revolutionary reestablishment of Ukrainian Statehood, the Russian empire will cease to exist as will its enslaving communist system. As a result, the political map of the world will be fundamentally changed. With the dawning of a new age of freedom and justice and a world order founded on the national principle of mutual respect for each nation's right to freedom and independence, a return to the imperialist past will no longer be possible.

We turn to You, our People, as Your loyal sons and daughters, seeking only to guarantee Your well-being and to fulfill Your will, manifested through Your authority as the heart and soul of our Nation's quest for an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State. We are fighting for Your rights, that every free and sovereign nation enjoys when master of its land.

We do not seek personal power. We do not want special privileges or advantages for ourselves. As You know, ours is a fate of prison cells, torture, starvation and draconian persecutions that we, Your sons and daughters, warriors of the OUN and UPA, insurgents-revolutionaries, have borne in the past and are prepared to bear in the future. Happiness can never be ours, because we burn with the shame and disgrace of Russian bondage, which has shackled our heroic, valiant and highly civilized Nation. We aspire to erase this shame, this dishonor from our great Nation, which is fighting for the ideals of all humanity. Where is the grave of the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA? Where are the graves of the thousands upon thousands of martyrs, who have fallen on the field of glory for Your freedom? Not even their mothers, wives, or children can tell us. Having tortured our comrades to death, the satanic Russian sadists are desecrating their graves.

On our land one never sees a monument to the Unknown Soldier of Ukraine. However, we know that all warriors for truth, liberty, honor, national independence and justice are all known to God. Continue our revolutionary tradition of building earthen monuments of our sacred native soil to the heroes of Ukraine, emblazoned with the words — *"To the Heroes of Ukraine — known only to God"*.

Today there are states, who have yet to complete the process of nation-building, but who, nonetheless, already enjoy the rights of national independ-

ence and statehood. *And You, our noble Nation*, victimized by the Russian enemy, continue to languish in captivity. But You — a Nation of Titans — *cannot be denied*. The hand of Providence is guiding You in Your great mission.

Humankind is being thrust forward by the irresistible force of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which is tearing asunder the empires of the world and replacing the artificial, imperialist constructs with organically constituted national, sovereign and independent states. The banner of this irresistible progressive process is being carried by Ukraine — a vanguard force in advancing the idea of opposing all forms of imperialism with that of national independence and statehood. Ours is a life-and-death struggle. Kyiv has risen against Moscow. The light of Saint Sophia and Saint Yuriy are advancing on the darkness and tyranny of the Kremlin and Zagorsk.* Zagorsk is the symbol of the “Caesaropapal” church of the Russian empire! The Kremlin symbolizes the militant atheism of the Russian communist system of subjugation — the torture chamber of nations and individuals! The irreversible process of disintegration of empires had been temporarily inhibited during World War II because of the senseless policies of the Western Allies on the borders of the Russian empire: instead of leading a crusade against both tyrannical, imperialist systems, namely Nazism and Bolshevism, the Western Allies demolished the former, at the expense of assisting the latter in the establishment and consolidation of its hegemonistic domination over the world.

God’s Providence has imparted and entrusted You, *our Ukrainian Nation*, with a great mission: the ethical, moral, political, and spiritual rebirth of all humankind within the context of a heroic conception of life, the ideals of liberation nationalism, and a heroic Christianity, which posits the purpose of human beings, as a reflection of God’s image, in their service and dedication to higher and nobler pursuits, rather than in base inclinations to materialism, hedonism, and service to the “golden calf” of material values. We have dedicated ourselves to the more noble spiritual values in life. Although we seek to serve our nation, we respect the right of every nation to independence and sovereignty and the basic, inalienable rights and liberties of every individual, regardless of race, creed, or national origin.

A new global revolution is imminent — a revolution of the spirit, of morality, of an ethos of free and unfettered labor, of a cult of heroism, of respect for ascetism, and for liberty, as the foundation upon which the higher values in life can be realized. These values include the idea of justice for all in a world without serfs and masters, without slaves and tyrants, without exploiters and the exploited, so that there may be HUMANS on this earth — as creations of the All-Mighty God, so that nations may be free and independent in their own sovereign states, as a conception of God, as the cornerstone of God’s order on this earth. This impending revolution will bring forth the victory of a heroic humanism, a heroic humanity over the kingdom of hatred and despotism! Once the absurd notion of a slave without rights is expunged from the consciousness of the individual, all colonialism also perishes as an unnatural, un-Godly, criminal system of subjugation.

* Saint Sophia and Saint Yuriy are both ancient Ukrainian Cathedrals in Kyiv and Lviv respectfully; Zagorsk — Russian monastery, serves imperialism.

Dear Nation of Ours!

Forty years ago the course of history reached a crucial juncture. The fate of many nations was being decided on the balance scales of history, as the objects of the imperialist ambitions of two totalitarian, imperialist powers: Nazism and its prototype — Bolshevism. At that time, the OUN, in its Manifesto from December 1940, proclaimed the principles for the creation of a new and just international order, founded upon the right of every nation to independence and sovereignty. This Manifesto was a direct challenge to the imperialist, neo-colonial ambitions of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. In the name of these principles the OUN rose up in arms, entering the battle of ideas and concepts.

The two-front war of liberation of Ukraine, undertaken under the banner of Freedom for Nations and Freedom for the Individual, exhorted and inspired the subjugated nations of the East and West to rise up in a common front against both of these inhuman systems of tyranny and imperio-colonialism, to destroy both satanic, racist, anti-human empires, and to erect on their ruins a system of national independent states, each within its ethnographic boundaries. Then we envisioned a world without colonies and empires, a world without slaves and their masters-despots! This was a far-sighted step taken by Your sons and daughters from the OUN and UPA, whose Testament of Truth was the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941 and the founding principles of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), established on our initiative on November 21-22, 1943.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Underground State of the UDP—OUN—UPA—UHVR survived for over a decade despite seemingly indomitable odds. The insurgent-revolutionary strategy that we formulated ourselves and instituted in the two-front war of liberation became and continues to be the guiding semaphore of our liberation struggle. This strategy could have led to the destruction of both despotisms with a minimum loss of life. But the West failed to comprehend the vital importance of this modern strategy of waging a liberation struggle. In light of the present thermo-nuclear and electronic age, this strategy acquires all the more significance. Any and all nuclear weapons are rendered useless in an all-national revolution, when an entire nation takes to the barricades. By its insurgent-revolutionary strategy, the OUN and UPA saved our nation from mass genocide at the hands of the German and Russian oppressors. Yet, our warning, our revolutionary semaphore was not understood by the Western Allies.

We were left alone against all the powerful of this world. Yet in the end, we emerged victorious! Ours was a moral political victory! And once the atom bombs began to fall, once the threat of a thermo-nuclear war became more acute, the irrefutable driving logic of our Ukrainian alternative became all the more evident.

Our Ukrainian Nation!

In this frightful age of thermo-nuclear armaments, Ukraine is the beacon of hope and salvation for all humankind. Ukraine's potency in this regard stems from our deep understanding of spirituality, idealism, liberty and national independence, all of which, taken together, are much stronger than thermo-

nuclear bombs! The Achilles heel of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and the “satellite” countries — is the subjugated nations, which constitute two-thirds of the population of the empire. The world’s path of salvation from a thermo-nuclear Armageddon lies in the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, that are internally tearing the Russian empire asunder. In a common front with the other subjugated nations, Ukraine is again presenting all freedom-loving humanity with a way out of this grave crisis, just as she did forty years ago.

On behalf of the Ukrainian nation and all the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, we are sending the following message to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world: after having fought and defeated Germany and its national-socialism and after having maintained a state of war against Russia and its communist system for over sixty years, we will continue to lead a war of liberation together with the other subjugated nations, employing our modern revolutionary means of struggle, *as the new ideological-political and spiritual superpower of the world!*

Our revolutionary forces are also armed with modern technological means of warfare. Our sons, who are forced to serve in the Soviet army, are equipped with modern weapons. The enemy has no other choice but to arm our young men. In cognizance of this fact and with a full sense of responsibility for the salvation of all humankind from an atomic catastrophe, we extend our hand to the West not in search of unilateral assistance, but in the hope that a mutually beneficial common front between the subjugated nations and the Free World can and must be forged. Our only precondition is that our political concept, aims, strategy and typology of struggle be respected and recognized: the dissolution of the Russian empire and the dismantling of the bolshevik system of slavery from within through simultaneous and synchronized national revolutionary uprisings and the revolutionary reestablishment of national independent and sovereign states of the subjugated nations within their ethnographic boundaries.

We call upon all the nations of the world — whether free or enslaved, whether recently or long-since subjugated — to join our Front of Revolution! History has proven that a subjugated nation, waging a national-liberation revolution, never had to pay nearly as great a price, in terms of lives lost, as in an imperio-colonial war. A subjugated nation, when forced by her subjugators to fight in an imperialist war, will always suffer heavy losses in human life, since the imperialists minimize their losses at the expense of the subjugated. In World War II, essentially an imperialist war, the Ukrainian nation suffered many million fatalities in the interests of foreign powers. Yet in our own two-front war of liberation, in which we employed and maximally utilized various revolutionary, insurgent-guerilla methods, no more than fifty thousand of our warriors lost their lives in defense of their nation, in defense of their national, insurgent-underground state. Whoever is unscrupulous enough to oppose national-liberation revolutions can only be considered a hypocrite, a traitor and an enemy of freedom!

Peoples of the Free World!

We seek to rid the world of the enemy of all freedom-loving humankind. We aim to achieve this end *without an atomic war*, but rather by the internal

disintegration of the Russian empire through the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations. In advancing our alternative, we concurrently caution the free nations of the world not to ignore our potential and actual strength and not to attempt to use any type of thermo-nuclear weapons on our lands, simply because of the West's lack of conventional military armaments and preparedness, which in itself is a result of its hedonistic, comfortable and self-complacent lifestyle.

Tyranny and terror are no longer capable of evoking fear in the subjugated. This fear has already been broken! A new era is dawning — the era of revolutions and national wars of liberation! The West can either take the side of revolution or the side of reaction, namely, the preservation of the stability and perpetuity of the Russian empire and its communist-bolshevik system. There are no thermonuclear weapons that can oppose the force of liberation nationalism, since these weapons are also in the hands of the freedom-fighters.

Nations have risen, and nothing can stop them!

The West ignored our alternative during the Second World War. Now the free nations of the world can no longer afford to ignore this alternative, since otherwise they will perish in a global thermo-nuclear conflagration.

On the balance scales of history there now lie two diametrically opposed forces: the "Soviet", i.e., Russian, racist "supernation", — and the multifaceted mosaic of national cultures, nations, as a conception of God, individual human beings, as a reflection of God's image. Nations against empires! Freedom and national independence — against slavery and national subjugation! Ours is a worldview of humanity, that posits an organic, free and just world community of nations, each of which contributes its share to God's treasurehouse of spiritual creativity in opposition to imperialism, colonialism, and racism of all kinds! Ukrainian nationalism posits a concept of social justice and of a just distribution of wealth in opposition to the accumulation of this wealth in the hands of a totalitarian "super-state" or a system of financial capitalism, with the negation of private ownership on a mass basis, also with regard to the means of production!

The time has long since passed when the great and powerful Ukrainian nation, with its national and cultural traditions of many millenia, was only a footnote of history. Ukraine will never be a new Hiroshima or Nagasaki! Our land will not be the thermo-nuclear experimental laboratory of the super-powers! No forces of this world will be able to dishonor our Nation, our heroes and warriors, who simultaneously fought against both of the criminal, genocidal, colonial systems of Bolshevism and Nazism, bearing incalculable sacrifices in this struggle. It would be a heinous crime against God and all of humankind to attempt to discredit the bearers of great ideals of renewal in the spirit of heroism and liberation nationalism, since they are the heralds of the only path of salvation for all humankind from global Bolshevik destruction.

*A liberation Revolution is the only alternative to a thermo-nuclear
holocaust!*

For this reason one OUN radio-broadcasting station would be many times more powerful in the war against Bolshevism than an atom bomb. One insurgent detachment would be by far more significant than several nuclear missiles, whose

reverberating ricochet of death would leave its indelible mark not only on Kyiv but on Washington as well. *National revolutions liberate nations; atomic wars destroy them!*

The revolutionary-insurgent forces of the OUN-UPA fought on two fronts. The Ukrainian soldiers in the Red Army also assaulted Berlin, which, like Moscow, attempted to vanquish the idea of an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State and to enslave the Ukrainian people. Our soldiers expected to turn their weapons against their Russian oppressors at an opportune moment after defeating Germany in a final struggle for Ukrainian Statehood. Let this fact serve as a reminder for NATO.

Ukrainian Nation, You are the only indigenous inhabitants of Your land, on which You have lived and prospered for many long centuries. You have carried within Yourself the millennium-old relics of the Ukrainian Individual, dating as far back as the Paleolithic age. Your historic roots are to be found in the highly-developed culture of Trypilia, which at that time represented the zenith of agricultural civilization in Eastern Europe. Regardless of the formal name under which national-state activity began forming on Your land, You, and no one else, created the great Antae state. You were the architect, the founder of the powerful Kyivan Rus'-Ukrainian Kingdom, which raised the banner of Christ's faith and the "Truth of Rus'" that were to become the mission of Your life. You then continued this mission in the Halych-Volyn' Kingdom, after Your gold-domed Kyiv fell from the onslaught of the Tatar invaders. And when You and all of Europe were being threatened by a new wave of Turko-Tartar invasions, You proudly and intrepidly took up the first line of defense, the impregnable bastion of which became the Zaporizhian Sich, which also gallantly protected you from the Polish and Russian invaders.

In this century, after languishing in captivity for many long years, You again rose up in arms and renewed Your statehood in 1918 in the form of the Ukrainian National Republic, or, for a short period, the Independent Ukrainian Hetman State, thereby guaranteeing the future continuity of the struggle for Ukrainian statehood, independence, and sovereignty, despite the colonial quadri-partition of Your land by its occupiers. Furthermore, in spite of the Russian siege of Your land by starvation and mass terror, You continued to manifest Your right to national statehood at every opportunity and on every enclave of Ukrainian land, an attestation of which was the creation of the Carpatho-Ukrainian State in 1939, subsequently crushed by a new colonial invader.

In Your two-front war of liberation, You engendered the most recent period of Ukrainian Statehood — *the Ukrainian Underground-Insurgent State of the UDP—OUN—UPA—UHVR (1941—1951)*. In defense of this state You gave birth to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which, together with the armed revolutionary OUN underground, fought for over a decade to consolidate Your Statehood on the vast expanses of Your land. All of the above historical periods were epochs of our Ukrainian Statehood, not only as separate administrative forms but as spiritual-qualitative categories, as His Holiness, Patriarch Josyf I, teaches us in his Epistle on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood by the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941.

In 1979 we commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), our all-national organization, which stands above the interests of separate social groups or political parties. The OUN places the good of the nation above all particular vested interests. It cultivates an ideal of heroism, as an example for our youth, which must aspire towards eternal, rather than transient, merely material values. The OUN cultivates an ethos of free and unfettered labor, so that the individual can find happiness in life through his creative work and pursuits, rather than treat labor as a punishment from God.

In 1981 we commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the reestablishment of our Statehood. In 1982 we will commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the heroic Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Soon we will be marking the millenium of the official adoption of Christianity in Ukraine — the Christianity of Kyiv, not Moscow. Moscow did not yet exist when Kyiv was already a centre of culture and science. Kyiv was the torch, the Athens of Eastern Europe. Any Ukrainian State that came into being on our land, whether in pre-Christian or Christian times, was our native State.

The Ukrainian Patriarchate is an integral component of our spiritual state. Its roots reach far back in antiquity, to the time when St. Andrew came to Ukraine, preaching Christ's word on the hills of Kyiv. *The Ukrainian Patriarchate is a direct challenge to Russia*, which has no right to claim patriarchal supremacy over Ukraine. Furthermore, the Moscow patriarchate was bought with soiled money and forced on Byzantium. The battle for the Ukrainian Patriarchate is also a battle for acknowledging the primogeniture of Kyiv over Moscow. The Ukrainian Nation aspires to be united in one Patriarchal Church, founded by the will of the Nation, by the will of the hierarchy of our churches, — a vision that can only be achieved by way of voluntary agreement. The battle, initiated by the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — His Holiness Josyf I — is an all-Ukrainian battle. Its aim is to overcome once and for all the terror and injustices of Zagorsk, which has no right to speak on behalf of Christian Ukraine, or, for that matter, on behalf of any of the non-Russian Orthodox Churches of the East. Earlier, the great Metropolitan and Martyr of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Vasyl Lypkiwskyj, began this battle by severing his Church from the Moscow patriarchate and returning to the Catacombic Church of the first age of Christianity. Both our Archbishops aspired towards the same goal, as great Sons of Ukraine, Martyrs for their Nation and for her Church. The Ukrainian patriotic community desires a unification of our Orthodox Arch-Episcopates into one Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, as an antipode to the Moscow patriarchate. Our community is promoting the consolidation of our Orthodox Church in a Patriarchate.

Ukrainian Nation!

Your goal remains unaltered — the revolutionary reestablishment and armed appropriation of Your authority on Ukrainian land, on all our ethnographic territories. Without such national authority, You will neither have freedom, nor land, nor will You be able to freely utilize the products of Your labor. In order to establish Your own national authority, You must have power.

Power — is an idea, an organization, and armaments, through which authority is established. You must acquire such power, because the colonialist will never voluntarily leave our land, abundant with milk and honey. Might can only be fought with might and not with tears. You have the weapons. Your sons are in the ranks of the Soviet army. Once You have inculcated them with a fervent national consciousness, they will turn their weapons against the Russian invader-transgressor of our land. You have the weapons. You are not powerless!

Nation of ours! We will no longer be the cannon-fodder, the sacrificial lambs for every colonial occupier! Take Your fate into Your own hands! Do not wait on foreign powers for Your deliverance from slavery. Freedom *ex gratia* is not freedom! This maxim is all the more true when these foreign powers would oppose our revolutionary aims, opting instead to preserve the inviolability of the empire. A war or a military conflict may present an opportunity for Liberation. However, this is a remote eventuality, never a certainty. No subjugated nation can afford to wait in its liberation struggle for such eventualities, that may never come.

We have no reason for being in Afghanistan — a country of fighters who seek freedom as we do. Similarly, Ukrainian soldiers are by no means defending Ukrainian interests when forced to fight in Angola, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Cuba, Poland, Nicaragua, East Germany, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Bulgaria, Korea, Mongolia, Georgia, Turkestan, or in any other country of the world. We want to help other nations liberate themselves from under the Russian imperio-colonial yoke, and not to help the Russians subjugate these nations. *Our mission is freedom, national independence and statehood; the goal of the Russians is subjugation and slavery.*

Ukrainians for Ukraine! We must all serve our country, not its hangmen. The Ukrainian Nation must become the master, the sovereign of its own ancestral land. We will consider all non-Ukrainian inhabitants of Ukraine our brothers and sisters only on the precondition that they will assist us in razing to the ground the Russian prison of nations and its concomitant Bolshevik system and in driving the Russian invader from our land. Our friend is not someone who only bombastically proclaims his or her allegiance to our ideals. Our friends are those who take up arms and fight alongside our warriors against the Russian occupiers of our land in a battle, no matter how bloody, of life and death. A Russian, born in Ukraine, will only then be considered a worthy citizen of Ukraine when he acts accordingly.

Ukrainian Nation!

The OUN is the bearer of a new political, socio-economic order, the cornerstone of which will be the good of the nation, our Ukrainian Nation, the good and well-being of the family and the individual. We do not seek to build capitalism on the ruins of communism. We envision an order of the rule and sovereignty of the nation, of a Ukrainian democracy, founded upon the spiritual values and social ideals of the Ukrainian Nation. This will be a new, free and just order, one that was envisioned by our great national poet and prophet, Taras Shevchenko, an order without slaves and their masters-despots: "All enemies, foes will vanish, and there will be a son and his mother, and there will be human beings on this earth".

National-socialism and fascism were *not* nationalist movements, and they never referred to themselves as such.

Nationalism, in particular Ukrainian nationalism, is anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-totalitarian, anti-communist, and anti-capitalist. Is it not true that imperialism was also inherent to the democratic-liberal, capitalist order? Great Britain was a democratic country, and yet she ruled over the largest empire in the world at that time. President De Gaulle respected the wishes of the Algerian nation and disavowed any French claims to domination over Algeria, in spite of stiff opposition from the French socialists and a number of liberal groups.

Nationalism is an ideal, a system that has yet to be fully effectuated in a number of aspects. It posits the citizens of a nation as the sons and daughters of one organic entity. This is precisely what Shevchenko meant when he wrote of "the living, the dead, and those yet to be born".

We, the OUN, proclaimed our opposition to Nazism and Bolshevism in our Manifesto of December 1940. The OUN is the bearer of a system of genuine rule of the people and national self-authority and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Nation. We do not need to be taught the principle of the rule of the people. Our Zaporizhian Sich, our Kozak epoch, as well as our medieval period of history attest to the fact, that the notion of slavery is foreign to our Nation. The right to a free, direct, secret, nationwide ballot will determine the content of our national authority, founded upon an intrinsically Ukrainian legal system and principles, and on the spiritual and social ideals of our Nation. This authority will guarantee the right to private property, the right to ownership, not only of the products but also, in a determinate capacity, of the means of production as well, the right of every tiller of land to ownership of that land, because an individual is truly free only when he or she is also independent from an overseer imposed from above. Our national state will painstakingly care for the good of the whole nation, for the good and well-being of every family and individual, guaranteeing all their inalienable rights and liberties. The exploitation of one class by another will cease. No longer will there be a class of communist exploiters, or a class of capitalists, or large landowners. Our state will foster ideals of heroism in life and devotion to one's fellow human beings for the good of the other, rather than mere egoism or devotion to a class, a clique, or vested interests. The nation itself, through its elected legislative body, will determine the forms of the means of production in a manner that will safeguard freedom and justice in society.

The OUN Program, adopted by the Fourth Supreme Assembly of the OUN and by the subsequent Assemblies, presents the political and social position of the OUN from the perspective of the interests of the whole nation, the family, and the individual.

Ukrainian Nation!

The instigators of war are the bolsheviks, the Russian imperialist chauvinists and colonialists, who seek to conquer the world. They are fomenting a new world war.

Our OUN motto is — away with world war! Away with imperialist wars!

Away with colonial usurpation of foreign lands! Away with thermo-nuclear weapons! Russian armies — get out of Afghanistan! Get out of Poland, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia and other subjugated nations! Moscow — out of Ukraine! *The OUN is for a liberation revolution of nations that will internally tear asunder the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — and will destroy Bolshevism, tyranny, slavery, the “kolkhoz” system, integral étatism, the forced domination by a Russian imperio-colonial occupational system and its communist system of domination over nations and individuals.* A liberation revolution will destroy all the forms of Russification, namely, the forced importation of a Russian way of life and Russian norms into Ukraine and into other subjugated nations. Authority will be appropriated by the Ukrainian Nation as a sovereign in its ancestral land!

Subjugated nations in the Russian empire, let us begin transforming Russian colonial wars into national-liberation revolutions, into national-liberation wars against Russian imperialism, that will ultimately lead to the dissolution of the empire and the destruction of the communist system of slavery! Only a liberation of nations, not an imperialist war, can raze the prison of nations to the ground! We have the necessary weapons; let us turn them against the colonizer. The imperialists cannot drop atom bombs on the revolutionaries, on the insurgents in our cities and mountains, in our forests and villages, because then they will also be destroying themselves, their occupational forces, their KGB agents and their lackey servants, and all their colonialists that inhabit our lands by the millions. Pilots, remember that you carry in your bombers the instruments of the destruction of your nations. Turn them against your oppressors, against the center of the empire, where the imperialist chieftains and international terrorists have their headquarters. Our liberation banner is the liberation concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — the ABN!

The center of international terrorism is in Moscow, within the walls of the Kremlin. The murder of all, who stand for truth, liberty, justice, for harmonious cooperation between nations and for a just peace, is planned within those very same walls. Moscow murdered Symon Petliura, Yevhen Konovalets, Stepan Bandera, — leaders of the Ukrainian national-liberation struggle; the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, died a hero in a battle with Russian forces, in March 1950.

We must not create false illusions in the meek hope that the West and NATO will begin to deliver us from bondage. Let us begin our liberation on our own. The world comes to the aid only of the strong and mighty. The world detests beggars. Do not shoot at the Afghan Freedom Fighters — the Mujahideens. Direct your weapons at the Kremlin imperialists, the oppressors of your nations.

We are also sending *our message to the Russian people.* The bearer of Russian imperialism is not only the ruling élite of Russia, but the entire Russian nation as well. This is an undeniable truth that need not be ignored. Without the active support of the Russian nation, the empire would long since have fallen. Bolshevism is a by-product of the Russian spirit. This was ascertained even by a number of prominent Russian thinkers. Russian imperialism, with its insatiable messianism — under the cover of Pan-slavism, “defense of Orthodoxy”, world communist revolution, or the so-called liberation of colonial

peoples — has but one goal: to conquer the entire world. Do the Russian people truly believe that all of freedom-loving humankind will docilely tolerate the imperialist aspirations of Moscow? Do they truly believe that if they continue their imperialist aggression on the entire world, they will avoid being swept away by all of freedom-loving humankind, in particular by the subjugated nations, who constitute two-thirds of the population of the empire?! A Ukrainian political prisoner recently stated that “Russia should not expect to be able to forever trample upon the dignity of nations.” In this era, characterized by the irreversible dissolution of empires, we call upon the Russian nation to desist in its colonial enslavement of nations and individuals and to content itself with its own nation-state within its ethnographic boundaries, because otherwise it will meet a fate not unlike that of the Nazi German empire.

We direct our message in particular to those who are the immediate executors of Russia’s imperialist and expansionist policies — to the Russian soldiers. Whom are you fighting for? For the prison of nations and individuals?! For the enslavement of ever greater numbers of peoples?! For a global KGB concentration camp?! For whom are you sacrificing your lives? For the chains and manacles with which you shackle freedom-loving nations and people?! Either lay down your weapons, or direct them at your chieftains. Drop your bombs on the Kremlin, and put an end to this slavery and tyranny. No one wants to destroy your nation-state, as long as it remains within its own indigenous ethnographic boundaries. May you live there in peace, not as marauders and pillagers of foreign lands, but as a tranquil, civilized people, who desire freedom and peace for their children and grandchildren. Do something with your tyrants and pillagers, so that you will not meet a more devastating fate than Nazism. Bring an end to your tyranny and empire before it is destroyed in a frightful, avenging Day of Judgement in the aftermath of a bloody struggle with the subjugated nations. Spare the blood and lives of your children, your wives, your brothers and sisters, your mothers and fathers! We do not seek vengeance. We only desire our freedom and independence. Build your Russian state on your own indigenous ethnographic lands, but get out of the lands of all the subjugated nations! Get out of Ukraine!

Ukrainians, our salvation lies in simultaneous national and social liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations against Russian imperio-colonial slavery and the Bolshevik system.

Our fate is in our hands; our standard-bearer is the OUN!

All the nations of the world aspire toward freedom and independence, and all desire to avoid an atomic war. The OUN projects an alternative to such a war. In the words of our great poetess, Lesya Ukrainka, we declare that “*he who liberates himself, will be free; he who is liberated by another will be led into slavery.*”

Freedom-loving nations and people of the world, unite in a common struggle under the banner of the ABN against Russian imperialism and communism, for independence of nations and freedom for the individual!

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is a host of warriors, the *corps d’esprit* of Ukraine, of the Truth of Ukraine, which will triumph when its bearers are triumphant and ready to die in its name. “You will forge a Ukrainian

State, or die in the struggle for It". This is our testament. Hold high our national blue-and-gold flag of freedom and our golden national symbol, the Trident!

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!

Kyiv against Moscow!

Glory to Ukraine! Glory to Her Heroes!

*The VI Supreme Assembly of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)*

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Ihor J. Fedorak (Ukraine)

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Introduction

For the West, World War II ended with the defeat of Nazi Germany and Japan in 1945. For Ukraine, however, World War II did not end in 1945; it carried on into the early 1950's, marked by the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiya, UPA) against Communist forces. Though the focus of this paper is on that struggle after the collapse of Germany, some background information must be given in order to set the stage. The following is a very brief outline of some of the major events in Ukrainian history leading up to that period.

After the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Treaty of Riga between Communist Russia and Poland, Ukraine was once again divided between these two powerful nations. The Ukrainian lands under Communist Russia were designated the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and were incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics upon its formation in 1922. The western Ukrainian lands of Halychyna, Volhyn' and Lemkivshchyna, were occupied by Poland.

Under Poland, some Ukrainians, under the leadership of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), voted for representatives to the Polish Parliament

and continued to struggle in a legal and parliamentary manner to win rights for themselves. And some (which were first organized as the Ukrainian Military Organization, UVO) were finally organized in 1926 into the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Colonel Yevhen Konovalets and continued the revolutionary struggle through acts of sabotage, assassinations of several anti-Ukrainian Polish chauvinists, and widespread underground activity.¹ Due to Polish acts of repression and "pacification", the OUN enjoyed a rapid growth in strength in the 1930's due to the influx of dissatisfied Ukrainian youth. In 1938, Colonel Konovalets was assassinated by a Russian Communist agent in Rotterdam.

In 1940, triggered by the release of many prominent young Western Ukrainian leaders from Polish prisons in 1939, the OUN split into blocs. One, overwhelmingly more active and revolutionary, was the Western Ukrainian based group under the Leadership of Stepan Bandera. Its strength was its youthfulness and willingness to rely less on the Germans in the revolutionary struggle. The other group was the older, more conservative group under the leadership of Colonel Andriy Mel'nyk (Konovalets' successor in 1938). Made up mostly of veterans of the 1918 revolution in exile,

it had the advantage of better political experience.²

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June, 1941, they occupied all of Ukraine. On June 30, 1941, on the initiative of the OUN the restoration of Ukrainian statehood and sovereignty was proclaimed. A government was formed in Lviv, with Yaroslav Stetsko as premier. When the Germans arrested the leading Ukrainian nationalists, organized Ukrainian nationalism acted independently of the Germans and in opposition to them.³ In effect, Ukraine declared war on Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia by this Act of Independence of June 30, 1941. This Act was later to serve as the foundation of the ensuing Ukrainian war of independence, led by the armed forces of the OUN-UPA, and fought on two fronts against two of the largest and most brutal, totalitarian and imperialist military powers of all time — Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia.

When the German forces proved inadequate to control the Ukrainian countryside, there developed a variety of Ukrainian insurgent groups. In October, these various groups were consolidated by the OUN leadership under one command to form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).⁴ With the retreat of the Germans in 1944, the struggle between the UPA and the Russians, which began as guerilla clashes behind German lines, reached its peak.

In 1944, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Ukrains'ka Holovna Vyzvol'na Rada, UHVR) was established. The Council was to incorporate all Ukrainian political groups committed to the independence of their country and to serve as a political superstructure above UPA.⁵ The Commander-in-chief of the UPA and the Secretary General of the UHVR was General Roman Shukhevych (pseudonyms Taras Chuprynka, Tur, Lozovskyj), who was also the head of the

"Provid" (Leadership) of the OUN in Ukraine. His higher officer training and intelligent leadership helps explain why the UPA was able to combat massive Soviet-Russian forces for so many years.⁶

What was the UPA?

Before we can actually explore the questions of what were the specific aims and goals of the UPA after 1945, and what it actually accomplished after the retreat of the Germans, we must first answer some basic, general questions: What was the UPA? Where did it draw its support from? What was its numerical strength? Where did it obtain its weapons and supplies from?

According to Soviet sources, the UPA was "a band of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who fiercely opposed the renewal and strengthening of Soviet authority."⁷ More accurately, it was a predominantly Ukrainian insurgent army which, employing guerilla tactics, battled Nazi German and Soviet Russian armed forces during and after World War II. Nikita S. Khrushchev recalled the UPA in his memoirs:

"As we pushed the Germans west, we encountered an old enemy — Ukrainian nationalists. We learned from Comrade Begma, the commander of our partisans in Ukraine, that the Banderites were setting up partisan detachments of their own... We soon realized that the Banderites were trying to conserve their forces so that they could open up a partisan campaign against us at our rear after we drove the Germans out of Ukraine".⁸

And further:

"During the second half of the war, he (Bandera) fought against both us and the Germans. Later, after the war, we lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet Power".⁹

The UPA was made up mostly of Ukrainian village youth, though most of its leaders were seasoned veterans of long

years of underground conspirational activities in the OUN. According to emigre Ukrainian nationalist sources: "The UPA is a revolutionary and truly national army. Being the army of a subjugated nation, it sympathizes with the liberation struggle of other peoples who are either enslaved or menaced by Communist Russian Imperialists."¹⁰ Because of this, the UPA welcomed and even recruited soldiers of other nationalities. There were Uzbek, Tatar, Azerbaidjan and other detachments composed of former German prisoners of war and deserters from the Red Army.¹¹ As a matter of fact, relations between the regular Red Army and the UPA were less hostile than might have been supposed. Mass desertions and leniency of Red Army commanders towards the UPA insurgents forced Moscow to use Russian MVD (security police) troops against the insurgents.¹²

Although it will never be possible to determine the exact numerical strength of the UPA at any one time, estimates are available. These estimates range from 20,000¹³ to 100,000¹⁴ for the total strength of the USA at its peak in 1944. John Armstrong, in his study *Ukrainian Nationalism*, states that the nationalist claim of 100,000 members is perhaps not incredible, but that a German estimate of 40,000 (at the end of 1943) is probably more accurate.¹⁵ Though some of these numbers may seem to be disproportionately high, let us not forget that it took a tri-partite Pact between communist Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the USSR to finally defeat the UPA, and that previous to that, battles involving thousands of men were rare, but did occur.

