

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



*Olena Antoniv and son Taras*

## ON THE DEATH OF OLENA ANTONIV

The news cut through the heart with a knife.  
 They have killed Olena Antoniv, Mrs. Olena, Olenka.  
 She was neither a poet, nor an artist, nor a composer.  
 She did not write poetry.  
 She did not compose music.  
 She herself was music,  
 a living melody of kindness and friendship  
 in a savage empire of evil and cruelty.  
 Because of this, the stupid, the cruel,  
 the evil and the savage hated her.  
 And they have killed her.  
 Family, friends, the city of Lviv,  
 the adornment of which was Olena Antoniv,  
 have been left orphans.  
 Together with all those persecuted for honesty in and  
 outside Ukraine we are in deep sorrow,  
 bidding farewell today... to yet another broken melody.

*Svyatoslav Karavansky and Nina Strokata*

Munich, February 7, 1985 USSR News Brief issued the following: On February 4, in the Ukrainian city of Lviv, Olena Antoniv was killed in a car accident. Mrs. Antoniv, who was the wife of former political prisoner and poet Zinovy Krasivsky, was very active in the framework of the **Fund to Aid Political Prisoners** and for this was strongly attacked in the Soviet mass media.

On February 6, in Lithuania, the priest of the Cathedral of Rudamina Jozas Zdebskis was also killed in a car accident. J. Zdebskis, aged 57 was ordained a priest in 1952. In 1978 he became one of the founders of the unofficial **Catholic Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers**. The authorities masterminded a series of provocations against Rev. Zdebskis in order to force him to stop his activities.

It is not known if there are any suspicious circumstances relating to Rev. Zdebskis' death in the car accident. In November 1981, Rev. Bronius Laurinavicius, a member of the **Lithuanian Helsinki Group**, was pushed under a lorry by four unknown men in Vilnius and died of his injuries. This was not regarded as an accident among Catholics in Lithuania.

*(Too often, car accidents involve individuals who are under the attack of the authorities behind the Iron Curtain.—ed.)*

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## LETTING ABN CHANGE THE RESULTS OF WWII TO AVOID HAVING TO FIGHT WWIII

Each of the century's world wars has been fought by one set of imperial powers in order to weaken or eliminate competing imperial powers. The first war produced ambiguous results. The second produced a crown winner — Soviet Russia. Why might those historical points interest the members of this conference? The answer involves the recognition of six further points.

1. Soviet Russia won the war because it pursued a ruthless policy of divide and conquer before and during the war.

2. The outlines of the policy were clearly formulated as early as 1920 by Lenin.



*Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*

3. Throughout the period, the West turned a strange, blind eye to Moscow's schemes.

4. Russia's victory has allowed it to extend its boundaries immeasurably in the last forty years, leaving it in our times on the brink of realizing its imperial dream — world conquest.

5. The West, as a consequence of its blindness, faces the do or die prospect of a third world war.

6. To avoid such a scenario, the West must recognize the name of ABN and help ABN finish the program that it evoked during the Second World War — the dismemberment of the Soviet Russian empire through national liberation struggles.

The first point needs some elaboration. In the late 1920's and early 1930's, the "imperial" map was unclear. Four powers remained intact — France, Great Britain, Russia and Japan. Two no longer existed — Ottoman Turkey and Austria-Hungary. One was in distress, but not quite out of the picture — Germany. Within this framework, Russia took its first steps towards forcing a new struggle for power. In the West, Moscow launched a two-sided offensive. On the one hand it began covertly aiding the weakened Germany against the stronger France and Great Britain. On the other hand, by training German officers on Soviet Russian occupied territories, it coyly used its comintern agents to foment a "popular front" against rising German Nazism. In the East, Moscow moved in a similar vein. It quite clearly winked at Japanese expansionism — seeing such growth coming at the expense of the Asian interests of Great Britain, France and the upstart Americans. At the same time, it began an effort to set up its ally Mao Tse-tung in China.

By the late 1930's, Russian initiatives were slowly paying dividends. Hitlerite Germany was effectively bullying both France and Great Britain in Europe; the Japanese were doing the same in Asia. Furthermore, the Japanese invasion of China was benefiting Mao immensely. With this in mind, Russia undertook a second step — overt alliance with Nazi Germany. The signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in 1939 was no simple coincidence. It was part of a well oiled scheme — one which immediately bore fruit. Without firing a shot, Russia was able to gobble up western Ukraine, the Baltic States and western Byelorussia. Moreover, within the next year, France collapsed and Great Britain was reduced to near terminal enfeeblement.

Moscow and its reigning Red czar Stalin came in for a surprise in June, 1941. Their erstwhile friend Hitler struck before a time anticipated. But ironically, all turned out for the best for the Bolsheviks. Comintern agents had done their propaganda homework well. Russia was welcomed by the newly embattled Americans and the long bedraggled English as “comrades” in the fight against the “damned Nazis”.

Ukraine proclaimed its independence in 1941 against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. OUN and UPA fought against these two enemies. In 1943, the ABN was formed to resist the Nazis in the eastern lands occupied by them. But, with a clear eye for the future, the ABN also called for a war against Moscow's Bolshevik empire. For just a short time, Churchill seemed to sympathize with the position of ABN. He even contemplated opening a southern front in the Balkans to keep the Russians from overrunning it. But after Teheran, after the Roosevelt -Stalin lovefest, such plans were deemed impolitic.



*Hon. Y. Stetsko delivering his address at the ABN/EFC conference banquet in London, November 24, 1985.*

By 1945, as Germany collapsed, Russia's divisions swamped Eastern and Central Europe. In places, Russia allowed the Nazis to do its dirty work for it — wipe out the Warsaw risings. Worse yet, at Yalta, the West agreed to let Russian armies linger in Eastern and Central Europe after the war — until the so called “free elections” were held.

In the East, Russia smartly let America take on the brunt of the war. The United States, worried about the million casualties that might result from the invasion of Japan, ended up bombing the Nippon empire into submission. As Japan was reeling from such blows, the Russians in the last weeks of the war, simply walked into Northern Korea, the Kurile Islands, South Sachalin and outer Mongolia. Having captured such strategic points, Moscow was in a good position to support Mao in his impending push for power in China.

The end of the war helped consolidate the Russian victory. The West made rash move after rash move. While the West played around with the United Nations, demilitarized Japan and Germany, and resented any use of its “nuclear monopoly” advantage, Stalin was busy making new inroads:

- moving on northern Iran,
- subversion in Greece, Turkey, France and Italy,
- helping Mao topple Chiang in China.

Only in Korea, did the West finally recognize the dangers of Muscovite imperialism. Even then, it saw only compromise — a status quo. By now, Stalin and Moscow had gobbled up nearly one half of the world.

The validity of point two, that plans were in the works for just such a scenario as early as the reign of Lenin, is reinforced by a letter written by Lenin himself in March, 1920. In that letter, he made it clear that the capitalist powers were still divided into two great camps, that the Germans would eventually seek revenge against the British and French for the Treaty of Versailles, and that if the Bolsheviks played their cards correctly, i.e. if they played the two sides against each other and precipitated a second world war, they could take all of Europe.

The third point — that the West turned a blind eye to Moscow’s design — is hard to fathom, but it remains a matter of historical record. Before the war, while Stalin was instituting the brutal collectivization process, British “Fabians” were visiting Moscow and proclaiming it to be a worker’s paradise. While Ukraine was starving to death in 1933, President Roosevelt was engaged in formally recognizing the USSR.

During the war, despite the Soviet-Nazi pact, all of “Uncle Joe Stalin’s” sins were forgiven. America went to great lengths to portray the Bolsheviks as “good guys”, via the Werner Brothers 1943 movie “Mission to Moscow”.

After the war, the West kept dwelling on the image of GI Joe and Ivan embracing on the Elbe. Pleas by ABN for help against Russian imperialism went unheeded. The heroic struggles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army under General Roman Shukhevych -Taras Chuprynka went untold. Again, Korea finally stopped the love of “Uncle Joe”, but did little more.

Point four needs little elaboration. Since Korea, the Russians have continued to expand. Indeed, in the Third World, progress has been almost unimpeded. The list of subjugated nations and client states has grown immense and include countries from all continents. Note: Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Libya. Only in tiny Grenada has some reversal to Soviet Russian expansionism come.

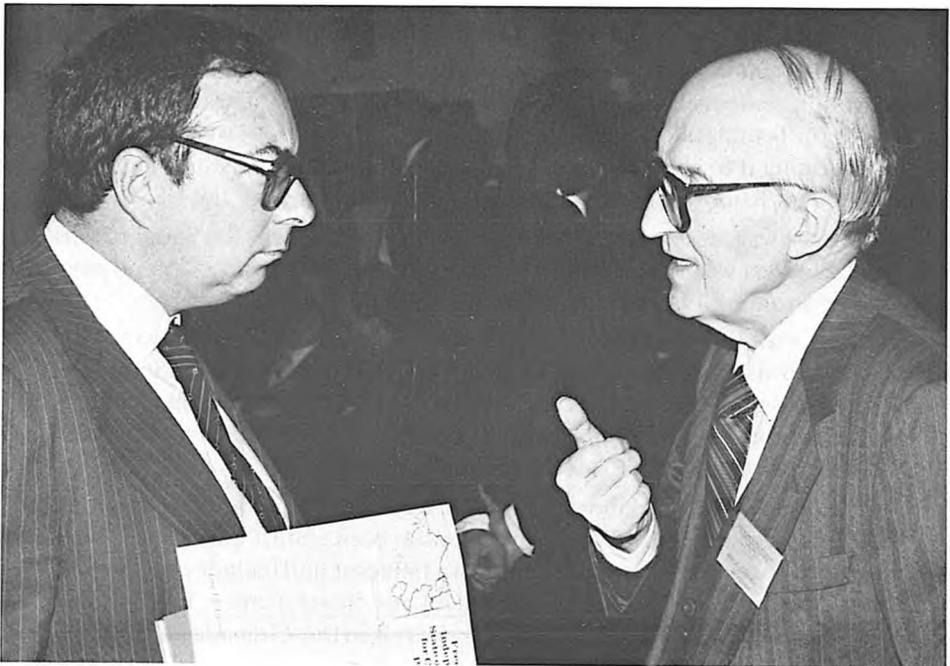
Today, the Soviet Russian Navy, once confined to the Baltic and Black Seas, has ports of call in places as distant as Santiago and Cam Ranh Bay. Moreover, while the

West once possessed a nuclear monopoly, presently, the Russians possess the number one nuclear arsenal in the world.

It is therefore not difficult to see the validity of point five. The West does, indeed face a grave danger. It has allowed the Russians to develop such a vast empire and such vast resources that the only check left on Moscow's expansionist policy is the American nuclear umbrella. Under such conditions, the only way to stop Russian encroachment of the West's vital interests would seem to be engagement in an apocalyptic Third World War.

This brings us to the sixth point. Over the last forty some odd years, the ABN has kept up a constant struggle against Moscow. At first, the battle was military, i.e. armed national liberation struggle, but without the aid of the West, out of necessity, it soon became primarily ideological. In very recent times, the former option has, to some extent, become feasible again. Note the situation in Angola, Afghanistan and Cambodia. The ABN does not wish to get the West militarily involved in this struggle. But moral, technological and financial support would be most welcome. In doing so, the West would be providing itself with an alternative way of stepping on the throat of Muscovite expansionism.

This last proposition can be put more simply and conclusively. If ABN is allowed to implement the second part of its program for WWII, i.e. the destruction of the Soviet Russian empire through internal dismemberment, the West will never have to fight a World War III.



*Hon. Y. Stetsko in discussion with Hon. Guillermo Kirkpatrick, M.P. (Spain)  
(ABN/EFC conference, London, November 21-24, 1985).*

*John Wilkinson, M.P.*  
*President, European Freedom Council*

## THE EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE OF SDI

A challenge it is, on many levels. We have in Europe to overcome a blank wall of scepticism. In the old continent we often feel "Ah, we've seen it all before". There's a sense of weariness about us, a *deja vu* attitude, a tendency to treat too lightly exciting challenges which our American friends grasp wholeheartedly and with both hands. And so it was with SDI. For our American brethren, (and brethren they are because we are one Atlantic community, we are essentially one people and one only has to be at a gathering like this to realize it) — for our American friends, Strategic Defence is almost an ethical imperative. There is a moral dimension to it.

The President is keen to move away in international relations from a mutual balance of terror, away from the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and I think many of our people yearn for the day when their families, children, friends, cities and civilization won't have to be held hostage in the awesome process of deterrence. Some say, and most of all the Soviet propagandists, that it is on the contrary morally wrong to militarize space and to use space technology for military purposes. But the Soviets of course, for many a long year have based their space programme very largely on military objectives and a very high proportion of funding comes from their military budgets.

When people say that Star Wars, as they erroneously term it, is to militarize space, and when they rail and decry this process, they somehow inexplicably forget that ever since Werner Von Braun and his team of brilliant scientists appeared on the Baltic coast and evolved the V weapons, space has been used for military purposes. There is no more awesome example of man's capacity to use space than the ballistic missile which has, of course, quite changed the nature of international relationships and military strategy.

Now, when we Europeans come to face the consequences of SDI, we wonder in what form we should do so. Should we do so within the ambit of the EEC? But the European community is an economic arrangement. The Treaty of Rome has no security provisions and anyway, there are members of the EEC like Ireland, which is neutral and Greece, which is less than wholehearted in its commitment to the alliance which would make an examination of SDI within the EEC inappropriate anyway. Then there's NATO. This is more suitable, but here again the forum is so large and it encompasses such a disparity of nations, from the Turks on the Bosphorus who have no space or high technology capability of any substantial size, to the Norwegians, the Spaniards, the Danes and so on. It would be very hard to achieve an identity of view with such a huge organization as NATO.

Then there's the Western European Union, the Mutual Security Pact that actually predated NATO, an organization of seven member countries: Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. This body is statutorily empowered and specifically tasked to deal with foreign policy and with defence. The Ministerial Council of the WEU met in Bonn in April, only a few months after the much celebrated 30th anniversary re-launch of WEU and could come to no

firm conclusions about SDI, and that's even after passing my report in the Assembly which advocated very strongly that the WEU countries should evolve a joint response to SDI. Having been unable to come to a joint position in WEU or NATO or the Common Market, the Europeans are forced to fall back on national responses.

The U.K. position has firmed. Initially, there was great scepticism in the Foreign Office. Maybe our mandarins are paid to be sceptical. Sir Geoffrey Howe gave a speech at the Royal United Service Institute for Defence Studies about SDI, which quite candidly, begged more questions than it answered. But in recent months, as the potential benefits of industrial partnership and technology have become plain, our Secretary of State and Defence has gone to Washington and the Prime Minister made a very forthright statement in favour of the research programme at a meeting of both Houses of Congress, and we've moved forward in the U.K.

So have our German friends, and quite honestly, the Federal Republic and the United Kingdom see more or less eye to eye on SDI. The French have a much more equivocal position. They have a position that is quite unique within the alliance in that, ministerially and at the governmental level, they don't wish to lend official support to SDI. But of course, the industrialists are thrilled and delighted at the prospects of the contracts they might win.

At the WEU we had a first rate conference on the Space Challenge for Europe in Munich in September and it was noteworthy to hear the French Minister for Science and Technology, the former director general of the French National Space Agency Monsieur Lucien Curien gave a speech where he had to toe the party line, because that's what it is, the line of the socialist government, which was critical of SDI. But a leading French industrialist and spokesman for Aerospatiale was of course very keen that France should participate. And the Italians too have a certain ambivalence. Their government is again not willing to lend official support to SDI, but its industrialists, Selenia, Aeritalia, Tellespazio and so on are again, very keen. I do believe there is steady but modest progress being made within Europe to participate in SDI.

But what is SDI? If you said to someone in the street "What's SDI?" I expect 85% of them would not have a clue. If you said "What's President Reagan's peace shield?" I don't think they'd have a clue about that either. As for Star Wars — they would probably think it is the President's research programme rather than the movie these days. There is a problem over nomenclature and it is a problem, of course, of the Soviets' concoction. The critics of SDI within Europe will say that it is an effort just to build an umbrella over the United States, and that the Americans couldn't care one whit over the security of their European or other allies. They will be safe within their American heartland and the others can be attacked or go communist, it doesn't matter. The Americans will be safe and that's all that worries them. This of course is totally removed from the truth. The truth is that it is a space based defence system that is being researched, and the whole merit of a space based defence system is that it is global in its application, particularly so those systems that will be designed to intercept missiles in the boost phase and mid-course phases. They will have intercontinental capabilities. The Americans will be providing a shield to insure the peace of the world.

Anyway, what is so inherently wrong to seek to defend cities and peoples and our homeland against ballistic missile attack? No one criticized manned fighter forces when they were the defence of our nuclear deterrents when our nuclear deterrents were the manned bomber bases of Strategic Air Command and of the British Bomber



*Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. (EFC President) delivering his opening address at the ABN/EFC conference.*

Command. That was regarded as perfectly natural. I would have thought myself that the more awesome the weapons of vast destruction, the more important it is to provide a defence for our peoples. It really is an extraordinary doctrine that they must be left forever vulnerable.

Then it is alleged that SDI will decouple Europe from the United States. Again, a red herring, literally, a red herring. The great fear of the Europeans has always been that our American friends, in the ultimate scenario of aggression upon Europe, will not be prepared to invoke the U.S. nuclear guarantee on our behalf for fear of the devastation of their own homeland. And that's why it has always been important, and De Gaulle and others have argued it, for the British and French to retain an independent national centre of nuclear decision this side of the Atlantic. But if the American people and the political leadership and the military commanders feel that to respond even in a nuclear war to a Soviet attack upon Western Europe will not be necessarily to render the whole of the American heartland vulnerable to a Soviet strategic nuclear response, then the Americans are more likely to be prepared to invoke the nuclear guarantee in our behalf and of course, most important of all, the Soviets are less likely to attack in the first place, and therefore, deterrence will be increased, not decreased and the risk of war diminished and not increased.

But people say: "Oh, but deterrence has worked so well". It could be destabilizing, say the diplomats, to go ahead with SDI and to build space based or strategic defences. Well, I don't think that the mutual balance of terror is something which has the wholehearted support of the majority of our electorates. One has only to see the peace movements on the march and to hear the critical commentators in the media to realize that the mutual balance of terror is something which people from churchmen to academics, from housewives to politicians are rightly and understandably worried about. The Soviets do their level best to destabilize anyway by trying to outstrip the West both at an intermediate range level and at a strategic level by building up ever bigger offensive nuclear arsenals. So why is it going to be destabilizing to diminish the

capability of those overweening offensive nuclear arsenals? It will not be destabilizing, it will be a factor of stability and for peace.

Anyway, people will say: "Oh, but it's so expensive". The arms race itself has proved massively expensive. With each generation the degree of modernity and sophistication required of the delivery systems has augmented at a rate way above the level of inflation and the cost of the proliferation of defensive systems is crippling. Now if albeit at great cost we can deploy strategic defences that are effective, then there will not be such a great need for massive offensive systems, because the strategy now is very much counter force rather than counter city and an adversary would try to knock out the West's retaliatory forces. Now, if that possibility is denied to him, then our retaliatory forces can be smaller and at least there is a possibility for costs to be kept under control.

Then they say: "Ah, but it will accelerate the arms race". As I have said, the arms race has been accelerating steadily and the main impetus has been Soviet. I believe that the Soviets will reach the point if the U.S. construct effective strategic defences where they will not be able either to afford to saturate the defences or to improve their delivery systems to the extent that they will be able to penetrate the defences and therefore Strategic Defence will be a factor for arms control and mutual balanced verifiable disarmament.

And then, last but not least, people will say: "Ah, but it won't work". Well if they're so much against it, why are they so anxious if it won't work? But of course, this is very much to underestimate American capabilities. Who would have guessed when President Kennedy said that men should be on the moon by the end of the 60s, that they would actually achieve it. Our American friends, when they set objectives, tend to realize them. One has only to see the success of the experiment over the Pacific where a missile was shot down in mid-course and to see the progress of the ASAT programme, whereby an anti-satellite missile launched by an F15 fighter actually works. One has only to see these and the success of the shuttle programme to realize that Strategic Defence — American style is more likely to succeed rather than the contrary. That's why, of course, the Soviets are worried because it is likely to succeed not because it is likely to fail.

And then we get into the area of atmospheric. People say: "If you go in for SDI what will the Soviets think? It will upset them. It will be provocative, you don't understand Soviet perceptions". The trouble is, I think, that the President of the United States and his advisors, particularly Mr. Weinberger, understand all too well what Soviet perceptions are. What they see they don't like, and what they see they rightly have to guard against. I don't think it should be a factor in our policy making to tailor our policy to the misconceptions, to the propaganda, to the perversions of truth and the falsehoods of the Soviets. If they are trying to bamboozle their people into thinking that Strategic Defence is somehow a threat to them, we shouldn't encourage them in that process.

When people suggest that SDI is just a means of enabling President Reagan to do what he always wanted to do — fight a nuclear war, launch a pre-emptive strike against the USSR, we must really answer back this fanciful and slanderous propaganda. The annals of history are littered with the casualties of Soviet aggression, but our American friends have proved bastions for peace and the refugees across the Iron Curtain are always going one way. We must indeed answer propaganda with truth.

That's where the Low Frontier comes in. It is a hearts and minds campaign that I think we have sharpened and refined at this conference, and it's a hearts and minds campaign that is in essence, so easy. Why should people look at the crystal ball when they can read the book. Or as was said so much more eloquently by General John Singlaub, the day before yesterday, judge from the KL007 episode, the starving people in Ethiopia, the invasion of Afghanistan, refugees, and so on. We have plenty of examples to bring before them. We don't need any Kremlinologists to explain to us what the truth is. But we do need to launch an offensive in this area of psychological warfare and no one has put it better than Yaroslav Stetsko. I think we ought to engage not only in active measures, but in negative measures as well. By negative measures I mean no grain sales to the Soviet Union, no technology transfers, no sanctioning of big commercial deals that build up the strategic industrial potential of the Soviet Union, no easy credits, no energy purchases, no big gas deals that provide the hard currency which will then be used to buy arms. We've got to maintain the liberation struggle because it has been seen that communism can be rolled back. And like a carpet, it is rolled back often from the edges most effectively. We have seen how vulnerable the Soviets really are. We have seen Grenada turned into a democracy, we have seen the Russians expelled from Egypt, we have seen the Soviet influence removed from Somalia, there are other examples too that it can be done.

We must guard our home base. It's all very fine constructing strategic defences, it's all very fine encouraging liberation struggle and rolling communism back. But it's no good if we're going rotten at home. It's no good allowing the likes of the militant tendency, Arthur Scargill or Mr. Hatton let this country run riot. It's no good seeking soft and easy options because in so many Western countries, the hard left, the Marxist-Leninists are let into power by default because the forces mobilized against socialism and communism are often split and this is a fatal weakness. The communists know well the validity of the old Roman imperial maxim of divide and conquer. To conclude, I hope, ladies and gentlemen, that you feel that the theme of our conference has been valid. I do hope and feel that you will go back to the daily round of work and duty inspired, better equipped, and with a deeper understanding and more fully trained to take up the liberation struggle.



*Delegates at the ABN/EFC conference in London.*

*General John K. Singlaub (USA)*

## **DISINFORMATION AND NICARAGUA**

*(Address delivered at the ABN/EFC Conference in London)*

I am deeply honored by the invitation to come back to London to address this conference and the activists for liberty and the advocates of liberation who have assembled here today. I am pleased to associate with so many who have dedicated their lives, their fortunes, their reputations and their sacred honor to the struggle for freedom for all mankind. No greater cause can be undertaken by free men today and I salute you all. I congratulate the organizers for their selection of the conference theme: "High and Low Frontier — Strategic Defense and Liberation". Nothing could be more current and relevant in the days following the summit meeting in Geneva. We can all be thankful that President Reagan stood firm on his plan to seek the development of a space based ballistic missile defense system, the Strategic Defense Initiative which is also known as Project High Frontier and is designed to perpetuate the deterrence against the use of inter-continental ballistic missiles and when modified by the Europeans, against the intermediate range ballistic missiles, such as the SS20 that threaten us as we sit here today. Most important, the High Frontier Strategic Defense System, whether it is the Strategic Defense Initiative or the new concept of a European Defense Initiative, will provide the Free World a defense against these missiles and in the event that deterrence fails, they will provide a defense of the nation and they guarantee the survivability of the provide the Free World a defense against these Free World. This is something lacking terrence fain the current strategy of Mutual Assured Destruction.

In the course of the discussions here today, we've heard many references to the fact that we are in this year 1985 commemorating the 40th anniversary of several significant events. It was 40 years ago this year that the war with Nazi Germany was brought to a successful conclusion with the liberation of Western Europe. It was 40 years ago this same year that the war with imperial Japan was terminated, again with the liberation of a great deal of Asia that had been brought under control of the Japanese Empire as a part of the greater East Asia co-prosperity spirit. But more significantly, it was 40 years ago that we learned that our war time ally, the USSR, was in fact dedicated to our destruction and this appeared to be an act of ingratitude that was very hard for our allies to accept. There are in fact many in the United States today who still doubt the true intentions of the Soviet Union. And during these 40 years, on the average, one nation per year was incorporated into the Soviet empire. We have noticed in the last four of those years no new colonies were added to the Soviet empire. As a matter of fact, and I think most important in 1983, we had the liberation of one of those potential outer colonies, and of course, I refer to the liberation of the small island of Grenada. If we look at the total picture, we can't take any encouragement by seeing a lack of aggressiveness on the part of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the fact that there have been no new colonies added, we must assume that Soviet aggression has been at least cloaked. There are no longer any naive, newly independent former colonies which might decide freely to embrace communism, to join the only colonial empire in existence today. There is no place in the world where the communists can demonstrate benefits from scientific socialism or any other form of communism. There is no place

where they can point out economic benefits to the peoples who have embraced or who have had communism forced upon them. There is no place in the world where they can point with pride to the economic or the social improvement. There is no place where the human rights of individuals who have been incorporated into this empire have been improved.

I am sure you will excuse me, as an old soldier, if I make a military analogy to this situation. There is a military axiom that when the attack in one area has been slowed or stopped, it is time for you to consider the consolidation of your reserves with a view towards launching a counter attack or a counter offensive. This is where the concept of the Low Frontier comes into being. I'm not talking about a military offensive, I'm talking about a psychological, a political, an economic, a spiritual offensive against the evil forces of communism. I'm talking about a truth offensive. Let us from now on, decide to tell it like it is, to use a colloquialism that we all hear from our children, without concern whether it will offend the Soviet Union or communist China. The facts are, as the President of the United States has tried to say on several occasions, and has been criticized by the media for saying so, communism is an evil empire. Let's face it, communism kills! Communism uses terrorism as an instrument of internal and foreign policy. The terrorism that we witness in the Middle East today is not an accident created by dissidents. It is in fact a policy of the communist empire. Those who are conducting terrorism throughout the world have been trained by the Soviet Union and its surrogates for that purpose.

Why, under these circumstances, should we support, even subsidize in many cases, communist governments anywhere? Why are we underwriting communist governments, preventing communist bank failures? This is suicidal in the total picture. I would say to US Congressmen and members of parliament of any nation, "Have you talked to any one of the approximately 1 million boat people that have escaped from South East Asia, from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia? Have you talked to any one of the one hundred thousand Miskito Indians who have escaped from Nicaragua? Have you talked to one of the Cambodians fleeing from the Vietnamese occupation of their homeland? Have you talked to a Lao tribesman who survived the yellow rain attack on his village? Have you talked to an Afghan who staggered into Pakistan on bare feet with his hands blown off by a Soviet mine? Have you talked to an Ethiopian who has been the victim of a deliberately created famine in that country?" Well let me assure you, ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken to those people, and while the stories that they tell will make you weep, they also bring some good news. In these and in other communist colonies, the people, without outside help, have concluded that it is better to be dead than remain red.

In fact, today, as we all know, there are eight outer colonies in the Soviet empire in open armed revolt. They have taken up arms against their Soviet masters. There are at least eight active democratic revolutions ongoing at this time. Three of them in Africa, in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, three in South East Asia, in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, one in southwest Africa, Afghanistan and, most important to me and my countrymen, one in North America. It is my intent today to show you why such revolutions are important to the people of Europe.

I'd like to tell you something about Nicaragua today by contrasting what you have probably heard on the radio, on the television and read in the newspapers about the Sandinistas, the Sandinista disinformation efforts and compare that with the facts as

we know them from having been there. But probably the most significant, certainly the most frequently repeated disinformation theme, is that Nicaragua is a small, remote banana republic. Why should the great, powerful United States care one whit about the type of government that it has there? How could this small, remote banana republic be a threat to the United States?

Well, the facts are, that Nicaragua is not remote from the United States. Nicaragua is closer to the United States than all of the states west of the Mississippi are to Washington D.C., the capital of the United States. It's only a two hour flight from the United States to Managua, or a two day drive, and I emphasize, you can get into an automobile and drive to Nicaragua. It has a great strategic significance to the United States, despite all of the disinformation to the contrary. It, first of all, is the site of the next trans-ocean canal. If the United States' citizens are not concerned about that, let me assure you that Soviet engineers have recently completed the survey of precisely how that canal will be built. Basically, it will be from the Atlantic Ocean up the San Juan River up to Lake Nicaragua and a very short cut through less than ten miles to the Pacific Ocean. Many of you know that the current Panama Canal does not accommodate super tankers and will not accommodate the aircraft carriers of the United States Navy. In order to shift naval forces from one ocean to the other, it is necessary to sail clear around Cape Horn. In the future, that canal will enable us to ship from one ocean to another. We believe it is important that that canal be in friendly hands. In addition to this, the Soviet Union and its surrogates are in the process of building Soviet air and naval bases on both coasts of Nicaragua. On the east coast,



*General John K. Singlaub addressing the conference. Left: Hon. G. Kirkpatrick, M.P. (Spain). Right: Hon. J. Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain).*

operating from these air and naval bases, the Soviets will be able to interdict the sea lines of communication bringing oil into the United States and supplies and relief to NATO.

During World War II it was necessary for us to clear the German submarines out of the Caribbean before we could consider starting our build-up in Europe. We decided at that time that in the future, the Caribbean would always be in friendly hands and we developed a logistical support system based on that assumption, using the gulf ports around the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to south Texas. Today, more than 60 percent of the oil that comes into the United States as imported oil comes over those sea lines of communication and approximately 60 percent of our supplies for our forces in Europe, the NATO forces here, and the supplies that we would provide to our NATO allies pass over those same sea lines of communication.

The Soviet Union operating on the bases under construction in Nicaragua, combined with those already constructed in Cuba, will have the capability of completely blocking those sea lines of communication.

In order to meet the NATO commitment, the United States would first have to divert U.S. forces to take out those bases. The Soviet bases being constructed on the west coast of Nicaragua will allow aircraft to make reconnaissance flights all the way up the west coast of the United States, clear up to our secret naval base in Alaska. The Soviets would have their first submarine base in North America. We believe that that is of the utmost strategic significance to the security of the United States and as I have suggested, to Europe as well. If those bases are allowed to be completed, the United States would be faced with a dilemma under any circumstances. Do we plan to attack those Soviet bases or do we withdraw our forces from NATO?

The second disinformation theme that I see discussed in Europe as well as in the United States is that the leaders of the so-called Contras, the counter-revolutionaries as the communists call them, (I prefer to use the term freedom fighters of Nicaragua) are all Samosistas, that is, that they are all former followers of Anastasio Somoza, that they are former members of the National Guard. Well, the facts are that there are only eleven former members of Somoza's National Guard serving with the UNO, the United Nicaraguan Opposition. One of them was a lieutenant colonel in such disfavor with Somoza that he was kept out of Nicaragua. They had him in exile as the attache to the United States and other positions, that's why he is acceptable now. The others of that group of eleven were former lieutenants who had been to school in the United States and had learned something of our military ethics, most of them were former sergeants. At the same time, at least 34 members of the Sandinista leadership are former National Guardsmen, former members of Somoza's elite force. This is a simple case of a lie being spoken so frequently, that people tend to believe it.

Disinformation theme number three is that the Contras want to return Nicaragua to a one party system as was had under Somoza. The facts are that most of the UNO leadership today belonged to or supported the Sandinista movement to oust Somoza. They belong to different parties and have united after several years of conflict because they were of different political persuasions, and now they have united to oppose the one party rule that has been imposed on Nicaragua by the Sandinistas. While there are reports that there was a fair election conducted and that there were other political parties, the facts are that the balloting on election day was probably fairly honest, but the election process was not fair, it was not a true election because the non-Sandinista

candidates were not permitted to campaign. The election, in fact, was a fraud and today, there is a single party in Nicaragua. And incidentally, there is no national army, the active forces armed today in Nicaragua belong to the FSLN party, the communist Sandinista party ruling Nicaragua.

Disinformation theme number four is that the Contras are committing atrocities against the people; they are rapists, they are murderers, the theme goes. Well, according to a recent Sandinista defector, Alvaro Malvazan who worked in the Ministry of the Interior directly for Thomas Bordea, Thomas Bordea authorized over 2,000 political killings. As many as 8,000 unauthorized killings have taken place. It is the policy, it is the official policy of the Sandinista government to kill all anti-communists and all actual or potential opposition. It is the Sandinistas who are going out into the villages and committing atrocities and torturing the people because, they claim, some of these people have assisted the Contras. That is the policy of that government. The fact that the freedom fighters have been able to expand in one year from 9,000 to now over 20,000 fighters and that there are 5,000 more who want to join the freedom fighter force, suggests that the people know who is committing the atrocities even if our media representatives do not.

Another disinformation theme is that our attitude toward the Sandinistas will drive them into the arms of the Soviets. The facts are that by their own admission, most of the current leadership have been Marxists and Leninists all of their adult lives. This myth is similar to the one that Fidel Castro was not really a Marxist, but after he seized power, after he consolidated power, he admitted that this was a means of deceiving the American people through naive journalists into believing that he was not always a dedicated communist as he had been. Fidel Castro, as you know, has been the principal advisor to the Sandinistas and they were told that they could use this theme: "Give us money or you'll drive us into the hands of the Soviet Union". Pure mythology.

Another frequently reported disinformation theme is that the Contras are a creation of the United States Central Intelligence Agency. The facts are that the resistance started inside Nicaragua in 1980 and they did not ask for help from the CIA until the end of 1981, two years after the Sandinistas took power. For most of that two year period, the United States government gave more support to the Sandinista government than anyone else. We gave over 118 million dollars to help the Sandinistas consolidate their position and it was only after the terrible disillusionment of the former Sandinista followers and supporters that the U.S. stopped aiding that government and in fact started providing assistance to the internal resistance.

Another disinformation theme is that U.S. aggressiveness toward Nicaragua has caused a large military build-up. Again, this is pure fantasy. The military build-up started within days of the July 1979 takeover. Shipments first arrived from Cuba, now they are coming directly from the Soviets and from the East Bloc countries who sail brazenly through the Panama Canal and into the port of Corinto with large quantities of tanks and armored personnel carriers and long range rockets and artillery, are unloaded and distributed, producing today the largest military force in the area. This has nothing to do with aggressiveness, it is the nervousness of Nicaragua's neighbors that has caused this concern on the part of the United States and our willingness to come and help the immediate neighbors take care of this threat.

Plans have been made by the Sandinistas which have been announced, that they are going to have an armed force of 250,000 troops, this includes militia and regular forces.

Again, I emphasize, the regular forces are regular party forces, not a national military force. Today, they have 120,000 men under arms, 62,000 of them are regular, the rest are militia forces. If Nicaragua ends up with 250,000 people under arms, that will be, measured in proportional terms, the largest military force in the world. That will mean that one person out of every ten men, women and children will be armed, 10% of the population. The United States and most countries have less than 1% of the population under arms.

Another significant disinformation theme is that the Catholic Church supports the Sandinistas, and there are people who go from European countries on specially conducted Church supported tours to visit Managua. There they talk to a few priests who tell them of the glories of the new Church of the Liberation Theology. The facts are that there are 912 priests and nuns in Nicaragua and of these 912, 860 of them are completely loyal to the Pope and follow the leadership of their new Cardinal. Of the 52 clergy who belong to the Liberation Theology Church and who support the



*Press conference. Left: Hon. J. Wilkinson, M.P. Right: Gen. John K. Singlaub.*

Sandinistas, only ten of those 52 are Nicaraguan. 42 of them are foreigners who are there as spokesmen for the Nicaraguan Church and they are the ones you encounter on the church supported tours.

Another disinformation theme is that the U.S. CIA and the Department of Defense have been secretly advising the Contras all along. The facts are that from 1982 to October of 1984, when all aid and advice was cut off by action of the United States Congress, there were approximately 100 U.S. personnel helping the freedom fighters. But since that time, there have been no U.S. government personnel there. I wish there had been, it would have certainly made my life a lot easier, but there have been no U.S. personnel there supporting the freedom fighters. But on the other hand, the Sandinistas have had and still have between ten and eleven thousand communist advisors. I think it interesting to see who they are, because this is what is taking place all over the world. First of all, of the nearly 11,000 communist advisors, about 7,000 of them are Cubans, half military, half political. The military are right down at the

company levels. When the freedom fighters ambush the Sandinista patrol, it is quite frequent that one of the dead will be a Cuban based upon the fact that he has Cuban currency in his pockets and he has a Cuban identification card in addition to his Sandinista identification. The other 3,000-4,000 are made up of forces from the Soviet Union, mostly KGB. There are Bulgarians helping in the training of the Sandinista Air Force, there are of course, East Germans whose responsibility is generally oriented towards security, and if you go through the security check at the Sandino International Airport, you will be under the observation of the East Germans. There are Czecho-Slovaks there who are providing assistance in learning the use of the sophisticated weapons systems. And, as you might expect, there are North Koreans, Vietnamese, Libyans and people from the Ayatollah's Iran. It is very significant that there are large numbers of advisors and fugitives from such terrorist organizations as the PLO, the Baader-Meinhof gang from Germany, the Red Brigade from Italy, the ETA Basque organization and a variety of terrorist organizations from South America. People will ask, "Well, what are the PLO doing there?" Well, the PLO has been involved with the Nicaraguan Sandinista movement from the very beginning, as a matter of fact, one of the national heroes of the Sandinista movement is a man by the name of Patrick Arguello Ryan who was killed in a PLO raid on an El Al airliner in 1970. There has been a relationship of PLO training in Lebanon first, then in Libya, which has gone on for 15 years. When the Sandinistas took power, under advice from the PLO, the first minority that was attacked was the Jewish population in Managua. Through systematic terrorism and harassment, all of the Jewish community has withdrawn from Managua. I believe there are only two in a caretaker's estate. Then, of course, they started the discrimination and attacks against the other religious groups which have continued. But the fact that the first attack was on the Jewish community is the heritage of their PLO advisors. One of the terrifying things about all of this is that fugitives from such terrorist organizations as those that have been creating international incidents recently, are being documented now as Nicaraguans, giving them freedom to travel throughout the whole hemisphere.

As an American, it is my view that these are not particularly pleasant neighbors to contemplate. If there were no other reason, that would be a good reason for us to oppose the Sandinistas. A communist victory in Central America would have more serious consequences for the United States and particularly for NATO than just producing obnoxious neighbors in North America. If you think about the boat people escaping from southeast Asia and realize that that became a serious problem not only for the initial hosts of those refugees, but created some problems throughout the world where they eventually settled, it is nothing compared to what the refugee problem will be coming from Central America. We will not be suffering from an influx of boat people, we will be dealing with feet people who will walk into the southern United States which borders on Mexico. They will be coming not just from Nicaragua, but if we don't take a stand there, they will be coming from Costa Rica, Honduras, from El Salvador, Belize, Guatemala and, of course, Mexico. Using the statistics that we have applied to other areas occupied by the communists, they will be coming not by the thousand, not by the hundreds of thousands, or even a few million. They will be coming by the tens of millions and these are not going to be simple economic and political refugees, they will contain large numbers of trained agents, provocateurs and saboteurs, whose mission will be the economic sabotage of the southern part of the

United States, to disrupt the governmental structure, to disrupt our economy. The States will be unable to handle this, the Governors will then say, "I have committed my police, I have committed my National Guard, Federal Government, you must provide assistance", and again, the only source of federal troops will be the five divisions presently stationed in Germany. Well, I say to you as Europeans, this is not just a United States' problem, it is not just a problem of Central America, or even a problem only of the western hemisphere, it concerns Europe, and in fact, the entire Free World. It is directly related to the security of Europe, and the sooner Europeans face the reality of the Soviet penetration of North America and the adverse impact it will have on them, the less chance there is that U.S. troops will have to be used to remove the Soviet military bases that are under construction there now, and the less chance that the U.S. will have to revert to a fortress America concept for the defense of our southern border. It is in your interest as well as ours to provide the Nicaraguan freedom fighters with the wherewithal to bring democracy to Nicaragua and to kick the Soviets and the Cubans out before they become so entrenched that we will have to even defend ourselves on the Rio Grande River which separates Texas from Mexico, or send an American expeditionary force into Nicaragua which consists of the five United States divisions now committed to NATO.

I believe that this is the essence of the current Low Frontier conflict that is ongoing. Ladies and gentlemen, I urge you to find out more about this and stop the disinformation activities that are now confusing the people of the world. Let's look at it as it is and tell it as it is.



*Hon. Y. Stetsko and Hon. J. Wilkinson, M.P. presenting Gen. John K. Singlaub with an Award of Merit.*

*Bertil Häggman (Sweden)*

## IEWS ON EFC/ABN SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS WORLDWIDE

It is with a certain reluctance I am speaking to you today on a subject that ought to deeply affect us all. This is because at this Conference there are two great personalities of the struggle against totalitarianism with far greater knowledge than I — Yaroslav Stetsko, once Premier of a Free Ukraine, one of the world's leading freedom fighters and General John K. Singlaub, probably the strongest and most successful supporter of freedom fighters in the world with a tremendous capability of finding donors for the freedom fighters in Nicaragua. They both have the admiration of us all.

Why should the support of freedom fighters worldwide be an important task of the ABN and the EFC? I do not have to mention that our basis is our belief in the idea of freedom — freedom for peoples, freedom for the individual.

Freedom is the starting point in all spheres of public affairs, in economics, in government and in foreign policy. And I should know because I come from a country in the West which is perhaps

unique in the degree of loss of personal freedom. Commitment to freedom is indeed a practical guide to all social, political, economic and cultural matters.

As opposed to a society based on the principle of freedom stands the Russian empire based on the subjugation of peoples and an awesome military might. An unprecedented military build-up began during the Brezhnev era when, at the same time, the Carter administration in the United States was cutting back in defence. And the military expenditures in Soviet Russia continue to grow. In 1983 experts concluded that Moscow spent 23 percent more than Washington on defence. Moreover, shamefully enough, the Russian build-up relied heavily on Western credit and technology. There is today a strong and increasing Soviet Russian naval presence in the North Atlantic, in the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean, not to mention the Baltic Sea.



*Laryssa Ivgot reading Mr. Bertil Häggman's speech at the ABN/EFC conference in London.*

In Marxist-Leninist jargon “balance of power” is called “correlation of forces” although the two phrases do not mean exactly the same thing. There are different dimensions to the changing “correlation of forces” in the world. Russia has moved from being a continental power, and may I mention that for 600 years, from the 13th century to the beginning of the 19th century, one of the main barriers to Russian expansion were the armed forces of my own country, Sweden. It all started, as you know, with Cuba, the first reach-out of Moscow. In the fateful period of 1975-1980 eleven countries came under some kind of Moscow control. Naturally, Soviet Russia is reaching for such strategic check points as the Panama Canal, the Straits of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, the Straits of Hormuz and the sea lanes of East Asia. During the last 20 years Soviet Russian and surrogate troops increased 500 percent in countries outside the Warsaw Pact. The Russian empire grows by force and this is today the main obstacle to peace and freedom.

The third dimension of the changing “correlation of forces” is the growing Russian influence on language and concepts concerning morality and international law. True, Moscow has had a number of defeats but if we take the United Nations as an example, Soviet Russia and its supporters in the Third World dominate the world organization. In 1982 Third World nations voted with the Soviet Union in the UN an average of 83.4 percent of the time but only 20.4 percent with the United States. The influence on the political and intellectual climate in the world is also growing. Looking at one other field, Soviet Russian disinformation has through a number of revelations of defectors and in several books been described as an important weapon of political warfare and an increasing threat to the West. The only way of countering this is to spread broad and sound knowledge of the methods, the weapons and the tactics of Soviet Russian disinformation.

We are meeting in Europe, as the ABN and the EFC are European organizations foremost. Naturally, our first commitment is to the freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain, in the subjugated nations in the heartland of the Russian empire — those opposing Moscow’s tyranny within the continental empire and in the East European “satellites”. They are patriots, nationalists and true Christians who risk their lives and the lives of their families for the good of their nations. They are Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Czechs, Poles and many, many others. We in Western Europe will always have close ties with the freedom fighters and the peoples in the other part of Europe, the subjugated part.

Let me just mention one example of resistance and sacrifice that has touched me personally very much — the fate of the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, who died on September 4th, 1985, as a result of premeditated murder by the KGB. He was serving a ten year sentence of strict regime imprisonment in Perm. The method used to kill him is so inhuman, so void of all Western fundamental humanitarian principles that it ought to move even the most cold-hearted. Stus was critically ill with neuritis. The KGB deliberately deprived him of medical facilities and forced him to do strenuous physical labour. The 46 year-old Stus was to have been nominated as a candidate for the Nobel Prize in literature. The KGB prevented it.

Ukraine is vital to the Soviet Russian economy. Resistance in Ukraine has always been the greatest fear of the Kremlin leaders as it is both a granary and a center of mineral production. There is unrest in Ukraine now, in November 1985, and there will be unrest until Ukraine can once more take its rightful place among the free nations of

the world. Freedom fighters in Ukraine come from all strata of the population. Should the Russian empire in the future be directly threatened, the masters in the Kremlin will not be able to rely on the discontented Ukrainians. The freedom fighters in Ukraine and the Baltic states are especially dangerous to the Kremlin, more so than in other subjugated nations, because of these countries' close contact with Europe. This does not, of course, mean that the liberation struggle in other nations is not a grave threat to Soviet Russia.

Our support for freedom fighters in subjugated Europe must at present be confined to political, financial and technological aid, but we must not forget that some of these freedom fighters, for instance the Ukrainians and the Lithuanians, fought an armed resistance struggle against the communist rulers and oppressors long in to the 1950s. An armed liberation struggle may once again be possible throughout the whole Russian empire, but we must never encourage or support premature risings that may cause unnecessary bloodshed.

Until that time, however, we must make use of psychological, political, philosophical means and the operational vulnerabilities of communism in the campaign for freedom. The present crisis of Russian rule and communist ideology in Poland is the best example in Eastern Europe that the system as such is under open attack. The Soviet Russian economy is plagued by inefficiency, low productivity, bad goods and services and a lack of incentive. In the Russian heartland there is resistance in Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Turkestan and in many other nations. The black economy is depriving the Kremlin rulers of much needed cash. Professor Richard Pipes has recently written that this economy "consists of a myriad of individual transactions completed every hour of the day throughout a vast empire, unobserved and unrecorded. It encompasses barter of goods and services; moonlighting by state employees; the use of government equipment and material for personal profit; construction work; and above all, the production and marketing of food. The state, unable to satisfy the growing needs of consumers, is compelled to tolerate this unwelcome development, even though the practice challenges its claim to a monopoly on economic resources". Bribery is endemic. Strikes, although not in a Western sense, are common. But Moscow finds most threatening of all the nationality problems, a subject I need not go into any further before this knowledgeable audience. Remember also that there are around 50 million Moslems in the Soviet Russian empire.

The West must increase its public diplomacy spending, the capability to raise political war to the same level as the Soviet Russians (but not using the same methods) to around 5 billion U.S. dollars in the coming years until 1990. The major contributor in this campaign would have to be the United States, but Western Europe and the other countries of the Free World must also participate. One important task of the ABN/EFC should be to present the relevant facts to parliamentarians to help further decisions on increased expenditures to win the political war.

It is necessary to prepare for a transformation of communist regimes into democracies. One way of doing this is to hold conferences on constitution-making for the now subjugated nations with specialists participating from all groups in the West and university experts on constitutional law. The time has come to prepare for liberation by the study and preparation of free constitutions and democratic processes for all nations of the Russian empire awaiting liberation.

In the field of communication we must call for increased broadcasting to Soviet Russia and the satellite countries. In particular, the capability for broadcasting to the Central Asian republics must be increased. Preparation for the instalment of satellites to beam TV programmes directly to TV sets in the Soviet Union should be made. The era of Direct Broadcast Satellite (DBS) is soon here when a higher powered signal can go straight into the individual home. The initial goal should be an additional billion U.S. dollars invested mutually by as many Western countries as possible. The United States should not carry the whole burden of this programme alone, as is often the case.



*Participants of the ABN/EFC conference.*

Support for freedom fighters worldwide is, in my view, another task of the ABN and the EFC. Such support has already been forthcoming during the first years of the 1980s, but should be increased during the coming five-year period — a “Five Year Plan for Liberation”. The Grenadian operation demonstrated that Soviet Russia is not prepared to risk a major conflict to prevent the fall of a client regime far from Moscow. The documents captured in Grenada in 1983 have proved that revolutions are not brought about primarily by poverty, deprivation and oppression, but mainly by subversive political action. They showed that Cuba and Soviet Russia were deeply involved in supporting the Grenadian regime. Like Grenada, every communist territory in the Americas would be a strategic outpost for Soviet Russia. Almost every so-called “satellite” regime under Russian influence had representatives or observers on Grenada at one stage or another. According to captured documents, preparations were under way to send military aid from Soviet Russia and its “satellites” and to train Grenadian political cadres at Leninist schools in Russia. In Grenada the intervening troops found not only Cuban soldiers and officers, but also high-ranking Soviet, Bulgarian and East German officers, including a Russian four-star general. No one in this room, I presume, doubts the importance of the support of freedom fighters worldwide. But the captured documents in Grenada clearly prove what happens in countries falling under Russian control. We do not want to face the prospect of having to widen that support to new freedom fighters in countries which may come under Soviet Russian control in the future. Let us keep in mind the communist uprisings in,

for instance, the Philippines and El Salvador. It is important that El Salvador does not become a new Nicaragua. The guerillas in Peru, The Shining Path, are also threatening the duly elected government of that country. The "risk nations" should not be forgotten. Ways must be found to inform the world about the communist countries that are threatened by communist guerilla warfare. The cruelty and totalitarian aspirations of the guerillas should be made public in an increasing effort to expose the methods used to attempt the creation of new communist-ruled governments. What is perhaps most important is to reveal Soviet Russian involvement, directly or indirectly. One of the reasons for the fall of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia into communist hands was that organizations opposing communism were not adequately prepared or strong enough to withstand the overwhelming campaign in the West in support of Hanoi. The communists won not only on the battlefield, but also the political war in the West. Let us be ready for the next round.

*(To be continued).*

### **Greetings to the ABN/EFC Conference in London**

*Eminent Mr. President,  
Distinguished Presidium,*

I greet all of you who have gathered at this conference of nations subjugated by the Soviet Union, nations which are seeking and fighting for freedom. May your deliberations be guided by the Christian spirit of freedom and justice in Christ's truth, which is the only liberating force: "And you will know the truth and the truth will make you free." (John 8,32).

May God's blessing be upon you!

*Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivskyj*

*Dear Sirs,*

My greetings and prayerful wishes for the success of your conference, working for the protection of human rights and freedom of the oppressed nations in communist countries.

*Maxim Hermaniuk  
Archbishop of Winnipeg  
Metropolitan for Ukrainian Catholics in  
Canada*

*Dear Conference Participants:*

I have been informed that you shall be meeting in London, England, from November 21st through 24th, 1985 to deal with a host of problems, the main theme of which is "High and Low Frontier—Strategic Defence and Liberation."

The topics you will deal with are varied. Yet their study is necessitated by the continual cancerous growth of communism throughout the world. Vigilance must be exercised to combat its atheistic philosophy and to return a lasting peace to the world.

May your sessions be fruitful and aid the subjugated peoples of the world in soon realizing genuine freedom for their respective countries.

With every good wish, I remain

*Sincerely yours,  
Basil H. Losten,  
Bishop of Stamford*

*Prof. Leo Magnino (Italy)*

## THE VALUE OF THE NATIONALITIES AND THE FUTURE POSITION OF RUSSIA IN EUROPE

The entire human race today finds itself seriously threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism which, after having taken hold of a large part of Europe and Asia, continues unceasingly to develop its subversive action aimed at carrying out new territorial conquests and at gaining the domination of the world by using, for this purpose, international communism.

Before the threatening dynamism of Soviet Russian imperialism, the salvation of the nations and humanity in religious, spiritual and civilisation values, conquered during thousands of years of history, is found in the unity of programme and aim of all free men and the Free World.

The nations living under the direct domination of Russian Bolshevism and international communism, and those mortally threatened in their national, cultural and spiritual heritage and even in their biological potential — it would be sufficient to remember the crimes of genocide that the communists perpetrate in the countries they dominate — especially must feel the imperious need to join their efforts to fight their mortal enemy, the enemy of all humanity — Russian imperialist Bolshevism and international communism.

Everybody knows that the USSR is a multinational empire, the Russians constituting 45 percent of the entire population. The West became accustomed nevertheless — this is the law of the lesser effort — to using indiscriminately the words USSR and Russia as perfect synonyms of totally reversible use. The Russians juggle with these two words, following a rule that suits their tactics and passes unseen in the eyes of the Free World, but finally impregnates and inhibits the subconscious and the thought of the West.



*Prof. Leo Magnino's speech being read by Iryna Kapustynskyj.*

The question of the value of the nationalities is without a doubt one of the most important issues for the international order itself. To establish a true international order, one must above all take into consideration the aspirations and the legitimate needs of the various nationalities. Therefore, one has to establish the place that the different nations have to occupy in international society.

The various nations must enjoy freedom and independence; nationality is born from a group of people living for generations in a country, creating a community and thus acquiring a tradition, a language, a religion, a history. The sense of nationality comes from a common life carried on for centuries, gradually developing common values to which the population adheres.

The USSR encompasses in its European part various very important nationalities and I would like to name, amongst others, Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries. No European has the right to forget them, because these nations did not join the Soviet Union, but were forcefully and violently incorporated by communist Russia, the heir of tsarist nationalism. And the consequences were not long coming! The great famine of 1932-33 cost Ukraine and Byelorussia, for example, millions of lives; and the Ukrainian partisans had to fight on two fronts during the last World War. Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians were deported while Russians flocked to their countries. The cynical dispersion of several nationalities occurred in this way.

For the West, the treatment of the nationalities in the USSR appears very positive, a belief which is as misleading as it is precarious. Marxism-Leninism has no real consideration for the national problem; the policy towards the nationalities, before and after the October revolution, was conceived in order to spread first the tsarist and then the communist ideology. This ideology includes the creation of a so-called "Soviet man". The Soviet man is a stereotyped person, physically as much as morally; his way of lodging and dressing is almost uniform, and so are his beliefs and behaviour.

The contraction of the colonial ties between Moscow and the national republics of the USSR can be studied taking Ukraine as an example, the largest and the most important republic after Russia, and also a founder-member of the United Nations. But all this was just a mockery! In 1945, when Moscow felt it was useful (to impress the "bourgeois") to widen their prerogatives in a way to make believe that the republics of the USSR were truly independent, Ukraine and Byelorussia were introduced within the UN as founder-members. But very soon, the progressive restrictions of all the rights of the Ukrainian SSR, imposed within the frame of the centralist and colonialist policy of the Russian government, turned Ukraine's autonomy to rags! After the conquest of Ukraine, as in so many other free republics, Moscow has strived to suppress her definitively through reprisals never before seen in the history of mankind, and I recall once more, that of 1933 (I was myself a witness in Kyiv) when Moscow organized a terrible famine that cost Ukraine 5 to 10 million innocent lives.