Now the question arises: Where did the UPA, with no armament facilities of its own, obtain its weapons? The UPA used leftovers, forgotten, lost, and seized weapons, captured from the Poles, Russians and, especially, the Germans. With the rapid collapse of the front in Ukraine

and the disorderly German retreat, the UPA had great success in seizing the supply stores and columns of the retreating German army.¹⁶ However, these weapons were generally light arms — rifles, pistols, and some machine-guns — and thus left the UPA sorely underarmed. There was an acute lack of heavier munitions, especially artillery, which limited the UPA's choice of tactics.

Though its equipment was largely inadequate to fight a Lend-Lease supplied Red Army,

...its training was said to be excellent (according to the opinion of the Red Polish Marshall Zymierski, or Czech Minister of Defense — Gen. Svoboda); its strong and efficient Underground reached far to the East and provided for the organization, personnel supply, administration security, and medical care of the fighting force.¹⁷

In addition to military training as such, all UPA trainees received political education, an indoctrination course which was usually given by political officers-educators assigned to the UPA units.¹⁸ These educators were usually the local leaders of the OUN.

To care for the wounded soldiers, an underground Ukrainian Red Cross was established. It worked predominantly in secret underground bunkers, where it tended to the sick and wounded, as well as stored food and munitions. The UPA was able to secure the services of many Jewish doctors whom they rescued from the Germans. The chief doctor of the army-group UPA-West was a Jew, Dr. Havrish.¹⁹ A special place in the Red Cross belongs to its female personnel, who underwent many hardships. During the winters of 1946-47 and 1947-48, the Russians were able to track down these bunkers. Many of these medical personnel lost their lives in the bunkers, which quickly became deathtraps and mass graves when located by the bolsheviks. Those

captured alive were given long prison sentences, such as Kateryna Zaryts'ka (25 years), or shot.

The UPA was divided geographically into four main army-groups: the UPA-North, operating in Polissia and northern Volhynia; the UPA-West in Eastern Galicia and Kholmshchyna; the UPA-South in northern Bukovyna and the provinces of Kamyanets Podilsky and Vinnytsia; and the short-lived UPA-East, north of Kyiv and Zhytomyr.²⁰

Motivational Thinking of the UPA

"You will win a Ukrainian State. or will perish in the struggle for Her." From the "Ten Commandments of a Ukrainian Nationalist"²¹

Thus with one sentence can the primary goal of the UPA be summarized. But we must ask ourselves: How did it hope to win this state? What kind of state would this be once it was won? And what drove the UPA to continue fighting even against seemingly indomitable odds.

The first step is to investigate the political orientation of the UPA. As was previously mentioned, the UPA was under the political aegis of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under Stepan Bandera, though not all the members of the UPA were also members of the OUN. The UPA, as the national insurgent army of Ukraine, was under the direct control of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), Ukraine's Revolutionary Government, which was to incorporate all Ukrainian organizations dedicated to the liberation of their country. Though there is ample opportunity for friction between the OUN and the UHVR resulting from chain-of-command problems,² in the post-war period in Ukraine, both groups acted together with a single purpose in mind. The relationship between the OUN and the UHVR was explained in detail by OUN leader Stepan Bandera in his first interview with foreign correspondents in West Germany in

1950. "The UPA was organized from the military units of the OUN during World War II, when the military struggle reached greater proportions, on two fronts, against the Germans and against the bolsheviks. The military units of the OUN served as the foundation of the UPA... The UPA leads military operations within the framework of the entire revolutionary struggle, that is in practice organized and led by the OUN."²³

The ties of the OUN/UPA/UHVR can be further shown by the persons of Roman Shukhevych and Osyp Diakiw-Hornovy. As mentioned before, Shukhevych, alias Taras Chuprynka, was the Commander of the UPA, head of the OUN in Ukraine, and Secretary General of the UHVR. Diakiw-Hornovy was Deputy President of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, Member of the Supreme Council of the OUN, and captain and Political Educator of the UPA. He presents the official view of all three bodies in his essay "Contribution of the OUN in the Formation and Expansion of the UPA."²⁴ Thus, the political thinking and programs of the OUN largely influenced, if not controlled, the UPA and UHVR.

So what was the thinking of the OUN/UPA like during the post-war years of 1945-1950? The OUN underwent a significant political and ideological evolution during World War II, stimulated by the first close contact with Eastern Ukrainians in 1943.²⁵ Without going into the details of this evolution, its final result was a deepening of the revolutionary processes.²⁶ As can be shown for example by the attention given to economic matters and a proclamation of new social measures at the "Third Extraordinary Supreme Assembly of the OUN" in August, 1943,²⁷ and the proclaimed principles of the UHVR upon its formation in 1944, which are worth listing out at some length:

(a) Assurance of popular-democratic procedures in the accomplishment of the political development of the Ukrainian State by the general assembly of the people.

(b) Assurance of freedom of thought, of Weltanschauung, and of belief.

(c) Assurance of the development of the Ukrainian national culture.

(d) Assurance of a just social order in the Ukrainian State, free of exploitation of classes and suppression.

(e) Assurance of the rule of the law in practice, and of the equality of all citizens before the law in the Ukrainian State.

(f) Assurance of civil rights for all national minorities in Ukraine.

(g) Assurance of the right of equal educational opportunities for all citizens.

(h) Assurance of free initiative in creative economic activity, regulated by the requirements and needs of the entire Nation.

(i) Assurance of a free form of creative use of the soil, with specification of the minimum and the maximum limits for individual use of the soil.

(j) Socialization of the principle natural resources of the country: soil, forests, water, mineral deposits; at the same time, the arable land is to be turned over to the creative peasant economy in permanent usufruct.

(k) State ownership of heavy industry and transport; turning over the right of free extensive cooperative activities by small producers to the cooperative associations in light industry and food industry.

(l) Assurance of free trade within the limits set by law.

(m) Assurance of the free development of the artisanry and the right to the formation of individual artisan establishments and undertakings.

(n) Assurance of the right to unfettered labor for physical and mental workers

and assurance of the protection of the interests of the workers by social legislation.²⁸

The fierce opposition of the Ukrainian nationalists movement to the hated collective system did nothing but increase their popular support.

The culmination of this evolution is best demonstrated by the writings of Major Petro Poltava, who from 1944 to his death in battle in 1952 was an UPA commander, a member of the "Provid" of the OUN, and the chief of the Information Bureau of the UHVR. Through his works, written in a language and in terms that are easily understandable for the Ukrainian reader, educated and brought up in the Soviet Union, we can learn what the UPA actually offered. We can see what kind of concrete social and political platforms it proposed, and what socio-economic reasons it gave for opposition to the Soviet Russian empire and its communist system of subjugation. Especially significant is his essay "The Conception of Independent Ukraine and Basic Tendency of Political Development of the Contemporary World," published in 1947 in Ukraine by the Ukrainian Underground.²⁹ It would be best to quote several key points from the essay, for they speak for themselves and require little interpretation.

In Ukraine there exists today no private ownership of industry, trade, or banking, and no private ownership of land. The economic exploitation of the Ukrainian people is based presently on the colonial and rightless political and economic status of Ukraine within the system of the Bolshevik USSR. Today it is the class of Bolshevik magnates, privileged both politically and economically, that carries out the social enslavement of the Ukrainian laboring people. It is these two considerations — the colonial position of Ukraine in the system of the Bolshevik USSR and the social enslavement of the

toiling masses of the Ukrainian people by the Bolshevik magnates — and nothing else that constitute the basic cause for the economic poverty of the Ukrainian people today.³⁰

On the topic of the economic system of the future Ukrainian state, he states in the essay "Appeal of the Ukrainian Underground to the 'Voice of America'".

The Ukrainian Liberation Movement accepts the principle of national statehood as well as personal and cooperative ownership in small manufacture and in trade; it accepts the principle of private ownership of land by the peasants within larger farms; further it accepts the principle of parliamentary democracy as a state system.³¹

Part of this platform, specifically the principle of "private ownership of land within larger farms", was modified by the "Fourth Congress of the OUN" in June, 1950. Complete private ownership of land by the peasants was endorsed.³²

Thus was the platform presented by the OUN/UPA to the Ukrainian people. The victory of Soviet forces over the greatly outnumbered UPA was by no means an indication of popular support in Ukraine for the Soviet system. On the contrary, the UPA enjoyed nearly unanimous support of the Ukrainian rural population.³³ This support was testimony to the acceptance of the principles presented by the OUN/UPA to the Ukrainian people.

Now that we have established the political thought of the Ukrainian liberation movement, we must explore how it hoped to achieve these platforms.

In the early stages of the war, a repeat of the scenario of 1918 was envisaged by the leading Ukrainian nationalists. Germany and Soviet Russia would exhaust themselves in a protracted war, and the UPA would arise as a strong third force in Ukraine. This same hope was expressed by the Polish underground, expecting itself to be this strong third force.

Also, some hope was placed in a worsening of relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies during the war. England, particularly, was seen as a strong foe of Communism.³⁴ As a matter of fact, in another set of international circumstances, if the Allies had followed Churchill's plan of invading Southern Europe through the Balkans and Ukraine, rather than Italy, the UPA would have stood a good chance of attaining its goals in 1943. But with the rapid unexpected collapse of the German defense of the Dniro line in October, 1943, it became evident that the Bolshevik forces would reoccupy without being decimated by the Germans.³⁵ The reoccupation of Ukraine by Soviet forces in 1944 proved to be a realization of this nightmarish scenario. So how did the UPA hope to battle the mighty returning armies of Soviet Russia? What did it hope would happen in the following years?

At this time, the leaders of the OUN/UPA realized that a mass resistance movement was no longer feasible. Exposed areas which were relatively unsuited to guerilla operations, like the upper Dniester valley, were evacuated, and the main force of the UPA was concentrated in the Carpathians, on both sides of the Curzon line.³⁶ It also began the transformation from a guerilla army into an underground organization, which could be easily mobilized for emergency action. The larger armed groups were gradually disbanded and its fighters were used to build strong underground cells. Stress was laid on the political actions and propaganda of the underground.³⁷

Though the UPA was beginning its transformation into an underground, it still fought on as a guerilla army for five years. Why did it continue to fight? What did it hope to achieve?

The UPA fought on for several reasons. First and foremost, it defended the Ukrainian people from Soviet Russian

persecution, which was especially heavy in the post-war period, in the form of mass deportations. West of the Curzon line, in the Ukrainian lands occupied by Communist Poland, the UPA fought the forced deportation of Ukrainians from Lemkivshchyna, which the Communists endeavored to resettle with Poles, thereby giving Poland a claim to this Ukrainian territory. The UPA fought successfully here for years, before finally succumbing to much greater Communist forces in March, 1948.³⁸ Towards the close of these operations, some of the UPA detachments were sent on armed raid through Central Europe, to reach the Western Allies, thereby making known the Ukrainian problem and giving it political significance in the world.³⁹ This helped to clarify some misconceptions, propagated by the anti-Communist Russian emigration, as to the truly national character of the rebellion in Ukraine.⁴⁰ In 1947, several detachments of the UPA successfully fought their way through Czecho-Slovakia to the American Zone in West Germany, and made the truth known.⁴¹

Inside the USSR, the UPA prevented a mass deportation of Ukrainians, an objective to which Khrushchev openly confessed in his "secret" speech to the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in February, 1956.⁴²

After the war, the UPA championed the cause of religious as well as national freedom with its defense of the Ukrainian Catacomb Church. The UPA worked against collaborators who assisted the Russian drivers against the Ukrainian Church. One of these collaborators, Yaroslav Halan, a prominent Communist atheist who specialized in anti-clerical propaganda, was assassinated by the UPA on October 24, 1949.⁴³

The UPA was actively opposing the implementation of the collective system in Western Ukraine. A check of Soviet sources for the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

shows no record of any collective farms being successfully implemented before 1950.⁴⁴ Between the years of 1946 and 1950, the UPA completely destroyed 131 collective farm centres and machine-tractor stations, and committed 515 acts of sabotage.⁴⁵ But by the end of this period, the UPA was almost completely broken down into the smaller underground units of the OUN, in which form it continues the political and ideological struggle, awaiting the moment in history when it will be again mobilized and called to fight for Ukraine.

The UPA lost many of its ablest fighters in battle. On March 5, 1950, General Shukhevych was killed in battle with Russian MVD troops near Lviv. Osyyp Diakiw-Hornovy, Shukhevych's closest aide, was killed in the same year. Major Poltava was killed in 1952.

The UPA inflicted many losses on the enemy also. In 1944, it ambushed and mortally wounded Red Army Marshall M. F. Vatutin.⁴⁶ In March, 1947, the UPA ambushed and killed General Karol Swierczewski, Polish Deputy Minister of Defense and hero of the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁷ All told, the UPA inflicted losses amounting to 3587 killed, wounded or captured on Red Army Forces in Ukraine, while suffering 1054 killed, captured or wounded in the period of July 1, 1946 to June 30, 1949.⁴⁸ Across the Curzon line, the UPA inflicted 11,800 casualties on the Polish Army and Security Forces, while suffering 9,500 casualties of its own in the period from June 1945 to April 1948.⁴⁹

Conclusions

Before exploring the actual accomplishments of the UPA, a short summary of what has been presented thus far is in order.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Ukrainian nationalists restored Ukrainian statehood, but

were suppressed by the Germans. Various insurgent groups arose in the Ukrainian countryside in response to the German persecution of the Ukrainian people. These groups were consolidated by the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in 1942-43 to form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA. During the course of the war, the UPA fought both the Germans and the Russians. After the retreat of the Germans, the UPA continued to fight Communist forces and resist the reestablishment of Soviet-Russian colonial authority over Ukraine. It defended the Ukrainian people from Soviet Russian repression and deportations. The UPA gradually broke down into smaller units, which were easily incorporated into the OUN underground.

During this period of an all-national uprising in Ukraine and of a decade-long two-front war of liberation, a revolutionary, national Ukrainian authority continued to exercise its sovereignty. Albeit on isolated parts of Ukrainian land, controlled by the armed insurgent-guerilla units of the OUN-UPA.

Politically, the UPA was largely influenced if not controlled by the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, though not all of the members of the UPA were also members of the OUN. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) was established in 1944 to serve as a political superstructure above the UPA, and to serve as the revolutionary government of Ukraine. The OUN/UPA evolved politically during the war, stimulated by the first close contact of Western Ukrainian based group with Eastern Ukrainians, adapting a more all-embracing stance, which was widely accepted by the Ukrainian people.

But what did the UPA actually accomplish? Was the resistance worth the thousands of lives it cost? What impact did it have on the Ukrainian nation, both past, present and future?

The costs obviously were very high. Thousands of the OUN/UPA's most vigorous members were killed and much of the population in the area of UPA activities was deported.⁵⁰ Many villages and thousands of acres of forest lands were burnt down and destroyed by the Russians in search of the UPA. The ravages of war gripped Western Ukraine while the rest of the world had settled down to rebuild.

It is obvious that the Russian imperialist forces won the physical battle. They control Ukraine. But the UPA scored major moral, ideological and psychological victories, which will leave their imprints on many generations of Ukrainians to come.

The UPA disproved the Leninist theory that no revolution ("anti-Soviet" revolution) is possible in the Soviet Union. The UPA also shattered the myth of the invincibility of the police and security forces of the USSR, which it successfully battled for years.⁵¹ The memory of sustained armed resistance will not die out among Ukrainians for many years. It serves as an example not only to Ukrainians, but to all oppressed peoples, that there is an alternative other than submission to totalitarian control. "The bowed head is never chopped off," but it also never sees what lies ahead of it, what life is about.

The UPA is also a classic neglected opportunity, the opportunity for the West to support an anti-Russian popular revolt in an area crucial for the Soviet Union.⁵² As a popular saying goes, "The Kremlin sits atop a volcano," and the West had the opportunity to ignite this volcano in Ukraine after the war. This volcano is the community of captive nations, the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism. This is the "nationalities problem" which the Russians attempt to solve with forced assimilation and mass terror. In the immediate post

war period, the social and economic conditions in Ukraine had the nation in revolt. The country was in ruins after the war. In 1946, there was another mass famine. The peasants were rebelling against the forced collectivization of their lands. The flame of rebellion was ignored by the OUN/UPA, but the disproportion of the forces involved decided the final results. The Russians still control Ukraine, with their missiles now pointed out at Western Europe.

Though neglected in 1945, the UPA nonetheless shows us the value of the subjugated nations as a "conventional" alternative for the West, the non-nuclear alternative. The Soviet Union and the United States exist at counter purposes. Détente is not part of the overall, long-term plan of the Soviet Union for the future of the world. It strives to eventually bring about the "world revolution", i.e., Russian world domination. The captive nations, that volcano beneath the Kremlin, are an effective non-nuclear weapon for the West.

The national liberation struggles continue today. In Afghanistan, the Mujahideen fight a guerilla war of liberation against the Red Army that is remarkably similar (in terrain, fierceness, tactics, etc.) to that which the UPA waged more than thirty-five years ago. Only time will tell if this will be another lost opportunity for the West.

In conclusion, the UPA may have lost the battle, but the war goes on. The battle was the physical armed clash. But the war, the war for the control of the Ukrainian nation, its body and soul, includes more than merely the armed conflict. It encompasses physical, psychological and moral aspects. The UPA scored major victories morally and psychologically. We know this because of the great support the UPA enjoyed among the rural population. But the extent of these vic-

tories, the actual accomplishments of the UPA and its place in Ukrainian history, will only be told by the future of the Ukrainian nation, and the future of the entire world as well. History will be the judge.

¹ Manning, Clarence A. *Ukraine Under the Soviets*. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1953), p. 159.

² Armstrong, John A. *Ukrainian Nationalism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 53-58.

³ Szporluk, Roman, *Ukraine: A Brief History*. 2nd ed., (Ann Arbor, MI: Ukrainian Festival Committee, 1981), p. 94.

⁴ Armstrong, pp. 153-154.

⁵ Bilinsky, Yaroslav, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine after World War II*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964), pp. 123-124.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 342 n 47.

⁷ *Istoriia Mist i Sil YPCP, Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast'* s.v. "Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast'", p. 38.

⁸ Khrushchev, Nikita S. *Khrushchev Remembers*, with an introduction, commentary and notes by Edward Crankshaw. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), p. 228.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁰ Honcharuk, O. *If War Comes Tomorrow*, with an introduction by Yaroslav Stetsko. (Toronto: The Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of Canada, 1953), p. 7.

¹¹ *Volyn' i Polissia, Nimets'ka Okupatsia*, ed. E. Shtendera and P. Potichnyj, in the series *Litopys UPA*, vol. 1. (Toronto: Litopys UPA, 1976), p. 54.

¹² Bilinsky, p. 117.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁴ Tys-Krokhmaliuk, Yuriy, *UPA Warfare in Ukraine*, with a preface by Prof. Ivan Wowchuk. (New York: Society of the Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of the United States and Canada, 1972), p. 80.

¹⁵ Armstrong, p. 156.

¹⁶ *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight For Freedom*, United Committee of the Ukrainian-American Organizations of New York. (New York: "Dnipro" Publishing Co., 1954), p. 35.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Tys-Krokhmaliuk, p. 34.

¹⁹ *Fight for Freedom*, p. 27.

²⁰ Martovych, Oleh, *Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times*. (Edinburgh: Scottish League for European Freedom, 1954), pp. 104-107.

²¹ Mirchuk, Petro, *Narys Istoriyi OUN*, Vol. 1. (Munich: Ukrainian Publishing, 1968), p. 126.

²² Bilinsky, p. 124.

²³ Bandera, Stepan, *Perspektyvy Ukrajin-skoyi Revolutsiyi*. (Munich: Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, 1978), pp. 633-34.

²⁴ Diakiw-Hornovy, Osyp, *The USSR Unmasked*. (New York: Vantage Press, 1976), pp. 266-274.

²⁵ Szporluk, p. 97.

²⁶ Bilinsky, p. 136.

²⁷ Armstrong, pp. 159-160.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

²⁹ *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*, p. 100.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Armstrong, p. 301

³⁴ Bilinsky, pp. 125-126.

³⁵ Bilinsky, p. 125.

³⁶ Armstrong, p. 297.

³⁷ *Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*, p. 43.

³⁸ Bilinsky, p. 113.

³⁹ Tys-Krokhmaliuk, p. 46.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Armstrong, p. 299.

⁴² Tys-Krokhmaliuk, p. 26.

⁴³ Armstrong, p. 298.

⁴⁴ *Istoria Mist i Sil YPCP, Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast*.

⁴⁵ *Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*, p. 45.

⁴⁶ Armstrong, pp. 292-293.

⁴⁷ Bilinsky, p. 114.

⁴⁸ *Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*, pp. 44-45.

⁴⁹ Bilinsky, pp. 113-114.

⁵⁰ Armstrong, p. 302.

⁵¹ Tys-Krokhmaliuk, p. 44.

⁵² Stetsko Yaroslav, *30 Chervnya 1941*, (Toronto: League For The Liberation Of Ukraine, 1967), p. 14.

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"The Hangman of Ukraine"

Press Statement on the Appointment of Vitaliy V. Fedorchuk

Vitaliy V. Fedorchuk, who from 1970 had been the head of the colonial Russian KGB apparatus in Ukraine, has taken over the post vacated by Yuriy Andropov, as all-Union Chief of the KGB. Fedorchuk, a 64 year old KGB careerist and a member of this infamous internal security and police organization since 1939, when he was only 20 years old, made a name for himself in Ukraine through his relentless and systematic campaign against all Ukrainians fighting for basic liberties and national independence. In his capacity as a high-ranking KGB officer, Fedorchuk is personally responsible for the long-term incarceration and/or deaths of tens of thousands of Ukrainian freedom-fighters, members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who led a heroic two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. For his subservience to Moscow and for his ruthlessness in the campaign against the OUN and UPA, Fedorchuk was rewarded and elevated to the position of KGB chief in Ukraine in 1970.

Since taking over the reigns of the KGB in Ukraine, Fedorchuk organized a massive campaign, utilizing all the resources available to the KGB apparatus, against the foremost activists and leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movement. This campaign led to a series of mass arrests and long-term imprisonment of thousand of intellectuals, cultural activists, writers, poets, students, workers, and generally people from all walks of life. In short, any Ukrainian manifesting even the slightest characteristics of national consciousness would be relentlessly pursued by Fe-

dorchuk's henchmen, arrested and either exterminated or sent to Russian concentration camps in the far reaches of the empire.

The list of Fedorchuk's victims is endless. He is responsible for the murder of Volodymyr Ivasiuk, a popular Ukrainian composer, who was brutally killed by KGB agents in the forests of Western Ukraine in May 1979 for refusing to cooperate with the Russian colonial authorities. Mass demonstrations were held during Ivasiuk's funeral procession in the streets of Lviv, attended by over 10,000 people, to protest this barbaric Fedorchuk-KGB execution of Ivasiuk. Furthermore, many clergymen of the Ukrainian Catacomb Church were recently murdered by the KGB in Ukraine on the direct orders of Fedorchuk (e.g., Luchkiv, Luts'kyj, Gorgula, Kotyk, and others). These murders immediately followed a series of articles by Fedorchuk against "clerical anti-communism" in Ukraine, the intent of which was to discredit Ukrainian clergymen and believers, thereby rationalizing and establishing "grounds", however false, for their subsequent extermination.

Fedorchuk is also the author of a number of articles against the United States and Ukrainian nationalist leaders outside of Ukraine, in particular against the head of the OUN and the Prime Minister of Independent Ukraine — Yaroslav Stetsko. Recently, Fedorchuk wrote an article in Ukrainian on the "crisis" in Poland, in which he expresses his alarm over the already spreading Polish workers' liberation movement uniting with the Ukrainian liberation

movement*, and expanding to other colonial countries in the USSR. Fitting the typical Russian communist ideological mold, Fedorchuk has become quite a master at the art of disinformation.

For services rendered to the Russian imperialists, Fedorchuk was amply rewarded. For the barbaric brutality he displayed in dealing with Ukrainian nationalists and freedom-fighters, Fedorchuk was promoted to the high rank of colonel-general and was elevated to a position in the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1976.

Fedorchuk's present promotion to the position of KGB chief for all of the USSR should be viewed in light of the serious threat to the further existence of the Russian empire posed by the Ukrainian liberation movement, since no one else has more expertise in combatting Ukrainian nationalism and the widespread aspirations of all Ukrainians to national independence and statehood. And now, the

"hangman of Ukraine", from his newly appointed position, has even greater power to employ the awesome state terror apparatus of the KGB against the Ukrainian liberation movement. Moscow can ill afford to have a national uprising break out in Ukraine — Russia's largest colonial country, particularly on the verge of an ever-acute "succession crisis". It is primarily in this light that the appointment of Fedorchuk must be evaluated.

Ukrainian Liberation Movement

* There has been a series of workers' strikes in Ukraine throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. Following one such strike in the Donbas region of Ukraine, the worker Klebanov worked-out a comprehensive program of free trade unions, that is remarkably similar to the "Solidarity" program. Most recently, striking Ukrainian workers in Kyiv, Ukraine, in 1981 were able to receive a number of significant concessions from the Russian colonial authorities in Ukraine.



Gen. and Mrs. John K. Singlaub in conversation with Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, ABN President, and Dr. D. Waltscheff, former Secretary of State of Bulgaria, during a reception in the ABN HQ, Munich, June 25, 1982.

Eastern Europe — The Alpha and Omega of the World Struggle

Ladies and Gentlemen, participants in this significant NARWACL Conference, it is indeed an honor for me to address you on the subject of Eastern Europe, which I have long argued is historically the alpha and omega of the continuing world struggle. It has not been easy to maintain this fundamental ground with all sorts of media-concentrated attention on sporadic events ranging from Peiping to Lebanon to El Salvador and now the Falkland Islands. But what else is new as we reflect back on the fleeting events of the past three decades, involving Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and the Mideast? None of these, alone or in toto, could possibly overshadow the prime truth in our complex world that Eastern Europe remains, and will remain, the alpha and omega of the contemporary world struggle.

At the very outset, let me emphasize that in presenting this basic perspective it is not intended to minimize the significance and importance of these episodic and some also persistent developments. On the contrary, they have borne and bear proportionate meaning to the world struggle. Not to be misunderstood, my initial point is one of a scale of relative importance, viewed objectively. As to the alpha of the perspective, there can be no question as to the origin of the struggle, starting with the first imperialist conquests of Soviet Russia (the RSFSR) in the period of 1918-22, leading to the coerced formation of the USSR. Scholars, analysts, officials, commentators, and reporters differ in opinion on this. What is the nature of their differences? Very simply, some have knowledge and understanding of these facts, many just don't. Worse still, some of the latter are even unwilling to learn and choose to go their insular ways.

Eastern Europe as the omega of our present world struggle is really the more important problem. Those who don't know the alpha can be readily referred to competent research materials. Those who do know — or pretend to know — have in many instances failed to sharpen and refine their concepts in terms of alpha knowledge or have lost the moorings of their basic perspective as they become progressively immersed in eruptive developments far beyond the sphere of Eastern Europe. To cite just one mooring of this basic perspective as to why Eastern Europe is and will remain the omega of the world struggle: in essential power terms, the USSR alone has a \$ 1.3 trillion GIP (Gross Imperial Product) that exceeds the combined GNPs (Gross National Products, e.g. Bulgaria) and GMPs (Gross Multinational Products, e.g. Yugoslavia) of all the other Red totalitarian states in Central Europe, Asia and Cuba. If the product mix is considered (sophisticated weapons, conventional arms process, etc.) the disparity widens; if, in addition, the so-called satellites in Central Europe (East Germany, Romania, etc.) are properly viewed as integral parts of Moscow's outer empire, the power base is magnified far beyond anything Mainland China in combination with the other totalitarian states can possibly equate.

The Polish Crisis

In the light of this basic perspective the crisis that emerged in Poland last December takes on monumental proportions. In a real sense it represents the most serious crack in the Soviet Russian Empire since World War II. I spent considerable time on national radio networks endeavoring to put this chief point across. The Solidarity movement in Poland was

unprecedented, workers spontaneously organizing themselves to repudiate the supposed vanguard leadership of the Communist Party and properly demanding free voice and participation in an efficient management of the economy. The movement was one for progressive freedom, and anyone who thinks that freedom can be compartmentalized in this world of ours — the economic as against the political, the political as against the cultural and religious and so forth — is really not of this world.

Other essential features of this crisis must be taken note of, for the crisis has not passed yet. One is that once again it reawakened Western interest and concern as to where on this planet the chief source of global trouble and danger exists. It also revealed once again our unpreparedness to capitalize on the crisis. It may well be if the promise of intensified sanctions is not met, that the 81-82 Polish crisis will be strung up on the line of its precedents — the Czecho-Slovak one of '68, the Hungarian of '56 and the East German one of '53. Another vitally important point, virtually untouched in this period of commentaries and analyses of the crisis, is the inevitable overspill-effect of the unique Solidarity movement. An overspill not only in other sectors of Moscow's outer empire, but even, more importantly, also in its inner empire, the USSR itself. Workers' strikes and attempts at free unionism have even preceded Poland's Solidarity movement in Ukraine, Estonia and Russia.

The story of this critical development has not been concluded. The slick, Russian-contrived self-invasion of Poland and Moscow's perennial play on time and diversion will not conclude it, unless the West succumbs once into a „business-as-usual“ behavior, which could be plainly characterized as simple appeasement once again. Myopic „pragmatism“ is the typical word to cover this trail in areas of

diplomacy. In this crack in the empire the dominant facts are that Solidarity is doomed to extinction, the Polish Church under Archbishop Jozef Glemp is striving to eliminate the many suppressions imposed by martial law, and resistance pockets exist throughout Poland. The prime point is what kind of accounting will be staged by the democratic governments of the West when martial law is finally lifted. Will they acquiesce or intensify the sanctions pressed by our President? This is the dominant point for the period ahead.

Not To Be-Forgotten Afghanistan

Not to be forgotten in this type of integrative thinking is the other continuing crisis in Afghanistan. To be sure, Afghanistan is not a part of Eastern Europe, but by virtue of its rape by Russia it becomes functionally related and has to be integrally considered in terms of the current, total picture. One obvious, important aspect is the concurrency of two ongoing crises facing imperialist Russia. The opportunity for capitalizing on this time factor should also be quite obvious.

The over two-year, stern resistance by the Afghan patriots deserves the highest tribute of the Free World. However, one continues to wonder how much practical assistance has been extended to them. The exploitive use by Moscow of non-Russian soldiers in its most recent, attempted conquest — Turkestanis, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and others — has not been seized upon by us or the West in any radio mobilization and concentration on these troops. Nor is there any such mobilization in consort with Mideast friends and others on the divide-and-conquer technique applied by the Russians in Afghanistan — Pathans against Hazaras, Uzbeks against Tadzikis, etc. — with the country tribalized and ethnocized. The old Russian technique employed 60 years

ago in Turkestan, now with its five republics in Central Asia.

With these two ongoing crises, and a developing one within the USSR, can you visualize imaginatively what a concerted, nation-to-nation program could produce on behalf of peace, security and freedom? The developing crisis in the USSR engenders both the succession problem of the illegitimate Moscow government (the power plays of the Chernenkos and the Kirilenkos) with Brezhnev, following Kosygin and Suslov, bouncing back only too often, and mounting economic difficulties that the West, in concert, could judiciously intensify. Here we have a triangle of crises that must be interpreted interrelatedly and plans worked out accordingly in a new nation-to-nation foreign policy, based on reciprocity, peace, security and freedom.