Moscow wants to rule Ukraine, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Poland, Asian countries (and we have to remember Afghanistan) and African countries (Angola, Mozambique, etc.). Now Moscow's efforts are turned towards South Africa. The reprisals of the USSR are focused on all the patriots who are fighting for the freedom and independence of their countries. They are sent to psychiatric hospitals and prisons. Hundreds of Ukrainians are imprisoned and tortured in these prisons or in the hard labour camps as in the psychiatric asylums that the Soviet Union has

created almost everywhere on its territory. Since the end of W.W.II, the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the evolution of the satellite countries has not changed; the main objective is to keep these countries strictly dependent on the USSR, as an integral part of the so called “socialist community”.

We have seen on the occasion of the three big crises Moscow had to face in the satellite countries, that the USSR puts its every means to action and in the last resort its military means, to ensure that a satellite country might not escape its control. Whatever might be the differences between the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the Czecho-Slovakian revolution, in both cases the USSR suppressed them militarily, believing its hegemony to be threatened. The third case is that of Poland. Until now, at least, she has managed to avoid a military intervention because the soldiers and the police there seemed to be strong enough to cope with the repression and the normalization. But, even in this case, one can catch fleeting glimpses of the Soviet Russian army as the last means to guarantee the securing of Poland within the socialist community.

And finally, what can be said of the armed occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Russian troops? Or the intervention of the Soviet Russian armed forces in Ethiopia, in Angola, etc.? Or tomorrow in the South African Republic, where anti-apartheid movements are subsidised by the Soviet Union itself? Ten years ago, the Greek colonels were overthrown, so was Salazar in Portugal, the Algerian and the Vietnamese wars were stopped... But have we done the same for the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union? Did we massively mobilize ourselves to push the Soviet Russian troops out of Budapest? The tanks from Prague? Or Kabul? Of course not! But why?

Because the Western nations do not believe in a Soviet Russian threat and think that the 17 Russian divisions on alert on the Elbe are only there for a picnic! When the Soviet Union shouts “Peace!”, a little propaganda surrounding this word is enough for the masses within the Soviet Russian propaganda circuit to have the feeling that the USSR really does rescue the peace! The policy of “peaceful coexistence”, the only Soviet Russian export product that is freely imported in all the Western countries, but is unknown in the socialist countries, as well as the friendly smile of some communist leaders towards the Vatican, cannot reassure us on this subject.

One could ask oneself how communist tyranny could possibly have, with unheard of atrocities, the abolition of everything that constitutes the very basis of human well-being. One must however admit that it is very difficult to fight communism when one has fallen under its domination. This is due to the military tactics and the modern armaments of the Soviet Russians, their fearsome espionage machinery and the improved human slaughter houses that they have built within their empire. Facing the red wave that swells to sweep



*General view of participants at the ABN/EFC conference in London.*

away civilization, there is no place for inertia, for indifference. To give moral and material assistance to these patriots fighting for their freedom and independence, this is the guideline that strongly imposes itself on all the conscious elements of the civilized world: this is their duty as well as their immediate interest as human beings.

What is our opinion on the future position of Russia in Europe? We have nothing to gain by destroying Russia, but this country should be able to join anew the international order and civilization in full respect of nationality, freedom and national independence. From the international point of view, there is no doubt that Russia itself, as Ukraine and the other republics now enslaved in the USSR, will have to play a role in European and international politics. More than ever, Russia will need tranquility and will have to adopt a domestic policy of peace and a foreign policy impregnated with altruism, considering each republic now enslaved by the USSR, as her equal. Only then will Russia find her place in the community of civilized nations.

It would be desirable to have within Europe, a Russia in proportion to Western Europe. But Russia must get rid of its imperialist views and its aggressive doctrines. Only then could Russia become a part of Europe, with rights equal to those of the other countries now enslaved and held in her grasp.

Nowadays, Russia is reliving a new Middle Ages, no doubt more terrible than the historical one, but the signs of resurrection are appearing isolated, persecuted, but nevertheless evident. From Ukraine to Georgia, from Turkestan to the Baltic countries, the voice of freedom is rising, stronger every day. The soul of the Ukrainians, the Georgians and all the peoples of the Soviet Union is becoming more and more alive and we, the West, we have the duty to listen to them and to join our efforts to help them. Russia will be reborn only when all these nations are free and independent. This is the aim of our efforts and the duty of the Free World.



*Bulgarian representatives at the ABN/EFC conference.*

## WEAKNESSES OF THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE



*Mr. Arie Vudka, former political prisoner of Soviet Russian concentration camps, delivering his address at the ABN/EFC conference in London.*

The Soviet system is a refined and an accomplished tyranny, where there is no room for anything human. All human imperfections and feelings serve as fodder for the expansion of the empire. Anything which is advantageous to the empire is thoroughly exploited, anything which stands in its way is completely destroyed whenever possible, or incessantly weakened and divided internally and externally, when a head-on assault is denied chances of success. One way or another, a person who wants to be an integral part of the system must recreate himself into a proficient slave in all aspects of his physical and spiritual being, thereby contradicting all the fundamental qualities of a human being, destroying his foundation. This is why the Soviet system will never arrest debilitating alcoholism, the real "opium of the people", through which people wrench themselves away from their anti-human reality, with which they cannot become reconciled. It was not for blue jeans that a person of such prominence as Arcady Shevchenko defected to the Free World, but for the breath of freedom, the thirst for which is not destroyed even in the darkest of souls.

All human needs, but for the basest animal ones, contradict the Soviet system. In this contradiction lies the system's fatal flaw, which ruins its material foundation, because today, even

a household is not based on servile physical labor, but on the discoveries of human thought and initiative. Irresponsible slave-like waiting for orders from above lead to the reality that the main supplier of contemporary technology for the Russian empire is not an army of Soviet intellectuals, but a cloud of spies. The Soviet radio shrieks day and night about the great successes of farmers on endless collective fields, but the USSR annually increases its grain imports from capitalist America.

Almost all of the countries of Eastern Europe subjugated by Moscow have attempted sweeping economic and social reforms, all of which have been either stifled,

tamed or curtailed by Moscow. Red China, which considered itself the bastion of Asian communist fanaticism, having torn away from Moscow, today is introducing innovative reforms. And here a question arises. Why, even in a communist world is Moscow the exception? Why does Moscow choose to commit itself to unavoidable lagging, rather than allow the smallest breath of freedom? The answer was provided by one of Russia's czars: "Constitution? It's a wonderful thing, but it will be taken advantage of by separatists!" In this lies the fundamental differentiation of Russian mentality, for whom it is important to keep other nations under its boot and systematically conquer what is until now, the Free World. Without this axiom one cannot understand the secretive nature of Muscovy and the actual national roots of communism, its unscrupulous cruelty and aggression. National feeling and identification, dignity, affiliation with one's native culture and language, this is the invincible impetus which is one of the strongest needs of the human soul, and without a doubt a person will take advantage of any opportunity, of any fissure in the walls of tyranny to cultivate his national "self". This is why any breath of freedom is a fatal poison to the empire, meaning the unnatural ruling of a half savage conqueror over nations who are culturally superior. Such an unnatural situation can be brought to life only through ruthless terror, which has already claimed millions as its victims. The Russian occupant did not stop with the destruction of seven million of the Ukrainian rural population through an artificially created famine. The same cruel fate met six million Kazakhs, half of that country's unfortunate population. The rest of the victims of Russian colonialists were disposed of in concentration camps, a system which Hitler later liberally borrowed from the Bolsheviks, along with their party-CHEKA super-rule.

The latest and most recent victim of red Nazism, murdered this fall in a concentration camp is the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, of whom any great literature could be proud.

The roots of Moscow's weakness lie in the subjugated nations because it is enough for the central power to totter and all the subjugated nations will rise against it as they did in 1918 when all the enslaved nations rid themselves of Russian occupation, if only temporarily. The captive nations are preparing the same surprise for Moscow in the future, this time without former rosy illusions which were washed away forever by the blood of the victims of Russian genocide. It is not by accident that 90 percent of political prisoners in the USSR are nationalists, and foremost, Ukrainian.

Namely, it is the dread of the liberation nationalism of the subjugated nations which pushes Russia onto a path of discord between the subjugated nations themselves and the threatened nations. This is the old Roman motto of "divide and conquer". Past historical conflicts between nations are dispersed, in order not to see the current fatal danger.

I want to personally bring your attention to the brutal persecution long endured by my people — the Hebrews at the hands of Moscow and to the frightening dangers being prepared for all of us by Moscow. This may pose a question by some of my compatriots: are they struggling against a real enemy, or maybe, in total ignorance, against shadows of the past?

Namely, it was we, the Hebrews who became the first victims of Bolshevik linguicide: the Hebrew language was banned as "reactionary" in 1918. All our national awareness was already being mercilessly destroyed in the 1920s, members of the

Zionist movement, even extreme leftist ones, the faithful, rabbis, people of Hebrew cultural orientation disappeared from life. Wide national strata of primarily poor people, were treated as “minor bourgeoisie” and were subjected to brutal “deku-lakhization”. When everything that was nationally conscious and aware was destroyed, and the people were left without any economic base of their own, the time of our “quislings” arrived, who helped Moscow organize these repressions in the name of communism. In this way, the treacherous “Hebrew section” was destroyed because “The Moor did his job”, and after great purges of the huge party-CHEKA apparatus, only a few “persons of Hebrew origin” could be counted. The next step was the destruction of the Yiddish culture and its bearers. Not one Hebrew school, not one Hebrew language book remained in the empire. The death of Stalin saved the remaining Hebrews from organized pogroms and exile in Siberia, but the danger did not disappear. The diplomatic, propagandist, and military endeavors of the USSR for over 20 years have been concentrated on the destruction of Israel and on the fomentation of savage anti-semitism in the USSR and throughout the world. I have with me a collection of Nazi and Soviet anti-semitic caricatures which are completely identical, depicting Hebrews as inhuman beings, as global exploiters who feed off wars, are the enemies of mankind who aspire to seize the entire world, if not already reigning with the help of a universal conspiracy.

This is the propagandist background on which in recent years they have wounded Karmi Elbert, a Hebrew child in Kyiv, murdered Makman in Minsk, gouged out the eyes and destroyed the face of Zion Bernstein, raped and tortured Dan Shapiro, injecting him with drugs, throwing him sacrificially to the dogs, broke the ribs and dislocated the kidneys of Zachary Zynsein and Lazarus Rulev. In a Siberian concentration camp, they mercilessly beat Julian Edelstein, a religious Hebrew prisoner, convicted of “ritual drug abuse”, a new version of “using blood for matzo”. Hebrew blood is flowing! Hitler also began with the Hebrews, but he had all of mankind in mind. The Hebrews, Ukrainians and the other nations subjugated by Moscow reply with an incessant spiritual and national rebirth, even under such horrible pressures.

Our answer, the answer of all free people who desire to remain free must be a thorough boycott of Moscow and support for the liberation struggles of the nations occupied by Russia. We must lay aside a terrifying absurd when the new Hitler is being nourished by the bread, technology and finances of free nations, which he swallows up, one by one.

The role of the resistance of the subjugated nations can be seen in the planned invasion of Poland during the days of Solidarity. The rebirth of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church and the strengthening of nationalism, usurped the mobilization and forced the regime to cancel the invasion. Armed clashes took place between members of the underground and the KGB in the Carpathian Mountains.

The renaissance of Islam and the nationalism of the Asian nations of the USSR under the influence of heroic Afghanistan forced Moscow to recall home divisions of its army made up of Moslems. It is difficult to say if Moscow would not have dared to occupy Iran or Pakistan, were it not for the state of affairs in Turkestan, where, during stormy demonstrations, the local youth shouted at the Russians “Colonialists, get out!”.

The repressions continue against the occupied Baltic countries. Specifically, the trial of the Latvian Astra. The last word of this Viking, with whom I spent time in a concentration camp, clearly demonstrates that Moscow has not succeeded in russifying the spirit of the Baltic people, where, although raised in Soviet times, a Latvian retains the western mentality and the lucidity of thought of a free human being.

The nationalist movement in Armenia and Georgia has become strengthened. Even in distant Yakut, tempestuous demonstrations took place against the Russian colonizers.

Thousands of Hebrews, in the largest centers of Russian chauvinism, are secretly learning their outlawed language, culture and history, they walk about dressed in traditional Hebrew garb, openly returning to their persecuted faith, continuing their sacrificial struggle for their right to return to their reborn Hebrew homeland. Moscow lies, claiming "Emigration has ended, and all those who wanted have already emigrated" while at the same time, Hebrew patriots languish in Russian prisons, denied emigration to Israel by the hundreds of thousands. We, a small group of activists in Israel have documentation on thousands of families who for endless years receive denials from the government to their official requests for repatriation to Israel. Anyone who wishes can receive this list-document of the lies and cruelty of Moscow, whose word cannot be believed.

The sacrificial struggle of the nations subjugated by Moscow has wide humanitarian significance for the Free World. Namely, it is this struggle which will determine whether the Free World will remain free or fall into the darkness of Muscovite slavery. Liberty is indivisible. If Moscow stifles the resistance of the captive nations, nothing will hold back Russian imperialism from a general offensive on the Free World. A victory of the subjugated nations over bloody Moscow will rid the world forever of a fatal threat, of the Russian Damoclean sword which today hangs over all of humanity. Communism incites wars and terror in the world, it is not stopped



*Mr. Arie Vudka answering a question put to him by Mr. Truong-Quang-Si (Vietnam).*

by anything in its thirst for world domination. It is this communism propagated by Moscow which has, without a war, destroyed 130 million people on half of the globe, through artificial famines, concentration camps and torture, and the remaining slaves, although still alive, should envy the dead.

He who claims that it is better to be red than to be dead does not know what he is talking about. I advise him to savor just one year of such a life in a communist concentration camp and he will be ready to stand by his liberty and that of his loved ones to the death.

NO! To trade with slavemongers. YES! To aid to the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russia, and then, a war with the rapacious Russian empire will be waged on its domain by its current sacrifices.

And then, it will not be necessary to choose to be either dead or to be red, but it will be possible to remain, forever, alive and free.

### Greetings to the ABN/EFC Conference

*Eminent Mr. President,*

I am very grateful for your invitation to attend the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations conference which will be held on November 21-24, 1985. Unfortunately, I will be unable to attend the conference in person, therefore, I extend to all the attendants my greetings. May God's blessing guide your work.

With love in Christ

*Archbishop Anatolij Dublanskyj  
Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church*

*Dear Sir,*

News of the coming conference of the EFC/ABN about which your letter of Sep. 25th informed me was pleasant reading and were I younger and freer I would gladly be present. As a member of a nation occupied by godless communists, and deprived of elementary freedom, freedom to pray, I can only rejoice when I learn of conferences productive of greater understanding of the menace of atheistic communism.

Knowing that the stooge Russian Orthodox Church is in my homeland, Ukraine, deliberately out to destroy the

Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and seeing Russian imperialism spreading like a plague in Africa, Afghanistan, Cambodia, etc., with all freedom loving people, I rejoice that in the latter part of this month in London will be this conference about which you have told me.

With all my heart I desire and most earnestly do I pray for the success of this conference. May the blessings of God be showered on all those present. While you thus commemorate the 40th anniversary of the termination of World War II and the first decade of the Helsinki Accords, may you be especially enlightened by Almighty God and enabled to make more and more aware of the menace of atheistic communism. May we all live to see the not too distant day when the world is truly free, and when nations and free individuals are no longer gaoled, tortured or killed for desiring to be so.

*Yours most sincerely in the King of Peace,  
Bishop Ivan Prasko, D.S.E.O., M.B.E.,  
Eparch for Ukrainians in Australia, New Zealand and Oceania*

## PRESS STATEMENT

The world has been a precarious place to live in for many years. A second generation is growing up with the obscenity of the risk of nuclear annihilation hanging over it.

We are told that there is no alternative to maintaining the existing, uncertain peace between the superpowers other than through containment, detente or nuclear policies based on the fear of Mutual Assured Destruction, aptly called MAD. But all these are merely palliatives. That can only be done by identifying its actual causes and then resolving to tackle the root of the problem.

The problem has conventionally been seen as a struggle between two superpowers to carve out and maintain separate spheres of influence which although in competition attain some sort of equilibrium. But Russian historical imperialism, now allied to communism, has a different goal — that of world domination. Successive leaders of the USSR have always maintained that communism can logically only succeed in a world untainted by other ideologies.

Moscow has pursued this goal unfalteringly since the Second World War, exploiting wars in Asia, Africa, Latin America; using pacifist movements, fifth columns, disinformation and international terrorism; developing an expert psycho-strategy for influencing the Western media; using espionage to weaken the West's defenses.

The concept of the balance of power is useless in light of all this. It is an anachronism because the essential prerequisites to the balance of power do not exist, i.e. mutual, limited goals without the objective of world domination. Therefore, the Geneva summits, whatever their outcome, will not bring about any real changes in the political aspirations and strategy of Moscow.

Negotiations concentrating on playing the nuclear numbers game are not enough. The West must include the forgotten subjugated nations, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the Russian empire, in its modern political and military strategy.

The winning of the minds and souls of the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union and satellite countries would mean a simultaneous lessening of the military potential of Russian imperial forces. The subjugated nations have at their disposal the weapons



*Press conference, London, November 21, 1985.  
Hon. Y. Stetsko reading his press statement.*

of ideas and the actual weapons themselves and the West must declare its unequivocal support for the legitimate demands for freedom and independence of the nations oppressed by Moscow.

However, such a declaration would necessarily imply the rejection of the old political conceptions of containment, detente, coexistence or balance of power which are based on the appeasement of ever new Russian aggressions which in recent years have been seen in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua included in the sphere of Russian domination.

There is an enormous fund of good will towards the West and the democratic way of life among the peoples subjugated by Moscow which the West should build upon by actively supporting the liberation movements within these countries.

A coherent, psychological-political strategy should be formulated with as its cornerpoint the subjugated nations — Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Poland, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Croatia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Vietnam, Afghanistan and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

Direct military support should be given where appropriate and NATO should create a department of psycho-strategy for the participation of representatives of the liberation struggle movements of nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

The West should also exert economic sanctions by ceasing credits and the export of grain and high technology to the USSR which would force the Kremlin to refrain from further massive rearmament and expose the weaknesses within the empire.

In these ways the West could give impetus to the disintegration of the world's most brutal and evil empire, into national, independent, democratic states, whilst avoiding the risk of a nuclear holocaust.

*(ABN/EFC Conference,  
London, November 21, 1985)*

*Yaroslav Stetsko  
ABN President*

### Greetings to the ABN/EFC Conference

*To the Conference Participants:*

It is a high privilege to send this message of solidarity and good wishes to all of you, on the invitation of our esteemed friend, Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko of Free Ukraine.

We come together, whether in person or in spirit, as freedom fighters the world over. A single commitment inspires us all: to defend freedom where it exists, to advance freedom where it is denied.

Both as an idea and as the most powerful force of our time, freedom is indivisible. Those of us who enjoy its blessings to the full dare not evade our

broader responsibility: wherever totalitarian oppression holds people in thrall, there is the enemy and there must the battle be fought. The occasion of your Conference provides an opportunity for our rededication.

In common with tens of millions of my fellow Americans, I want you to know that we are with you, wholeheartedly and with inextinguishable ardor. May God bless our great cause.

*Charles M. Lichenstein  
Ambassador,  
The Heritage Foundation, USA*

# GLOBAL STRATEGY

Resolutions of the ABN Congress  
held in London, November 21-24, 1985

on the 45th Anniversary of the First ABN Conference in Ukraine

**WHEREAS** the national liberation processes inside the Soviet Russian empire are growing in strength and undermining the empire and its communist system; and

**WHEREAS**, the Bolshevik tyrants confirm this in their emphasis on the necessary struggle against so-called bourgeois nationalism and against religion; and

**WHEREAS**, the **Chronicle of the Underground Ukrainian Catholic Church** in Ukraine and the **Underground Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania**, the armed struggle of the Afghan freedom fighters and the struggle of the Polish people testify to this fact with regard to all other nations; and

**WHEREAS**, the young generation raises the standard in the struggle for defence of national dignity and traditions, the cult of national heroes, religious values, inherent national ideals, institutions and cultural treasures, and courageously combats an imposed communist way of life based on total terror; and

**WHEREAS**, the struggle of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian empire is invincible because the nations defend their very existence as separate organic and spiritual entities; and

**WHEREAS**, this endeavour will reach its zenith through the armed struggle against the occupant — the Russian imperialist colonial yoke; and

**WHEREAS**, the constant shortage of bread and in general the bankruptcy of the economy of the USSR is confirmed by its own leaders when they state that this system is only at the beginning of the first phase of so-called developed socialism,

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED** that the ABN Congress considers it of the utmost importance for world freedom that:

1. An overall global strategy, including psycho-strategy, should be developed by the Free World against the global attack of Russian imperialism and communism which seeks to conquer the entire world;

2. The freedom fighter movements should be backed at international forums, receive modern technological and electronic equipment from the Western powers for a political-psychological offensive, and even military aid (according to the UN Resolution on Namibia). The freedom fighter leaders should be publicly received by leaders of the free governments and the national liberation formations should be recognised as legal representatives of the subjugated nations against their oppressors;

3. The media should provide frequent coverage of anti-communist national liberation movements and insurgencies;

4. International news broadcasts beamed to the Soviet Union and its “satellites” should place special emphasis upon national liberation insurgencies against Russian and communist domination (e.g. the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Lithuanian Liberation Army, the Turkestani Basmatchi, the Polish Home Army, (“Armiya Krayova”), the Byelorussian freedom fighters, the Afghan Mujahideen, the freedom fighters of Angola, Nicaragua, Mozambique, past and present time);

5. The freedom fighters should be assisted in establishing information centers in major cities abroad. Films and books on the anti-communist, national liberation insurgencies, on concentration camps, the genocidal, artificially imposed famine in

Ukraine in 1932-33, on psychiatric asylums, the Bolshevik holocaust, on heroes of the national liberation struggle against Soviet Russian and communist oppressors, on the Catacomb Church, on the believers in God, martyrs, on the heroic political prisoners, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, for whose release the Free World should continue to strive — all of these should be prepared for general public distribution in the Free World;

6. The Free World should allocate sufficient financial and economic resources to the liberation struggle to enable the national liberation anti-communist, anti-Soviet Russian movements' respective insurgencies to win, since supporting insurgencies is much less expensive than fighting a conventional war;

7. The West should cease to supply grain, technology, credits and arms to the Soviet Union and its "satellites". Western trade has only served to sustain the tyrannical Russian empire;

8. The ABN Congress condemns the systematic Russification of all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, aiming to create a "Soviet people" (a Russian "supernation"); and appeals to the Free World to refrain from calling and considering the subjugated nations in the USSR as one Soviet People.

9. The ABN Congress condemns Soviet Russia for its total denial of religious freedom and the persecution of religious leaders, such as Yosyp Terelya and Vasyl Kobryn as well as religious leaders of other subjugated nations. The ABN Congress condemns the slow murders of Ukrainian cultural leaders Oleksa Tykhyj, Valerij Marchenko, Yuriy Lytvyn, Oleksij Nikityn and Vasyl Stus as well as the murder and persecution of cultural leaders of all other subjugated nations. The ABN condemns the mass executions of members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA);

10. The ABN Congress condemns Soviet Russia's abduction of 75,000 children from different lands, which were taken to Russia to be indoctrinated in communism and terrorism.

11. The ABN Congress demands the application of the 25 year-old UN Resolution on Decolonization to the last existing empire — the communist Russian empire, unwaveringly stands for the dissolution of this empire and the subsequent reestablishment thereof of national, independent, democratic states within their ethnographic territories: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, North Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola and other peoples.

12. On the 40th anniversary of the creation of the United Nations, the USSR and its "satellites", which violate the UN Charter by conducting mass genocide and wars of aggression, employing chemical and bacteriological weapons against women and children, and sponsors international terrorism, should be excluded from this international body. The UN must cease to be a forum for disinformation campaigns, aiming at discrediting the freedom-loving world, in particular, the United States. The national liberation, revolutionary, anti-communist organisations, their centres and spokesmen should be accepted into the framework of the UN, as the true representatives of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

13. The ABN demands, just as it did before the Belgrade Conference, to officially proclaim the Helsinki Accords null and void, since these accords affirm the status quo of Russian communist expansionist occupations, and thus render a priori the issue of



*Roxolana Potter (AF ABN) reading the ABN resolutions at the London conference.*

human rights of the subjugated nations unattainable. The defenders of national and human rights in the Soviet Union, who were hitherto clandestine fighters, made themselves vulnerable to persecution by publicly appealing to the Helsinki Accords without any help or protection from the Free World.

14. The ABN Congress appeals to the West to exert pressure on the USSR for the release of all the imprisoned members of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Groups.

15. The nations of the Free World must work towards the liquidation of slave labour concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, the cessation of genocide (such as the famine siege of Ukraine), and the liberation of political and religious prisoners. The means to achieve this is through economic boycotts of the USSR, its exclusion from international organisations, and the development of powerful psychological warfare.

16. The ABN Congress demands that the International Red Cross Convention regarding the legal and equal treatment of insurgent armies be respected in the struggle against the Bolshevik invaders.

17. The ABN Congress appeals to the nations of the Third World, many of which liberated themselves during the last decade, to support the freedom, justice, national independence and human rights against the evils of tyranny, despotism, neo-colonialism and totalitarianism of the Russian imperialists and communists together with their proxies.

18. The ABN Congress appeals to the US Government, the US Congress, and to all free nations to establish a center for psychological warfare within NATO (or the Pentagon), which would include spokesmen for the national, liberation organisations of the subjugated nations. We ask that a Freedom Academy be created specializing in the analytical study of the problems of the subjugated nations, working out a psycho-strategy and the training of cadres as a counterpart to the Lumumba University in Moscow.

19. The ABN Congress appeals to the Free World to help by all means, in particular with modern weapons, those nations, which are already fighting with arms in their hands against communist slavery imposed on them by Moscow and its hirelings, in particular in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, Vietnam, and other freedom loving peoples in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. The ABN Congress supports the liberation struggle of the Cuban nation and appeals to the Free World to help Cuban freedom fighters to overthrow the Castro regime. This can deliver a great blow to Soviet Russian expansion in Africa, where Castro troops carry out Soviet Russian proxy wars against freedom-loving African peoples.

20. The ABN Congress supports the US Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) programme which aims to liquidate weapons of mass annihilation and to establish a

defence for human beings against Bolshevik aggression. The Congress emphasizes, however, that the Russian empire cannot be dissolved and victory for the Free World against communism cannot be attained without the use of offensive forces. The offensive weapon which can achieve this is the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. Without a Low Frontier strategy, a High Frontier defence is but a variant of the anachronistic balance of power system in an epoch experiencing a global rise of national liberation struggles. The synthesis of the High and Low Frontier strategy — SDI and the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, if supported by the Free World, would solve the current global political crisis, caused by Russian aggression.

21. The concept of balance of power does not take the third superpower — the subjugated nations — into consideration and is anachronistic to an epoch experiencing a global rise of national liberation struggles against Russian communist imperialism. The only alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust is a coordinated national liberation struggle of nations subjugated by Bolshevism, thereby destroying the empire from within and abolishing the communist totalitarian Orwellian-type system. The ABN Congress recommends this strategy as the only reliable means of saving mankind from thermo-nuclear destruction.

## **SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE ABN CONGRESS**

London, November 21-24, 1985

The ABN Congress appeals to the Free World to stop Soviet Russian military and arms shipment to the government of Nicaragua, as well as other countries in Central America.

The Congress supports the freedom fighters of FDN headed by “Unidad Nicaraguense Opositora” (UNO) — this includes KISAN, the legitimate Miskito Indian representatives — which is fighting for the liberation of the Nicaraguan people.

The ABN Congress condemns without reservation the Soviet siege of the American embassy in Afghanistan and considers that it was a brazen attempt to bring unbearable pressure upon the United States in the build-up to the Geneva Summit. The Congress demands that the United States and the West never weaken under such Soviet Russian threats and intimidation.

The ABN Congress condemns the deportation of Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans and 300,000 Meshketians (Georgian Moslems), millions of Ukrainians and other nationalities and demands from the Free World to exert pressure on Moscow so that they be allowed to return to their respective homelands.

## **RESOLUTION ON THE VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT OF POLITICAL ASYLUM**

WHEREAS, the United States’ State Department has revealed a lack of understanding of the importance of psychological warfare by returning the Ukrainian political refugee, Myroslav Medvid, back to the Soviet ship “Marshal Konev”, disregarding the right of political asylum; and

WHEREAS, the decision of the U.S. Senate Committee, chaired by Senator Jesse Helms, as well as the appeal of the President of the AFL/CIO, Mr. Lane Kirkland, and

of the broad circles of the American public in favour of Myroslav Medvid, were grossly ignored by the U.S. State Department.

THEREFORE, we demand that the State Department should resume the case of Myroslav Medvid, since it has done irreparable damage to the cause of the subjugated nations and all freedom-loving people, in order to prevent similar situations from ever being repeated, destroying the American tradition of granting political asylum to refugees.

BE IT ALSO RESOLVED THAT we express our sincere appreciation to Senator Jesse Helms and the entire U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture, as well as the Senate, the Judiciary, and the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives, the President of the AFL/CIO, Mr. Lane Kirkland, and the American public at large, all of whom defended the rights of Myroslav Medvid, a Ukrainian political refugee from the "evil empire".

### SPECIAL RESOLUTION FOR THE RELEASE OF ACTIVISTS OF THE CONFEDERACY OF INDEPENDENT POLAND (K.P.N.)

*The ABN Congress supports the proposed action by the Confederacy of Independent Poland (KPN) for the release of KPN leaders from prisons and condemns incarceration by the Russian communist regime of Polish freedom fighters and those of other subjugated nations for national and human rights.*

*The following is an appeal from the Confederacy of Independent Poland and the Polish Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League:*

Dear Friends,

We want to appeal to you to call world attention to the persecution of the following activists of the Confederacy of Independent Poland (KPN): Leszek Moczulski, Krzysztof Krol, Adam Slomka, Andrzej Szomanski and Dariusz Wojcik.

They were arrested on March 9, 1985 in Warsaw, Poland, while attending a meeting in a private apartment. Since then, they have been held in a prison without trial.

The Confederacy of Independent Poland was formed on September 1, 1979 in Warsaw in opposition to the communist regime, which was forced upon Poland. KPN was one of the main opposition forces which have largely influenced the formation of Solidarity. Leszek Moczulski, the chairman of KPN, was imprisoned three weeks after the creation of Solidarity to prevent him from influencing its members. After imposition of martial law, Leszek Moczulski was accused of making an attempt to overthrow the Communist regime in Poland. He was sentenced to seven years imprisonment by the Military Court in Warsaw. He was released from prison in the fall of 1984 only because the regime wanted to show its "good will" in its relations with the West. He and other KPN activists were arrested again on March 9, 1985.

The Confederacy of Independent Poland is still seen by the Communists as the worst enemy of the regime. The entire nation understands the political programme of KPN, which states that any accommodation with the communist regime is simply impossible, that communism is incapable of significant change, and that it must be

destroyed. The thesis put forward by Leszek Moczulski states that "Independence is an indispensable condition for any reforms" turned out to be true.

There are serious concerns for Leszek Moczulski and other KPN activists' health. They are all deprived of sufficient food. Leszek Moczulski has been suffering from fungus and bronchitis. His health is deteriorating. He has lost 30 pounds (15 kilograms) of weight since March 1985. He requires medical help and has to be hospitalized. Krzysztof Krol has been suffering from tuberculosis. KPN activists are openly told by the guards in prison that they are going to be physically destroyed.

Since there has been little publicity about the continuing imprisonment of KPN activists it is critical that the international community signal its concern.

We strongly recommend that in the name of humanity they raise the issue of Leszek Moczulski, Krzysztof Krol, Adam Slomka, Andrzej Szomanski and Dariusz Wojcik at all exchanges between your country and Poland and hold Polish authorities accountable for persecuting them.

Please send letters and telegrams to the respective governments in your country requesting them to put pressure on the Polish government and on **Zbigniew Messner, Prime Minister, Urzad Rady Ministrow PRL, Aleje Ujazdowskie 3/5, Warsaw, Poland**, urging them to release Leszek Moczulski and other KPN activists.

We will appreciate it if you could send us copies of your letters and inform us about any further actions taken to:

Marek Ruszczyński  
34 Hillside Avenue, Apt. 2AA  
New York, New York 10040 USA

**Freedom for Nations!**

**Freedom for the Individual!**

## **TWO CONFERENCES THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE**

Humanity yearns for freedom yet lives in fear of a nuclear holocaust which haunts the world like a nightmare. Earlier this week the summit in Geneva between the USA and the USSR had on its agenda nuclear disarmament. But this merely tries to remove the symptoms without attacking the cause.

The cause of the current world political crisis is the existence of Russian communist aggression backed by the threat of nuclear war, if the West tries to interfere with Moscow's aim of world domination.

How to avoid the catastrophe of nuclear war was the subject of another conference held in London, which showed that the world's best chance of survival lies in the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by the Russians.

The conference of the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, with representatives of free countries and others occupied by Russia, was an exciting alternative to the stale rhetoric of arms reduction talks which concentrate on numbers, not on people.

The Russian communist empire feels itself "threatened", not because the West wants to make war on Moscow, but because it fears the nations it has tried to crush and

the people it has oppressed. During its sixty eight year existence, this empire has destroyed over 50 million people.

Its path is paved with genocide, concentration camps, psychiatric prisons, liquidation by organized famines (7,000,000 Ukrainians were starved to death between 1932-33), aggressive wars and the violation of national, human and religious rights.

Heroic Afghanistan swims in the blood of women, children and the elderly killed by the Russian invaders. Russian imperialism now extends to Angola, Vietnam, Cambodia and Nicaragua.

The subjugated nations Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Al-bania, North Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cossackia, Idel Ural, Turkestan and Siberia make up the majority of the population of the Russian empire and constitute the Free World's greatest allies.

They are capable of destroying the Russian empire from within by their revolutionary liberation struggles and without a single nuclear missile being unleashed.

Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, the so-called "Star Wars" system, was supported by the EFC/ABN conference because any attempt to shift the emphasis to the destruction of weapons rather than people should be encouraged. However, the conference was disappointed that the Geneva summit ignored the plight of the subjugated nations, the constant targets of Moscow's aggression.

The West, in its own interests and those of all humanity, should do everything to help the liberation struggles of the subjugated nations.

These countries will all eventually have to do their own fighting against the Russians. But there is much in the way of moral and technological subjugated countries are the key to a world free at last of the threat of nuclear war and the obscenity of mass expenditure on armaments while whole countries starve.

The West can help create the conditions for these uprisings. Just talking about scrapping missiles is naive. If Gorbachev and Reagan agreed to scrap half their nuclear weaponry, there would be more than enough left to destroy the world.

Help scrap the Russian empire and there will not be any need for the missiles.

London, November 24, 1985

*(Leaflet distributed at the demonstration outside the Soviet Russian embassy during the ABN and EFC Conference in London).*



*Participants of the ABN/EFC conference demonstrating outside the Soviet Russian embassy in London on November 24, 1985.*

## GREETINGS TO THE ABN/EFC CONFERENCE

*Dear Mr. Stetsko,*

I consider it a great privilege to be able to send my greetings and this brief message to you at this time. The struggle against communist oppression that has been so diligently and bravely carried on by the people of your organization is indeed worthy of recognition and support. The example set by the many fearless martyrs who have given their lives in this struggle is an inspiration to all people everywhere, but especially to those who live beneath the yoke of communism.

I am reminded of the words of the great patriot of this country, Thomas Jefferson. He must have understood very well the price of freedom, for he stated: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots...." Certainly those who have given their lives in the forty year struggle against communism know all too well the meaning of Mr. Jefferson's words. I have no doubt that they considered it not only a necessity but an honor to give their lives for their country.

Mr. Jefferson also made another statement that bears repeating as we honor the brave patriots of so many countries struggling under communist oppression. He once declared that, "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." The tyranny that the communists have tried to exercise over the minds of the free peoples in this world must never be allowed to triumph. I know that with your efforts it never will, for your spirit of freedom and liberty is strong and will remain strong. It is our duty, indeed our privilege, to support this ongoing struggle to restore the lost democratic

principles of political and cultural self-determination that have been wrested from numerous countries by the communists.

Let us never forget the sacrifice of those who have given their lives for the cause of liberty, and let us renew our pledge to fight "every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

*Sincerely,*

*Philip M. Crane, M.C.*

*Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives*

*Dear Members of the European Freedom Council and Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations:*

It is an honor to be able to extend greetings to you, as you meet in London to discuss the Free World's frontiers in defense and liberation.

As we look back on forty years of peace in Europe following the end of World War II, we are struck by how many have been denied the fruits of that peace. And yet, we are also struck by the dauntless resiliency of the human spirit, and the drive for freedom that lives in the hearts of those trapped behind the Iron Curtain.

It is that same spirit that inspires the freedom fighters in many parts of the world, places such as Afghanistan, Angola and Mozambique, Nicaragua, Cambodia and Laos. I believe that it is incumbent upon all free men and women to align ourselves with the forces of freedom, that all people may someday know the true peace of liberty.

Finally, it is clear that freedom cannot expand if the Free World stands vulnerable to Soviet intimidation. We

must look first to our own defense, and that of our allies, in order to reach out to others. In that undertaking, the Strategic Defense Initiative, proposed by President Reagan, is a moral imperative.

My compliments on the good work of your Council, and my best wishes for a successful conference.

*Sincerely,*  
*Jack Kemp*  
*Member of Congress*  
*U.S. House of Representatives*

*Dear Mr. Stetsko,*

It is a pleasure to send warm greetings to you and each of the participants at the EFC/ABN Conference. May your deliberations be guided by the wisdom and love of freedom so evident in your planning and purposes.

Efforts such as yours are important to all free people everywhere. I congratulate you and, with you, I pray for every success, now and in the future.

*Sincerely,*  
*Rudy Boschwitz*  
*United States Senator*



*Placards at the demonstration outside the Soviet Russian embassy during the ABN/EFC conference in London.*

## YOSYP TERELYA'S LETTER TO HIS FAMILY

Glory be to Jesus!

Good evening my dear girls and Pavlyk,

Yesterday, 21 February, I sent a letter: they were collecting the wastepaper and a notebook was slipped into the cell.

The cell is filthy and we are being eaten alive by lice. After dinner they will take us for delousing. People sleep on the floor, on tables; you can't breathe for the filth and the smoke. They've welded an inner grate onto the windows, and behind it in the window there are screens and blinds. For a long time they've been portioning out sunlight and fresh air in Soviet prisons by the gramme. (...)

You remember after my flight on 15 November I travelled to Uzhhorod on 14 January for a meeting with the KGB. Conditions were set: on our side, to stop issuing the **Chronicle**; on theirs, to free prisoners from prisons and camps. The meeting took place in the Hotel Zakarpate in Room 52. Lt-Col. Dzyashko and a captain whose name I don't remember came to the meeting. They brought with them two issues of the **Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine**, Nos. 1 and 6. The standard questions were asked: who, where, when? To whom and how did you pass it abroad? I answered that I had come for an interrogation, but to reach an agreement on the conditions for the liberation of Vasyl (Kobryn - Ed.), Fr. Herman (Budzinsky - Ed.) and a list of prisoners — a compromise decision. Dzyashko rejected the first version of the list. I put together a new one, but you were right when you told me that nothing would come of it, they need something else. After dinner (Dzyashko and I dined together, you would have thought we

were colleagues) a new list was composed and agreed upon. (...) I typed up the first and last version of the compromise declaration: "In connection with the given situation, we (that is I, Budzinsky, Stefaniya Sichko) consider the dissolution of the Action Group (for the Defence of the Rights of Believers -Ed.) to be possible. Further friction and conflicts between the Catholics and the authorities shall be resolved without the interference of any third party. Also the **Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine** will cease, though that would not mean that we are breaking with our Church."

They read it. Korsun said that such a declaration was not suitable. Then I took the piece of paper and was about to tear it up. Dzyashko snatched it away: "What are you doing? Let it be." He folded it and placed it in a folder. Korsun red faced and angry, began to say that he had given his word in Kyiv that everything would be all right, and here I was deceiving them; that Kyiv would not agree to such a declaration, and this means that my friends will remain imprisoned. (...)

On Sunday I went to another meeting with Korsun and Dzyashko in Svalyava. The meeting took place at the home of Marharetta Bohovych. During the talk I announced that I would sign the declaration when everyone on the agreed list had been freed. Korsun boiled with rage, he began to threaten me, and then he said it was necessary to submit the matter to his superiors for the final decision. After this Dzyashko took some sort of papers out of a folder. At the bottom of a clean copy of the protocol, three photographs were pasted.

'Which of these do you know?'

"None."

A pause.

“How do you know that Chernenko was in Solotvina for a cure, and who sneaked your declaration to him?” demanded Korsun.

“This is not an interrogation.”

A pause.

“Yosyp Mykhailovych, do you really want to leave the Soviet Union? Why did you write to the Yids in Israel? After all, you have relatives in Spain, Italy, Austria, the USA, why not write to them? You could equally well go to Czechoslovakia — you have a family, children, take pity on your wife. Live peacefully there and write poetry.”

I answered that I want to leave not for the reunification of my family but because the Soviet government does not allow me to live freely, that it violates its own constitution, and persecuted us simply because I do not want to be a Russian, because I demand the right (guaranteed by the Constitution!) to profess the faith of my ancestors. And the fact that I wrote to the government of Israel is my private affair — it isn't said anywhere that only Jews ought to go there. That is a democratic government and it accepts all those who are persecuted in the USSR.

“I wouldn't advise you to do that. Renounce your declaration and within a week you'll be able to go to Austria. Well? What do you think? Having ended up with your protectors you'd rebel there too, and with time there'd be disillusionment and longing for your native land. Think about it! And if you want you can live here too. Why shouldn't you live for your family, draw pictures and write poems? If you want we will give you a place in Uzhhorod — an apartment, a job, there are Roman Catholic churches there, go to them, no one will ever say a word. What do you need this Uniatism for? With whom have you bound up your life? What do you

need Budzinsky for — he's a Vatican spy, he's lucky he's old, otherwise we'd have found a place for him. Believe me, we only want what's good for you.”

“One more thing, which concerns you alone,” added Lt-Col. Dzyashko, giving me the typed text of a declaration written in my name, in which, as it were, I declare that everything I wrote about Raoul Wallenberg is a fabrication from beginning to end, and that I did so on instructions from abroad. I read it carefully and asked:

“Why do you hate Wallenberg so much, who saved hundreds of thousands of people at the cost of his life? The Soviet KGB destroyed far more, as was revealed at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. How can a Ukrainian forget the millions of Ukrainians who starved to death in 1933-1947? Why hasn't Moscow to this day immortalised the memory of those who perished innocently at the hands of the Party and the KGB?”

Korsun answered that the government of the USSR would have set up a memorial to the victims of the famine of 1933 long ago, but because of the hullabaloo raised abroad cannot do so now.

Angrily Korsun said: “Terelya, we can do anything. Look at Raoul Wallenberg for example. Even in the Swedish government there are people who are tired of the clamour around his name. And who are you? There isn't even any sense in giving you a long sentence. A year's enough, but where is the guarantee that one of the criminals won't cut your throat? And if it's necessary we'll throw you into a cell with Raoul Wallenberg. There you could help each other.”

“In other words he's alive?”

“That was just a turn of phrase,” he answered, calm again. Then the talk turned to home, the children, and they took me home. And on the 8th they

arrested me, just as you thought they would. In the prison Korsun warned me that if I do not repent I'll die without a trace.

Lviv prison, cell 132  
21 February, 1985

Glory be to Jesus!  
Glory forever!

P.S. Osmak promised me a newspaper with the confession of Vasyl who is supposedly already at home, but apparently I won't ever see this article.

*(In fact, Kobryn did not confess. He received a three-year sentence on 22 March, 1985 — ed.).*

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1986

I am very happy to extend warm greetings to the members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to commemorate the 68th anniversary of the proclamation of independence in Ukraine.

This day is not entirely a joyful one for Ukrainians in America and abroad. The campaign against defenders of the long persecuted Ukrainian Catholic Church continues unabated. Ukrainians who defend their basic human rights, such as Yosyp Terelia, the Reverend Vasyl Kobryn, and others, now face long and severe imprisonment for advocating their belief in freedom and democratic principles. While attempts to russify Ukraine have increased, I remain confident that the strong ties Ukrainians have historically had to their history, their families and to their faith will endure and that their cultural traditions will once again flourish.

Ukrainians throughout the world are sustained by the hope that nothing can extinguish their deep sense of nationhood or forever thwart the yearning of the human spirit for liberty. I wish to join in solidarity with all Ukrainians in your continuing courageous efforts to secure freedom, human rights, and to preserve the national identity of your beloved homeland. Nekaj Bokh bude z'vamy!

*Ronald Reagan*

## BOOK REVIEW

### “The American Revolution, a Torch of Freedom”

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the allied landing in Normandy, Prof. J.P. Hamilius in collaboration with the American authoress Rose Wilder Lane published the highly topical 380 page book **The American Revolution, a Torch of Freedom**, which reflects the fundamental ideas of the authoress. Here it is clear and evident: “This book contains only revolutionary ideas of a constructive and by no means of a destructive nature.”

With reference to Rose Wilder Lane’s ideas, Hamilius points out that the American Revolution of 1776 was executed on two levels: on the one hand, on the level of the struggle for independence against the British mother country and on the other hand, on the level of a new social and economic order of construction under a republican government with strict limited powers and whose concern it should be to serve the nation and to no longer dominate it. The revolution was also supposed to lead the way for the liberation of all people, all nations, and all races. The American dislike of any colonial system is directly connected with these ideas. The problematic position of the situation of people on this earth as founded by the original authoress and edited by J.P. Hamilius extends from antiquity up until modern times. The different eras in the history of mankind and their attempts to liberate people are analyzed by many an American’s own historical and economic philosophies. The struggle for freedom of the 13 American colonies against the mother country is presented as the true successful attempt of nations of all races, colour and creed to unite in all freedom and self-responsibility. It was only a beginning, yet a sort of song of praise

about the accomplishments of these free people followed, who, because of their energy, their self-responsibility, their right of prosperity, their creative talent, were successful in establishing the New World in a relatively short span of time, a new world which had not existed up until then. The intelligent and realistic solutions which were considered by these people for political questions of principles and which let their new-founded republic function unexpectedly well, were above all of fundamental importance for this development.

In part three Rose Wilder Lane’s undertaken work is continued and concluded independently by J.P. Hamilius. It is a matter of comparing the successful American Revolution with the bloody terror regimes which are also supposed to bring freedom to the people. It is emphasized above all that the American Revolution was the hope of millions of poor, distressed and subjugated peoples in the entire world.

Prof. Hamilius concludes his most important and interesting statements with reference to the fundamental difference which exists between the slave-regime in the world and that world of liberty which justifies the life of man to determine his future himself and to be responsible for the development of his own personality. As a result he wants the struggle for liberty to be a national and European concern on all fronts.

Liberation by the Americans took place on March 10, 1945. “From that point on the liberated nation has been interested in everything which concerns this great nation of free people.” As professor of economic science in Esch/Alzette, J.P. Hamilius was administrative director of the Interna-

tional University of Comparative Sciences between 1958-61.

The author's admiration and love for the liberator-nation corresponds on the other hand to a decided dislike of any powers who want to throttle and eradicate liberty on this earth.

The book can be obtained in bookstores or by transferring the sum of 1,325 Luxembourg francs to post office account No. 12-12 Sankt-Paulus Druckerei A.G., Luxembourg, noting down "Amerikanische Revolution" on the transfer slip.

## **"THE THIRD REICH AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION"**

This 227-page paperback book contains a collection of German archive documents from 1934-44 relating to the Ukrainian liberation movement at that time. These documents provide some evidence of the true relations between the national socialist party of the Third Reich and the Ukrainian liberation movement, thus invalidating the accusations of Ukrainian collaboration with Nazi Germany.

The book is compiled and edited by Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk, historian and graduate of the Sorbonne in Paris and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. It was published by *Ukrainisches Institut Für Bildungspolitik e.V. München* and can be obtained at the price of 18.00 DM or \$7.00 at: Zepplinstr. 67, 8000 München 80, West Germany.

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

by

**His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky**  
**Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church**

**Published by: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,**

**200 Liverpool Road,**

**London N1 1LF**

**England**

**Price: \$3.00**

**We bow our heads in sorrow and respect before the courageous commitment of the Challenger crew in their quest to discover the mysteries of the universe for the benefit of mankind. The subjugated nations join the American people in mourning and conviction that despite sacrifices and obstacles, mankind will continue to search for eternal truth. From the beginning of existence, man, created by God in his image, has attempted to discover new frontiers. The greatest minds and heroes have sacrificed their lives on this path of discovery and struggle against godless tyranny which stifles the freedom of the creative human mind. Man's eternal search for God's truth can never be halted by anything or anyone.**

*ABN Central Committee and editorial staff of ABN Correspondence*

## POSTAGE STAMPS FROM THE UNDERGROUND

A representative of "Fighting Solidarity" in the West passed on to us multicolored postage stamps of its underground post. (OUN-UPA issued similar underground postage stamps during its struggle in WWII.) The postage stamps are issued in the spirit of liberation of the subjugated nations of Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania. The Polish stamp inscribed in the Polish language reads as follows: "We pray to you Queen of Poland for the independence of Poland" and depicts an icon of the Virgin Mary. The Ukrainian postage stamp depicts St. George the Victor. The inscription in Polish and Ukrainian reads: "St. George, our protector, we pray to you for an independent Ukraine." The Lithuanian stamp depicts an icon of the Virgin Mary and has the following inscription in Polish and Lithuanian: "For the independence of Lithuania we pray to you Mother of God of Ostrobram."

The following is the "Organizational Communique of Fighting Solidarity" issued in connection with the postage stamps:

The mail of "Fighting Solidarity" has issued a series of three multicolored postage stamps which reflect the inde-

pendence struggles of Poles, Ukrainians and Lithuanians.

Our organization supports the struggle of all nations of Eastern Europe for their right to self-determination, for their right to independent democratic sovereignty. We counter communism which enslaves our nations with ideals of freedom, tolerance and solidarity which are based on our mutual heritage of Christian civilization.

We are the heirs of that tradition which finds expression in the motto "For your and our freedom." We do not raise any territorial claims towards neighboring nations. We feel that we have mutual interests with their organizations, which are fighting for independence and democratic order. Therefore, we appeal for closer cooperation.

"Fighting Solidarity"  
Andrzej Liesowski

*(This communique appeared in the publication "Fighting Solidarity" no. 24/117, 1-8 December, 1985. It is headed by Kornel Morawiecki. The representative of "Fighting Solidarity" in the West is Andrzej Wirga).*



## DR. EDWARD M. O'CONNOR — PRESIDENT OF AF ABN HAS PASSED AWAY



*Dr. E. O'Connor addressing the Congress of the American Friends of ABN  
in 1981, New York.*

It is with deep sorrow that we inform our readers of the death of our dear friend, Dr. Edward M. O'Connor who passed away on November 24, 1985 in Buffalo, USA. Dr. O'Connor was formerly United States Commissioner of Displaced Persons, later served as staff director of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and was director of special projects at Canisius College. In 1981 Dr. O'Connor was elected honorary member of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and in 1985 as its President.

In 1960, in his defence of Public Law 86-90 which recognises Captive Nations Week, Dr. O'Connor wrote the following to the New York Times:

*Public Law 86-90 takes official recognition of the fact that the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have resulted in the creation of a vast empire of captive, non-Russian nations during the past forty years. The list of captive non-Russian nations set forth in the law was compiled from official records and reports of the Government of the United States. I concede these official reports and records and do not conform with the distorted Russian view of history.*

*P.L. 86-90 also recognises that the people of these captive non-Russian nations are struggling for the return of their national independence and freedoms. These legitimate aspirations constitute a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just peace.*

Dr. O'Connor's death is a great loss for all the subjugated nations. His memory will live eternally among all the enslaved peoples for his dedication to the cause of independence for the nations under Russian imperialist and communist oppression.

Poster distributed during Afghan demonstration on December 27, 1985  
in Bonn, West Germany, in front of the Soviet Russian embassy,  
protesting the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.



# RUSSEN RAUS AUS AFGHANISTAN!

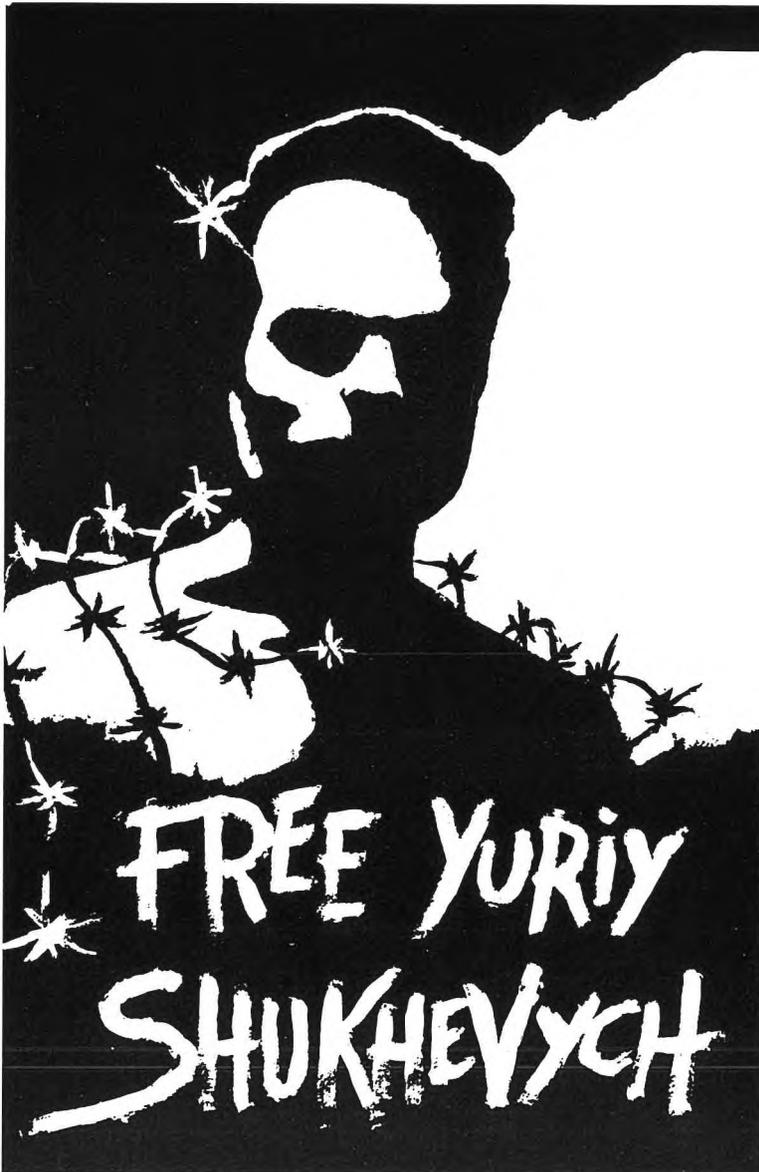
Stichting Comité voor Afghanistan - Fachstelle FASA e.V. - Deutsche Bank Frankfurt - ab 2297000 (B.2.700 10)  
FASA e.V. - PO Box 210920 - 7400 Karlsruhe - West Germany - ☎ 07241 914141 - 07241 914142

# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## **ABN** *CORRESPONDENCE*

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## ON THE NEED OF A WESTERN GLOBAL STRATEGY

There is no doubt that the Geneva Summit was an achievement in the psycho-strategy of Moscow. The “spirit of Geneva” rallied again all the forces of appeasement and capitulation in the West around unrealistic dreams about a “beginning” of a “new epoch” of “detente”, “cooperation” and a “lasting peace” with the USSR. Some Western circles rejoiced that the tyrant par excellence consented to meet with the leader of the democratic world. Western European statesmen were delighted, giving themselves credit for “their efforts” which brought the president of a democratic power and a tyrant and nation-killer to a conference table.

However, political realities are quite different. Faced with insurmountable economic difficulties and growing pressures on the part of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations, Moscow spares no effort to ensure that summits of this nature take place. Thus, immediately after the Geneva Summit, Western credits opened up, from the United States alone a pilgrimage of 400 representatives of the American business community headed by trade officials travelled to Moscow, American and Canadian banks immediately offered almost 1/2 billion dollars in credits to be used by Moscow to pay for the grain purchased from the U.S. and Canada, increased grain consignments and export of technology, etc. They offered the Russians practically everything they wished for — all for the sake of the “new detente”. As a result, Moscow’s psycho-strategy scored a new victory while the demobilization of the West continues, false hopes for a “lasting peace” grow, and Bolshevik infiltrators of the mass media (and elsewhere) keep expanding their subversive activities by spreading ideological, moral and political disarray. The West might be once again entering a cycle of political decline.

President Reagan’s handshakes with Gorbachev, friendly conversations “over a cup of tea” between Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev, who was also dressed in stylish western fashions and reeking of western perfume were designed to convey to the public opinion that, after all, Russia has become “westernized” once more (just like in the times of Tsar Peter I in the 18th century). As a result of this charade, the mass media proclaimed the tyrant (and his wife) as a “peace-loving” leader who “longs to democratize” his empire. Few realized that all these absurdities are the result of the endless naivete of the Western politicians and the mass media, and the deliberate actions of KGB infiltrators and their fellow-travellers.

What has the Geneva Summit produced? Nothing of substance for the Free World. Gorbachev was eager to go to Geneva and is eager to go back — as latest reports indicate. The West has failed to understand this, and it seems that it will not understand Moscow’s designs until Mexico will have fallen to a communist regime, until the Middle East with its oil supplies is cut off, until deliveries of raw materials from Africa are stopped. Then, as during the Nazi era, will the West come to its senses.

The psycho-strategy of the West vis-a-vis Russia amounts to zero. The efforts of the U.S. President Ronald Reagan to do something about it within a proper context have, unfortunately, not been successful. Radio Liberty still operates on old patterns, while its framework is actually dictated by such people as Simon Wiesenthal, and assorted russophiles and communophiles. Senator Buckley and director Bailey were

“terminated” because they began to give the radio broadcasts an appropriate context and direction. Now there is no will to urge President Ronald Reagan that he insist upon his own contextual concepts in programming and broadcasting.

It appears that the State Department rules unequivocally. For the State Department, the USSR is one homogeneous country, rather than an evil empire (to use President Reagan’s terminology) where Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, the Baltic States, Turkestan and Azerbaijan are mere imperial provinces of Moscow.

The State Department and its cowering mass media consider the USSR to be one country and not an empire or a prison of nations — just as Roosevelt did during the time of the famine holocaust in Ukraine in 1932-33. The subjugated nations have lost hope for an improvement of the content of those radio broadcasts, or for an increase in personnel of the Ukrainian or any other non-Russian section of the station. By comparing the number of staff members of the Ukrainian section (which is supposed to serve 50 million Ukrainians) with some of the smaller national audiences, it appears that Ukraine is being deliberately rebuffed. Unfortunately, even under President Reagan’s administration nothing of consequence has been achieved in this area, despite promises to enlarge the Ukrainian staff of Radio Liberty to some 35-40 people.

Along with other government agencies, the State Department trampled upon the right to political asylum by deciding to forcibly turn over to the Russians the Ukrainian sailor Myroslav Medvid — all for the sake of the Geneva Summit. The present fate of the unlucky sailor is unknown, but he can be presumed dead at the hands of the KGB for his attempt to become a free man. Is this really democracy?! This was a telling example of blatant lawlessness on the part of the State Department which, reportedly, even misled the President of the United States on the Medvid case.

The disenchantment with some of the actions of the present American administration is steadily growing among the subjugated nations. In Geneva, national and human rights of Ukraine, the Baltic States, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan and others were not even mentioned. As for Afghanistan, Gorbachev privately said “We will think about it.” Was Yuriy Shukhevych mentioned? Not at all!

And what about disarmament? We believe that this issue should be dealt with integrally. If intermediate range missiles are to be eliminated, then they should be eliminated from the USSR as well — without any exceptions. And this should apply not only to those missiles stationed in Europe. Simultaneously, with the elimination of all atomic weapons, the problem of conventional military forces — an undisputed domain of the Warsaw Pact — must also be tackled. These processes must occur simultaneously and must also apply to chemical and bacteriological weaponry. If only the American rockets were to be removed from Western Europe, then the conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact would have a free hand in taking over the rest of Europe which will then be at Moscow’s mercy.

Moscow is conducting a well thought out arms policy. Its global strategy includes political warfare while it prevails in conventional forces and enjoys clear superiority in certain types of strategic, chemical and bacteriological capabilities. Moreover, Moscow will never consent to a reduction of conventional armed forces so as not to fall behind the Free World and thus lose its superpower status.

The West, in accordance with the plan to eliminate nuclear weapons, must quickly build up its conventional armed forces to match the strength of the Warsaw Pact countries. Consideration of a proportional reduction of conventional forces of both

sides is nonsense, because Moscow will always emerge a winner from such a process. The basis of such a disarmament process is verification, and Moscow will never agree to this unless it can somehow cheat the West.

A global strategy of the West must include:

1. A well conceived psycho-strategy with a department of political warfare at NATO and the Pentagon, whose goals should be the winning to their side the soldiers of the Warsaw Pact countries (the majority of whom are members of the subjugated nations) thereby reducing the military potential of the enemy.
2. Support for insurgent warfare, i.e. "combat on communist territory".
3. Upgrading the conventional armed forces of NATO.
4. An integral elimination of nuclear weapons ("zero option") — which we support. This process, in order to succeed, must have a built-in stipulation which ought to include the freezing of all credits, technological assistance, grain shipments and any other economic and trade relations with the USSR and its satellite countries.

Only when all such elements of a global strategy that we propose are in place and operative, will it be possible to avoid a nuclear confrontation.

The politics of fear — MAD — are perspectively sheer nonsense. But due to its political helplessness, its disregard for the subjugated nations (the Achilles heel of the Soviet Russian empire and the communist system), the West has become mired in this useless strategy without being able to envision other, simpler, solutions. If the centre of the "evil empire" — Moscow — is not targetted directly for a political offensive, if Afghanistan is not set free, if all the nations enslaved by the empire are not set free, then "containing" Bolshevism on the peripheries, such as Angola or Nicaragua will not help much.

Hopes for any kind of "change" and "reforms" on the part of the Gorbachev team are absurd. Neither the empire nor the system can ever be "reformed" in any way. It can only be toppled. Gorbachev's intentions — like his predecessors' — point to world domination and not to any "reforms". **Centrum censeo:** the Russian empire and its communist system must be dismantled from within, taking ABN's global strategy under consideration.

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## SONG FOR YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

Who are those men that the tyrants will kill?  
Are they fighting for money or for their free will?  
Is it they that get locked in camps far away?  
Is it they that suffer to this very day?

I tell you it is. (4)

Why don't those schoolchildren during breaktime play?  
Please tell me why they are sad in the face.  
Is it because they're not permitted to pray?  
And when they're caught they are punished for days.

I tell you it is. (4)

Why are those boys being sent to correction centres?  
Please tell me straight what wrong they have done.  
Is it because they are proud of their country?  
Because they sing hymns in their native tongue?

I tell you it is. (4)

I'll tell you a story of a man brave and true,  
He was put into prison, but what did he do?  
Yuriy Shukhevych, a man who can't see,  
They have blinded him, but one day he'll be free!

One day he'll be free. (4)

Listen to my words, you know they are right,  
For the love of my country I will continue to fight.  
Never surrender, that must never be,  
The heart of Ukraine is bleeding for me.

I know that you'll see. (4)

Please save my soul and set me free,  
I long for the sunshine, but I want you to see,  
My father is not guilty and neither am I,  
For that truth I'll stay here till the day I die.

I'll stay till I die. (4)

Please help Ukraine, it is suffering Lord,  
Because freedom with money you just can't afford.  
Please reassure me that my homeland I'll see,  
That one day Ukraine will once again be free.

I tell you it will. (4)

*(Written by S. Pasichnyk and M. Stebivka.)*

*(This song is being sung by Ukrainian youth throughout the Free World.)*

*Dr. William P. Murphy (USA)*  
*(Director, RFE Research & Analysis Dept.)*

## **DISINFORMATION AND POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE**

This evening, I would like to say a few words about the structure of Soviet disinformation and psychological warfare and its relation to what you at this conference are calling the Low and the High Frontiers. My purpose in doing so is to give you some insight into how we at RFE/RL Inc. try to explain to our target audiences, the 21 services to whom we broadcast behind the Iron Curtain the case for President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative.

Western Europe, I hardly need to say, continues to be the major target for Soviet disinformation efforts in psychological warfare. In recent years these efforts have been aimed at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and, more recently still, at President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. Until the 1950's the term "dezinformatiya" was used in the Soviet Union to refer to activities which they now call "active measures." The term "active measures" itself is a literal translation from the Russian "aktivnyya meropriyatiya." That's the name which is officially given to Service A, the organization in the KGB's first chief directorate (the Soviet overseas intelligence arm) which is responsible for the covert element of active measures.

As the Soviets use this concept, active measures covers a broad range of covert activities and deceptive practices. These include spreading false and misleading information; media manipulation; the use of local communist parties, front groups, agents of influence and other operations aimed at promoting Soviet foreign policy goals while undercutting those of Moscow's opponents, chiefly the United States.

Perhaps the most important characteristics of the Soviet active measures program are its very high degree of centralization and integration. There are three basic organizations responsible. Each pursues its own programs, but these programs are carefully orchestrated and integrated into an overall campaign. The Soviet Communist Party's International Information Department was established in 1978 under the leadership of Leonid Zamyatyn. It is responsible for developing and overseeing the implementation of Soviet media campaigns. This department plays a decisive role in deciding what aspects of Soviet policy to discuss openly and how to present those aspects to various international publics. The first evening here in London, I happened to see an excellent reportage on Soviet television today by the BBC. Mr. Vladimir Posner, who speaks flawless American English, was a guest on this program. He had an answer for everything except for a question posed by one of the journalists, and that was whether the Soviet public was informed about the nature and extent of the Soviet program in strategic defense. Of course, he professed complete ignorance about any such program and denied that there was one in the Soviet Union, although we know from a variety of sources that there most assuredly is. Mr. Posner, however, was taking his directives from guidance prepared by the International Information Department. Such guidance is circulated on a regular basis to all Soviet media personalities, press, radio, television and public speakers as well.

The principal task of this International Information Department is to present Soviet views to a variety of international publics, and to counter the free flow of

information generated by Western media. Soviet officials frequently travel to the West, frequently write for the international press, or offer propaganda lectures as well as interviews and address meetings of international communist front organizations.

A second organ of the Communist Party, the International Department of the Central Committee under its chief Boris Ponomarev coordinates the activities of the various front groups and bilateral friendship societies as well as the role of non-ruling foreign communist parties and foreign revolutionary groups.

Finally, the third organization which plays a critical role in Soviet active measures is Service A of the KGB which provides covert support to Soviet disinformation plans. That support takes the form of covert, that is to say, falsely attributed propaganda, including oral and written disinformation, forgeries and agents of influence operations. Because of an intensified Western campaign to publicize Soviet activities in these areas much has been written about them in recent years, and consequently, I'm sure I don't have to define these terms for you.

The process of active measures begins in the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party where disinformation themes and campaigns are conceived. The task of executing these campaigns falls to a variety of agencies, the official press organs, Pravda, Izvestia but also other press organs, TASS, Novosti, the wire services, Soviet press attaches in foreign capitals and the KGB. Foreign communist parties and front organizations are asked to plant and circulate false stories in the local media. Some journalists are paid by the KGB to disseminate the Soviet line, others do not need to be paid because they are sympathetic to Soviet goals. Both in the developed and the developing world the KGB has actually come to own local newspapers without the knowledge of the local reading public. Overall, it has been reliably estimated that some 15,000 people in Moscow alone work in the active measures program. In conservative estimates, the cost of the program, in United States terms, ranges from 3 to 4 billion dollars a year.

Like all forms of warfare, psychological warfare has its own individual campaigns, unique tactics and strategic goals. Some themes and campaigns are universal, such as the continuing campaign to denigrate the United States. For understandable reasons, Soviet campaigns have been causing the most problems in the Third World, where there is not as sophisticated a press corps as there is in the West, where frequently, the governments are not sophisticated and where rumors can be more easily spread and are correspondingly more difficult to disprove.

Western Europe, the area of primary concern to many at this conference, is a major target area for Soviet activities. The principal target of Soviet active measures in Europe has been the NATO alliance and its top priority at the moment is to stop or limit President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative.

The Soviet campaign against the Strategic Defense Initiative has been aimed at frightening NATO allies into believing that SDI means the withdrawal of the United States nuclear umbrella which for decades has protected Western Europe from Soviet nuclear blackmail. The anti-SDI campaign also seeks to encourage European and American anti-nuclear groups to view the SDI program as threatening an increase in the nuclear arms race. In fact, the program promises to do the exact opposite.

Most recently, the campaign has moved into the economic arena, raising fears of a brain drain from Europe if the United States begins to spend heavily on Strategic Defense Initiative research.

There is a very close, perhaps “fateful” link between the themes of this conference — the Low and the High Frontier, psychological warfare and the Strategic Defense Initiative. I think it is a compliment to the insight of those who gave this particular conference that theme. I am convinced, as I believe many are in the present U.S. administration, as well as many Western military strategists, that the Western public will not indefinitely support defense policies which explicitly expose them to the catastrophe of nuclear war or which continue to subscribe to the historically amazing thesis that the invulnerability of our populations is “destabilizing” and that their vulnerability to Soviet rockets is “stabilizing.”

President Reagan’s primary goal in the arms control talks in Geneva and his primary concern as regards the SDI is first to radically reduce the number of those offensive intercontinental ballistic missiles which pose the greatest threat to the West, and which are responsible for, or in a crisis could be responsible for a very destabilizing situation. Those ICBMs are highly reliable, highly accurate missiles which need a scant 30 minutes to traverse continents and land within yards of appointed targets.

Think for a minute what this means in a crisis for the chief political officer, the commander-in-chief of United States military forces, or for that matter the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Early warning systems would give instant notification to the chief US military officers and the President of the launch of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles. It would take roughly seven to nine minutes to assess the nature of the attack. How many missiles have been launched? How many warheads are on those missiles? According to their flight trajectories, what are their likely targets in the United States? Is this meant to be an all out nuclear blow? Or is it meant to be a limited nuclear attack? What is the precise nature of the threat streaming towards our country? It will take another seven to nine minutes for the President to issue his orders to the commanders of the U.S. strategic nuclear forces. Those orders have to be issued to the forces and then they have to be authenticated, which means that they have to go back through military channels to the President, to make sure that those are correct orders and the orders of the President himself. Anywhere from 12 to 18 minutes have just elapsed. There are only 12 more minutes before impact. I think you can see from this very brief description of the time constraints which are involved today, why it is imperative to push for a radical reduction in the number of these most destabilizing, offensive, nuclear land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles.

A second purpose of the President’s Strategic Defense Initiative is to enhance the nuclear deterrence which has kept the peace in Europe for 40 years. He seeks to enhance that deterrence by adding a very considerable measure of uncertainty to any Soviet military planning for an attack upon the West. The measure of uncertainty he has in view is one which will offset substantially the improvements that have been made in the last two decades in the number of warheads which can be carried atop strategic missiles, and the great accuracies which they have now attained.

A third purpose is to see if technology cannot provide at some point in the future —some measure of protection for civilian populations, not just in the United States but in those countries here in Europe with whom we are closely involved and have been since the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or even before.

A fourth purpose is one that is not often spoken about in the West, but is nonetheless a very important one. It is to give the President more options in a crisis

other than that of massive retaliation against the East which would mean massive, historically unprecedented damage and destruction caused to millions of poor people who are hardly responsible for the regimes under which they have been forced to live.

This is a theme I am very concerned about because our task at Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe is to speak to precisely those people behind the Iron Curtain. I want to give you an example of how we try to speak to them on this particular theme of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Only a few weeks ago we broadcast on many of our 21 language services, a script which began with a brief statement of a major Soviet propaganda theme which the audiences in our target areas have heard more than once. Soviet propaganda says that the United States' alleged restless search for military superiority over the USSR, its massive buildup of strategic arms and its plans to extend the arms race to the heavens is bringing the world ever closer to the abyss of nuclear disaster. Plans for "Star Wars," according to Soviet propaganda, are in particular designed to make it possible for the United States to deliver the first disarming strike on the USSR with impunity. Sound familiar? I'm sure it does.

We respond to their Soviet propaganda campaign by speaking to the people behind the Iron Curtain as follows. The Soviet "nuclear war catastrophe" propaganda we tell them, is designed to legitimize the USSR domestically and internationally as the sole bulwark of world peace in the nuclear age and to exacerbate nuclear anxiety in the West. Earlier Soviet attempts to legitimize the regime which emerged in October 1917, first by portraying it as the spark and model of a world revolution, and then as a model of productiveness and economic growth, have exhausted their utility. But this third attempt to establish legitimacy (and to justify the inordinately huge sums of money spent by the USSR on armaments) by presenting Soviet military power as the only force standing in the way of a nuclear conflagration unleashed by world imperialism is both cynical and dangerous. It is cynical because Soviet leaders themselves no less than their Western counterparts do not believe that the world is on the brink of a nuclear war. There is absolutely no evidence whatsoever that Soviet leaders, for all their buster and cries of alarm, actually perceive a direct threat to the Soviet Union. When I worked for the United States government, I was a participant in some talks with Soviet officials and in those private talks they regularly dismissed very quickly the question of a direct threat posed to them. But not their propaganda of course. Their propaganda reflects tactical foreign policy objectives rather than genuine security concerns. In fact, the main person who strenuously and deeply believed and proselytized in the Soviet Union that the American military rearmament program under President Reagan was directly designed for purposes of attacking Soviet territory was Marshal Nikolay Vasilyevich Ogarkov, and although it has not been publicized in the Soviet Union, that was one of the major reasons for his removal from the position of General Staff Chief.

The Soviet nuclear war catastrophe propaganda is dangerous because it gives the USSR a permanent stake in inciting and maintaining a consistently high level of nuclear anxiety in the world. No one can foresee the ultimate consequences of such propaganda. At a minimum, the stridency of Soviet war rhetoric required by this scare tactic cannot but serve as a major impediment to relations with the West and cooperation in those limited areas where cooperation is both desired and possible.

Not least, the propaganda campaign is cynical and dangerous in its consequences for the people behind the Iron Curtain. Soviet propagandists cannot prevent the

nuclear war catastrophe theme which they primarily intend for Western audiences from blowing back into the USSR and alarming their own domestic public. Consider what happened in December 1983, at what was then the high point of the Soviet campaign charging that deployment of the United States intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe was a prelude to a first disarming nuclear strike. At that time the anxiety of the population in the USSR had reached such a level that the then Soviet Defense Minister, Dimitri Ustinov, was obliged to deliver a calming address to Soviet military veterans in Moscow. That address was heavily covered by Soviet press and electronic media. In it, Marshal Ustinov took special pains to reassure the veterans that the danger of nuclear war should not be exaggerated and that the Soviet Union had learned the lesson of World War II and now possessed adequate retaliatory “deterrent” power to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war.

No nation in the post-war era has spoken more often or more critically of the peace which hangs on the thin thread of the balance of nuclear terror than the Soviet Union. No nation in the post-war era has more insistently blamed the West, and more particularly the United States, for this state of affairs. Why then do Soviet propagandists now rail against the United States’ Strategic Defense Initiative, an initiative which offers the prospect of mitigating the degree to which “peace” rests on the threat of mutual annihilation or could become indistinguishable from the peace of the grave? The sincerity of the Soviets’ long standing campaign against what they call the “balance of terror” will be judged in the months ahead by their reaction to the United States’ proposals of a possible agreement which would include elements governing reductions of offensive nuclear weapons, strategic defenses and limits on other nations’ abilities to obtain nuclear weapons.

The above was an example of one of the many programs which we broadcast 24 hours a day to the Captive Nations. The purpose of the program was to expose the Soviet propaganda and disinformation campaign both in the West and behind the Iron Curtain; to show how that propaganda campaign actually gets in the way of other Soviet political aims and responsibilities; and why it is a cynical and dangerous campaign. Above all, we seek through programs like that, to give the people behind the Iron Curtain some understanding of why their stake in the Strategic Defense Initiative Program is no less great than that which we in the West have in it. Why? Because, in a moment of crisis such as I described earlier, faced with those awesome time constraints and pressures dictated by the sheer compressed period in which fateful decisions have to be made, it is eminently in the interests of people behind the Iron Curtain that Western political leaders have the widest possible variety of humane options — wider, certainly, than the option of a massive vengeful strike against innocent people.

To conclude, it seems to me that it is very difficult to assess the overall impact of Soviet active measures in the West for they really aim at and involve a long term process of erosion. Western Europe in particular poses some very specific problems to Soviet activity. Western Europeans form one of the world’s most sophisticated and literate audiences and include some of the finest professional journalists and media. They are not easily fooled by the often clumsy attempts that are the hallmarks of Soviet active measures elsewhere. Most Western Europeans are also able to see through blatant communist use of front groups which appear, at least in my view, to have had only limited influence on governmental policy and public opinion in Western Europe. In trying to come to an overall assessment, however, we have to view active measures

through Soviet rather than Western eyes. The Soviets take a very long term view of the utility of active measures operations and they are not necessarily seeking immediate gains or big impact from any one operation. One sign of their success, I'm sorry to say, appears to be the widespread tendency in the West to regard the United States rather than the USSR as the major cause of world instability and the primary threat to peace, or the equally fashionable cynicism that sees no essential political difference between the two countries.

The Soviets themselves, it goes without saying, place a premium on the cumulative impact of active measures. This can be deduced from the considerable investment of money and manpower they make in them, and from the constant expansion of their role as a useful foreign policy tool and an important adjunct to their more conventional instruments of statecraft.

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## REFUSE TO SERVE IN AFGHANISTAN, URGES UNDERGROUND YOUTH ORGANIZATION

The Lithuanian Youth Ass'n appealed to Lithuanian youth in the 2nd issue of the clandestine periodical *Juventus Academica*. The text of the article follows:

Dear Lithuanian Youth! On the occasion of the International Youth Year, the board of the Lithuanian Youth Association addresses itself to each young Lithuanian man and woman, to all the members of our association.

The preservation of the spiritual values of our nation, of the spiritual and physical health of our youth depends not as much on our organizational or political unity as on our personal, individual readiness to wage spiritual and human resistance against the arbitrariness, terror, and the cultural and physical genocide perpetrated by the occupying power.

We have the right to have our own independent Lithuanian youth organization, we don't need any favors from the occupying power. The Lithuanian Youth Association is part of the World Lithuanian Youth Association, in various congresses our interests are represented by our elected deputy. We all together, the Lithuanian youth in the entire world, are a great power and we shall spare no effort to see our fatherland free, to have a

genuine peace on earth, and to ensure that nobody's freedom is imperiled. We remember the words of a famous champion of human rights — our limited chances for victory should not diminish our efforts because it is these efforts that may improve our chances.

It has been five years now that our peers are senselessly perishing in Afghanistan, as they fulfill the so-called "international duty" as members of the "limited contingent of Soviet armed forces", in reality, becoming murderers and punishers, killing innocent people of a sovereign state, burning down its villages and cities.

We risk to become the shame of all humanity! Therefore, the board of the Lithuanian Youth Ass'n emphasizes, based on the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, an ethical document, and guided by our conscience, let us boldly refuse to take the military oath and let us not be cowardly tools of the occupying power.

As we write these words, we feel that we speak in the name of the hundreds of thousands of murdered outstanding sons of Lithuania — of guerillas and deportees, of the heroes of our independence wars — who represent our youth. Live, fight, work in such a way, as if the fate of our fatherland depended on you alone!

*Dr. Jimmy D. Morgan*  
*Executive Chairman*  
*Conservative Caucus, U.S.A.*

## AN URGENT REVIEW OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY



I bring greetings and assurance to you free men and those fighting for their freedom from those steadfast men and women of America that love freedom,— as you, and are willing to fight and die, if necessary, to deter forces of communist tyranny and barbaric aggression in the Baltic States, the Americas and around the world.

I would like to bring to you an **Urgent Review of American Foreign Policy**, not to speak for the purpose of just speaking, but to say something. Some may not like what I have to say, but our current policy must change before it's too late! And I assure you, that we, the conservatives in the United States, have declared a full scale attack against this policy and in particular, Secretary of State Shultz.

Events of the past few months have forced many Americans to reassess our posture in the world and, out of necessity to re-examine some of the policy decisions of the past two decades which have made our current situation of impotency a basic demonstration of the dangers inherent in the decline of our power. Probably no word is more misunderstood than the word "power". For the past two decades, there has been a conscious effort made by the liberal media, academia and resident communists, to convince Americans that somehow it is dangerous and immoral for the United States to be powerful.

At the outset today, let me say that in no way do I feel threatened by the United States being the most powerful nation in the world. Quite the opposite, I feel threatened when we are not; and we are unfortunately at that point now!

In a few moments, I will discuss Secretary Shultz and his impact to American Foreign Policy and its serious consequences to freedom if we, for one moment, believe the Soviets have integrity, honor, good intentions or even one iota of decency. Secretary of Defense Weinberger was "to the point" when he warned President Reagan to "not sell the United States and the Free World out" by giving away the High Frontier, our S.D.I. (Strategic Defense Initiative).

I have always been an advocate of military superiority and I always will be. I will always be an advocate of the use of American might for noble ends in a world which will either welcome or hate our involvement. While might does not necessarily make right, it is very obvious to me in the context of our current world situation that right

will never triumph without might. I still believe (even in our efforts of the ABN/EFC) a good offense is the best defense.

History clearly shows that, like it or not, and regardless of any idealism we would espouse, that power exists and has been exercised by whatever nation had it at that time. The question facing the United States and indeed the Free World is — whether United States remains the most powerful nation in the world and endeavors to utilize that power for peaceful ends, or whether we allow lesser powers to assume positions of world leadership and use their power for less noble or, in the case of the communists, obviously evil ends.

Some years ago, I picked up a newspaper after the Soviets had invaded Afghanistan. The banner headline proclaimed that President Carter had told the Russians to “get out of Afghanistan or else”. Or else what? Only a truly powerful nation can issue ultimatums like that. We have long since passed from a capability to do so. I can imagine the top secret communique now “Dear Mr. Carter, shove it.”

Now we are in the era of “Euro-Communism”. When communism started moving into Italy, France and the Western countries, the apologists told us, “this is different than the other communism and not a threat. These communists will work within the system, and therefore we don’t have to worry about them.” I say nonsense! Communists historically work within the system until they can kill off enough people to control the state. Yet we fall for this line time after time. Only the names change; Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Chernenko, Andropov, Gromyko and now Gorbachev; the plan is the same. Conquer the world! World Dominion! We need only look at Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Poland, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Croatia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Cuba, Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

No one has ever accused the Soviets of being stupid. The handwriting has been on the wall for the past years and they are now exploiting their opportunity.

Their direct invasion of Afghanistan was based on their appraisal of the temper of leadership of the United States but, more importantly, on their own strength. The simple, basic and dangerous point is that they have achieved the military capacity that they can now proceed, regardless of what response they might get from the United States. This doesn’t mean they would risk all out war at the present time, but it does mean they have the dimension of their own military force to calculate present and future moves.

One of the greatest tragedies of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan is the shock that it brought to many Americans who should have known better. We have been brainwashed by the media and our politicians to believe that the Russians have changed. Like the leopard — they have changed their spots. NEVER.

I ask you, why would any rational person believe the Communist tyrants have changed? What have they done in the past 35 years to show they have relented one iota in their announced drive for world domination? I am an old line anti-communist. I have never changed in my resolve to warn about our communist enemies and they will never change either. We understand each other. Resident United States Commies and Liberals and Europeans of similar persuasion have found it fashionable to smugly say that “it isn’t so” but they are dead wrong. I say today; ask the Montaguards of

Vietnam, the Miskito Indians, ask Mr. Mayar of Afghanistan, Mr. Arie Vudka of Israel.

The barbarian Soviet tyrants' invasion of Afghanistan is according to their script. When their interest dictates, they move. They use a propaganda drive to influence world opinion that they were saving a friendly neighbor from imperialism; that they were asked in. They set up their puppet leaders just like in Eastern Europe. They execute their opponents by the tens of thousands just as they did in Warsaw, the Katyn Forest and in every other satellite country. That we know. They act just like they have always acted; as tyrants, barbarians and murderers. But what do we do?

The United States' superiority over the Soviets has so dangerously declined, to such a margin as to give the United States a doubtful outcome if our capabilities were challenged.

In no area can we more clearly trace the decline of our superiority than in our basic declaratory policy. Let's briefly look at this dastardly funeral procession of American Policy.

**MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION** — This policy was announced by Secretary McNamara in 1967. NOTE: for the first time "mutual" was interjected. Up to that time, it was one sided.

**STRATEGIC SUFFICIENCY** — This was announced by President Nixon in 1969 in the United Nations. Suddenly we had passed to "sufficiency", whatever that is, while the USSR was rapidly catching up (at this point I ceased to be a Nixon supporter) while America slept.

**ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE** — This was announced by Secretary Schlesinger in 1974 and was the beginning of the whistling in the dark. The USSR in the meantime had started a massive civil defense program, spending billions of dollars and circumventing the avowed purpose of the ABM treaty, while America slept.

**ROUGH EQUIVALENCE** — Secretary Rumsfeld in 1976 announced this policy which was vague and couched in terms of hopes of what the United States could do rather than a firm statement of our ability to successfully deter an aggressor, and we slept on.

**MORE OR LESS EQUAL** — Secretary Harold Brown announced this as the declaratory policy of the Carter administration in May of 1977. At this point, the Soviet Union had caught up in many strategic areas, forged ahead in others and was zooming in on us in the remaining areas of American military superiority, and we slept on.

It is fair to say that our declaratory policies have preceded our military realities. It is also obvious that Soviet policies have followed their military realities as well as ours. Twenty-five years ago, the Soviet Union was contained to expansion and conquest in Eastern Europe. While aggressively pursuing a worldwide espionage and subversion program; their military options were completely limited. Now their military options are virtually unlimited. Southern Africa, Cuba, Ethiopia, Afghanistan — the entire horn of Africa — the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf. What next? Now the present!

There was a man in Geneva this week who must be removed from power. He is dangerous to the Free Nations of the world and those enslaved under the tyranny of Moscow. His name is George Shultz.

Under the current Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, the U.S. State Department has:

— Brought back **detente**, a disastrous policy that was rejected in each of the last three U.S. presidential elections;

- Sought to impose a mindless orthodoxy on State Department officials by purging those conservatives who disagree with Foreign Service establishment; and
- Systematically excluded people with a commonsense view of international affairs and those supporting aid to freedom fighters in their struggle for freedom from jobs in the foreign policy apparatus.

Secretary of State Shultz has:

1. Failed to support repeal of the Clark Amendment, which barred aid to freedom fighters in Angola. (This places Shultz to the left of the Liberal Democratic controlled House of Representatives). In addition, he took no action to prevent Gulf Oil from paying 5 million dollars a day to the Angolan government for oil — payments that enabled the communist dictatorship to support thousands of Cuban troops, which have kept the government in power by force.
2. Purged the Department of most qualified conservatives, both political appointees and career officers, and replaced them with opponents of the President's policies in particular the Reagan Doctrine of Aid to those enslaved countries fighting for democratic governments and freedom.
3. Worked to reduce the role of the National Security Council, in order to prevent President Reagan from being exposed to views other than Shultz. Our president is now virtually isolated from letters and certain publications that never reach his attention. (Expect soon the resignation of McFarlane).
4. Limited the length of service of ambassadors appointed from outside the Foreign Service, in order to stifle dissent with his pro-communist views.
5. Talked tough, promising retaliation for terrorism and other acts of warfare against the United States, without following through on those threats. (Each time a threat is made and not carried out, it makes the United States less credible and more vulnerable in a war in which terrorism is a primary weapon).

#### EXAMPLES:

- A. The destruction of the Korean airliner, with 268 innocent persons on board including 61 Americans; no significant response.
- B. The murder of Major Nicholson, who was shot by the Soviets and then bled to death while he was prevented from receiving medical help; no significant response.
- C. The deliberate ramming of the United States vehicles in East Germany; response: a cover-up by the State Department.
- D. The bombing of the United States embassy in Beirut; no response.
- E. The bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut, with 241 Americans killed; response: no response.
- F. The TWA hijacking, which led to the murder of an American serviceman and to another in a series of hostage crises; no response.
- G. The hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro with the murder of yet another American; no response.

#### THE SECRETARY —

6. Continually defends the Soviets from true charges that it is they who are behind the international terrorist network.
7. Served as “the chief proponent of the improved ties” with Soviet-bloc nations in Eastern Europe and their puppet governments.
8. Attempted to persuade President Reagan to preemptively surrender plans for deployment of the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) without prior negotiations

with the Soviet and pressed President Reagan to the Summit and wanted to bargain SDI. Our President's good sense won out!

9. Lobbied hard to convince the President that the United States should continue to observe the SALT II treaty (which was one of the principal targets of candidate Ronald Reagan, and which not even a Democratic Senate would ratify).

10. Worked to increase the restriction on arms sales to the Republic of China on Taiwan.

11. Opposed a declaration that the government of Poland was default, thus allowing Western banks to continue funding the Soviet-imposed dictatorship.

12. Lobbied to extend Most-Favored-Nation status to Soviet puppet regimes in Hungary and Rumania.

13. Supported more than 250 million U.S. dollars in aid to the Marxist government of Zimbabwe, which is currently moving to outlaw all democratic opposition to communist rule.

14. Supported the so-called "Genocide Treaty".

15. Lobbied for renewal of the 1974 ten-year trade agreement with the USSR (an agreement formulated during the final days of the Watergate panic in the Nixon White House).

16. Supported the use of election procedures that favor the communist SWAPO in Namibia.

17. Supported land confiscation and bank nationalization in El Salvador.

18. Worked to acknowledge Soviet treaty violations so as not to damage the prospects for more treaties with the Soviets. And ...

19. Worked to undermine support for the Reagan Doctrine which calls for United States support of freedom fighters and non-communist forces battling communist tyranny. For example, he:

A. Opposed aid to anti-Vietnamese forces in Cambodia.

B. Supported United States aid, IMF loans, and Most-Favored-Nation status to the communist government of Mozambique. (Incredibly, he supported military aid for the communist government, against non-communist rebels!).

C. Attempted to prevent the establishment of Radio Marti, which beams the truth to the oppressed people of Cuba.

D. Followed a strategy of appeasement rather than victory over communist forces in Central America, and supported the Contadora process, which would have legitimized the Soviet colony in Nicaragua.

E. Finally, Shultz has developed a deliberate strategy of ignoring Soviet atrocities such as the shooting down of the Korean airliner and the murder of Major Nicholson in Germany.

Therefore, **Friends of Freedom**, we remaining American conservatives are calling for a return to civilian control of the Department of State. We are demanding reform of the Foreign Service to eliminate its anti-democratic aspects and we here in this room and those whom we represent must not just talk, meet, confer, give speeches, but we must somberly and with wisdom implement a positive strategy with definite goals and specific dates of not only political and psychological warfare with an offensive of truth and a force of unity, but with fighting fire with fire. Soviet diplomats and spies, so-called "journalists" and "businessmen" walk the streets of Europe, the United States, South America and other free countries without fear. **THAT SHOULD STOP!** And it

## **VIEWS ON EFC/ABN SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS WORLDWIDE**

*(Continued from the January-February 1986 issue)*

The new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev is doing everything in his power to depict himself as a peaceful reformer of Soviet Russian society. The reality is different. On battlefields in three continents Russian and surrogate troops are involved in suppressing popular uprisings against communist totalitarian regimes. The annual report of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency reveals that in 1981-1984 the Soviet Union shipped arms worth 11.1 billion U.S. dollars to Africa and 3.6 billion U.S. dollars to Latin America. In comparison, the U.S. weapons export to those regions was 0.8 billion U.S. dollars.

In Afghanistan Soviet Russia has introduced new, lethal weapons. The Mi-28 Havoc helicopter, smaller and faster than the Mi-24 Hind helicopter appeared in August. The Havoc carries machine guns, rockets and a new innovation, a claw that is dropped down to grab and pull up machine guns that have been abandoned by their crews. Also new in Afghanistan is the Su-25 attack plane, heavily armoured. Three new offensives have been undertaken during the period May — September 1985. The participation of Soviet Russian troops has been much higher in 1985. There are presently 115,000 Soviet Russian troops in Afghanistan. However, the world is still silent about Soviet Russian cruelty and atrocities, breach of international law and violent subjugation. Today the Afghan freedom fighters are divided into around ten political groups formed into two coalition groups — the Unity of Seven and the Unity of Three — the

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can. We must arm and support with more than words those fighting for freedom in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and other countries. Some things must be done in public to draw media attention; others with discretion, where only our Soviet victims will know they are at war. Doubt not that they do not hear these words as we speak today.

In the United States, we are asking President Reagan to fire Secretary Shultz and replace him with a man or woman who supports the President's objectives of peace and freedom and a secure United States and Free World. One who will support you and freedom fighters for democracy of the enslaved colonies of the Soviets.

The world's greatest enemy to freedom is the tyranny of communism. If what is left of the Free World is to be preserved and the people now slaves to this tyrannical system are to be set free, we who love freedom enough to die for it, must unite and oppose communism in every way possible with much haste!

In 1770, an American freedom fighter said: "When bad men combine, the good must associate, else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." We have seen that happen!

We here today have formed such an association of necessity to fight for freedom and democracy.

A great American patriot once said "O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth!" And I say today we must "**Stand Forth**". It is an honor to stand with you today against the tyrant and the tyranny.

smaller coalition representing traditionalist religious leaders. It plays a more limited role in resistance inside the occupied country. The Unity of Seven belongs to a new breed of religiously inspired freedom fighters. They are seeking an innovative interpretation of Islam in an attempt to provide an alternative to communism. Both coalitions are, however, united in an effort to free Afghanistan from Soviet Russian oppression. The freedom fighters in Afghanistan need much more moral, political, informational and military support. Almost a third of the population has left their home country. Seven hundred thousand people, mainly civilians, have been killed. The Western world and its governments must find new ways of assisting the mujahideen. The EFC's and the ABN's role could be to collect and channel assistance from private sources, to help in the establishment of political contacts, and also to spread information on the struggle of the freedom fighters in this Asian country, never subdued by invaders.

Let us turn to another part of the Asian continent that needs our assistance—South East Asia. From 1982 to 1983 Cambodia's import of weapons from Soviet Russia rose from 40 million U.S. dollars to 60 million. The Soviet supplied Vietnamese army launched its largest dry-season offensive in history in Cambodia in 1985 even exchanging fire with Thai troops. Over 1,200 Vietnamese troops crossed into Thai territory and violated the borders of that free Asian country. Since 1979 several resistance movements have been fighting the Vietnamese army and its Cambodian quislings. It was in that year that an umbrella organization, the Khmer People's Liberation Armed Forces was organized, the KPNLAF. During 1985 the freedom fighters in Cambodia have suffered losses, but they are able and willing to continue fighting. In Laos and Vietnam resistance is active and growing. The freedom fighters of the South East Asian countries that fell under communism from 1975-1980 will once more make freedom reign, but they need our support in spreading information about their struggle and financial aid to continue the fight against Soviet Russia and its surrogates.

Leaving the Asian continent for Africa we find three countries involved in civil war and where anti-communist resistance is active. The freedom fighters in Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique also need our support to inform the whole world about their struggle. Meanwhile, Soviet Russian efforts to crush the rebels heighten. From 1982 to 1983 the Angolan weapons' import from Soviet Russia grew from 400 million U.S. dollars to 625 million. In September of this year it was revealed that Russian officers had taken control over military operations against the UNITA forces of Jonas Savimbi for the first time in this ten year conflict. A Soviet Russian led force of up to 30,000 troops took to the offensive in July 1985. The Ethiopian imports of Russian weaponry grew from 290 million U.S. dollars to 525 million while the people were starving and the West had come to their help. During 1985 more than 5,000 Cuban troops moved into Eritrea to relieve three Ethiopian divisions engaged in suppressing the Marxist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The Marxist rebels in Eritrea claim that they control 85 percent of Eritrea and mount guerilla operations in the rest of the area. Ethiopia holds only a small coastal zone including the Eritrean capital of Asmera. Around 150,000 civilians and guerillas, as well as Ethiopians have been killed. Obviously the regime in Addis Ababa, ruling on Soviet and Cuban bayonets is attempting to starve Eritrea into submission. Soviet Russia now has access to air bases in Ethiopian cities and facilities for naval support on the Dahlac Archipelago — 126

islands located around 20 kilometers off the Eritrean coast. But there is also anti-communist resistance inside Ethiopia that needs our assistance. Mozambique's import of Russian weapons grew from 130 to 260 million U.S. dollars in the 1982-83 period. The Marxist dictator of Mozambique, Samora Machel, conducted a major offensive against the anti-communist resistance movement, RENAMO, with over 20,000 troops with the aid of troops from Zimbabwe and communist pilots from Ethiopia. The goal was to strike a fatal blow to the freedom fighters, but it failed. The anti-communist resistance in Africa needs the support of the EFC and the ABN, politically, information-wise and financially.

When the Sandinistas took power in Nicaragua Soviet Russia was able to establish itself in Central America along with its first surrogate in the Western hemisphere, Cuba. A recent defector from the Nicaraguan Ministry of Interior (MINT), Lieutenant Alvaro Jose Baldizon, has revealed that ministers in the government are involved in executions of political opponents of the Sandinista regime. Murder and torture are regular, and the approved way of controlling the internal opposition in Nicaragua.

—Minister of the Interior, Tomas Borge, and others have been involved in international drug trafficking;

—there are more than 200 Cuban advisors in the Ministry of the Interior;

—the Nicaraguan government is involved in the training of foreign guerilla groups; and

—Managua attempts to intimidate the Church.

Unfortunately Western Europe has not been correctly informed about Nicaragua and its present government. Several West European governments, unfortunately also the socialist government in my own country, support the Sandinistas not only politically, but also with development aid.

It is of the greatest importance that information on the true nature of the totalitarian regime in Managua is also exposed in the Old World. Much work has to be done by the FDN, the ARDE and other Nicaraguan freedom fighter organizations to reach Western Europe as well and to explain the reasons for their struggle against the regime in Managua.

Let us quickly turn to a country on the South American continent that is in danger of becoming the next foothold of Moscow and Havana in the Western Hemisphere —the former Dutch colony of Surinam. This multi-racial country enjoyed a democratic government under Henck Arron until February 1980, when a group of left-wing army officers grabbed power. In December 1981 there was a shift towards Moscow. A "New Revolutionary Front" was set up. Delegations from Cuba, East Germany and then still communist Grenada began to arrive. The present leader, Desi Bouterse, steers on a pro-Cuba line and visited Cuba in 1982. Surinam has only about 250,000 inhabitants, but is of strategic importance as a possible first Soviet-Cuban surrogate on the South American continent. In December Bouterse established a military dictatorship after a violent coup. There are now Cuban security "advisors" in the country and its capital, Paramaribo. It is important to follow the development in Surinam and expose Soviet Russian schemes for this small South American country. The fight for democracy against totalitarianism in El Salvador should also be foremost in our concern when it comes to the Western Hemisphere.

What Soviet Russia calls "national liberation war" is in reality terrorist warfare to overthrow governments and destabilize the West. Moscow, therefore, has in the past

and is still supporting terrorism in the West. I am not saying that Moscow is behind all international terrorism or that the Russians are directly planning and directing the terrorist groups, but there is ample evidence of support not only from Soviet Russia, but from many surrogate countries, such as East Germany, Bulgaria, Cuba, North Korea and Nicaragua, to mention just a few. Let me only mention one example.

In February 1980 several young men and women were playing soccer outside the gates of the embassy of the Dominican Republic in Bogota, Colombia. Inside, diplomats were celebrating the Dominican Independence Day. Later, after representatives of five communist states including the Soviet Union had left, the soccer players pulled out automatic weapons and seized the embassy. They seized 56 diplomats, including the American ambassador. If the Colombian government did not release 311 guerillas jailed in Colombia, if 50 million U.S. dollars was not paid and a manifesto was not published, they threatened to kill the diplomats. The leader of the group was called Comandante Uno and was from M-19, one of the two largest terrorist groups in Colombia. It was also members from M-19 that occupied the Supreme Court building in Bogota recently. The hostages were held for 61 days. After that they were released. The terrorists accepted a ransom of 2.5 million U.S. dollars and safe conduct out of Colombia. When they later stepped out of a Cuban airline jet in Havana a group of Cubans stood cheering at the airport. Fidel Castro granted the guerillas political asylum in Cuba. The links with Soviet Russia in this case are obvious, but very little was written about that connection when the incident took place and it soon went down into oblivion as a footnote in history.

Terrorist organizations would not survive long without outside support, as they have no popular support. Soviet Russia, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and Cuba are providing assistance including weapons, ammunition and explosives, military training, financial aid and sanctuary.

The Soviet Russian Politburo designs the strategy, but it is the KGB that directs the combat. Detailed instructions are not given and there is no proof of total control by Soviet Russia or its surrogates. But a large number of terrorists are trained at the Lenin Institute and the Patrice Lumumba University. There are military training camps at Simferopol, Odessa, Baku and Tashkent. Varna in Bulgaria, Lake Balaton in Hungary, Finsterwalde in East Germany are other places. Recently training in Nicaragua has intensified. Already in 1983 members of the Costa Rican Popular Vanguard Party trained in southern Nicaragua near El Castillo.

Terrorism is a type of indirect warfare of Soviet Russia against the West with concealment of the policy. Soviet Russia has from its inception held global revolutionary aims. However, it has had to accept that it was not possible to achieve them by direct military conquest. Ever since the wake of nuclear weapons, Moscow has waged indirect warfare with increasing intensity. Violence is morally and politically evil according to communist ideology only when used in the West. Intensification of "armed struggle" is what the enemies of the West mean when they talk of peace. Soviet Russian willingness to talk peace is only a charade. "Peace is War" in Soviet terminology.

Liberation, political and ideological warfare and support for freedom fighters worldwide is the alternative to a nuclear holocaust. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council have a great responsibility to inform the

world about resistance in the nations of the Russian empire, and to support freedom fighters throughout the world.

Finally I would like to mention a few political measures that would be of importance:

—Support in international organizations, such as the United Nations, from the West for freedom fighter organizations would give them an improved status internationally.

—Freedom fighters should be invited by parliamentarians in the West and given the opportunity to present their case.

—Coordinating meetings, such as the one in Jamba in June of this year, in the Angolan zone liberated by the UNITA, should be encouraged. At these meetings strategy, tactics and political coordination could be discussed and planned.

—Anti-Sandinista organizations, such as UNITA, the Mujahideen, and others, should be supported financially to enable them to establish information centres in West European cities. These centres can organize the spread of information to schools, organizations and politicians on the present situation of the resistance struggle. Films, printed material and video cassettes play an important role in this.

—A Freedom Academy, if established, could serve as a centre for the study of the best methods of spreading information, and could support the freedom fighters. Such a centre would also produce studies and reports on communist political warfare techniques. Only by the study of Soviet Russian techniques to subvert the West and the spread of information on these methods to the broad public will it be possible to stop the communist and Soviet Russian advance. Only a strong West can effectively support the subjugated peoples.

Since 1940 Soviet Russia has partially or totally annexed 11 countries with today around 25 million people. Furthermore Moscow has taken over control in 20 countries with a quarter of a billion people. During the same period 61 countries with 1.5 billion people have been given independence by Western countries. No country has been forced to accept a political system by the West. Who is the imperialist? The Russian empire is the greatest threat to peace in the world today.

*(Mr. Bertil Häggman is the director of the Institute for a Political Psychological Freedom Campaign of the European Freedom Council.)*

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## “THE WEST’S STRONGEST ALLIES”

edited by  
Slava Stetsko, M.A.

This new publication of the ABN Press Bureau contains the collected materials from the ABN/EFC (European Freedom Council) Conference, held in London, on September 24-26, 1982, as well as the materials from the EFC Conferences held in Munich in May, 1983 and September, 1984.

Copies can be obtained from the ABN offices in Munich. Price: \$12.00.

## THE VITALITY OF UNDERGROUND MOVEMENTS

In Estonia, at the end of the 1960's, a group of individuals believing in the principles of national independence, democracy and human rights, formed an illegal organization called the Democratic Movement of Estonia (DME). The organization's goals included the restoration of the Republic of Estonia, and guaranteed a free society and human rights. The methods employed were to include political activity among the population and distribution of political documents with future plans for mass boycotts, strikes and demonstrations.

I was one of many who participated in the formation of this group and in the development of its program. I also co-edited the publications "The Estonian Democrat" and "The Estonian National Voice". At the end of 1972, we composed two appeals — a memorandum to the UN General Assembly and a letter to the UN Secretary-General. These were later transmitted to the West and delivered to UN Headquarters. These appeals called for the restoration of freedom and independence for Estonia.

One of the founders of the Democratic Movement of Estonia, the outstanding strategist and organizer of our underground group was Artem Juskevych, a Ukrainian, born in the Lutsk district, West Ukraine. Between the ages of 14 and 18, together with his relatives, he helped the armed resistance movement in Ukraine — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In post war time, many of his relatives were repressed and executed by Soviet authorities. Later he went to Estonia, where in the late 1960's he took part in the freedom movement of Estonia. He provided us with the experience of underground struggle and organized the contact and steady connection with the contemporary underground movement in Ukraine — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He was also the author of a "Samvydav" (underground) political work, "Russian Colonialism and the Problems of Nations".

The activities of the DME also included cooperating closely with the nationalist movements in Lithuania and Latvia, with human rights activists in Leningrad and Moscow, and with the democratically-minded officers of the Baltic Fleet. Close contacts were also maintained with members of religious movements.

Also in the 1960's, working in cooperation with dissidents from other nationalities and from other areas, we established the "Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union" (DMSU). We developed the DMSU program and tactics, wrote the DMSU memorandum to the Supreme Soviet, and put out the Russian language publications, "Democrat" and "Ray of Freedom".

In connection with the activities of the DMSU, Davydov and Petrov in Leningrad and Bolonkin and Balakirev in Moscow were arrested at the end of 1972.

In 1974 and 1975, in connection with the appearance of the UN memorandum and letter in the West, the Soviet authorities started settling accounts with the Democratic Movement of Estonia. Mättik, Kiirend, Juskevych and Varato were arrested in 1974, and at the beginning of 1975, I was also arrested. In the fall of 1975, four of the accused were sentenced to labor camps and one was released after confessing and repenting. Among them, Artem Juskevych received a five-year sentence and a six-year sentence in concentration camps of harsh regimes. After the trial we were deported to the

Mordovian and Perm concentration camps. Here we found political prisoners from almost all of the nations in the Soviet Union. However, the most important of them were the Ukrainians (about 50% of all the imprisoned persons!). Among them were: Mykola Kontchakivsky, Vasyl Stus, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yuriy Badzio, Zorian Popadiuk, Kuzma Matveyuk, Vasyl Ovsienko, Ihor Kravtsiv, Mykola Rudenko, Yuriy Butchenko, Konstantyn Didenko, Vitalij Lysenko and many, many others. During the years in these camps, a real fraternity was formed between political prisoners of many nations. This moral and political brotherhood helped us to resist the cruelty of the administration in these Soviet Russian concentration camps during the years 1975-1981. For example, in April 1977, the 100 day work strike, led by Vyacheslav Chornovil, was declared in the Mordovian camps No. 19 and Nos. 3-5. During these hundred days, the Soviet Russian authorities tortured us in incarceration cells by hunger and cold.

My closest friend during my term of imprisonment was Ukrainian freedom fighter and excellent poet Vasyl Stus. He was released in August 1979, after seven years of imprisonment. I hoped to meet him at a later date, as my sentence ended in January 1981. But in vain! In May 1980, while I was still incarcerated, he was rearrested in Kyiv by the KGB and later sentenced to 15 years of deprivation of freedom... On September 4 of this year (1985), this outstanding Ukrainian patriot and poet, by the Grace of God, died in the Perm special regime camp near the Ural mountains... While writing the obituary for the radio on him, I wept... The Soviet Russian organs of punishment slowly killed this Ukrainian martyr and prisoner of conscience!

Activities in Estonia did not subside after the arrests of the five democrats in 1974-1975. On the contrary. In 1979, for example, 45 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians signed an appeal on the 40th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In 1980, Mart Niklus, Juri Kukk, Veljo Kalep, Tiit Madisson, Viktor Niitsoo and Vello Salum were among the many arrested in Estonia. In the fall of 1980, large student demonstrations took place in Tallinn, as well as in Tartu, Parnu and Viljandi. A strike took place in Kuldre.

Here is another example of struggle. In the morning of June 1, 1981, democratic activists in Estonia and in other areas of the Soviet Union began distributing leaflets calling for "half-hour silences" on December 1st and on the first working day of every following month. The demands were as follows: the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan; non-interference in the internal affairs of Poland; the release of all political prisoners; the abolition of the secret preferential distribution of goods; the reduction of the term of military service by six months; and the implementation of the provisions of the UN Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords.

The KGB naturally took immediate steps to try and kill these initiatives, particularly in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Nevertheless, the news of these preparations was widely reported in the Western press.

Leaflets were distributed on a very wide scale. The KGB used all possible methods to suppress any possible support for these initiatives. A great number of people suspected of distributing leaflets were interrogated, including Mattik, Juskevych (deceased on 27th January 1982), Ahonen and dozens of others. Searches were instigated on a massive scale.

Of those being held on charges of distributing leaflets, the following names have reached the West: Valdur Jarve, a construction worker from Viljandi; Peeter Kuum, a

carpenter from Parnu; Endel Rose, a doctor at the Mustamae Polyclinic in Tallinn; and Siim Sade, an engineer from Tallin. As the above names indicate, the participants in these actions come from all walks of life and all parts of Estonia.

Although these events cannot be compared to the scale of Solidarity's activity in Poland, certain concrete results were achieved. The authorities have been forced to raise the level of food supplies in Estonia. In fact, butter, milk, meat products and other hard-to-come-by foodstuffs have started appearing in shops in rather good supply. This should be counted as a positive result of the planned strikes.

During the past few years, in Estonia alone freedom fighters, such as Lagle Parek, Heiki Ahonen, Arvo Pesti, Enn Tarto, Johannes Hint, Rev. Harri Mõtsnik, and others, have been arrested by the KGB and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Many more dissidents and freedom fighters have been arrested in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Russia. The political opposition movement in the Soviet Union, including the Democratic Movement in Estonia, has not yet become strong enough to replace the existing totalitarian regime and regain national independence with a democratic system. In order to achieve such an aim in Estonia and elsewhere, the opposition movement must expand its geographical base and receive **necessary moral and political support from the West**. The political opposition is nevertheless a growing force which will play an ever more important role in the future developments of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, as well as other nations in the Soviet Union. Working underground, the political opposition cannot always openly declare itself, and even when news does reach the West, some forces seem to prefer the maintenance of the status quo in Europe.