In this regard, another crisis of thought and perspective — a hopeful turning point — was provided last month *in a most impressive ceremony at The White House proclaiming Afghanistan Day*. In his remarks the President emphasized, "The Soviet Union must understand that the world will not forget — as it has not forgotten the peoples of the other captive nations from Eastern Europe to Southwest Asia — who have suffered from Soviet aggression." The necessary conceptual link-up — Afghanistan, Poland and all of the captive nations — is signified here. In his remarks on the occasion *Vice President Bush elaborated this link-up further by saying, "But let's not forget the other nations that have suffered the same fate, both within and without the Soviet Union... countries from the Baltic States to Ukraine to Uzbekistan."*

The Captive Nations Framework

These two official statements are adequate to indicate that current thinking in our policy areas is finally on the captive nations thematic track. They sug-

gest, too, the beginning of what could be accurately defined as a Nation-to-Nation foreign policy, which has been the essence of Public Law 86-90 (the Captive Nations Week Resolution) since its enactment in July, 1959.

Now just a few, essential observations on this track of thinking. This law on our books is the only statutory commitment to the freedom of all the captive nations that one can find among all the parliaments of the world. The causal reasons for this disparate condition are many, but it would appear that much work lies ahead on the international scale. Interestingly enough, by documented record, since World War II, no thematic idea has so consistently evoked concern and abuse from Moscow, Peiping and the other totalitarian Red regimes than has the synthetic concept of captive nations as embodied in PL 86-90. The late Mikhail Suslov was especially harsh in his reactions. If this is so, and indeed it is, the question then is why hasn't the central idea of the law been methodically implemented? It is far from being a single idea chiefly because as a fundamental framework of both reference and rational motivation it generates countless other ideas as it gains perational implementation.

Regarding Eastern Europe in particular, the simple answer to the question lies in the educational realm. Twenty years are just a speck of time to overcome myths, fables and perpetuated misconceptions concerning Russia, the USSR, its captive non-Russian nations. For example, even today you hear the misnomer "the Soviets", as though they are people or a nation or an ethnic group. In the USSR soviets are councils of peasants and workers, rubber-stamp to be sure. Where did we derive this fudge term that serves only to misguide us in tailored policies to deal with such realities as Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, the Soviet Russian

Empire, the stark multinational vulnerabilities of this last remaining major empire on this planet? This is just one example; there are numerous others, such as merely "Soviet Empire", "Marxist imperialism", "Marxism-Leninism" and similar fables.

Briefly, then, the schematic breakdown of the captive nations, based on historical, genetical analysis, starts at the beginning with the first Soviet Russian conquests of Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and others before the very forced formation of the USSR and has neatly accommodated all subsequent conquests down to Afghanistan. The fact that parts of the totalitarian world, such as Peiping or Belgrade, may be temporarily at odds with Moscow — in no way alters the firm validity of the framework. The Polish self-invasion and Afghanistan's tragedy are additional confirmations in our period of this fundamental framework. If finally we are confidently on this track and its advancement of a Nation-to-Nation policy, then the time has come for a considerable conceptual sanitization, emphasizing the utter bankruptcy and myth of communism, the basic real force of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, and the captive non-Russian nations in Eastern Europe, extending to the Urals and even beyond.

Potential Captive Nations in the Free World

Today, El Salvador, Nicaragua; yesterday Ethiopia, Angola; beyond that, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and the links continue backward. There's nothing new in this sequence, the techniques are as old as traditional Russian imperialism with its Tartar legacy. The only superficial things new are their Leninist misnomer, the facade of communism, the perverted use of Marxism, and different geographical stages with different actors. This may appear as a bold and exaggerated generalization, and admittedly would re-

quire at least a college semester to justify. But the fact is that in long breadth and in essential substance this is generally so. Transient phenomena lend themselves to complexity, but it has always been the task of objective scholarship to penetrate the complex to its simple, not simplistic, determinants. And in our contemporary period this is not at all difficult within the framework of the captive nations analysis as well as synthesis.

This point can be elaborated at length, but permit just the question, "How much power would the Soviet Russian base within the USSR have to pursue these "influences", "subversions" and "aggressions" in the non-totalitarian world were it without its extensive non-Russian resources both within and without the USSR?" In other words, what bearing has this external capacity to appear as the only other "super-power" on the status of Eastern Europe — again extending to the Urals? A measure of reflection within the captive nations framework would reveal the predominant point, among many others, of a multinational, unjust exploitation of the resources both within unvested Russia and the captive non-Russian nations for these global adventures toward dominion on the part of Moscow.

I urge you and our fellow-citizens to reflect on this dimension. Ukrainians, East Germans, Czechs, Moslem Turkestanis and others are heavily involved in Moscow's cold war, paramilitary and other operations in the Free World, an enormous range of resource exploitation to realize the potential captive nations in the non-totalitarian world. In your readings or TV listening have you ever heard of this basic dimension of multinational exploitation of captive nations by an imperial regime that vacuously professes to be the "Marxist" defender of the exploited. Poor Karl, if he were alive today, he would be the strongest anti-

communist in terms of the Soviet Russian version and perversion. *Aside from paramilitary operational Leninism, which fundamentally rests on the old Russian imperialist divide-and-conquer principle* — so well seen in Afghanistan today — the only philosophical legitimacy the imperial Moscow regime can rest on today is its perversion of Marxism. Without the captive nations in Eastern Europe — and in another non-imperialist sense including the unvested parts of the Russian nation within the USSR, which has been captive to the essentially barbarian institutions of Muscovy for nearly five centuries — the RSFSR, Soviet Russia itself, would be a second-rate power today.

Trade, Pipelines, Nuclear Freezes...

To the tune of still more provocative applications of this captive nations approach, with particular power and practical emphasis on the East European base, let me suggest these following ideas. One is the matter of trade, including the debate on the Soviet Russian pipeline to Western Europe. Having followed this carefully for three decades, I cannot but agree with Dr. Anthony Sutton of the Hoover Institution in California that through our myopic trade practices we and our West European allies have been substantially feeding the growth of this Soviet Russian monster — in terms of know-how and technology — to threaten our collective security today. After really three decades of vacillating and vague trade policy toward the USSR and Eastern Europe in general, the present Polish crisis provides us with the first galvanizing opportunity to squeeze the economic screws on the deteriorating USSR economy. Calling a default on Polish obligations would have sparked repercussions on both sides. The opportunity is still at hand to pursue a “pol-trade” policy, intermixing political with economic values in our exchanges with Eastern Europe. In

short, again with perspective on the problem, our Western European allies have every reason to complain about our vacillating politico-economic policies over the past quarter century. The opportunity, in the wake of the Polish crisis, is to do what must be done now, not as we have feeding the Soviet Russian imperial economy with “aid” through “trade”.

Finally, as though this were without Moscow’s involvement, the anti-nuclear campaigns in Western Europe and now here are in process. The patent illogic of the “freeze idea” and “the no-first nuclear strike declaration” are resurgences of past expressions of nuclearitis. We heard this in the 50’s, again in the 60’s, and now again. This strain of thinking can lead us back to Bertrand Russell’s campaign for “Better Red than dead”. Patently, these are roads along non-confidence and ultimate surrender.

My chief point here is simply why through all this media, official and private, and particularly by these frenzied groups, doubtlessly with Moscow’s indirect nudges and assistance, none has pressed for a consensus on the nuclear arms race behind the Iron Curtain. This mounted pressure would certainly give validity to the restraint cause, for which I and any rational being is for, with realism. Plainly, the challenge here to the zero-earth and similar movements is what resources are you prepared to offer to extract this captive nations consensus on the nuclear race — or are these millions who have no voice in the issue?

As I have tried to show, take each transient issue that whips up popular emotions, if you don’t know the background, you’re devoid of evolutionary perspective, you’re plainly vulnerable to the incessant Cold War tactics of imperialist Moscow. No matter how one approaches it, Eastern Europe remains the alpha and omega of the world struggle.

(NARWACL Conference, Phoenix, 1982)

The Guerilla Movement covering the Country

I come here to you today to give, firstly, an overall picture of what is going on in Afghanistan and, secondly, an appeal for what we ought to do together. The freedom fighters of Afghanistan at the present time are holding Soviet armies at a standstill — very successfully. The Russians who claim only 85,000 soldiers in Afghanistan have a great deal more than that. In the South-west of Afghanistan alone the Soviet-Russians have an estimated 80,000 troops because they have built pre-fabricated structures for 80,000 soldiers. They are building large hangars and intercontinental ballistic missile sites and are constructing a large city under the desert. And so the "Soviets" — are in there quite strongly, influential in strategic areas and in the major cities, and they are trying to hold onto their communication lines on major highways. In spite of all this effort, the Soviet-Russian Empire has been facing greater and greater difficulty because of the resolve and determination of the people of Afghanistan who are fighting back the Soviet armies not only from the internal communication lines but also in the major cities.

I must report to you that the Soviet Red Army now controls less of the territory of Afghanistan than before the invasion on December 25-27, 1979. That is primarily due to the increased resistance which has spread uniformly through the entire land.

Right now even the cities are becoming a target, where a year ago you could hardly hear an explosion... Today it is a common occurrence for the people of Kabul to hear cannon fire and bombardments all around the city. The suburban areas also have explosions taking place. The freedom fighters of Afghanistan have the

resolve and determination to carry this fight not only to their death but to their liberty — either liberty or death. Actually they are moving very intelligently, not without a mind, not necessarily with the bravery of a lion, but they are moving very cautiously and effectively. The guerilla movements are actually covering the entire country. The major groups of the resistance number between 200 and 300. We already have a number of large local provincial organizations which are organizing and planning coordination of strategy. We are sure that in the coming months in spite of the fact that the Western world has turned its back to us, in spite of the fact that these democracies live in liberty and freedom, in spite of the fact that the West cries out for human rights and human dignity, and in spite of the fact that they have ignored us, we shall continue our fight and with the grace of God, who, we believe, is the only superpower, we shall either be free to worship as we wish or we may as well die.

I think, if I may say so, as a criticism of Western conceptualism and intellectualism for our freedom, human rights and human dignity, we, the freedom fighters of Afghanistan, are shedding our blood and writing our history with it. And this writing, for all of those who believe in freedom, human rights and human dignity, is for a good cause. Only when there is courage can man break the shackles of tyranny. It is man's instinct; no power in the world can contain the free spirit which exists in the people of Afghanistan. In spite of the Russian occupation, the sacrifices of the people of Afghanistan, sacrifices made by men, women, and children, have made them the true freedom-fighters of the world today.

Someone recently asked me the question "You call the Afghans freedom-fighters, but the PLO are called terrorists. Why?" I answered: "We, the Afghan people, must stand empty-handed against Russian tanks and we must fight hand in hand against our enemies. We are fighting them face to face; we do not fight them indirectly by terrorizing women and children. It is in our history that our fight is an honest fight, an honourable fight. Because we believe in our cause, because we place trust in God, in liberty and humanity and in the worth of man we don't need any other recourse; this is enough for us to go on with and we trust that we will be victorious again." *I hope that this conference will make great contributions to this struggle.* I make a sincere appeal to you: in my country $1\frac{1}{2}$ million people have died because of the Russian invasion and 2-3 million more are in exile, mostly Pakistan.

These freedom-fighters have started

(This and the next speech were delivered at the ABN Conference, Toronto, Canada, 6—8 November, 1981)

Dr. Edward O'Connor

In Defense of Albanians

Although there are many topics that I could discuss with you here this morning, I have singled out a case which deserves attention and understanding of all free peoples. I am referring to the Albanians of the Kosovo province in Yugoslavia. This problem naturally concerns itself with the entire question of Yugoslavia, of Titoism, of so-called national communism. The so-called rule by committee is of course not at all a rule by committee but a rule by the Serbians who exercise dominion over this multi-national complex called Yugoslavia. So we turn to the Kosovo. Kosovo is the most congruous province in Yugoslavia. It is made up of approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ million Kosovos of Albanian ethnic origin, roughly 60% are of Muslim faith,

something unbelievable, something totally unpredictable where today, as I mentioned before, *they control more of the country than they did before the invasion.* If the Afghan people can do this empty-handed, can you imagine what they could do if the free world or the Captive Nations, who have suffered mostly under Bolshevik tyranny, could get together and could organize themselves and then work together hand in hand? I believe that the writing is on the wall. The cracks have already appeared in the Kremlin wall. There are millions of people from the captive lands today in Europe who, if they truly believe in the values that they worship, must get together, must become organized and then they could develop a program which could very easily result in the destruction of the Soviet Union. With the grace of God, the Kremlin walls will crumble and the Captive Nations with Afghanistan at their side, will be free nations with free people of the world.

40% are of Christian faith. They are a peaceful people. They have done their best to work under the dictatorship of Belgrade but they reached an intolerable point of life last springtime, intolerable because they lacked adequate foodstuffs through a very cold winter. They lacked adequate shelter. They were denied equal opportunity of education by the use of their native language Albanian. Books in the Albanian language were denied them at the university of Pristina, which is the capital city of Kosovo. And finally, and equally sad, the people of Kosovo were denied equal opportunities in the land which was ruled by Belgrade.

Students finishing their work at the university had to emigrate to Sweden, Switzer-

land, Germany, Italy, etc. to find employment; they were forced to leave in order to survive. Therefore there came a protest in 1981, a peaceful and quiet demonstration by the student body. They began a march in small numbers. The protest was set up to demand 1) food, 2) heating oil, 3) opportunity to study in the language of their country 4) and equal opportunity. They began a procession. They were joined by members of the faculty of the university of Pristina. The police broke up the march. The following day they had another demonstration. This time it was lively but peaceful. They marched and they requested attention. They were attempting to draw the conscience of free people to their province. The demonstration grew and grew in numbers; and then the assault began by the police. Many people were injured. The next episode was a bigger march joined by the workers of Kosovo and the Yugoslav military forces descended upon them. The result is: thousands of people have been killed, have been maimed, have been imprisoned for terms up to 15 years — for a peaceful protest — and unknown numbers have simply disappeared; particularly youth who are taken at night — typical Russian KGB tactics — apparently for an interview, and you never hear from them again. Their parents who try to find out what has happened are told that they are detained a few minutes and then released — but they are gone, never to be seen again. Thousands of these people who were engaged in innocent protest of their living conditions have disappeared.

Kosovo today is under a total military siege from Belgrade. No one can enter and no one can leave Kosovo. The free press are denied access to the country except for an occasional Russian-conducted tour. They take in the free press, walk them around, give them each some vodka, something to eat, and then they take them out. Hence, the press in the East can say "Here's how it is. It's written in Belgrade."

Sure, just like it's written in Moscow to deceive the West and those who are stupid enough to engage in a conducted tour. So this is how it is today: a military siege on the Kosovo province. No one knows about the human tragedies taking place there, but we have a good idea. I have here in my hand a memorandum. This is a blueprint of genocide to be exercised against the Albanians of Kosovo. This document has been authenticated in the U.S. Library of Congress. This is not any small thing that we are engaged in. It is a blueprint for the exercise of genocide against this peaceful people. I ask this morning for your understanding and indulgence. I ask that you join me in a resolution that I would like to read and to present to this body today. The resolution is entitled "The genocidal actions of the Yugoslavian communist regime against the Albanians of Kosovo province." It reads as follows:

Whereas the autonomous province of Kosovo, the native land of 1½ million persons of Albanian ethnic origin is now under total military siege by the Yugoslav communist regime; and whereas undetermined thousands of Albanians of Kosovo have been killed, maimed and imprisoned, or unaccounted for due to their peaceful protesting march in April 1981 against the systematic discrimination of the Yugoslav dictatorship in all matters of food supply, shelter, education and employment opportunities; and whereas there is documented evidence (authenticated document previously mentioned) that the Yugoslav regime has a blueprint for the systematic genocide of the Albanians of Kosovo which has long been a part of their colonial policy; and whereas the "genocide" plan of the Yugoslav dictatorship must be exposed to the conscience of the entire world before it is too late, and where all free nations should join in common action to this crisis, now therefore be it resolved that the ABN of Canada in the 2nd Session condemns

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The Most Effective Weapon against Nuclear Threat

Address delivered by Yaroslav Stetsko at the Conference of the North American Region of the World Anti-Communist League — Phoenix, Arizona — April, 1982

It is my great pleasure to greet this Conference of the North American Region of the World Anti-Communist League (NARWACL) on behalf of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and all of Fighting Ukraine, led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). I greet you from the first front of the universal struggle against the greatest present threat to all freedom-loving humankind — namely, Russian imperialism and communism.

The ABN was founded in 1943 in the forests of Central Ukraine at the very height of World War II, during Ukraine's two-front war of liberation against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. Next year the ABN will be commemorating its 40th anniversary. The significance of this date lies in that our concept of simultaneous and coordinated national-liberation revolutions on the territories subjugated by Russia in the USSR and

the "satellite" countries continues to be the only realistic political and military strategy that can bring about the final dissolution of the most tyrannical empire in the world — the Russian prison of nations — into national independent states, thereby saving the world from thermo-nuclear war. In this liberation struggle are to be found the rudiments of a genuinely just and free future world order.

In this context I consider it a great honor to address this forum of the United States Council for World Freedom — a member of the World Anti-Communist League, which has embraced many far-sighted individuals, who clearly perceive the Russian imperialist and communist threat to the world. However, much remains to be done.

Moscow has launched a determined campaign of political-psychological warfare and internal subversion within free

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the despotic actions of the Yugoslav communist dictatorship against the Albanians of Kosovo province and call upon the Secretary-General to the U.N. to establish forthwith a special committee of inquiry to visit Yugoslavia to secure and make public the full facts about the tragic events now taking place in Kosovo province.

I recommend that this resolution falls to your attention and has your full support.

I want to say now a few words of encouragement to all the delegates gathered here. I see now, in the late period of my life, I see the tide turning. I see in my own country the U.S.A. a revival of the original spirit of national self-determination, of the spirit of the rights of nations as well as the rights of the individual. I

see it long overdue and it's a special delight to me, and I will do everything in my power to help President Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig in their new policies of today: to establish the political rights of people. And I think when we get to that, we are going to see that national rights are most important; there can be no human rights without political rights, none whatsoever until there are national rights. A national government rises to power by the consent of the governing people held accountable to the manner in which they treat the people that they are elected to govern. That is the ideal that I have strived for in most of the adult part of my life and I will be with you to the end. I commend you, keep up the struggle, and we are going to win.

societies, as a precursor to a future military aggression on the Free World. Nowhere is this more evident than in Western Europe, particularly in West Germany, where the Russians have managed to create a political atmosphere of a "new Rapallo". Under the influence of this bolshevik political-propaganda apparatus, a so-called "neutralist" position has been gaining greater credence throughout Western Europe. Some West Europeans, who have unknowingly fallen victim to this Russian imperialist propaganda trap, have even begun questioning why must their countries become involved in a so-called Russo-American "rat race" to conquer the world. They do not realize that they are indeed committing a most grievous mistake by even comparing the United States with the Russian-communist empire, equating the aims and interests of both powers. How conveniently they ignore the undeniable fact, that the USA is by no means protecting its immediate interests in Europe, but on the contrary — that it is the only force that can guarantee a lasting freedom for all of Western Europe in the face of an ever-increasing Russian imperialist threat.

The United States can counter this Russian political offensive by initiating one of its own, emulating the national-liberation ideals of the subjugated nations and by calling for the dissolution of the Russian empire. Recently, President Reagan had taken a step in this direction with the television program — "Let Poland be Poland". It is regrettable that several West European political circles attempted to undercut the President's initiative by derogatively labelling the program — a "Hollywood show". The subjugated nations welcomed this initiative. We can only suggest that as a follow-up to this action similar programs ought to be broadcast, featuring the liberation struggle of Ukraine, Afghanistan and the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism

and communism in the USSR and the "satellite" countries.

Moreover, may I humbly suggest that this ought to be one of the primary tasks of the United States Council for World Freedom, namely — to sensitize American public officials and the American public at large to the pressing necessity of creating a global network of centers of political-psychological warfare against Russian imperialism and communism. The political platform of this network ought to embrace the liberation ideals of the ABN and the OUN, and its broadcasts, primarily to the USSR, ought to call for the immediate dissolution of the Russian empire.

The first step in this direction could be a complete overhaul of the political principles and content of "Radio Liberty" and the "Voice of America". The management of Radio Liberty in particular must be significantly altered. In addition, may I suggest that one ABN-OUN radio broadcasting station would be immeasurably more valuable in the political war against Russian imperialism, than an entire arsenal of thermo-nuclear weapons.

In conclusion, I would like to make one more important point concerning the current political debate on thermo-nuclear armaments. It is a well-known fact that Moscow has deployed its ICBMs mostly in Ukraine and on the territories of the other subjugated nations in the USSR. The West, by refusing to discard its completely false image of the USSR being a nationally monolithic, essentially Russian state, has targeted primarily the territories of the subjugated nations. This strategy makes little sense, especially when one is reminded that the power base of the USSR is "Mother Russia". Maxwell D. Taylor, the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recently wrote an article in the "Washington Post" in which he states: "To the extent possible, these targets should be restricted to

the region where the population is predominantly ethnic Russian in order to limit the damage in the non-Russian republics." The same point was raised by Professor Gary L. Guertner in the Political Science Quarterly in his article — "Strategic Vulnerability of a Multi-national State — Detering the Soviet Union".

I would like to emphasize that we are categorically against even the very thought of a thermo-nuclear war. Our cities will not be tomorrow's Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. We realize, however, that the principal threat of a thermo-nuclear holocaust unilaterally lies in the further existence of the Russian empire. If this is so, why then does the West continue to neglect the most effective weapon against this threat — the power potential of the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, that are internally tearing the Russian empire asunder. If the West

is to have any chance of victory over Russian imperialism and communism it must seek to aggrandize this power potential by cooperating with the revolutionary liberation movements of the subjugated nations in formulating a political and military strategy of insurgent-liberation warfare within the Russian prison of nations. At least one-half of the soldiers of the Soviet army are non-Russian. In their hands they carry the instruments of the downfall of the Russian empire. If these soldiers were to turn their weapons against the tormentors of their nations, then the Russian preponderance over the West in conventional armaments would not only be considerably diminished, but also decisively reversed. I do not think that the West can afford to further neglect the significance of this fact, since it represents its only true hope for salvation.

Campaign for Release of Yuriy Shukhevych

Members of Melbourne's Ukrainian community occupied City Square all day Saturday, 13th of March, protesting the treatment of Yuriy Shukhevych, a Ukrainian political prisoner who has spent most of his 48 years in Soviet jails and concentration camps.

Yuriy was first exiled to Siberia at the age of 10. Since 1948, when he was only 14, Yuriy has been imprisoned for a total of 30 years.

The reason? He is the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych, who led the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against both Nazi and Red Armies in World War II.

The demonstrators waved placards, chanting "We want Yuriy Shukhevych in Australia", and collected signatures from passers-by for petitions addressed to Malcolm Fraser and Leonid Brezhnev.

This month Mr. Shukhevych is due for release from Christopol Prison, 825 km

east of Moscow. But he faces a further five years of exile in Siberia.

An organiser of the demonstration, Mr. Michael Moravski, said that since Mr. Shukhevych renounced his Soviet citizenship in 1979, and while in prison joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, there is a strong possibility that Moscow will soon fabricate a new case against him.

"If Yuriy is imprisoned a fourth time", he said, "the Soviet Embassy in Canberra will be besieged as never before".

Recent Amnesty International documents report that Yuriy Shukhevych is in poor health, with stomach ulcers and heart disease. He is almost blind* in one eye, and his wife and two children have recently disappeared.

Mr. Shukhevych has an aunt living in Australia, and the Federal government has

* He is already blind.

Russians will be Defeated

We are participating in the conference because of the most dangerous, the most brutal imperialism which we call Russian imperialism. I don't have time to talk about what we are doing as an association. I belong to a nation which as all of you know, is fighting against Russian imperialism which is having the mind to swallow the world. Our mission is to expose the atrocities of the Russian invaders in Afghanistan and to tell the people of the world that, unfortunately, before they invaded my country, there was silence all over the world as far as Russian imperialism is concerned.

Thousands of people in the world, especially in the Russian empire itself, have been killed since 1917. We are told consistently by the media of the free world that there is a kind of new regime, a new ideology which may help all people, especially Third World people that we must have a compromise with the communists behind the Iron Curtain. We are being told that the workers of the world will unite and will lose nothing but their chains, but when the workers of the Soviet Union united they lost everything except their chains.

When the British came to Afghanistan we marked it as the beginning of the end

of British imperialism. Today, when Russian invaders, Russian tanks roll down the poorest streets of Afghanistan, again we hopefully say to you that this is the beginning of the end of Russian imperialism all over the world. These are not just emotions. Go to Afghanistan and see how the people are fighting. We approached other countries: such as the USA, West Germany and others. A nation is being imprisoned, killed, massacred, tortured. Please talk about this a little bit, not for the sake of the Afghan people, but for the sake of your own people, your own democracies. Russia believes it can't be stopped. I don't see any difference between Brezhnev and Hitler. Hitler was telling openly to the workers "I'm going to dominate the world". Brezhnev is telling the world "I'm helping the world". Come to Afghanistan and see who has been killed. Workers, peasants are tortured. Why? Because they want freedom. Why? Because they oppose Russian imperialism. Our demands are quite simple. We want the Russians to leave our country. But now matters are more complicated. Unfortunately, some invaders are compelled invaders. They do not want to come to Afghanistan to fight; they are sent to be killed in Afghanistan. They send Ukrainians unfortunately. They send Moslems from Soviet Russia to go to Afghanistan to fight. Let Russians destroy our cities, let Russians destroy our homes, our universities, our Mosques, but they cannot destroy our faith. We will fight forever. I am sure that Russians would definitely be defeated in Afghanistan and in other countries who are bravely fighting against this monster.

agreed to allow him and his family to join her, if and when he is released.

"Unless Yuriy is released and allowed to emigrate to Australia he will almost certainly die in the Siberian camps, having experienced 'freedom' for only 14 years of his tragic life", Mr. Moravski said.

The Committee to Free Yuriy Shukhevych is appealing to all Australians to write to the Australian and Soviet governments on Yuriy's behalf.

*(ABN Conference in
Toronto, Canada,
6—8 November 1981)*

Norilsk Uprising

(Continuation)

III. Change of Climate

A cold polar winter came. We worked in two shifts, with no days off. Each shift was twelve hours long, and we spent two hours travelling to and from the work site. At least two and sometimes four to five hours were spent waiting before the guardhouse in line to pass through search and inspection. The cold was bone chilling. We stood in line silently; no one spoke, because every bit of energy was precious. Time would sometimes pass more quickly, when we could watch the glimmering of the mysterious and overwhelming northern lights. We were so intent in following this heavenly play of fires, that it seemed we not only saw but heard them. I had the impression that the sensation created by these lights could be transmitted with the aid of music. No other art form would be powerful enough.

When we finally neared the guardhouse, we would reluctantly force our eyes away from the sky and lower them to the ground, at the same time falling to our knees and in this fashion creeping up to the guards who carried out the search and inspection. If anyone merely crouched or stooped, instead of actually kneeling, he would receive a blow on the head with a club. Sometimes, on impulse, the guards would club each and everyone of us. Special security guards were chosen for this work. The most infamous of them all was Officer Mykhnik.

In front of the guards, we clumsily unbuttoned our coats with our frozen fingers, and stood up. They searched us, sometimes thoroughly and at other times only perfunctorily. The most carefully searched were the prisoners with an identification number beginning with letters "U" or "F". Often, we were kept out in the cold until one o'clock in the morning, and then at 6:00 a.m., we had to get up for work, because "*work ennobles a person!*"

Some men were not permitted to work, but were placed in prison cells as a restraining and intimidating measure. The *Gorlag* prison was located in our zone. Here, as in all other Norilsk prisons, there was a deeply engraved tradition that all newcomers must pass through the *molotoboyka*, which was a cell occupied by well nourished *suki*, whose sole purpose was to beat up anyone thrown therein.

In addition, the *molotoboyka* was a hideout for those *suki* who had to avoid guard duty outside, in order to escape the vengeance of angered prisoners. So it was no wonder that they unleashed their hatred by punishing everyone who fell into their clutches.

Once, when the *molotoboytsi* were working over a new victim, the prisoners in the neighboring cell created a tremendous uproar. They whistled, yelled, and pounded the door with boards removed from sleeping berths. Instantly, they were answered with a round of gun fire. My townsman, Stepan Fylypchuk, was in great danger there — it was a wonder that he survived. No one was killed, but they were all suppressed.

Suki wholeheartedly supported the camp regime and collaborated with the administration, because they could lead their debauched lives only under such a harsh regime and corruption. On the other hand, the administration always supported and protected the *suki*, because their help was crucial in maintaining the camp regime at the level prescribed for it.

Nonetheless, the *molotoboytsi* could not stay in their cells indefinitely, since it was, after all, a prison; so, when they believed things were safe for them, they would go out into the compound.

Under such conditions, one of the *molotoboytsi*, Sikorskyj, left his prison cell. He then, immediately, headed a brigade and led it out to work. But even before his brigade could begin its work, the brigadier was gone. He lay dead in the snow with no visible wounds.

The *molotoboytsi* somewhat moderated their brutality.

However, it was not Sikorskyj but Bukhtuyev, who constituted the greatest threat to the prisoners. This giant did not seek the hideout of the *molotoboyka*. He feared no one, but everyone feared him. Everyone gave him a wide berth and, if possible, avoided him altogether. But, eventually, some were found who did not step out of his way, but sought him out...

Bukhtuyev was not killed. And even though he eventually regained his health, his psyche was irreversibly changed — he had learned to fear. To fear everyone!

The administration did not discard him altogether — he might still prove to be of some use, so they hid him in one of the *punishment blocks* in one of the zones of the Norilsk camps. In this way, Bukhtuyev ended up in a *dacha*,¹³ as the prisoners sarcastically called it. There, he appeared to set a trend. In his wake, the number of *dachnyky*¹⁴ increased until there were close to thirty.

The leadership of the *Gorlag* could not accept this situation. They could not discover who was guilty of the deaths of Gorozhankin and Sikorskyj, and the beating of Bukhtuyev. An interrogation prison was established. Suspects were subjected to the *molotoboyka* and were then questioned. But instead of giving answers, the prisoners made a demand — cancel the *molotoboyka*.

The impossible happened — the *molotoboyka* was cancelled!

After that, no one feared the brigadiers, no one concealed the use of his own language. A miracle like this had never occurred in Norilsk before. The climate which had been created and maintained throughout the Solovkas was visibly changed, but for Lieutenant Colonel Sarychev and others like him, this new climate was highly distasteful.

¹³ *Dacha* — literal translation “summer villa” — a cell in the *punishment block*, the location of which was unknown to the other prisoners, where some *molotoboytsi*, *suki* and *blatnye* were hidden for their own safety.

¹⁴ *Dachnyky* — residents of the *dacha*. *Dachnyky* — plural; *dachnyk* — singular.

“Why I envy Bobby Sands”

V. Chornovil is a Ukrainian journalist, literary critic and writer. On April 4, 1973 he was sentenced in the Lviv oblast court to 7 years strict-regime imprisonment and five years exile. He had been accused in connection with his writings in defence of the rights of Ukraine.

It may seem odd to envy a person who voluntarily ended his life by means of starvation. Nonetheless, one cannot help but be envious of suicide victims when one lives in a society in which, among other human rights, one is deprived also of the right to determine the course of one's own life.

Citizens of democratic countries may be amazed and suspicious at reports of hunger strikes staged by Soviet political prisoners — strikes that often last for months. After all, how could this writer, in protesting against a criminal case fabricated against him because of political motives, endure a hunger strike in 1980 for over 120 days? There are human limitations: without food a person can survive some 40 to 50 days. How does one explain the phenomenon of Soviet political prisoners' extraordinary endurance?

Recent hunger strikes by Irish nationalists in protest to the conservative government of Great Britain forced Soviet propaganda to at least briefly mention the conditions under which the political prisoners of Northern Ireland are kept. Thus, we learned that they are kept in hospitals under constant medical care, but that they are given only that medical aid to which they themselves agree. We read that during his hunger strike prisoner Robert Sands was a candidate for election to the Parliament, that an active campaign was conducted on his behalf, and that he ended his life as a member of the Parliament of Great Britain. We learned that by the bed of the dying prisoner sat his mother, and that Sands, while losing his consciousness and thereby control over his own destiny, pleaded with her not to allow doctors to

save him — the mother acted in accordance with the last will of her son, that the funeral of Bobby Sands (and also of his comrades-in-arms) be transformed into a mass political demonstration of the Catholic population of Ulster.

All these details are presented so as to bring attention to the valour of this fighter (which cannot be denied!) and the arbitrariness of the English authorities. But, suddenly, the argument begins to work in the opposite direction. It would be worthwhile to make comparisons.