As for the details of my personal situation, in the fall of 1976, my son Aleksander was arrested on false charges and sentenced to five years of imprisonment. This was an attempt to force me to recant my positions and ask for mercy from the Soviet government. The plan did not succeed. Instead, the above mentioned 100-day strike was declared at the Mordovian camp No. 19 by 11 political prisoners, including myself. At the end of my sentence in January 1981, I went to live with my wife in Tallinn. At that time I was placed under official surveillance and my movements were restricted. In May 1981, my wife and I were forced to leave the Soviet Union within six days, as *persona non grata*. My son, who has finished serving his sentence, is not allowed to leave the Soviet Union to join us in West Germany. I feel that the authorities are holding my son hostage this time in an attempt to force me to be silent.

In closing, I would like to say that despite all the aforementioned difficulties, the fight for national and human rights and a free society, freedom in unity of all captive nations, for national independence and self-determination will continue, and we are convinced that in such a moral and political union, in such a freedom front of oppressed nations, we will be victorious in our struggle. We, democrats of many oppressed nations in the Soviet Union, are also convinced that the underground tactic in the struggle for freedom and independence of nations subjugated in the Soviet Union, has to be and will be the most successful one under the present conditions of Soviet Russian totalitarian regime.

## **THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN LATVIA**

The soul of every nation lives in its cultural heritage. Destroy the soul and the nation dies. The Russification policies aimed at the Latvian nation by the Soviet Russians are attempting to destroy the soul of the nation by forcing Latvians to accept an alien language and foreign culture.

The most important task for Latvians and indeed for all subjugated nations is not to allow the Soviet Russian dictatorship to act in silence and secrecy.

The history of Latvia's years of independence and the unlawful Soviet occupation has been discussed at many international conferences before. Today I would like to speak about the national liberation movement in Latvia. In spite of all the difficulties the movement has to face, it has not been discouraged or broken. The Latvian people have never submitted to the loss of their freedom. They have never accepted Soviet Russian rule as either legitimate or permanent.

Immediately after the Second World War, well into the 1950's, armed resistance took place. The exact number of casualties during those years are not known. Some estimates are running into tens of thousands. The hopeless armed struggle finally had to be abandoned, but passive resistance continues.

Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution guarantees by law freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, street processions and so on to the citizens. These freedoms are only guaranteed if it fits, benefits or furthers the communist system. Other activities, which we consider normal in a democratic society, for example: discussing a possibility of another political organisation; trying to organize an independent trade union; supporting Helsinki monitoring groups or any other groups; publishing an independent periodical; being a Christian and bringing up one's children in the same faith are considered as anti-Soviet activities and agitation.

Nevertheless, Latvians, risking heavy fines, imprisonment and additional internal exile, banishment to locations outside Latvia, have not been silenced. Countless anonymous individuals act spontaneously, painting slogans, defacing statues of communist leaders, placing flowers on the graves of Latvia's freedom fighters and burning candles in public places commemorating Latvia's Independence Day in November. Other manifestations of protest include gatherings of people singing patriotic songs. Youth unrest and the unfolding of the outlawed national flag have also taken place.

In 1972 a letter written by 17 Latvian Communists was sent to various Communist Parties of Western Europe and to the UN, protesting Russification measures in Latvia, such as the massive influx of Russian settlers, distortion introduced in education, cultural life and the media, and also the overwhelming presence of the Soviet Red Army on Latvian soil.

In September 1975, six underground organisations from the Baltic States sent a letter to the Baltic Conference expressing disappointment that the participating nations in the Helsinki Conference did not display a stand against the Soviet Russians regarding the Baltic States.

In February 1976, political prisoners signed an appeal, asking the reader to assist them by demanding that the Soviet Union comply with the Helsinki Accords.

In August 1977, an underground publication appeared announcing the formation of the Committee of National Movement in all the Baltic States. A petition signed by 45 Balts, including Latvians was sent to the UN and the governments of both German states and other Western governments demanding the annulment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Many, if not all of the signatories have by now been arrested. A further letter asking for help was sent to the Secretary of the UN and Amnesty International.

17 Latvian athletes sent a letter to the sports associations of the Free World urging them to boycott the Olympic Games in the USSR.

In September 1980, the Latvian Independence Movement and the Democratic Youth Committee submitted a brief to the Madrid Conference of the Helsinki Accords asking the delegates of the Conference to turn their attention to the tragedy of occupied Latvia. In February 1981, they sent an appeal to the Latvians in exile asking that they do everything in their power to see that freedom is restored to the Latvian nation. Twenty Balts dispatched a telegram to the Polish leader Lech Walesa expressing their support for his cause. In the 1980's the Latvian Information Service was established to report human rights violations and supply information that the Soviet Russian regime did not wish to disclose.

In October 1981, 38 Balts sent an open letter to the Northern European governments suggesting the inclusion of the Baltic Sea into the Northern Nuclear Free Zone, as Mr. Brezhnev had proposed such a zone for Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. In January 1983, the Soviet Russian government launched a wave of terror against Latvians, people whose crime was an active belief in God and an attempt to fight for human rights. Many are labeled as outcasts, subjected to searches, arrests and other forms of harassment and intimidation.

The World Federation of Free Latvians has prepared a booklet called "Latvian Dissent". This booklet contains case histories of the 1983 Soviet Russian campaign to silence political dissent in occupied Latvia. It mentions Gunars Astra, Janis Barkans, Ints Calitis, Gunars Freimanis, Lidija Lasmane-Doronina, Alfreds Levalds (deceased), Gederts Melngailis, Janis Rozkalns and Janis Veveris. These are only a few examples and I bow my head in silence for those whom I have not called by name, who are still suffering and those who have perished unknown.

Mr. Gorbachev complains that the West is interfering in the internal affairs of his country. I would strongly point out that he is doing just that in my country.

On behalf of Latvia's national liberation movement in Latvia today, I appeal to all of you to do everything possible to support them, strengthen their hopes by relentlessly working towards freedom not only for Latvia, but for all subjugated nations.

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## THE NORILSK UPRISING

by

Yevhen Hrycak

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## THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II

The 40th anniversary of the end of World War II was remembered in the West in a lukewarm atmosphere. There were no solemn military parades, no bell ringing from churches and above all, no special conferences of the “Big Three” in order to review the results of their victory 40 years ago. Instead, the Western victorious powers commemorated this anniversary in the spirit of reconciliation with their former enemies who are now their allies against the threat of one of the former “Big Three”, i.e. Soviet Russia who wants to subjugate the entire world.

In contrast to this, Russia and her “satellites” staged big military celebrations, including boasting speeches about the victory of the Red Army and military parades with goose steps.

And what did the end of the last war mean for the subjugated peoples? It meant tragedy, persecutions, concentration camps and genocide. Those subjugated peoples within the Russian Bolshevik empire like Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, Byelorussians and others remained under Moscow’s rule, and soon after the war, all European peoples east of the central European Stettin-Trieste line, except the Greeks, fell under Moscow inspired Marxist-Leninist regimes. Among them were also the Croatian people who proclaimed their independent state during the war, but after the war again became a part of so-called “Yugoslavia” against their will.

What a pity that Britain and America failed to recognize the strategic importance of the Croatian coast of Dalmatia. With an invasion of the Dalmatian coast, the British and American forces would not have paid such a tremendous price in human lives, material and money as they paid with the invasion of Normandy. Moreover, the West would have prevented the Russian Red Army from reaching Budapest, Berlin, Vienna and Prague and secured the political and strategic advantage in Europe.

Forty years have lapsed since the Yalta Conference and the formal end of World War II, which in fact never ended, but continued immediately after the Potsdam Conference. The first victims of this continued war were all those peoples sacrificed to Russia at Yalta, among them the Croatian people.

Today we also commemorate the 40th anniversary of the genocide near Bleiburg on the Austrian border, where Stalin’s agent Tito ordered the massacre of 200,000 disarmed Croatian soldiers and the extermination of nearly half a million Croatian civilians. This genocide surpassed the massacres of Polish soldiers and intellectuals by the Russians near Katyn. In its tragedy and magnitude it equals the Ukrainian famine holocaust ordered by Stalin and the extermination of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians.

When Stalin died, the Russian empire was never greater in all its history. His successor Khrushchev, in order to preserve and consolidate the Russian empire, condemned the dead Stalin, whom he even threw out of Lenin’s mausoleum, and with cunning smiles and the olive branch, offered “peaceful co-existence” to the West which the leftist and liberal Western circles accepted as their credo. They forgot or refused to recognize that between good and evil, light and darkness, freedom and tyranny, there cannot be any “co-existence”. The communists, faithful to the doctrine of Lenin, believe that evil, darkness and tyranny will win, whereas all those subjugated by

communists, together with the rest of the Free World are convinced that good, light and freedom will be the final victors. This belief has brought us here to this great gathering of true representatives of subjugated peoples and of those in the Free World who want to prevent the communist imperialists from enslaving their peoples as they have enslaved ours. Therefore, this conference could be called the Great Freedom Parliament, the resolutions of which should be heard and carried out by all those who cherish freedom.

In 1956, the Hungarians showed to the world that they cannot “co-exist” with their conquerors. The West was not willing, prepared or united to deal with the global Russian threat, and the Hungarian revolution was crushed.

After Khrushchev’s fall, Brezhnev was all smiles and he propagated peace and detente. At the same time the Red Army invaded Czecho-Slovakia, where Moscow trained communist dictator Dubcek, who without permission from Moscow, wanted to introduce some reforms in order to win the people for communism. Brezhnev also helped to establish the communist regimes in Mozambique, Angola and South Yemen. In order to consolidate the Russian grip on all communist states, he proclaimed the “Brezhnev Doctrine”, according to which Russia would invade any state where the communist regime was in danger. In spite of all this he continued to preach peace and detente and invited all European states to a Conference for European Security which took place in Helsinki in 1975. If the Yalta Conference was a shameful capitulation of the West in front of Stalin’s demands, the Helsinki Conference was the betrayal of millions of innocent victims who, in Yalta, were given to Russia and her “satellites” to suffer under the Marxist-Leninist tyranny.

The communist takeover in Ethiopia prompted Brezhnev to desert his ally Somalia which fought for the freedom of Somalis in Ethiopian Ogaden and to become an ally of Ethiopia. Russian arms “advisors” and the Russian servants Cubans transformed Ethiopia into a Marxist-Leninist colony of Russia.

After the conquest of former French Indochina (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) Russia invaded Afghanistan. This shattered all claims that Russia was a champion of peace, detente and freedom. The heroic spirit of the Mujahideen freedom fighters proved to be stronger than the barbaric Red Army which uses the most inhuman means, including torture, mass killing of innocent civilians and chemical weapons in order to break the resistance of the Afghan people who are fighting for God, freedom and independence of their homeland.

After the short reigns of Andropov and Chernenko, Gorbachev became Russia’s ruler. He will have to invent new tricks in order to deceive world opinion and weaken the will of Western democracies to resist the Russian strategy for world conquest. As a matter of fact he already invented one and calls it “Star Peace” as opposed to Mr. Reagan’s SDI — Strategic Defence Initiative, called “Star Wars” by the media. In other words the new Kremlin star would like to convince the world that he is a peace champion, and Mr. Reagan, who wants to free the world of all nuclear weapons with SDI, is a warmonger. What a stupid and infantile insinuation!

We are for Mr. Reagan’s SDI and wish him every success in its realization. However, this would not satisfy the subjugated peoples because SDI has only defensive importance and we want to get rid of Russian Bolshevik tyranny. To achieve this, we suggest that America and the rest of the Free World finally recognize the Special Freedom Force (SFF) which already exists and is active in the form of national

resistance in Afghanistan, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Mozambique, Angola and Nicaragua, in the form of a national army in El Salvador and in the form of liberation movements of all subjugated peoples. This force should be not only recognized, but also supported and funded and when unleashed in its final counter-attack, no Russian nuclear arsenal would be able to contain or beat it because then Russia would have to deal with multiple Afghanistans inside and outside her borders.

Finally I have to mention the 40th anniversary of the so-called United Nations. This organization neither represents nations nor their unity. For example, the Soviet Union and "Yugoslavia" are not nations but prisons of many nations. Furthermore, the main aim of the Soviet Union and other communist states are diametrically opposed to the aims of the democratic states. The aim of Russia and her associates is universal tyranny, whereas the aim of the democratic states is universal freedom. This is the reason that nobody mentions the Atlantic Charter anymore, which is supposed to be the Constitution of the United Nations. On the 40th anniversary of this international organization we demand its reorganization which would allow the acceptance of representatives of all subjugated peoples and the expulsion of all those who do not honour its constitution.

The subjugated peoples are united in their suffering and in their struggle for a common goal which is freedom and independence of their countries. The new generations of our countrymen will never accept slavery and communism. They represent the first columns of fighters in the present day gigantic struggle between forces of universal freedom and those of universal tyranny. The Free World should bear this in mind and not let them down!

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## REPORT ON HELSINKI ACCORDS RELEASED

Washington, D.C. (UNIS) — The State Department recently made public the President's Nineteenth Semiannual Report to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

The report which covers the period beginning April 1, 1985 through October 1, 1985 gives a general assessment regarding the implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords by the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc signatories.

Describing russification in Ukraine, the 19th Semiannual states that, "attempts to 'russify' Ukraine continue unabated. Recent Western visitors to Kyiv have commented on how little Ukrainian is actually spoken there. Those who inquire why this is so are frequently told that spoken Ukrainian is regarded by local officials as a manifestation of 'bourgeois nationalism'

and strongly discouraged. Ukrainian cultural and historical objects have been neglected and Uniate churches burned."

The report also singles out the cases of political prisoners Y. Terelya, V. Kobryn, Rev. M. Vinnitsky, Y. Zisels, M. Horbal and I. Ratushynska.

Repression against cultural activists has remained vehement. At the end of August imprisoned poetess Iryna Ratushynska had her head shaved and was placed in a punishment isolation cell for six months. Also detailed was Moscow's campaign against the long repressed Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The report mentions the September 4, 1985 death of Vasyl Stus. Referring to the deaths of Oleksa Tykhy, Valeriy Marchenko and Vasyl Stus, the report states, "these deaths leave little doubt that Ukrainian political prisoners are singled out for particularly brutal treatment."

## CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

*Issue No. 6 of the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine", a recent samvydav document from Ukraine, has now been translated from Ukrainian into English. The "Chronicle" is the information bulletin of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, which came into being in September, 1982. The "Chronicle" was first published in 1984.*

*This issue reports on an interview held in Uzhhorod on April 23-24, 1984, during which representatives of the government authorities attempted to persuade Yosyp Terelya, the founder of the Initiative Group, to convince the Ukrainian Catholic Church to split away from the Vatican and declare autonomy. In return, the Church would be "legalized". This was merely a ploy on the part of the authorities to dominate the Ukrainian Catholic Church. For a split with the Vatican and "legalization" would lead to the complete control over the Church by the authorities. As the Church would come out from the underground into the open, the state would have control over the appointment of priests and bishops. Having filled the ranks of the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with its own nominees, the state would have full control over the Church and its activities, and the Church would become dependent on the state, like the legal Russian Orthodox Church. The aim of the Soviet Russian authorities is, in the short run, to dominate the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and in the long-run, to destroy it completely.*

*Yosyp Terelya realized this and refused to accept the offer, despite the fact that he was promised various personal rewards for compliance with the state. He was arrested on February 8, 1985 and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".*

### PART VI

On April 17, 1984, an article by H. Danyliuk, entitled "Book-keeper in a Cassock", appeared in the newspaper "Zakarpatska Pravda". Shortly before this article was written, a unit of militiamen and KGB broke into the home of Fr. Oleksander Tovt, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, and carried out a complete "pogrom". During this "pogrom" a certain number of books from the priest's private library were destroyed and almost 400 copies were illegally confiscated. The decree on the violation of the statute on religious cults was read out to the priest and he was fined 50 rubles. Of course, everything that had happened did not appear in Danyliuk's article. In addition, the article also failed to mention that the villagers were

indignant at the actions (crimes) of the militiamen. In this way, the Transcarpathian village of Zastavne witnessed the everyday "work" of the militia and KGB which toil daily in the field of atheism. But the most frightening thing of all is that among the books were also some published in Rome. This is where the dog is buried (an idiomatic expression) — a prayer for the non-believers, a Bible for young people and others! This is what the authorities fear. Ukrainian Catholics supposedly have the right to pray and fulfill their religious needs openly! Thus, only because a person fulfills his needs in his own home he is arrested for this. In truth, up till now has ever killed or sentenced anyone to suffering for praying to God...

\*

On the 15th of June, in the village of Dovhe which is situated in Transcarpathia Senior Lt. of the militia Yu. Starosta, in broad daylight, attacked Maria Trykur, a Catholic, who had returned from a Soviet concentration camp two months ago, grabbing her by the hair and dragging her like a corpse through the centre of the village to his administrative office for a "talk". During this "talk" Yu. Starosta screamed that the militia will knock down her house and, if need be, he would rape her, "and nothing will happen to me", said the criminal. Maria Trykur and her husband surrendered their passports to the communists, noting at the time that they did not want anything to do with authorities that persecute Catholics.

Maria Trykur has already served 3 terms of imprisonment in Moscow's concentration camps and her husband, Mykhaylo Trykur has been imprisoned 5 times. The communists have taken away the Trykur family's children and placed them in a boarding school where the children's crucifixes were torn off their necks and where they were forced to condemn their parents. When Maria's daughter stated to her teachers that they were Satanists, the little girl was locked up in the cellar! Maria received a warning that within a month she and her husband will be taken away in custody and tried for the umpteenth time.

Ukrainians! Remember that there are men and women believers who remain faithful to the death to our Catholic Church and Ukraine. So pray, pray every day, eternally. God will come to the aid of crucified Ukraine. The tears and blood of the innocent people who have been killed, murdered in the prisons and camps for their faith and for Ukraine, have not been shed in vain!

\*

Information has been received about Pavlo Kampov, a Ukrainian political prisoner who is groundlessly punished and is presently in a concentration camp in Russia. P. Kampov is gravely ill, but when his parents sent this ailing man medicine, camp authorities smashed it, telling Kampov that he will die there (in the camp). Pavlo Kampov is being held illegally on the territory of Russia where the fate of Oleksa Tykhyj is being prepared for him. (*Oleksa Tykhyj was a prominent Ukrainian political prisoner and a founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group who was seriously ill in a Russian concentration camp and who was made to die by the authorities in 1984 by depriving him of indispensable medical facilities and treatment*). Presently, P. Kampov is in a camp hospital. The doctors told him they had no medicine, but if his parents sent the sick man medicine, they could begin treatment. Terelya (Yosyp) sent the ailing man medicine, but whether it will be given to the sick man no one knows.

\*

11th June, 1984

Glory to Jesus Christ!

Good day, my dear friends! I yearn to meet you if just once in our native land before I die. But this is no more than a wish, a yearning. It is only talk...God, how many times have I turned to the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR asking them to return me to Ukraine even as a captive. But all in vain... How many torments have I accepted trying to get transferred to my native land! But the (prison) walls are cold and their (authorities') hearts are of moss-grown stone. But everything happens according to God's will. I am now in a hospital. I have heart and lung ailments and overall weakness. I wrote to my sister, Maria, asking her to ask you to

help her get some medicine. But to date she has not fulfilled my request. In truth, she is already a woman of pensionable age. Maybe she does not care... Still I have been a prisoner for so long that apart from my mother and father everyone else has forgotten about me. Yosyp, please do not send me the photograph — I am blind. My left eye is completely blind and my right eye has only 10% vision.

I do not want to die in a strange land! One wants to believe in the impossible. One would like to believe that fate will be kind even to me and that I will be transferred to a concentration camp in Ukraine and there I will go to my rest... Everything around me is foreign even the air I breathe. The head of the camp told me that I will be here to my death. "You will not leave alive", he said.

I kiss and embrace you. May God help and protect you.

Yours  
Pavlo Kampov

\*

To the Chairman of the  
Central Committee of  
Austrian Catholics

Mr. Chairman,

May peace and the blessings of God be upon you and the people of Austria.

In connection with events that unfolded themselves around the tragic question of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, I want to express my thanks to you personally and to the Austrian Catholics for your solidarity and Christian love for the enslaved Ukrainian nation and our blood-soaked Church.

Both the righteous and the sinners are eternally indebted to God. From the former, God expects piousness and good deeds throughout their life, and from the sinners — repentance. And we, Christians, continually, both in our prayers

and through our good deeds, ask God to forgive our tormentors and to soften their hearts of stone... Everything depends on the will of God! Jesus said go among the wolves of the world which means that not only must we pray, but we must also take an active part in life and strive to the limits of our power to create good and sow the seeds of love among the evil of this crippled world.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is living through a terrible time of repression and persecution. A day does not go by without someone from the Catholic community being arrested, beaten or fined because we pray in our language and because we believe in our blessed Holy Father in the Vatican. For over 60 years, our nation has suffered unheard of abuses at the hands of the communist rulers in Moscow for upholding the faith of our forefathers. We are compelled by the atheist communists to believe in those gods in which they themselves do not believe; we are forced under the threat of a death sentence into Russian Orthodox churches and in practice we are not allowed even to drag out a miserable existence... and, that is why tears of joy and a scintilla of human happiness bathe our hearts when we hear that there is a people, sincere and Catholic — that endures our pain as its own. Once we were together, forming one united state. And, if sometimes everything did not go according to God's will, we nevertheless aspire to love, to God's salvation. The result of our past relations is the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Vienna, the Church of St. Barbara. Today, Ukrainians are scattered like orphans around the whole world beyond the reach of the Muscovite invader, and this nation (Ukraine) which has the third largest population in Europe is bloodied and plundered, reduced in culture and development, ridiculed and mocked. But

there is a God who sees all and there are our hardworking and sincere people who believe in the future and persevere with hope in their hearts upon the Lord God Jesus Christ.

The government of Moscow has put out a new circular about the total annihilation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. We are beyond the law. The officials and the militia can do all they want with Ukrainian Catholics. Hence, on the 15th of June, in broad daylight in the centre of the village of Dovhe which is situated in Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia), a local militiaman, Yu. Starosta, attacked the Ukrainian Catholic, Maria Trykur, and dragged her by the hair to the administrative office. O, blind and dumb people! There was no hero to protect the Catholic woman... For they know that anyone who dares to raise a voice of protest will not escape punishment.

One Church activist<sup>1</sup> who was imprisoned in a concentration camp in the region of Vynnytsia was, for two months constantly led out into the freezing cold, doused with water and kept outside in the cold wind. The camp authorities waited in the snow and rain for him to recant and voluntarily remove his crucifix from around his neck. But when they saw that their efforts were in vain, they sentenced him and locked him up in the Mordovian camps. He wrote about his ordeal in an open letter to Yuriy Andropov, head of the KGB.

We constantly hear the words, "Crucify Him!" But the day of the resurrection will come and we believe that this day is not far off.

With respect and love, your brother and servant greets you and a free Austria.

Vasyl Kobryn  
7.5.1984  
Lviv

\*

To Marshal Ustinov, The Minister for Armed Forces of the USSR.

#### STATEMENT

In connection with the escalation of the war in Afghanistan, where, as is well known, our Ukrainian children whom the Russian military administration has forcibly and without their consent, sent into the Afghan conflict to die for the great-power interests of Moscow, are part of the USSR's army of occupation.

We, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, protest against the established tradition of the Moscow government to exploit Ukrainians in military campaigns bend the borders of the Soviet Union in colonial wars waged by the government of the USSR for its own aims. The Afghan people have never done any harm or mischief to the Ukrainian SSR, have never taken a single inch of our territory, and have never threatened Ukraine either by their existence or by their desire to win their freedom from the foreign occupant which is Moscow.

This is why we, as Christians and members of the Ukrainian nation, and as the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, lodge our protest against the forcible and illegal dispatching of our Ukrainian young men to the unjust war in Afghanistan which is being waged by the government of the USSR against freedom-loving Afghan people.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church defends and protects all Ukrainians who are now in Afghanistan, with the exception of those Ukrainians serving in the units of the KGB. Appealing to the influential international circles, we ask that Ukrainian servicemen who are in Afghanistan against their will not be counted as

war criminals; the full blame should fall on the government of the USSR.

This statement is an official document by which Ukrainians who are forcibly sent to Afghanistan will be judged and exonerated at a future international tribunal. Russian chauvinism is fully responsible for the adventurism of higher Soviet military circles in Afghanistan, and, as is well known, 80% of the officers in the Soviet armed forces are ardent chauvinists and misanthropists.

Ukraine has felt and continues to feel the political genocide of the Ukrainian nation perpetrated by Moscow. If the Ukrainian SSR had its own armed forces that were waging war in Afghanistan, then everyone who took part in this unjust war would carry the burden of being occupants. Ukrainians do not want to fight (nor do they want) this criminal war; we need freedom, good will among the nations of the world, and a peaceful life for our children, as for today, so for tomorrow.

Initiative Group to Defend  
the Rights of Believers and the Church  
Vasyl Kobryn, Chairman  
Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinsky, Secretary  
Yosyp Terelya, member.  
Lviv, June 21, 1984

\*

On April 23rd, 1984, an interview between representatives of the authorities and Yosyp Terelya, a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, was held in the town of Uzhhorod. This meeting took place in the premises of a restaurant called "Edelweiss".

Present at the meeting were: the Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Mykola Hryhorowych Khomenko; a scientific assistant of the Institute of Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the

CPSU, V. Bondarenko; the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Party of the Zakarpatsky region, M.M. Semeniuk; and another person who remained anonymous and stated merely that he was a philologist.<sup>2</sup>

We will notice that, throughout the long period of time taken up by the meeting, Terelya refused to enter into discussion with the authorities, believing that there was nothing for him to talk about with those who destroy the faith.

Y. Terelya was lured into Uzhhorod apparently in connection with his work. But on his arrival, it became clear that a meeting between the authorities and himself had been arranged instead. The discussion went on for four hours.

*Semeniuk:* Yosyp Mykhaylovych, the comrades from Kyiv wish to have a few words with you. What do you think of this?

*Philologist:* Is this one of our lads, a worker?

*Terelya:* You're wrong. I have never been one of your boys and I am not a worker. I am a slave of the Soviet collective farm. What is more, I don't know to whom I am speaking.

*Philologist:* I work as a philologist at one of the institutions in Kyiv. I am a scientific assistant...

*Semeniuk:* But why don't you sit down and we'll have some of what God has provided for us, for dinner. We can talk at the same time. This will be better.

*Terelya:* It is interesting to know since when have Secretaries of the Regional Committees begun to turn to God?

*Semeniuk:* A stupid habit from the past.

*Philologist:* There's nothing wrong with it — it's ours, it's Ukrainian.

*Terelya:* If the KGB man says so, then it's all right.

*Philologist:* You insult me, Yosyp Mykhaylovych, after all I don't say that you're a nationalist.

*Terelya:* Well say it. For I am truly a nationalist. And then, why be ashamed of being a “Chekist”? Look at Yulian Semenov. He’s almost leaping out of his skin just to earn praise from the steel “Dzerzhinskymen”.

*Semeniuk:* Maybe we should eat first and then utter all sorts of unpleasantness to each other.

*Bondarenko:* If it’s possible then tell me, are you no longer the Chairman of the Group?

*Terelya:* It is possible. It’s no secret. Even you know this, regardless of the fact that we are not associated.

*Khomenko:* If you don’t mind, could you explain to us your departure from the Group?

*Terelya:* I am still a member of the Initiative Group, as I was before. I am just no longer the Chairman. But why are the authorities interested in matters of the Church? If I am not mistaken, we are separated from one another for ever.

*Khomenko:* You are mistaken. We take an interest in all matters and so we need to know what your Group is after.

*Philologist:* They want an independent Ukraine and go on fooling themselves.

*Terelya (in Russian):* I think that Ukraine has been an independent state since 1917, or so we have been taught at school. But I could be mistaken?

*Philologist:* And why have you turned to speaking Russian?

*Terelya (in Russian):* When talking to officials of the people, it is better to use their own native tongue. It is much closer to their understanding. Besides, I have my own opinion about dealing with you as a philologist.

*Semeniuk:* We shouldn’t quarrel. This is a businesslike discussion and, anyway, what difference does it make what language we use? We’re internationalists, after all, aren’t we, comrades?

*Khomenko:* Yosyp Mykhaylovych, you have not yet told us why the Halychany<sup>3</sup> removed you from your “post”. Surely you didn’t let them down in their confidence in you? Or did they just use you and that’s it?

*Terelya:* We have democracy here, not like the CPSU.

*Bondarenko:* You are a most unpleasant person. You are going to have difficulties in life.

*Semeniuk:* Come on, let’s eat. We’ll carry on talking later.

*Terelya:* Yes, really, I am hungry and, after all, it’s not very often that one gets the opportunity to sit with one’s superiors and eat all sorts of food that one can’t usually find in the grocery store.

*Philologist:* I can see that you’re not really all that vicious. It’s just on the surface.

*Terelya (in Russian):* It’s dogs that are vicious and, on the surface, I am just an ordinary peasant... (Terelya then started to pray after which he began to eat).

*Bondarenko:* It can’t be that a young man like you believes in God? How strange!

*Terelya:* It’s strange that someone should ask such questions. Besides, we are not here to establish who believes in what, so we’d better get straight to the purpose of this meeting. But before that, I have a question — what is the aim of your discussion, or, more precisely, of this meeting?

*Philologist:* This will become clear in the process of our discussion with you.

*Terelya:* And what if nothing comes of this discussion?

*Semeniuk:* It will. We’re all Ukrainians, so why quarrel?

*Khomenko:* Tell us, please, are you a priest?

*Terelya:* I will not answer this question.

*Khomenko:* What’s the problem here? If you were the Chairman of the self-styled

little group then you must have been a priest. So? Go on.

*Terelya:* I've already told you that I will not give you an answer to this question.

*Bondarenko:* Then it appears that you are a priest

*Terelya:* Did you come here to establish who I am? Anyway, there is nothing for you to talk about with "impostors".

*Philologist (angrily):* We are conducting official government daily business and we'll be talking with you many times in the future — but not here.

*Terelya:* And when do I talk to you over there? I have my bag with me already packed, so I'm ready to go to prison.

*Semeniuk:* Nobody is going to arrest you.

*Bondarenko:* Tell me, do you have a wife and children.

*Philologist:* His wife is exactly like him.

*Terelya (in Russian):* The "philologist" knows everything.

*Khomenko:* We have discovered that you left the Group, so we decided to talk with you once again, so that in the future things would not become worse. You are a young person and could be of great use to the nation. But instead you have got together with the enemy and write all sorts of libel against our Soviet authorities which the foreign bourgeoisie uses to warm its hands.

*Terelya:* Nobody has left the Group. I am still a member. Everyone is useful where he thinks is necessary. You, for example, found it necessary to serve the Russians, and to you this seems better. As regards the bourgeoisie, in 1920, your Lenin called you "sovburemtsi", that is, — Soviet bourgeoisie. As we can see, the leader of the proletariat was at least right in this instance, if in nothing else.

*Bondarenko:* Where did you read this? I have certainly never read it.

*Terelya:* I haven't completed Soviet institutes like you, but you ought to

know every single fact and detail about your "leader".

*Semeniuk:* The public prosecutor of the region informed us that you agreed to write an article in the press about your departure from the Group. Here you could reveal all the facts.

*Terelya:* You seem so eager for me to write this. When the time comes, I will write something, but I don't think that you'll get much joy from it.

It's true, I did have a talk with the public prosecutor, Stepan Brayila. He came down to the field where I worked on a collective farm plantation. He arrived with a proposition for me to write a letter of repentance. In return for this, I would receive a garden plot and lighter work. But when I replied to Brayila that I would stay home with my child, and my wife would go to work instead, for we cannot live on the wages paid by the collective farm (on average I receive 60 Russian rubles, on which, in actual fact, we can't live), Brayila said that they do not need doctors. "Let Olena stay at home and you, Terelya, will work in the collective farm and will never receive more than 50 rubles. We won't help 'anti--Radianshchyky'" and you will die here on the collective farm..."

*Semeniuk:* I'll explain that — it's direct discrimination.

*Terelya:* Brayila wouldn't come to me of his own accord. He was sent by the KGB. You only know how to bargain but when your bargaining fails to work you kill people or else send them to prison. We've said all there was to say. So, farewell.

*Philologist:* Yosyp Mykhaylovych, you haven't understood us properly. We came here with a specific plan regarding the fate of your Church. So, sit down again. We have just a few more questions for you.

*Terelya:* As a matter of fact, after the new year the authorities have closed down 30

Catholic churches where the congregation rejected the Russian priests, and you have come here to conduct discussions. You need to talk to the Ukrainian Patriarch, Josyf I about the fate of the Church, and not to me.

*Khomenko:* Slipyj has fled abroad. How can we talk to him? Let him come here.

*Terelya:* At the time when the Moscow government expelled Cardinal Slipyj from the USSR, I was in a concentration camp and my relative stayed in the same cell as the Cardinal, in the 10th camp of the "Dubrovlag" which is situated in Mordovia and so I am better informed of the circumstances in which the Cardinal left and what he said, than you.

*Philologist:* How do you look upon the proposal of the government of the Ukrainian SSR to allow your Church to conduct its activity freely, I repeat freely, in accordance with Soviet legislation?

*Terelya:* Negatively.

*Philologist:* Why? After all, you yourself did talk and write about this matter...

*Terelya:* The Ukrainian SSR exists only on paper. The so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR is completely inactive. You're unable to protect Ukraine even from Russification, and what's more, there are no guarantees for even the slightest national development under Moscow. So, who will guarantee our freedom? Besides, it would be very convenient for you to transform our Church into what the Russian Orthodox Church already is. Presently, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is not under your control and we make the decisions concerning our own matters.

*Khomenko:* In that case, what do you and your clergy want?

*Terelya:* Freedom.

*Khomenko:* But we're offering you freedom. Why do you refuse?

*Terelya:* At the present time it is pointless to conduct any sort of discussion on this

issue. When the Ukrainian SSR is indeed a sovereign republic, that is when we will make our own decisions about our problems without Moscow, then everything will fall into place. This will only be possible when tariff barriers are erected between Russia and Ukraine, when the Ukrainian SSR will be in possession of its own currency, its own armed forces which will defend the interests of the nation against the encroachments of Moscow and, what is most important, when the parliament of the Ukrainian SSR will not consist solely of communists, of whom there are considerably far less than Christians.

*Khomenko:* So, you want an independent Ukraine?!

*Terelya:* You trumpet that Ukraine is independent, but I said before and will continue to say that it is a colony of Moscow.

*Semeniuk:* But the government of the Ukrainian SSR is genuinely offering freedom to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. So, come out of the underground and register yourselves. If you want Slipyj, then write to him, let him come to Ukraine. But there is one condition — you have to announce the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and that you are breaking away from Rome.

*Terelya:* How am I supposed to understand this? Is this an official understanding, or is it just a rumour?

*Philologist:* Take it as an agreement. You must understand that we do not wish to be associated with Rome. Rome is the ancient enemy of Ukraine — remember your history.

*Terelya:* First of all, in this case the Church would no longer be Catholic, and secondly, it would not harm you to read some history yourself, but not one written by Moscow — there's no history there at all... Also why have you chosen me for such discussions?

*Bondarenko:* The formation of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church was a provocation on your part, and thus you should write in the press stating that you no longer wish to be united with Rome. You must understand that this will be better for the faithful and for the Church as a whole. Right now we are talking to you and urging you — think about it.

*Khomenko:* Think about it and maybe you will write a statement even today. The government of the Ukrainian SSR will support you in this matter.

*Terelya:* By myself I am not worth anything. The Initiative Group does not consist of me alone.

*Khomenko:* Well, there's you for a start and we'll find some more people. But you started all this and you hold all the cards. The government will return all the property of the Ukrainian Catholic Church but on the condition that you will separate yourselves from Rome — agreed?

*Terelya:* I am not competent to make decisions on such matters and, what's more, I have to listen to what my bishop tells me. Secondly, such questions as the legalization of the Church are decided by Patriarch Josyf I Slipyj, so you must talk to him.

*Semeniuk:* Do you wish to work on the collective farm forever? You have children, your wife is a doctor, and you work on a collective farm. Aren't you ashamed? Think about it and agree with what we are saying. We're offering you an apartment in Uzhhorod, we'll print your ethnographic work and your poems, your wife will get employment. If she wants to she can go and lecture at the University, after all she worked as a lecturer in Konotop.

*Terelya:* So, what is this, a trade?

*Semeniuk:* See it as you wish.

*Terelya:* Find someone else, I'm a Catholic.

*Philologist:* We've spoken to Budzinskyj. He's not as inconsistent as you. One moment you want legalization and the next you don't.

*Terelya:* I do want legalization, but not the one that you're offering.

*Philologist:* Take care, Terelya, that you don't come to regret this. You won't get such an opportunity again. Oles' Pavlovych<sup>5</sup> is already free. You don't have far to go to catch him up. He is being published and the world clamoured after him. He came to understand what is what.

*Terelya:* Well go to Oles' Pavlovych, let him write nicely for you. He is an experienced writer.

*Khomenko:* Terelya, if you are thinking of carrying on your activity which is hostile to our Soviet state you will be deprived of the citizenship of the USSR, and then you will be punished as a spy and diversionary. Our government can be quite humane, but to such people as you, we can also be most severe.

*Terelya:* Thank you. I will repeat what I said before. I have been awaiting prison at any moment ever since my last release from imprisonment. In fact, Brayila stated that this time they will kill me.

*Philologist:* Nonsense, nobody is going to kill you. But why don't you go to your mother in Prague?

*Semeniuk:* Marhareta Ivanivna is presently in the Soviet Union. She's such a pleasant and well-educated lady and her son is a nationalist.

*Terelya:* I'm alright at home. And besides, we don't wish to emigrate — except if we are forcefully expelled. However, so as not to put you through any trouble, I renounce Soviet citizenship myself. As regards the education of my mother, it's the same as yours — a Party education which in plain language means none at all. I'm tired already and I think that we've understood one another.

I believe that we have no reason to meet again.

*Khomenko*: Don't get so heated up. We know that you're a hot-blooded person. Today, our discussion didn't go too well, so we'll continue tomorrow — agreed?

*At this point the discussion was adjourned for the day, due to resume the day after.*

\*

*24th April, 1984*

*Semeniuk*: Yosyp Mykhaylovych, tell us please, has the village Soviet designated a garden plot for you and your wife? Also, does your wife, as the village specialist, receive any assistance? For according to the norms of the law, she ought to have certain privileges.

*Terelya*: When I asked for a hundred square metres for a garden plot, the head of the village Soviet told us to go to Reagan and there they will give us land. But then again, we don't need any help. The only thing we want is for people to stop prying into our souls. It was only this week that Marholina, the senior nurse of the hospital where my wife works, said these exact words at a trade union meeting: "We have here in our collective farm a doctor who believes in God and goes to church. Can we tolerate such a person on our collective farm?" It is without doubt that such statements originate only from the KGB and not from Marholina personally.

*Khomenko*: We'll take this into account even if we don't reach an agreement on the main issue. Such incidents should be quashed, for such acts should not be committed by a state. Don't think that we communists only go around destroying churches and want to destroy the faithful as well! Our basic work is re-education and the aspirations towards harmony between worker and peasant.

*Terelya*: Listening to you, one would think that there are no camps, no psy-

chiatric prisons and no poverty in Ukraine, and that there is no fierce Russification in progress. The Muscovite does everything he wants in Ukraine and you, the government, remain silent. Once the government is silent then we will speak out instead. The Helsinki Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church was formed for this very purpose. This means that the official social-religious Helsinki Group has the opportunity to speak from the high platform of the UNO. As regards education, how many people does the Party intend to re-educate into communists, and do our people want this 're-education'? Nobody takes this into consideration.

*Lt. Col. Dzyamko*: I have known Mykhaylovych for many a year. He has brought us much unpleasantness, but I am not angry with him, as a Muscovite would say. But this was all in the past, and from today we all need to achieve some kind of cooperation. We have concrete evidence that China has a secret alliance with the USA. And thus, we need to unite all our healthy forces and not to become disunited. This plays into the hands of Zionism and the forces which stand behind it.

Without doubt, it's difficult to forget all that happened in the prisons and camps. But we really do need to forget everything and start again.

*Terelya*: So, it appears that we, Ukrainians, should serve as cannon fodder in Moscow's future conflict with China. And what do we get for this — Russification and genocide! Personally I will never take up arms against a Chinese Catholic. The Russians have no need to fear China. All they have to do is return the lands they captured from the Chinese.

*Khomenko*: This matter is far more serious than you think. You can see that

we are working towards the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with only one condition. The opportunity is here — there won't be another one. If the government was planning to use terror against your Church, then we wouldn't be speaking with you. Believe me, everything that has happened have been thoughtless acts of local organs which only provoke hatred towards the authorities. This is the only way to explain the particular acts of individual leaders. As far as China is concerned, you're mistaken. The Chinese government is holding all Catholics without exception in its prisons and camps. Even the Western press is writing about this.

I have read three issues of the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine" which is published by the Initiative Group. There's a lot of truth in it, but still you portray several issues from a one-sided clerical point of view. But there are also atheists in Ukraine. And then, one can mention your reproaches of "the Russian". For the present, the time is not right for this. You asked the government for permission to publish the journal "Boykivshchyna" in Uzhhorod under the aegis of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. This matter will be dealt with positively — don't laugh, I give you the word of a communist. As regards the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — discuss the matter with your faithful and clergy. I would advise you not to publish statements in the Western press. This could have a negative impact on the matters of the Church. For some groups in the West, the conflict between the government and the Ukrainian Catholic Church is indispensable. The statement of the Initiative Group about the release of a certain numbers of state criminals is under consideration. Whether these people are freed or not

depends on you. Your friends are among them too. If we don't make concessions to one another then what kind of negotiators are we? To add to this, you are in a worse position than us. We are the authorities and you are the minority. Not everyone thinks in the same way as you, not even among your closest adherents. All the churches closed during the period 1983-1984 will be handed over to you (Catholics) for your own use in the event of a positive resolution to this problem. Think about it, but time does not wait. And finally, if you should reject the government's position, my advice to you is — go where you please, but the government's patience can easily break down.

*M. Dzyamko:* In the event of any difficulties with the local authorities telephone me, or else come and see me or Comrade Secretary Semeniuk. And don't think that we are trying to frighten you or, God forbid, to warn you. I would advise you to sever all links with Budzinskykyi.

*Terelya:* It would be better if we didn't meet again. But it's true, we do need to make some mutual concessions, but how can this be done?

*The conversation continued with vain attempts on the part of the officials to convince Terelya to disclose information about Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinykyi and other of his close friends. At this point the discussion came to a close.*

*(To be continued.)*

<sup>1</sup>The writer is almost certainly talking about Yosyp Terelya who wrote such a letter in 1976.

<sup>2</sup>The anonymous person will from now on be referred to as philologist.

<sup>3</sup>People from Halychyna — Western Ukraine.

<sup>4</sup>Anti-Soviet people.

<sup>5</sup>Oles' Berdnyk — Ukrainian writer and poet and prominent political prisoner.

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE

*(Meetings of WACL Executive Board and APACL Executive Committee, March 12, 1986, Phoenix, Arizona, U.S.A.)*

Members of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Executive Board, representing Asia, the Pacific, the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Latin America, North America, captive European nations and youth of the world, met in Phoenix, Arizona, U.S.A., March 12, 1986. Also attending the meetings were members of the Executive Committee of the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL), one of the six regional organizations of the World Anti-Communist League.

The 19th WACL conference is to be held in Europe this fall with the theme: "Working for Peace with Freedom." The 32nd APACL conference will be convened in Tokyo, Japan, in November 1986, with "Hasten the End of Communism" as its theme.

The following current trends of world development have been observed during the meetings:

1. Freedom, democracy and national independence will ultimately prevail over totalitarian rule;
2. The communist so-called "economic" reform is an attempt to augment logistic support for armed expansion;
3. Free nations are awakening from the illusion that some communist countries can be used as counterweights against other communists, such as Red China against Soviet Russia.

Based on these observations, the meetings decided to issue these calls to all freedom-loving nations and peoples of the world:



*From left to right: Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, WACL Honorary Chairman, Congressman Eldon Rudd of Arizona, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A., ABN Executive Chairman, and General John K. Singlaub, WACL Chairman.*

—Consolidate all anti-communist strategies by adopting a united global strategy and cease hoping that some communists will help to check other communists regional security arrangements should be enhanced and expanded;

—Developed nations should assist more generously non-communist developing nations by stepping up investments, abolishing tariff barriers and other protectionist trade measures, in order to speed up their industrialization and modernization;

—Stop religious persecution and racial discrimination to prevent communist infiltration and subversion;

—Enforce economic, military and technological embargo against communist regimes;

—Support positively all resistance movements in subjugated nations and countries, such as Ukraine, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Mainland China;

—Provide material aid and support to the active democratic revolutions in Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and Nicaragua;

—Support any peaceful solution for Middle East problems and efforts by leaders working for this goal;

—Condemn the genocide of Turks living in Bulgaria;

—Free nations should beware of the communist war preparations in the name of “economic security” and so-called “liberation” tactics;

—The threat of North Korea directed against the Republic of Korea to disrupt the holding of international sports events is to be strongly countered and condemned;

—The United States should make full use of her political, military and economic supremacy for the promotion of free world security and prosperity.

The participants assembled in Phoenix are thankful to WACL Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, WACL Chairman Major General John K. Singlaub, and APACL Chairman Chief Fusitu’a for their leadership at the meetings and to the U.S. Council for World Freedom for its warm hospitality and effective conference arrangements.

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# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## ALBANIA

Catholic priest **Filip Mazrekku** has died in Albania after 30 years spent in detention camps. According to the Kathpress agency, Albanian refugees reported the death of the Franciscan monk, who was active in the detention camps for the benefit of others.

## ESTONIA

Estonian prisoner of conscience, **Dr. Johannes Hint** died in Tallinn prison hospital on September 5, 1985. He had been moved to the Estonian capital from Vasalemma concentration camp shortly before.

Dr. Hint had heart disease, but was repeatedly refused medical attention.

\*\*\*

Estonian pastor **Harri Motsnik** has been condemned to 3 years strict regime-camp. Motsnik was found "guilty" because he had been outspoken in his sermons, and because he had written open letters to the Lutheran Bishop of Tallinn, Edgar Hark, and to Karl Kortelainen, the Chairman of the Estonian KGB.

\*\*\*

The Soviet Russians have imprisoned yet another peaceful human rights worker in the Baltic States. Estonian **Robert Vaitmaa**, 26, has been condemned to 3 years' ordinary regime camp on a charge of "resisting the authorities" (Art. 182 of the Estonian Criminal Code-Art. 191 of the Russian Criminal Code). The sentence was passed by the "people's court" in Rakvere (Estonia) on July 19, 1985.

Vaitmaa, a qualified mechanic, had not been allowed to work in his trade for

some time. He was arrested on May 7 while on his way to visit Tiit Madison, another Estonian prisoner of conscience.



## GEORGIA

In a trial lasting 13 days **Teimuras Tschichadse** (38), a priest of the Georgian Orthodox Church, was found guilty of having been involved in planning to flee the Soviet Union by hijacking a plane. The priest was executed on 29th November, 1985, in accordance with the verdict. The priest is said to have assisted in plans made by a group of people who intended to hijack a plane on a scheduled flight on 18th November, 1983. After Soviet television had shown excerpts from the trial as a deterrent, 3,000 viewers drew up a petition for the priest's reprieve. Among the signatories of the petition were prominent Georgian politicians. Although the court established that the priest broke off his contacts to the group preparing to flee the country two years before the hijacking, he was accused of having smuggled weapons under his priestly robes.



## LATVIA

Compulsory army training in Soviet-controlled Latvian schools has claimed new victims. Two 14-year-old girls were killed and others injured when a hand grenade exploded during military exercises at No. 41 high school in Riga, last September. Victims' parents were warned not to publicise the incident.

In a report on this tragedy, the German newspaper **Braunschweiger Zeitung** (26/9/85) points out that Latvian school-

children are forced to use not only light firearms, but also RPK M-60 type high-speed machine guns and live RG-42 type hand grenades. After training on the campus, Grade 10 and 11 students are formed into batallion-size units for field exercises.

\*\*\*

Sentenced to three years' imprisonment, Latvian physics teacher **Zakhar Zunshain** was brutally beaten on arrival in the labour camp in Irkutsk. His ribs were broken and his kidneys were damaged.

Zunshain's mother, on hearing of her son's condition, died of either a stroke or of a heart attack.



**Gajauskas**, whose case is now being investigated by PEN, is listed in the report among those prisoners whose health is seriously endangered. He has "hypertension," the report writes, "and his health is precarious. His wife saw him in May for 2 hours through a pane of glass, but he was not allowed to touch her, or even his baby daughter, who was with her. An article of his written in 1982 entitled 'Peace: Nominal or Real?' recently reached the West and there is a copy in English translation. Because of the article's appearance abroad he was recently denied visits."

\*\*\*

According to the PEN report, "new information is available about the Lithuanian scientist and scholar, **Liudas Dambrauskas**. He is 63 years old, has suffered tuberculosis for the last 40 years and has been hospitalized for various heart ailments. He was sentenced on 3rd October 1984 to 3 and a half years strict-regime camp to be followed by 2 years internal exile. His 'crime' was the writing

of accounts of his life in Stalin's prison camps and his anonymous contributions to Lithuanian *samizdat* journals. The memoirs entitled 'Moments in a Life' fill 53 notebooks and 750 typewritten pages. Dambrauskas addressed his children who were present in the court. He also asked that if the judges were unable to pronounce him innocent, he be sentenced to be shot, for a slow death was more cruel than a sudden one. On uttering this request, Dambrauskas is said to have fainted."

\*\*\*

A kidnapping has just been reported from Lithuania that is uncannily similar to last year's tragedy of Jerzy Popie-luszko in Poland. Fortunately, the Lithuanian victim, **Father Vaelovas Stakenas** (51), managed to survive the assault on him.

On the night of August 22, 1985, Father Stakenas was falsely summoned to the bedside of a sick parishioner. En route, two men forced their way into the taxi, bound and gagged Fr. Stakenas, then dragged him into a forest outside the town of Kriokialaukis. When the taxi driver called out, "Enough", the assailants dumped the priest by a pond and drove away.

The priest managed to free himself and crawled to the main road for help. Many cars passed by without stopping. He was finally assisted by a motor cyclist and his mother.

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**Juozas Zdebskis**, one of the priests most responsible for the Catholic revival in Lithuania, was reported to have been killed in a car accident on February 6. Zdebskis' trial in 1971 for defying the law prohibiting the teaching of religion to children was a factor contributing to the decision to commence the publication of **Lietuvos Kataliku Baznycios Kronika**. In 1978 Zdebskis was one of the five found-

ing members of the important Catholic Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers. He continued to be a defender of human and religious rights until his death.

## POLAND

Catholic priest **Tadeusz Zalewski** was repeatedly tortured in the Polish city of Cracow in November 1985 by men who were probably members of the militia. The men used subterfuge to gain access to Zalewski's flat at 4:00 a.m., knocked him to the ground, tied him up and devastated the flat. Zalewski was tortured in the cellar of his flat in April 1985 too, because he had voiced his support for Father Popieluszko, the priest who was brutally murdered by the Polish police.

## ROMANIA

**Janos Csilik**, a Romanian Catholic priest, was recently prohibited from exercising his ecclesiastic duties in the cathedral of Oradea because he refused to collaborate with the Securitate, Romania's secret police. He has since been forced to move to a small town 250 kilometers from Oradea. Janos Csilik was interrogated and tortured several times between March and May of 1985, resulting in his being hospitalized with severe injuries.

\*\*\*

**Emil Mocanu**, a 29-year-old Romanian Baptist serving a two-and-a-half year sentence for "assisting an illegal emigrant", succeeded in sending a letter to his family in January 1985 in which he describes being at the end of his strength. His wife has undergone lengthy interrogations about her husband's religious activities and is being pressured to ask for a divorce with threats of losing all state aid for herself and their two-year-old son if she refuses.



**Olena Antoniv-Krasivsky**, wife of Zinoviyy Krasivsky, a Ukrainian political prisoner and poet, was killed in a road accident in Lviv, western Ukraine, at about 10 p.m. on Sunday, February 2, 1986. She was 48.

That night, she was escorting a friend's daughter to a railway station in Lviv. After leaving the station she was going home in a taxi. On the way, it was hit by a truck. In the commotion that followed, she was found dead. So far it has not been established whether her death was accidental or pre-arranged.

Shortly after her marriage to Zinoviyy Krasivsky he was arrested (March 12, 1980) and, without a trial, sent to Siberia to complete the term of his sentence from 1967, for his activity in the underground organisation the Ukrainian National Front. In the autumn of 1982, Olena Antoniv-Krasivsky was compelled to go to Siberia, where her husband was serving a term of exile in the Tyumen region, after the appearance of a provocative article in the Lviv newspaper **Vilna Ukraina**, accusing her of the alleged misappropriation of money designated to help political prisoners in Ukraine. After Zinoviyy Krasivsky completed his term of exile, they both returned to Lviv.

Olena Antoniv-Krasivsky spent her life actively helping political prisoners and their families for which she was persecuted for many years. Her work was certainly a thorn in the KGB's side and would have given them a very good motive to dispose of her. If so, then Olena Antoniv-Krasivsky would have been the KGB's fifth victim, after Oleksa Tykhyj, Yuriy Lytvyn, Valeriy Marchenko and Vasyl Stus. Her funeral took place in Lviv on Thursday, February 6, 1986.

# Book Review

## **“WAS IT REALLY RUSSIA THAT WAS CHRISTIANISED IN 988?”**

by

His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal  
Lubachivsky

Ukraine is approaching its millennium of official Christianisation in 1988. However, Moscow is doing its utmost to mislead the world public opinion that it was the Christianisation of Russia, in spite of the fact that at that time Russia as such did not even exist. It is most curious and definitely lacks all consistency that an atheist state is preparing to celebrate the thousand-year existence of the Christian religion “in Russia”, a religion which this very same state persecutes and destroys in every possible way, saying that there is no God and that religion is an “opium of the people”.

In this 36-page booklet, His Beatitude Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, basing his arguments on authentic historical documents, evidences that it was Ukraine which was Christianised in 988 by St. Volodymyr the Great.

This booklet, in English, published by the Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., contains many illustrations and can be obtained from:

Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 200  
Liverpool Road, London N1 1LF  
England. or ABN Bureau, Zeppelinstr.  
67 8000 München 80, West Germany  
Price: 1.50 Pound Sterling or \$3.00 U.S.  
Dollars

## **“IN THE GERMAN MILLS OF DEATH 1941-1945”**

by Dr. Petro Mirchuk

Dr. Mirchuk's memoirs dealing with the life of Ukrainian political prisoners in German concentration camps are an

excellent answer to the widespread Russian defamatory lies about alleged collaboration of Ukrainians with the Nazis during World War II.

This 226-page English language publication in hard-cover can be obtained from the Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 200 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LF, England.

Price: 5.00 Pound Sterling  
or \$12.00 U.S. Dollars

## **“THE THIRD REICH AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION”**

by Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk

This 227-page paperback book contains a collection of German archive documents from 1934-1944 relating to the Ukrainian liberation movement at that time.

The book, compiled and edited by Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk, historian and graduate of the Sorbonne in Paris and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, has appeared at a time of a mass campaign against the Ukrainian national liberation movement. For years now, the Soviet Russian propaganda machine has been aimed against the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), accusing them of close collaboration with the Nazis, and making them co-responsible with the Nazis of committing war crimes in Ukraine and elsewhere.

These documents provide much evidence of the true relations between the National Socialist Party of the Third Reich and the Ukrainian liberation movement, thus invalidating the accusations of Ukrainian collaboration with Nazi Germany. They further cast light on Hitler's *Lebensraum* policy on Ukraine and the position taken by the Ukrainian

nationalist movement towards, not only the Soviet Russian, but at the same time Nazi Germany's occupation of Ukraine.