No matter how many attempts are made to cover it up, the fact is that hunger strikes, suicide attempts and cases of prisoners intentionally wounding themselves (most often by slitting their veins) are frequent occurrences in the USSR's camps and prisons — in both those for criminals and those for political dissenters. However, the conditions under which the Soviet political prisoner conducts his hunger strike are not at all similar to those in Ulster. During the first days of the hunger strike you are thrown into the solitary confinement cell, sometimes without any bedding; you are allowed to see a doctor only on the second or third week of your hunger strike, when you are no longer able to walk. However, they will not let you die — they will force-feed you through a hose stuffed into your stomach. If you resist, they will handcuff you, force your mouth open, and keep it open with a special instrument. From time to time, they repeat this cruel procedure. You are kept alive not out of humanitarian concern — in Soviet camps and prisons they do not value human life, medical care is minimal, and the death rate is high. They will never allow you to die

demonstratively in protest to the administration's arbitrariness or the injustice of your sentence.

Normally, such violations against a human being are not substantiated by any public normative laws, yet the regime is never troubled over its reputation. However, there exists a secret administrative rule with regard to prisoners' hunger strikes. This rule calls for the isolation of the prisoner for three days after he proclaims a hunger strike, and also for continuous medical supervision and forced feeding, when the prisoner's condition worsens. As with every secret rule, known neither to the public nor to the prisoners themselves, this instruction allows the administration many possibilities to exercise its arbitrariness.

I will cite a recent example. On June 19 (1981) I announced a hunger strike to protest the abrogation of my right to a defense (in order to keep my mouth shut, on KGB orders, all materials concerning the poorly fabricated case against me, even the sentence, were confiscated). In connection with Soviet propaganda's disinformational use of the hunger strikes to the death by Irish political prisoners and, on the other hand, the total silence on what takes place in its own backyard, I wanted to keep certain materials for purposes of comparison.

After the official declaration of my hunger strike, I lay for four days in the general barracks; I was not isolated; the doctors did not arrive. On the fifth day I was told that I was to serve 10 days in the isolation cell for not appearing for work. Not a word was said about my hunger strike (as a hunger-striker I was not required, nor could I work). I was forced into the isolation cell, undressed and thrown onto the bare planks of the cell floor. The announcement of the punishment was accompanied by a doctor's statement saying that I could be kept in the cell; this the doctor prepared without ever seeing me. The first time a medical aide

saw me (he measured my blood pressure) was on the 13th day of my hunger strike, and the medical assistance rendered consisted of giving me the bedding which I should have received at the beginning of my hunger strike. Until the end of my hunger strike, the doctor visited me only twice more, both times measuring my blood pressure. After I had starved for the planned 20 days in the isolation cell (under conditions of cold, stench, lack of fresh air), and in the face of threats of force-feeding, I concluded my hunger strike. I was not released from the cell and, was forced, after three weeks of a total fast, to eat clay-like black bread and "penal" broth. It seems that such a diet was prescribed by the camp "doctor" with the obvious intention of ruining my health.

Here are a few details of my past hunger strikes. During my hunger strike in 1968, which lasted 43 days and which I undertook in a prison cell in Ukraine (the reason for which being similar to my most recent hunger strike — the seizure of my notes, including the materials of my case), during the first forced-feeding on the 13th day of the strike, I was manacled in chains, my mouth was torn open with a special device, which ripped the corners of my mouth and broke several of my teeth. I was again reminded of this procedure in November 1977 in a prison cell in the Mordovian camp — "Lyesnoj", where I found myself demanding the incorporation of a status of political prisoner in the USSR. The chief lieutenant Andreyev, who was in charge of the forced-feeding operation, purposefully began twisting my arm, that was stricken with arthritis, and then commented on my cries from the pain: "This is so as to dissuade you from continuing your hunger strike!" All five of my hunger strikes that I held from 1968 were halted by the brutal forced manner of "artificial feeding". In the project for a political prisoner status, undertaken by the inmates of Mordovia in 1977, there was a

definite reason for a separate point of protest against the forced termination of hunger strikes and a demand that the prisoner's right to die or discontinue the hunger strike, when he found this necessary — be respected.

It is known that in reaction to the purest attempt by Soviet political prisoners (sentenced not for terrorist acts, but for "propaganda and agitation", viz., for literary-publicist activity or for disseminating the "samvydav") to gain political prisoner status in the USSR. L. Brezhnev was as intolerant as M. Thatcher in reaction to the analogical demands of the Irish fighters. But we see a fundamental difference. The "bourgeois democracy", represented in England by Thatcher's government, cannot deny the Irish the propagandistic value of their deaths, nor can it not allow the staging of funerals — "demonstrations". On the other hand, the socialist democracy, represented by Brezhnev, Andropov and the like, with its wide voluntaristic possibilities, would never allow for such mischievous propaganda. It will conceal from the world the numerous strikes of Soviet political prisoners. ("In the Soviet Union — there are no hunger strikes" — were the words I heard during the fifth day of my hunger strike from the head of the camp in Tachyn.) The hunger strikers are manacled, their mouths are torn open and a rubber hose is forced down their throats.

If the prisoner happens to die, his relatives are not even given the bodily remains, but, instead, he is buried in the camp cemetery and a numbered plate is placed at his grave-site. There are no funerals—"demonstrations"!... And such "queer peculiarities" of bourgeois democracy, as the election of a prisoner to the post of parliamentary deputy, can seem to be something totally absurd to the Soviet citizen, who is acquainted with only one form of "elections" — a vote for the only candidate, appointed by the party organs.

No, in spite of the tragic fate of the Irish prisoners who give up their lives, in spite of the complexity and the apparent hopelessness of the Ulster situation (I believe that in a democratic society it will ultimately be resolved through wise compromise), Soviet propaganda cannot earn a philosophical profit.

Anyone familiar with modern history can easily figure out what would happen to the Northern Irish Catholics if Ulster were a part of the USSR. The world has not forgotten about the ethnocide of Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans, the residents of western Ukraine and the occupied Baltic states, who were resettled thousands of kilometers away from their homelands and lost among the foreign populations. And socialistic democracy would not allow Robert Sands to become a member of Parliament. The world press would not cover his hunger strike; and, instead of a proud, resonant death, he would receive handcuffs and a rubber hose down his throat. If he still managed to die, the body would have been quietly dispatched, unknown to anyone, to the eternally frozen Siberian ground, or to the foreign earth of Mordovia or the Urals. And instead of thousands of demonstrators, perhaps only a few prisoners/grave-diggers would be there to somberly pay their last respects at the numbered grave.

This is the fate that awaits me and my colleagues in the defense of the national rights of the Ukrainian nation and the basic rights of all nations of the USSR.

This is why I envy Robert Sands, prisoner of Ulster's H-blocks, who died a martyr's death.

(Vyacheslav Chornovil, publicist laureate of English journalistic award, 1975, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group)
Camp YD 40 17/Tabazha
Yakutia
July 15, 1981

Human Rights

Soviet Union — Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience — Motion under S.O. 43

As a result of the current nation-wide campaign in defense of the national and human rights of Ukraine conducted by the OULF* Council for the Release of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR, the Canadian House of Commons considered on Tuesday, March 23, 1982, the following motion:

Hon. Michael Wilson (Etobicoke Centre): Madam Speaker, my motion today under the provisions of Standing Order 43 is further to a petition I presented a few weeks ago signed by nearly 11,000 people. It relates to continued violations by the Soviet Union of national and human rights in Ukraine, which today, along with Afghanistan, Poland, and the Baltic nations, bears the brunt of such violations. Canada is a respected member of the international community for her role in promoting national and human rights and social justice in the world, and it supports the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the *United Nations Declaration on Independence for Colonial Countries and Peoples* which states that:

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

In view of the fact that the government of the USSR continues to persecute and imprison numerous Ukrainians who uphold the aforementioned right, I move, seconded by the hon. member for St. Catharines (Mr. Reid):

That the Canadian government be required to employ all the necessary steps

* Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front.

to persuade the Government of the USSR to release from imprisonment and/or exile the following of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group: Yuriy Shukhevych, Lew Lukyanenko, Oksana Popovych, Mykola Rudenko, Ivan Hel, Ivan Kandyba, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk.

Madam Speaker: Is there unanimous consent for this motion?

Some hon. Members: Agreed.

Motion agreed to.

City demo to 'save Yuriy'

About 30 people demonstrated in the City Square in support of a man who has spent more than 30 years in Soviet prisons, and wants to join his family in Australia.

Yuriy Shukhevych has already been granted a visa by the Australian Government, but he still faces another five years in exile in Ukraine.

Mr. Andrew Liszczyński, 22, spokesman for the Committee to Save Yuriy Shukhevych, said the group was concerned because Shukhevych's health was deteriorated after 30 years in prison.

"He's a very sick man, and is blind in one eye as a result of mistreatment," he said.

The group were taking signatures on a petition to the Soviet Government to allow him to leave Russia, and to the Australian Government to put more pressure on the Soviets.

Mr. Liszczyński said Shukhevych had been arrested at the age of 14 because of his father's activities in World War II.

He was jailed for 10 years and the reason given was his father's activities, Mr. Liszczyński said.

"He was due to be released in 1958, but

was given another 10 years for Soviet agitation and propaganda," he said.

"He had been supporting an anti-Soviet stance through his prison term and talking to other prisoners to motivate them to have anti-Soviet beliefs," Mr. Liszczyński said.

Another reason he was kept in prison was that he refused to renounce his father's action.

He was released in 1972, but was again jailed in 1972 for supporting anti-Soviet protests of prisoners in Ukraine.

Mr. Liszczyński said Shukhevych wanted to join his aunt in Sydney.

(The Herald, Sat. Mar. 13, 1982)

Moves to free Soviet Jail Man

COMMUNITY leaders are stepping up a campaign for the release of a Ukrainian political prisoner who has spent 30 years in Soviet jails.

The Federal Government last year gave permission for Yuriy Shukhevych and his family to come to Australia if he was released.

Community relations officer for the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, Dr. Michael Lawriwsky, said he was *convinced* that Shukhevych would be re-arrested immediately after his release.

"He hasn't won a Nobel Prize so he doesn't get catapulted to world-wide acclaim and get world-wide headlines", Dr. Lawriwsky said.

"Yuriy Shukhevych just has to sit there for 30 years without having his case represented to the world."

Dr. Lawriwsky, who is on the committee supporting Mr. Shukhevych, said the Ukrainian was first jailed for 10 years in 1948, when he was 14.

He was released in 1958, but re-arrested the same day, he was arrested a third time in 1972 and given a 10-year jail sentence.

"He has been held in prison because he refuses to denounce his father, of the

Ukrainian forces which fought against the Nazis and the Soviet Army in World War II," Dr. Lawriwsky said.

Shukhevych's father, General Roman Shukhevych, is regarded as a Ukrainian national hero.

Shukhevych's aunt, Stephanie Strokon, of Sydney, is heading the campaign, which is part of an international move.

"From information smuggled out to the West we've found that he's going blind and has stomach ulcers," Dr. Lawriwsky said.

"At the moment the committee is trying to find his wife and children, but they've disappeared."

Shukhevych has been adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International.

No one was available for comment at the Soviet Embassy in Canberra.

(The Sun, Sat. Feb. 20, 1982)

Help defend Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR

(Leaflet distributed at a demonstration staged by Ukrainian women in front of the Russian Embassy in London, Great Britain, on March 8, 1982)

We are demonstrating here today in support of thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners incarcerated by the Soviet Russian regime for demanding the human and national rights that we in Britain take for granted.

Ukraine, a country of 45 million, was forcibly incorporated into the USSR — the new Russian Empire — in 1922. The Ukrainian people have time and time again demonstrated their passionate desire for liberty. During the Second World War they fought for independence against Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia.

Armed resistance was crushed in the 1950's and was followed by mass executions and deportations to Siberia. But Ukrainians never lost their desire for li-

berty despite the constant state of terror maintained by the KGB, the Russian secret police.

Tens of thousands of Ukrainians from all walks of life have suffered successive waves of arrests, murders, persecution and barbarously long prison sentences to voice their opposition to Ukraine's economic and cultural exploitation by the Russian oppressor and to demand freedom for Ukraine.

Women suffer under the KGB jackboot in the same way as men. One woman veteran of Stalin's concentration camps, authoress Oksana Meshko aged 77, is currently serving a 5 year term for being a co-founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

The group — every member of which has been arrested — was formed to monitor Russia's adherence to the human rights guarantees contained in the Helsinki Accords which were signed by Moscow as well as all Western Countries. Oksana Meshko's and her colleagues' "crime" was

to expose Russia's flagrant violations of human and national rights in Ukraine.

We do not expect justice from the Russians because by their actions in Afghanistan and Poland the Russians have once more shown they are not interested in respecting human rights or national sovereignty. But we do know that because of economic considerations the Kremlin cannot ignore public opinion in the West.

You are that public opinion and we ask you to raise the matter of Ukrainian political prisoners by writing to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Office, your MP or to newspapers. If the Russians are sure the West does not care about Ukrainian political prisoners they can imprison, torture and murder them with impunity. Each letter from you can help save the life or possibly improve the chances of liberty for a political prisoner.

published by the **Association of Ukrainian Women in Gt. Britain**
49 Linden Gardens, London W2 4HG



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, ABN President, addressing AF ABN meeting, Chicago Branch, May 9, 1982.

News and Views

Joint Communiqué

WACL Executive Board & APACL Executive Committee

All the members of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Executive Board and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) Executive Committee, representing free nations of North America, Latin America, Africa, Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Oceania and the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain, have jointly held meetings on April 16-18, 1982 in Taipei, Republic of China, to examine the international situation and work out preparations for the 15th WACL and 28th APACL Conferences. Unity and harmony prevailed with mounting anti-Communist sentiments throughout the Meetings. Thus, it laid down a solid foundation, ensuring the success of the coming General Conferences.

In view of the incessant Communist aggressions, the participants of the Executive Meetings emphasized that common security is possible only when all free nations jointly fight the Communists everywhere. The Russian expansion has not been stopped by the tactics of certain free nations to cooperate with the Chinese Reds. On the contrary, the Russians are stepping up their expansion. Beyond doubt, the attempt of the Free World to win over any Communist regime or party serves only to confuse friends with foes and weakens the Free World, thereby inflicting serious strategic damages.

The Executive Board and Committee urge all the free nations to work out a global anti-Communist strategy for the benefit of mutual security, and their mass media of communications to support the Free World's stand for "freedom with strength" counteract Red aggression.

The Executive Board and Committee strongly support the anti-Communist struggle for freedom waged by the peoples of Afghanistan, Africa, the Caribbean, El Salvador, the Chinese mainland, north Korea, Indochina, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania and other nations under the Soviet Russian rule. Equal support goes to the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea which are striving to restore freedom and democracy to the Chinese mainland and north Korea.

The Executive Board and Committee call upon all the free nations to demonstrate a spirit of unity for their common interest, in terms of further cooperation among them in the fields of economy, trade, science and technology. The Free World should refrain from supplying financial and technological assistance to the Communist regimes.

The Executive Board and Committee resolved to accept the invitation of the Japan Chapter to hold the 15th WACL and 28th APACL Conference in October 1982 in Japan. The 4th Conference of the Asian Youth Anti-Communist League (AYACL) will be likewise held there. The theme of the Conferences will be: "A Global Strategy to Safeguard Freedom."

The participants of the Meetings firmly believe that the General Conferences of WACL, APACL and AYACL to be held this year will strengthen the unity of freedom forces.

All the participants wish to express their gratitude for the warm hospitality and the arrangement of the WACL/APACL ROC Chapter to make the Board and Committee Meetings successful.

NARWACL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

The Need for a Captive Nations Policy in Overall US Foreign Policy

Whereas three decades of wavering and unintegrated policies toward the totalitarian world (successively: "containment", lip-serviced "eventual liberation", "bridges of understanding", "détente", "peace through strength", and "human rights") have been measured by declining US world leadership, the relative increase of Soviet Russian imperial power and might, and a growing frequency of periods of disarray; and

Whereas the defects and shortcomings of these so-called pragmatic policies of the United States Government have been demonstrated by incapability to cope with revolutionary pressures at the base of the totalitarian world — successively East Germany '53, Hungary '56, Czechoslovakia '68 and probably Poland '81, not to speak of others; and

Whereas by word, deed and record, none of these past policies has adequately integrated a comprehensive, segmental policy on the captive nations, including particularly those (the majority) within the USSR itself; therefore be it resolved that this NARWACL Conference of 1982 transmit to the President of the United States the urgent need for an immediate, thorough study of the captive nations *in toto*, with the objective of an operational integration in overall foreign policy that might well be characterized as "A Policy of Reciprocity in Human Rights, Security and Freedom."

Support of S. Con. Res. 18 and H. Con. Res. 123 in the US Congress

Whereas S. Con. Res. 18 sponsored by Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona and a dozen of co-sponsors and calling for the resurrection of the genocided Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches in

Ukraine, was passed by the US Senate in June, 1981; and

Whereas H. Con. Res. 123, sponsored by Representative Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois and over fifty co-sponsors and with the same objective, is pending in the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs; and

Whereas these identical measures are in the finest expression of our human rights concerns and have far-flung potential ramifications in the largest non-Russian nation within the USSR and in Eastern Europe and among national and international religious bodies; therefore be it

Resolved that the participants in this NARWACL Conference, in particular the US Chapter, transmit to the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the Honorable Clement J. Zablocki, their sense of urgency for definitive hearings on these vital measures in the next few weeks.

The 25th Captive Nations Week Observance, 1983

Whereas in light of the contents of the Resolution on Captive Nations Week, 1982, the significance and reasoning of Public Law 86-90 (The Congressional Captive Nations Week Resolution) are amply clear; and

Whereas in the most recent period, the Soviet Russian rape of Afghanistan and imperialist Moscow's "inward invasion" of Poland, featured by martial law, the near-destruction of Solidarity, and the intensified captivity of the Polish nation further reinforce the truths in PL 89-90; and

Whereas critical events such as these and others must be viewed totalistically and integratively in relation to all other captive nations in Central Europe, within the USSR, in Asia and in Cuba; and

Whereas we are approaching the 25th

Captive Nations Week Observance in July 1983 — a quarter of a century of basic, national movement that has underwritten the fundamental insecurity of the illegitimate imperio-totalitarianism of Moscow and its satraps more than even necessary nuclear buildup — and also a propitious occasion for the crystallization of the cumulative experiences of captive nations since 1920; therefore be it

Resolved that we in this NARWACL Conference of 1982 prepare with our associate WACL Chapters and all interested organizations here in the USA and abroad the groundwork for an International Convention on the Captive Nations to be held in Washington, D.C. in the third week of July, 1983, the 25th Captive Nations Week Observance.

Support of President Reagan's Sanctions and of a "Pol-trade" Policy

Whereas the self-invasion contrived by Moscow for Poland and against the workers' movement of Poland toward national freedom constitutes a second international outrage in the short space of three years (the Soviet Russian rape of Afghanistan being the first); and

Whereas the crisis in Poland bears special significance for freedom movements in the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Russia itself — indeed, in other sectors of the Soviet Russian empire in captive Asia and in Cuba; and

Whereas the sanctions imposed by the United States Government on credits, technology and other trade items are aimed at the lifting of martial law in Poland, the restoration of Solidarity and the reduction of Soviet Russian manipulations, as well as influencing the allies of the United States in a realistic reorientation of trade and financial policy toward the totalitarian world; and

Whereas the sequence of these events has brought to a head years of debate and controversy over the economic "aid"

through easy trade to Moscow's steady military buildup and capacity for global adventurism (a current euphemism for its traditional imperialism) with an increasing threat to the security of the non-totalitarian Free World; therefore be it

Resolved that this NARWACL Conference of 1982 express its full support of the President's sanctions, and urge that this historic opportunity be cultivated for the formation of a "pol-trade" policy toward all totalitarian and imperialist regimes, whereby trade and financing are scrupulously predicated on values of cultural and political concessions that safeguard and abet the concerns of security and freedom.

Against all Trade with Communists

Whereas in accordance with orthodox Communist Doctrine, it is the policy of Communist regimes to use trade with non-Communist economies for the purposes of building up the strength of the Communist countries in general, and their military and military-related technologies in particular;

And *whereas*, the non-Communist economies have shown a deadly degree of vulnerability to this long-range Communist strategy;

And *whereas* the governments of the non-Communist nations have come more and more to put short-run economic profit ahead of the preservation of their long-run security as to trade with Communist nations both strategic and non-strategic;

Now, the Third NARWACL Conference of 1982 hereby resolves that all member units of the World Anti-Communist League should bring utmost possible pressure to bear on the governments of their respective countries to strictly inhibit and (or totally prohibit all trade with Communist countries, and particularly in the categories of foodstuffs, agricultural machinery and apparatus, capital goods and production machinery,

and, of course any and all technology or scientific know-how related in any and all ways to military uses.

Captive Nations Week, July 18-24, 1982

Whereas Public Law 89-90 — The Captive Nations Week Resolution passed by the US Congress in July 1959 and signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower — is the only statutory commitment to the freedom of all the captive nations on the legislative books of the World Parliaments; and

Whereas since World War II and by documented record, no thematic idea has so persistently and consistently evoked the deep concern and vituperative assault of Moscow, Peking and other totalitarian Red regimes than has the synthetic concept of captive nations as embodied in PL 96-90; and

Whereas this synthetic concept encompasses the captive nations in Central Europe, the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR, mainland China and others in Asia, and Cuba, and conforms completely with WACL's fixed commitment to oppose all forms of imperialism and totalitarianism and to advance national independence and freedom, therefore be it

Resolved that the NARWACL Conference in Arizona on April 23-24, 1982, calls upon the WACL Secretariat and the current, governing China Chapter (1) to urge in the near future all participants in the recent 14th World Anti-Communist League Conference, held in Taipei, Republic of China, to move their respective governments in legally adopting a measure similar to PL 86-90, and (2) that all WACL Chapters and others represented at that WACL Conference also prepare activities in their countries and among their fellow citizens for the 24th Observance of Captive Nations Week this coming July 18-24, 1982, and (3) that

all WACL members report on these two courses of action at the 15th WACL Conference this year.

On independence of Ukraine Statement of Principles

Whereas, Ukraine, a nation of 50 million people, after centuries of subjugation by alien imperialist-colonial Russia and other powers, declared on January 22, 1918 a full-fledged sovereign and independent state of the Ukrainian people; and

Whereas, this state was recognized not only by the Central Powers but also by France and Britain, and by the new government of Communist Russia (on December 17, 1917 and on March 3, 1918), and that this state waged a defensive war against aggressive powers for over three years; and that in 1920 this state was conquered by Communist Russia, which transformed it into a puppet "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," which became a constituent member in 1922 of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and in 1945 it became a founding member of the United Nations (UN); and

Whereas, for the past sixty years the Ukrainian people have suffered towering losses in manpower and economic resources and through the genocide inflicted on them by the Soviet Russian government, and yet they continued their resistance by all means accessible to them, including the political and revolutionary struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and full-scale underground resistance warfare by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the years 1942-1950, waging at times this warfare against both Nazi troops and Soviet troops; and that the will of the Ukrainian people to freedom and independence was again demonstrated on June 30, 1941, when a provisional govern-

ment under the leadership of Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko was established by Ukrainian patriots, only to be suppressed and dispersed by the Nazis; and

Whereas, the signing of the Helsinki Accords in the summer of 1975 by the Soviet Union, 32 European governments and by the United States and Canada, gave rise to great hopes for the amelioration of the situation of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain, including Ukraine, but failed to realize a genuine relaxation by the Soviet Russian regime in Ukraine and elsewhere;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Third Conference of NARWACL fully supports the legitimate aspirations of the Ukrainian people, as well as all other captive nations, to freedom and national independence, that it calls for all the nations of the free world to express their moral support of the Ukrainian people in their struggle against Communist Russia and for their national statehood.

Liberation struggle of enslaved nations

NARWACL Conference supports the liberation struggle of Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Poland, Afghanistan, Hungary, and all other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism in the USSR and the satellite countries, considering them to be the Achilles' heel of the Russian communist empire.

NARWACL Conference deems it necessary to recommend to the Western powers the starting of a psychological war against the Russian colonial empire in order to mobilize and to encourage the subjugated nations. President Reagan and the European Council in Strasbourg have already proclaimed the Day of Poland and the Day of Afghanistan. Now there should follow the days of Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania and others.

US China Policy

Whereas we are aware that Secretary of State Haig is totally committed to continuing to play the so-called "China Card" against the Soviet Union; and

Whereas in spite of this "China Card" the USSR has been able to skilfully play its own Indo-China "card" and has already obtained the use of highly strategic bases in Vietnam (Camranh Bay harbor, Danang airfield) and in Cambodia (Kampan Son harbor, Facilities in Phnom Penh and Battambang); and

Whereas the so-called "China Card" has further been unable to forestall the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; and

Whereas these facts prove that the so-called "China Card" has failed to curtail the efforts of the Soviet Union to expand its influence in Asia and to become a serious threat to the use of the Malacca Strait by the US Navy; and

Whereas it is obvious that the Peking regime in spite of the normalization of relations with the United States has remained solidly *anti-American* and regards the US as its enemy 2 to be destroyed after the USSR according to its doctrine of Dialectic Materialism; and

Whereas we consider it suicidal in the long run for the US to supply the PRC with modern weaponry or military technology; and

Whereas the strengthening of a savage dictatorship like the PRC is contrary to humanitarian principles; and

Whereas sooner or later the PRC is bound to attack or blockade the Republic of China on Taiwan in order to divert the attention of its subjects from their miserable life on the mainland; and

Whereas Taiwan is situated in a key geographical position which controls the sealanes used for regional trade, Soviet Navy routes and Western Defense purposes; and

Whereas this strategic location makes

Taiwan a coveted prize for any power hostile to the United States and the Free World because it gives a base potential utilization that could counterbalance or even overshadow the strategic importance of the central and southern flank of the US frontline position; now therefore we

Resolve to urge President Reagan respectfully, to instruct Secretary of State Haig to end the futile attempt to play the so-called "China Card", not to make any political or other concessions to Peking at the expense of the Republic of China on Taiwan or give any pledges to deliver modern weapons or other military or military-related equipment to it, and furthermore, to improve the security of the Republic of China by providing to it without delay all weaponry it has previously requested including the sophisticated FX combat planes.

For the Unification of Korea

Whereas free people everywhere join with all patriotic Koreans in their longing for national unification;

And whereas the Korean Peninsula lives under the constant threat of aggressive war which is daily threatened by the fascist-Communist regime of North Korea, a war which would engulf not only the Korean peninsula but all the Far East and would constitute a prime threat to world peace;

And whereas President Chun Doo Hwan of the Republic of Korea has recently taken a most statesmanlike initiative toward North Korea with an offer to initiate processes toward the unification of the Korean people in the Korean peninsula, with the hope to allow all Koreans to live together in peace and harmony and under a democratic system of government and society;

And whereas these efforts of President Chun Doo Hwan are deserving of the support of all peace-minded peoples everywhere;

Now, therefore, the NARWACL Conference of 1982 urges all member Chapters of the WACL in particular, and all peaceloving peoples and governments in general, to strongly support the initiative toward peaceful unification in the Korean Peninsula which has been made by President Chun by urging their governments to support this initiative in the United Nations and in their individual national diplomatic efforts around the world, to include providing overt support to President Chun and his Government.

For US Military Strength in Korea

Whereas the policy of President Carter was to totally withdraw all armed forces of the United States from the territory of the Republic of Korea, a policy that most fortunately was not carried out in its entirety;

And whereas such withdrawal of US armed forces from the Republic of Korea would have seriously jeopardized the security of the ROC which has been an ally of the United States for three decades and which has constantly been threatened by the armed forces of the North Korean Communist regime;

And whereas the threat of North Korean aggression against the Republic of Korea is also and at the same time a threat to the general security of all non-Communist governments in the Far East, a threat in which the USSR and Communist China are joined together with Communist North Korea and thus constitutes a grave danger to the peace and security of the Western Pacific and thus and therefore to the Free World in general;

Therefore, the Third North American Regional Conference of the World Anti-Communist League strongly supports President Ronald Reagan's reversal of the Carter policy of military withdrawal from the Republic of Korea, embodied in his policy of full maintenance of US

military strength in the Republic of Korea, his supply of the most advanced US fighter aircraft to the ROC, the substantial program for the upgrading and modernization of the facilities of the US armed forces in the ROC, and, most recently, the entering into an agreement with the ROK for the transfer to the ROK in the event of an emergency of up to US\$2 billion worth of munitions and other defense material, and numerous other indications of a Reagan policy of very much intensified military support by the United States of the security of the Republic of Korea.

NARWACL Greetings

Whereas, as is evident to all, the Republic of China constantly achieves brilliant successes in the development of its culture, economy and society, by contrast to the deepening successive crises imposed upon the long-suffering Chinese people of the Chinese Mainland under Communist totalitarian despotism;

And, whereas these successes owe much to the inspired and self-less leadership of the Republic of China, as well as to the industriousness and imaginative initiative of the people of the ROC;

Now, the Third Narwacl Conference of 1982 hereby resolves that its leadership shall send to President Chiang Ching-kuo of the Republic of China a message expressing its solidarity with the Government and people of the ROC, and its sincere congratulations to him for his devoted leadership of the people of Free China.

Documentation from the NARWACL Conference

Areas of Soviet Russian Repression in Ukraine

Moscow claims that the Soviet Union is a "federation" of 15 "union republics", which the Soviet constitution defines as "sovereign and independent states", en-

joying even the right to "freely secede" from the USSR. Ukraine and Byelorussia are even charter members of the United Nations and participate in its subsidiary organizations, such as UNESCO, ILO, and so forth. But in reality, the current Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism inherited some of the ugliest features of Tsarist imperialism, that is *Russification, racial intolerance, religious persecution and chauvinism.*

a) *Russification*: The Russian language, always identified with the throne of Russia in Tsarist times, now is synonymous with the Kremlin, the seat of Soviet power.

Inasmuch as Russians comprise a bare half of the total population of the USSR, they constitute the leading elite in the Communist Party, the Soviet armed forces, the security forces and the scientific-economic-managerial complex and administrative apparatus. From this position, the Russians are trying to "mould" a "Soviet man" who would essentially be a "Russian man", speaking the Russian language and espousing Russian culture, customs and mentality.

Today, the tentacles of Russification are far-reaching. They extend into every "union republic", not only the Slavic countries of Ukraine and Byelorussia, but also the non-Slavic countries, such as the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Caucasian nations of Armenia, Azerbaidjan and Georgia, and the five Turkish republics of Central Asia — Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadjhikistan and Kirghizia.

A major all-Union scientific-theoretical conference, held on May 22-24, 1979 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, dwelt on the "Russian Language — the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR", and decided to expand the teaching of the Russian language in all non-Russian republics, thus giving full endorsement to the policy of Russification.

b) *Religious Persecution*: Soviet religious policy has been shaped by a complex interplay of ideological and practical considerations. While the underlying principle of Soviet religious policy has been *atheism*, the totalitarian nature of the regime led it to surround institutional religion with myriad administrative and police controls.

Even though the Soviet constitution and that of the Ukrainian SSR contain provisions guaranteeing freedom of religion and other fundamental rights, *the Soviet Russian government genocided the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the 1930s and ruthlessly destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1945-46, subordinating over six million Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy against their will.*

Religious minorities in Ukraine, such as Roman Catholics, Evangelical Christians and Baptists, Lutherans, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists, as well as Jehovah's Witnesses — although they are allowed to function — are persecuted and harassed by the Russian regime.

There are some 800,000 to 900,000 Jews in Ukraine, but most of the Jewish communities are dispersed, with only a few synagogues left.

c) *Official Impediments to Emigration*: The Ukrainian community in the United States is gravely concerned with the violation of the right of Ukrainian citizens to leave Ukraine of their own free will. Only a few Ukrainian families were allowed to emigrate to the United States, *although there are thousands of Ukrainians who have families in America and would like to join them here under the reunion of families' plan specifically endorsed by the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords.*

But they do not dare to apply for exit visas for fear of repression and persecution. Besides, owing to the nature of internal Soviet regulations, the process in any

event is a very long and tedious one. It is a cruel hardship from the start, in that those applying for exit visas are automatically released from their employment without any assurance of their ever obtaining the visas.

d) *Assassination of Prominent Ukrainians by the KGB*: In the last few years there have been cases of outright killings or incidents causing the death of prominent Ukrainians by the KGB and its hired goons.

A 51-year-old Ukrainian poet, *Heliy Snehiriv*, died in a KGB hospital in Kyiv, according to a Reuters report of January 3, 1979. Heliy Snehiriv died on December 28, 1978 in KGB custody at a hospital where he had been placed several months earlier. Following his arrest in September, 1977, Snehiriv was subjected to intense KGB torture and was isolated from the outside world. On July 27, 1978, Flora Lewis reported in *The New York Times* that Snehiriv had renounced his Soviet citizenship, saying, "I don't want to remain a citizen of a state that has destroyed the elite of my Ukrainian people, the best part of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, that has distorted and slandered our past and humiliated our present."