The book contains an introduction written by Dr. W. Kosyk, as well as a broad index. It was published by: **Ukrainisches Institut München** and can be obtained at the price of 18.00 DM or U.S.\$7.00 at: Zeppelinstr. 67 8000 München 80, West Germany.

**“HUMAN RIGHTS IN RED CHINA:  
The One In Four We Cannot Ignore”**

by Peter Dally

In this new publication, the author shows with authentic documentation how the ‘One in Four’ of the world's population under Chinese communist rule is systematically denied human rights. He describes the underground movement in Red China, the suppression and atrocities committed by the Chinese government and the tragic consequences of communism.

Other books by the same author are:

**“HONG KONG TIME BOMB”**

This book explains why the present policy is so wrong, short-sighted and doomed to disaster. It tries to be constructive in the interests of all concerned, not only the Hong Kong Belongers and the hundreds of thousands who have joined them, but also the interests of Britain and the Free World.

**“THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT: A TRAP  
FOR THE WEST”**

This book traces the origins of the split and documents the consequences to date of playing the so-called ‘China Card’. It argues that Moscow and Beijing have more in concert than in contention in the final analysis.

All three books were published by the British Anti-Communist-Council and can be obtained from: 31 Seneca Way,

Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 4SF, England. The price of each book is: U.K. 3.50 Sterling including postage. Elsewhere: 4.50 Sterling or 6.50 U.S. Dollars by airmail.

**“ACTIVE MEASURES, QUIET WAR  
AND TWO  
SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS”**

This is the title of a recently published book by Lawrence B. Sulc. It goes into detail explaining that the international war of ideas is as important to Soviet Russia as is military action. The objectives of the Moscow leadership, according to Sulc are:

- to confuse world public opinion regarding the aggressive nature of certain Soviet policies;
- to create a favourable environment for the execution of Soviet foreign policy;
- to influence both world and American public opinion against US military and political policies and programs that are perceived as threatening by Soviet Russia.

The publisher of this book is The Nathan Hale Institute, an independent organization devoted to nonpartisan research on, among other things, foreign intelligence. Sulc now serves as deputy assistant secretary in the Department of State.

Active measures (aktivnye mero-priyatiya) has been described as active operations intended to provide a policy effect, as distinct from espionage and counter-intelligence. With active measures, Moscow attempts to influence the policies of foreign governments, disrupt relations between other nations, undermine confidence in foreign leaders and institutions and discredit opponents. They furthermore include: manipulation or control of the media, written or oral disinformation, use of foreign communist parties and front organizations,

manipulation of mass organizations, clandestine radio broadcasting, economic activities, military operations and other political influence operations.

The number one theme of deception in Soviet Russian policy is to spread the belief that the Kremlin leaders are not communists anymore, that they do not have unlimited objectives and that a "spheres-of-influence" arrangement can be found between the United States and Soviet Russia. The main disinformation theme is that there are "hawks" and "doves" in the Kremlin.

"Maskirovka" and "dezinformatsia" are two Russian terms which are a vital part of Soviet active measures. "Maskirovka" not only means "camouflage and covert maneuvers", it is also the term for political deception designed to protect the secrecy of military operations. Important in this context is the use of naivete and self-deception in the West and in the Third World. Soviet Russian propagandists do not only rely on the credulity and predisposition of Western and Third World journalists, writers and intellectuals to spread disinformation. They also exploit the readiness of reporters to accept cash and other favours in return for doing their bidding.

Sulc's book includes details on Russian cultural warfare, broadcasting warfare and warfare in the field of sports and some thoughts on Western response.

Lawrence B. Sulc, **ACTIVE MEASURES, Quiet War and Two Socialist Revolutions** (The Nathan Hale Institute, 422 First Street, Suite 208, Washington, D.C. 20003, 1985) Price: U.S.\$10.00

**"CONFRONTING MOSCOW — AN AGENDA FOR THE POST-DETENTE ERA"**

Edited by W. Bruce Weinrod

In the late spring of 1985, The Heritage Foundation published an important study on Western long-term strategy in

tical-psychological warfare. It contains essays on subjects like strategic policy, arms control policy, alliance policy but also East European policy, anti-Marxist insurgency policy, battle of ideas and internal vulnerabilities policy.

The essay on battle of ideas is written by James T. Hackett, a former Foreign Service Officer of the United States who is now working for The Heritage Foundation. He was Executive Secretary of the National Security Council from 1971-73.

He writes: "The United States must clarify its global public relations effort to take full advantage of modern communication technology. The U.S. also must take full advantage of its greatest strength — its willingness to tell the truth. In so doing, victory for the West in the battle of ideas can be assured." Mr. Hackett mentions the use of desk-top copiers to desk-top computers as important weapons against a communist system that is obsessed with secrecy and sees all technical innovations as a possible threat. Video cassettes from the West are spreading in Soviet Russia. Such special cassettes could be prepared for use behind the Iron Curtain. Sound-track could be in the local language and a systematic effort could be made to take them into Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe.

"The clock of history is ticking for the USSR, the last of the major imperial powers. During the past forty years, all other empires gave granted independence or home rule to the vast majority of their colonies... Yet Moscow maintains an iron grip on a huge Euroasian colonial empire, constantly seeking to expand its control and refusing to relinquish even the smallest of territories", writes Hackett. He believes the U.S. information activities can foster the desire of captive peoples for national independence, religious freedom and expression,

the display of their cultural heritage and the use of their native language. **This should be a major goal of U.S. information programs.**

Mr. Hackett mentions that during the Reagan Administration, RFE and RL received budget increases that made it possible to double the program time of the Ukrainian service, which broadcasts in Ukrainian to some 40 million Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR. The 40 million Muslims that live in the Soviet Russian empire should be encouraged to demand freedom.

"Soviet leaders preoccupied with preventing the internal dissolution of their empire would be less likely to embark on foreign adventures to expand it" is one of the important conclusions of this valuable essay.

**"Confronting Moscow — an Agenda for the Post-Detente Era"** (Ed. by W. Bruce Weinrod) The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington D.C. 20002, 1985. Price: U.S.\$5.95.

#### NEW BOOK OF POEMS

BY

JUDGE JOHN H. HAUSNER

**"Janosik — We Remember! and other Slovak Poems"** is the newest work by Judge John H. Hausner from Detroit, USA. This 8 1/2 by 11 inch hard-cover volume is strikingly illustrated throughout by Slovak artist Tibor Kovalik. In addition to five short poems of special

significance to Slovaks, the work features the haunting epic "Janosik — We Remember!"

"No true Slovak can hear the name Janosik without it stirring up deep feelings for his Slovak homeland. Janosik is the embodiment of the Slovak struggle for independence — he is the heart and soul of the Slovak people, yearning to be free", says Judge Hausner.

#### *The Unconquerable Slovak*

*Many conquerors have come to enslave  
The Slovak people and make them toil;  
But those that stayed, filled a grave  
And unwillingly enriched our fertile soil.*

*We have spacious valleys and mountain  
slopes,  
Where uninvited guests find eternal rest;  
And aspiring masters, with unfilled hopes,  
Turn to dust where they are interred  
unblest.*

The cost of the book is \$7.95 plus \$2.45 for postage and handling. Make \$10.40 check per book payable to: K Enterprises, Inc., P.O. Box 145, Middletown, Pa. 17057, USA.

We recommend this book to our readers and we offer our best wishes to Judge Hausner, whose dedication to the Slovak cause is an inspiration to all of us. Judge Hausner serves as a Circuit Judge in the Third Judicial Circuit Court of Wayne County, Michigan, USA.

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### UKRAINIAN HERALD

Underground Magazine from Ukraine  
Issue IV

An English edition containing short biographies and works of political, literary and cultural activists in Ukraine, namely, artist Alla Horska, historian, publicist and writer Valentyn Moroz, national poet Vasyl Symonenko and others.

Available from: ABN Bureau, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 Munich 80, West Germany.

Price: U.S. \$10.00



In the last days of January, 1986, with deep sorrow we received news of the untimely death of Mr. Julijs Kadelis, the director of the information bureau of the World Federation of Free Latvians, Münster, West Germany.

Mr. Kadelis was born on February 28, 1934 in Riga, Latvia. His father, a Latvian freedom fighter was awarded a medal of the highest merit for his bravery. Sadly, the father was deported by the Soviets and his fate is unknown.

After World War II, Mr. Kadelis found himself in Western Germany as a displaced person. He entered the Latvian Gymnasium in Augsburg and graduated in 1955. He became actively involved in various fields of activities within the Latvian community in West Germany.

He was the chairman of the Latvian Youth Association from 1956-58, later he was elected a member of the Latvian Central Committee. When the World Federation of Free Latvians was looking for a candidate to head their information bureau, they chose Mr. Kadelis.

Mr. Kadelis devoted all his time and energies to defending human rights of Latvians in Latvia and reminding the Free World of the unlawful occupation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. He had gained trust and established many contacts with the press all over the world. Beside numerous activities over the past years, he organized the successful Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen in 1985 and gave his support to the Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise. He was preparing for the forthcoming conference in Bern and the human rights follow-up conference in Vienna.

Mr. Kadelis' funeral took place in Münster on February 7, 1986 and was attended by many Latvians from all over the Free World. Many tributes and messages of sympathy were received from various statesmen and members of the press.

Mr. Kadelis will be sadly missed and always remembered.

# THEY'RE STEALING INNOCENT CHILDREN



Afghan Refugee Children Photo by David Dwekkin © 1984

NEW DELHI, India (AP)—Soviet authorities in Afghanistan are shipping thousands of primary school Afghan children to the Soviet Union for at least 10 years of indoctrination into communism and the Soviet way of life. (November 14, 1984)

## Gorbachev, Send Back The Afghan Children!

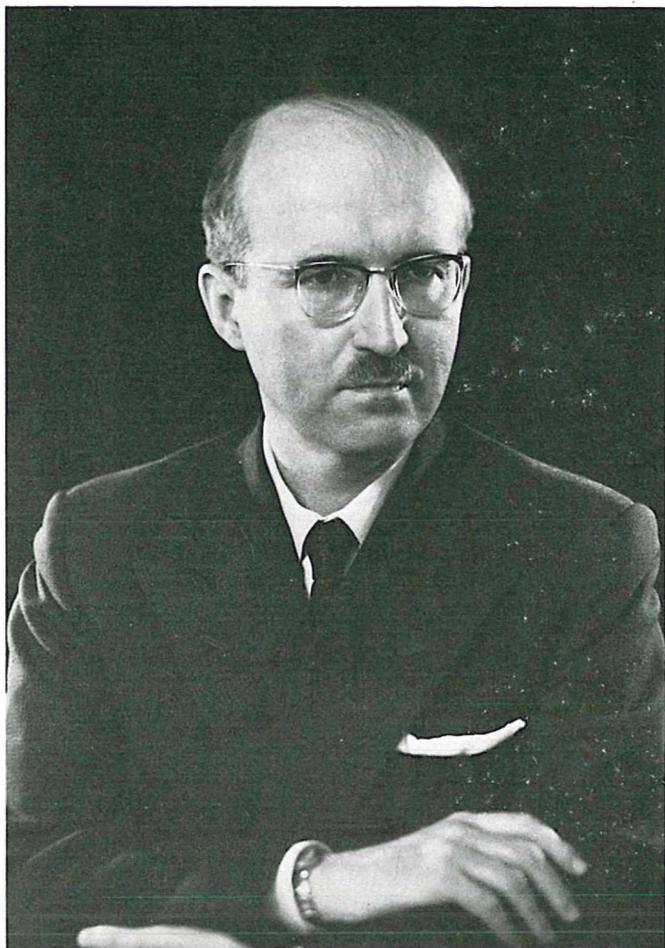
For more information write the Committee for a Free Afghanistan at  
214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Ste. 480, Washington, D.C. 20002 or call (202) 546-7577.

# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

## YAROSLAV STETSKO



January 19, 1912 — † July 5, 1986

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It is with great sorrow and pain that we inform the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and abroad, the cadres of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, members of the World Ukrainian Liberation Front, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the European Freedom Council, the World Anti-Communist League and all friends of the Ukrainian nation that, having received the last rites,

## **YAROSLAV STETSKO**

a great Ukrainian patriot, passed away at the age of 74 on Saturday July 5, 1986, at 6.05 p. m.

The Honourable Yaroslav Stetsko was Prime Minister of Ukraine, Chairman of the Leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, member of the Honorary Presidium of the European Freedom Council and member of the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League.

From an early age the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko was a prominent member of Ukrainian liberation organisations for which he spent long terms of imprisonment in Polish and Nazi German prisons and concentration camps. He was an ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism with a Christian viewpoint, a great strategist of the Ukrainian liberation revolution, champion of the idea of a Ukrainian Patriarchate, an outstanding publicist who, over the course of more than half a century, formulated Ukrainian political thought. As a prominent diplomat, he organised world-wide forces for the fight against communism and for the dissolution of the Russian empire, and strove for the liberation and national independence of all the subjugated nations.

The memorial service will take place on Saturday July 12, 1986, at 10 a.m. in the Ukrainian Catholic Church at Schönstr. 57, 8 Munich 90. The funeral will take place on the same day at 1 p.m. at the new section of the Waldfriedhof cemetery (Lorettoplatz) in Munich.

The period of mourning will last until July 31, 1986.

May his memory be eternal!

Leadership of the Organisation  
of Ukrainian Nationalists

## Funeral of Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — the Late Yaroslav Stetsko

Ukraine has lost a father — the Ukrainian nation has become an orphan. For on July 5, 1986, death in a foreign land mercilessly took away the Head of the Ukrainian National Government, the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and Leader of the Revolutionary Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, who, for half a century, formed and directed the Ukrainian struggle for liberation — the late Yaroslav Stetsko.

The bells of St. Sophia and all the other Ukrainian churches in Europe, the Americas and far off Australia resounded their mournful laments. During requiems and memorial services held by both Ukrainian Churches on Sunday July 6, mournful prayers were raised by those who not so long ago beseeched the Almighty for the recovery of the deceased from a grave illness.

The painful news about the death of the late Yaroslav Stetsko became known to Ukrainians in every country on the evening of Saturday July 5, breaking the hearts of the numerous cadres of the OUN, the Ukrainian youth and every Ukrainian patriot. The Leadership of the OUN informed the mass media about the death. The German press agency DPA reported that: “the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, who was also the Head of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, died at the age of 74. According to information issued by the ABN, Stetsko led the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and worked very closely with Stepan Bandera who was murdered by a Soviet agent in Munich in 1959 on the orders of the Soviet government. He was the future successor of Bandera”. The text of the communique issued by the DPA was printed in the following German newspapers: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Welt* on July 7, 1986, and *Münchener Merkur* on July 8, 1986. They also underlined the fact that the deceased had been imprisoned in the Nazi German concentration camp Sachsenhausen for the declaration of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state by the Act of June 30, 1941. On July 10, 1986, *The Times* (London) printed an obituary entitled “Yaroslav Stetsko, Ukrainian leader in exile”, which described very clearly the historic figure of this great Ukrainian statesman and leader.

Mrs. Slava Stetsko, the distinguished widow of the deceased, received over 300 telegrams and letters of condolence which flooded to Munich every day from all parts of the world. Among the first telegrams to be received were messages of condolence from the hierarchy of both Ukrainian Churches — from the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Archbishop Major Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky; from the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, His Beatitude Mstyslav Skrypnyk; and from the Secretary of the Congregation for Eastern Churches, Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn. Other telegrams came from President Ronald Reagan; H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, Member of the European Parliament; John Wilkinson and Stefan Terlezki, Members of the British Parliament; Manuel Fraga Iribarne and Guillermo Kirkpatrick, Members of the Spanish Parliament; Hugo Hegeland and Birger Hagaard, Members of the Swedish Parliament; Yuriy Shymko, Member of the Provincial Parliament of Ontario; Gen. John K. Singlaub, President of American Council for World Freedom and Chairman of the World Anti-Communist

League (WACL); Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman of WACL; and many other notable people. Countless telegrams also came from Ukrainians in the free world.

#### At the church

On the day of the funeral, July 12, 1986, the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Munich was completely full. At 10:00 a.m., 33 flag bearers led the grand procession into the church for the Requiem. They were followed by relatives of the deceased, members of the Leadership of the OUN, the World Ukrainian Liberation Front and representatives of Ukrainian and international organisations, and finally by the large over 1000-strong congregation of Ukrainians from Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium, USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Austria and Scandinavia.



Holy Mass was conducted by Bishop Platon Kornyliak, Apostolic Exarch for Ukrainians in Germany, assisted by archimandrite and archpriest Rev. Prof. Dr. I. Hryniach; Rev. Dr. S. Harvanko; Vicar General and archpriest Rev. V. Turkovyd; archpriests Revs. O. Chaika from Montreal and S. Izyk from Winnipeg; Rev. Rush from Canada, and Revs. M. Molchko and Ye. Harabach from Munich. Archpriest Rev. Palladiy Dubytsky also took part in the Mass on behalf of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The male voice choir "Ukraina", conducted by Ye. Zadarko, sang the Mass prayerfully and movingly.

The coffin containing the mortal remains of the deceased was not brought to the church. It remained in the cemetery chapel. On the tetrapod in the church stood a small



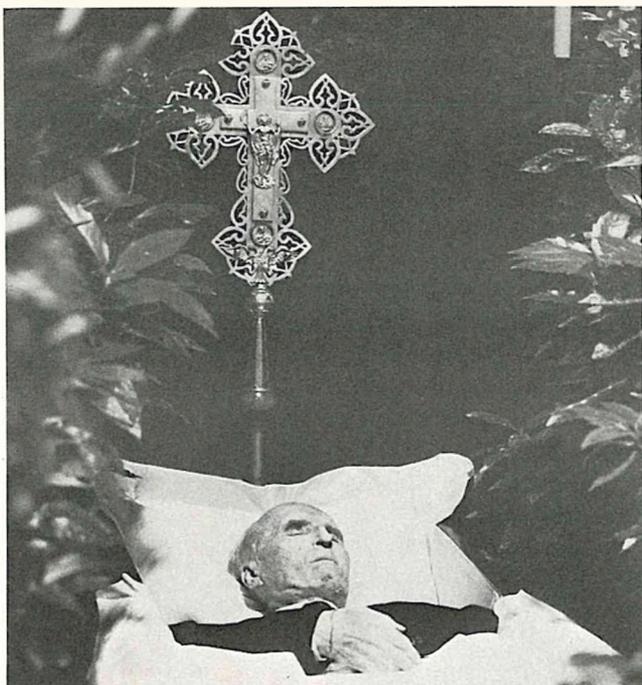
portrait of the late Yaroslav Stetsko. The first few pews were reserved for relatives of the deceased, the Leadership of the OUN, John Wilkinson, M.P., representatives of the many nations forming the ABN, as well as various representatives of the Ukrainian political and academic world. The church was full of young people, most of whom were members of the Ukrainian Youth Association dressed in their uniforms.

#### At the cemetery

As the people walked round the open coffin of the deceased to pay their last respects, hearts began to beat more rapidly and prayers were uttered to the Almighty to grant eternal peace to the soul of a great son of Ukraine, who has just recently departed. Then the huge crowd of mourners entered the chapel, adorned on the outside with dozens of wreaths with dedications written in many languages.

At exactly 1 p.m. the coffin containing the mortal remains of the late Yaroslav Stetsko, draped in the blue and yellow national flag of Ukraine, was brought into the chapel to the sound of "Ave Maria" written by the composer Gounod. The Requiem and the mournful sound of the final "Vichnaya Pamiat" aroused unspeakable sorrow in those present and at the same time many pleasant memories of their numerous meetings with the deceased during his life. This filled their souls with pride and convinced them of the eternity of the ideas and deeds of the deceased, and of the inevitability of the ultimate victory of those ideas. These feelings became stronger when the archpriest Rev. V. Turkovyd read out the words of the Gospel according to St. John about the resurrection of the righteous.

Miracles happen in life. It had been drizzling for a whole week until Saturday, bringing with it a cold and damp unusual for this time of year. But on the day of the



*Open coffin of the late Yaroslav Stetsko.*



*Bishop Platon Kornylak and other reverend fathers during the Requiem*



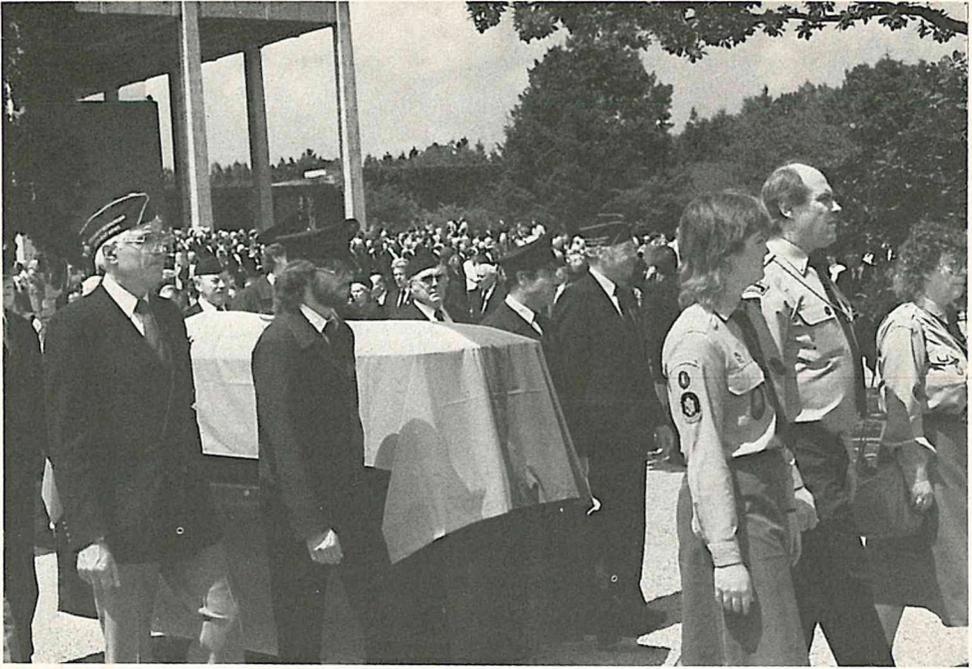
*Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mrs. Oksana Romanyshyn, the sister of the deceased with her husband and family members at the chapel*

funeral it suddenly cleared up and rays of sunshine filled the Waldfriedhof cemetery, where the mortal remains of Stepan Bandera and Stepan Lenkavsky came to rest, with the light of a rainbow. And now on this sunny day a crowd of over 1000 mourners escorted an unforgettable leader, statesman, revolutionary and political thinker, who dedicated his entire life to serve God and his nation, to his place of eternal rest. At the head of the procession was a cross. This was followed by dozens of flags which fluttered in the wind. When local bystanders saw the 120 wreaths, they asked in wonder whether it was a general who was being buried that day. The numerous uniformed members of the Ukrainian Youth Association and the grey-haired veterans in their military headgear, who formed a guard of honour around the coffin and had other official duties, gave this impression.

A huge wreath made of red carnations which was carried behind the coffin, was from the grief-stricken wife of the deceased, Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

The procession moved slowly between the grass and the trees, and the mournful singing struck everyone's heart with pain and anxiety at the unforgettable loss.

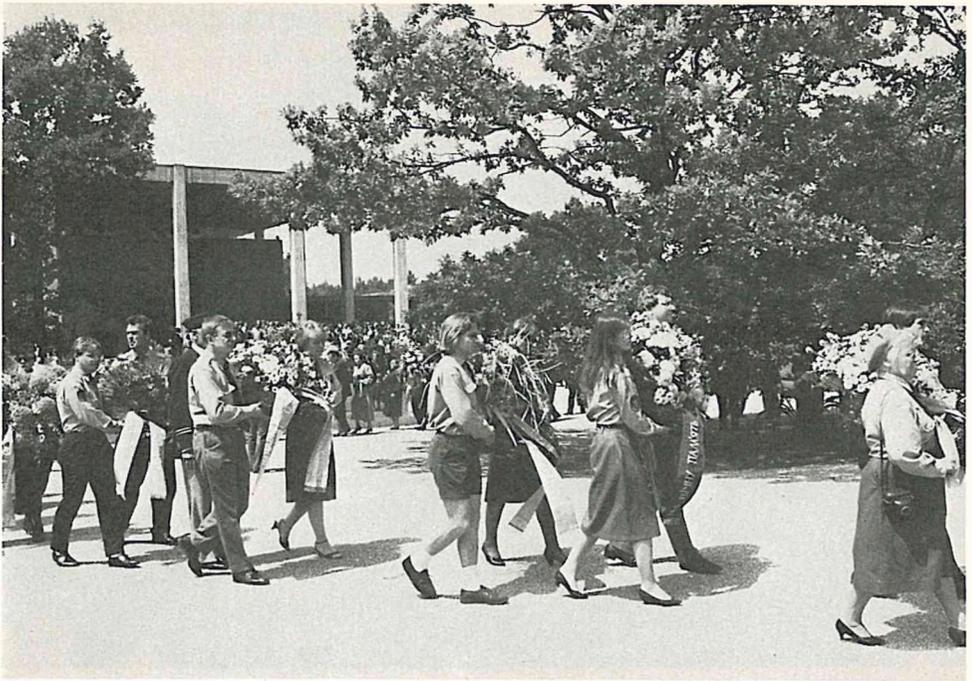
Before the open grave, into which the coffin was lowered, stood the bereaved Mrs. Slava Stetsko, the faithful widow of the deceased, who was his inseparable companion along the difficult road he had to follow throughout his life. Beside her stood the sister of the deceased, Oksana, with her husband and relatives. Around them stood hundreds of close and more distant friends, both Ukrainians and those of other nationalities, and other people who had gathered in Munich to pay a final tribute to the late Yaroslav Stetsko.



*The coffin draped in the blue and yellow national flag of Ukraine*



*Ukrainian youth carrying earth from Ukraine and water from the Black Sea*



*Youth of the Ukrainian Youth Association carrying the many funeral wreaths*



*Veterans of the Ukrainian National Army escorting the coffin*



*Members of the clergy leading the funeral procession*

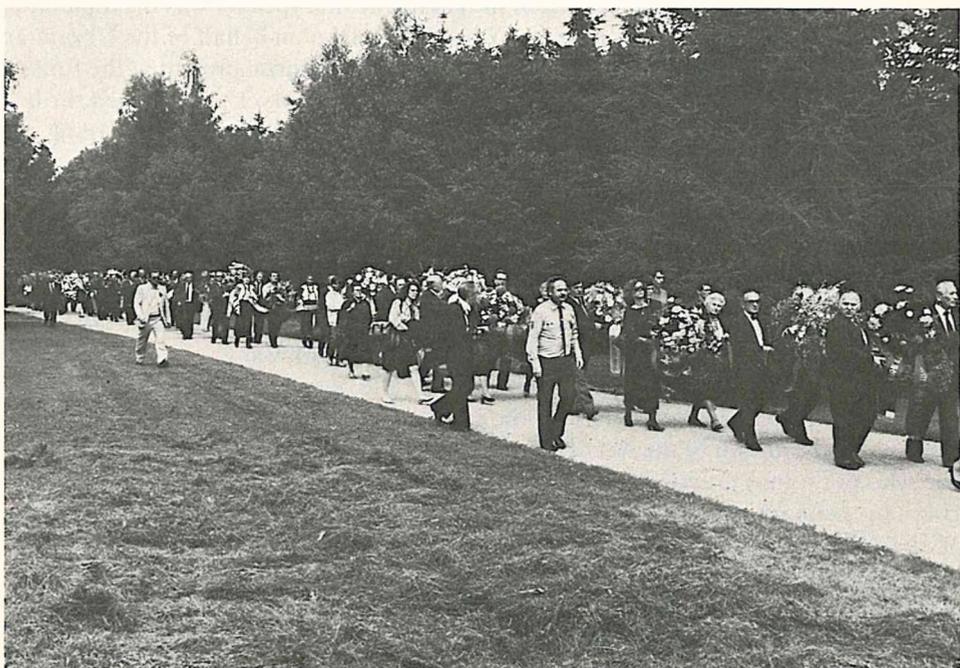
After the Requiem and the sealing of the grave, the first speaker was Bishop Platon Kornyliak who bade farewell to the late Yaroslav Stetsko on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian nation. He reminded those present at the funeral how in 1941 the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey Sheptycky recognised the late Yaroslav Stetsko as the Head of the Ukrainian National Government urging the people to obey their new governing body to strive towards the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. He also stressed the piety and deep faith of the deceased. Archpriest Rev. P. Dubytsky from the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church spoke similar words about the deceased stressing steadfastness and perseverance in his beliefs and deeds. He also noted the writings of the deceased in which he always brought up the historic significance and role of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and its Head, the martyr Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkiwsky.

Dr. M. Klymyshyn, boyhood friend of the late Yaroslav Stetsko, bade a last farewell to the deceased on behalf of the Leadership of the OUN. He described the deceased as the author of the Act of June 30, 1941, which he worthily defended, and the one who put it into practice, thereby together with Stepan Bandera, making the Nazi German occupant of Ukraine admit moral defeat. Julian Zablocky, the representative of the Ukrainian National Government, spoke about the late Yaroslav Stetsko's attempts to re-establish an independent Ukrainian state.

The Bavarian government was represented by Dr. Rößner-Kraus from the Ministry of Work and Social Order, who extolled the deceased as a great fighter and leader of the liberation movement of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations. He expressed admiration of and praise for his steadfastness in the struggle for justice. The



*Members of various Ukrainian organizations carrying flags during the funeral procession*



*The funeral procession*



*Bishop Platon Kornylak  
bidding farewell to Yaroslav Stetsko on behalf of the  
Ukrainian Catholic Church*

words of Dr. Sarzamin Kaimur from Afghanistan, who represented the Central Committee of ABN, were filled with deep respect and praise for the deceased. He recalled the words of President Ronald Reagan on the occasion of the visit of the Head of the Ukrainian state to the White House: "Your struggle is our struggle, your hope is our hope". He also stated that he was proud to have had the honour of working with the late Yaroslav Stetsko — the President of the ABN and Head of the Leadership of the OUN.

Mr. Kovalchyn from the USA paid tribute to the deceased on behalf of the Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He expressed regret and sorrow that the Ukrainian veterans could not bury this great Ukrainian leader with full military honours, as is fitting for the Head of a government. Mrs. Maria Shkambara from Canada paid tribute to the late Yaroslav Stetsko on behalf of Ukrainian women, expressing her faith that the spirit of the deceased will give the Ukrainian nation greater strength in the struggle for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. In paying tribute to the deceased, B. Fedorak, Head of the World Ukrainian Liberation Front, assured everyone present that the members of his organisation were ready and willing more than ever to carry on struggling for the realisation of the great ideals of the late Yaroslav Stetsko.

In his tribute to the deceased, the Head of the National Executive of the Ukrainian Youth Association of Australia, Stefan Romaniw, stated that the deceased had made an ineradicable mark on the hearts and souls of Ukrainian youth and that his ideals



*At the graveside*



*Archpriest Rev. P. DUBYTSKY of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church bidding a final farewell to the late Yaroslav Stetsko*



*Dr. M. Klymyshyn scattering earth from Ukraine into the open grave*

and the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state were an example which young Ukrainians throughout the world should follow.

The following speakers also paid tribute to the late Head of the Ukrainian National Government on behalf of the cadres of the OUN, friends and the various organisations which they head: V. Masur (USA), who spoke of the late Yaroslav Stetsko's firm belief in the ultimate victory of Christianity over atheism, W. Oleskiw (Great Britain), Prof. M. Andruchiw (Canada), Yu. Wenglowsky (Australia), O. Kowal (Belgium), Dr. W. Kosyk (France), I. Wasyluk (Argentina), P. Holowinsky (Austria), M. Kuts (Scandinavia) and S. Mudryk (Germany).

Then, to the sad sound of the farewell song *Vydysh Brate Miy* (Do you see, my brother), Dr. M. Klymyshyn scattered earth from the grave of Taras Shevchenko in Kaniw, from Kyiv, from the Poltava region, from Kharkiw and various parts of Ternopil, into the grave, sprinkling the coffin with water from the Black Sea. He also dropped a guelder rose branch from the Ternopil region into the grave. Many tears fell into the grave as a gift from the heart for a dear friend, as the participants of the funeral dropped earth over the coffin.

#### **At the funeral repast**

After the funeral, the participants were driven to the large hall of the Heide-Volm restaurant in Planegg, not far from Munich, where the repast began at 4:30 p.m. The stage was decorated with two large flags — the blue and yellow national flag of Ukraine and the red and black revolutionary flag of the OUN. In the middle of the two flags hung a large portrait of the late Yaroslav Stetsko. Places at the head table were



*Mrs. Slava Stetsko bidding a final farewell to her late husband*



*General view of mourners at the graveside*



*At the funeral repast*

reserved for Mrs. Slava Stetsko, relatives, the clergy and representatives of various organizations. The repast began with a prayer recited by the clergy.

The master of ceremonies was W. Lenyk. He asked the President of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile, M. Livitsky, to give the opening address. The President noted that the late Yaroslav Stetsko was a distinguished leader of the national liberation revolution and that his name features prominently on the pages of Ukrainian history, where it has been written down. He ended his speech with the words "Glory to Ukraine!"

The next speaker was the Rev. S. Harvanko, who represented the Society of St. Sophia, the Ukrainian Catholic University and all other institutions striving towards the establishment of a Ukrainian Patriarchate in Rome. He concentrated on the Testament of Patriarch Yosyf, which the late Ukrainian leader saw as a set of guiding principles in life. Rev. Dr. S. Harvanko also underlined the essentiality of a widely educated social stratum in the attempt to make the people more active in the liberation struggle.

Dr. M. Marunchak from Winnipeg, Head of the World League of Political Prisoners in the free world, was next to speak. He stated that the late Yaroslav Stetsko had been elected an honorary member of the League as early as 1946 and described the great joy felt by the late Head of the Ukrainian National Government when the whole Ukrainian nation approved the Act of June 30, 1941. He also stressed the historic significance of the ABN.

Dr. Marunchak was followed by the sister of the deceased, Mrs. Oksana Romanyshyn. When she approached the microphone a great silence descended upon

the hall. She spoke with a voice that was so similar to the unforgettable voice of the late Yaroslav Stetsko. Mrs. Romanyshyn paid tribute and bade farewell to her late brother on behalf of his many relatives, from those who suffered in prisons, majority of whom perished as a result of Russian communist terror. Mrs. Romanyshyn and her husband remained at her brother's side for more than two months when he was seriously ill.

Further speeches were made by the Head of the Central Executive of the Ukrainian Youth Association, Y. Hanowsky; the representative of the student tour group from the USA "Along the paths of our parents", Natalka Krislata; the Head of the Coordinating Centre of Ukrainian Central Institutions in Europe, S. Mudryk; the President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, I. Bilynsky; the Head of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, T. Buyniak; the Head of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, I. Dmytriw; the Head of the Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine, Prof. M. Chirowsky; the Head of the Association of Former Ukrainian Combatants, Dr. S.M. Fostun; V. Novak from the veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Canada; M. Moravsky from the Association of Ukrainians in Australia; Col. D. Kosmowicz from the Byelorussian Liberation Front; Mrs. Roxolana Potter from the delegations and affiliations of ABN throughout the world; Mrs. Bohdanna Krushelnycky from the Organisation of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain; Dr. Askold Lozynsky, Head of the National Executive of the Ukrainian Youth Association in the USA; D. Moravsky from the Ukrainian Youth Association in Australia and Y. Klymovsky on behalf of graduates and people from the Ternopil region where the late Yaroslav Stetsko was born.

Mrs. Slava Stetsko movingly thanked everyone present for participating in the funeral and paying tribute to her late husband, the Head of the Ukrainian government and of the Leadership of the OUN and President of the ABN, on behalf of herself and relatives. Once the speeches were over, W. Lenyk thanked the clergy, the representatives of organisations and all present for paying their last respects to the late Yaroslav Stetsko. The repast ended with a prayer and the Ukrainian national anthem.

Having bid their last farewell to their unforgettable leader, everyone departed for their homes bearing in mind the words of his last appeal issued on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Act of June 30, 1941: "Our strength lies in the struggle, in prayer and in fundamentality. Our slogans are: 'Christ is in the catacombs, Ukraine is in battle!' 'Fight for the Christian ideal of freedom and an independent state!' 'OUN stands for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state!'

Zoreslava

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*"Only the collapse of the Soviet Russian empire will decidedly eliminate the threat of a nuclear holocaust. To achieve this end, attention must be drawn to the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Russian empire and its system: the subjugated nations. Without the inclusion of the issue of the subjugated nations into the creation of new realities in the world, all agreements and pacts of exclusively military nature will not eliminate the crisis. The crux of the matter lies not in a change of guard in the Kremlin which will never disavow its imperialism and aggressiveness, but in the striving for freedom and national independence of the subjugated nations. In the final analysis they are the key to the resolution of the world crisis, and in this context they must be viewed as a political superpower".*

*Yaroslav Stetsko*

## **Yaroslav Stetsko — Prominent Statesman of the 20th Century**

On the evening of Saturday July 5, 1986, the whole world — the free world and the world enslaved by Soviet Russia — received very sad and painful news. That evening, after a long illness and battle with death, the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, a great son of Ukraine and distinguished leader of the Ukrainian nation, passed away in God.

Had Ukraine been free, the sirens of factories and workshops would have sounded out in mourning and the church bells would have been tolling. People throughout Ukraine, from the River Sian in the west to the River Don in the east, from Chernihiv in the north to Odessa in the south, would have stopped working and observed a minute's silence as a sign of mourning and respect for the late Yaroslav Stetsko. From July 5-31, blue and yellow flags, flying at half mast, would have fluttered over the Ukrainian state. This would not have happened in Ukraine alone. It would have happened in Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, the Baltic States, Turkestan and free Afghanistan. Half of the world would have honored the memory of this great Ukrainian, who fought not only for the freedom, justice and equality of Ukraine, but for all subjugated nations.

As Western radio stations broadcast the news of the death of the Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) throughout the world, millions of hearts in Ukraine shuddered with pain, just as they did before, on hearing of the death of Symon Petlura, Yevhen Konovalets, Taras Chuprynka-Roman Shukhevych and Stepan Bandera.

However, a nation is created by God. It is alive, it is endeavoring and struggling, it is developing and it is progressing. So that it may live forever, a nation's heroes, the heroes of work and struggle, are working, struggling and dying for the cause.

After the death of Khmelnytsky and Mazepa, our two great statesmen of the era of the Hetmanate, Tsar Peter I of Muscovy and his successor Empress Catherine II thought that the Ukrainian problem had been settled once and for all. However, after the era of Mazepa came that of Petlura. And after Petlura and Konovalets, the Ukrainian nation produced other great activists and leaders from its midst: the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Gen. Taras Chuprynka-Roman Shukhevych, the leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, and their dedicated comrade-in-arms, Yaroslav Stetsko, who led national Christian Ukraine along the path of our heroes for many decades and pointed out the way of revolution and liberation to all unfortunate, subjugated nations of Eastern Europe, the Far East, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Today it is difficult to name all the posts and all the positions of responsibility held by the late Yaroslav Stetsko throughout his long, productive and difficult life — the life of a Ukrainian patriot, nationalist, revolutionary and statesman of the 20th century.

That is why the late Yaroslav Stetsko is referred to as a great son of Ukraine.

In his lifetime, he was the Head of the Ukrainian National Government proclaimed in Lviv, Western Ukraine, on June 30, 1941; Head of the Leadership of the OUN for many years; co-founder and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN); member of the Honorary Presidium of the European Freedom Council (EFC); and

member of the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). In Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko was already an active member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the OUN at a very early age. Having become a member of the National Executive of the revolutionary OUN in Ukraine, he was made responsible for ideology. In 1937 Col. Yevhen Konovalts authorized Yaroslav Stetsko to organize the OUN Congress in Rome. From 1940 he was the Deputy Head of the Leadership of the Revolutionary OUN, becoming a member of the Presidium of the Leadership of the OUN in 1945, and then the Head of the Leadership of the OUN abroad. While still a young man, Yaroslav Stetsko edited the underground publications of the OUN. For his underground activity he was arrested several times and spent many years in Polish and Nazi German prisons and concentration camps. He was an ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism who actively developed nationalist teaching in both theory and practice, but always in the spirit of a Christian world view. Yaroslav Stetsko was also one of the most notable strategists of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, which is permanently in progress and will go on until the final victory of Ukraine and the subjugated nations over the Russian occupant. In addition, the late Ukrainian leader was also a notable publicist and author of many articles and essays, which were always known for their deep analysis of events or issues and their treatment of the matter of the sovereign Ukrainian state. He did not only write under his own name, but worked under several pseudonyms, among them E. Orlovsky, B. Ozersky, Z. Karborych, Yu. Pidlisetsky and S. Osinsky. In his book *June 30, 1941*, he left us a program of political directives for the continuing struggle for further advance and progress. His works in Ukrainian and other languages formulated Ukrainian political thought, influenced various political statesmen of many nationalities, and waged the world struggle against communism.

Just as in the time of Mazepa, Pylyp Orlyk, Ukrainian Hetman and diplomat, worked towards the liberation of Ukraine from the Muscovite yoke in France and other countries outside Ukraine, so in the 20th century Yaroslav Stetsko proved himself to be a distinguished diplomat, statesman and organizer of the world wide forces for the struggle against the Russian empire in the form of the USSR and the independence of every subjugated nation.

He was a man of principle. He was humane, warm and kind to his friends, but unyielding in the fight against the enemy of Ukraine. To us he was very demanding, but from himself he demanded even more. He was a deeply religious person and, therefore, constantly propagated the establishment of a Ukrainian Patriarchate and strove towards its realization, as a faithful son of the Church and as a statesman who was aware that a Patriarchate is part of the renaissance of the Ukrainian state. It was he who constantly urged the Ukrainian people to strive for the establishment of the Patriarchates of both Ukraine's historical Churches — the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. He always strove towards unification of all parts of Ukraine, ascribing a prominent place for the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv. As Prime Minister of Free Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko was prepared to hand over power to the Ukrainian government in a liberated Kyiv.

Yaroslav Semenovych Stetsko was born on January 19, 1912, in Ternopil, Western Ukraine, into the family of a priest. He studied at Cracow and Lviv Universities. Already as a young man Yaroslav Stetsko joined the UVO and later the OUN. For his activity in these organizations, he was arrested several times by the Polish occupational



*The Stetsko family, 1920, from left to right: Yaroslav Stetsko's brother Omelian, mother Teodosia, Yaroslav Stetsko, father Semen*



*Yaroslav Stetsko, (17 years old) upon graduating from gymnasium*

regime in Ukraine. In 1932 he became a member of the National Executive of the OUN in Ukraine. He was responsible for ideological matters.

During the Lviv Trial in 1936, the Leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, fearlessly stated the following words to the Polish judge: "The OUN has a high regard for the life of its members. But our idea is so great that in order to achieve its realization, not individuals, not hundreds, but millions of victims have to be sacrificed."

During the same trial, the young nationalist and political activist, Yaroslav Stetsko, who worked very closely with Stepan Bandera, said the following: "I believe that the Ukrainian state exists. It has a potential existence in the hearts of the Ukrainian nation. Although it does not exist in practice, it exists morally and rightfully in our souls. The substance of my whole life is, has always been and always will be, a free Ukraine, a unified Ukraine — a Ukraine without slaves and without masters. I believe in victory. I believe in it so strongly that I am prepared to die for it. Nothing will make me turn off this path, neither torture, nor the hell of prison, nor even death..."

Such was the character of Yaroslav Stetsko — a man of iron determination, although weak in health, a man of principle, a man dedicated to a great idea — the idea of nationalism which will overcome all opposition.

In 1937 Yaroslav Stetsko was released from Polish prison due to an amnesty and once again deeply engaged himself in the core of OUN activity. In 1939, together with Stepan Bandera and other friends, he played an active part in organizing the Second Great Congress of the OUN. He was also active in the new Great Congress of the Revolutionary OUN held in Cracow in 1941.

International events developed very rapidly and it soon became clear that they would lead to a clash between the two imperialist powers of that time: Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. War between Germany and the Soviet Union grew closer but only the Revolutionary OUN made any realistic preparations to meet the oncoming situation. After WWII passed onto Ukrainian territory and the NKVD was still shooting innocent Ukrainians in the prisons of Lviv and other towns of Western Ukraine, a Ukrainian battalion under the command of Roman Shukhevych entered Lviv. At this time, the OUN Marching Groups were making extensive preparations for a long expedition to the Dnipro and Don Rivers. Under these circumstances, Yaroslav Stetsko, in conjunction with the Leadership of the OUN, was making his own preparations for the formation of a Ukrainian government and the declaration of the restoration of the Ukrainian state, irrespective of the hostile stance of Berlin and Moscow. In his book *June 30, 1941*, Yaroslav Stetsko mentioned the measures taken with a view to creating a National Assembly — a Council of Elders based "on the model of the old historic Ukrainian councils in the Princely and Hetman eras",... On July 6, 1941, prominent Ukrainian activists were called together and a Council of Elders was elected. The President of the Ukrainian National Republic, Kost' Levytsky; archpriest Rev. Yosyf Slipyj; Rev. Julian Dzerovych and Prof. Volodymyr Radykevych were among the many other distinguished Ukrainian activists from various walks of life who were among the elected to the Council. The National Council of Elders gave its full support to the Act of June 30, recognizing it as an Act which had re-established a Ukrainian state — an Act which demonstrated to the whole world that Ukraine refused to collaborate with either fascism or communism. In one of its resolutions the Council made the following statement: "Those gathered here... urge all Ukrainian patriots to unite at this historic moment in order to re-establish the



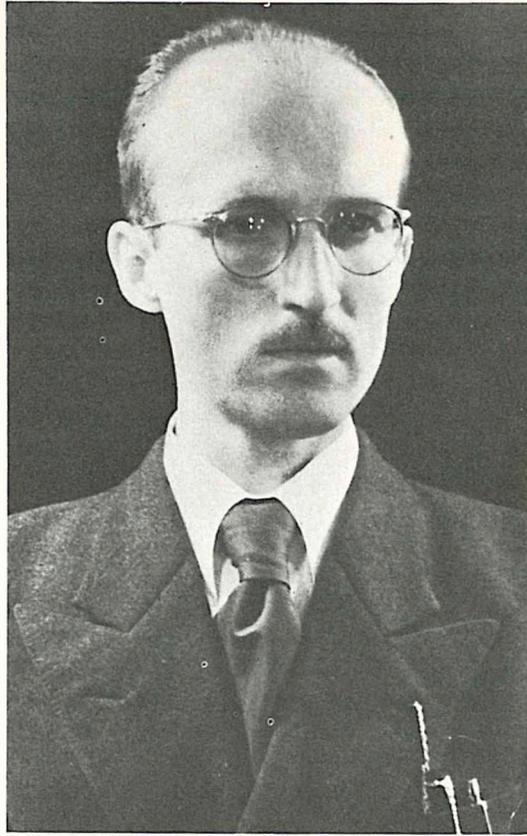
*Yaroslav Stetsko in 1937 upon his release from Polish prison*

Ukrainian independent state and to recognize the leadership of the government proclaimed in Lviv on June 30, 1941”.

Both Ukrainian churches fully supported and blessed the Proclamation of June 30, 1941, as did all the leading forces of the Ukrainian nation. In Kyiv, people put up blue and yellow flags, reading and discussing for hours the information about the restoration of the Ukrainian state which the OUN had disseminated.

News that Petlura had died in Paris, but that an army commanded by Bandera was marching into Ukraine, spread in Eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian prisoners-of-war broke out of Nazi camps in order to serve in the army of Bandera.

That is why Dr. Dmytro Dontsov wrote in his article entitled “June 30, 1941”: “The Act of June 30 was an act which clearly stated that Ukraine does not renounce its legitimate right to rule over its own land, nor its own Truth, irrespective of sacrifices!”



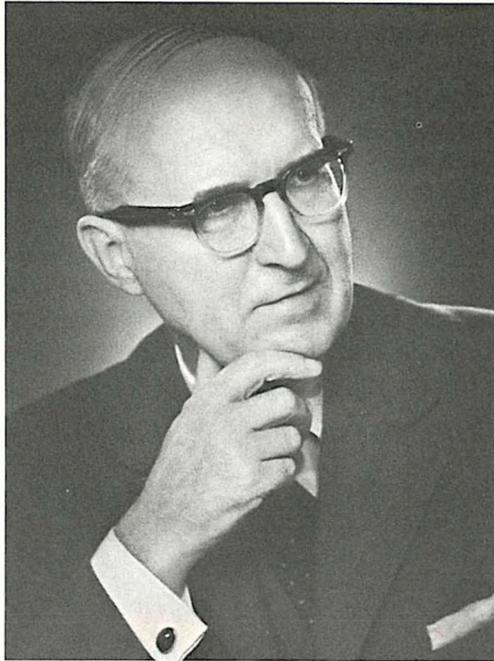
*Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government of 1941*

We know that Hitler and Himmler demanded that the Act of June 30 be revoked immediately, and we also know that Nazi Germany received a dignified Ukrainian refusal. Neither the Leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, nor the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government, Yaroslav Stetsko, revoked this great Act. Both they and other members of the Ukrainian national, independent and sovereign governments, as well as hundreds of thousands of nationalists, men and women, preferred to suffer in concentration camps rather than revoke the Ukrainian Truth and the Ukrainian Right.

In his work, *The Historic Act of a Nation*, Yaroslav Stetsko said: "The revolutionary army of a nation — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — arose out of the initiative of a political organization — the OUN. None of the independent insurgent otamans, the modern Zelenys and Makhnos, could or did initiate or lead an armed struggle against the occupant on a wide, national scale, without the political direction

of the struggle to establish a state. Only the UPA, under the command of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, was the military-political and revolutionary-national force which formed the political reality on the Ukrainian territories under its control, and potentially throughout the whole of Ukraine”.

After a difficult term in Nazi concentration camps in Berlin and Sachsenhausen up until the late autumn of 1944, Yaroslav Stetsko was able to escape from the German police and Gestapo control in Berlin, in December of that year, just as the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, was able to escape the Gestapo at a railway station in Lviv in 1941. Having made his way to Munich, Germany, Yaroslav Stetsko remained in hiding up until the end of the war.



In 1945, he was elected member of the Presidium of the Leadership of the Revolutionary OUN, and from 1946 headed the ABN, which had been restored in the free world. The formation of the ABN reaches back to the forests of Zhytomyr where, under the initiative of Gen. Roman Shukhevych, the first conference of the subjugated nations took place in 1943. From the very beginning of the restoration of the ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko was actively and notably assisted by his wife, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, who was elected Executive Chairman of the ABN in 1982.

It was particularly in the field of Ukrainian foreign policy and of ABN that the Prime Minister of Ukraine clearly demonstrated his diplomatic talent, his abilities as a great statesman, and his creative initiative. He was also the co-founder of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), as well as the European Freedom Council (EFC), over which he co-presided for many years.

Yaroslav Stetsko visited many countries, concluded political agreements and searched for new friends and allies of Ukraine. All his work was in close cooperation

with the Leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera. He also kept in contact with the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, Leader of the OUN in Ukraine, and Head of the underground government in Ukraine (Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council — UHVR), Gen. Chuprynka-Shukhevych, up until his death in battle in Bilohorshcha, Ukraine, in 1950.

Together with his wife Slava, Yaroslav Stetsko made many, often tiring trips, meeting with representatives of various governments, members of parliament, military men, such as Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, Gen. John K. Singlaub and others and with



*Yaroslav Stetsko with General John K. Singlaub, Chairman of the United States Council for World Freedom and the Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P., President of the European Freedom Council during the ABN/EFC Conference in London, 1985*

prominent foreign journalists. He gave many radio and television interviews. At the same time, as Leader of the OUN since 1968 Yaroslav Stetsko consistently paid careful attention to and strove towards the further development of the organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, thinking of new ways of strengthening their position, of increasing their influence and of how to give active assistance to people inside Ukraine fighting against Soviet Russian tyranny and oppression.

The height of Yaroslav Stetsko's political-diplomatic activity was his meeting with the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, in the White House in 1983, during the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the ABN and the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of Captive Nations' Week. President Reagan had been prepared for this meeting by various memoranda from the Leader of the OUN and was aware that he was speaking with the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian

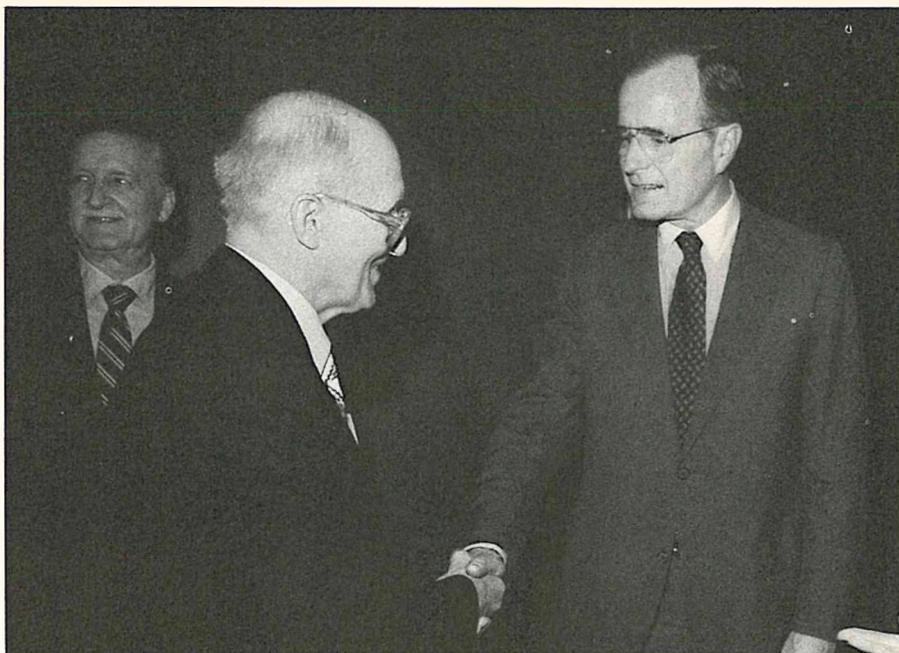


*The President of the United States, Ronald Reagan meeting with the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko in 1983*

government of 1941. The President and his government placed great value on the alternative developed and propounded by Yaroslav Stetsko, of revolutionary liberation uprisings of the subjugated nations in place of nuclear war, which would only lead mankind into the abyss. Shortly afterwards, in the presence of Ukrainian representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the organizations of the World Ukrainian Liberation Front, President Reagan remarked in a White House statement: "Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream!"

The late Yaroslav Stetsko was a distinguished statesman on an international scale. His colossal assiduity is clearly shown in the joint conference of the ABN and EFC, held in London in November 1985, which was attended by 287 delegates and hundreds of observers from all over the world, including the subjugated nations, as well as spokesmen from the freedom fighters of Afghanistan, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Cuba and other countries. Various members of parliament and ministers from free countries — the USA, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, India, France and Scandinavia also took part in the conference. It is no easy matter to organize and put into motion such a vastly complex and complicated international "machine". It required much knowledge, time, energy, enthusiasm and complete dedication.