Mykhailo Melnyk, a 35-year-old Ukrainian professor, activist and participant in the Ukrainian human and national rights movement, was found dead in the village of Pohreby, near Kyiv. The Reuters news service from Moscow reported that Melnyk allegedly committed suicide by poisoning himself on March 6, 1979, after the KGB raided his home.

Volodymyr Ivasiuk, the 30-year-old Ukrainian composer of "Chervona Ruta" and "Vodohray" and other modern Ukrainian songs that became very popular not only in Ukraine but among Ukrainians around the world as well, was found in a forest some 10 kms. northwest of Lviv on May 18, 1979. The

official autopsy stated that Ivasiuk "committed suicide", but friends of the family contend that he was murdered by the KGB.

His compositions enjoyed immense popularity among Ukrainians in the United States and Canada, as well. He is especially known for his folk songs. According to accounts of his friends, Ivasiuk left his parents' home on April 23, 1917, bound for the conservatory at 5 Boyko Street in Lviv, carrying some music with him. Upon leaving the conservatory, he was picked up by a car, which had been waiting for him. It was the last time Ivasiuk was seen alive. His body, badly beaten, with eyes gouged, was found in a forest on May 18. A five-man team of doctors — none of them Ukrainian — declared that he had committed suicide. His friends said that suicide was unlikely because there were no rope burns on his neck nor any other sign of suicide. They also reported that Ivasiuk had been shadowed in the last few months by KGB agents and that the car which picked him up was a KGB vehicle.

Another victim of Soviet-Russian terror in Ukraine was *Victor Kindratyshyn*, a 28-year-old Ukrainian artist-sculptor. After terminating his military service in the Soviet army, he graduated from an art school and had his own studio in the town of Kosiv. In 1979 he took part in the All-Union Art Exhibit in Kyiv. On December 1, 1979 his body was found with one leg attached to a water pipe in a cellar. Authorities declared that it was a case of "suicide" and told the family not to press any inquiries.

Systematic Destruction of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

Although persecution, arrests and trials in Ukraine have been part and parcel of the Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group became a top

priority target for extinction for obvious reasons: they challenged the very foundation of the Marxist-Leninist system of government and they assailed Russian imperialism and chauvinism.

While in Russia the KGB is arresting Russian dissidents for their opposition to the Communist regime, *in Ukraine these arrests have a definite racist-chauvinist character, as they are directed at destroying the essence of the Ukrainian national identity and at eradicating the Ukrainian national consciousness as a powerful force in the struggle for Ukrainian statehood.*

Thus, among those being arrested and sentenced in Ukraine are Ukrainian writers, literary critics, journalists, professors, students, artists, painters, scientific workers, historians and representatives of all other strata of society in Ukraine.

Among them is *Yuriy Shukhevych* who has been in prisons and concentration camps since he was fifteen years old, for the sole reason that he had refused to renounce his father, *Gen. Roman Shukhevych*, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

A few months after the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the Soviet-Russian government began a systematic and relentless attack against its members. The majority of the original ten members were arrested, tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in 1977.

During the same year another nine new members joined the group, and in 1978-79 another 18 men and women became members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, reaching a total of 37 members — the largest group numerically of all the other groups in the USSR (Russian, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian).

But the KGB and the Soviet-Russian courts were working day and night to speedily annihilate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, with the following painful

results: out of 37 members, 22 are now serving various terms; three are in internal exile; three have been released after completing their sentences; one committed suicide and seven have been ousted from the Soviet Union.

In summary, the situation in Ukraine is one of a colonial country, where the government is in the hands of an *alien Russian power*, which rules the country

with an iron hand and with the help of Communist quislings.

For the benefit of the uniformed and unknowing, Ukraine is presented by its Soviet Russian overlords as a "sovereign and independent" republic, and a member of the "happy family of peoples" in the Soviet Union under the benign and benevolent "older brother" — the Russian Communist master.

Subjugated Nations — Achilles' Heel of Russian Empire

Joint Communiqué

Third NARWACL Conference, Scottsdale, Arizona, USA, April 24, 1982.

The Third Conference of the North American Regional World Anti-Communist League Organization (NARWACL) was held at the Sunburst Hotel in Scottsdale, Arizona, on April 23-24, 1982, with the participation of 8 delegates, 33 observers and more than 100 guests from 7 countries.

In a keynote address and as a guest speaker at the opening and the closing sessions, the Hon. Lawrence P. McDonald (D-Georgia) and the Hon. Eldon Rudd (R-Arizona) of the US House of Representatives made extensive reviews of the role of the United States in the light of the current world situation and called for resolute action to cope with the unrelenting challenges from our adversaries.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, honorary chairman of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), was present at the invitation of the Conference Preparatory Committee and, in an address, pointed out that the "cooperation with the Chinese Communists does not bring the Russians under control." He noted the strategic importance of the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan and called for a global anti-communist strategy.

Reports were rendered on the activities of the *United States Council for World Freedom (USCWF)* and the *Freedom Council of Canada (FCC)*, the two North American chapters of WACL. La Confederacion Anti-Comunista Latin-Americana (CAL) presented an extensive report on their movement.

Elected to the NARWACL Executive Committee for 1982-83 are: *Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub*, US Army (Ret.) as *chairman*, *Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky* as *vice chairman*, and *Mr. Walter Chopiowskyj* as *secretary-general*.

An assessment of the global situation was made by a panel of scholars and specialists: *Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky* (on Europe), *Dr. David N. Rowe* (on China and the Far East), *Dr. Anthony Bouscaren* (on the Middle East), *Mr. Duncan W. Sellara* (on Africa), *Mr. Joel M. Skausen* (on Latin America), and *Dr. Anthony Kubek* (as moderator).

In a dinner speech that followed song and dance shows by members of the local Ukrainian and Chinese communities, General Singlaub called for a new strategy based on "the indisputable fact that the USSR can ultimately only be contained by the ready availability and demonstration of American power." He said:

"There is no substitute for American leadership in this great venture. If we don't do it now, it may be too late."

The Conference adopted 12 resolutions for immediate action and subsequent submission to the 15th WACL Conference later this year. They include those dealing with US policies toward China, Korea and captive nations. The decisions include the dispatch of messages to President Chiang Ching-kuo of Republic of China praising his staunch leadership and President Chun Doo Hwan of the Republic of Korea, pledging solidarity and praising his leadership in the continuing campaigns for national unification.

The Conference also addressed itself to

the subject of the situations in El Salvador, Africa and Vietnam. It agreed that these areas merit special attention by NARWACL.

The Conference supports the liberation struggle of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite countries, considering them to be the Achilles' heel of the Russian communist empire.

The Conference participants will actively and vigorously promote the WACL's crusade for unity and cooperation among free nations and promote ultimate victory of freedom for all mankind during the 1980's.

160 attend Anti-Communist League Conference

Scottsdale, Ariz. — The North American Regional World Anti-Communist League (NARWACL) held its third conference on April 23-24, electing retired Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub (U.S. Army) chairman. He succeeds Patrick Walsh of Canada.

More than 160 delegates-observers from seven countries attended the sessions, which treated the problem of Soviet Russian expansionism. Specific decisions were made on steps to combat the spread of communism.

The NARWACL consists of national chapters in Canada and the United States; the Canadian chapter is known as the Freedom Council of Canada (FCC), while the American chapter is represented by the United States Council for World Freedom (USCWF).

The conference was opened by Walter Chapiwskyj, USCWF secretary general, who welcomed delegates, observers and guests and stressed the importance of the gathering.

The conference was conducted by Maj. Gen. Singlaub, former commander of U.S.

troops in South Korea who was dismissed from his post by President Jimmy Carter for his outspokenness in calling for a strong stand against the Soviet Union in Europe and in Asia.

He described a multitude of threats which face the United States from within and without. He assailed unrealistic pacifism in Western Europe and the United States, and warned against "Finlandization" of Western Europe.

The general also asserted that the so-called "Ground Zero" movement and anti-nuclear demonstrations in the United States and Western Europe are Moscow-inspired and directed against the United States and the rest of the free world.

Rep. Lawrence P. McDonald (D-Ga.) outlined U.S. foreign policy in the past and called for a more vigorous U.S. foreign policy in light of the current world situation.

Another speaker at the morning session was Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, honorary president of the World Anti-Communist League and leader of the delegation from the Republic of China, who assailed those powers which are trying to appease Communist

China in the futile belief that cooperation with Peking would bring the Russians under control.

Oppression of Ukraine

Speaking for Mr. Walsh, head of the Freedom Council of Canada, was John Kolasky, author of "Education in Soviet Ukraine," "Two Years in Soviet Ukraine" and "The Shattered Illusion," who reported on the activities of the FCC in Canada and assailed the present government of Canada for its "tolerant" policies with respect to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Kolasky described Soviet Russian policies in Ukraine as "brutal and inhuman," which provoke deep resentment from the Ukrainian people. Citing his own experience in Ukraine in the years 1962-65, he said that Ukrainians are being persecuted for love of their national cultural traditions, their aspirations for freedom and independence, and for their opposition to alien Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine.

Mr. Kolasky also stated that Ukrainians constituted the overwhelming majority in Soviet prisons and concentration camps. He cited the case of Yuriy Shukhevych, whom the KGB has persecuted and jailed for the past 30 years for the simple reason that he refuses to renounce his father, Gen. Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

In addition to Gen. Singlaub, also elected to the new NARWACL executive board were: Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky as vice chairman and Mr. Chopiowskyj as secretary general.

Assessment of Global Situation

In the afternoon session an extensive panel was held in which several expert speakers took part, covering specific areas: Europe — Prof. Dobriansky (Georgetown University); China and the Far East — Prof. David Rowe (professor emeritus of Yale University); the Middle East — Prof. Anthony T. Bouscaren (Le Moyne College);

Africa — Duncan W. Sellars; and Latin America — Leon Skousen.

Moderator at the panel was Prof. Anthony Kubek of Troy State College, in Alabama, who was also chairman of the resolutions committee.

Statements of Organizations

The plenum of the conference was addressed by a number of speakers representing various organizations in the world.

Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations spoke on the continued struggle of the Ukrainian people against Soviet Russian domination of Ukraine. He urged the free world to help the Ukrainian people, the largest non-Russian nation in the USSR, whose struggle, he said, is very important in the overall anti-Communist strategy.

Francisco Luboto spoke on behalf of Cabinda, a small territorial enclave north of Angola, which is under Communist guerrilla pressure. He said that there are several thousand anti-Communist insurgents, who are in actual combat and need arms and other help from the West.

Prof. Woo Jae-Seung, secretary general of the WACL and head of South Korean delegation, reported extensively on the operations of groups in Asia and throughout the world.

A report on the plight of Latin and Central America was delivered by Prof. Rafael Rodriguez, secretary general of CAL (Confederación Anticomunista Latino-Americana), a Mexican scholar, who described the struggle of the conservative and middle-of-the road strata of the population against Communist insurgency fostered by Cuba and its Soviet bosses.

Rep. Eldon Rudd (R-Ariz.) was one of the last speakers. He dwelled on the present danger of Communist aggression around the world and appealed to the American people for support of those Communist and Soviet Russian aggression.

Resolutions

Prof. Kubek reported that the conference adopted 12 resolutions dealing with U.S. policies toward China, Korea and the captive nations. The conference also addressed itself to the subject of the situation in El Salvador, Africa and Vietnam, but it was agreed that these areas merit special attention by the NARWACL.

Of the 12 resolutions, one was submitted by the UCCA, five by Prof. Dobriansky on behalf of the National Captive Nations Committee (NCNC) and one by Ignatius M. Bilynsky, UCCA executive vice president.

In the joint communique a reference to Ukraine reads as follows:

"The conference supports the liberation struggle of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the satellite countries, considering them to be the Achilles' heel of the Russian Communist empire..."

Banquet

On Saturday evening a banquet was held at the Sunburst Hotel in Scottsdale. Gen. Singlaub, as the principal speaker, called for a new strategy based on the "indisputable fact that the USSR can ultimately be contained by the ready availability and demonstration of American power."

A program of song and dance was pro-

vided by members of the local Ukrainian and Chinese communities. Mr. Chopiwskyj served as master of ceremonies, and the benediction was given by the Rev. Myroslav Kolodiy, pastor of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church in Phoenix.

Also attending the conference were Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, and Yaroslav Blyshchak of Los Angeles, representing the Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine.

Assistance of Local Community

The success of the 3rd NARWACL Conference was made possible also through the active support of the younger members of the Ukrainian community in Phoenix. Young girls and housewives, as well as their spouses, provided personnel for technical staffs, who took care of registration, transportation in their cars from and to the airport, guiding participants to meals, serving coffee during the breaks, and so forth.

The volunteers included Genie Chopiwskyj, wife of Walter Chopiwskyj, who also directed the performance of Ukrainian children during the banquet; Irena Wanko, Slava Savycky, Olga Slywka, Lidia Dydik, Yaroslav Rosola, Ray Dadynskyj, Susanna Ahaszuk-Harris, Petro Boyko, Jaroslaw Olijnyk, Halyna Grozdev, Ewhen and Danylo Chopiwskyj and others.

Dr. W. Dushnyck

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American Radio Broadcasts to Ukraine

For several decades the United States has been transmitting radio broadcasts into Ukraine through such institutions as Radio Liberty and the Voice of America. We have analyzed the Seventh and Eighth Annual Reports for International Broadcasting to the President and the Congress and wish to make the following observations:

1. Since Western radio broadcasts exert a powerful influence on listeners behind the Iron Curtain, it would seem imperative that such broadcasts address themselves to the practical realities there. Such a reality is the existence of Ukraine, a nation of nearly 60-million people with a long national and cultural tradition. Ukraine is a colony of Russia, and Russian imperialist policy seeks to forcibly assimilate the Ukrainian people into a Russian monolith. Nevertheless, there is a strong liberation movement in Ukraine. The aims of this movement are:

a. the dissolution of the Russian empire (the USSR and its "satellites") through revolutionary national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, and

b. the subsequent reestablishment of national, democratic, independent and sovereign states on the ruins of this empire.

2. In 1959 the US Congress enacted legislation requiring the President to proclaim the third week of July as Captive Nations Week and committing the United States to support the national independence of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. Since then, every American President has re-committed the United States to this position. Similarly, in 1960 the United Nations adopted its Resolution on Decolonization, which requires all nations of the world to work toward the dissolution of empires and for the achiev-

ement of each nation's right to sovereignty and statehood. The USSR has gotten much propaganda mileage from this resolution, yet the United States and the Free World in general have refused, in their turn, to confront the Russian empire by demanding the immediate decolonization of the USSR and its "satellites".

3. In 1976 the United Nations adopted the Resolution on Namibia with the intent of legitimizing the armed liberation struggle of subjugated nations against colonialism and requiring UN member states to render aid to these oppressed nations. Although the resolution was primarily directed against the West, the United States has failed to realize that it can equally be applied to the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations against Russian imperialism and communism.

4. In 1979, the International Red Cross Convention adopted a separate resolution requiring that all prisoners of war, whether from regular or insurgent armies, be treated equally. At present there are several thousand Ukrainian prisoners of war, former soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who have been languishing in Russian concentration camps for over thirty years, long after other POW's were released. On the basis of the Red Cross decision the United States should demand the immediate release of Ukrainian UPA and OUN insurgents from incarceration.

5. In 1976, the United States signed the so-called Helsinki Accords. The Accords are founded on contradictory principles, such as, for example, the inviolability of each state on the one hand and the right to national self-determination on the other. Moscow has exploited these contradictions for its own political and propaganda purposes, whereas the West has limited itself strictly to the

human rights provisions in the Accords. The USSR has ignored the Accords completely, while the United States and the rest of the Free World have neglected to exploit the more significant national-liberation principles in the Accords.

6. The American Revolution of 1776 was the first significant anti-colonial revolution of modern times, but the revolutionary traditions of 1776 have been lost sight of in the United States' dealings with the Russian empire. The necessity of the dissolution of the USSR has been ignored in US foreign policy.

In light of the above points, we offer the following criticism and evaluation of the policy guidelines of Radio Liberty, as outlined in *The Mission of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty Broadcasts* (Board of International Broadcasting, 1982) and further expounded upon in *The RFE/RL Program Policy Guidelines* of the same year.

1. All mention of the right to national independence for the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism is strictly forbidden. Such a policy stands in direct contradiction to American traditions of freedom, the Captive Nations Law, various UN resolutions on decolonization and national independence, and the principle of national self-determination enunciated in the Helsinki Accords.

2. The above documents recognize the borders of Eastern Europe as ending at the frontier of the USSR, thereby excluding recognition of Ukraine and other European nations. Such a policy strengthens Moscow's imperialist campaign to isolate the subjugated nations from the rest of the world and thus assimilate them into a Russian super-race of so-called "Soviet people".

3. The *Guidelines* grossly misrepresents Ukraine as a political, cultural, and historical adjunct of Russia. For example, the *Guidelines* states that the five nations

of Eastern Europe and the three Baltic States "have been and are more exposed than is the USSR to Western information, ideas, economic and cultural influence" and that Western thought and cultural values are "broadly accepted by large elements of the population." The fact that Ukrainians have always considered themselves to be an integral part of European culture, history, and politics is simply ignored.

4. State Department directives forbid Radio Liberty to stimulate "any antagonism among the peoples of the Soviet Union." Thus the broadcasts cannot transmit any reports of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against their Russian oppressors, regardless of how widespread and volatile such events may be.

5. In this regard, a key purpose of policy of the United States Government is the promotion of communication, information and ideas conducive to "an orderly process of evolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe" toward domestic and international policies leading to international understanding. Such a concept:

a. does not take into account the revolutionary processes in Ukraine and in other nations in the USSR that are working toward the dissolution of the empire, and

b. fails to realize that any evolution in the Russian empire toward liberty and democracy is impossible.

To propagate a peaceful change in the USSR and to dissuade the subjugated nations from armed struggle only strengthens the stability and perpetuity of the empire.

6. In the section on "East European and Soviet Audiences" there is the following directive:

In broadcasting to areas which have suffered greatly from nationalistic excesses, it is essential that RFE avoid any

programming that could be construed by East European listeners as reinforcing cultural or national prejudices toward other East European nations, toward the Russian people, or toward other nationalities of the USSR.

Thus, any mention or evaluation of Moscow's russification policies in Ukraine and in other subjugated nations is forbidden. Reports of nationalist tendencies in Ukraine are also forbidden. The Russian nation is, moreover, singled out for privileged treatment in the broadcasts. The underground literature smuggled out of the USSR is censored to avoid any mention of Russian imperialism.

7. The *Guidelines* stipulates that Radio Liberty "neither supports nor encourages any separatist or secessionist movement, and does not raise territorial issues." Such a statement clearly shows the reluctance of the United States to support the just aspiration of the Ukrainian people to national independence and the tendency to treat Ukraine as a part of Russia.

8. In the section "Editorial Policy" it states that all programming must be avoided which could be interpreted as "inflammatory or conducive to irredentism." Such a policy statement misleads the editorial staff of Radio Liberty as to the true aims of the Ukrainian national liberation movement which aspires to establish an independent Ukrainian state within its own ethnographic territories.

9. A subsequent point in the same section calls for the avoidance of any comments which could reasonably be construed as "incitement to revolt or support for illegal or violent actions." Thus, liberation activity is seen by RL as "illegal" and concurs with the point of view of "Soviet legality". Ukrainian aspirations to independence and statehood are implicitly condemned on the basis of maintenance of an imperialist *status quo*.

10. Although the *Guidelines* explicitly states that the principle criteria for selection of broadcast materials is the "relevance" of the information to the needs and interests of the audience, the editorial staff of Radio Liberty is, in fact, forbidden from obtaining information on the basis of which the true needs and interests of the Ukrainian people can be ascertained. The *Guidelines*, for example, states that Radio Liberty offers its listeners basic "historical and cultural materials" on the heritage of their own areas. Yet all references to the heroic and memorable events in Ukrainian history are consistently deleted. No mention is made of the Ukrainian war of liberation during and after World War II, when the OUN and the UPA fought on two fronts against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. Contemporary events such as the US Congress' commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence are not reported. Such a policy is especially reprehensible in light of the continuous Russian imperialist campaign to falsify Ukrainian history or expunge it from the consciousness of Ukrainians as a major factor in the russification process.

11. The personnel policy with regard to the Ukrainian editorial staff of Radio Liberty is not conducive to the interests and needs of the Ukrainian nation. For example, Mykola Herus, the executive administrator of the Ukrainian section, has always sought to eliminate from policy-making positions and from the staff in general those Ukrainians who have supported the principle of national independence, in accordance with the US Public Law on Captive Nations and UN resolutions on decolonization, which clearly enunciate the US policy on the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

Our Proposals:

1. The Program Policy Guidelines con-

cerning Radio Liberty broadcasts to Ukraine and to other subjugated nations must be changed to reflect the values and positions of such major documents as the United States Captive Nations Law and the United Nations Resolution on Decolonization.

2. The administration and personnel of the Ukrainian section of Radio Liberty

must be staffed by people who represent the aspirations of the Ukrainian people and the interests of the United States.

3. The content of Radio Liberty's Ukrainian broadcasts should be guided by the universal idea of national independence for Ukraine and all subjugated nations.

Prof. A. Vööbus

Vello Salum Versus Billy Graham

When I feel upon me the eyes of the myriads of martyrs and confessors who again have been betrayed and ridiculed by the statements of Rev. Billy Graham and his associates, as a Christian teacher I am deeply ashamed. It is so gruesome that I must redeem these pangs by taking a stand which separates me from all those who in one way or another side with the oppressors, enslavers and murderers, and thereby have become responsible for the degradation into which ecclesiastical leadership has sunk.

The case with Rev. Graham is that he has a chronic history of publicity seeking. When in 1959 Khrushchev visited this country, he knew how to make vain and publicity seeking clergymen run amuck. It was sufficient for him to mention "God", and Rev. Graham lost his balance completely, declaring loudly that now all the threats of communism are replaced by a new era of freedom and hope, deceiving Christianity in this country which was already much confused. I could not endure such a sheer absurdity and wrote a letter of protest to him. The answer I received through his office confirmed clearly that as his sense of responsibility is limited so he greatly overestimates his intellectual abilities. Therefore all the similar declarations he has made periodically appeared to me to come from a publicity seeking man. His statements have always remind-

ed me of the repulsive pictures in the various magazines displaying him being massaged on a massage table by a team of masseurs around him before and after his evangelistic sessions. Indeed this reflects an extraordinary hunger for cameras and publicity. It is no wonder that in a society which unfortunately is not interested in credentials, he can play such a role.

With regard to the "freedom" the Christians have under the Soviet-Russian slavery, I must bring a fresh illustration. Judging from his writings, Pastor Vello Salum must be the most sensitive, the most responsible, the most creative Christian spirit, and the most courageous among the ministers in Estonia. This was his only guilt when the Soviets placed him into a mental hospital and tormented him there. According to the latest reports the Soviets have removed his name completely from the list of the ministers in the Lutheran Church.

Since the press in Europe has reported the fate of this most eminent Christian spirit in Estonia, the American press should be more interested in such persons who represent a heroic way of life than to waste space on irresponsible and vain publicity seeking men.

Prof. A. Vööbus
University of Chicago

Determination of Afghan Freedom Fighters

The determined Afghanistan freedom fighters — the Mujahideen are fiercely continuing their seemingly endless battle with the Bolsheviks, according to a French medical team.

The team, which has been stationed in the Pandjshêr valley just north of Kabul for several months has confirmed that the Afghan insurgents are successfully countering the attacks of the oncoming occupational forces.

Dr. Laurence Lemonnier has stated that the morale of the Afghan insurgents is extremely high and that they have been responsible for severe losses on the Bolshevik side. These losses include 2,300 men and a string of helicopters following only 18 days of fighting.

Civilian losses were minimal because most sought protection in the mountains.

The medical team is affiliated with the French humanitarian organization "Aide Medicale International" which has its headquarters in Paris.

Arbatov Furious

Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute for American and Canadian Studies in Moscow (a facade of the KGB), has criticized Captive Nations Week in the United States.

February 23, 1982, Arbatov claimed before a Canadian parliamentary committee on foreign affairs and defense that Captive Nations Week is detrimental to the existence of the entire Russian empire. He proceeded to explain that both the President of the US and Congress officially support it.

Arbatov then stated, "...So I looked on the map and it appears that our country is only allowed territory between Lenin-grad and Moscow and Smolensk and Gorki. Such a situation we will never allow. This we will never allow."

Therefore, the point is evident: The Russian imperialists fear the dissolution of their empire.

Anti-imperialism among the youth of subjugated nations

Press agencies are now reporting more cases of subjugated nations' youth refusing to serve in the bolshevik armies.

Most of the available information to date pertains to East Germany where the protestant churches and intellectual circles have joined forces to rid the country of Russian nuclear weapons. The churches are also demanding that military training be taken out of elementary schools.

Many young people who have refused to serve in the military have either lost their jobs, been expelled from school or have been arrested.

It is a known fact that through East Germany the Bolsheviks finance their fifth columns which direct the pacifist movement in the West. They, in turn, try to build up anti-American movements.

Similar attempts have been observed in Poland, Hungary, the Baltic nations, Ukraine, as well as in occupied Asian countries.

The desire not to serve in the Red Army is, of course, caused by the fact that the youth is sent to fight for the preservation of the Russian empire.

„Russia — I stand before you, Ancient Dragon, with a naked chest, but unafraid... You cannot overpower me, because I am the Immortal Spirit of Ukraine...!”

Oles' Berdnyk, 1979

Very Rev. Werenfried van Straaten Congratulates Patriarch Josyf

Your Beatitude,

When in February 1963 you came to Rome and I was able to meet you there, you were no stranger to me. I had known the Ukrainian Church's way to Calvary from the beginning of the 1950s and had spoken of you almost daily in countless sermons and conferences. Before we were able to give you material help, we prayed for you.

In August 1961 a sister wrote to me: "I want to do something to help a priest who is in prison". I answered her: "I entrust the Archbishop of Lviv to you, the only one of the eleven Ukrainian bishops who has survived. Ukrainians all over the world are collecting signatures to obtain the release of their last archbishop. I ask you to offer your life as a religious sacrifice to the Lord for this intention".

The sister replied: "On the 20th of December (1961) I shall receive the veil as a spouse of the Lord. I will pray for "my" bishop to implore liberty for him... on her wedding day a spouse may ask for everything".

And on the 20th February 1963, after your arrival in Rome, the sister wrote: "I have never forgotten "my bishop" for a single day. How grateful I am that I was able to make a contribution to this happy event. I have received the gift I asked for at my religious profession. That day (the 20th of December 1961) we sang the antiphon: "O key of David, come and free the prisoner who lives in darkness and in the shadow of death!"

At that time, nineteen years ago, I wrote in the *Mirror*: "It is well known that the former prisoner Slipyj is endowed with a character of iron. His broken body hides an indomitable spirit. He is the most outstanding theologian of the

Ukrainian Catholic Church and the staunchest champion of the true Byzantine Line. He therefore represents a bridge to Orthodoxy and is the born leader of all eastern Christians who are united with Rome.

He is also a shepherd full of zeal who has left an indelible mark of his work as a priest in many a Soviet labour camp. He has thus become a universally recognized symbol in the USSR, not only for Catholics but even more for the Orthodox Church, which is more easily found in Siberian concentration camps than with Patriarch Alexis of Nikodim".

I do not think I was mistaken when I wrote those lines nineteen years ago. Nineteen years of contact and friendship with you, Your Beatitude, have confirmed my first judgement on your extraordinary personality. You are the worthiest representative of the persecuted Church. I am more and more convinced that this persecuted Church, which has preferred to take on unheard-of sacrifices rather than share in short-lived advantages with collaborators and traitors, that this Church of Silence, calumniated and often deliberately forgotten, is the sure pledge of our salvation. That is why your Church deserves to be crowned with a Patriarchal dignity — and this is also the reason that our work honours in your person the Ukrainian persecuted Church!

Our work has six hundred thousand members. But since the 16th of November 1981 we have the possibility of conferring honorary membership: "Honorary membership of the Pious Association can be conferred on persons who have borne heroic witness for the Faith, and on persons who have distinguished themselves by special services rendered for the Church in Need. It pertains to the President and

GENERAL JOHN SINGLAUB — OUR GUEST

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

At the conference General Singlaub was introduced by the President of the ABN — Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko. In his remarks, Mr. Stetsko noted several of General Singlaub's more distinguished achievements during the latter's 35 years of loyal service in the US Armed Forces. During World War II General Singlaub was parachuted into France, where he was instrumental in organizing the French underground thereby preparing the ground for the Allied invasion in Normandy. In December, 1944 General Singlaub led the Chinese guerillas against the Japanese in the war in Indo-China.

During the Vietnamese war, in May, 1966, General Singlaub was assigned to the position of Commander of the Joint Unconventional Warfare Task Force. On July 1, 1976 he was assigned Chief of Staff of the United Nations Command, US Forces in Korea.

General Singlaub, who in his 35 year career became known for his expertise in unconventional guerilla warfare and was unafraid to take vanguard military action, attracted the attention of the world in 1977 when, as Chief of Staff of the United Nations Command in Korea, he openly took exception with President Carter's order to cutback forces in that strategic area.

General Singlaub has often expressed his great respect for a former military and political leader of the United States — General Douglas MacArthur: "I was a young officer when Douglas MacArthur was relieved of his command in Korea because he had the vision and boldness to suggest that communism was indeed a global conspiracy against human freedom. That was three decades ago. What has happened in the world, and to the world, since General MacArthur's recall has made him one of modern history's true prophets." Not only is the fate of both American Generals similar, but so are their staunch anti-communist, anti-Russian positions: "General MacArthur often said to his friends that the world would never be safe from totalitarianism until the American people themselves were 'adequately awakened' to the subtle threats, propaganda, and disinformation of communism. I feel strongly that we are not yet adequately awakened; too many Americans still do not grasp, despite all that has happened, the raw realities that General MacArthur recognized so clearly in his time."

After his introduction of General Singlaub, Mr. Stetsko proceeded to give a short analysis of the national-liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. Afterwards General Singlaub addressed the audience and asked all present to feel free to pose questions. The discussion period was moderated by Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

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

his Council to confer honorary membership" (Stat. Ur. 9).

It is for me a profound joy and a great honour to name you, on behalf of our new President, Archbishop Henri Lemaitre and his Council, the first Honorary Member of our Pious Association Aid to the Church in Need.

But as you are a practical man and

know that one cannot live on honours and distinctions, I am happy to tell you on behalf of our finance commission that this year you will receive as a birthday gift from our Work one million dollars for your Ukrainian flock at home and in diaspora. And we hope and pray that on your hundredth birthday we shall be able to offer you at least twice as much! Ad multos annos!

THE AFGHAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE



These photographs stand as evidence that the Russian imperialists have not and never will defeat these heroic Afghan "Mujahideen".



"If you can find an Afghan rebel that the Moscow bullets missed,
Ask him what he thinks of voting communist!"
The Clash — a popular rock group.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

The Alternative to a Thermo-Nuclear War

ABN-EFC Conference, London, Great Britain, September 23-26, 1982



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Pastoral Letter of His Beatitude Patriarch Yosyf

On the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army
(UPA)

**Yosyf by the Grace of God the Patriarch of all Rus'-Ukraine
To my Brothers and Sisters in Ukraine and on foreign territories
Peace in God and my Pastoral Blessings!**

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

Only recently in my epistle written on the occasion of my 90th birthday I voiced to you my admiration of our common suffering and I appealed to you to persevere in the faith of our forefathers and in our fidelity to our holy Church.

Now, as I near my end — the finale of the symphony of my life's journey with you, made evident in the jubilee commemoration of the 90th anniversary from the day of my birth, "seated on my winter sleigh, in my spiritual thoughts and in praise of God", — as we read in that ancient monument of our Christian literature — *The Teachings of Volodymyr Monomakh to his Children*, — I now wish to direct your eyes to that Invincible Sign of our strength and of our hopes for victory. This Invincible Sign in these days of our all-national grief is the Most Holy Virgin Mary — the Glorified, Most Blessed and Sovereign Mother of God.

In October of every year we celebrate Her Feast of the Protectress. This traditional Ukrainian Feast has become a manifestation of the entire Ukrainian spirit, permeated with the grace of Christ's Truth. This is a Feast which unites the Mother with her children, the faithful with their heavenly Protectress and Sovereign in a bond of prayer and love, of grief, suffering, and happiness. This feast is all the more precious, since it is shared by all Christians, by all the sons and daughters of Ukraine, who seek God, but who have been disunited in a common historical tragedy. Nonetheless, we are essentially one in our faith in Christ — the Only Begotten Son of God, in our common desire and everlasting aspirations — to be children of the One Holy Synodical Church of the Apostles. We are one in our faith and our quest for all-national unity. The Most Holy Mother of God, — under whose faithful and wonderful Protection we all find shelter in our distress and need, and whose Protection we seek, — was and continues to be that steadfast refuge, the standard and guarantee of the unity of our Ukrainian Christian family. Because she is "the Virgin who intercedes on our behalf in the Church and who prays for us to God together with the choir of saints..." This is why we implore her in the words of our evening albs — "Oh Virgin Mother of God, our earnest Patron, You are the Salvation and the Formation of the earth, the Great Interceder on behalf of the grieving, the Source of grace, the Fountain-Spring of God's Wisdom, the Protectress of all the world...", because "You are the Source of fortitude for all martyrs and the miraculous Protectress. Oh Sovereign Mother, cover all of our land with the omorphium of Your grace..."

This year's Feast of the Holy Protectress is all the more precious and unique, since it falls on the same day of the great all-national anniversary in our most-recent, not yet fulfilled, historical era of the struggle of the Ukrainian nation

for its national statehood and sovereignty, which is based on a love of one's country. Such a love is the natural duty of every individual. For Christians it is something higher, more holy; it is a transcendental religious obligation, based on the manifested sciences. This religious obligation originates from God's commandment — to respect and love one's parents, — but this obligation primarily originates from the great and all-encompassing commandment to love one's neighbor, which requires that we love all people; it requires, however, that we especially love our closest neighbors, from whom we receive material, spiritual and moral wealth. These closest neighbors are our parents and country. Our country is our native land, our language, our history, our faith, all of our forefathers, who for centuries were building our nation-state. To love one's country is dictated by reason, by the heart, and by faith. It is the greatest resource, the highest moral might of a nation. It is like a fruitful land, on which the culture of a nation grows. Only in one's native legitimate state can a nation completely fulfill its spiritual, moral and social needs and reach the highest level of order, security, and prosperity.

A consummate Christian should also be a good patriot. He who does not fully love his nation in accordance with God's will is not a good Christian. The Holy Church offers to its faithful the virtue of love of one's country and calls upon them to sacrifice themselves in fulfilling their responsibilities towards their nation and state, giving some nations their blood-related patrons in heaven.

A Christian must love his country, as well as everything else, in God and for God. This means that he must always and everywhere willingly and sincerely first serve God; in other words, he must love God and God's most holy will in his country. Without God we would be nothing; without our parents and country we would not be that which we are. We would not have the spiritual and moral value and beauty that we have attained and possess. This is why an individual is indebted to God and has a duty to his/her parents and country. We pay our debt to our Lord by rendering Him the highest religious respect through our acts of faith, hope, love and fidelity. To our parents and country, as the protectors and instruments of the Creator and the greatest benefactors after God, we pay our proper debt by showing our respect, gratitude and support, thereby partially returning in our deeds the good that we have received from them.

Love of one's country has a priority only after love of God. This means that when one's country is threatened and is calling on its children to protect it, they ought to leave their father and mother for it, and never on the contrary. To leave one's parents for one's country is natural, because in defending their country, the children defend their parents. By sacrificing their lives for their country they give the highest manifestation of love of their parents and brethren.

The love of one's country, sounded upon a love of God and united in one great love, ought to be active. Love without deeds, just as faith without deeds is dead. In the words of the Apostle St. John: "Children! Let us not love with words only, but let us love with our deeds truthfully". (II Epistle of John 3, 18). These words encompass all forms of love, including the love of one's country. Since the fate of one's nation is based on an active love of every individual, and the value of these individual deeds depend upon individual moral values, therefore, the first and most important work for the good of the nation

is the necessity to better oneself and to rise to a higher moral and spiritual plane. A nation's moral and spiritual profile is always a reflection of that of its children. A good patriot is first and foremost a truthful, noble, sacrificing individual, without any self-serving aspirations. All efforts to elevate one's spirit onto this noble plane should be pursued with love for one's nation, manifested by the fulfillment of duty to that nation. To love one's country one must feel the beauty of its native language and history. This love must be selfless. From such a love towards Ukraine the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was born. The UPA became the personification of the Ukrainian nation, its symbol and fiery banner to be passed on to future generations. It was born forty years ago, when the Ukrainian land was heaving under the trampling of foreign armies. It was born from the national consciousness of the younger generation and from a determination to lead an armed struggle and defend one's nation from death even at the cost of sacrificing one's life.

Regardless of how inhumane a war may be, every nation that respects itself and every individual who is conscious of being part of that nation, have not only the right, but the duty to defend the most noble values of humankind — freedom, justice, national independence, faith in God and the native Church of Christ, and God's peace among the nations of the world. In the name of these same values, the nation and the individual must do their utmost to open the way for affirming God's law on one's native land. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was born of a Christian consciousness that affirmed the necessity of fighting against Satan and his earthly servants, because it is written: "Go away from me, Satan!... Bow before the Lord thy God and serve Him only" (Matthew 4, 10). The UPA was born of the readiness to sacrifice one's life for one's friends, in accordance with Christ's testament, that "no one hath a greater love than he, who sacrifices his life for his friends." (John 15, 13) Without any external support the Ukrainian nation "in defense of its freedom, armed its sons all across the land from the Carpathian Mountains to the Don and the Caucasus and created the Ukrainian Insurgent Army." The Ukrainian nation's faith in victory was built upon the maturity and might of one's nation and faith in Almighty God's help.

These indestructible foundations which blessed the Ukrainian nation and the nations of the entire world with a unique and as yet unravelled phenomenon: in a land occupied by a barbaric inimical system, a brutally oppressed nation, by its own efforts creates the nucleus of its native national leadership. After the war when the world powers were fraternizing amongst the ruins of war and the mounds of corpses, dividing their spheres of influence, when the atheistic empire began rebuilding its tottering slave system of national and social subjugation, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to fight for many years defending the untarnished honor of its nation and the right to believe in and worship God the Creator. The spilled blood and sacrificed lives of the Ukrainian insurgents sanctified Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army became the legacy and testament for future generations.

Although the Russian enemy drove many freedom fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army into prisons and death camps, just as it was done with the hierarchy, the clergy and the faithful of the Ukrainian Churches, the enemy could not destroy the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; it continues to exist as a

living legend, because it offered itself to the Protection of the Virgin Holy Mother of God.

As a prisoner for the sake of Christ and a witness to the profound faith in God and trust in the intercedence of the Mother of God shown by my fellow prisoners and not having the opportunity to convey my blessings at that time upon the decision to create the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, I am doing so now. As Head and Father of the Ukrainian Church I affirm and bless the noble resolve of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which falls in autumn of this year, I particularly urge and appeal to all Ukrainians in our native land and throughout the world regardless of religious and political convictions, to commemorate this anniversary in keeping with God's will, with dignity and unity, mutual forgiveness and brotherly love thereby showing our Christian and national fortitude.

If my appeal does not reach your hearts to awaken your conscience, then may the sea of blood of your brothers and sisters, their martyrdom and faith, the graves of those who gave their lives for their country's freedom, the taigas of Siberia sown with their bones, the dead and living witnesses of the struggle, cry out to you in thunderous voice, so that on the eve of the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, the cross of the Apostle St. Andrew once again may rise and radiate in the city of Kyiv. Listen to this voice brothers and sisters, "Do you hear, mother Ukraine is calling, answer her call." I ask all Bishops, clergy and faithful to unite in prayer on the feast of the Holy Virgin the Protectress, to hold services and to mention in your prayers the fallen warriors.

My dear brothers and sisters, look upon the vision which leads us to the resurrection. Let us pray for the intercedence of the Most Holy Mother of God, because "today, oh nation of boundless faith, we celebrate the light, as reflected by the coming of the Mother of God and in looking upon Your pure image we obediently declare: Cover us with Protection and deliver us from all evil."

May God's grace be with you.

Yosyf I, Patriarch

T E L E G R A M

H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg Congratulated on his 70th Birthday

Your Royal Highness:

On the occasion of your 70th birthday, please accept our most cordial greetings, expressions of the highest regard and best wishes for many long years in continuation of your most successful activities for the liberation of all the subjugated nations from the Russian yoke and for the unification, freedom and national independence of the countries of all of Europe.

*Yaroslav Stetsko
ABN President*

Munich, November 20, 1982

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine.

A Momentous Event

The EFC/ABN Conference, London, Great Britain, 23—26 September
1982

The Conference of the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), convened in London, Great Britain on September 23—26, 1982, successfully concluded its deliberations, elected the respective leaderships of the two organisations, and adopted a set of future policy guidelines.

The ABN is the coordinating centre for the national-liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. Its principal aim is to re-establish national, independent, democratic and sovereign states of the presently subjugated nations each within its ethnographic borders through the dissolution of the Russian empire and its concomitant communist system of slavery. The ABN seeks to accomplish this end through coordinated and simultaneous revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations.

The EFC is a West European anti-communist, anti-Bolshevik organisation whose primary aims are: to mobilize support in the Free World for the subjugated nations' liberation struggle; to promote the necessity of waging a Western political-psychological offensive against Russian imperialism and communism; and to combat Russian communist subversion and infiltration of Western free and democratic societies.



Seated L-R: — Gen. John K. Singlaub, National Chairman of United States Council for World Freedom, Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, ABN President, Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., President of the European Freedom Council (EFC).

Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko Re-elected ABN President.

The Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko was re-elected President of the ABN. In 1941 Mr. Stetsko became Prime Minister of Ukraine immediately following the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on June 30, 1941. This Proclamation, carried out on the initiative of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, marked the beginning of Ukraine's two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. Mr. Stetsko was arrested by the Nazis and incarcerated in a concentration camp in Sachsenhausen for several years for categorically rejecting Hitler's ultimatums that the sovereign Ukrainian Government be dissolved and that the Proclamation of Independence be revoked. Presently, Mr. Stetsko is the Chairman of the OUN and as President of the ABN was instrumental in the establishment in 1967 of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and is a member of its Executive Board. Because Mr. Stetsko's activities pose a considerable threat to Moscow, he has been the target of several assassination attempts in the past.

Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain) Elected EFC President.

The Honorable John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain) was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the EFC. An EFC Honorary Presidium was also elected, composed, among others, of the following distinguished individuals: His Royal Highness Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P., Air Marshal Sir Neil Cameron (Great Britain), Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Hon. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, M.P. (Spain), Hon. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (former Senator of Turkey), and others.

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

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

The Alternative to Nuclear War.

The main theme of the Conference was — “**The Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War**”. The Conference voiced its conviction that the only viable and realistic alternative to a nuclear holocaust lies in the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, who are internally dismantling the Russian prison of nations, thereby eliminating the primary threat to world peace, freedom,

justice, and international security. This threat lies unilaterally in the continued existence of the Russian neo-colonial empire and in Moscow's unabated drive to conquer the world.

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



Presidium of the ABN Plenary Session, Sept. 24, 1982

L-R: Mr. Truong-Quang-Si (Vietnam), Prof. L. Magnino (Italy), Hon. D. Darby (Australia), Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko (ABN President), Mr. K. Glinski (Byelorussia), Dr. A. Ilic (Croatia), Dr. A. Suga (Rumania).

The Conference also called upon the Western Powers to discontinue their "balance of power" and detente policies towards the USSR and to terminate all forms of technological, economic and other forms of aid to the Russian colonial tyrants, including Western grain sales. Such aid only serves to strengthen Moscow's policies of national subjugation and repression of basic human liberties, and its military industrial complex, which forms the base of its expansionist drive. The Conference, in particular, voiced its urgent appeal to the West European Democracies *to terminate the natural gas pipeline deal with the USSR, which to a large extent will be constructed by the slave labour of the political and religious prisoners from the subjugated nations*. By completing the pipeline the Free World will become an accomplice to Russian genocide. Moreover, in light of the growing dependency of Western Europe on the economic and natural resources of the Russian empire, the pipeline will irrevocably become an instrument of Russian blackmail and will thereby further advance the progressive "neutralization" of Western Europe.

The Conference also appealed to the countries of the Free World to place maximal pressure on the USSR in demanding the liquidation of all Russian concentration and slave labour camps, and all political psychiatric asylums and prisons, and the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and communist dominated countries. *The Conference especially underlined the pressing need for securing the release of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka — and a prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps for over 30 years. His only “crime” is that he continues to categorically refuse to denounce his father and the ideals of national independence for which his father fought and died. Presently, as a result of continuous imprisonment and persecutions since the age of fourteen, Yuriy Shukhevych is completely blind and his life is severely imperilled.*

Mass Rally.

In conjunction with the EFC/ABN Conference, a mass rally was held on Sunday, September 26 in Trafalgar Square, to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Approximately 3,000 people took part in the rally. The UPA, which was established in October, 1942, led Ukraine’s war of liberation, fought on two fronts at first against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and later continued against the Russian occupational forces in Ukraine and other subjugated nations well into the 1950’s. The highpoint of the rally was a reading of excerpts from the pastoral blessings of **His Holiness Yosyf I — the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church**, bestowed upon the heroes of the UPA. Mrs. Slava Stetsko, who is the Executive Chairman of the ABN, read a partial list of the members of the international



A mass rally in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the UPA towards the end of the ABN/EFC Conference, Sept. 26, 1982, London.

Honorary Committee in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the UPA. Several of the noteworthy members of this Committee include: **Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, Senator Barry Goldwater (USA), General Sir Walter Walker (Great Britain), General Bruce K. Holloway (USA), General Daniel O. Graham (USA), General John Singlaub (USA), General Robert C. Richardson III (USA), General Robert Close (Belgium), General Wego W. K. Chiang (Republic of China), General Adriano Magi Braschi (Italy), General Daron J. A. Bentinck (Holland), General Alejo S. Santos (the Philippines), General E. J. C. Hootegem (Holland), General Abdul Sabir Scharaf (Afghan "Mujahideen"), Commander Nabi Saheli (Afghan "Mujahideen"), and others.**

The EFC/AFN Conference was concluded with a concert held in Hammer-smith Town Hall with an elaborate cultural program.

We are publishing below several speeches delivered at the EFC/ABN Conference.

The Liberation Struggle of Nations — The Path to a Just Peace

*Press Statement by Yaroslav Stetsko, ABN Chairman,
former Prime Minister of Ukraine.*

Ours are the aspirations of all freedom-loving and peace-loving humankind. We seek to avoid World War III and a thermo-nuclear holocaust. The primary issue that we must all address is how are we to attain these objectives?

The policies of détente and "balance of power" have not justified themselves as satisfactory means to reaching this end. Paradoxically enough, it was during the era of détente, and not the Cold War, that the Russian empire extended its boundaries beyond its previous acquisitions of World War II and established its hegemony over many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It was during the period of détente that various struggles for freedom of the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries were forcibly repressed. It was only recently that Moscow invaded Afghanistan and undertook a military intervention by proxy in Poland.

A "balance of power" concept is viable only when the partners are striving for common aims. The West does not have territorial encroachment as one of its policy objectives, whereas Moscow aims to conquer the world. These are two opposite vantage points.

In Helsinki, the substitute for a post-WWII peace treaty was Western recognition of the inviolability of the borders and the indivisibility of the Russian prison of nations. It is contradictory to demand human rights and self-determination, while simultaneously recognizing the inviolability of the borders of the Russian colonial empire. An essential precondition for the fulfillment of fundamental human liberties in the subjugated nations is a national, inde-

pendent and democratic state. There can be neither a just nor lasting peace without national independence for the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. Permit me to further express my views on how this aim can be achieved.

1. The West should discontinue all forms of economic aid to the USSR, such as transfers of electronics and technology, and grain sales. In other words, all mutual economic relations with the USSR should be terminated. Western aid strengthens the military industrial sector of the bolshevik prison of nations, whereas without it Moscow would be incapable of arming itself at the present rate and of military surpassing NATO.

We are voicing our protest particularly with regard to the construction of the natural gas pipeline from the Gulag Archipelago by Western European nations. Our reasons are as follows:

a) The pipeline is being built by at least 100,000 political prisoners from the subjugated nations, who are being persecuted for their political or religious beliefs. This is especially true of Ukrainians, who constitute approximately 60% of the political prisoners of Russian concentration camps. Does the West want to become an accomplice to these crimes of genocide against humanity?

During the last two years several new centres of slave labour camps have appeared along the pipeline route. In Ust-Ischim alone there is a centre with eight such camps. More centres may be found in Urengoi, Surgut, Tawda, Tjumen, Irbit and Lyswa. These centres consist of destitute barracks or wagons which serve as living quarters — hardly sufficient protection in freezing temperatures of minus 30-40 degrees Centigrade. This work is done without sufficient machinery. Heavy burdens are moved by hand. Women are often found working with crippled hands. They suffer from various skin diseases by exposure to asbestos. Lung diseases are a fact of life. The food is atrocious. Due to a lack of vitamins the loss of teeth is a common ailment among the prisoner-slaves. These camps are a type of hell on earth.

Public opinion must also bear some of the responsibility for this situation because it is the public which demands that governments trade with the bolshevik nation-killers for the sake of a more comfortable life-style. In this modern age of freedom, these Russian slave labour camps are a disgrace in the 20th century.

b) The West European countries, by completing this pipeline, will become more dependent on the USSR, thereby allowing themselves to become the future objects of blackmail.

c) The pipeline will supply Moscow with billions of dollars of hard currency, which will be used for the further armament of the USSR against the West.

d) The West European countries will create the impression that they are stabilising the Russian empire by financing and building the pipeline through the occupied territories of the subjugated nations at the cost of the genocide and torture of the best sons and daughters of these nations. To this day, huge constructions across the Siberian wasteland were built almost exclusively by our prisoners, just as Petrograd was erected by Peter I on the corpses of Ukrainian kozaks, who rose up against Russian occupation.

2. The West ought to discontinue technological and other aid to the USSR and “satellite” countries, without which Moscow would no longer be able to maintain its present pace in the arms race. Within several years the internal weaknesses and contradictions of the Bolshevik system will surface. To conduct disarmament negotiations with your adversary, while simultaneously arming him, is ludicrous. Our appeal to the West is that it a) stop arming the tyrannical Bolshevik system indirectly with Western aid, and b) invalidate the gas pipeline agreement on humanitarian and military grounds, leaving West Europe considerably less vulnerable to Russian blackmail.

3. The West should morally and politically support the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and individuals so as to hasten the dissolution of the Russian empire and the communist system from within. This would lead to the reestablishment of independent nation-states of the peoples presently enslaved in the USSR and the “satellite” countries.

Moscow cannot use its thermo-nuclear arsenal on the insurgents of the subjugated nations, since this would also lead to the destruction of its occupational forces and terror apparatus. This fact was underlined by General Hackett in his book — “The Third World War”, and elaborated upon by J. F. C. Fuller



Presidium of the ABN/EFC during the mass rally, Trafalgar Square, London.

in his works, most notably — “Russia is not invincible”, and “How to defeat Russia”. Moscow’s inability to conquer Afghanistan, the recent events in Poland, and the mass strikes and uprising of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Turkestani, Byelorussian and other political prisoners (17 million in Stalinist concentration camps) are all evidence of the weaknesses of the Russian empire and its communist system.

The decade-long war of liberation fought on two fronts by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (1942—1953), whose fortieth anniversary we are commemorat-

ing this year, serves as testimony to the indomitable perseverance of nations that have risen against Russian tyranny. Ukraine's Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941 was the beginning of her two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. After the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, Ukraine continued this armed struggle against Bolshevik Russia which was victorious only because of Western aid. The USSR was forced to enter into a tri-partite pact with Communist Poland and Czecho-Slovakia (CSR) in 1947 in order to militarily defeat Ukraine's armed forces, led by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

4. The salvation of the world from an atomic war and World War III lies in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. The significance of an insurgent concept of liberation as a modern type of warfare was also confirmed by General Fuller. The present Afghan insurgent war of liberation further underlines this point. The heroic Afghan people should be helped by the West in every possible way. As American General Homer Lea stated in 1912 — he who controls Kabul and Herat has the key to Asia.

5. NATO needs to continue its armament programme, especially with regard to conventional weapons, because otherwise the West will be vulnerable to Russian expansionism. It is better to lower the Western standard of living now as opposed to later living under severe Russian domination and repression.

6. Western moral and political support of the subjugated nations' liberation struggle will decrease the human potential of the military personnel of the Soviet army, since the West will then be able to gain the allegiance of the soldiers from the subjugated nations.

7. The West should proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. The Western Democracies should raise the issue of Russian imperialism on all international forums, demanding that the United Nations Resolution on De-colonisation from 1960/72 be applied to the Russian prison of nations, and not to non-existent British or French empires. Moreover, the UN resolution on Namibia from 1976, which calls upon all UN member-states to actively support an anti-colonial liberation struggle, should also be applied by the West to the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. West European parliaments should pass a law stating the necessity of political and moral support for the national-liberation struggles of all nations subjugated by Bolshevism, thereby confirming their solidarity with the United States Congress which unanimously approved a resolution in July, 1959 with respect to the Captive Nations, known as Public Law 86—90. The President of the United States, in accordance with the resolution, annually appeals to the American people to manifest their solidarity with the liberation struggles of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Slovakia, Czechia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania, Albania, North Caucasus and all other nations subjugated by Bolshevism-communism.

PROGRAMME of the CONFERENCE of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and European Freedom Council (EFC) London, September 23–26, 1982.

THURSDAY, Sept. 23rd:

11.00- PRESS CONFERENCE — Imperial Hotel, London.

FRIDAY, Sept. 24th:

10.00-13.00: ABN SESSION

Reports: Central Committee

Branches: Canada, USA, Belgium, Spain, France, Denmark, Latin
America, Great Britain.

Resolutions

Elections

13.00-14.30: LUNCH

14.30-15.00: OPENING of the Conference — British National Anthem and
presentation of flags.

— OPENING ADDRESS — *Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*, ABN
President, former Prime Minister of Ukraine.

15.00-16.20: PLENARY SESSION

1. Hon. Dr. F. Tevetoglu (Turkey): — “The geo-political signi-
ficance of Turkey in the world front against Russian
imperialism and communism”.

2. Mr. M. A. Naim (Afghanistan): — “Red Russian aggression
and its national, religious and international consequences”.

3. Hon. Douglas Darby (Australia): — “The significance of South
East Asia in the global strategy of the West”.

4. Prof. Leo Magnino (Italy): — “The failure of ‘Ost-politik’ and
the necessity of psychological war against Soviet-Russian
imperialism”.

5. Mr. Nguyen Trung Hau (Vietnam): — “The significance of
South East Asia in the global strategy of the West”.

16.30-18.00: PANEL — *“Freedom for Nations and the Individual — the
Cornerstone of a Free and Just World Order”*.

Moderator: — Mr. G. Tamsons.

1. Mr. E. Rigoni (Hungary): — “National liberation — the Path
to a Just World Peace”.

2. Hon. Veli Kayum-Khan (Turkestan): — “Russian Subversion in
Afghanistan — their abuse of the Role of Turkestan”.

3. Mr. K. Glinski (Byelorussia): — “Religious Persecution in
Byelorussia”.

4. Dr. Hashim Mahdi (World Islamic League): — “Islam is the
Alternative to a Nuclear War”.

5. Mr. K. Tamosiunas (Lithuania): — “Lithuanian Church Re-
sistance to Soviet-Russian Imperialism”.

6. Mr. Einar Sanden (Estonia): — “Passive Resistance in Estonia”.

7. Hon. Don Munro, M. P. (Canada): — “Aggression of Bolshe-
vism in the context of South East Asia”.

8. Sheikh Sh. Amawi (Saudi Arabia): — “Islam in the Struggle
against Communism and Imperialism”.

19.30- : YOUTH PANEL — *“The situation behind the Iron Curtain and the struggle for national independence and freedom”*.

Moderator: — Mr. Roman Szcupliak.

1. *Dr. O. Romanyshyn* (Canada): — “The development of revolutionary processes in Ukraine and other subjugated nations”.
2. *Mr. Zenon Kowal, M.A.* (Belgium): — “Various facets of the ‘dissident’ movement — differences of ideological and political outlook”.
3. *Miss Victoria Masur* (USA): — “The Helsinki Accords — a progressive or inhibiting factor in the development of liberation processes”.
4. *Mr. Truong-Quang-Si* (Vietnam): — “The insurgent war of liberation in South East Asia”.
5. *Mr. M. Pstrag-Bielenski, M.A.* (Poland): — “Future prospects for Poland”.
6. *Young British Conservatives* (Great Britain): — “What can be done in the West for the victory of freedom” — a British perspective.
7. *Mr. Stanley Sitko* (USA): — “Preconditions for the victory of world freedom” — an American perspective.

SATURDAY, Sept. 25th:

9.00-10.30: EFC CLOSED SESSION

10.30-12.30: PANEL — “The Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War”.

Moderator: — Councillor Reg Davies.

1. *Dr. A. Ilic* (Croatia): — “The Failure of Balance of Power and Détente Policy”.
2. *Dr. A. Suga* (Rumania): — “Towards a Resolution of the World Political Crisis”.
3. *Dr. J. I. Osmetskyj* (Poland): — “Towards a new Western Policy with regard to the Russian Empire”.
4. *Mr. R. Zwarycz, M.I.A.* (Ukraine): — “The ABN Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War”.
5. *Dr. A. Ramishvili* (Georgia): — “Severe Resistance against Russification”.
6. *Councillor Reg Davies* (Great Britain): — “Why the West cannot Disarm”.
7. *Dr. Dimko Stateff* (Bulgaria): — “Support to National Movements Needed”.
8. *Dr. Oclav Bazowski* (Slovakia): — “Realistic Chance for Success”.

12.30-14.00: LUNCH

14.00-17.30: OPEN SESSION (with guest speakers)

1. *Mr. Jesus Gonzalez Noriega*: — Member of Parliament — SPAIN.
2. *Gen. John K. Singlaub*: — Chairman of the United States Council for World Freedom — USA.
3. *Hon. John Wilkinson*: — Member of Parliament — GREAT BRITAIN.

4. Dr. Bertil Häggman: — Director of Foundation for Conflict Analysis — SWEDEN.

5. Mr. S. Karavansky (political prisoner in the USSR for over 30 years): — “The use of political prisoners as slave labour”.

19.00- : ABN/EFC BANQUET (with greetings and cultural programme)

SUNDAY, Sept. 26th:

11.00-14.30: PRAYER and MASS RALLY in Trafalgar Square (with guest speakers and cultural programme).

14.30-15.00: WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY

15.00-16.00: LUNCH and transportation to concert hall

16.00-19.00: CONCERT, with guest speakers.

The Key to a Just and Lasting Peace

European Freedom Council Meeting Statement

All of humanity yearns for just and lasting peace. The world is striving for the realization of the ideals of independence, sovereignty and freedom for nations and their cooperation and mutual assistance. The continued existence of the Soviet Russian Empire represents a most reactionary anachronism impeding progress towards universal freedom, sovereignty and independence of all the nations of the world on the basis of self determination of peoples.

The fact that numerous nations with national and cultural traditions dating back many millennia continue to be subjugated by Russian imperialism is an aberration and a retrograde factor in the development of world civilization and culture. The culture of all humankind consists of a multifaceted mosaic of national cultures. With its free creativity each nation contributes to the treasure-house of universal culture.

Bolshevism, as the synthesis of Russian imperialism and Marxism, into a Communist, totalitarian ideology and philosophy of life, has become the menace of the XXth century. The slaughter of many tens of millions of people, committed by the Bolsheviks in numerous nations, has set back cultural progress and civilisations. Russia's historic expansionism merged with an imperialist, totalitarian Communist system, aspires to spread itself globally. Many countries on various continents of the world are already under the Communist system and ever-more nations are becoming the victims of Russian aggression.

The free countries of Europe are faced with the threat of direct or indirect Russian Communist, imperialist aggression. Moscow has developed and is using as in Afghanistan the most modern means of warfare to pursue its aggressive global objectives. Among these aims we can include: the Russian military conquest of Afghanistan and various subversive actions in the Near East with the aim of securing the oil fields of this area, the initiation of Soviet “proxy wars” in Africa and Latin America, the establishment of Russian offensive naval power throughout the oceans, the covert activity of Communist agents and Moscow's “fifth columns” in all the countries of the world which have been helpful to international terrorism and the internal subversion of

Western societies through the undermining of patriotic, religious and democratic moral values.

By isolating Free Europe from the oil fields of the Near and Middle East and from the natural resources of Africa, Moscow could establish its hegemony over Western Europe without even having to initiate military hostilities. The Soviet Union's intensive arms build-up in both conventional and nuclear weaponry constitutes an ever-present threat to the Free World. Moscow's exploitation of the agricultural, mineral and economic resources of the subjugated nations, such as: Ukraine, Turkestan, the Caucasian, Baltic, Eastern and Central European nations, its exploitation of the wealth of Siberia through slave labour, the usurpation of the creative talents and national genius of every enslaved nation and of the geo-political position of Turkestan, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, the North Caucasus, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, the Baltic countries, East Germany, Rumania, and the expanses of Siberia, — all this gives the Russian empire the opportunity to increase its military potential and to become an ever-greater threat to the rest of Europe and the Free World in general.

The world is faced through the nuclear arms race with the threat of a thermo-nuclear holocaust. This is directly the result of the aggressive aspirations of the Soviet imperialists and Communists, who seek to extend their political system over the entire world.

Western transfers of technology and electronics, grain sales and the granting of trade credits to the USSR and the "satellite" countries are an auxiliary factor in the build-up of the Russian conventional and thermo-nuclear military arsenal, and hence, are contrary to Western interests. The Western Democracies have constantly to struggle for survival as sovereign nations and free peoples. They must find a way to safeguard their freedom, national sovereignty and independence by deterring the use of nuclear weapons to avoid the threat of destruction in a thermo-nuclear holocaust, not simply out of humanitarian or Christian motives, but also in defence of their own interests.

The Free World must come to understand one irrevocable truth: that the Subjugated Nations can eliminate the threat of Soviet Russian aggression. It's they who place the perpetuation of the Soviet Empire at risk despite being subjected to continuous Russian terror and despite the fact that Western policies vis-a-vis the USSR often actually tend to facilitate the Russian system of subjugation. The key to a just and lasting universal peace lies in the dissolution of the Russian Empire into independent national democratic states based on the presently subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders through a process of self determination. This would eliminate once and for all the Soviet threat to the Free World, which is the principal impediment to the full development of economic, political and cultural relations between all the countries of the world on all continents on the basis of mutual co-operation and partnership between independent sovereign states. The natural resources and wealth of the presently subjugated nations, their creative talents and genius, their cultural achievements, their social needs and accomplishments will greatly enrich the world community. The establishment of sovereign democratic nation-states in Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Lithuania, Turkestan, Ukraine, Latvia, Rumania, Czechia and Slovakia, Croatia and Albania, Estonia, Vietnam, Hungary, North Cau-

casus, Bulgaria and Byelorussia must be a prime objective as well as the reunification in freedom through self-determination and the democratic process of China, Germany and Korea are of vital interest not only to these subjugated nations but to the entire Free World which must realise that the threat to freedom lies in Marxist-Leninism itself whether the source of that Marxist threat lies in Soviet Russia or Red China.

When the Russian empire ceases to exist, Cuba, Angola, and all other countries of the world, that are subject to the dominant influence of the USSR should naturally become independent, sovereign and free. This will lessen international tension which is heightened by the forcible perpetuation of the various artificial state structures of the world and greatly diminish worldwide the potential for further Russian Communist intrigue and subversion. Ideas, in particular the ideas of freedom and justice, national independence, democracy and social justice know no borders.

The Free World can take a decisive step towards saving humanity from the dangers of a thermo-nuclear holocaust, from World War III, or from a war of conventional, chemical or bacteriological weapons. However, the Russian empire will not fall by itself. Its collapse, however, can be brought about without an atomic and global war since two-thirds of the population of that empire — the USSR and its “satellites” — are composed of the subjugated nations who long to be free.

The national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations could if rendered moral and political support on the part of the West, destroy the Soviet empire from within by coordinated and simultaneous national uprisings.

Moscow cannot use its thermo-nuclear arsenal on the patriots and freedom fighters of the subjugated nations, since it would thereby destroy its own Russian people, its occupation forces, its terror apparatus, all its agents and system of Communist oppression.

The most valuable allies of the Free World are the subjugated nations, who in their struggle for freedom and national independence, are also capable of rescuing the world from the rise of thermo-nuclear war provided that they receive Western *moral and political* support.

Whoever in the Free World helps the subjugated nations, is enhancing his own security also and significantly contributing to preserving the world from the total destruction which could ensue from nuclear war. It is unthinkable that in the divine plan of Providence, the capability to destroy all humankind should rest in the hands of the despots and atheists of the Kremlin! God is with us! Ours will be the final victory when we stand up for absolute justice, for truth, for freedom, democracy and for an abiding belief in God!

Are we to be the objects of destruction at the hand of those who are trampling upon these very same God-given, universal truths?!!

*Hon. J. Wilkinson, M.P.
President, European Freedom
Council*

Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain)
President, European Freedom Council

Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War

The theme of this conference, "What Alternative is There to Thermonuclear War" is one of the foremost political and moral issues of the day. The continuing build up of nuclear arsenals in the world while millions starve and go hungry is an affront to the values of human dignity and social justice which the Western democracies hold so dear.