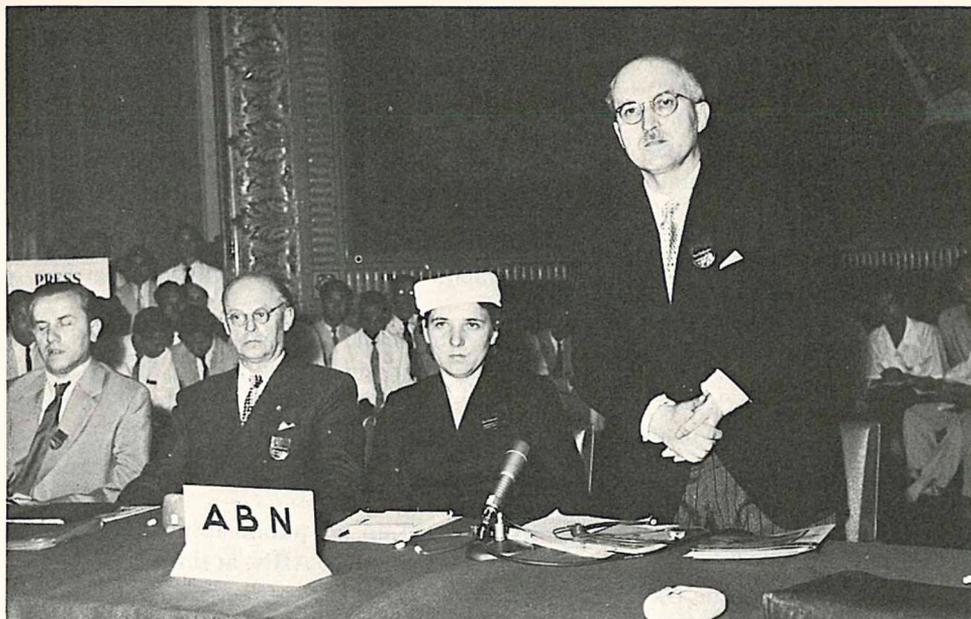
In his work, *The Historic Act of a Nation*, Yaroslav Stetsko noted that "in an era such as this there is no room for people with the hearts of rabbits, who have pretensions to be lions". He also stressed that "a nation with high ideals loves, strives for and is enraptured by greatness and great men" and that "the governing of a state is



*Yaroslav Stetsko meeting with George Bush,  
the Vice-President of the United States in 1983*



*Yaroslav Stetsko with Jeanne Kirkpatrick,  
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations in 1983*



an art rather than a science". Yaroslav Stetsko — this great Ukrainian statesman on an international scale, with faith in the Truth of God and Ukraine and intolerant of Ukraine's enemies and their lackeys — belonged to the ranks of great men.



*Yaroslav Stetsko speaking in Rome in 1979 at a dinner in honor of Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church*

Working at the very heights of political and diplomatic thought, Yaroslav Stetsko never forgot about the daily needs of life, about the development of the Ukrainian community outside Ukraine and about the help needed by the Church and its faithful in their struggle for complete recognition of the Ukrainian Patriarchate.

He was also interested in and cared very much for the preservation and development of Ukrainian national culture, as well as the development of the Ukrainian economy. He constantly took great interest in youth, visited the youth camps and urged young Ukrainians to choose the Ukrainian road — the road of Ukrainian patriotism, and not to be content with material wealth, but to live a spiritual life.

As recently as March 1986, in his “Greetings to the 21st National Convention of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Canada”, Yaroslav Stetsko wrote the following words to the youth: “Clearly and distinctly spread the idea of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state and of the destruction of the Russian prison of nations into independent states within their ethnographic borders. There cannot be any human rights of the individual without one’s independent state!”

The Soviet Russian press constantly followed up the public appearances of the Head of the Leadership of the OUN and President of the ABN, at times to a greater degree than some of the Ukrainian press abroad. Moscow attempted to assassinate this Ukrainian activist, hated by the Kremlin, and to undermine his authority and influence in the Ukrainian community and the Western world in general by means of slander, defamation and lies. *Literaturna Ukraina*, a publication from occupied Kyiv, often attacked him, distorting his ideas and thoughts. For example, on April 26, 1984, in an article entitled “Reagan’s Economy and Unemployment”, *Literaturna Ukraina* wrote: “Yaroslav Stetsko constantly repeats that in order to attain victory over Bolshevism, it is necessary to prepare arms and not trade!” At least here his idea has been accurately conveyed, although with a dosage of Russian impudence. On June 27, 1985, *Literaturna Ukraina* wrote the following distorting the truth: “Bourgeois-nationalist obscurantists assure us that they will never cease to orientate themselves on foreign powers, or serve the interventionists... ‘Nuclear war’, as the OUN Leader, Yaroslav Stetsko, points out; can save Christianity...”

It is evident here that Moscow fears the anti-nuclear ideas of the Leader of the Revolutionary OUN, in particular. The propagation of national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations is, after all a direct contradiction of nuclear war!

Although stricken by illness, our Ukrainian leader was still capable of conducting activity worthy of admiration. He served the Ukrainian cause up until the very last day. For example, in April 1986, the late Yaroslav Stetsko sent a memorandum to the Meeting of the Committee of International Experts on Human Relations in Bern. The Head of the U.S. delegation in Bern, Mr. Michael Novak, sent a special reply to Yaroslav Stetsko on May 4, 1986. It concerned the case of Yuriy Shukhevych — the famous son of a famous father. The Leader of the OUN asked the Commission to examine the case of Yuriy Shukhevych. The Head of the U.S. delegation promised to do this, and is still putting pressure on Soviet delegates and on the responsible ministries in the USSR in defense of the rights of Yuriy Shukhevych and his family, demanding that they be given the right to leave the Soviet Union.

The following are quotes taken from statements by the late Yaroslav Stetsko delivered on various occasions throughout the world:



*Yaroslav Stetsko speaking at the open rally in Central Park in New York on Captive Nations opening day in July, 1969*

“The OUN was, is and will be a great guiding light, as it was 50 years ago, up until the restoration of an independent sovereign Ukrainian state.”

“Western officials are increasingly leaning towards the concepts of the OUN — the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations.”

“Our liberation strategy of coordinated national revolutions is correct, and the West is increasingly beginning to accept our concepts. This is the sole alternative to an all-destructive nuclear war. All of the concepts of the OUN have always been victorious.”

“The issue of the Patriarchate is a national issue. It is a matter of spiritual Ukrainian statehood. We support every measure taken in this direction by both of Ukraine’s historic Churches.”

“To the question on unity and cooperation: there cannot be any unity with those who capitulate or are potential turncoats.”

“Wars of liberation are holy wars for freedom and justice. If the West supports us then it will help itself in turn... The Kremlin is already living on a volcano.”

“The decay and downfall of empires, the victory of national principles in every aspect of international politics in the entire world are characteristic of our era.”

“If the US gives aid to the subjugated nations then it will become a revolutionary liberation force, whereas the Soviet Union is a reactionary force.”

“The idea of nationalism is a solution to current world problems because nationalism solves problems on the basis of national communities. All other ideas — the



*Mr. Volodymyr Masur paying tribute to the late Yaroslav Stetsko at the funeral*

balance of power and containment, will fail. Nationalism alone can oppose a false system backed by Russian imperialism and chauvinism.”

These are only a few excerpts from statements by the late Yaroslav Stetsko. His works must be read and reflected upon. They are a continuation and the epitome of Ukrainian nationalist thought and doctrine. They are also a guide for us along the hard, but never retracting victorious road of struggle for the rights of our nation — for our rights!

What distinguished Yaroslav Semenovych Stetsko from others was his sharpness of mind, his quick reactions, his clear treatment of every issue, and his firm belief in the victory of Kyiv in the struggle against Moscow, of St. Sophia against the false Soviet Russian atheist Zagorsk. As a person he was also distinguished in the warmth and kindness he showed to his friends — to political adherents. He urged people to live without luxury, himself living like an ascetic. Often, he spent weeks or months at a time at railway stations, in trains, in planes and ships, at conferences, making speeches, very often in English or German, or at meetings with various international statesmen. Probably the only person who knows what comforts these journeys brought is his wife, Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

Throughout his active life, his works, his contacts with the foreign world, his part in the struggle against Moscow, and his development of the Ukrainian national-liberation idea — his great work and enormous personal sacrifice — the Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko, proved to be an equal to such historic Ukrainian figures as Khmelnytsky, Mazepa, Petlura and Konovalts, Chuprynka and Bandera.

Let the honor and glory of this son of Ukraine be eternal and our destiny: to continue in his spirit, to go on to victory.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

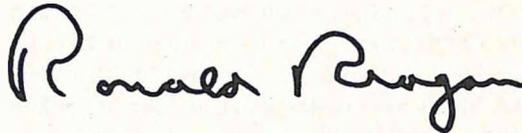
July 22, 1986

Dear Mrs. Stetsko:

I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of your husband, Yaroslav. His life burned brightly with the love of liberty in an age darkened by totalitarian tyranny. Throughout his 74 years, he kept faith with his countrymen in his courageous struggle for human rights and national independence for Ukraine against the twin tyrannies of Nazism and communism. In the ongoing contest with communism for the hearts and minds of men, your husband's courage and dedication to liberty will serve as a continuing source of inspiration to all those striving for freedom and self-determination and an abiding reminder of the timeless struggle of mankind to break the chains of tyranny.

God bless you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent "R" at the beginning.

Mrs. Slava Stetsko  
ABN  
Zeppelinstrasse 67  
8000 Munchen 80  
West Germany

## **“WE BID YOU, FAREWELL, OUR LEADER”**

*Speech delivered at the graveside of Yaroslav Stetsko*

Today we bid farewell to a great son of Ukraine, who, from an early age dedicated himself to the struggle for national independence for the subjugated Ukrainian nation, becoming a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

During the first Congress of Ukrainian nationalists in 1929, the general ideological framework and program were designated. Yaroslav Stetsko adhered to this framework through his writing and thereby, educated the Ukrainian youth, who, under the influence of the trial of Bilas and Danylyshyn, in 1932 massively joined the ranks of the newly formed Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. As a young student, he was already educating youth in his capacity as ideological director of the National Executive of the OUN.

For this he was arrested and sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment during the trial of Stepan Bandera in Lviv, in 1936.

In his last statement at the trial, he said: “I educated the Ukrainian youth to love their oppressed nation actively and to be ready to give up their lives for their nation's independence. I don't believe that this is a crime, for which you should punish me”.

The generation which he raised proved itself on June 30, 1941, creating, under his leadership, a brilliant moment in the history of Ukraine. At that time, the Bolsheviks had fled Lviv in panic and the Germans had not yet taken control. This was the only moment in World War II when the Ukrainian nation could say a free word, that we want to be masters of our own lands which we inherited from our great ancestors.

Had the Ukrainian nation not taken advantage of this only opportunity provided by destiny, we would have emerged from World War II with the mark of an abject slave, who, having rid himself of one yoke, submissively awaits another conqueror to impose a new one.

The strategy and tactics of OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera must be admired. Bandera, before the beginning of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union worked out a plan, which was accurately carried out at the appropriate moment. June 30, 1941 took place despite the fact that the area was occupied by a huge German army. The middle infantry group of Mykola Lemyk approached Lviv, among them, Yaroslav Stetsko, Yaroslav Staruch, Stepan Lenkavskyj, Ivan Ravlyk and other leading members of OUN. The divisions of Ukrainian nationalists led by Roman Shukhevych marched into St. George Square and the combat divisions led by Ivan Klym-Legenda approached from the north. This was a brilliant maneuver on the part of the OUN divisions. In one day, these members of OUN organized a Ukrainian militia. In the hall of the “Prosvita” building they assembled leading civic activists who had survived Bolshevik arrests and resolved to proclaim the renewal of an independent Ukrainian state and to call a temporary Ukrainian National Government.

In this manner, by the traditions of their heroic ancestors, they challenged the Germans. Had they come to fight or to make peace? They forced Hitler to clearly answer whether he recognized Ukrainian independence or not.

It was not on the Magino line at Stalingrad that Hitler's Germany was dealt the deathly blow, but in Lviv, on June 30, 1941, because of Hitler's hostile position towards the national aspirations of the Ukrainian nation.

At that time, Germany was at the zenith of its strength, escalation and glory. That is why it was resolved to destroy the nucleus of the Ukrainian state at birth. The German reaction was unscrupulously hostile. They arrested Bandera and Stetsko, who was the Premier of the National Government and brutally demanded that they revoke the Act of Statehood. But they received a categorical refusal, which Bandera and Stetsko adhered to during the entire time of their imprisonment, although the conditions in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen were so unendurably harsh that Ivan Gabrusevych, Volodymyr Fedak, Olzhych and others perished there. Bandera and Stetsko survived and lived to see a defeated Germany. When they were released on September 29, 1944, the representative of the German government acknowledged that imprisoning them had been a grave mistake. This was a moral capitulation by arrogant Germany before worthy representatives of the Ukrainian nation, six months prior to the ultimate German capitulation before the Allies.

After the end of the war, although seriously wounded, Yaroslav Stetsko raised the banner of the ABN and utilizing the legitimacy of the Premiership of the Ukrainian National Government of 1941, opened doors to the capitals of all the important countries of the world, and there, he disseminated the truth about Ukraine's struggle for national independence, calling upon and mobilizing the nations of the entire world to fight against the red, inhuman tide of Moscow, and for the liberation of all subjugated nations.

It is not sufficient to call Yaroslav Stetsko a modern Pylyp Orlyk. His challenge found a positive response among statesmen and ABN grew to global proportions through the European Freedom Council and the World Anti-Communist League. I am certain that we do not have to wait long for the fall of the red Muscovite empire, and history will record the 20th century into its annals as the century of a mad experiment to bring into life the sick chimeras of Karl Marx.

The western world, which during the Middle Ages produced the Crusades, allowed the insane experiment of communism during the 20th century, which cost tens of millions of innocent sacrifices, mainly from the Ukrainian nation.

Reminding the world of this, Yaroslav Stetsko achieved a great deal diplomatically. He was successfully aided in these endeavours by his faithful wife, Slava Stetsko. From the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists I extend to her our deep gratitude, recognition and sincere wishes that she withstand this great burden of the passing away of her life's friend. May she find the strength to continue and double the work which she has done to date, so that we live to see the victory of the bold intentions of Yaroslav Stetsko in the reality of an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state.

We bid you farewell, our Leader, and on the road to the world beyond ours, we give you a handful of Ukrainian soil from your native Ternopil, from Poltava and from Kyiv and water from the Black Sea. Rest, with the deserved rest of a faithful son of Ukraine. And we, bidding you farewell, solemnly promise to continue your unfinished work, achieve freedom for Ukraine. In difficult moments, we will come to your grave to gather spiritual strength, the spiritual strength you were renowned for until your last breath.

Glory to Ukraine and glory to our heroes, and among them, you, our Leader.

## PARTING SALUTE FROM THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

It is with great and unexpressable sorrow that we accompany the late Yaroslav Stetsko, Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government, Premier of the last Ukrainian government on Ukrainian lands, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and leading member of such international organisations as the World Anti-Communist League, the European Freedom Council and others, to his eternal rest. It was through these international organisations that he, in his constant endeavours and untiring work, carried the cause of Ukrainian liberation to international forums. He reminded the world that the Ukrainian problem, from which the entire world ran and wanted to consider forgotten, is continuously alive but unresolved, and upon which resolution, peace in Europe and in the world are dependent.

Despite formidable circumstances, he, unlike any other Ukrainian activist achieved great successes, thereby bringing upon himself the hatred and attacks of the enemy. He was even sentenced to death by the Russians, but fortunately, the assassin was not able to carry out the heinous deed, having to flee for his own life from the Kremlin commanders.

In his wide-spread work on the international sphere, our late Leader had, as the basis for defending the Ukrainian nation, not only the capacity of being the leader of a mighty revolutionary nationalist movement in Ukraine, but, was also the premier of the last free Ukrainian government on Ukrainian lands. It was this title which gave him the right to represent the interests of the subjugated Ukrainian nation in its struggle for freedom. As the leader of the Ukrainian National Government of June 30, 1941 in Lviv, he represented not only the nationalist movement, because OUN members were a minority in his government, and the majority was made up of prominent citizens without any party affiliation, or political activists from previously active parties in Ukraine. The Ukrainian National Government of 1941 truly was all-Ukrainian, enthusiastically accepted by the Ukrainian nation, supported and blessed by the hierarchs of both Ukrainian churches. As Yaroslav Stetsko himself stated, it was the only government on European territory created on a truly democratic basis, and furthermore, created against the will of Hitler's Germany. As a result, the unavoidable conflict developed, the result of which was the arrest of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the OUN and the head of the National Government, Yaroslav Stetsko. Because they did not succumb to the pressure of the Germans, because they did not revoke the renewal of the Ukrainian state, they and other members of the government were sentenced to the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen.

Despite the absence of the head of the government in Lviv, the administration formed during the first days of July on the territory of western Ukraine freed from the Bolsheviks, continued to exist for a long time and the proclamations of the renewal of Ukrainian statehood continued further, in the east to the Dnipro and south to the Black Sea.

After the arrest of the head of the government and after the forceful annexation of Halychyna to the General Province, Hitler's occupying forces, only in the month of

September, liquidated the existing Ukrainian statehood by mass arrests, thereby evoking the opposition of the Ukrainian nation, which later evolved into the armed OUN-UPA struggle against the German and Russian usurpers. In its fight against the Germans, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) liberated vast areas from the occupants, so called partisan republics, where Ukrainian statehood continued to exist, as long as Ukrainian military rule remained on even a small patch of Ukrainian land. The rule of this government was not short-lived, but endured years under the armed protection of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The head of the National Government, although imprisoned in a concentration camp, did not resign from his firm stand. The mandate which he received on June 30, 1941 obliged him, once freed, to continue the struggle for freedom for Ukraine in new,



*Mr. Julian Zablockyj delivering a parting salute from  
the Ukrainian National Government*

post-war circumstances, in Ukraine and on the international sphere. He devoted all his energies and exceptional capabilities to this continuous struggle throughout his entire, labor-loving life, literally to his last breath, even when he was incapacitated by grave illness.

I bid you farewell, our friend and Leader, from those, who in the name of your government, organized Ukrainian rule and government administration on Ukrainian lands 45 years ago. Your name, tied with the Act of June 30, 1941 already belongs to history and your memory among the Ukrainian people will remain eternal.

Until Ukrainian statehood is renewed in Ukraine, may this foreign earth be light for you.

## Eulogy by the Representative of the German Bavarian Government

The Bavarian Ministry for Work and Social Order is closely connected with the exile groups from Eastern Europe on a cultural basis. This also includes the Ukrainian emigration. We had the opportunity to ascertain the significance of the loss of Yaroslav Stetsko for the Ukrainian nation. It is not only a symbolic figure, as the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, who has departed from us. At this moment we are also bidding farewell to the representative of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Yaroslav Stetsko belonged to those who also in exile undauntedly defended the right of liberty for all suppressed. As an active statesman and victim, he survived bitter



*Dr. Rößner-Kraus delivering an eulogy on behalf of  
the German Bavarian Government*

moments in European history and was forced to take upon himself the burden of banishment, but he surmounted this burden through his mission, his love for Ukraine and sojourn within the ranks of his faithful fellow countrymen.

Yaroslav Stetsko chose as his country in exile a country in which the striving for free independent nations and nationalities on our continent, in which the recognition and realization of rights in the fatherland, in which historical truth and righteousness as well as life in liberty and dignity belong to its political convictions.

May this ease his final requiem in German, Bavarian soil.

Please accept my sincerest condolences from the Bavarian Ministry for Work and Social Order.

*Dr. Rößner-Kraus*

## Eulogy by the Representative of the ABN Central Committee



“Your struggle is our struggle, your dream is our dream”. U.S. President Ronald Reagan directed these words to the nations subjugated by Moscow and their representatives of the liberation movements in exile. It is a question of the struggle of our nations against Russian Bolshevik tyranny; a question of the struggle which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations has led for over four decades; a question of the struggle of a man who led this movement steadfastly for over 40 years, to whom we pay our last respects today —to Yaroslav Stetsko.

It is just as difficult to clothe our grief and sorrow in words at this time, as it is to eulogize honourably the achievements of the deceased. The Ukrainian nation has lost a great son. As a revolutionary and organizer of the armed battle against Hitler and Stalin, as a politician heading an independent Ukrainian government, as chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the avantgarde organization of Ukraine during her freedom fight, as an ideologist and diplomat, he had formed and determined one of the greatest eras in Ukrainian history.

The friendly nations who share their fate of suppression with Ukraine have lost a great friend and companion in the struggle for the liberation of their peoples, and for the freedom of man. As President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, as executive member of the World Anti-Communist League and as member of the Honorary Presidium of the European Freedom Council, Yaroslav Stetsko sought aid and Western understanding, that these nations are in the long run the only alternative to the threatening nuclear holocaust. During countless journeys and missions he pointed out to leading politicians of the world, an alternative to Moscow's short-sighted detente policy —the liberation revolution of the subjugated nations. With the moral and political support of the Free World they would be in a position to destroy the Russian prison of nations from within and thus avert the universal threat of our times. For half a century Yaroslav Stetsko stood in the foreground of the subjugated nations of the East in their struggle for national independence and democratic order. He survived long sentences in prisons and Nazi concentration camps. Today, after the catastrophes in Ukrainian history, after the famine genocide and Stalinist terror, after the loss of 10 million people during World War II and after Chernobyl, the Ukrainian nation stands just as steadfast in an uncompromising struggle for its national rights. It stands in fraternal solidarity with the Baltic countries, Byelorussia, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Georgia, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Don Cossackia, on whose behalf, as representative of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, I bid its long-term President Yaroslav Stetsko farewell.

We are proud to have stood together with him on the joint front of our struggle and will preserve an honourable thought for him as a great personality of our time.

*Dr. Sarzamin Kaimur*

## FAREWELL SALUTE FROM THE WORLD BROTHERHOOD OF VETERANS OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

We have gathered here today in such great numbers on this glorious July day in order to bid farewell and convey to his place of eternal rest our most dear and beloved Chairman and Leader, the honourable Yaroslav Stetsko.

It is my sad and yet at the same time honoured duty to bid farewell to our Leader and great friend on behalf of the World Brotherhood of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army family, dispersed throughout the free countries of the world which have now been orphaned by the departure of our Leader.

In a short farewell speech, a military speech customary for bidding farewell to one's best comrades and friends, I will not be able to list all the good deeds the late Yaroslav Stetsko has done for us former combatants of the UPA.

As 18 — 20 year olds, we were eye-witnesses to the fact of how on June 30, 1941, the restoration of the Ukrainian independent state was proclaimed, headed by its prime minister Yaroslav Stetsko.

Then, not only Ukrainians, but the whole world admired the patriotism and courage of Bandera and Stetsko, and the whole Leadership of the OUN.

This impulsive Act of June 20, 1941, compelled us to venture to the Ukrainian forests where the UPA was formed and which eventually, by taking up arms, accomplished the idea of the June 30 Act. Although along the way of this uneven battle with the enemy, thousands of the best sons and daughters of Ukraine perished, we know from the perspective of time that this was the only right way to achieve a Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

The great loss of our late Leader is felt by everyone, namely: his esteemed wife Slava, the Leadership and membership of the OUN, the ABN, the whole Ukrainian community, but the greatest loss is carried by us, former combatants of the UPA. We have lost a true patron and advisor.

I have a whole file of correspondence in my possession between our deceased Leader and our Brotherhood of UPA. From his letters one can see how highly he valued the UPA and the work of our Brotherhood. Without exaggeration, I can say that in the history of the UPA, the name of Yaroslav Stetsko shall be inscribed in gold.

Yet, God's laws are implacable, just as the laws of nature, and all of us without exception, are forced to comply with them. The time must come for a person to depart from this world, leave behind a bereaved wife, family, friends, a wider community, part of which is probably not quite aware of whom it has lost.

Our dear Leader! We, former combatants of the UPA, are deeply saddened that we are burying you in a foreign land, where you experienced so much misery and pain, which resulted in your untimely death.



*Mr. M. Kowalchyn delivering a farewell salute  
from the World Brotherhood of Veterans of the  
Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)*

We believe that your wish would have been to be laid to rest in your own Ukrainian land, which you so passionately loved and were prepared a hundredfold to give your life for it.

We are also grieved that your death is not being announced to the Ukrainian people by the mournful ringing of church bells, the sounds of which you loved so much.

But most of all we are grieved that we cannot bid you farewell with a gun salute as is fitting for bidding farewell to statesmen and the Head of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement.

Our dear Leader!

To us, you have not died.

Your spirit is immortal. This spirit of yours, the spirit of a righteous idealist, will live eternally in the souls of the whole Ukrainian nation.

We, former combatants of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, your friends, promise to remember you as long as we live.

May your memory be eternal!

We would like to express our most heartfelt condolences to you, dear Slava, family and friends.

## CONDOLENCES FROM THE PRESIDIUUM OF THE WORLD UKRAINIAN LIBERATION FRONT

All of us here today are experiencing the great loss of a man who dedicated his whole life to the realization of the precious idea of a Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State. The honorable Yaroslav Stetsko chose this noble, thorny path from an early age and never for a moment did he stray from it throughout 50 years of an industrious and dedicated life. His service for a better future for the Ukrainian people resulted in his incarceration in Polish prisons and German concentration camp.

The sacred idea of a Ukrainian state was fulfilled three times during the late Yaroslav Stetsko's life: as a child he first experienced a Ukrainian state in the years 1918-1920, then in 1939 the establishment of a state by the Ukrainian people in Carpatho-Ukraine, and thirdly in 1941 when, on behalf of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, as the first deputy of the Leader, initiated the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state on June 30, a step which was approved by the National Congress. However, in the face of



violent, imperialist aggressors, it was impossible to gather enough strength to retain the state. The the OUN conducted and expanded a grandiose liberation struggle on two fronts — against the Nazi German and against the Russian occupiers — by organizing with the people's own strength, a revolutionary army — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of the Head of the Leadership of the OUN, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka. Thus, the OUN, the Ukrainian National Government, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council managed to preserve the honor and dignity of the Ukrainian nation. This struggle in clandestine forms, continues to this day.

The greatest esteem that we can render to the late Chairman of the Leadership of the OUN, the Head of the Ukrainian National Government and President of the Central Committee of the ABN on his way to eternal rest, will be our unwavering stance to uncompromisingly fulfill the ideas which he proclaimed.

May his memory be eternal. Glory to this hero. Glory to Ukraine.

*Bohdan Fedorak, President  
World Ukrainian Liberation Front*

## WORDS OF FAREWELL FROM UKRAINIAN YOUTH

“I am a part of my Ukrainian nation and all my aspirations are to my nation and to everything which flows from her needs”. In agreement with this assertion, you, our dear Chairman and Leader, aspired first and foremost in your life and secondly, endeavoured to direct us, the Ukrainian youth, in the same direction. Today we bid you farewell in the name of Ukrainian youth, the youth for whom you worked and over whom you concerned yourself. We bid you farewell from youth who came to love you as a father and attempted to understand you and follow in your footsteps.

The perceptive and knowledgeable youth of today has sought and continues to seek the correct path for their lives, and is attempting to find the meaning of our being here on earth. You, with your idealism, helped youth find that meaning. You, with your deep faith in God, and your volition to serve our homeland, were an example for youth. You, as a practicing Christian, as a devoted son of your nation, demonstrated to youth, the meaning of our motto, “God and Ukraine”. You proved what can be achieved in life when one has the strength of will and is ready to work devotedly and sacrificially.

Standing before our Creator, you have the right to say “Lord, you gave me five talents, and I have obtained five more”. The answer assuredly would be that, which we believing Christians want to hear: “Enter into the joy of your Lord”. The Lord God gave you these talents and you utilized them to serve God and Ukraine. You untiringly reminded youth that Ukraine, above all, is a spiritual value and quality.

The Ukrainian nation is a spiritual unity which lives through the ages and unites us even then, when her people are scattered throughout the world, but they are bound with great spiritual traditions, with cultural and historical threads, into one, integral, indivisible whole, consecrated in blood for its preservation. We are united by the greatness of our culture, our ancient tradition of heroism of our nation, the spilling of blood of each consecutive generation for the immortality of our everlasting idea —universal Ukraine.

You reminded us that the Ukrainian Church of both denominations, of identical spiritual traditions of martyrdom, unites us. Our patriotic ideal is inseparably united with our Christian ideal. Christ and Ukraine — this is one inseparable whole.

Through you and your work, Ukrainian youth understood that despite territorial distance, spiritually, we form one Ukrainian nation. Today, our spiritual sight must be directed at our country of heroes and martyrs, our unyielding and unsubmissive country, which always brings forth new heroes, which eternally revives new fighters for Ukrainian sovereignty. Our further activity should be the evolution and deepening of our idealism, our complete understanding that the youth in Ukraine expect our solidarity with them in action. This will assure you that your activity and your aspirations were not in vain.

A human being wants to achieve a great deal in his life, to accomplish all that he began. The struggle which you led was of great value to Ukraine. The Lord summoned you before you were able to see our promised independent Ukrainian state. However, once the struggle has been taken up, it will be fulfilled.

Standing at your graveside, we make this sacred promise. You, our unforgettable friend, are leaving behind people of the younger generation who aspire to accomplish your unfulfilled earthly mission.

I bid you farewell, our dear Leader, in the name of Ukrainian youth. We thank the Almighty that he gave the Ukrainian nation such a devoted son. Ukraine has lost a great man. The words spoken by you at the Lviv Trial in 1936 have found a place in



*Mr. Stepan Romaniw from the Ukrainian Youth Association in Australia expressing words of farewell from Ukrainian youth*

our hearts: "I avow that the Ukrainian state exists, exists potentially in the hearts of the Ukrainian nation. It does not yet exist realistically, but it does exist morally. It rightfully exists in our souls. The sense of my entire life has been, is and will be, a free and sovereign Ukraine".

These words will also be our testament.

I express our deepest sympathies to the esteemed Mrs. Slava Stetsko. I assure you that the Ukrainian youth will be a faithful executor of the legacy of your dear friend through life and struggle.

Dear Friend and Leader, may this foreign earth, enriched by the soil from your native land, be light for you.

We beseech God that the day when we can carry your remains to our eternal Kyiv, where your heart yearned throughout your entire life, be not long in coming.

Eternal memory!

## Telegrams and Letters of Condolences on the Occasion of the Passing Away of the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko

To Mrs. Slava Stetsko:

Our thoughts and prayers are with you at this time of sorrow. May God bless and keep you.

*Nancy and Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.*

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In your days of mourning and sadness after the passing away into eternity of your husband, the late Yaroslav Stetsko, I send you my sympathy. I will remember the late Mr. Stetsko in my prayers and services.

*His Beatitude  
Cardinal Archbishop Myroslav  
Ivan Cardinal Lubachivskyj  
Patriarch of the  
Ukrainian Catholic Church  
Rome, Italy*

\*

Please accept my sympathy upon the untimely passing away in the Lord of Yaroslav, your husband and long-term leader and political activist of the Ukrainian nation. In my prayers for the servant of God Yaroslav, I will beseech the Lord to accept his soul in heaven.

*Yours in Christ  
Metropolitan Mstyslav  
Ukrainian Autocephalous  
Orthodox Church  
South Bound Brook, N.J.  
U.S.A.*

\*

It was with pain in my heart that I received the telephone message yesterday informing me of the death of your dear husband, the late Yaroslav. Today I celebrated a Divine Liturgy for the repose of his soul, and I prayed to the Lord to grant him eternal reward in heaven with the angels and saints. May his memory be eternal.

Please accept my expressions of deep sympathies in your sorrow, which is one more common woe in the contemporary sorrow of all nations. May the Truth of the Holy Christian Faith about Christ's victory over hell and death, the Truth about the Resurrection and eternal life be for you and for us, consolation and strength on life's road.

Again and again I bless you with all goodness.

*Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn  
Secretary, Congregatio pro  
Ecclesiis Orientalibus  
Rome, Italy*

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Please accept my deepest condolences on your loss. I am praying for a soul of a fallen son of the Ukrainian people. His name will always be with us. God be with you.

*Archbishop Wolodymyr  
Los Angeles, California  
U.S.A.*

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I extend my deepest sympathy in the passing away of Premier Stetsko. Your loss is shared by the entire Ukrainian community, for Premier Stetsko consecrated his life in serving the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian nation. To serve the people is to serve God. Premier Stetsko has served God abundantly.

May his memory be eternal and may he rest with the righteous.

*Constantine  
Archbishop of Chicago  
Ukrainian Orthodox  
Church of America*

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Upon the repose of the soul of your husband, the late Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, I send you my deep and sincere

sympathies. On Sunday, July 6, while celebrating the Divine Liturgy, I prayed for the repose of his soul. May the Merciful Lord repose his soul in his heavenly dwelling places where all the righteous repose. Eternal memory to the deceased.

With love in Christ,

*Anatolij Dublanskyj*  
*Archbishop of Paris and*  
*Western Europe*  
*Ukrainian Orthodox*  
*Autocephalic Church*

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Please accept my deepest sympathies and prayers on the passing into eternal life of Yaroslav. The prayers of our priests and the faithful of this diocese are with you in this great loss that you have sustained. Not only you, but the Ukrainian free world has lost a great statesman and civic leader. May his memory be eternal.

*Bishop Robert Moskal*  
*Parma, Ohio, U.S.A.*

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Please accept my sincerest expressions of sympathy in the painful temporal loss of your unforgettable husband, staunch patriot, worthy son of Ukraine, hero in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our homeland, my friend — Yaroslav.

When I was informed several weeks ago that the deceased was to undergo an operation, I truly beseeched Christ the Savior to allow dear Yaroslav to remain on this earth, but the paths of Divine Providence were different: Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko has passed away into eternity, where he now enjoys the contemplation of the infinite and eternal beauty of God in heavenly Jerusalem.

The deceased has entered the annals of our history as the one who for long years toiled, suffered and struggled for the liberation of our nation. His glorious

memory will remain with our nation for many long years. In a political prison in Poland, one grievous prisoner wrote the following unforgettable words on a wall: "It is easy to speak of one's homeland, it is harder to work for it, even harder to suffer, but hardest of all, to die for it."

Our late Yaroslav not only spoke of it, but suffered prison and torment, and was ready to sacrifice his life for it. He is our national penitent, leader and hero.

I beg the Almighty that the cross of separation with your loved one be light. May his memory be eternal between the worlds!

Your servant in God,

*Bishop Innocent Lotocky*  
*Eparch of Chicago*

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Please accept my expressions of sympathy upon the loss of a good man, eminent Ukrainian fighter, who devoted his entire life and all his energies for the good of the Ukrainian nation and the attainment of an independent Ukrainian state. His work has not been in vain, his work, his idealism, his courage have found followers among our youth.

We have celebrated Divine Liturgies and memorial services for the repose of the soul of the late Yaroslav, and I will always remember him.

I greet you sincerely and wish you every goodness.

I bless you with all my heart.

*Ivan Prashko*  
*Bishop of Melbourne*  
*Australia*

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It was with deep pain that we received the news that your dear husband and great son of the Ukrainian nation was called by the will of the Almighty to his eternal rest. We ask you to accept our expressions of deep sympathy on the

occasion of the passing away of your dear husband Yaroslav, a great son of our nation...

On July 10, together with the clergy of our eparchy and the faithful — representatives of church and civic organizations — we prayed, that the Good Lord settle the deceased in heavenly Jerusalem for all his deeds and toil for the Ukrainian nation. Tomorrow, July 12, we will commemorate a memorial Holy Liturgy, with the participation of the clergy and the faithful in the Church of the St. Protectress in Toronto for the repose of the soul of your late husband.

All the faithful in the parishes of our eparchy will be praying for the repose of the soul of the deceased and at the same time that the Good Lord give you strength and bless you with all his gifts.

Wishing you every goodness and God's boundless grace. We greet you in Christ the Lord. With bishop's blessing,

*Bishop Isidore Borecky*  
*Eparchy of Toronto*

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At this moment of painful loss for the Ukrainian national emigration and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, and your personal loss of your dearest husband, I express to you, the vigilant wife of the late Chairman of the Leadership of OUN, the late Yaroslav Stetsko, my deepest sympathies.

In the person of the late Yaroslav Stetsko, the Ukrainian emigration and liberation movement lost a great leader, who from an early age fought for the freedom of the Ukrainian nation from foreign tyranny and suffered more than once in enemy prisons. His high intellect, his foresightful political thought succeeded in his life, deeds and creativity, in uniting the vision of national independence with the vision of a Christian national liberation movement.

His firm stand in the defense of the Act of June 30, 1941 by which the Ukrainian State was renewed in Lviv, against the will of Hitler's occupants, clearly shows what Yaroslav Stetsko, the Honorable Prime Minister of Ukraine lived by during his valuable life.

As Chairman of the Leadership of the OUN, as President of the ABN and the EFC, the late Yaroslav Stetsko succeeded in presenting the Ukrainian cause on a world wide anti-communist forum, even in the White House. In life, he was of humble character, but accomplished deeds for which not only the OUN, but the entire Ukrainian emigration and our subjugated nation can be proud.

We lost a valuable statesman who lived by a deep vision of Christian Ukraine. We deeply believe that although the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko is no longer among us, his ideals and deeds will continue to live in forthcoming generations.

Again, I extend my deep condolences to the bereaved wife of the deceased, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, and to the entire Ukrainian Nationalist Movement. To all participants of the funeral services I send my bishop's blessing. May the foreign, hospitable earth be light for him. May his memory be eternal!

*Bishop Basil Losten*  
*Eparch of Stamford*

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Please accept from the members of Krylos of the Lviv metropoly, from the Rectorship of the Ukrainian Catholic University and all those, who toil for the spiritual inheritance of the late Patriarch Yosyf, our deep condolences at this time of great loss for the Ukrainian nation, the passing into eternity of the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government of June 30, 1941 and notable political activist, the late Yaroslav Stetsko.

We grieve at this loss, because a man of steadfast stature of the struggle for the attainment of freedom for the Ukrainian nation has passed away. He was a man of great dedication and sacrifice for the good of his nation, a Christian, who aspired towards the good and growth of our Church, and her accomplishment of the Patriarchate, and his political mottos were in concordance with Christ's Gospel.

Our prayers will accompany the sorrow of our people in Ukraine and in the diaspora. May God receive his soul with eternal reward and may his memory remain eternal among us.

Yours in Christ,

*Father Mitrat Ivan Choma  
Father Mitrat Ivan Muzychka  
Ukrainian Catholic University  
Rome, Italy*

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Dear Mrs. Stetsko,

It is with deep sympathy that I received the news of the death of your husband President Stetsko. I extend to you my sincerest condolences.

President Stetsko was an exemplary Ukrainian patriot during his life, who had achieved a great deal for his fatherland. Although he was denied the ultimate success, I am convinced that his activity was not in vain. He sowed seeds that will give fruit.

May this thought, even though faint, be a consolation in your deep sorrow.

May God award him abundantly in His eternity.

Respectfully yours,

*Otto von Habsburg  
Member of the European Parliament  
President of the Honorary  
Presidium of the EFC*

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Dear Sirs,

It is with deep sympathy that I received news of the death of President Stetsko. I

extend to you and to all Ukrainians my heartfelt condolences.

I am convinced that the ideals for which President Stetsko had worked for during his lifetime will finally lead to ultimate success, thanks to his dedication and faith which Ukrainians will bring to their homeland.

Respectfully yours,

*Otto von Habsburg*

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I have just learned with deep grief of the passing away of the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko. Please accept my most sincere condolences.

*Manuel Fraga Iribarne  
Member of Spanish Parliament  
Member of the Honorary  
Presidium of the EFC*

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It is with shock that we receive the tragic news of the death of Yaroslav Stetsko. His death will mean a great loss to human rights everywhere. We will miss him and his courage should be a banner to wave for future generations. I regret my inability to attend the funeral services. I will be speaking at Captive Nations Week in Taiwan.

My deepest sympathy.

Respectfully,

*Major General John K. Singlaub  
Chairman, United States Council  
for World Freedom*

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It was with sorrow and a sense of deep loss that I learned of the death of your husband Yaroslav. His devotion to the liberation of Ukraine and to freedom generally were an inspiration to all who knew him. We shall all miss Yaroslav Stetsko immensely. His courageous example of dedication and total commitment to the liberation of Ukraine and other proud nations oppressed by communist totalitarian regimes has been an inspiration.

It has been a great personal privilege and honour to have been associated with his work. I have learned so much from Yaroslav — his sense of history, generosity of spirit, warmth of heart, human kindness and above all, courage and perseverance were unailing.

His strong belief in the ultimate triumph of Good over Evil and that justice and liberty were eventually bound to prevail over inhumanity and oppression sustained his unflinching efforts through the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the European Freedom Council and the other organizations of which he was both an inspiration and an active figurehead.

It was an honour to have been his friend and we will continue his work. I extend to you my profound sympathy and heartfelt condolences on your bereavement.

*John Wilkinson, Member  
of British Parliament  
Chairman, European  
Freedom Council*

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As I said in my cable of condolences July 9, I have been most saddened and words alone cannot adequately express my feeling. I also said: "We shall forever remember his indomitable spirit and incessant endeavor. I cannot travel because of Captive Nations Week (activities here in Taipei) but will be praying and will redouble effort."

I know very well that whatever I say will not help assuage your and your colleagues' sorrow and grief for having lost such a staunch and inspiring leader. But I earnestly hope that sadness will be transformed into so much additional strength for the vigorous continuation of the unfinished task. We in Taipei will always be at your side.

For the Captive Nations Week last week, we had three mass rallies, eight lecture meetings, four forums, etc., in the

presence of some 90 guests from 32 other countries. The observance was climaxed Saturday morning with an open-air rally of 50,000 people in Central Taiwan.

That evening at the farewell dinner back in Taipei, I humbly made an address of homage and proposed a one-minute silent prayer (see attached translated text).

We will keep on fighting for the earliest possible realization of our revolutionary goal.

Sincerely yours,

*Dr. Ku Cheng-kang  
Honorary Chairman,  
World Anti-Communist League*

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*Address of Homage to Dr. Yaroslav  
Stetsko by WACL Honorary Chairman  
Dr. Ku Cheng-kang*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

While we are together this evening, I would like to make a statement in token of respect to the memory of a great freedom-fighter — Dr. Yaroslav Stetsko — who passed away at the age of 74 two weeks ago on Saturday, July the 5th.

Dr. Stetsko was Prime Minister of Ukraine, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and member of the Executive Board of the World Anti-Communist League. For more than half a century he worked to bring forces throughout the world for the fight against communism and strove for the liberation and national independence of all the subjugated nations.

ABN has lost a great leader and WACL has lost an indomitable fighter. With deep sadness I now propose that we offer one minute's silent prayer for the repose of the soul of the late Dr. Yaroslav Stetsko.

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With deep sorrow and heartfelt grief I pray and mourn the death of my beloved

and dear friend, Yaroslav Stetsko, the leader of the Ukrainian people who never stopped or flinched from fighting throughout his life for freedom, democracy, independence and justice for his people and to free Ukraine from Russian imperialism.

I am convinced that Ukrainians in his beloved homeland and Ukrainians throughout the free world, as well as countless world leaders and many people who have known the former Prime Minister of Ukraine and greatly admired him for his unceasing and determined fight for freedom, will salute Yaroslav Stetsko just as I do and pray for his wish and the wishes of 50 million Ukrainians. His country must and will be free.

God give strength to Mrs. Slava Stetsko. We salute and say goodbye to our beloved son of Ukraine. With a song from our hearts "Shche ne vmerla Ukraina".

*Stefan Terlezki*  
*Member of British Parliament*  
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Please accept both my personal expressions of condolences, those of my family and of all my colleagues in the Ontario Legislature on the tragic death of your husband, Yaroslav, a great Ukrainian patriot whose leadership and life has symbolized the determined, heroic, unwavering struggle of the Ukrainian nation for liberty and justice for all those in our family of nations who cherish and value those goals.

As the head of the free and independent government proclaimed on June 30, 1941 by the Ukrainian people, he has epitomized the courage to stand up to the Nazi onslaught at a time when very few leaders and peoples had the audacity to take such steps at the risk of their own lives and the sacrifice of millions of their compatriots. In waging this heroic struggle throughout his life

from Nazi concentration camps to the position of a leader in the fight of captive nations as president of the ABN, the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Honourary Chairman of the European Freedom Council and a member of the Executive of the World Anti-Communist League, he died indeed a heroic death.

Yaroslav Stetsko has joined the Altar of the Heroes of the Ukrainian nations, such as Petlura, Konovaletz, Shukhevych, Bandera and others, as a guiding light and a motivating example to the new generation of Ukrainians who will carry on the torch of freedom, liberty and justice for their subjugated, persecuted but unvanquished nation. May his memory remain eternal for all of us. Long live a free Ukraine! Long live its heroes!

Sincerely yours,

*Yuriy Shymko*  
*Member of the Canadian Parliament*  
*Ontario Legislature*  
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We are deeply saddened at the news of the great anti-communist leader, his Excellency Yaroslav Stetsko's untimely passing away. As Secretary General of the World Anti-Communist League, I extend my deepest sympathy and condolences to you and to the entire Ukrainian nation. At this time of great loss, being former Prime Minister of Ukraine and president of the ABN, his lifetime devotion and struggle for national liberation of the peace-loving people of Ukraine from communist Soviet Russia will be engraved upon the memory of all his freedom-loving friends around the world. May God give consolation and courage to you and your bereaved family.

Best regards,

*Dr. Woo Jae-Seung*  
*Secretary General, WACL*

I was most distressed to learn from your letter that your husband had passed away, and I wish to offer you my deepest sympathy on the loss of your beloved companion.

It is my thought, nevertheless, that during these days of sad bereavement your sorrow will be tempered by the knowledge that his life has been not only long but abundantly useful. He certainly enjoyed the respect and affection of all in our organization who knew him. It is difficult for them to think of Anti-Communism without him.

All the staff of WACL Japan Chapter join me in sending you our profound sympathy. May God sustain you in this hour of great sorrow.

Yours faithfully,

*Osami Kuboki*  
*President, Japan WACL Chapter*

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We deeply regret the passing away of the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko. This is a blow to all who fight for the liberation of the oppressed nations under Soviet tyranny. We feel a deep sympathy with Mrs. Slava Stetsko in her bereavement. The friends of a free Ukraine in all Scandinavia share the grief of the loss of a great freedom fighter. His work shall be fulfilled.

*Birger Hagaard, Member of*  
*Swedish Parliament,*  
*The Baltic Committee*  
*in Scandinavia*

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Upon my return today from a session of the Council of Europe in Istanbul, I learned with profound regret of the passing away of your dear husband and our most admired friend Yaroslav.

He will always be remembered as a fighter in the struggle for freedom, one who has paid dearly the price and who has not shirked any responsibility and the consequences derived from assuming the

responsibility of defending our most cherished freedoms as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

May his memory be eternal, but he will live on in our minds and be ever present.

With my deepest sympathy and condolences, I remain, as ever yours,

*General Robert Close*  
*Senator, Belgium*

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I was very, very sorry to learn of the death of your husband, the Honourable Yaroslav Stetsko and send you my condolences at this unhappy time.

Yours sincerely,

*The Rt. Hon. Sir Frederic Bennett*  
*Member of the*  
*British Parliament*

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I would like to express my most heartfelt sympathies on the death of your husband. We had worked together for decades, and I was always full of admiration of how he had summoned up all his strength for the freedom of his nation. He travelled indefatigably all over the world to enlighten other nations about the fate of his own nation.

We have lost yet another friend who will be very difficult to replace. We will take over the responsibility to continue to fight to the same effect.

I am certain that you will go on fighting successfully within the ABN and if, in my advanced years, I can do anything at all to help, then I will gladly put myself at your disposal.

With best greetings and sincere condolences from my wife and myself,

*Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer*  
*Former Member of Parliament*  
*of the Federal*  
*Republic of Germany*

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You were so kind in sending me the sad news about the death of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. I am very grateful to you for this.

I would like to express my most sincere condolences. In Christ's memory, I remain, yours sincerely,

*Dr. Richard Jaeger*  
*Member of Parliament of*  
*the Federal Republic of Germany*

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It is with dismay that I had to learn of the death of your Ukrainian patriot, Yaroslav Stetsko, who died on July 5th. I extend to you my sincerest condolences and ask you to extend my sympathies to your fellow countrymen and fellow comrades-in-arms.

Yaroslav Stetsko fought fearlessly with all of his strength for his homeland, for the rights and liberty not only of his people, but for all of the nations under communist domination.

We owe him our gratitude and high esteem.

Respectfully yours,

*Dr. Herbert Hupka*  
*Member of Parliament of*  
*the Federal Republic of Germany*

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It is with deep sorrow and regret that we learned of the death of your husband and ABN president, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. On behalf of ABN Canada and myself, please accept our sincerest and heartfelt condolences. We shall always uphold the ideals of freedom for nations and individuals to which our President dedicated his entire life.

*Orest Steciw*  
*Chairman, ABN Canada*

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With great sorrow we have learned about the death of your husband Yaroslav, the Prime Minister of Ukraine, Chairman of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, President of ABN, Member of the Honorary Presidium of the EFC and member of the Executive Board of the World Anti-communist League.

Together with the Ukrainian people and the entire world, we mourn the departure of this great son of the Ukrainian nation. Please accept our sincere condolences.

*K. Glinski, Chairman*  
*M. Zacharchuk, Secretary*  
*ABN Delegation in*  
*Great Britain*

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Please accept our deepest sympathy for the loss of your beloved husband. In him we lost a great leader. On behalf of the Rochester, New York chapter of the American Friends of ABN, sincerely,

*Louis L. Lota*  
*Acting President*  
*AF-ABN*

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We mourn Yaroslav Stetsko, the man of honour, the courageous leader, the inspired statesman. Ukraine and other subjugated nations lost a great champion of freedom, national and individual rights. God save his noble soul and bless the fight against tyranny. His ideals will illuminate the common road to liberation.

*Dimko Stateff, President*  
*Bulgarian Human*  
*Rights League*

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It was with great regret and sorrow that we heard of the death of Mr. Stetsko. On behalf of the Croatian Liberation Movement and the Central Committee of Croatian Associations in Europe, we would like to express our sincere and heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Stetsko, the family and to all the Ukrainian people in your great loss.

It was an honour and a privilege to have been associated with Mr. Stetsko in his tireless and selfless work for the ABN. His loss to that movement will be irreparable as he was an example and an inspiration to all who came in contact with him.

In Mr. Stetsko the Croatian people feel they have lost a great and valued friend.

We like to think that over the years we had established a unique relationship in our joint struggle for freedom. We will always remember him in our prayers and in our hearts.

*Frank Kokic, President  
The Central Committee of the  
Croatian Associations in Europe*

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We received the news of the death of your highly esteemed husband with great dismay and deep sympathy. It is almost inconceivable that God has called him away to eternity before he could attain the aim for which he always strove.

We are certain that the death of Mr. Stetsko will not only be considered by the Ukrainian nation as an invaluable loss to our struggle for the restoration of its freedom and independence, robbed by the Russians, but also for all the other nations, met with the same fate, as well as for organizations and individual friends who have stood with the Ukrainian nation in the struggle for freedom.

Moreover, Mrs. Stetsko, we hope that with God's help you will find enough strength to overcome the distress, which has befallen you personally, and that you will continue to participate actively in the struggle against slavery in the 20th century, which together with Mr. Stetsko you have led uninterruptedly for so many years.

*Josef Kairis  
Lithuanian Liberation Front*

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We were shocked and profoundly grieved to hear about Mr. Stetsko's death. Please accept our deepest sympathy.

*Maciej Pstrag-Bielenski  
Marek Ruszczynski  
Ryszard Jonak  
Confederacy of Independent Poland*

Now, when you have probably partially overcome your grief and sorrow, I would like to express to you my deepest sympathies and concern about the fate and future of our homelands, which now find themselves without the experience and advice of your intelligent and gifted husband. I am extremely worried about the leadership of the representation of our struggling countries and about the diplomacy of the two superpowers, which have only their own interests at heart. I am overcome more and more by the fear that our interests and the liberation of so many souls of our nations will be kicked under the table.

I hope that you, my dear Mrs. Stetsko, with all the experience gained from your husband, will remain well enough to fill the gaps and to place the future problems of our struggle in good hands. This is my wish to you, for the sake of both our nations.

May God bless you.

*Aurel Ionescu  
Rumanian Liberation Front*

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Please accept my own personal condolences and those of the Slovak people on the death of your husband.

The passing away of Yaroslav Stetsko has caused us great sorrow and has shown that he did not only possess a Ukrainian national status, but also an international one. The funeral services for the late Yaroslav Stetsko clearly proved, in a most worthy way, that this is a great loss on the arena of the struggle for an independent Ukraine — an aim absolutely worth striving for.

As a great Ukrainian fighter for freedom, Yaroslav Stetsko will remain as a striking example for Slovaks and all the other peoples of Eastern Europe.

*Valentino Berko  
Movement for the Independence  
of Slovakia*

It came as a great shock to me to learn of the death of President Yaroslav Stetsko and I would like to express my most heartfelt sympathies.

I have known Mr. Stetsko since 1941, and over the decades we developed a close and political friendship. He was a great Ukrainian patriot and a staunch and uncompromising fighter for the freedom of Ukraine and for the destruction of the Russian empire.

But he did not only fight for the independence of his own nation, but also for the independence of all the other non-Russian nations, oppressed and exploited by Russia.

As president of the ABN, he worked in this spirit and with these ideals. Our work together in the ABN was uncompromising against our common enemy. Mr. Stetsko, just as we, fought for freedom and truth.

For decades the common fate of both our nations and our common goal connected me with the late Yaroslav Stetsko and Stepan Bandera. This struggle for freedom will also be upheld in the future, in the spirit of solidarity, by the peoples of Ukraine and Turkestan.

The Ukrainian nation, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and we, Turkestanis, have lost a great personage.

I will never forget him, and the work we have carried out until now, will be continued.

Once again, please accept my deepest condolences.

*V. Kajum-Khan  
President,  
National Turkestanian  
Unity Committee*

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I was terribly shocked and saddened by the passing away on July 5 of the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko. This is a blow to ABN, the EFC and to the liberation struggle of

all the subjugated nations under Soviet Russian tyranny and oppression. My deepest sympathy with Mrs. Slava Stetsko for the loss of her dear husband. All the Scandinavian friends of a free and independent Ukraine share her grief. Please let me know if there is anything I can do.

*Bertil Häggman  
European Freedom Council*

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Please accept my sincerest condolences on the occasion of the death of your husband, President Yaroslav Stetsko, a great defender of the cause of liberty against the oppression of communist tyranny.

*Georges Rombouts,  
Chairman, ECFW*

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It is with deep sorrow and distress that we receive the news of the passing away of Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN.

Please accept heartfelt condolences and deepest sympathy from my committee colleagues and myself.

*Gunars Tamsons, Chairman  
The Captive Nations Committee  
in Bradford and District  
(Great Britain)*

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We share your grief for your departed husband, champion of freedom and a great leader of Ukraine and all captive nations. He will live in our hearts forever. Please accept our condolences.

*Walter Chopiwsykyj, President  
Raymond Badynskyj, Secretary  
National Captive Nations Committee  
U.S.A.*

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Please accept our deepest condolences. We are mourning this terrible loss together with you.

*Avraham and Eleounora Shifrin  
and colleagues and  
friends in Israel*

On behalf of the members and staff of the World Youth Freedom League, I would like to express my deepest condolences to you and your family on the death of your husband Yaroslav.

His tireless efforts for freedom will be greatly missed by all of us.

With warmest personal regards,

*David Finzer*  
*Secretary General*  
*World Youth Freedom League*

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It was a great shock to me to learn of the passing away of your husband. I was not acquainted with your husband personally and even our work together was limited to correspondence. However, we do know that all of his strength was dedicated to the cause of freedom. In this, you and your husband served as examples to us. Our hope and our wish is for you to continue this work.

We would like to express our most heartfelt sympathies to you, your family and friends.

*Kurt Beckmann, Chairman*  
*State Political Society*  
*for Germany and Europe*

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I join with you in mourning the death of your chairman, Yaroslav Stetsko. Who, like he, believed in our Lord Jesus Christ, knows that a just cause does not die with one's departure from life.

May all of our gratitude to the deceased unite us even further in our work for the freedom of nations, which have befallen under the hegemony of Soviet imperialism. This is the aim which binds us in our religious work in exile.

*Clemens Riedel, Spokesman*  
*Workers' Society of Catholic*  
*Organisations in Europe*

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I will never forget Yaroslav Stetsko. The Ukrainian people will never forget him, the heroic nation of Petlura,

Bandera, Chuprynka, Stus, Stetsko. The national liberation revolution for which he lived and fought is inevitable. The "Banderivtski" will have the last word in this historic battle.

*Wolfgang Strauß, Author*  
*(West Germany)*

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In the name of the Presidium of the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, I extend to you, your family, friends and colleagues our deep sympathies on the occasion of the death of your husband, Chairman of the Leadership of the OUN. May the knowledge that you always helped your late husband in work and struggle lighten your sorrow.

May his memory be eternal.

*Petro Savaryn, President*  
*World Congress of Free Ukrainians*

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We would like to offer you our every sympathy with you at this time of great trial for you. Nothing which anyone can say at this moment can possibly help you to bear your great loss but we wish you to know that our thoughts are with you.

Yaroslav will be mourned by millions who know of his lifelong fight for the freedom of Ukraine, and he will be very missed by all those who knew him and admired his steadfast work for those things in which he believed.

On the 21st June at the ceremony of conferring upon me an honorary Doctorate of Philosophy by the Ukrainian Free University, Mrs. Cymbalysty read a wonderful letter from Yaroslav and I now cherish it among a number of documents which I consider to be the most important to me. On the 4th July I wrote to Yaroslav, thanking him for the very kind comments in his letter and pledging myself to do all within my power to stand up for the rights of Ukraine.

*William Whitlock*  
*Former Member of British Parliament*

## AN HONOURABLE CROSS

### Undelivered Eulogy at the Grave of Yaroslav Stetsko

When a person whose life was dedicated to his nation, to its sufferings and joys, to its struggle, to its present and future, dies, his contemporaries automatically think back over the whole path trodden by the deceased, they evaluate everything he did or created, and form a short resume-summary of their observations. When, a week late, I learned of the death of the Head of the Ukrainian National Government of 1941, Yaroslav Stetsko, words occurred to me, spoken by another Ukrainian hero in completely different and at the same time, very close circumstances: "... I value the ability to die honourably".

To die honourably means to live honourably. And that is exactly how the faithful son of his nation, Yaroslav Stetsko, lived and died.

Black clouds blew over Ukraine. "Brotherly loving" neighbours — both Slavs and non-Slavs — assailed Ukraine from all directions, like black crows, which fly in on their prey. How hard, oh, how hard it was to look at all this.

Some, closing their eyes to the sight of the blood and tears of their brethren, called for unity with the invaders. Some, having disowned their own mother, turned to foreign faith and became traitors. Others, falsely, for various reasons, hiding their despondency refused to fight. And others, instead of cultivating their anger towards the enemy, aimed their hatred towards their brothers, who dared to attempt courageous steps.

The deceased did not adhere to any of these groups. He joined those who preferred to either "gain freedom or die", and who sacrificed their lives for the cause of liberation. He joined the ranks of those who considered revolutionary means for achieving national rights and freedom. This was Yaroslav Stetsko's first choice on the way to an honourable death.

The revolutionary way — is the difficult way. Here, one must pay attention to every small detail and one can sometimes make a mistake. For he who takes the untrodden path, can sometimes err. But most important is the general direction. And the general direction was chosen without error: not to submit to the enemy, but to wage resistance, to gather together under one flag those of "courageous spirit and strength", and to be prepared for the unexpected. The best sons and daughters of Ukraine went and stood under this flag.

War broke out. The plundering occupants were engaged in a deadly duel. And here once again one had to choose which path to take: the path of servility and collaboration; the path of renouncing one's own "self"; or the path of independence, revolution and struggle. The deceased chose the last path. This was Yaroslav Stetsko's second choice on the way to an honourable death.

Taking this path, he became Head of the Ukrainian-National Government in 1941. The historic events of that time were both great and tragic. At this very moment the deceased took yet another step: together with his close friends he refused to dissolve the government, on the orders of the occupant. This was Yaroslav Stetsko's next choice on the road to an honourable death.

The occupants were destroying one another. And, finally, one of the occupying sides, with the help of the whole world, won. The enemy, which never for one moment had taken its eyes off of the best sons of Ukraine, was victorious.

This enemy's wish was that no matter what, it would disperse the ranks of heroes-revolutionaries, who were not afraid of challenging the most powerful empire in the world, and honourably defended the ideas of freedom and independence.

Some supported the idea of disunity, but Yaroslav Stetsko was not one of them. He knew that any sort of disunity would only serve the enemy. This was yet another choice by Yaroslav Stetsko on the road to an honourable death.

Finally, Yaroslav Stetsko became the leader of those who were best. And here, I find it necessary, as a former prisoner of the Gulag, to recall the actions carried out by Ukrainians in the free world in defence of those suffering in Russian prisons of torture. The man responsible for a great number of these actions was Yaroslav Stetsko. Unfortunately, not everyone for whom these actions were carried out fully appreciated the pains and endeavours of the deceased.

The Kremlin mafia knew, that in the person of Yaroslav Stetsko, it had a steadfast and staunch warrior, who was incapable of any compromises with his conscience. This did not prevent Moscow from spreading slanderous and defamatory lies, in order to discredit the deceased, and they even found partners for doing this in the free world.

However, everyone who understands the criminal nature of the "Red" manhunters, knows that they smear with mud and incarcerate the most honourable and most decent people. It is possible to write a defamatory article, it is possible to spread a slanderous lie and to fabricate a false document or a false testimony, but the truth, like oil, will rise to the surface.

Referring to his fate, Yaroslav Stetsko, could with full right repeat the words of Taras Shevchenko:

"We went honourably, we have no  
Seeds of untruth behind us".

Indeed there are not. He carried his cross honourably.

As I bow my head at the grave of a prominent son of Ukraine, I would like to say: may Yaroslav Stetsko's life be a model and a guide for future generations.

Glory to Ukraine!

May Yaroslav Stetsko's memory be eternal!

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

by

**His Beatitude**

**Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky**

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# YAROSLAV STETSKO

## Ukrainian Leader in Exile

*The following obituary was printed in **The Times**  
(London) on Thursday, July 10, 1986.*

Yaroslav Stetsko, who declared himself prime minister of an independent Ukrainian republic after the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, died in Munich on July 5. He was 74.

For nearly half a century he symbolized for many the struggle for Ukrainian independence and was regarded by Ukrainian exiles as their last, legitimate prime minister.

Born in Ternopil, western Ukraine, in 1912, Stetsko grew up during a time when Ukrainian national consciousness was re-awakening after nearly 200 years of suppression by successive occupiers.

As a student at Lviv and Crakow universities, he became a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, a clandestine body operating in both Polish and Russian occupied Ukraine. His intellectual brilliance ensured a swift rise within the movement.

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, and the Red Army was in headlong retreat, the Ukrainian nationalists proclaimed an independent Ukraine and Stetsko was named Prime Minister.

Rejecting totalitarian systems, whether Nazi or Communist, he refused to become a Ukrainian quisling. Had the Nazis been capable of treating the Ukrainians as equals rather than as *Untermenschen*, they might have won their wholehearted support as allies, with incalculable consequences.

Instead, Stetsko and his cabinet were swiftly arrested by the Gestapo and Stetsko was sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp where he remained until 1944.

Until 1945, the nationalists fought a guerilla campaign against the Germans and the Russians; after the war, they fought against the Russians until 1951. Stetsko was now living in Munich, helping to direct the fight as well as trying to influence Western powers to support the struggles of East European countries occupied by the Russians.

He devoted his life to keeping alive the hopes of Ukrainians and other East Europeans, that their countries would one day be free. He became active in various international anti-communist organizations, including the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, whose president he was since 1959.

He is survived by his wife, Slava.

## ON THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RESTORATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE, JUNE 30, 1941

The outbreak of the Soviet-German War on June 22, 1941, brought the Ukrainians a new chance in their struggle for independence. Thus, on June 23, 1941, in preparation for the coming German occupation of Ukraine, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN — a revolutionary organization dedicated to the liberation of Ukraine) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera served the Nazis with a warning stressing that a military occupation of Europe and a policy of violence and suppression of the national aspirations of the peoples of Eastern Europe will prove to be untenable.

### UPRISING AND THE ACT OF PROCLAMATION

With the outbreak of hostilities between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, in many parts of Ukraine, units of OUN insurgents staged armed uprisings against the Russian occupation forces while the population at large resorted to acts of self-defense. On their part, the Russian NKVD murdered thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners. In the City of Lviv alone (capital of Western Ukraine) between 5,000 and 7,000 people were executed by the retreating Russians, including women and children.

According to the *Report* of the "International Investigatory Commission Lemberg 1941" (The Hague, 1960) between 80,000 and 100,000 persons were murdered by the NKVD (Soviet security forces, presently KGB) during the period immediately prior to the entry of German troops into Ukraine. A contemporary press dispatch stated that:

"The nationalists were active in the entire Ukrainian territory. The population resorted to self-defense. The doors of Lemberg Cathedral were barricaded, machine-guns were set up on towers, and the Soviets were obliged to retreat with bloody heads. But their revenge was terrible. During the days in question, as many as 7,000 Ukrainians were arrested in Lemberg. Not only the leaders of the nationalists, but also their relatives, women and children, were arrested, imprisoned and tortured. And the Bolsheviks thus succeeded in crushing the Ukrainian national movement in Lviv once more". (*Völkischer Beobachter*", July 7, 1941).

Once the city of Lviv was cleared of the Russians, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) surprised the Germans with a *fait accompli* by seizing power in Lviv, convening a National Assembly and proclaiming on June 30, 1941, the Restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State. The National Assembly issued the Act of Proclamation and appointed Yaroslav Stetsko Prime Minister of the newly formed Ukrainian Provisional Government. Radio LVIV broadcast the news while 6,000 men and women of the OUN Task Forces carried the message personally throughout the country and assisted in the organization of state administration and public life on regional and local levels. In town after town the population, rejoicing over the proclamation of independence, greeted the Ukrainian government "with enthusiastic expressions of loyalty". (John Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 1963, p. 84).

The newly formed Provisional Government — which was in effect a coalition government representing almost the entire public spectrum in Western Ukraine at that time — was ratified by the Council of Elders convened on June 6, 1941. The said Council later evolved into the Ukrainian National Council. Both institutions being

composed of outstanding citizens from all walks of national life were to serve as nuclei for an All-Ukrainian Parliament once the entire country was liberated from the Russians and its independence firmly established. This, however, failed to materialize due to the policies of Nazi Germany, whose aim was also to conquer and colonize Ukraine. Both institutions were headed by Dr. Konstantyn Levytsky, a renowned Ukrainian statesman, while Metropolitan Andrey Count Sheptytsky, the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, held the position of Honorary President. Bishop Yosyf Slipyj participated in the proceedings of the National Assembly as an official envoy of Metropolitan Andrey Count Sheptytsky and afterwards became a leading member of the Council of Elders.

### ANTI-NAZI RESISTANCE

The Nazis responded to the Act of Proclamation with mass arrests and widespread terror. The Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera and Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko were arrested on July 12, 1941, and, after rejecting Hitler's repeated demands to revoke the Act of Proclamation, were dispatched on September 15 to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. At the same time, the Gestapo arrested over 2,000 Ukrainian nationalists (mostly OUN members) who had participated in the process of restoration of the Ukrainian State.

### THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA)

In 1942, various Ukrainian insurgent and popular self-defense groups and other Ukrainian military formations such as the Ukrainian Legion, merged with the paramilitary units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists to form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of General Roman Shukhevych, Deputy Minister of Defense in the Ukrainian Provisional Government and Head of the OUN network in Ukraine.

The OUN-UPA created and upheld politically, militarily, and socially what history has termed as the *Ukrainian Underground State* which existed de facto for an entire decade (1941-1951). The Act of Proclamation of June 30, 1941, laid the foundation for this latest period in the history of the struggle for Ukraine's independence and statehood.

### ACT OF PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Evhen Konovalts during the past decades of blood-stained Muscovite Bolshevik subjugation carried on a stubborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law, order, multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Muscovite occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Stepan Bandera!

The City of Lviv  
June 30, 1941, 8:00 p.m.

**Yaroslav Stetsko**  
Head of the National Assembly

**PASTORAL LETTER BY  
METROPOLITAN ANDREY COUNT SHEPTYTSKY**

By the Will of Almighty and Most Gracious God in the Holy Trinity, a new epoch has commenced in the life of the Independent Ukrainian State.

The National Assembly which convened yesterday confirmed and proclaimed this historical event.

Since our fervent prayers have been heard, I exhort you, Ukrainian people, to express your gratitude to the Almighty, your loyalty to His Church and your obedience to the government. The war will claim many more victims, but the task which has been begun in God's Name and with God's Blessing will be conducted to a successful end.

The sacrifices which are necessary for the attainment of our aim will in the first place consist in obedient execution of the justified orders of the government, which are in keeping with God's laws.

At this historical time the Ukrainian people must show that they have the necessary respect for authority and the living strength to make them deserve a position amongst the peoples of Europe in which they can develop the forces granted to them by God.

Prove by your discipline, solidarity and conscientious fulfillment of your duty that you have become mature enough to lead a state life. We offer the appointed government the obedience that is due. We recognize Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko as the Prime Minister of the state government of Ukraine.

Of the government which he has called into being we expect wise, just leadership and legislation, which will consider the needs and the welfare of all citizens of our country, irrespective of religious faith, nationality and social class.

May God bless your deeds, people of Ukraine, and endow all our statesmen with holy wisdom.

Lviv, The Cathedral Church of St. George  
July 1st, 1941,  
**ANDREY, Metropolitan**

**PASTORAL LETTER BY METROPOLITAN POLIKARP OF  
THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH**

To all the Ukrainians living in Volhynia!

The Peace of the Almighty Father and of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you!

My dear children! God in his great Mercy and Justice is with us. For many years our sorely tried people were obliged to endure ridicule, mockery, persecution and humiliation of their sacred orthodox faith, of their national feeling and of their human dignity. In the state of the Bolshevik Antichrist, terrorism and fear assumed proportions which were unparalleled even in the persecution of the Christians under the Roman emperors Nero and Diocletian. The godless exterminated the Christian faith in the most ruthless manner by murdering bishops and thousands upon thousands of pious Christians and priests and by disseminating the law of treachery and hatred.

But God's Justice has now revealed to us: one God, one nation and a better future for us all.

The hope that our people have cherished for centuries has been fulfilled. From the city of Prince Leo the radio is spreading the glad news across our mountains, fields and steppes, across our blood-stained land: an independent Ukrainian state has been proclaimed. The joy of the Ukrainian people is shared by our sorely tried Church. The regenerated Ukrainian free Orthodox Church in the free Ukrainian state will form an inseparable unity with the Ukrainian people.

In this great hour I address the words of St. Paul to you, my beloved children: "Now, I beseech you, brethren, through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgement" (The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 1, 10).

To love God, to love one's native country — these are the greatest virtues. And to serve one's native country — the highest duty.

May God in His Mercy help you, my people, and you, our government, to build the independent Ukrainian state. My prayers before the Throne of the Almighty will always be for you.

In this great hour all the Ukrainians must unite and must work hand in hand, for in unity lies strength, and we must prove this unity by our deeds.

We need neither parties, nor discord amongst us. We must all unite around our holy orthodox Church, around our government and national leaders.

I pray for the Blessing of God Almighty on all our Ukrainian people and our government.

Lutsk, Volhynia

July 10, 1941,

**METROPOLITAN POLIKARP,**

**Bishop of Lutsk**

**EXCERPTS FROM THE PASTORAL LETTER  
BY THE PATRIARCH OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH  
METROPOLITAN YOSYF CARDINAL SLIPYJ  
ON THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ACT OF RESTORATION  
OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE**

This year we observe the fortieth anniversary of our nation's second attempt in this century to regain and secure its own state with the proclamation of Restoration of the Ukrainian State in June 1941. Those were hard times and the circumstances were cruel. But we did not surrender ourselves to a soulless drift on the waves of events

hoping for man's pity. As soon as the right moment came we courageously declared before history and the world our desire for statehood. We proclaimed this statehood in order to emphasize our rights and our place amongst the nations of the world. That was a bold step taken by a nation whose spirit never perished during its long bondage. At the time when mad theories about race, "new Europe" and a "new world" with one people ruling over all others were on the march to enforce such an ideology by fire and sword, and on the other side, the greatest tyranny in history oppressed our land and was implementing its godless and inhuman order at the cost of millions of victims of famine and terror, our nation proclaimed its natural right to independence and statehood. This is a great act which should educate us and make us better regardless of our personal thinking or different political beliefs. A nation ought to want a state of its own; a nation in bondage ought to think about it and strive for it if it wants to join the "community of free nations", if it does not want to be constantly a slave of its stronger or more clever neighbors.

Let us remember this event of the Restoration of our statehood in 1941 with gratefulness towards God, who guarded us in the midst of menacing historical events and kept us for his great designs according to God's principle that "My strength is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9). Let us remember those great sons of our Ukraine who laid their lives so that the entire nation may be free. This is a great offering of love and self-sacrifice. Let us remember in our prayers also those of our sons who continue this testimony on behalf of freedom, truth and justice in prisons and exile, wishing only one thing — that we may be free.

May the observance of this event give us unity and a common wish to be a free nation in the family of free nations for the glory of God.

May God bless you!

Rome, June 1st, 1981

**YOSYF**

**Patriarch and Cardinal**

## **PRIME MINISTER'S APPEAL**

### **ON THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RESTORATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE**

Dear Fellow Compatriots!

Dear Ukrainian Youth!

I extend to you my cordial greetings on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the restoration of the Ukrainian state in the city of Lviv, as a manifestation of the Ukrainian nation's will during World War II to sovereign life in an independent state, comprising all parts of Ukraine.

I greet you on the anniversary of this great day in the history of Ukraine, when in the very heat of a most cruel war between two imperialist, totalitarian, aggressive powers, it seemed that every independent, national act would be suppressed by the Nazi German or Russian occupants and that none of the attacked nations would be able to rise and demonstrate their desire for freedom.

At the time the Ukrainian nation understood the part it had to play in world history, as the initiator and organizer of a third, separate, independent force comprised of subjugated nations in Europe and Asia, to which the future should

belong in the development of a new world, based on national, anti-imperialist principles. With the blessing of both our martyred churches, the highest hierarchy, the Ukrainian nation, on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera began to rebuild its state during the ongoing struggle of the two deadly enemies of Ukraine, and thus created the newest epoch of Ukrainian statehood. The Ukrainian state of the 1940's emerged from and was the result of the thousand year old traditions of the Ukrainian nation: from the Antes, then the Princely state and Kingdom, through the Cossack-Hetman and Zaporizhian Sich state, then the Shevchenko era, the state 1918, the Carpatho-Ukrainian state and on to the last period of Ukrainian statehood which was formed by the Ukrainian National Government, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. Our statehood of the last epoch lasted as long as Ukrainian territory was under Ukrainian rule, under the protection of the OUN-UPA.

I am proud that I had the honor to initiate according to the will of the OUN, the National Congress, upon the will of the people, with the blessing of both our churches, this glorious period of our statehood history. I am proud that the OUN brought up such a generation of fighters, about whom the enemy said that even if the Ukrainian nation did not exist, then this group of faithful revolutionaries who were prepared for anything, would have been capable of not only resurrecting a nation, but of creating one.

June 30, 1941 was an act of world-political importance, which proved to the freedom-loving world that those who are for freedom, justice, goodness and faith in God have to stand up in a common front against the empire of evil, and not fraternize with the forces of Satan against the devil. This is the memento which now faces the whole world. Ukraine's Truth is gaining victory, but at the price of a great many sacrifices.

It is frightful to recall Chornobyl, this tragedy of a nation which the Russian Satan wishes to destroy by means of the most recent type of genocide, being otherwise unable to suppress the nation's longing for freedom. However, it will not be Satan who will decide upon the end of life on earth; the fate of the world is not in Gorbachev's hands, but in the hands of the Almighty Creator, who will decide its fate.

Chornobyl will be the turning point in the growth of the revolutionary situation within the empire. Chornobyl will be a never forgotten fatal torch reminding us that the fate of the Chornobyl victims is awaiting all nations, and all these nations have already awakened to put an end to Russian tyranny and its genocide of nations, whether it means life or death.

On the 45th anniversary of June 30, show your esteem for this glorious day in our history with a special all-national mobilization of all forces within the Ukrainian community against the Russian and communist tyrants. The stronger, the more powerful, the more aggressive our action will be against the organizers of Chornobyl, the better we will fulfill our obligation in honour of the millions who have fallen for the freedom of Ukraine.

The time is not far off now, when we will be celebrating Kyiv's victory over Moscow, the victory of St. Sophia over Zagorsk, the victory of worldwide Ukrainian freedom over Russian bondage.

Honour and Glory to the heroes of all times of Ukrainian history — to Symon Petlura, Yevhen Konovalets, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, Stepan Bandera.

Glory to all those murdered in torture chambers and in Russian prisons, to those known only to God — fighters and heroes of Ukraine.

Glory to Ukraine! Glory to our Heroes!

Yaroslav Stetsko,  
June 1986

## UNITED IN SPIRIT

*The following expression of gratitude  
was dictated by Yaroslav Stetsko from his hospital bed  
and personally signed on June 30, 1986.*

I thank all of you, as representative of the Organization (of Ukrainian Nationalists) and the nation, for honoring the memory of all those who dedicated their lives, their labor and everything they had to the struggle for statehood and the victory of Christian truth on Ukrainian lands. In the nearest future, if, God willing and with your prayers, I overcome my illness, I will personally thank all of you for your help in this fight, as well as for your support in my personal battle.

I ask you to convey my sincerest gratitude to the entire Organization for its expression of prayers and support. I would especially like to thank our younger generation, our young cadres, TUSM, SUM, the youth of our future, but also our older cadres, hardened in their struggle and their labor — I bow before you.

Please convey my gratitude to the whole Ukrainian community, our bishops and clergy of both Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Catholic) faiths, who offered their support in prayer.

Now, united in spirit and idea, we must march ahead, and I believe that united, we will march to victory. Our strength is in our struggle, our faith, our prayer and principle.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has always emerged as the guide, as the light in the darkness, as the unwavering carrier of the revolutionary-liberation ideal. It has never capitulated, and has always been at war with opportunism and defeatism.

Continue to follow this path, because the Legendas, Yatsivs, Pyasetskis, Myrons, Shukhevyches, Hrytsais, Banderas never lowered the Ukrainian flag, never engaged in enslavement or opportunism. I, too, have never let that flag fall, and with God's help, will never do so.

May that flag fly victorious, along with the Trident and Sword at St. Sophia.

Our motto: Christ in the Catacombs, Ukraine in struggle for the national independence!

OUN for a united, independent Ukrainian state!

Glory to Ukraine! Glory to her heroes!

*In memory of the late Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and prime minister of Ukraine, we are publishing selected excerpts from his book titled "June 30, 1941."*

## UKRAINE FOR UKRAINIANS AND UKRAINIANS FOR UKRAINE

The Ukrainian nation itself can be the only master of its own land!

Whose countries are Italy, France, Great Britain, Germany? Do they not belong to the Italian, French, British and German nations? The issue does not involve the question of other nationalities, or minorities, which live on a given state's territory; not individuals. It involves the only rightful individual — the nation as a whole.

And of course, it only follows that "Ukraine is for Ukrainians" because in the opposite case, the motto would have to be "Ukraine for an international bazaar." Therefore, there is absolutely no reason to shy away from the motto "Ukraine for Ukrainians," because in no way does it threaten equal rights for loyal citizens of Ukraine who are non-Ukrainians. Rather, Ukraine can guarantee those citizens their autonomy, their schools, their parliamentary representation and all rights for national entities on Ukrainian soil, in the framework of the Ukrainian state, as long as they do not oppose a unified state.

I do not regret that, as head of the Ukrainian government in 1941, I stood firmly, and continue to stand, behind that motto. It is not an exclusive motto with the aim of eliminating loyal citizens of other nationalities in Ukraine. It is, instead, a recognition of the sovereignty of Ukraine. Is our sovereign the Ukrainian nation, or an international mafia? Is our sovereign the Ukrainian nation, or the minorities in Ukraine?

I wholeheartedly support, and further, I take as my position, that the state government must regard all Ukrainian citizens, without exception, as equals. This is in concurrence with Metropolitans Andrey and Polikarp, who expressed similar ideas in their pastoral letters of 1941. Their Christian stance was then, and also continues to be, mine.

Yes, I am an enemy of Russia, not only of imperialism. After all, someone must be the bearer of that imperialism. But I must emphasize, that I am not an enemy of Russians because they are Russians, but because they occupy Ukrainian lands. I will remain their enemy as long as they remain enemies of Ukraine...

I am also the defender of another motto: "Ukrainians for Ukraine." This means that Ukrainians from all walks of life — intellectuals and writers, politicians and administrators, laborers and technicians, priests and bishops, generals and soldiers, inventors and artists — must serve not the Russians, but Ukraine. Kapytsia, Hohol, Tarzis, Syniawsky, Prokopovych, Yavorsky, Bezborodko, Kysil, Vyshnevetsky and Bohomolets' should be devoting their talent and energy toward strengthening Ukrainian potential, and not that of the enemy. With their service to Ukraine, they will enhance the universal culture of humanity, thus aiding its progress. They must not, however, do this through a prism. They must not make this contribution to world culture and civilization on behalf of the enemy, but on behalf of the Ukrainian nation.

**Yaroslav Stetsko**  
*"June 30, 1941"*  
pp. 105-6

## AN UNCOMPROMISING POLICY

For us, Ukraine was the centre of the world, a place on which depended the victory of the Occident — the bastion of the fight against Russia and Bolshevism. For us to depend on a German victory, to trust the Germans when they regarded Ukraine as a nation of slaves ('only a German has the right to carry a sword'), to form a common front with the Germans without them first meeting our conditions — was ridiculous and unheard of.

To wait for permission to enter our Kyiv, for which we all longed, or to see the Dnipro, was something beyond our comprehension or acceptance... No power on earth could have persuaded us that our decision was not the right one: uncompromising offensive action, based on fact, not taking into account the 'real power of (German) tanks, bombers or cannons...' We believed that the greatest idealistic strength was the OUN, and the allied elements in all of Ukraine... As for the sacrifices which would result in the realization of our strategic-political plan, we had only one answer: the smallest sacrifice is made by he who submissively suffers oppression, enslavement and exploitation...

I could not spend a peaceful night after the proclamation of the Ukrainian State and becoming its head, having had to stay in Lviv knowing that I could not go to Kyiv, I could not see St. Sophia, the "Pecherska Lavra", the Dnipro. The pain was even greater when, as a prisoner in a German concentration camp, I learned of Kyiv's occupation and I was unable to be among the Ukrainian forces in battle for its defense.

**Yaroslav Stetsko**

*"June 30, 1941"*

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## BELIEF IN UKRAINE'S ETERNITY

...I thank God for giving me faith in the human being, and the conviction in the infinite value of all misfortune. It is this belief in God's Providence which through the prism of my nation is embedded in me, that gave me, then a 29-year-old head of state, the strength to endure in my position, not breaking down, and to not stain the honor of either the nation or that of a Christian. Our nation stood in defense of the belief in Christ against both atheistic systems — Bolshevism and Nazism. I believe that I endured not only because of my will, but above all, my faith, which is the strength of the will...

Ukraine at that time was armed, above all, with high ideals, ready to defend them with the lives of her best sons and daughters, with the life and suffering of the entire nation. Ukraine was then only forging arms.

We — nationalists — were convinced that our ideas were right and we believed in them, in their truth. At the same time, however, we were convinced that truth in and of itself does not triumph. It does so only with the help of its fearless bearers and this triumph comes by the will of God. Christ's truth was and is the absolute Truth, and it has always been triumphant because millions have followed it, suffering and sacrificing their lives. Even Christ himself suffered for His Truth. He gave his life for us and for Ukraine, which will one day, in a golden brilliance, rise from its suffering to become the burning light of justice, freedom and God's glory.

We believed in Ukraine's eternity. It was for this reason that the German and Russian satanic war machines were considered elusive, regardless of their might.

**Yaroslav Stetsko**  
"June 30, 1941"  
pp. 252-2

## SUPPORT FOR SUBJUGATED NATIONS

*During a 1983 tour of the United States, the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko was interviewed by Peter Almond, Foreign Desk reporter at "The Washington Times." Excerpts of the interview published on June 1, 1983, follow.*

**Q: Mr. Stetsko, is it your impression that Americans really don't know much about Ukraine, or think that it's just simply part of the Soviet Union?**

**A:** It is my opinion that American officials know very well about Ukraine, that Ukraine is a separate nation, and that Ukraine proclaimed independence on June 30, 1941, against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. At that time I was prime minister of Ukraine. I proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian state against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. I was arrested by the Gestapo and spent 3 and a half years in Nazi concentration camps. I think it was very well known to the American government and American public opinion because we occupied the radio station and we proclaimed over the radio station the independence of Ukraine. But the recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt administration was a dirty trick. I think that this recognition was not in the favor of the United States but still, this status quo was recognized.

**Q: But it is nearly 40 years since the end of World War II. There are now more or less two generations that have grown up without any knowledge of the war. Do you worry that you might be representing a long-forgotten Ukraine, or is this still a live, separate Ukraine?**

**A:** I am of the opinion that, on the contrary, the liberation fight in Ukraine is continuing, and the representation of this liberation struggle is the young generation. The younger generation is more nationalistic. It's more religious, as is known in Western Europe and in the United States, because the communist system and communist ideology — Marxism — is dead behind the Iron Curtain. At the present time the nationalistic idea, the religious fight is greater than previously. It is the abuse of liberties, the abuse of nationalism, the abuse of religiosity. Only the leaders of Russian oppression are supporting Russification.

**Q: Are you in the history and reference books in Ukraine?**

**A:** Yes, both in the Ukrainian and Britannica encyclopedias.

**Q: But I meant in Ukraine; can Ukrainians read about you?**

**A:** Yes, every week in Pravda.

**Q: Do you have any idea of the strength of the opposition in Ukraine in terms of numbers, and people that the Soviets have thrown in jail for expressing Ukrainian nationality?**

**A:** The majority of Ukrainians inside and outside Ukraine oppose the Soviet occupation. In Siberia we have 8 to 10 million Ukrainians deported there; the freedom fighters are deported there. The greater majority of Ukrainians are patriotic, and are fighting against Russification.

**Q: If I were to go to Ukraine tomorrow, and if I were to look around, what would I see that would show me what you say is true? Are there anti-Soviet patriotic songs, plays or slogans denouncing Russia on walls?**

**A:** You can see the patriotism in the underground churches, there are songs sung there. You can see it in the attitudes of many thousands of the young generation.

For instance, two years ago, one of the great Ukrainian composers was murdered very young, at only 28 years of age. And 10,000 young people attended his funeral. Every day fresh flowers are left on the grave of Ivasiuk.

The son of the former commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, has spent 32 years in Russian concentration camps because he refused to denounce his father and the ideals of his father. His name is Yuriy Shukhevych.

**Q: You give something of the impression that this is a mass of people yearning to be free. What would it take — is it impossible to imagine a free Ukraine?**

**A:** Our conception is coordinated national liberation revolutions synchronized between Ukraine and other subjugated nations. It is possible to organize the simultaneous national liberation uprisings of the great majority of the subjugated nations against the Russian occupation. This is the reality. If we can coordinate the revolutionary liberation fight of Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Georgia, Caucasus nations, Turkestan, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, and so forth, we can liquidate the Russian colonial empire and destroy the communist system from within, completely from inside. It is our realistic conception of liberation. But it is necessary to bring to the attention of world opinion, especially to the Western world, not to help the Russians in their fight against us.

**Q: Do you think you'll see a free Ukraine in your lifetime? And when?**

**A:** I believe so. I think the decisive years will be in this decade, not only for Ukraine, but for the whole world. The policy of detente is nonsense because the balance of power is nonsense.

It's necessary to have common aims for a balance of power policy. And the aim of the Soviet Russian empire is to dominate the world. The purpose of American policy is to live in peace. If you don't have common aims, then a balance of power policy is nonsense. During the Metternich time it was realistic because it was in the common interests of the empires of that time to preserve the peace. But between the Russians and Americans it's impossible to have permanent peace because the Russians' intention is world domination while America's is to preserve peace.

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### “THE THIRD REICH AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION”

This 227-page book contains a collection of German archive documents from 1934-44 relating to the Ukrainian liberation movement at that time. These documents provide evidence of the true relations between the national socialist party of the Third Reich and the Ukrainian Liberation movement, thus invalidating the accusations of Ukrainian collaboration with Nazi Germany.

The book is compiled and edited by Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk, historian and graduate of the Sorbonne in Paris and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. It was published by the *Ukrainisches Institut Für Bildungspolitik e.V. München* and can be obtained at the price of 18.00 DM or \$7.00 through the ABN Bureau, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 München 80, West Germany.

## ANNIVERSARY OF THE RESTORATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

Mr. President, June 30, 1986 marks the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Ukrainian independence. For Ukrainians throughout the world this anniversary is a very important one. Although only free for a brief time, the emergence of Ukraine as a free state symbolizes the spirit of freedom which continues to live in the hearts of the 35 million Ukrainians who, today, live under Soviet oppression.

For those in the homeland and the 3 million Ukrainians scattered throughout the world, the story of the precious few months of Ukrainian independence in 1941 is well known. After suffering so much at the hands of the Russian Bolsheviks, particularly the collectivization and the ensuing famine of 1932-33, the Ukrainian people enthusiastically supported the declaration of a provisional government by Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko. The Nazis ferociously suppressed this independence movement in Western Ukraine and initiated four years of persecution against the freedom fighters.

Despite the brutality they suffered at the hands of the Nazis, the Ukrainian people kept the spirit of the provisional government alive. Their fierce resistance to the German occupation in the Nazi-Ukrainian war hastened the defeat of fascism, but came at a cost of nearly 8 million Ukrainian lives.

Any hopes for Ukrainian sovereignty in the wake of World War II were shattered as Soviet Russian domination replaced Nazi suppression. Although it is the largest non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe, Ukraine remains, as it has for centuries, denied the freedom to determine its own fate.

In 1986, we continue to witness persecution of the Ukrainian people. The most recent manifestation of their suffering came with the Chornobyl nuclear power plant disaster, the detrimental effects of which may never be fully known. Thousands of Ukrainians have lost their livelihood and homes as a result and hundreds of thousands may suffer from long-term effects of radiation poisoning.

Despite the series of travesties, including genocide and violent russification, visited upon the courageous Ukrainian people, they have persisted in their struggle for freedom.

To the Ukrainian-American community in my state of Michigan, as they honor this important anniversary with special celebrations, we reaffirm our support for the struggle which continues in the homeland. In so doing, we demonstrate not only American disdain for the injustice of Ukrainian subjugation, but also our belief in the right of self-determination for all the peoples of the world.

*The Honorable Donald Riegle  
United States Senate  
Text from The Congressional Record*

Mr. President, this coming week all America will celebrate the rededication of the Statue of Liberty. Her message and spirit represents the deepest yearnings of mankind. As we celebrate, we will glory in the triumphs of freedom and the just struggles won.

As we do, let us not forget those whose struggle for freedom has yet to be won, and those whose just battle continues.

June 30 marks an important date, an anniversary we should also note this coming week. June 30, 1941, is a day of profound importance in the history of the struggle for Ukrainian freedom. As such, it is a day of importance for all people who love freedom.

On June 30 we commemorate the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of the restoration of Ukraine's independence.

As the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists fought both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the fighting in Ukraine was bitter, and the bravery and sacrifice of the Ukrainian people was inspired. Yet, eventually, the Soviet army reoccupied, and Ukraine was no longer free.

This coming weekend, the commemorative committee of the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Ukraine's independence on June 30th, 1941, will hold a commemorative banquet in Warren, Michigan.

As all of us celebrate in the relighting of Miss Liberty's torch, let us remember the flame of freedom which also still burns in the soul of the Ukrainian people. As we celebrate our freedom, let us remember and honor the millions of Ukrainians who have fought, sacrificed, and struggled for their freedom. As we celebrate our liberty, let us remember and pray for Myroslav Medvid who symbolizes the desire and struggle for liberty that cannot be extinguished.

As the flame of liberty burns, it burns for all people who value and struggle for freedom. Her flame burns for the tenacious spirit of the Ukrainian people who will never abandon the dream and struggle for freedom.

*The Hon. Congressman Sander Levin  
United States House of Representatives*

Mr. Speaker, today I rise to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Ukraine's independence.

It was during the revolution against the Tsarist Russian empire that Ukraine first declared its independence. A government was formed and recognized by many other legitimate governments. Unfortunately, once the Bolshevik party came into power in Russia, it launched an aggressive and eventually successful campaign against the Ukrainian forces. The indomitable spirit of these courageous Ukrainian people, however, was not defeated. An underground struggle continued, led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Directed by Stepan Bandera, the OUN persisted in its efforts against foreign occupation powers. When war broke out in June of 1941, the OUN was able to take advantage of the unstable situation caused by the conflict between Stalin and Hitler. On June 30, 1941, the Ukrainian underground occupied key areas of Lviv, the West Ukrainian capital, including the city's radio station. It was from here that the Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukraine's independence was broadcast, and the establishment of a Ukrainian Free State was begun. A provisional government was appointed and Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko became the Prime Minister. On that same day, in most towns and villages across Ukraine, smaller groups of the OUN surfaced and, with popular support, led campaigns against retreating Russian soldiers.

Germany refused to recognize Ukraine's independence and issued an ultimatum demanding immediate cancellation of the Proclamation of Independence and the disbanding of the Government. When they refused to comply, Government leaders were tortured and sent to concentration camps. Many other Ukrainian leaders were

shot or imprisoned. These barbarous acts did not defeat or defer Ukraine. In fact, by the summer of 1943, the German military occupation of Ukraine was in the process of disintegration.

Instead of peace following the defeat of Germany in Ukraine, the Ukrainians were forced to escalate their struggle in a new war against Soviet Russian imperialism. During this intense confrontation, which continued into the 1950's, the Ukrainian forces continued to valiantly fight for peace and freedom. Although never militarily defeated, the Ukrainian nationalists were eventually forced to decentralize and form a Ukrainian national underground.

Today, Ukrainians everywhere continue to struggle for the recognition and respect they so richly deserve. I ask that my colleagues remember these events and join with me and the Ukrainian community of southeast Michigan in commemorating the courageous and dedicated actions of the Ukrainian people who declared, and fought for, the restoration of Ukrainian independence.

*The Hon. Congressman Dennis M. Hertel  
United States House of Representatives*

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues in commemorating the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Ukraine's independence.

Our Ukrainian friends are well aware of the importance of June 30, 1941. It is a special day in man's struggle for freedom and self-determination. It was 45 years ago when in the predawn hours of June 22, 1941, Adolph Hitler launched his most ambitious and ultimately fatal project, the invasion and conquest of Eastern Europe to the Ural Mountains under a battle plan code named Operation Barbarossa. Had these Nazi plans succeeded, the world's history over the last four decades would undoubtedly have been very different.

A primary factor in Hitler's defeat became evident 8 days after the invasion, when, on June 30, 1941, Nazi German forces were confronted with a heroic and unexpected stand by representatives of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement and a provisional Ukrainian government. After several days of bitter street fighting between Ukrainian underground forces in the city of Lviv and retreating Soviet troops who were engaged in massacres of Ukrainian political prisoners, the underground seized the Lviv radio station in the west Ukrainian capital and broadcast the declaration of restoration of independence and the establishment of a Ukrainian free state. Hitler's response to this event precipitated the Nazi-Ukrainian war of 1941-44, which cost Ukraine between 7 and 8 million of her citizens. It cost Hitler the ultimate destruction of Nazi Germany and the Third Reich.

The actions of the Ukrainian underground led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its leader, Stepan Bandera, had taken the Germans by surprise and forced them to disclose their intentions and policies with respect to Ukraine and the other non-Russian colonies of the U.S.S.R. Besides proclamation of independence at Lviv, a national assembly was called and a provisional Ukrainian Government with Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister was established.

The reaction of the Gestapo to the Ukrainian proclamation of June 30, 1941 was swift and merciless. However, the imprisonment and murders of members of the Ukrainian Government and its leaders by the Gestapo did not prove to be the deadly blow to the Ukrainian resistance the Germans had hoped for. These acts were

## CAPTIVE NATIONS OBSERVANCE IN D.C. REMEMBERS YAROSLAV STETSKO

The 1986 observance of Captive Nations Week in Washington D.C. remembered the late Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and prime minister of Ukraine, as a person who devoted his life to the struggle for independence of all nations subjugated by Russian communism.

"This year's observance of Captive Nations Week is all the more poignant because Yaroslav Stetsko has passed away. This great Ukrainian patriot restored the independence and liberty of his country for a few exciting days in 1941 before he was arrested and imprisoned by the invading Nazi forces," Rep. Gerald B. Solomon (R-N.Y.) said. "However briefly the lamp of freedom may then have glowed in Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko and the Ukrainian people never lost faith that the day will come when their country will be liberated permanently from its yoke of bondage to Soviet communism. May we never lose faith with them."

"Representatives of the captive nations as well as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America attended a special luncheon on Capitol Hill hosted by Reps. Gerald Solomon, Samuel Stratton, Philip Crane and Don Ritter.

Solomon noted that Captive Nations Week is "a time when we resolve to preserve, protect and defend the free world. Above all, Captive Nations Week is that time when we remember that the war against totalitarianism did not end in 1945 with the defeat of Nazi Germany. No, the war against totalitarianism only entered a new and more dangerous phase after 1945. The war against communist tyranny is a war of ideas, as well as arms. And the stakes are just as high as in the war against Nazism," Solomon declared.

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▶ followed by the barbarous policies of ruthless exploitation, oppression, and genocide against the Ukrainian population, which responded with a ferocious national liberation struggle led by a reorganized Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

With the collapse of the German war machine in the East, the Ukrainian National liberation struggle had culminated in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army becoming the third military and political power in East Europe at the end of World War II. Instead of peace, however, the Ukrainians were forced to escalate their struggle in a new war against Soviet Russian imperialism whose military phase continued into the 1950's.

We Americans can sometimes forget how truly free we are. But millions of people around the world live every day under the subjugation of tyranny. The Ukrainian people have suffered years of harassment, discrimination, and brutality at the hands of their oppressors.

Yet, despite the endless suffering and persecution endured by the Ukrainian people, the true ideal of Ukrainian Independence continues to live on in the hearts and minds of the Ukrainian people in their homeland and indeed, throughout the world.

This tribute today is our affirmation that the spirit of freedom is eternal. We have not forgotten, and we will not forget the day in 1941 when the people of Ukraine spoke with one voice declaring their independence.

*The Hon. Congressman John D. Dingell  
United States House of Representatives*

Looking at the change of leadership in the Kremlin, Rep. William Broomfield said that Mikhail Gorbachev "is a younger, better educated leader," but, he added, "in my judgement no less a dedicated Communist than his predecessors." Broomfield pointed out, "As the tragedy at Chornobyl proved, the Soviets may be trying to change their image, but they have not changed their fundamental disregard for human life. If the Soviets are serious about better relations, let them come clean about what really happened at Chornobyl. Let them begin by loosening restrictions on travel and personal contacts between peoples. Let's see less talk and more deeds," he said.

Crane, who was unable to attend, noted, "It is important to remember at this time, that while our attention is centered primarily on communist aggression in Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan, we cannot forget about the original captive nations in Eastern Europe.

"For these once-independent nations are the Achilles heel, a very vulnerable core that will one day be responsible for the dissolution of the Soviet empire. For these captive nations to be successful in their struggle for freedom, it is imperative that the U.S. recognize these movements and use them to our full advantage."

Crane continued: "As we observe the 28th Captive Nations Week, mark the 45th anniversary of Ukraine's short-lived independence in World War II, and commemorate the 100th birthday of our Statue of Liberty, which has greeted millions of communist refugees from all over the world, let us also reaffirm our commitment to those who gave their lives in the struggle for freedom and national independence in each of the captive nations. From Lithuania to Angola, from Ukraine to Vietnam, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua, their struggle for freedom is our struggle also."



*President Ronald Reagan signing the Captive Nations Week Proclamation*

## **“GIVE SUPPORT TO THOSE WHO STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM”**

*The following is the text of President Reagan's  
1986 Captive Nations Week Proclamation.*

America, built on a firm belief in the dignity and rights of all the members of the human race, continues to hold up that message to the world. Included in that message is unwavering opposition to all forms of oppression and despotism. Freedom is not divisible. To maintain it for ourselves, we must pursue it for others.

As president Roosevelt declared in 1941, “we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression —everywhere in the world. The second is the freedom of every person to worship in his own way —everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want... everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear... anywhere in the world.”

This vision of the future has been a beacon of hope and guidance both for those individuals who seek refuge here and for those nations whose aspirations for self-determination have been crushed by the Soviet empire. Deprived of basic human rights, their peoples are the victims of ruthless regimes run according to totalitarian ideologies. These are the nations held captive by forces hostile to freedom, independence, and national self-determination. These captive nations include those of Eastern Europe that have known foreign occupation and communist tyranny for decades; those struggling to throw off communist domination in Latin-America; and the people of Afghanistan, Southeast Asia, and Africa struggling against foreign invasion, military occupation, and communist oppression.

Each year we renew our resolve to support the struggle for freedom throughout the world by observing Captive Nations Week. It is a week in which all Americans are asked to remember that the liberties and freedoms that they enjoy are denied to many peoples. With this observance, we hope to inspire those who struggle against military occupation, political oppression, communist expansion, and totalitarian brutality. We hope to inspire, but we also seek inspiration. Because the history of liberty is a history of resistance, we learn from those who live where the struggle is most urgent. Purified by resistance, they show us the path to a renewed commitment to preserve our own liberties and to give our support and encouragement to those who struggle for freedom.

To pursue that struggle, and to honor those who are with us in that battle, the Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July of each year as “Captive Nations Week.”

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 20, 1986, as Captive Nations Week. I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to reaffirm their dedication to the international principles of justice, freedom, and national self-determination.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 21 day of July, in the year of our Lord 1986, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 211th.

## NUCLEAR TRAGEDY IN UKRAINE!

Only after a radioactive cloud blew over Scandinavia from the direction of the USSR, the first reports of the world's worst nuclear disaster appeared in the West. The accident occurred at what is probably the world's largest nuclear plant situated in Chornobyl, Ukraine, a country of 50 million people, 80 miles north-west of the capital, Kyiv, with a population of two and a half million.

This incident clearly shows how Moscow develops its nuclear energy programmes with complete disregard for the lives and safety of the people in the occupied countries of the USSR. Had Ukraine been free, there is no doubt that necessary safety devices, such as secondary containment, would have been installed and adequate working conditions and levels of safety would have been maintained, both in the nuclear plants and in other industries, e.g. coal mines.

There are 6 other nuclear plants in Ukraine, all of similar design and all situated close to densely populated areas. Ukrainians throughout the world are worried that similar accidents may occur at one of the other plants. In 1982 a minor-scale accident had already occurred at the Rivne plant in western Ukraine, when a nuclear reactor exploded during installation. Should such an accident occur at any of the other plants, Ukraine would suffer a national tragedy of unprecedented scale.

The accident at Chornobyl exposes Moscow's technological incompetence, criminal negligence and disregard for human safety. We are greatly appalled by and strongly condemn Russia's consistent withholding of information from people in the affected countries and by its deliberate failure to warn the people of the dangers of



*Ukrainians in Great Britain demonstrating against the Chornobyl tragedy, May 11, 1986*

radioactivity and to offer advice as to what steps should be taken to minimise the danger. Instead Moscow continually denies the people of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries of its own help and has refused all offers of outside help from Western countries. As a result of this, thousands of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Balts will die and thousands more will suffer from radiation sickness. But the full effect of the disaster will only be felt many years in the future.

This is yet another tragedy of national proportion brought upon the Ukrainian people by Moscow's occupational regime. In 1933 Russia destroyed 7 million Ukrainians by an artificial famine; in the 1930s as a whole, it liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and killed a large proportion of Ukrainian clergy and intelligentsia; WWII claimed the lives of some 8-10 million Ukrainians; in 1946 Moscow destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church forcing it to go underground in order to survive; this was followed by the arrest and imprisonment of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, of whom only one member, Cardinal Yosyf Slipyj, survived. Since the end of WWII, Moscow has persecuted all forms of religious worship in Ukraine, imprisoning or physically destroying the religious believers and trying to suppress all manifestations of the Ukrainian national way of life. Since 1984, the Kremlin has begun to kill off prominent political prisoners such as Yuriy Lytvyn, Oleksa Tykhyj, Valeriy Marchenko and Vasyl Stus.

However, technological negligence and disregard for human safety is among the worst of Moscow's criminal acts in Ukraine. For the disaster at Chornobyl directly threatens the biological existence of the Ukrainian nation and will affect several generations of Ukrainians.



## NEW GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE

The extent of the nuclear catastrophe in Chornobyl is still unknown. Most likely, Chornobyl and the surrounding area, including the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, have been exposed to such high radiation levels that millions of people are threatened by grave sickness, even death, this being a result of the radioactive rays which are contaminating nature and human cells. This is yet another tragedy of Ukraine, one in a long list of tragedies of the Ukrainian people which have occurred ever since Ukrainians have lived under the harsh occupation of the Bolshevik Russian regime and within a system of developing "socialism", forcibly imposed on our people by this regime.

In the name of this developing "socialism" Lenin's revolutionary terror filled the land during the first years after the Russian occupation of Ukraine, and then in its place an even worse kind of terror — under Stalin — followed: the artificial famine with its seven million victims, the extermination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and peasants in death camps, then World War II and millions of new victims.

Today, the Russians are fulfilling Lenin's testament which states that electrification and communism are closely linked to one another, especially the construction of nuclear power plants, first of all in Ukraine, close to large towns. As a result of this and Moscow's policy, the threat of radiation hangs over the Ukrainian nation. According to Western specialists, the construction of these nuclear power plants was so fast and not at all in conformity with the basic safety rules, that instead of electrification and socialism, Ukraine and the whole of the Soviet Union are now threatened with mass contamination by radioactive rays and therefore, the death of millions of people.

Moreover, one can maintain that the catastrophe in Chornobyl is a warning to the whole of Europe. The Iron Curtain cannot prevent radiation no matter how hard Moscow tries to deceive the world by stating that the "bourgeois countries" exaggerate the danger. The wave of radiation which first reached the Scandinavian countries, then Poland, Rumania, Germany, Austria and, of course, Byelorussia, is a clear contradiction of this Russian lie. An even greater threat lies in the fact that, while having all means of information completely under its control, Moscow still attempts to keep the population of the USSR, especially in the affected parts of Ukraine, in total ignorance of the danger, does not allow any news about the Chornobyl catastrophe to seep through and does not use any counter measures to prevent the harmful health hazards from the radioactive rays. Even in the nearby areas around Chornobyl, the people are not aware of what has happened and the danger they are in. Not to mention the inhabitants of Kyiv, where Shcherbytsky and his party



Therefore we:

- Condemn Moscow's criminal negligence and disregard for human safety;
- Demand that an international commission should investigate the Chornobyl disaster and check the levels of safety at the 6 remaining nuclear plants in Ukraine;
- That Moscow's criminal negligence be reviewed by an international court; and
- That all Soviet Russian nuclear missile bases be removed from Ukraine.

*(Leaflet distributed during demonstrations  
in London, Great Britain, on May 3, 5 and 11, 1986.)*



*Demonstrators march through the streets of London, May 11, 1986*



*Demonstration in front of the Soviet Russian embassy in London*



*Ukrainian children participate in London demonstration*



*Senator Alfonse D'Amato addressing demonstrators in front of Soviet Russian Mission, New York, May 2, 1986*



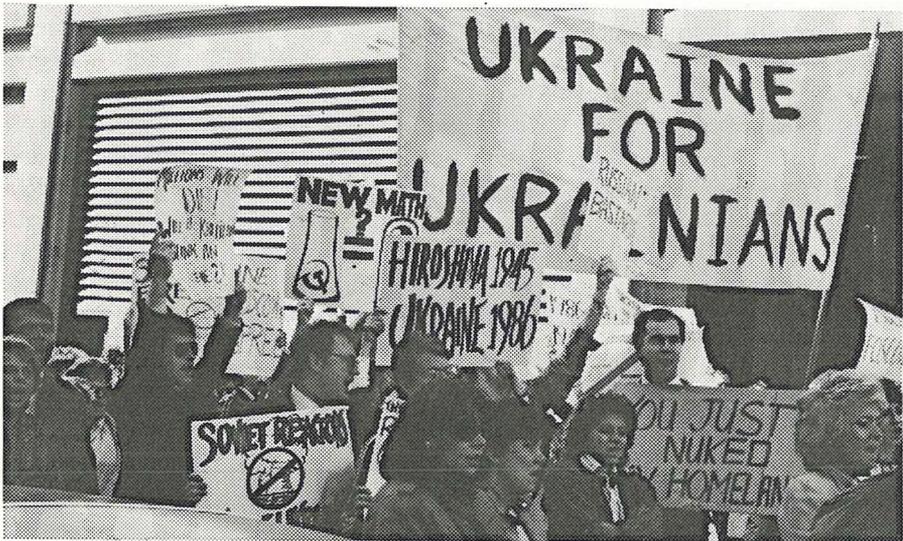
*Poster displayed throughout Munich calling for safety in Europe against Russian negligence*

“dignitaries” went ahead with the jovial celebration at the May 1st Parade, despite the fact that one of the reactors had already been burning for four days running. The celebrations went ahead as if nothing at all had happened. This is how in practice the Russian regime “takes care” of its subjects.

One German journalist commenting on the catastrophe in Chornobyl and on Moscow’s conduct, writes that Amalrik’s prophecy on whether the USSR will survive the year 1984 is becoming tragically true, as seen in the Chornobyl catastrophe. The catastrophe is not only proof of the technological inadequacies of the USSR in its construction of nuclear power plants, but also its disregard and negligence of constructing them close to large towns, just as Chornobyl is only 150 kilometers from the capital of Ukraine. It is a known fact that there are many more nuclear power stations in Ukraine similar to the one in Chornobyl whose method of construction has been specified by the West as dangerous. As a result of Gorbachev’s latest innovation calling on everyone in the USSR to publicize all sorts of Soviet defects, thus making room for improvement, the official Ukrainian newspaper “Literaturna Ukraina” published an article just one week before the catastrophe in Chornobyl, which criticized the improper maintenance, bad relations and management inadequacies existing at this nuclear plant. The article by Lyubov Kovalevskya presents a long list of deficiencies at the plant and the danger all this may entail. However, it is known from practice that such state criticism bears no influence at all on life in the USSR. But most important is this great mania to accomplish and fulfill plans at any price with no regard at all to human lives. There is an old Russian principle which states that “we



*Hierarchy and clergy of Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches pray for victims of Chornobyl during demonstration in Munich, West Germany in May*



*Demonstrators in front of Soviet Mission to the UN, New York, May 2, 1986*

have more than enough people". Stalin built socialism on the corpses of millions and his successors continue with these atrocious "glorious" traditions.

The result of this development of "socialism" is something about which little is known to this day — radiation, which has spread not only over the north, but probably the whole of Ukraine; not only over the neighbouring countries, but has also reached Western Europe. The consequences of the radiation for the area around Chornobyl and Kyiv could be disastrous. Hundreds of thousands of people are likely to die as a result.

In addition, Moscow presumptuously contradicts all the facts, just as it always does, and does not even consider it proper to inform the West about the real extent of the Chornobyl catastrophe.