Since these staggering expenditures on nuclear military weaponry seem to be the antithesis of what the liberal democracies of the free world stand for: as they preempt scarce resources which all men of good conscience can see are so badly needed for the alleviation of poverty at home and for the elimination of famine and starvation overseas how can they be tolerated in a world which has already witnessed the awesome consequences for the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their generations yet unborn of the detonation of two "nominal" yield atomic bombs in August 1945? And now we all know that the atomic yield of the world's nuclear stockpiles exceeds those of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs put together by many thousands of times.

The so-called peace movements who of course can propagate their creed freely in the West unlike within the Soviet Bloc play upon this awesome paradox. How is it that such fearful weapons of mass destruction can be justified? Would not their use entail the destruction of the very Western civilisation and values they were designed to preserve?

The young generation in the West knows nothing fortunately of war upon the soil of the Western democracies. They do not understand that the nuclear deterrents of the West were created simply to counter the preponderance of Soviet military manpower and the repeated willingness to use force to achieve its objectives on the part of the Soviet Empire, as the Soviet Blockade of West Berlin and the Soviet inspired coup d'état in Czecho-Slovakia, to take but two examples, showed in the immediate post-war period.

Since then the Soviet Union has repeatedly used its own Armed Forces and those of its satellites and surrogates to expand the frontiers of the Russian Empire within the Eurasian landmass and the extent of Soviet influence worldwide. Military power is seen by Soviet strategists as an integral part of the process of projecting Marxist-Leninist ideology and the instruments for this purpose are well known — the Red Army, the Soviet blue water Navy and Merchant Marine — (Admiral Gorschov's historic contribution to the furtherance of the Soviet plan for global expansion), a massive air transport force which includes the supposedly civilian assets of Aeroflot and last, but by no means least, the all pervasive apparatus for destabilisation, misinformation, sabotage and repression of the KGB.

These instruments for offensive power projection are all underpinned by the Soviet nuclear forces which have now acquired strategic parity with those of the USA, and by the modernised and highly effective intermediate range nuclear forces which threaten to neutralise and I use the word advisedly, the whole of Western Europe.

The West's nuclear weaponry is strictly deterrent in nature. We know that the Warsaw Pact exercises routinely on the basis of the first use of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons by its forces and that the Soviet Union does not hesitate to use the power of intimidation and blackmail inherent in its nuclear forces as was demonstrated in 1956 when Mr. Krushchev threatened to unleash a ballistic missile attack on London if the Anglo/French and Israeli troops did not cease their operations to recover the Suez Canal which had been illegally seized by President Nasser, while at the same time the Soviet Union unleashed the Red Army to crush the patriotic people of Hungary who were trying to regain their liberty and independence.

Within the Soviet Union and its Marxist satellite states satisfying the economic needs and aspirations of the population is entirely subordinated to massive armaments programmes which are fundamental to Soviet Russia's offensive global strategic plan maintained by an increasingly geriatric and uncertain Kremlin leadership. About 13—14% of the Soviet G.N.P. is devoted to military spending (and this excludes the space and scientific expeditions by the USSR) compared to less than half that figure for the USA and about 1/3 of that figure for the United Kingdom which of all the main NATO nations spend the highest proportion of their national wealth on defence.

What is more because of the appallingly low pay and abominable conditions which Soviet conscripts suffer, some 75% of Soviet defence expenditure goes directly into weapon procurement. This is a figure which far exceeds the Soviet Union's defence needs and is of course boosted by Western Technology Transfers and easy financial credits. In the U.K. and USA by contrast which have all-regular volunteer forces not even half the defence budget goes on weapon procurement.

However the morale of Soviet troops is poor. The gap between the pay of Soviet General officers and Admirals and the enlisted personnel who form the predominant part of their units is vastly wider than in NATO Armed Forces. Senior officers in the Soviet Forces enjoy a status and panoply of perks, perquisites and privileges unthinkable for their counterparts in the West. What is more there is no love lost between the occupying Soviet Forces and the peoples of the Captive nations where they are stationed such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. In Afghanistan the heroic resistance of the Mujahideen to the Russian invaders has had striking success. The Soviets cannot maintain control of the countryside even though their Forces use the most brutal and inhuman methods such as aerial bombardment with napalm, chemical weapons and widespread terror tactics, torture and scorched earth. The Soviet Russian Commanders have had to content themselves with garrisoning the principal cities and with building up their military facilities such as missile sites and air bases which are of great regional strategic significance and are actually a principal objective of the Soviet invasion itself in addition to the de-stabilisation of Afghanistan's neighbours, Pakistan and Iran.

However the cost of the Afghan operation is extremely high and the Soviet Russian authorities go to great length to conceal the extent of Soviet cruelties in Afghanistan, largely for fear of provoking unrest and further dissidence among the Captive Nations within the USSR.

Recent developments in Afghanistan and Poland are really the writing on the wall for Soviet Russian expansionism and for the Communist system within the Russian Empire itself. In Poland we are witnessing the way in which a whole people has rejected Soviet Marxist-Leninist ideology and turned to their Christian heritage and proud national history for inspiration. The emergence of Solidarity showed that the Poles did not believe that the Communist Party and its puppet institutions represented the best interests of working people in Poland.

Furthermore the imposition of martial law demonstrated that not even the hollow facade of Marxist-Leninist representative institutions could be sustained in power. Instead the apparatus of Soviet military might alone underpins the Polish Party militia and secret police which are in effect the occupying forces of their own country and impose the subjugation to an alien power — the USSR of their own people.

How should we react in the West? First we must maintain a military equilibrium. An imbalance in favour of the Warsaw Pact encourages Soviet Russian political confidence and expansionism. President Reagan's "zero option" is the only sound and secure basis for nuclear weapons control in Europe.

At present five triple warheaded mobile SS20 ballistic missiles which from East of the Urals (nuclear free zone advocates please note) can reach all points in Europe except Iceland and the Azores, are built every month. Already 200 SS20s are targeted against Western Europe. The modernisation of NATO's INF* is an imperative necessity.

Secondly we must combat anti-Americanism, foolish detente policy which feeds illusions about Soviet objectives over such issues as the provision of Soviet gas supplies to the West, Western financial credits, preferential sales of food surpluses and reckless Technological Transfers to the Soviet Union. The unity of the Western Alliance and the rejection of Popular Front style solutions to Western European political and economic problems which would prove a Trojan Horse within the walls of NATO are vital too.

Finally we must in our policy making realise that the USSR is itself fatally flawed by denying the independence and national aspirations of the constituent peoples of the USSR. Too long unreciprocated detente, that is appeasement, characterised Western policy towards the Soviet Bloc. The result was to heighten Soviet strength and confidence. Too long the Sonnenfeld doctrine held sway in the chancelleries in the Western World. The status quo in Eastern Europe has been misguidedly identified with security. The result has been to embolden the terror apparatus within the Soviet Bloc and to achieve nothing towards the implementation of the Helsinki Accords and the furtherance of human rights.

From a position of strength we must extend the hand of friendship and encouragement and support to those subjugated peoples within the Soviet Union in whose hands lies not only their own freedom but in the long term ours as well.

* Intermediate range nuclear forces.

The ABN's Political Strategy to Counter Russian Expansionism

Address by Yaroslav Stetsko

Allow me to begin with a few comments concerning the ideological aspect of Russian expansionism:

In 1878, Dostoyevsky wrote that "all people should become Russian, particularly Russian, because the Russian national idea is universal."

Russian literature to date invariably continues in the genre of the colonial tale. During the past years many books have appeared about the undercutting of Turkestan by "progressive" tsarist generals; about the battles with the Basmachi (Turkestanian freedom-fighters) in the twenties; about the colonial war against the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the forties. Alexander Prochanov's novel "A Tree in the centre of Kabul" is one of the latest additions to Russian colonial literature. It is a story about the Russian nation's "brotherly" assistance provided the "oppressed Afghan nation" in which Prochanov ideologically justifies war with the whole world and armed intervention wherever a Russian can set foot. Volkov, a journalist and hero of the story, rides through the streets of Kabul in a tank crushing the residents; rides in a helicopter shooting at caravans of women and children convinced that he is "bringing happiness, goodness, an unprecedented life, love, beauty..." Prochanov is in dispute with those fascinated only with the Russian tsarist past... In his opinion, the current mission of the Russian empire in the form of the USSR is much broader and much more important, because the spread of the "idea of bolshevism, (of) Soviet ideals, will bring the world as a whole inevitable happiness..."

The narrative, published in the journal "Oktobre 1982", supports the predictions of the Russian writer Evgeniy Zamiatin made in his 1920 narrative "We" about the "Sole State of the Future" in which the residents "found happiness beneath the iron fist of their benefactor" (the Good Samaritan).

In the daily "State Newspaper" there is an announcement, with which the story begins, informing all that the construction of the cosmic ship has been concluded. Its mission: to subject unknown beings living on other Planets, possibly still in the wild state of being free, to the divine restraint of reason. The announcement emphasized: "If they do not understand that we are bringing them unmistakable happiness, then it is our responsibility to force them to be happy..." In 1920, the "State Newspaper" notified: "Prior to weapons we try words." It was at that time that the Red Army was engaged in battles with the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, and then with the Polish Army, in order to "bring happiness" to those "unknown beings from other Planets" living in the "wild state of freedom" or, in other words, in their own present independent states of 1982. Prochanov continues to describe the next attempt at "forcing a nation to happiness." In Afghanistan, the Russian "world" is not effective, is without power, and the Russian army establishes "happiness through force..."

Without an understanding of the spirit of the bearers of Russian imperialism, it is impossible to understand Russian politics or the strategy of Russian aggressions. Lenin incorporated Marxism into his complex of imperialistic ideas

because it was a justification for using Russian force to bring about "happiness for creatures on other Planets."

Russia aspires to conquer the entire world, and Moscow feels threatened when each one of its conquests must be secured by another conquest in an infinite progression. Such a progression can only lead to the conquest of the whole world. Moscow will only feel secure when Budionnyj and Tukhachevsky have begun their armed march to undercut all of Europe; when Zamiatin's "Sole State of the Future" of 1920 becomes reality.

The 1980's will be a decade of volcanic explosions in the Soviet-Russian prison of nations.

On numerous occasions, the Russians have declared their aims. In 1921 Lenin said:

"Western Europe and America have closed their eyes before the facts and reality and will support the Soviet war industry with the materials and technology that we need to defeat them".

In 1973 a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stated in Prague:

"With détente we have achieved more in a short time than in all the years of political confrontation with NATO. Comrades, through détente we will be able by 1985 to attain a position we consider indispensable".

A few years ago Brezhnev said to the President of Somalia, General Mohammed Siad:

"We must acquire the two things that mean life or death to the West: the oil of the Persian Gulf and the minerals of Africa".

In refraining from exposing the USSR as the most brutal colonial empire in the world to date, the West is creating an illusion of the existence of a homogenous and nationally uniform "Soviet nation" as a new "historical formation." Some circles in the West are thereby justifying Moscow's deceitful and deceptive political strategy of being the supporter of the rights of the nationally and socially subjugated and oppressed peoples in the world, whereas in reality Russia is itself the brutal subjugator of nations and peoples.

There are two fundamental issues which the West must resolve: to identify the enemy and find a consistent solution to the world political crisis.

British Air Force Vice-Marshal, E. J. Kingston McClough, appropriately identified the enemy in his book "Global Strategy":

"The enemy here considered is not simply embodied in an ideological threat but rather it is the State called Russia; that is, Russia as a power; a Russia expanding and desiring to extend her sphere of influence; a state posing as the symbol of all manner of ideals. It is Russia as a fighting force, an organised community, and a power or state in the most autocratic and absolute sense with which we are concerned".

General J. F. C. Fuller expressed his views as follows:

"No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik empire. It is not a national state, but a state of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century ago: 'The Russian empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Tsardom. Rip that hoop and its empire is at an end.' In 1956, when the Hungarians rose against their tormentors, the shock to the Kremlin was so

great, I am convinced that had America and Great Britain flown a provisional government into Hungary, which upon arrival would forthwith have called upon them for military support, then rather than risk a nuclear war, the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious. It is that the *Kremlin is living on a volcano*, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel...

Because both America and Great Britain realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian manpower, they have decided to make good their deficiency by relying on what they call "tactical nuclear weapons"; in other words, nuclear weapons less powerful than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which are called "strategic nuclear weapons." This is tackling the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is...

to reduce Russian superiority in manpower, and so indirectly increase Western manpower. This can be done by subverting the Russian armed forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the USSR and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, well over 2,000,000 prisoners were taken by the Germans. This seems an incredible figure until one realizes that the vast majority of these men were deserters — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Turkestanis, Cossacks, and other subjugated peoples".

I would like to underline that the excellent military theoretician, General Hackett, in his book "The Third World War", written in conjunction with other renowned military theoreticians of NATO, predicts that the subjugated nations in the Russian "prison of nations" will play a crucial role in the future clash between the world of Freedom and the Russian world of Tyranny. He pays particular attention to the anti-Russian revolutionary potential of Ukraine, which he posits as the decisive factor in the victory of the Free World.

From the political perspective of the struggle against Bolshevism, allow me to present several facts without further expounding on them so as not to unnecessarily encumber our deliberations.

It would seem that the political and military strategy of the West is founded upon the expectation, that a miracle will come of and by itself. *This real miracle will be the revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated nations.*

This miracle will come with the appearance on the international global area of this neglected power.

I would like to bring to your attention the role of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in World War II and the related fault in the Allies' strategy.

For example, Ukraine is a wealthy country in many respects. Her wealth is attributable to an abundance of grain, raw materials, natural resources and in general, her geo-political position. She also possesses a dynamic revolutionary potential in her huge and creative population. Her system of values and ideals of renewal is diametrically opposed to the Russian system of ideals; the Russian way of life. Other subjugated nations are not of less importance, for instance, Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, Byelorussia or Georgia. The two-front libera-

tion war against Nazi Germany and Russia of Ukraine, Lithuania and the other subjugated nations, in a common front with the Western Allies, would have been the decisive factor in World War II. It could have saved the world from both Nazism and its original prototype — Bolshevism. Later, when it was clearly too late, Winston Churchill reached a similar conclusion, stating that the Allies ought to have slaughtered both pigs when they had the chance.

Another theatre of Russian aggression is present-day Afghanistan. In 1912, the foresighted American General Homer Lea stated the following:

“There are two lesser known cities in the world, which are of enormous significance for all of humanity — Herat and Kabul”.

The General then underscores the significant words of the Russian tsar — Peter I, taken from the tsar’s final testament to his successors. In this testament the tsar states that India will be the key to Europe. Then he continues:

“Do not waste any possible opportunity of provoking war with Persia, so as to quicken its destruction and to make possible our conquering of the Persian Gulf”.

It is important to note that the Islamic nations in the USSR have a combined population of approximately 50 million people and they are rapidly outnumbering the Russians. Afghanistan is also an Islamic nation and the ideological-political consequences of its anti-Russian liberation struggle are already evident in the USSR.

What, in fact, is the communist system?

We must remember that the liberation processes are a power, and power means authority. But it is impossible for two powers to reach a compromise when the powers concerned are those of the occupied and the occupier. A good example is Poland.

The essential fact to be remembered is that the communist system is an integral component of the imposed system of Russian occupation. It is impossible, for example, to maintain the stability of an occupational system, imposed upon an occupied nation by Russian armies and the KGB, and to simultaneously maintain free and independent trade unions. The communist party



is the inevitable and concomitant agent of foreign occupation. This occupation is made possible not only by Russian troops, but also by the communist terror apparatus, the party and its administrative organs and various branches.

The church also has a leading role in the liberation process, because religion is in opposition to the Russian militant atheistic system of occupation. The national and social liberation processes are in continuous opposition to the national and socio-political Russian totalitarian system. These revolutionary tendencies, when aroused in all spheres of life, will exert increasing pressure resulting in a radical change of the whole system, including the expulsion of the occupational forces.

The well-known European expert on guerilla warfare — Peter Scholl-Latour — writes in his book on Viet-Nam, "Death in the Rice Fields," that the armed liberation struggle in Ukraine after World War II lasted well into the 1950s even though the terrain in Ukraine was less favourable for a guerrilla war than the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan.

We understand the policy of détente very well in all its variants, including the politics of balance of power. We all wish to avoid a third world war, especially a thermo-nuclear war. We are all opposed to it but we, the subjugated nations, comprise the most determined opposition because it is on our land that the war will be played out.

Now there is only the question of whether the policy of détente and balance of power are preventative measures; are an alternative to atomic war. If the parties in question are not aspiring to identical goals, there can be no balance of power. In comparison to the so called period of Western power politics, the policy of détente brought with it an unparalleled expansion of the Russian empire across all world continents.

The USSR cannot win an arms race with the West. But it is not necessary to create tragicomic situations — with one hand to arm the USSR and with the other to beg the Russians for "arms parity at the lowest level," while at the same time creating the groundwork for a maximum arms buildup. Western world markets indirectly arm the USSR while their governments concurrently



(Left) Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko delivering his press statement at the press conference of the ABN/EFC Conference at the Imperial Hotel, London, Thursday, Sept. 23.

conduct disarmament talks. At the end of the 1980s the empire will be at the end of its technological armament potential and will be in the midst of an oil crisis.

Hence we suggest to stop all technological, commercial and economic trade with and aid to the USSR and its satellites.

What is necessary at the present?

1. A centre of psychological warfare should be created in Western Europe and elsewhere, founded on the political and ideological concepts of the ABN, and at the disposal of the ABN, directed at the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries with branches established in:

a. One of the countries of the Near East, perhaps Egypt, directed particularly to Afghanistan and the African nations presently controlled by Moscow and its puppet states such as Cuba, the "DDR" and other "satellite" countries;

b. Latin America, particularly Cuba;

c. South-east Asia, with Vietnam as the focal point;

d. The Far East, with Siberia as the focal point. (Siberia is the land where many freedom-fighters of the subjugated nations are waiting out the years, prepared for the final, decisive battle.)

The major objective of the centre would be the promotion of the idea of national liberation on all levels of society in the subjugated nations, particularly the Soviet army, on the basis of political cooperation with the national liberation centres or organisations of the subjugated nations.

2. Military training in guerrilla warfare must be offered to the Afghan revolutionaries, as well as to the members of all nations subjugated by Bolshevism. We ask that the West give military aid to the Afghan freedom-fighters — the Mujahideen, in the form of arms, anti-helicopter and anti-tank weapons, surface-to-air missiles, mine detectors, radio-broadcasting sets, and so on.

3. On the forum of the United Nations and elsewhere in the international sphere, the West should recognise the true representatives of the subjugated nations — the representatives of the national liberation movements — as the only genuine representatives of the will and aspirations of these nations, rather than continue to recognise Moscow's imperialist lackeys.

4. The representatives of the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations should have at their disposal the various modern technical means of promoting their struggle in a number of forms based on their concept of liberation, without them having to meet any pre-conditions affected by changes in Western policy.

The West should actively support the Cuban freedom-fighters, so that they may overthrow Castro's regime in Cuba, which will immediately resolve the numerous problems of diversion in Latin America, and all the more, in Africa.

5. We are convinced that the great Chinese nation, with its culture of many millennia will return to its intrinsic Confucian traditions and the national-political and social concepts of Sun Yat-sen, overcoming with its own integral forces the Marxist-Leninist way of life forced upon it.

6. We support and recognise the legitimate Japanese claim to the Kurile islands and Sakhalin now occupied by Moscow. We fully support the idea of

re-unification in freedom of Korea and Germany. We call on all of the world to actively support the Vietnamese insurgents, and all of the patriotic anti-Communist fighters for freedom and independence of the nations of Africa who are defending their Fatherland from Russian imperialist aggression.

Our demands are not simply the demands of our respective emigre communities, but rather they emulate the demands of those who are on the first front of the struggle. During the uprisings in the concentration camps of Siberia already during the Stalin era, the political prisoners demanded that the West support their revolutionary aims, as was outlined by Joseph Sholmer in his book "Vorkuta,":

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to prisoners to call a general strike.

2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southwards.

3. Immediate information by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 1550 mile railway line at given points.

4. Creation of a separate republic independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Neither tanks, aircraft nor artillery can operate effectively in this gigantic partisan terrain. Herein lies the immense significance of Siberia.

5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent republic with the aim of bringing about:

a) A peasant rising under the traditional slogan "Land for the peasants."

b) A workers' rising under the slogan "Factories for the workers."

6. Proclamation of national independence for the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Ukraine, the peoples of the Caucasia, Turkestan, and the Far East.

This is only one example of the actual reality of our liberation concepts. Permit me to, once again, quote General J. F. C. Fuller:

...Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the ABN, however lacking in organization, in it still is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of Communism and Russian imperialism but the complete elimination of Bolshevism — without which there can be no peace in the world.

Remember that the ABN is fighting for freedom and independence for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Albania, Ukraine, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba, Angola, Afghanistan and all other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. We also admire the heroic history and the heroic armed struggle of the Finnish nation against the Russian aggressor during World War II.

"He who liberates himself, will be free; he who poses as liberator of others will lead them into slavery". Freedom ex gratia is not freedom!

The Liberation Alternative to Nuclear War

An Address given by Major General John K. Singlaub, USA

Some of you may recall that slightly over two months ago, on 19 July, President Reagan, in an impressive White House Rose Garden ceremony, signed a proclamation designating the third week in July as Captive Nations Week. There was some special significance in this ceremony. For one thing this was the first public signing of the proclamation since President Eisenhower signed the first one in 1959. The second significant aspect of this Rose Garden Ceremony was the tone and content of the President's remarks.

The President likened the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany: a revolutionary, totalitarian regime dedicated to the establishment of a new international order which seeks to stifle all that's good about the human spirit. This extension of totalitarianism has not come about through popular movement or free elections. It has been accomplished instead by military force and subversion. Despite the sacrifices made in the name of communism and its promises of a better world with a classless society, it has failed miserably to improve the conditions of the masses. It has, instead, meant forced labor and mass imprisonment, famine and massacre, the police state and the knock on the door in the night.

President Reagan went on to say that the advent of Soviet totalitarianism has meant "the growth of the largest military empire in the history of the world. An empire whose territorial ambition has sparked a wasteful arms race and whose ideological obsession remains the single greatest peril to peace among nations. The ominous growth of this danger, the human suffering that it has caused, is clearly the most important news event of our generation. It is the tragedy of our time".

In his remarks the President acknowledged the inadequacy of our efforts to tell this story in the past. He outlined plans of an improvement in the American means of international communication, an international radio system to carry out a truth campaign to the people living under communist rule so they would know something about the struggle for the world going on today between the forces of totalitarianism and freedom.

It is encouraging to realize that since these remarks were made by President Reagan there have been some increased funding for the modernization of the radio facilities of Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. In addition, and perhaps more important, a new Director of the Voice of America has been appointed. Kenneth Thomlinson is an expert on Soviet Propaganda techniques and comes to VOA from the Reader's Digest. He can't but help to be an improvement.

During what I have described as special significance in the White House ceremony to sign the Captive Nations proclamation, President Reagan made reference to the long term captivity of nations of the Baltic States and of Eastern Europe. When we think about those nations of Eastern Europe which were first subjugated by the Russian communists we cannot help but reflect on the history of Ukraine. As an early victim of Russian expansion during the communist revolution Ukrainians were looking for liberation by 1941 when Adolph Hitler betrayed his ally Joseph Stalin and sent his victorious *panzer*

divisions racing across the plains of Russia towards Moscow. The Ukrainian people, feeling they were about to be liberated from years of Russian oppression declared themselves free and independent. The following year, which, incidentally was forty years ago next month, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created to defend Ukrainian national independence and statehood.

Had the Germans but realized it when they launched "Operation Barbarossa" into the USSR, they had effectively won the war from the moment they entered Soviet territory. The inmates of this giant concentration camp welcomed the Germans as liberators from unbearable oppression. Moscow's slaves, thirsty for freedom, could not believe that the Berlin rulers would be so stupid as not to secure the assistance of natural allies.

The Ukrainians rejected Hitler's demand that the proclamation of independence be revoked and that the Government be dissolved. As a consequence the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was forced to fight a two front war against the two most powerful armies on the continent at the time. Both the Nazi *Wehrmacht* and Stalin's Red Army had an earned reputation for brutality. Despite these incredible odds the Ukrainian Insurgent Army inflicted heavy casualties on the Nazi armed forces including several senior general officers. After the collapse of Germany the Insurgent Army continued its resistance against the Russian military and security forces, again inflicting devastating losses including the death of the Marshal of the Soviet Army, Vatutin.

In 1947, two years after the end of World War II, the Soviet Union brought in the armed forces of two of its new satellites, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and the three armies launched a major effort to destroy the tenacious Ukrainian insurgents. By the mid 1950's, one decade after the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed, the combined might of the Red Army and its satellites reduced the effectiveness of the insurgent divisions to such an extent that the valiant freedom fighters were forced to go underground.

Today the guns have been silenced in Ukraine. To some this means that peace has come to that valiant nation. But the peace of surrender has not brought freedom, individual liberty, or independence to the re-enslaved citizens of that blood-stained land. The spirit of Ukrainian resistance, which has served as an inspiration to freedom fighters throughout the world, is still being expressed in the form of dissident writings and actions from all parts of the Soviet Empire and by quiet acts of sabotage and passive resistance inside the 1500 slave labor camps which form the Gulag Archipelago.

Today there are no American or other NATO servicemen fighting and dying in any part of the world. The British Armed Forces have returned home after their expedition to repel the invasion of the Falkland Islands. Because the guns of the NATO allies are silent most citizens of Europe and America believe that the West is enjoying a period of peace. But the facts are that today we are not living in a time of peace. We are in the midst of war. Admittedly it is not a hot war in the conventional sense, but it is a revolutionary, total war. It knows no truce and can only end if one of the antagonists is totally defeated.

In the West as soon as the shooting stops or when diplomacy or military deterrence has prevented the outbreak of a shooting war, we operate under the peacetime rules of civilized nations. This we believe to be peace. Unfortun-

ately, the USSR and Communist China have a completely different set of rules. According to the rules of Marxism-Leninism, the continuing class struggle means that the Socialist camp is at war with the non-communist world on a continuing basis whether at the shooting or the non-shooting part of the conflict spectrum.

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

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

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

In this period of so-called "Peace", the US finds itself, after nearly 20 years of unilateral disarmament, in a position of military inferiority in both the strategic and the conventional areas of armaments vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the USSR putting on such a major "Peace Offensive" as a part of its unconventional warfare campaign against the West. The thrust of this Soviet effort is to convince the world that the US plan to modernize its own and the military forces of NATO constitutes an unwarranted initiation of an arms race which disrupts the peace of detente. The Soviet theme goes on to say that since an arms race will undoubtedly lead to a shooting war and a shooting war can escalate into a nuclear war in which all civilization will be destroyed, the US people must reject any increase in defense expenditures, accept a freeze at the present level of nuclear weapons, and even initiate unilateral disarmament to show our good faith. If we are forced to accept these ideas as a consequence of the disinformation activities and psychological operations being conducted by KGB-trained agents of influence and supported by well-meaning but naive Europeans and Americans, we will remain in this false state of peace while the Soviets extract more and more concessions and compromises. We will be forced to meet coercive threats with increasing appease-

ment and eventual surrender to avoid a possible thermo-nuclear war. The Soviets will have won the conflict in the manner recommended by the ancient Chinese military scholar Sun Tzu who in about 350 B.C. advised that the best general was he who avoided the use of violence and achieved his conquest by the surrender of the enemy.

What can we in the West do to prevent this conquest by surrender? What alternative do we have to the threat of nuclear attack other than the threat of nuclear retaliation? First we must come to terms with the existence of an enduring adversary relationship with the USSR and Communist China. This includes a recognition of the fact that Communist China will never be an ally of the West in the event of a military confrontation with Communist Russia. To think otherwise is to engage in wishful thinking of a very dangerous sort. Second, as a matter of urgency, we must develop a Western Strategy which recognizes the whole spectrum of conflict — from strategic nuclear to conventional to unconventional. This strategy must not only accept the communist challenge to the point of resisting it forcefully, but it must exploit to the maximum those many weaknesses within the Communist Empire *with a view toward rolling back communist tyranny and domination everywhere.*

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

1. *The Free Nations of the world must stop the processes of self-surrender and of subsidizing communist governments, and*

2. *The process of liberation behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains must be encouraged, supported, co-ordinated and sustained as much as possible.*

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

We must recognize that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the Russian Communist empire. The real Achilles' heel of the whole Soviet Russian system is the unrest and disaffection of the people within the Soviet Russian empire. Can you imagine the terror it would strike into the hearts of the Kremlin leadership if it were faced with a dozen Polands inside the Warsaw Pact and a dozen or more insurgent armies similar to the Ukrainian Army of 40 years ago inside the USSR? Can you imagine the immobilizing panic of the Soviet Russian Armed Forces if it was faced with a few more Afghanistans on and inside its borders? The fact that the Polish Solidarity Movement has grown several times stronger since the imposition of martial law gives some indication of the magnitude of this unrest and the untapped potential for resistance based upon national consciousness. The fact that the Afghan Freedom Fighters are gaining support and effectiveness in the face of increasing Soviet Russian commitment, stands as testimony to the

strength of Muslim resistance to Russian Communist imperialism and colonial aggression. We should also not forget that Communist China is subject to the same pressures of unrest and dissatisfaction of its own enslaved peoples and the victims of Chinese colonialism in such territories as Tibet and others.

Since Communist tyrants, both Chinese and Russian fear nothing so much as the infiltration of the ideas of freedom and justice into their sphere of influence, a non-violent, non-military truth campaign aimed at the enslaved peoples of the world will have a significant deterrent effect against future communist expansion. In fact, the remaining free nations of the world who now find themselves confronted by an ever-increasing worldwide communist offensive, carried out under the threat of a nuclear attack, can best defend themselves by going on the offensive and striking at Soviet Russian imperialism's most sensitive spot — the internal resistance inside the Captive Nations.

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

Today in the world-wide political struggle between Communism and the West there are literally hundreds of millions of enslaved peoples who are searching for some form of encouragement, which will lead to their eventual liberation. *They are one of the potentially most powerful spiritual and political forces in the world. They are in fact, the West's strongest ally and constitute the only realistic alternative to nuclear war.*

**Compliments of the season and sincere wishes
for a merry Christmas and a happy and prosperous New Year
to all our friends and readers of the ABN-Correspondence
CC of the ABN**

The International Jubilee Committee in Honor of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on the Occasion of its Fortieth Anniversary

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). All Ukrainians and their friends throughout the world are solemnly commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the UPA.

This commemoration is patronized by the *International Jubilee Committee* in honor of the heroic national-liberation struggle of Ukraine, which fought on two fronts — against National-socialist Germany and Bolshevik Russia — for its national independence, statehood, sovereignty and freedom.

The composition of this Honorary Committee is as follows:

Hon. YAROSLAV STETSKO — former Prime Minister of Ukraine.

His Beatitude ANDREY — Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Winnipeg and all Canada.

His Excellency MAKSYM HERMANIUK — Archbishop of Winnipeg, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

His Excellency MARKO — Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA.

His Excellency KONSTANTYN — Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA.

His Excellency IZYDOR BORECKYJ — Eparch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Toronto and Eastern Canada.

His Excellency IVAN PRASHKO — Eparch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia, New Zealand and Oceania.

His Royal Highness OTTO VON HABSBURG — Member of the European Parliament, Honorary President of the European Freedom Council.

Hon. Senator BARRY GOLDWATER — former candidate for President of the USA, General of the US Air Force.

General Sir WALTER WALKER (Great Britain) — former Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces-North.

General BRUCE K. HOLLOWAY, (USAF) — former Commander-in-Chief of the Strategic Air Command, Gen. DANIEL O. GRAHAM, (USA) —

former Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Gen. JOHN K. SINGLAUB, (USA) — former Commander-in-Chief of United Nations Forces

in Korea, President of the United States Council for World Freedom, Gen. ROBERT C. RICHARDSON, III (USAF), Dr. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

(Colonel-USAR).

General ROBERT CLOSE (Belgium).

General WEGO W. K. CHIANG (Republic of China).

General ADRIANO MAGI BRASCHI (Italy).

General W. D. WHITAKER (Canada).

General DARON J. A. Bentinck (Holland), General E. J. C. VAN HOOTE-GEM (Holland).

General ALEJO S. SANTOS (the Philippines).

General PRAPHAN KULAPICHITR (Thailand).

Gen. F. P. SERONG (Australia).

General ABDUL SABUR SCHARAF (Afghan "Mujahideen") — Commander of the Front Esteklal in Kandahar, Commander Mohammad NABI SAHELJ (Afghan "Mujahideen") — Commander of the Insurgents in the Kunar Province. General KONSTANTYN MANDZENKO (Ukraine), General SAVA YASKEYVCZ (Ukraine), Colonel YURIY TYS-KROKHMALIUK (Ukraine).

General STASYS RASTIKIS (Lithuania), Colonel JONAS SVEDAS (Lithuania). Colonel PREBEN KÜHL (Denmark).

Colonel D. KOSMOWICZ (Byelorussia).

Dr. IVAN BANKOVSKY (Bulgaria) — Head of the Bulgarian Combatants.

Mr. VILIS A. HAZNERS (Latvia) — Honorary President of the Latvian Combatants. "Daugavas Vanagi".

Colonel EUGEN REN (Ukraine) — Commander of the Units of Ukrainian Nationalists (DUN), Mr. VASYL NINOVSKYJ (Ukraine) — DUN and UPA.

Mr. SVIATOSLAV FROLYAK, representative of Ukrainian-Combatants of the Canadian Army.

Representatives of the UPA Warriors:

MYCHAJLO KOWALCZYN, MYKOLA KULYK, LEV FUTALA, Dr. BOHDAN KRUK-MELODIA, STEPAN GOLIASH, VOLODYMYR MAKAR, YURIY BORETS, PETRO MYTSAK, NADIA GOLIASH, MYKOLA HRYCKOWIAN, MYCHAJLO SHASHKEVYCH, MYCHAJLO CHERESHNOVSKYJ.

Prof. Dr. ROMAN OSINCHUK and Dr. BOHDAN DZEROVYCH — Members of the Sovereign Ukrainian Government (1941).

Prof. LEV SHANKOVSKY — Head of the Initiatory Committee for the creation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

Prof. AVHUSTYN SHTEFAN — Head of the Parliament of the Carpatho-Ukrainian State.

Hon. Dr. KU CHENG-KANG (Republic of China) — Honorary Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL).

Hon. JOHN WILKINSON, M.P. (Great Britain) — President of the European Freedom Council (EFC).

Mrs. SLAVA STETSKO, M. A. (Ukraine), Dr. DIMITR WALTSCHIEFF (Bulgaria), Dr. BAYMIRZA HAYIT (Turkestan), Dr. BASIL MAILAT (Rumania) — Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

Mr. OSAMI KUBOKI (Japan) — former President of WACL, President of the International Federation for "Victory over Communism".

Senator Dr. Cihad FETHI TEVETOGLU (Turkey) — Secretary General of the World Refugees League, Member of the Honorary Presidium of the EFC.

Prof. Dr. WOO JAE-SEUNG (Korea) — WACL Secretary-General.

VELI KAYUM-KHAN (Turkestan) — President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee.

Mr. ENRIQUE MARTINEZ CODO (Argentina) — world renowned author of a book on the UPA, entitled — "Insurgents Behind the Iron Curtain".

Dr. ANTE BONIFACIC (Croatia) — Honorary President of the Croatian Liberation Movement.

Dr. MYKOLA KLYMYSHYN and Mr. JULIAN ZABLOCKYJ — Representatives of the Executive of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).
 Mr. OSYPIUS TIUSHKA, M. A. — Member of the OUN Executive (1941).
 Prof. SIMON WOZHAKIVSKYJ — regional OUN leader in Kirovohrad, organizer of the detachment of the UPA-South.
 Mr. SVIATOSLAV KARAVANSKY — prisoner of Russian concentration camps for over 30 years for his activity in the OUN, a writer and a freedom-fighter.
 Dr. ROMAN MALASHCHUK — Chairman of the World Ukrainian Liberation Front.
 Mr. IVAN BAZARKO, M.A. — President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.
 Mrs. LIDIA BURACHYNSKA — Chairman of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organisations (SFUZhO).
 Mr. YAROSLAV HAYVAS — Secretary of the Ukrainian National Council in Kyiv.
 Mrs. STEPHANIA BUKSHOVANA — Chairman of the World Federation of Friends of the National Center of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile.
 Mr. OLEKSA KALYNNYK — Association for the Liberation of Ukraine.
 Dr. PETRO MIRCHUK — Chairman of the Federation of Ukrainian Political Prisoners.
 Mr. YEVHEN HANOWSKYJ — President of the World Executive Board of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM).
 Mr. ROMAN ZWARYCZ — World Federation of Ukrainian Students (CeSUS).



*Cultural Programme during the mass rally at Trafalgar Square, London
 Ukrainian Male Choir — Nottingham Branch.*

EMPIRES AND NATIONS

More than one third of humanity is captive under communism. That does not seem to worry very many people. Two hundred million people belonging to at least twenty five nations are captive in the new continent, which I call Sovietska.

For example, the American Encyclopedia, which devotes seven pages to President Eisenhower, makes no mention of his decision to inaugurate Captive Nations Week, and to pledge that from 1959, every succeeding President should proclaim America's concern until the Captive Nations were finally liberated.

None of the world's seven most prominent encyclopedias makes any mention of Captive Nations.

Certainly their plight is foremost in the minds of two million people, who since World War II have escaped. They have poignant memories of their own sufferings, but when their leaders, as well as other freedom lovers try to expose history's greatest persistent crime, very few commentators, journalists, publishers or legislators give them a proper hearing. What is the reason for this?

The first and well understood reason, is the effectiveness of communist propaganda.

The special reason, however, which I wish to examine, is that for the past thirty years educational authorities throughout the Free World, have ignored the existence of captive nations and their incorporation into the communist political structure.

For example the syllabus for Modern History leading to matriculation standard in New South Wales gives no hint about nations captive in the Soviet Empire. None of the text books used in high schools has any word to say about the tragedy that exists beyond the Iron and Bamboo curtains.

Therefore, today, I want to present the Captive Nations story under the heading "Empires and Captive Nations". That is the title of a book which I believe should be available to high school students. They should be given an understanding of how captive nations have featured in history since human society became complex. Every student should then understand how dozens of captive nations have been liberated during the last two hundred years, and particularly since the end of World War II. The important lesson that should be learnt is that practically all the captive nations that remain are communist dominated.

The Background of the Empire Story

When human beings became organized into societies, a pattern which we may call kingship, became almost universal. Whether the ruler said he was a king, prince, duke, earl, hetman, landgrave, pasha, bey, sheek, rajah, shah, mandarin, pharaoh, or merely chief, he had the responsibility of lawgiver, judge and army leader.

When, however, kings, like all persons in positions of power, were able to satisfy their ambitions, they began the adventurous business of empire

building. For the past three or four thousand years, the history of mankind is the story of the rise and fall of empires.

Occasionally empire builders have been so competent and powerful, that they have had dreams of world conquest. If that could be achieved, tribute would be paid to the central control which would issue directions and correct any dissension.

The ambitious intentions of Alexander the Great were interrupted by his untimely death. In due course, Rome, which started its empire under the care of consuls and senators, became controlled by emperors.

The Roman Empire established a "pax Romana" which lasted for four or five centuries. Warfare became generally restricted to additional conquests or resistance to barbarian invasions. When the Roman dream collapsed, its world returned to an amorphous collection of independent kingdoms.

In course of time, however, new empires developed, fell apart, and grew up again. Some empires persisted in Europe for centuries; others expanded, contracted and even disappeared. For some centuries Polish people received tribute from Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Silesians, Moldavians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, but the fortunes of war and international intrigue found them captive within a German, Austro-Hungarian, or a Russian Empire. Estonians, never strong enough to establish an empire, were generally subservient to Teutonic Knights, Lithuanians, Swedes, or Russians.

So effective was the dominance of the English in the British Isles, that the Scots and Welsh have not regarded themselves as captive for at least two hundred years. With the Irish, however, there is a complication which exists wherever there is a racial difference, difficult to reconcile.

Modern Empires

Five hundred years ago, many Europeans became so knowledgeable and enterprising that they were able to establish colonies in the Americas, Africa, Southern Asia and the Pacific. Those races which were not included in this expansion, continued for some hundreds of years to maintain a static existence.

Resistance to colonization resulted in the bulk of the colonies founded in America acquiring their own independent status. Within Europe the movement for autonomy gained impetus as literacy increased, captive nations establishing their own literature, produced their own newspapers and printed their own poetry.

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a persistent awakening by the captive nations. Some of them, such as the Greeks, were able to stage successful rebellions. Others decided to discard a life under imperialist tyranny and find freedom as well as adventure in the New World.

Some imperialists gave concessions and even encouragement to their captive nations, but reactionaries strengthened their grip even more viciously.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the world was under the control of eight European maritime empires, and three continental empires, Austro-Hungary, Russia and Turkey. Actually both the United States and Japan had joined the empire builders. In Central and South America independent republics continued with their original European dominance. China, itself

beholden to European infiltration, headed the list of a relatively few independent nations.

Then came the War of the Empires, generally called World War I. German ambitions were halted, and its colonial empire shared among the victors. The three continental empires fell apart. Most of the Tsarist empire was however retained by a communist regime, which had conducted a series of successful civil wars. The Soviet Empire established in 1923 enslaved at least twenty captive nations who could look with jealous eyes at seven newly liberated autonomies, two of them federations of six erstwhile nations previously under Austro-Hungarian rule.

Political idealism, which had been largely sponsored by English speaking peoples, supported the growing hopes of freedom which had been eagerly grasped during the closing stages of World War I. The British having learned valuable lessons from American independence had been generally successful with their temperate zone dominions. Compromise and generosity combined with their idealism enabled independence to be granted happily to their tropical colonies.

The initiative taken by the British was the signal for the progressive collapse of the other colonial empires. With the exception of those in the communist world, only a few captive nations remain.

When the Dutch surrendered their East Indian empire, provision was not made for its dismemberment. In the tropical world empire builders are still to be found in such cities as Accra, Hanoi and Port Moresby. There is still misery among the Kurds and the Armenians.

World War II, initiated to save Poland, ended up quite differently. The Soviet Empire, becoming the major victor, was determined to keep its original captive nations under subjection, and then to swallow four old Tsarist colonies and add five new captive nations to its tyranny.

Afghanistan and Poland are current examples of the Soviet persistence in its plans to expand an empire where exploitation is more ruthless than any of the Christian, Mohammedan or pagan sovereignties of history.

The vast majority of captive nations now under communist control had an independent history. Some of them such as those west or south of the capital city of their overlords have a superior intellectual and cultural heritage.

It may well be appropriate to recall the resemblance of a Russian and a bear in four lines written by Rudyard Kipling, the English poet:

“When he stands up as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise
When he veils the hate and the cunning in his little swinish eyes;
When he shows, as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer
That is the time of peril — the time of the Truce of the Bear”.

Very little publicity is ever given to the Russian policy of progressive genocide. The citizens of the captive nations within the Soviet Union are transferred to other areas either forcibly or by sinister irony suggesting the prospect of economic advancement. Thus a Kirgiz may find himself appointed as a signalman on a railway from Kyiv to Lviv. Although national languages are still tolerated, every ambitious young person knows that only those who speak Russian are able to gain advanced educational opportunities or promotion in an occupation of profession.

Internationalism Versus Nationalism

Karl Marx, who found a contradiction in everything prompted the cult of internationalism as a contradiction to the spread of nationalism, which in his lifetime, was gaining strength every year. Idealistic as that concept may be, the vast majority of people have an indissoluble attachment to their native land, and a jealous regard for their own native language.

That is why international languages such as Esperanto have faltered, and nowadays are generally supported by Marxists. One simple example is enough to indicate the growing insistence of nationalism. When I went to Wales in 1970, growing Welsh nationalism impressed me, but during the next ten years the name of every town was shown both in English and Welsh.

When the African continent finally was relieved from domination by six European-based empires, it became a continent of fifty independent nations. All of them were aware of the extra costs involved from separate military, diplomatic and economic establishments, but they all regarded them as essential to independent nationhood.

None of them since has united with any other country. Some theorists would anticipate the development of common markets to parallel success in Europe, but only time will modify the jealous regard for complete international independence.

There have been many efforts to unite or federate Central American republics which have the same language and the same European heritage. Every attempt has been as futile as those designed to create a West Indian Federation of former British colonies. Similar nationalistic sentiments exist in the Arabian peninsula, in South Asia and the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

It is therefore quite clear that if the peoples of Sovietska could become masters of their own destinies there would be more than twenty independent nations and two hundred million people with a new happiness and a revitalized determination to honour their heritage and embellish their nationhood.

The undemocratic totalitarian ideology of communism combined with Russian imperialism prevent that natural process from taking place. The "Iron Curtain" and the associated "Gulag Archipelago" are words that should awaken those drugged by communist deception.

A scientifically computerised spy system with attendant torture chambers has not blanketed the courage and optimism which has contributed to one of the most remarkable epics of human history. From time to time news is received of rebellions, industrial strikes and prison revolts, but resistance to tyrants in this modern age is much more difficult than in days when the fastest thing was a horse.

The collapse of communist power cannot be achieved by the freedom lovers living in the prison of their despoilers. They must be enthusiastically supported not only by those of the same heritage, but by freedom lovers throughout the world.

Such people must be strong enough to influence their governments to take appropriate action leading to the eventual liberation.

The Disappearance of Atomic Fears

If the plight of two hundred million people in Sovietska and the thousand million people captive under communism elsewhere does not impress the governments and peoples of the Free World, they should realise that the collapse of the Soviet Empire heralds the end of the atomic war menace to humanity.

If Sovietska, almost as large as Africa, were subdivided as Africa has been subdivided during the past thirty years, eighty million Russians will occupy an area comparable to the historical Grand Duchy of Moscow with access to the Baltic and White Seas. It will have lost the economic advantages of the industrial Ukraine, most of its atomic weapon sites and greater technical superiority of its other satellites. Internationally it would be unable to provide any threat to the peaceable development of the rest of the world.

Apart from all else the Russian people themselves would take advantage of the opportunity to discard the communist cloak which has impoverished them and denied them the freedom which every man and woman is designed to enjoy.

The Free World Must Know the Captive Nations Story

Unfortunately the Free World is not aware of the captive nations story. The only people in the free world who really comprehend its significance are the refugees themselves, their children, and a few lovers of freedom who think beyond the general run of popular newspapers and magazines.

In the last few years there has been considerable publicity regarding the Soviet prison system and even details of their hideous psychiatric practices, but in the Public Library of New South Wales only two of two and a half million filing cards give an index heading "Captive Nations". The first one refers to a 32 page booklet produced by the Captive Nations Committee of New South Wales and privately printed. It was not placed on sale, but distributed to members, newspapers, and prominent persons. It was written in 1965 by Dr. C. Untaru, a member of the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations.

The other book is entitled "The Captive Nations: Our First Line of Defence", was written in 1969 by Bernardine Bailey and published by the Hallberg Company of Chicago. The foreword was written by Mrs. Slava Stetsko. In two hundred pages a documentary review of nations captive under communism has been made, with a valid conclusion that the captive nations were the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Union. About a hundred copies reached Australia, and as far as is known none was sold in bookshops. One copy was sent by Mrs. Lia Looover, the honorary secretary of the N.S.W. Captive Nations Council, to the New South Wales Public Library.

Let us proclaim a universal proposition. If children at high school are not informed of something significant in history, the chances are they will go through life knowing nothing about it.

One of the most significant aims of education is to whet the appetite of students so that in the wider world, they will want to increase their knowledge and understanding.

If the words "captive nations" are not used by text book writers, and I imagine, by only a few teachers, how can the rising generation be expected to give support to the Captive Nations cause.

The simple fact is that during the past thirty years, no history text book in current use by high school students in New South Wales even mentions the word, let alone makes any comment. I believe that a similar situation exists in all other areas of the Free World.

One book, a favorite with history teachers, written by J. J. Cosgrove and J. K. Kreiss and published in Sydney is entitled "Two Centuries — from the French Revolution to the Korean War". It makes no mention of the efforts of Ukrainians and others to gain independence when Tsarism collapsed. On page 325 a falsity is blatantly recorded.

"The creation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania constituted a foolish attempt to punish Russia for her separate Peace of Brest-Litovsk, by practically excluding her from the Baltic. It was inevitable that Soviet Russia would sooner or later absorb those little states". The nearest the authors get to recognising the existence of captive nations was to state on page 326 — "The principle of nationality, admirable though it was in theory, created numerous small states which were unable to maintain their independence against the aggressive policies first of Hitler, and then of the Soviet Union after World War II."

On page 471 authors made the only other reference to captive nations by saying:

"The Nazis missed a golden opportunity when they occupied Ukraine in 1942. Dissatisfied with the rule of the Soviet Union, many Ukrainians were ready to cooperate with the Nazis, but became bitter and relentless enemies when they found themselves being treated as inferior human beings."

No mention was made of the massacres and deportations which followed the restoration of Ukraine to Moscow rule, or any indication that Russia was an empire controlling captive nations.

"Challenge and Response", written by two Queensland teachers, J. H. Allsopp and H. R. Cowie in 1976, devotes 10,000 words to Soviet development 1917—1940, with no hint about the freedom obtained by the Baltic States, their historical success, or the efforts of Ukraine or any other of the Soviet captive nations to find freedom. Chapter 34 gives brief mention of rebellions in Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. Eisenhower is quoted as saying "the heart of the United States goes out to the people of Hungary", but there was no reference to his subsequent proclamation of Captive Nations Week.

Both the "Students Guide to World History" by R. D. Walshe or "Modern History and Its Times" by James Hagan give no reference to the existence of captive nations. Hagan does mention on page 440, Stalin's oppression of the kulaks but the words "Ukraine", "famine" and "deportations" do not occur. "The Twentieth Century World", another high school text book written in England by John Mertell BA, makes no mention of the captive nations in any of its 300 pages.

Even historical treatises that would be consulted by university students studying a course of Modern History do not give due consideration to the existence of Sovietska as an empire with twenty five captive nations whose demands for freedom are viciously repudiated.

It is therefore understandable why journalists and commentators are generally apathetic to the plight of two hundred million people.

One Australian incident tells the story. It was the practice of the Captive Nations Council of New South Wales to organise on Captive Nations Sunday a march through the streets of Sydney, a pause while a wreath was placed on the Cenotaph, and finally to conduct a meeting in Sydney Town Hall. Representatives of various religious denominations were invited to lead the gathering in prayer.

In July 1970 a request was made to the Rt. Rev. Marcus Loane, Anglican Archbishop of Sydney to nominate a representative. He chose the Reverend Harcourt Norton whose first thought for a captive nation was the Australian Aborigines, now generously provided with Australian social services. No living Australian aborigine can recall the massacre, torture or deportation of a relative or friend, but the Reverend gentleman was leading five hundred people in prayer for those who were immolated in such blots on human history that took place in 1941, 1944—1950 and which had continued remorselessly ever since.

If the Archbishop of Sydney — now Sir Marcus Loane — had known the Captive Nations story he would at least have apologised for the action of his representative.

A Threefold Challenge

Accordingly a threefold challenge is issued to all those who study this paper.

1. Petition your own local educational authority to include in the history syllabus for high school reference to the existence and the plight of the Captive Nations.

2. Encourage your own religiously based private schools to emphasise the Captive Nations story.

3. Sponsor the production of a book suitable as a text book for students of history entitled "The Story of the Captive Nations" or alternatively "Empires and Captive Nations".

Douglas Darby

September 24, 1982.



Ukrainian dance group, Darby Branch, perform in cultural programme during mass rally in Trafalgar Square, London.

“The Failure of ‘Ostpolitik’ and the Necessity of Psychological War Against Soviet-Russian Imperialism”

There is no doubt that there is nothing more effective than the propaganda of terror. It is for this reason, in my view, that “Ostpolitik” and the so-called politics of *Détente* have determined the foreign policy of almost all the countries of the West in their relations with the Soviet Union. And now, after more than a decade of such policies of appeasement, one can see clearly that such policies constitute little more than an instrument of Soviet policy towards the West in that it reinforces Soviet imperialism in Eastern Europe and the Near East and it allows for Soviet infiltration into the countries of Western Europe just like it did for countries in Asia and Africa. Even the Catholic Church with its form of “Ostpolitik” has gained nothing for religious freedom in the countries of the East. In fact, what has been achieved is quite the opposite. The most striking example is that of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which has been completely absorbed into the Russian Orthodox Church. The responsibility to be laid at the door of Mr. Brandt’s German government is great. Just as great a responsibility lies upon those Western governments which encourage him in his actions for they have constituted a great threat to the Atlantic Alliance. What have been the consequences of this “Ostpolitik” for the countries of Eastern Europe? Let me give you a few examples.

For East Germany, such a policy has done little other than reinforce the international legal status of the so-called “German Democratic Republic” on the one hand, and strengthened the position of the Soviet Union in relation to the German Democratic Republic on the other. By this means, the Soviet Union has gained another victory. It has maintained the partition of Germany.

It is worth noting that West Germany has gained nothing from this in return. The Berlin wall continues to underline the division between East and West Berlin and the agreements entered into by Mr. Brandt have sanctioned the many murders committed by the German Democratic Republic along the length of the wall.

The consequences of this “Ostpolitik” for Poland are of fundamental importance as much for the Soviets as for the Poles. All the liberalising achievements gained by worker pressure and backed up by almost all of the ordinary Poles have been crushed, and the Soviet Union has again emphasised its role as the saviour of Poland.

In Czecho-Slovakia, the “Ostpolitik” has been further reinforced by the armed intervention of Soviet troops. Today, all so-called independent opinion has been silenced — stifled by the despotic communist oppression. Restrictions on personal liberty, restrictions on freedom of expression, restrictions on travel abroad, demonstrate every day that the government of Prague is no more than a puppet, submitting to the will of the Soviet authorities.

In Bulgaria and Hungary, the “Ostpolitik” has had its most notable consequences in the military field. It has seen a reinforcement of Soviet military pressure, directed towards two fronts — Rumania and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria and Hungary are today at the forefront of Soviet imperialism as it is directed

towards those countries of Eastern Europe which wish to maintain a certain independence from the Soviet Union. It is not surprising, therefore, that the struggle in Rumania is directed not against communism as such, but against supremacy.

For Yugoslavia, "Ostpolitik" has had three main consequences. Firstly, it has contributed to Yugoslavia's increasing isolation. Secondly, it has increased the threat from the Soviet Union. And thirdly, it has reinforced the Soviet dream of an Adriatic coastline.

Today, in the face of this Communist threat and of the enormity of its military might which can easily lead to the destruction of much of Western Europe, it falls to us to develop psychological warfare based upon a call for truth. This psychological warfare calls for very good propagators and the assistance of the European mass media.

At the time of the Vietnam war, what was called for in the United States was an operation for truth so as to answer the campaign of defamation launched against the American army in Vietnam. In the same way, Europe has to convince itself to launch a similar campaign for truth, because only on that basis can the people of the free world judge and understand the threat of Soviet subversion throughout the world.

Obviously, in order to be effective, an operation of this sort ought to be accompanied by publicity in the media, including major articles in magazine and on television, and interviews by popular commentators. This technique of psychological warfare, which can on its own counter-act subversive activity, should use every means at its disposal to impart information. It should demonstrate clearly who is behind the subversive operations and expose the tactics used.

The struggle against subversion will not be easy as each day the power of the Soviet Union strengthens and poses a growing threat to all the Free World.

It is our right and our duty to organise what I call "Operation Truth" This will be proper psychological warfare designed to better formulate public opinion and thereby the policies of the free countries of the world in their treatment of the Soviet threat.



The head of the procession to the Cenotaph at the end of the mass rally, London, Sept. 26

WHY THE WEST CANNOT DISARM

Nothing would please me more than to see all Nations agree to total disarmament but I live in a real world, where, since Cain killed Abel mankind is ready and desirous to live in peaceful co-existence. I say this because peaceful co-existence would mean co-existence with Russia. How can you peacefully co-exist with a persistent liar, cheat, truce breaker, and enslaver, whose only aim is world domination at any cost. Dozens of wars are being waged throughout the world as I speak to you today. As one war stops at least one more starts. The Soviets are involved either directly or indirectly in all of them, plying their evil trade with ruthless determination.

Pacifists and anti-nuclear organisations have enjoyed a revival recently. Their emotional followers, in whose ranks we find committed communists and fellow travellers — enjoy active support and encouragement from Russia who are desperate to confuse the West and cause as much internal problems as possible. Their aim is to try and prevent the updating of our nuclear defences. The Russian tactic of facing both ways at the same time and its ability to be a wolf in sheep's clothing should cut no ice with us. Russia's encouragement at CND movements moves into top gear when they want to protect their arms superiority over the West, AND they are in top gear at the moment.

On March 16th Leonid Brezhnev announced a unilateral moratorium on deployment of intermediate range nuclear missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union. He said some old single warhead SS4 and SS5 would not be replaced with the latest triple warhead SS20. This gesture was designed to con the West into cancelling plans to deploy Cruise and Pershing II systems in Western Europe while the Russians kept their SS20 safely tucked behind the Ural mountains, but still within the range of Western Europe.

Since March the Russians, running true to form, have, to last week, installed a further three SS20 bases.

There are three types of lies, — lies ... Damned lies ... and Russian statements.

To add to the flavour, in July, the Russians reduced telephone links with the West by two thirds and stopped all STD calls within Russia. This little gesture was orchestrated by the new KGB boss Vitaliy Fedorchuk. It is against this back-drop that the CND movement are saying that people in the Soviet Union are free to exchange ideas. What are they using now — telepathy?

KGB equals Killing, Genocide, and Brainwashing.

Russia is spreading its evil communism across the world like a cancer. First the ABN, then South America, Africa, Asia, stopping for a pause at Afghanistan. The West's response has been some sabre rattling verbal condemnation, and trade sanctions, which were quickly reversed. The Russian Bear sits back and gloats. While the ABN and EFC live and struggle under the yoke of Russian tyranny the West remains impotent. Russia understands only one thing, Strength. It will only be defeated by one thing, Strength. The Russians are record breakers, always have more medal winners at World games. Records in space achievements; Record parades to show off record numbers of new weapons.

Others Records show Russia has stolen and occupies more land than any other nation on earth.

They have more concentration camps than any other nation on earth.

They cause more pain and suffering than any other nation on earth.

They oppress today more than any other nation on earth.

They have more mystery disappearances than any other nation on earth.

They built a fence to keep their own people not to keep enemies out.

And the last and most devastating record — the elimination of seven million Ukrainians during 1932 and 1933. Hitler himself managed less — six million. Can anyone reasonably expect us to consider any form of arms reduction given this sort of background. Let us now examine the hardware on both sides of the fence.

NATO

7.000 Tanks (1982)

nil Medium range missile

USSR

19,500

342 (972 warheads)

In the past ten years Russia has spent 130 billion dollars more than US on strategic forces. Since 1972 USSR has developed ten new missile systems (ICBM), US will have no new until 1986.

In the past 15 years USSR has developed and deployed 60 missile subs, USA only one. Considering this discrepancy in power balance and the Soviet animal generally, time is for NATO and the West to stand firm whilst redressing the discrepancy. — Draw the line now and demand that Russia does not take one more step. We must be prepared to back words with force as we demonstrated in the Falklands.

As a matter of urgency the free democracies should unite with our ABN friends and together, using ABN intelligence, spirit, and resolve, backed by NATO arms, plan and execute the liberation of all Russia's enslaved and subjugated people. We should not tire, we must not falter until victory is ours.

May God bless and inspire you to the end.



Councillor Reg Davies (Great Britain)



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mr. K. Glinski, ABN Chairman (Great Britain)

MEMORIES OF LAOS

It was in Khang Kai in Laos in 1965. I was the Canadian Commissioner to the Tri-Partite Commission on Supervision and Control established under the Geneva Agreements to supervise the cease-fire and investigate any breaches thereof. The Commissioners — the Indian (the Chairman), the Pole and I were in Khang Kai for one of our periodic visits from Vientiane to meet Prince Souvannavong, the leader of the Communist Pathet Lao at his headquarters there.

We had just finished lunch, during which Prince Souvannavong had been complaining bitterly about the wells in some of "his" villages having been poisoned by "US agents". I had said that these were serious charges, and felt that we should investigate them, take samples of the water from the wells, have them tested and report, and, at the same time, determine what the villagers were having to do since they "were unable" (as he claimed) to use their own wells. This was the procedure under which our Commission operated: *we investigated and reported.*

Prince Souvannavong assured me that what he had just said to me was an accurate description of the situation, that I would just have to accept his word for this "shocking" development.

I replied that, unfortunately, I could not just accept his word because, under our mandate, we were required to look into the background circumstances (ie investigate) of any alleged breach of the ceasefire or irregularity, just as we were required to do the same thing in Vientiane, our base, when we received complaints from Prince Souvanna Phouma (Prince Souvannavong's half brother), head of the recognised government of Laos. Souvannavong repeated that he could not allow us (ie the Commissioners) to move freely about "his" territory to examine the wells; Khang Kai was as far as we could go. Therefore, we'd just have to report the circumstances as he had related them to us. For my part, I repeated that that was just not possible: we would have to investigate and our report would be based on our findings.

The argument got no further.

I rose from the table and stepped out on the sort of verandah leading off the meeting room; I looked out over the uneven, grass-covered ground down the 50 yards or so to the "lake" — not much more than a big swimming hole in fact, but still, it was water. It was an artificial lake dug a few years earlier; it was not more than 50 yards wide and 50 yards long. The path leading to it was visible throughout its whole length from the verandah steps to the diving board at the end of the short dock.

I took a step down from the verandah, intending to walk down to the 'swimming hole'. Before I knew it I had a sub-machine gun stuck into my stomach, and I was told, in fractured French, that I could not move away from the bungalow where our meeting was taking place. I went to brush the gun aside, out of my solar plexis, and said that I was just going for a walk "down there, down that path which you can see, for its full length, between here and the lake."

“You don’t really want to go down there, do you?”, the man with the machine gun said: “We feel very responsible for you while you are our guests up here in Khang Kai,” he pushed the gun a bit more firmly into my middle. “In any event”, he went on, “some of those traitors from Vientiane may have planted a land mine along that path; and we would not like to see you hurt.”

“Rubbish”, I replied “You can stay here and watch me all the way down to the lake. The whole path is in view from here” — and again I went to push the gun aside. It was pushed even more firmly into where my lunch was being digested.

I could see no point in insisting. But I still remember how I’d been treated by the Pathet Lao soldier when all I wanted to do was to have a short walk after lunch.

That was 16 years ago. I wonder what’s going on in Khang Kai today. I wonder if they ever got those “land mines” cleared, and the wells restored.

My wife, who was with me in Vientiane, also has some recollections of those days.

I remember our stay on duty in Laos. One thing in particular fills me with sadness.

When I went to comfort a group of women and children, refugees, who had come south when their villages were over-run by Communist forces, they told me they had walked all the way with just a little food and a cooking pot each. Some were pregnant; others with very young children. I did not speak their language, but our chauffeur did, and translated their story for me.

They said the Communists drove all the males over 12 years old to one end of a field, lined them up and said they had a choice: either to be machine-gunned on the spot, or agree to join the Communists. Naturally they agreed, to save their lives.

The women were then told to go down to Vientiane to the shelter of their Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma. They were given shelter in Vientiane in a huge circus tent on the race course, and were receiving Canadian dried milk. Each had only 12 square feet for their family.

Needless to say, in addition to the translation, the women acted out their story. In this way I was sure I was getting a true version of what had happened to them and their menfolk.

I believe there were about 90 souls all told in the group; and the poor women were heartbroken to be separated from their sons and husbands.

„Russia — I stand before you, Ancient Dragon, with a naked chest, but unafraid... You cannot overpower me, because I am the Immortal Spirit of Ukraine...!”

Oles’ Berdnyk, 1979



Honoring the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The spontaneous formation on November 9, 1976, in Kiev, Ukraine, of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords affirmed once more that the human spirit cannot be crushed and that the desire for human freedom cannot be conquered.

The long prison terms meted out to members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group for their courageous activities to secure greater freedom in Ukraine are graphic testimony to the inability of Communism to compete with the principles of freedom in the marketplace of ideas. The flagrant persecution and imprisonment of Ukrainian citizens for their attempts to exercise basic human rights is an international embarrassment to the Soviet Union and proof that the Soviet Union has failed to live up to its pledges to honor the understandings embodied in the Helsinki Accords.

In commemorating this sixth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, we renew our determination never to forget the valiant struggle of the peoples of Ukraine for their inalienable rights, and we pledge to do all we can to ameliorate the plight of those Ukrainians who have been persecuted by the Soviet authorities for attempting to assert their rights.

By a concurrent resolution agreed to on June 21, 1982 (H. Con. Res. 205), the Congress authorized and requested the President to proclaim November 9, 1982, the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, as a day honoring that Group.

On this day Americans are reminded of the preciousness of our own freedom, and we reaffirm our cherished hope that the aspiration for freedom will ultimately prevail over the morally bankrupt rule of force which denies human rights to so many in the world today.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate November 9, 1982, as a day honoring the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 21st day of Sept. in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventh.

Ronald Reagan