Instead, Moscow forbade Western journalists to come to Kyiv and disrupted television broadcasts of Western correspondents about the events in Chornobyl, and even cut off telephone conversations (even though Gorbachev recently talked of "our common European home" in the hope that Europe will break away completely from the United States). Maybe now, even the most ardent European opportunists, who listen with great "devotion" to Moscow's voice, will be convinced about how this "common European home" looks in practice and how it would look if Europe became neutralized and cooperated with Moscow.

Furthermore, another menacing face of Moscow has appeared in full scope today: irresponsibility, negligence and Stakhanovism through the building of nuclear power plants in the USSR, the longing to be most superior in this sphere no matter what it takes — all this creates a prospective danger for the whole of Europe in case of a future careless attitude from Moscow towards nuclear power. Moreover, these nuclear power plants which are hastily constructed without the necessary precautions have one more specific assignment, namely, that this type of nuclear reactor gives Moscow the possibility of easily utilizing plutonium from these plants for military needs. The Chornobyl plant itself supplied the largest amount of plutonium for Russian nuclear rockets.

Chornobyl is the great warning to the West. If Moscow continues to construct such nuclear power plants in the future, then one day the whole of Europe will be contaminated by radioactive rays. Therefore, alongside Russian military build-up and deadly expansion, Russia presents a threat to all mankind as an uncontrollable force which refuses to do anything with controlling its military build-up or in the scope of its nuclear energy.

Just recently Gorbachev spoke about the necessity of "publicity" in the USSR. What this "publicity" actually means, has been seen in the case of Chornobyl. Except for short stereotyped briefings about one reactor burning in Chornobyl and that now the fire itself has been extinguished, Russia did not inform the West at all about the extent of the radiation and about the counter measures being used to take care of people's health. The German journalist Ström is justified in underlining in the German daily "Die Welt" that on the radioactive ruins of Chornobyl, the question arises about the future existence of this system (we would add "and its threat"). And this is what the whole world should finally understand.

*M. Oleh*

## “GOOD FRIDAY FOR UKRAINE”

*(Speech delivered by the Most Reverend Archbishop Constantine of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church on Thursday, May 1, 1986 in Chicago)*

Dear Friends and Neighbors,

We have congregated this afternoon in the wake of a tragedy that has befallen our beloved Ukraine, the nuclear melt-down in Chornobyl which took the lives of innocent Ukrainians and still hovers as a threat to the peoples of Poland, Byelorussia and the Scandinavian countries. I have intentionally emphasized “innocent Ukrainians” for they were sacrificed at the expense of Moscow’s intent upon maintaining nuclear power plants, void of a fail-safe back-up-system, just eighty miles from Kyiv, the capital city for sixty million Ukrainians; Kyiv, the heart and locus of the Ukrainian nation; Kyiv, the Holy City for the Ukrainian people. Innocent Ukrainian victims! It would be interesting to learn just how close to the Kremlin the Soviets have established similar nuclear plants! Lives of innocent Ukrainians! And yet, the imperialism of Moscow has taken millions of innocent Ukrainian lives in the 20th century. Once the communist regime was established, one holocaust after another was directed against the Ukrainian people. And the western world, like an ostrich burying its head in the sand, wears blinders! What’s that you say? An artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932 claiming the lives of six million Ukrainians? Oh! We really didn’t know that!

An unnecessary and avoidable tragedy on the usurpt territory of Ukraine simply because of the Soviets’ disrespect for human life and their technological inabilities which just a few years ago guaranteed that nothing could go wrong with the nuclear plants which they had established — why, they were just perfect! A perfect plan that brought about a catastrophe this week. A catastrophe that the Soviet regime would attempt to camouflage: “No problems, only two are dead! No problems, all is under control! No problems, no need for any assistance!” But the problem for the Soviet government is exactly “control”, for they are out of it! It is devastating for Moscow to be out of control! They attempt to euphemise the tragic condition of Kyiv to the subjugated nations, but they cannot cover-up their blunder to the world.

What can we of the free world do at this time? What can we do here in Chicago? We must appeal to the President of the United States, who in turn must demand from the United Nations that they immediately look into the tragedy and uncover the “secrets” which the Soviets have not yet pronounced! And this for the life of the world.

This week the people of Ukraine commemorate the passion week of Jesus Christ, and together with Christ they symbolically enter the path which leads to Golgotha. Suddenly, Ukraine has in reality been placed on Golgotha! It is a path that Ukraine has traveled many times since the Soviet Russian regime confiscated her country. Again and again, Rachel laments for her children; a mother cries, for her sons and daughters are gone. Weep not Rachel! Ukrainian graves know how to speak with the winds and to call into reality that which others think is impossible. Their voices become stronger and more evident each day. The winds carry the voices to the Ukrainians of the free world and we, here in the United States, anxiously want to assist in the tragic event of recent days. We want to reach out our arms with charity to our relatives, to our blood brothers and sisters with professional assistance, with material assistance, with moral assistance. Yes, once again it is Good Friday for Ukraine, but

## CONSEQUENCES OF CHORNOBYL DISASTER

The nuclear disaster in Chornobyl and its effects have been widely reported and commented upon in the Western press and mass media. These reports have been mostly based on official sources from Moscow. However, this information has been and continues to be aimed at decreasing the tragic consequences, especially the number of human losses. As Ukraine was immediately isolated from the rest of the world, it was impossible to rectify this information on the spot or in the areas around Chornobyl. Therefore, the rest of the world began to accept these Moscow-based reports as valid, although often with a certain amount of suspicion.

Gradually, however, news began to leak out of Ukraine about this most recent disaster on its territory, caused by the Russian occupational regime. Here is a general picture which has emerged on the basis of information received by us from three different sources in Ukraine:

Initially, the people in Ukraine knew nothing about the disaster and only became aware of it, as well as of the danger from radiation, through foreign radio broadcasts. Meanwhile, special military and police units, comprising mainly of non-Ukrainians, closed off the affected areas, thus rendering it impossible for neutral people to confirm on the spot the extent and effects of the catastrophe.

Official reports from Moscow which began to appear only a few days after the explosion were not much help in advising the population on how to deal with the situation and protect themselves against radiation. As a result, great panic spread through Kyiv and the surrounding areas. Many people, especially those with young children, tried to leave the city. Those who went to Moscow were usually Russians whose relatives lived there. Ukrainians fled to other towns and villages in Ukraine wherever they could. For example, over 100,000 refugees came to Lviv and surrounding areas.

The water in the Dnipro River and the huge reservoir which stretches from Chornobyl to Kyiv has been contaminated. Many fish are dying (they can be seen floating on the surface) and water is being delivered to Kyiv in barrels or cisterns. The leaves on trees have withered. Grain and vegetables have been contaminated by radiation as far as the south-west of Ukraine. However, due to lack of necessary details and warnings, they are being consumed by the people in these areas, resulting in great health hazards.

In places near the site of the disaster, that is in the towns of Chornobyl and Prypiat, more than 2,000 people have died as a result of radiation emitted from the plant

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▶ we have the faith that after the clouds and storms which have now befallen our people disappear, Easter will surely come and with it, the resurrection of a free Ukrainian nation.

We have congregated this afternoon in the wake of a tragedy, and we shall now offer up our prayers to Almighty God for the souls of those which the Soviets have cremated by the very instrument which claimed their lives! At the same time, we shall offer our prayers for those who suffered bodily and spiritual harm by the nuclear catastrophe of Chornobyl. Hear us, O Lord, Physician of our souls and bodies, and extend Thy healing touch to those who are suffering.

some of them from the initial explosion. The corpses were either burnt on the spot or else buried in mass graves with the aid of bulldozers.

Exclusive use is being made of Ukrainians, probably prisoners as well, in attempts to seal the damaged reactor and the cleaning up operation. Many have perished.

Only military personnel, party members and militia men, that is, the elite, who had been injured by the radiation were evacuated to Moscow. They were sent to one of the city's hospitals where foreign doctors had been allowed in to treat the casualties. All the others were sent to hospitals in Kyiv and the surrounding areas, where no foreign doctors were admitted and no mention is made of the death toll.

Doctors from the western regions of Ukraine are sent on a "komandorovka" (official tour of duty) for three days to treat the casualties. Every doctor has to go. Having arrived at their destination, the doctors work for 36 hours after which they return home. They are forbidden to say where they had been and what they did there.

There have already been cases of pregnant women, affected by radiation, giving birth to dead children.

Those who openly talk about the disaster are arrested. High party bosses, Ukrainians in particular, who have left or try to leave their posts in the affected areas without permission are also arrested.

The total number of those affected by radiation is unknown, but the figure is estimated to be in the millions and not merely in thousands. People have already begun to say that there will be famine in Ukraine. Great fear has filled the population. Churches in south-western regions of Ukraine, where tourists were allowed to visit, are full. People are praying everywhere.

Meanwhile an even greater hatred is growing toward the Russian occupational regime which has been the cause of this additional misfortune of the Ukrainian people.

*Ukrainian Central Information Service  
London, England  
June 1986*



*Ukrainian mothers mourn victims of Chernobyl, London, May 1986*



*In honor of Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj on the 2nd anniversary of his death*

*Dr. Ku Cheng-kang*  
*(WACL Honorary Chairman)*

## **Enhancement of Anti-Communist Struggle on Three Fronts**

*WACL/APACL Pre-Conference Executive Board Meeting*  
*Phoenix, Arizona (March 10-13, 1986)*

WACL Chairman General Singlaub, APACL Chairman Chief Fusitu'a, Members of WACL Executive Board and APACL Executive Committee, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The struggle of free democratic forces against communist expansionism is now in a new stage. Mikhail Gorbachev and Teng Hsiao-ping are likewise pushing their so-called economic reform and trying to start a new form of confrontation — one in the field of economy in addition to the on-going political and military struggle — against those who stand for freedom and democracy. In the face of this new situation we of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) Executive Board and the Asian Pacific Anti-Communist League (APACL) Executive Committee are meeting together to tackle an important subject; ways and means to hold the next League Conferences and defeat Red forces. It is my privilege to be on hand and salute you staunch fighters in the name of freedom.

### **1. Three Anti-Communist Battlefronts**

In the struggle of free democratic forces against communists, the first front involves political systems — those of freedom and democracy on the one hand and Marxist-Leninist systems on the other. Another front is that of military struggle where communist expansionism is militarily countered by those who oppose aggression. What the communists are now referring to as “economic reform” actually is preparation for war. This third front calls for as much free world vigilance and endeavor as the other two.

For their expansion, the communists already have nuclear as well as conventional weapons but lack strong enough productive power in the supportive role. Because of their systems and ways of rule, the communists are unable to meet the people's growingly persistent demands for daily necessities and have difficulty bearing the over-heavy burden of long-term military build-up. They therefore have been forced to try liberalistic formulas in an attempt to cure the built-in diseases of Marxism-Leninism.

The need to save the Soviet Union from its economic crisis has made Gorbachev resort to a new stratagem of beguilement. Casting away the stern facial expression common with communist autocrats, he has been loudly calling for the removal of missiles from both sides of Europe. His disarmament suggestions can mislead those who think his moderate look and low profile are genuine. On the other hand, Teng Hsiao-ping has opened some “special economic zones” and put on an appearance of friendliness as well as willingness to promote economic cooperation and trade exchanges with the West.

The biggest danger of free nations today lies in their being blind to this scheme of economic offensive and in their mistaken perception that the communists have turned moderate — a change that may bring Red regimes closer to freedom and democracy.

We must earnestly warn free nations that the so-called economic reform of the Soviets and the Chinese communists is not an about-face for free economy but is to apply Lenin's dictum about consolidation of socialist economy by means of capitalism's residual influence. Their major objective is to build an economic foundation for military expansionism. When sufficient logistic support is assured, the communists will jump at free nations in a lightning drive to communize the whole world.

## **2. Facts Free Nations Must Clearly See**

Those who are for freedom and democracy must necessarily wage a bipolar struggle against communists. It is a wishful hope that free nations can stand as neighbors of communists. No one should even dream that Red rulers will give Marxism-Leninism. Moscow certainly will try to keep the Soviet Union in the position of Marxist-Leninist "fatherland." The Chinese communists also have made it clear that they will persist in Marxism-Leninism. Free nations, therefore, must be unequivocally aware of these points:

First, absolutely no parallel strategic interest is possible between any free democratic nation and a communist regime.

Second, no amount of technological knowhow, facilities, capital or weapons supplied to communist-ruled countries can make those regimes change stands and come over to the free camp side.

Third, when trying to check or guard against communist advances, no attempt to use one Red regime or another as a counterweight will work, much less bring benefit.

## **3. How Free Peoples Should Endeavor**

Forces of freedom and democracy will be ultimately victorious over communists, but acceleration of communist downfall is possible only through constant enhancement of those forces.

Free nations therefore must make three types of endeavor in earnest:

First, iron out differences of anti-communist strategies.

Anti-communism is part of the common requirement, belief and policy of free democratic nations, but contradictions of strategies persist so long as there are those who choose appeasement, concession, neutrality, non-alignment, or tactics of cooperation with one Red group in the hope of countering another. These contradictions are making it so much easier for the communists to divide, isolate and individually conquer free nations.

Second, end clashes of interests resulting from development gaps.

In the free democratic camp are developed nations and developing ones. There is this so-called "north-south confrontation" of the poor against the rich and the backward against the advanced. Unless such contradictions are removed, the communists can continue to follow their "three worlds" line and attempt to make the "rural areas" encircle the "cities" of the world.

Third, overcome religious and social contradictions.

Strength for freedom and democracy can come from all types of sources so long as the goal is desired. Religious and racial differences must be buried for the sake of opposition to communism and enslavement and for the common assurance of freedom and democracy. Internal quarrels of the free camp are nothing but catalyzers for infiltration and subversion by communists.

For this global endeavor against communist expansion, our hopes are earnest that the United States of America will fully manifest her national stand for freedom and democracy, put her political, economic and military supremacy to effective use, and provide ever more forceful and gallant contribution to the promotion of common free world security and prosperity and to the freeing of the well over one billion people from their sorry plights behind the Iron Curtain.

#### 4. Present Mission of WACL and APACL

With the arrival of a new situation, we of WACL and APACL are required to perform an ever more arduous and pressing task for the attainment of freedom for mankind. To enhance the function of the Leagues, that is to pool strength for freedom and against communist tyranny, all-out efforts should be exerted in these regards:

- All of WACL's regional organizations must work as one to promote a global campaign urging free nations to establish a grand anti-communist strategy for the entire world. The common security systems of various regions should be strengthened and expanded. Free world security must be safeguarded as a whole. The joined strength of all those who stand for freedom and democracy must go into blows against the divided Red bloc.

- Mass media and public opinion leaders should be mobilized to make sure embargo against communist states is strictly enforced, no hi-tech transfer goes to those regimes, no export of capital or facilities or weapons to them is done, and no one attempts to use communists for the checking of communists.

- See to it that industrially advanced nations enhance their investment to and economic cooperation with developing nations, that tariff barriers and other protectionist trade measures are removed and that adequate aid is channeled into the industrialization programs of developing countries.

- Let our member units and regional organizations display best possible coordination and urge free nations to make use of all available channels and relations for peaceful settlement of international disputes, for effective safeguarding against terrorist activities, for the protection of individual security through collective measures, for the promotion of individual interest without hurting common interests and for cooperation in all regards instead of mutual harming.

- Free nations must be urged to see clearly what internal crises the communists are confronted with, provide stepped-up material and spiritual support to the Iron Curtain's people's struggle for freedom with democracy and human rights, and give sufficient economic and military assistance to augment the defense strength of all those nations that are suffering under or threatened by communist aggressors.

Ladies and Gentlemen: To open favorable new vistas, we of WACL and APACL must ever more effectively, forcefully and extensively perform our mission to bring about the rise and unity of free democratic forces everywhere. Let us start a brimming tide of global anti-communism on all the three battlefronts — political, military and economic — so that Marxism-Leninism, the root cause of countless man-made disasters, will be swept away before long as freedom and democracy are declared totally victorious.

## The Trial of KPN Members in Poland

From March 3 to April 22 1986, before the Regional Court in Warsaw, the trial of five members of the Political Council of the Confederacy of Independent Poland took place. The five members were: Leszek Moczulski, Krzysztof Krol, Adam Slomka, Andrzej Szomanski and Dariusz Wojcik.

The judicial committee was headed by Aleksandrow and the prosecuting procurators were Bardanowa and Detke-Jackowska. The accused were defended by a group of seven attorneys. Leszek Moczulski was represented by attorneys Vende and DeVillion, Krzysztof Krol was represented by Nauman and Andrzej Szomanski was represented by Fersset. The defense called four witnesses. They were: Zygmunt Lenyk, Wojciech Pangiela, Grzegorz Rosso and Piotr Wegierski. The procurators called ten witnesses. The members of the Political Council of the Confederacy of Independent Poland were charged with paragraphs 276 p.1 and 3, 283 p.A of the Polish Legal Code, i.e., directing an illegal organization, intending to gain power by force and paragraphs 270 and 292, disturbing public peace, working to the detriment of the Polish National Republic as well as paragraph 45, concerning freedom of press. They can face a long-term prison sentence.

The main pieces of "evidence" presented during the course of the trial were: publications by the Confederacy of Independent Poland, a tape recording of a wire tapping done on December 22, 1984 during the meeting of the second congress of the Confederacy of Independent Poland and a videotape made on March 9, 1985, during the arrest of the attendants of the Political Council meeting of the Confederacy of Independent Poland which was interrupted by the forceful break-in of the terrorist branch of the police. The prosecution included in its case overseas correspondence and messages sent through the mail as "incriminating evidence." In this way, the government of the Polish National Republic has more than once broken its own laws guaranteeing privacy and freedom of correspondence.

On March 8, 1986, Krzysztof Krol was removed from the courtroom because his answer concerning the institution of the Polish National Republic and his accusation that the totalitarian regime of the PNR has brought Poland to ruin were considered insulting by the court. On March 11 and 12, 1986, on a motion brought forth by the defense, the trial was not continued. A doctor confirmed that the physical state of Leszek Moczulski was so depleted and debilitated that the trial could not continue. After the two day recess, the trial was reconvened and continued without a break six days out of the week (i.e. Monday through Saturday, inclusive).

Leszek Moczulski testified on April 1, 1986. In his testimony, he underlined that the Confederacy of Independent Poland, as an independent political party, based on the Constitution of the Polish National Republic, is a legal party and is not required to be registered with the judiciary. He further emphasized that he always attempted to act within legal boundaries. He further categorically dismissed the accusation that the Confederacy of Independent Poland strove to overthrow the United Polish Workers' Party by force. He emphasized the fact that the Confederacy, as a democratic party, aspired through peaceful means to change the regime and to reach a point where the elected powers would be the result of free democratic elections. Only powers elected in this way would have the united, credible and trusted mandate of the people. He further asserted that it is the United Polish Workers' Party that often uses force to enforce its

rule, as clearly illustrated in the 40 year history of the Polish National Republic in which successive governmental leaderships have been accompanied by bloody conflicts.

The Confederacy of Independent Poland, unlike the United Polish Workers' Party is striving towards a situation in which the change of the ruling powers would be accompanied by peace, trust and respect of society.

Further, Leszek Moczulski addressed the technical side of the evidence presented by the prosecution. He claimed that the recording tapes presented as evidence were assembled tendentiously, in that of the seven hours of recordings of the second Confederacy of Independent Poland congress, the prosecution is using only one and one half hours of those recordings, excluding all materials which would show the Confederacy in a positive light.

On April 2, 1986, Leszek Moczulski addressed the very essence of the evidence presented by the prosecution. His testimony continued throughout the next two days of the trial. After his testimony, the other accused members of the Confederacy of Independent Poland testified. The trial ended on April 22, 1986.

Leszek Moczulski, the 55-year-old leader of the Confederacy of Independent Poland party, or KPN, was sentenced to 4 years. He had received a 7-year sentence in 1982 but was freed under a government amnesty 2 years later. Krzysztof Krol and Adam Slomka, both suffering from tuberculosis, were each sentenced to two and one half years. Andrzej Szomanski, unable to rise to answer questions because of back pain, and Dariusz Wojcik were jailed for 2 years.

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*“There can be no co-existence between two centres of authority in the Bolshevik system, as it was most evident in Poland. The leaders of ‘Solidarnosc’ did not realise that they were negotiating not with a Polish partner, but with Moscow through General Jaruzelski. Polish national structures could not be built parallel to Bolshevik Russian institutions, but only in diametric opposition to them in the course of a continuous liberation struggle. There can be no compromise between the two. This was also asserted by ‘Solidarnosc’s’ underground leader, Zbigniew Bujak (‘Polish Fugitive urges Long March’, New York Times, December 19, 1983, p.8).*

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

*Solidarity succeeded in revolutionizing the nation. However, without a clearly defined goal — away from Moscow — the Polish revolution cannot triumph, and the same holds true for all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism.”*

*Yaroslav Stetsko*

## TURKESTAN'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The National Turkestan Unity Committee, the supreme organ for the liberation of the Turkestan people, which not only continues the tradition of a long struggle for freedom of the Turkestan people, but also has been authorized even by leading members of the national resistance in the Turkestan home territory to represent the wishes and aims of the Turkestan people in foreign countries, brings the following to the attention of the participants of the Sixth International Conference the World Assembly of Muslim Youth:

1. Turkestan, situated in the centre of Asia, with an area of about 5 million square kilometers and a population of 45 million, is a Turco-Moslem country which forms a national unit with a common language, religion, civilization, economy, geography and history.

2. The independence of Turkestan was usurped by Russia and China. Western Turkestan was conquered by the Russians at the end of the 19th century, eastern Turkestan in 1877 by the Chinese. After many years of struggle against the occupation forces, Western Turkestan succeeded in 1917 and in 1922 and Eastern Turkestan in 1933/34, in recovering their independence through armed struggle. This independence of Turkestan was abolished by force of arms, through the colonial powers — Russia and China — and now, in both parts of Turkestan, the Red terrorism, pillage, colonial exploitation as well as political, economic and cultural suppression are ruling.

3. Moscow rules Turkestan with the same colonial policy of the Tsar, and the state of emergency is imposed today exactly as it was during the Tsarist regime.

4. Tsarist Russia had partitioned Turkestan into five governmental regions, i.e. separate territories, in order to paralyze the national idea of resistance and to attack its people more successfully. In pursuing this policy, Soviet Russia divided Turkestan in 1924 into 5 Soviet Republics, following the same idea and principle. The name "Turkestan" was forbidden and the tribes of Turkestan were declared to be "people" and "nations". These republics have been founded without the consent of the people, and hence, are administrative departments of Moscow.

5. 70 percent of all important positions of the government and the administration are held by Russians.

6. In Turkestan, there is neither a free opinion nor a free press; landed property has been seized and expropriated, religious activity strictly prohibited. Only for propaganda reasons, some mosques were opened but the people who enter are registered by secret agents. National and religious activities are strictly prohibited. Since 1924 godless schools have been organized. Russia has suppressed the Arabic script and introduced the Cyrillic alphabet instead. Holy "Koran" and old national books were seized and burned.

7. Because of Soviet terrorism, more than 6 million Turkestanis have died:

(a) In 1918 — 1.5 million Turkestanis were killed by terrorism of the Red Army and died in consequences of the Soviet economic policy.

(b) Between 1932 and 1934, more than 3 million Turkestanis perished by hunger, and especially due to the forced residency of the nomad population of Turkestan.

(c) In 1937-1939, more than 500,000 Turkestanis fell victims to the political sweep as nationalists.

(d) In execution of the "class war theory" of Moscow, more than 500,000 Turkestanis had been banished as "capitalists" to Siberia and put into concentration camps.

(e) Since the beginning of collectivization, more than 400,000 landed proprietors and peasants, together with their families, were expelled, banished and killed.

8. During and after World War II, political sweeps have been again executed by the Russian and the Red Chinese governments, and millions of Turkestanis fell victims to same. Both governments are responsible for the assassination of these human beings.

9. The policy of Russification is officially continued, and since 1954, Russians are flowing continuously into Turkestan, as the Soviet government itself announces. The aim is the dispossession and displacement of the Turkestani people.

The Turkestani people expect help and assistance from the people of the free world, help in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and imperialism of any color.

The National Turkestani Unity Committee urges the participants of this conference to form a neutral commission to examine the situation in Turkestan on the spot, and to report its impressions and results to the world media.

If freedom, prosperity and self-determination indeed are ruling in Turkestan as the Russians claim, then the Russians could and ought to give entry to this commission.

If they refuse entry, through fear that their lies and propaganda would break down, then the participants of the WAMY conference should brand both these governments as imperialists and terrorists, and notify this to their press, radios and meetings.

The National Turkestani Unity Committee, being the legitimate representative of the Turkestani people, asks you to plead the cause of the Turkestani people in this esteemed conference.

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*"Unfortunately, many of free world leaders have come to believe that only a miracle can save the world from destruction. If it is only a miracle than can assure the world's survival, it is a miracle which mortals can create. It is the miracle of freedom. The role of the ABN is to strengthen that light of freedom by enlightening the people of the free world to the liberation concept of the ABN. It is only through a process of liberation of the subjugated nations that the world will be freed from the threat of a nuclear wasteland.*

*The miracle of freedom is the ideal that inspires the political mobilizations of the oppressed nations. It is their liberation struggles which will tear apart the seams of Russian imperialism and communist domination. The subjugated nations will, by freeing themselves, free the world. The threat will be eliminated. The ABN asks the free world for its friendship, its political support and understanding that the concept of the ABN is the "miracle" which will free them. And he who helps us, helps himself."*

*Yaroslav Stetsko*

## HELP FREE YULI EDELSHTEIN

Yuli Edelshtein, a religious teacher of Hebrew from Moscow, was born in 1958 in Chernivtzi, Ukrainian SSR.

On September 4, 1984, he was arrested and charged with possessing drugs and using them in "Havdala", a Jewish religious ritual marking the end of Shabbath. The real reason for this trumped-up case was Yuli's activity in the Jewish repatriation movement, his unbending courage and infinite devotion to the Jewish cause.

In December of 1984, he was sentenced to three years of corrective labour under Article 224/3 of the Criminal Code RSFSR.

While in prison during the investigation period, Yuli was harassed and bullied. He started a hunger strike and after nine days of it was thrown into a punishment cell from where he was taken directly for a court hearing.

In April of 1985, Yuli Edelshtein was sent to the horrendous slave labour camp Vidrino in East Siberia, a place infamous for its climatic conditions and particularly harsh camp routine. The whole area is situated on the border of Mongolia. It is surrounded by swamps, often rotten and foul-smelling. This area is known as a malaria region, full of mosquitoes in spring and summer and totally covered by snow in winter. When the snow melts, the people are drowning in mud. The inmates in the camp live in crowded barracks.

From the very beginning of his stay in the camp, Yuli was bullied and harassed by the inmates as well as by the administration of the camp. All his belongings were robbed from him, he was not allowed to enter the barracks after an exhausting day's work until it was time for bed. In the morning he was thrown out even before it was time to get up. He was assigned the tasks of saturating road ties with a chemical substance called creosote, harmful to the lungs. The camp officials knew that Edelshtein was suffering from a lung condition and this sort of job was chosen for him intentionally. Soon Yuli Edelshtein was hospitalized with high fever and pneumonia. During this period of his stay at the camp he was constantly harassed by the chief administrator of the camp, Major Anikeev, who announced that he was going to "kick the religious intoxication" out of Edelshtein's head and indeed, he proceeded to do so. Yuli was beaten and kicked by boots and sticks in the camp. His mother and wife, arriving at the camp for a meeting, were shocked by the sight of his bruised body. He still had the imprint of a boot on the back of his neck.

In the autumn of 1985, a so-called "work accident" took place during which a heavy log was thrown on Yuli, but he obtained only a "slight" injury. His finger was smashed, causing the fingernail to crush.

At the beginning of February 1986, during the freeing process of Shcharansky, another "work accident" took place. This time Edelshtein was pushed under a road-roller while working at the building site of a railroad. Several pelvic fractures, a broken hip bone, spinal injuries with subsequent paralysis of both legs, a torn urethra (result of shattered pelvic bones) were the result of this new "accident".

The first ten days after this happened, Yuli Edelshtein was kept in the labour camp barrack without any medical attention, which was the worst kind of torture imaginable.

Yuli himself has to take care of his drainage system because there is no doctor in the prison hospital and the nurses are male inmates, prisoners the same as himself, without any knowledge of medicine whatsoever. Yuli was given a syringe for washing out the drainage, but he is unable to do this himself due to his debilitated physical state. One syringe broke in his hands.

He was placed in the prison hospital of 12 square meters, with five other sick inmates. There is no urologist and no traumatologist present in the hospital. Transportation from the camp to Ulan Ude took 24 hours in a prison van, during which time he was constantly bleeding.

On his arrival at the prison hospital, no doctor was present and an ambulance service situated three kilometers from Ulan Ude, Posilok Uzniy was called. They did not arrive for several days due to so-called "lack of cars".

The prison hospital is situated near a concentration camp of strict regime. Being a closed zone, the "possible visitors" must request permission to attend in Moscow only. After two weeks an urologist and an orthopedist were allowed to see Yuli and they said that they had never seen a person in such terrible shape and in such terrible surroundings. Even his bed is a regular prison metal frame, totally unsuitable for such a complete invalid as he is.

Yuli Edelstein's family applied to the Supreme Soviet for his immediate release on the grounds of Article 363, Proceeding Code, saying that Yuli Edelshtein is completely disabled and is dying, which allows him to be freed. But their plea was refused on the grounds that he is not sick enough.

The most recent news is that Yuli's operation has been postponed for at least a month because is running a high fever due to an infection. The operation on his urethra can only be performed in limited hospitals in Moscow or Leningrad, equipped with the proper medical equipment and possessing specialists in the field of urology.

Yuli Edelstein must be freed immediately in order to receive proper medical care while he is still alive.

His present address is:

**U.S.S.R.  
BYRIATSKAYA ASSR  
ULAN UDE  
Posilok Uzniy  
OB-94/2  
(Surgical Department)**

Address for further information and contacts:

**HANNA & ARIE VUDKA  
Rehov Naharayim 5/6 Zahala,  
Tel Aviv,  
ISRAEL.  
(Tel: 03-4924-99 home, 03-673068 work)**

*Stefan Terlezki, M.P.*  
*(Great Britain)*

## THE PRICE OF MARXISM — COMMUNISM

Just two hours flying time from Britain, millions of ordinary people live in constant fear of arbitrary arrest, imprisonment without trial, or banishment to remote areas far from their homeland. They live in the countries oppressed by the Russian government and its puppets, lacking the clean, fresh air of freedom, which we take for granted. For nearly 70 years, while accusing the West of imperialism and colonialism, the Russians have formented trouble on every continent and extended their own empire further into Europe and Afghanistan. They have indulged in every form of tyranny; they have enslaved men's minds and bodies, destroying ancient cultures and persecuting religion. The rising crescendo of misery is voiced by writers and intellectuals who beg us to heed their words. They draw our attention to the awful statistics, the price that humanity has paid — nearly 50 million souls obliterated in the past 70 years. First, the Russians crushed the national independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and installed communist tyrannies in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Afghanistan. Mr. Gorbachev has been repeating banal truisms, attempting to frighten Western nations into accepting his version of "peace". What is Mr. Gorbachev's "peace plan"? For the resistance fighters in Afghanistan, this "peace" means continued genocide of their nation by the Russian occupational forces.

For the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, for the Baltic peoples, for the Ukrainians, the Central Asian nations, this peace is nothing less than acceptance of their status quo and continued colonial status within the Russian empire. For the underground activists, fighting for Poland's independence, slogans such as "peace" and "social peace" have only produced state sponsored terrorism.

Let us have no illusions about Mr. Gorbachev's "peace plan". Does he believe in peace with freedom, dignity, and honour? It is clear that the nations presently under Russian colonial rule desire peace, but peace with freedom. Mr. Gorbachev does not represent his colonial subjects, he is the spokesman for the rulers of the Russian empire. To defend one's country with weapons is not a crime. To defend freedom is not a crime. To defend the nation from tyranny and slavery is not a crime.

At the Geneva Summit, an agreement was reached about the "expansion of Cultural, Scientific and Technical exchanges and development of trade and economic ties." Expansion of culture? I do not want more ballet dancers, more Red Army Choirs. I want more family re-unification. I want freedom of travel, freedom of speech, freedom for all the oppressed nations. No sane person wants war, let alone a nuclear war. I have often described an all-out nuclear war as the ultimate obscenity. The question is not whether we want a nuclear war, but how best to avoid it. A real concern for peace has led many into action which has been planned by Soviet Russia in its own interest. The plan began with a mass meeting held in Bulgaria in September 1980, under the guidance of a well-known Soviet front organisation called "The World Peace Council." The Russians claim that they are giving massive material and moral support to "peace fighters in other countries." It is worth remembering that in the year that Hitler moved into Prague, the Labour Party Conference voted in this county, not to reduce the RAF, but to abolish it.

Almost everyone seeks disarmament, as well as peace. There are too many arms in the world and too much money and resources are spent on arms and armies. A nuclear war would be the ultimate, hideous proof of the world's political and moral suicide.

We all want disarmament, we all abhor the use of nuclear weapons. No one, knowing what nuclear weapons are like, can regard nuclear warfare as a sane continuation of policy by other means. But the professed, nuclear disarmers have no moral monopoly here, or anywhere else. They speak with the voice of unreason. If they stood for multilateral disarmament, they would be right and sensible. But instead, they clamour for unilateral disarmament which is foolish and dangerous.

The peace campaign is a subversive campaign. Its dishonesty inheres in its unilateralism. If it came out square and proclaimed itself to be pacifist, which is what unilateralism is really all about, then well and good. We would respect it, as we respect pacifism. We cannot, by waving a wand make the Soviet Union's nuclear arms vanish overnight. Holding hands around Greenham Common will not cause the Kremlin to alter its contingency plans.

I am myself a nuclear disarmer. But the unilateralists are nothing more than humbugs, practicing hypocrisy, thinking they will cleanse the world of sin and war by wringing their hands, then holding them. The fools among them think that they can stop the world and get off. The clever ones who run the fools know better. They seek to disarm the country and weaken it, so that it has neither will nor power to resist its enemies or assert itself. Do they know that a Russian who collected signatures for a peace petition from his workmates was arrested in Western Siberia and accused of anti-Soviet activities? He was not a dissident. He was not anti-Soviet, and he was not an anti-Soviet slanderer. He was a member of the movement for peace, but the Kremlin said he was an enemy of the State.

To acquaint the Ukrainian people with the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which incidentally, has not been published in Ukraine yet, the group concerned, was accused of being anti-Soviet, not forgetting that Ukraine is supposed to be a full member of the United Nations. The Russian government, having achieved what they wanted at the Helsinki Conference, had no intention to abide by the agreement concerning human rights. Even before the ink had dried on the Helsinki document, reports of new trials and persecution were beaming all over the world.

For example, a young woman correspondent from Prague told a Russian soldier that she regarded him as an enemy of her country. Suddenly the soldier pulled out a knife and said to her, "If you say that I am your enemy, then take this knife and kill me." She looked at him coolly and replied, "Oh no, I don't fight with knives, I fight with my pen, with my ideas, with the ideas of freedom." This was exactly the reason why Russian tanks rolled into Czecho-Slovakia, they were afraid of a pen, in a free hand of a young woman, and others like her. They were afraid of the idea of freedom, which in their eyes is more dangerous than any military threat. But while we remember Czecho-Slovakia and other satellite countries — Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, we should not forget Gorbachev's doctrine. It is not a new invention that a similar fate was suffered by Ukraine, Byelorussia and Georgia in 1918-1920. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1939-1949, and now Afghanistan. Who will be next? Therefore, we in the European Freedom Council have a lot of work to do, to ensure that the Russian empire disappears, like so many empires have disappeared, and all the nations within are free again.



## Death of a Great Croatian Intellectual and Politician

The death of Dr. Ante Bonifacic, who died in Chicago on April 14, 1986, deeply moved Croats and his numerous foreign friends all over the world. He was the greatest Croatian poet of our time and a brilliant novelist and essayist. He published four books of "Poems" in Croatian, an anthology of 500 years of Croatian poetry in English, three novels and three books of essays. His best novel is "You Will Be Like Gods" in which he masterly dissects the evil Marxist ideology as an inhuman and unnatural phenomenon.

Dr. Bonifacic studied at Zagreb University where he graduated in French and Croatian and obtained a Ph.D. Afterwards he studied French literature at the Sorbonne. In Zagreb he taught French and Croatian in various secondary schools and was honorary professor of French at the Zagreb University. As a renowned writer, he was the Vice-President of the Association of Croatian Writers and a member of PEN.

Dr. Bonifacic was a dedicated Croatian freedom fighter and served in the Croatian Government as Head of the Cultural Section in the Ministry For Foreign Affairs. This was enough for the Belgrade communists to proclaim him a "war criminal". However, during the exodus in May 1945, he succeeded in escaping the holocaust near Bleiburg, as well as all those who were hunting down Croatian intellectuals, freedom fighters and patriots in order to extradite them to the communist butchers. He first came to Brasil where he lived for several years and later settled in Chicago, USA, where he became very active in the Croatian Liberation Movement. From 1974-1980 he was President of the Croatian Liberation Movement and thereafter he was its Honorary President.

He was a living encyclopaedia, a cosmopolitan and a brilliant thinker who despised tyranny and loved freedom. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand why he was so dedicated to the ideas of ABN, to the mission of the European Freedom Council and to the aims of the World Anti-Communist League. He personally participated in the ABN/EFC conferences in Brussels in 1970, in London in 1968 and in 1973, as well as in many WACL conferences in Europe and the United States.

The Central Committee of the ABN joins the Croatian nation in expressing our deepest sympathy on the death of such a great patriot and fighter for a free and independent Croatian state.

# THE TIMES



THURSDAY JULY 10 1986

Schlach Peremol  
Ukrainische Wochen-  
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## OBITUARY

### YAROSLAV STETSKO Ukrainian leader in exile

Yaroslav Stetsko, who declared himself prime minister of an independent Ukrainian republic after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, died in Munich on July 5. He was 74.  
For nearly half a century he symbolized for many the struggle for Ukrainian independence and was regarded by Ukrainian exiles as their last legitimate prime minister.  
Born in Ternopol, western Ukraine, in 1912, Stetsko grew up during a time when Ukrainian national consciousness was re-awakening after nearly 200 years of suppression by successive occupiers.

He refused to become a Ukrainian quisling. Had the Nazis been capable of treating the Ukrainians as equals, perhaps they might have won their wholehearted support as allies, with incalculable consequences.  
Instead, Stetsko and his cabinet were swiftly arrested by the Gestapo and Stetsko was sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp where he remained until 1944.

Until 1943, the nationalistic fight a guerrilla war against the German occupiers.  
As a student at Lvov Crakow university, he was a member of a nationalist organization, a body operating in and Russian Ukraine. His intelligence ensured a within the movement.

### Belleidabrief Ronald Reagan an Jaroslav Stetskos Witwe

Präsident Ronald Reagan hat der Witwe des Jaroslav Stetskos, geborenen Jöhrer, am 3. Juli in München einen Brief mit dem Inhalt geschrieben, den Sie dem Ministerpräsidenten in Form eines Briefes zur Verfügung stellen können. Der Brief enthält eine Kopie eines Briefes, den Sie an den Präsidenten geschrieben haben, in dem Sie die Bitte äußern, dass Sie sich für die Sache der Freiheit einsetzen. Der Brief ist ein Beispiel für die Art und Weise, wie Sie sich für die Sache der Freiheit einsetzen können. Der Brief ist ein Beispiel für die Art und Weise, wie Sie sich für die Sache der Freiheit einsetzen können.

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### Narratlova rüttelt an alten Kennordmarken

München, Montag, 7. Juli 1986  
Die ehemalige Außenministerin der DDR, Ulrike Narratlova, hat in München einen Vortrag gehalten, in dem sie die Rolle der DDR in der deutschen Geschichte kritisch analysiert. Sie hat die Rolle der DDR in der deutschen Geschichte kritisch analysiert. Sie hat die Rolle der DDR in der deutschen Geschichte kritisch analysiert.

### Yaroslav Stetsko: The leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists died in Munich, West Germany, on January 1986. He was born in Ukraine on January 1912.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led by Yaroslav Stetsko sought to create an independent Ukrainian state in 1930s. Yaroslav Stetsko and other nationalistic leaders were persecuted by the Soviet and Polish governments. He was born in Ukraine on January 1912.

### Miris ukraina patriots

Ukrainian patriots are active in various countries. They are active in various countries. They are active in various countries.

## Süddeutsche Zeitung

MÜNCHNER N Ukrainer trauern um Exil-Politiker  
München, Montag, 7. Juli 1986  
Die Ukrainer in München trauern um den Tod von Jaroslav Stetsko, dem ehemaligen Premierminister der ukrainischen Nationalisten. Er starb am 5. Juli in München.

## DIE WELT

UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND  
München, Montag, 7. Juli 1986  
Die Welt ist ein großes Dorf. Die Welt ist ein großes Dorf. Die Welt ist ein großes Dorf.

## Reformatorisch

L'EST EUROPEEN  
Die Reformatorische Bewegung in der Ukraine ist eine Bewegung für die Erneuerung der Kirche und des Lebens. Sie ist eine Bewegung für die Erneuerung der Kirche und des Lebens.

## В СТЕЦЬКО

Управління Голова Проволу ОУН  
Die Organisation der ukrainischen Nationalisten ist eine Organisation für die Erneuerung der Kirche und des Lebens. Sie ist eine Organisation für die Erneuerung der Kirche und des Lebens.

## Leider Oekraiense Vrijheidsbeweging, Stetsko, overleden

Van een ouder verslaggever  
MÜNCHEN — In een zielewonder in München is zaterdagavond de 74-jarige leider van de Oekraïense Nationale Vrijheidsbeweging (OUN) en ex-premier van de anti-Duitse regering Jaroslav Stetsko overleden.

## Mire pasyutinis laisvavolis Ukrainas premjoras

In de naoorlogse tijd maakte Stetsko een belangrijke rol naar Westerse landen om politieke vriendschap te winnen voor een onafhankelijke Oekraïne. Hij was vooral actief in diplomatieke kringen.

## Jaroslav Stetsko, 74, Ukrainian Nationalist

Munich, West Germany (AP) — Jaroslav Stetsko, 74, who declared himself prime minister of an independent Ukrainian republic after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, died in Munich on July 5. He was 74.

## UKRAINIANS

Ukrainians mourn death of great statesman  
Munich, West Germany (AP) — Jaroslav Stetsko, 74, who declared himself prime minister of an independent Ukrainian republic after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, died Saturday.

## Ukrainians mourn loss of exiled leader

Munich, West Germany (AP) — Jaroslav Stetsko, 74, who declared himself prime minister of an independent Ukrainian republic after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, died Saturday.

## UKRAINIANS

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## THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC DAILY

18 Juillet-21 août 1986 - N° 433 - Nouvelle série (14<sup>e</sup> année) - Prix 9.  
BI-MENSUEL CATHOLIQUE DE RASSEMBLEMENT NATION

## Nécrologie

LA DISPARITION DE YAROSLAV STETSKO  
Une des grandes figures du nationalisme ukrainien, Yaroslav Stetsko, est mort à Munich, le 5 juillet 1986, à l'âge de 74 ans. Il fut le fondateur et l'animateur du Bloc Autrichien des Nations, ou ABN, et le Conseil Européen de la Liberté. Il n'avait malheureusement pas pu rendre. Mais depuis quarante ans, il avait travaillé pour la liberté et la démocratie. Il avait travaillé pour la liberté et la démocratie.

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# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



\*1914 — †1986

## KATERYNA ZARYTSKA

Ukrainian heroine, Kateryna Zarytska, died in Ukraine, on August 29, 1986. She joined the ranks of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at an early age. Shortly afterwards she became a member of the Lviv Oblast Executive of the OUN and the contact person with the Central Executive of the OUN. In the 1940's she headed the Ukrainian Red Cross and later became a member of the National Executive of the OUN in Ukraine. She was arrested in October 1957 during a military struggle. For a large part of her 25-year prison sentence, she was confined to the Vladimir prison. In 1968 she was transferred to the Mordovian camp No. 6. Released in 1975, Zarytska spent the last years of her life in Ukraine, but was not permitted to return to her home town Lviv.

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## HELSINKI ACCORDS FAVOUR ONLY MOSCOW

In connection with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held in Vienna, November, 1986, we wish to invite the attention of the Western democratic nations to the worsening plight of the nations occupied by the Soviet-Russian imperialists within the USSR and in their satellite states. Recent Russian policies under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev indicate the sharpening of genocidal policy in respect to the non-Russian peoples and their speeded-up forceful Russification. Simultaneously, we observed a continuous liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples. There is a sharp contradiction between the de-colonization efforts of the civilized Western nations with the concepts of democratic guarantees of human rights and the colonialist policies and practices of the Soviet Russian empire.

In the last three years, Moscow ruthlessly exterminated every Helsinki monitoring group within the nationalities of the Soviet Union. Also known prominent nationalist and civil rights leaders were killed, psychologically maimed, imprisoned or exiled. The Helsinki Accords of 1976 became a glaring and a terrible farce. Dozens of political prisoners after finishing their terms of 20-25 years of incarceration, were suddenly being eliminated in mysterious circumstances. Hundreds of patriots of every non-Russian nationality are being thrown into prisons and concentration camps each year.

The Chornobyl catastrophe of April 1986 is in fact an act of genocide. This disaster is exploited by the Russian colonialist regime to dislocate hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians and others from their native lands, to disperse families, like separating several thousands of children from their parents and sending them to far-off places, allegedly for reasons of safety. The Chornobyl catastrophe is being compared to the artificial famine organized in Ukraine in 1932-33, which is eloquently and dramatically revealed by the outstanding work of the British scholar Robert Conquest in his recently published work "The Harvest of Sorrow". Soviet-Russian war criminals destroyed at that time seven million Ukrainians and many other non-Russians conquered at the beginning of the 1920's. The Western media and officials aptly compare the present Soviet regime and the racist policies of Mikhail Gorbachev to those of Joseph Stalin during the terrible 1930's. (See e.g. George F. Will's article "America Should Spur Itself to Curb Russia's Excesses" in the *International Herald Tribune*, September 8, 1986, or the interview with Robert Conquest by Radio Liberty, September 10, 1986).

Another fact of similarities between present day Moscow's colonialist policy and the aggressive policies of Lenin and Stalin is the outcry at the convention of the writers in the USSR in June this year, when speakers protested against the gradual liquidation of the native language and cultural life.

The liberation struggle of the captive nations against Soviet Russian domination continues uninterruptedly. Deep religiosity is flourishing despite the harshest persecution. People are not afraid to attend churches and to show signs of crosses with the knowledge of being thereby punished by the colonial regime. For example, one of several concentration camps for Christian activists located near the city of Lviv in Ukraine, is overfilled with the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and various Ukrainian Protestant denominations. (See the underground "Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church"). Lithuanian underground

Catholic publications circulate unabatedly. Colonial press in Ukraine continuously reports about court trials of Ukrainian freedom fighters, several of whom are sentenced to death each year. Soviet Russian mass media reports in ever shorter succession of nationalist literature appearing everywhere and calls for alarm to counteract this spread of liberation slogans calling on the Ukrainian population to rise up against the Russian oppressors in order to throw the Russian invaders out of Ukraine and re-establish national independence.

The entire Soviet Russian press including the so-called Soviet Ukrainian press is overfilled with ideological, desinformist, propagandist articles combatting the growth of the Ukrainian democratic and liberational nationalism.

Resistance exists in all of the subjugated nations in spite of the terror and the communist authorities even attempt to use covert measures to crush the leaders of the resistance. For example, street accidents are very frequent. Mrs. Olena Antoniv-Krasivsky was killed in a car accident. Mrs. Antoniv had been very active in the "Fund to Aid Political Prisoners" and for this was strongly attacked in the Soviet mass media.

On February 6, in Lithuania, the priest of the Cathedral of Rudamina, Jozas Zdebskis, was also killed in a car accident. In November 1981, Rev. Bronius Laurinavicius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, was pushed under a lorry by four unknown men in Vilnius and died of his injuries. These are just a few examples of methods used to suppress resistance.

While, after six years, the Soviet Russian war machinery cannot break the heroic Afghan nation, the sons of the subjugated nations in the USSR refuse to serve in Afghanistan. The clandestine periodical *Juventus Academica* in Lithuania writes:

"It has been five years now that our peers are senselessly perishing in Afghanistan, as they fulfill the so-called "international duty" as members of the "limited contingent of Soviet armed forces", in reality, becoming murderers and punishers, killing innocent people of a sovereign state, burning down its villages and cities. We risk to become the shame of all humanity! Therefore, the board of the Lithuanian Youth Association emphasizes, based on the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, an ethical document, and guided by our conscience, let us boldly refuse to take the military oath and let us not be cowardly tools of the occupying power."

The same attitude is shared by all non-Russians who are only looking for a chance to desert from the Soviet Army. It is only a question of whether the West is prepared to accept these deserters.

We firmly believe that the Helsinki Accords are favourable to the Russian imperialists in their attempts to destroy the conquered and dominated peoples by recognizing the subjugation to the Russian state of the several nations, alleging Moscow's acknowledgement and toleration of civil rights, which is actually a cover-up of a most brutal extermination of these nations and manifestations of human rights.

We, therefore, implore the Western democratic nations to expose the colonialism of Soviet Russia within the USSR and in the satellite states, to condemn it and to acknowledge the struggle of the subjugated nations for a just and rightful national independence, removal of Russian colonialism and achievement of human rights for every nationality.

## THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS NEED HELP

*Address by General John K. Singlaub, Chairman of the 18th WACL Council at the Opening Ceremony of the 19th WACL Conference, Luxembourg, September 7, 1986*



*Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and General John K. Singlaub at the United States Council for World Freedom Conference, April 23, 1982 in Phoenix, Arizona*

Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Secretary General Luns, President Gregoire, Minister Desmarets, Senator General Close, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests and Friends of Freedom:

I am honored by this opportunity to address such a distinguished audience in this city of Luxembourg which has become a symbol of democracy throughout the world.

As I look around me today, I see the familiar faces of old allies from the struggle against the totalitarian forces of the 1940s. Many faces, like my own, are now etched with the lengthening lines of a "hard and bitter peace" as the totalitarian forces of National Socialism were defeated but replaced by the total tyranny of communism.

As the joy of victory was replaced by the deep concern for the peoples and nations who were falling victim to the new Red Imperialism and being incorporated into the Communist Empire, a few men of vision sounded the alarm.

One of those men of great vision is with us today — Dr. Ku Cheng-kang. Dr. Ku, with encouragement and support from President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China, and President Syngman Rhee of the Republic of Korea, formed the organization which eventually led to the establishment of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) which brings us together today as we continue our efforts of "Working for Peace in Freedom."

Another man of vision is not with us today. Unfortunately Yaroslav Stetsko was taken by his Maker just eight weeks ago. As President Ronald Reagan said in a personal letter to his widow, "... your husband's courage and dedication to liberty will serve as a continuing source of inspiration to all those striving for freedom and self-determination and an abiding reminder of the timeless struggle of mankind to break the chains of tyranny."

While inspired by these great men of vision, I am most encouraged as I listen with eager ear to the youthful voices of those new to the battle. I hear the voices of those who were born in freedom but are willing and proud to bear its heavy burdens. I hear youthful voices who not only condemn communism but are anxious to aid those who

bear its brunt. These young men and women recognize that in the dark gulags and dusty campos, in the mountain passes and torrid jungles, their fight is our fight; their only hope is our help; their victory means our survival.

And yet, we still hear from some sides the cowardly pleas of those who counsel retreat; who, seeing the enemy, seek terms. They somehow haven't learned that when communists talk of negotiating, they mean to exchange *your* freedom for *their* bonds, because that is all they have to offer. The apologists for communism, in the United States and especially here in Western Europe, now tell us that the Russian Bear has been defanged, that Mikhail Gorbachev is seeking peace, that he hasn't the heart for making war. But let them go to Afghanistan. There, the Russian tanks roll over innocent children, a nation has been raped, a culture has all but been destroyed. There, a fearfully modern communist army is perfecting its technique and strategy for future aggressions. The apologists also tell us that communism helps the poor escape their plight, it provides them homes, and it feeds the hungry. Let them go to Ethiopia. Let them go to Angola or Mozambique. In lockstep allegiance to Lenin's dictates, the communist rulers there use deliberate starvation as a weapon of war. Daily, we see pathetic pictures of dying children — their bodies bloated, their limbs bone-thin. The apologists tell us that the problem is the lack of rain. The problem is really the flood of communist restrictions, regulations, and total incompetence which destroys all incentive to produce and distributes what is produced to the wrong place.

Speaking of the economic advantages of communism, let me repeat a story that is now being told behind the Iron Curtain about communist economic planning. The story goes that if the communists seize the Sahara desert, within five years there will be a shortage of sand.

The apologists also tell us — time and time again — that the communist threat is overstated, that there is no so-called “domino effect”.

Well, let them go to Vietnam, Laos, and what remains of the holocaustic Cambodia. Imagine with me the unholy horror of those who in the mid-1950s fled south from Communist North Vietnam only to face the same murderous hordes two decades later. And this time, with the fall of their neighboring lands, there was nowhere left to run. So they set sail, many knowing they would die at sea. They had accepted the idea that it is better to be dead than remain Red.

In fact, today, there are at least eight nations inside the Communist Empire where this view has prevailed and the citizens have taken up arms against their Marxist masters. Let us, from this day forward, dedicate ourselves to the task of exposing the fallacies of those who apologize for and want to “do business” with the communists. Let us take heart that the freedom-fighters in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan and Angola, in Ethiopia and Mozambique, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam can, with our help and assistance, turn back the tides of tyranny and let the light of democracy flow in.

This does not mean we are warmongers. In fact, the opposite is true. As a soldier who for more than forty years answered the call of duty, I can assure you that no one hates war as much as those who have to fight it. Those who love liberty more than life are today already embattled on fields of fire in foreign lands. They fight wars they did not seek in places they did not choose. They fight against a communist enemy unequalled in the annals of mankind for its cynicism, cruelty and ruthless greed. The freedom-fighters of the world need our physical, financial, moral and spiritual help. With God's blessing, I hope and pray that we keep on giving it to them.

## TRIBUTE TO YAROSLAV STETSKO

It is with great sadness that the XIXth WACL Conference observes the passing of Yaroslav Stetsko, the Prime Minister of the Independent Ukrainian Government, which was established on June 30, 1941. He has been in the forefront of Ukraine's struggle for freedom and national independence. For his commitment to the fight against Nazi Germany, he suffered persecution and incarceration in Nazi concentration camps. Nonetheless, his commitment to the subjugated nations remained unwavering. Thus, he continued his efforts on their behalf after WWII, by leading the international efforts against Soviet Russian imperialism and communism.



*Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko addressing the 5th WACL Conference in Manila, the Philippines, in 1971.*

Because the liberation of all subjugated nations was the primary life work of Yaroslav Stetsko, he became the founding father and president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), as well as one of the initiating forces behind the creation of WACL and the European Freedom Council (EFC).

Yaroslav Stetsko, in his courage and dedication to freedom, has inspired individuals committed to the struggle for national independence, social justice and individual freedoms. His courage, vision, statesmanship, warmth and leadership will be greatly missed by all.

# LAST RESPECTS PAID

*(at the funeral or*



*Bishop Platon Kornyliak*

## **“THE UKRAINIAN NATION NEEDS SUCH HEROES”**

We have gathered here to render a last service to the late Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko, who after a grave illness has passed away from us into eternity.

The great number of attendants of these funeral services is evidence that the deceased was a great son of the Ukrainian nation: leader of the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, President of the ABN, Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government. Yaroslav Stetsko worked and suffered for his beloved nation.

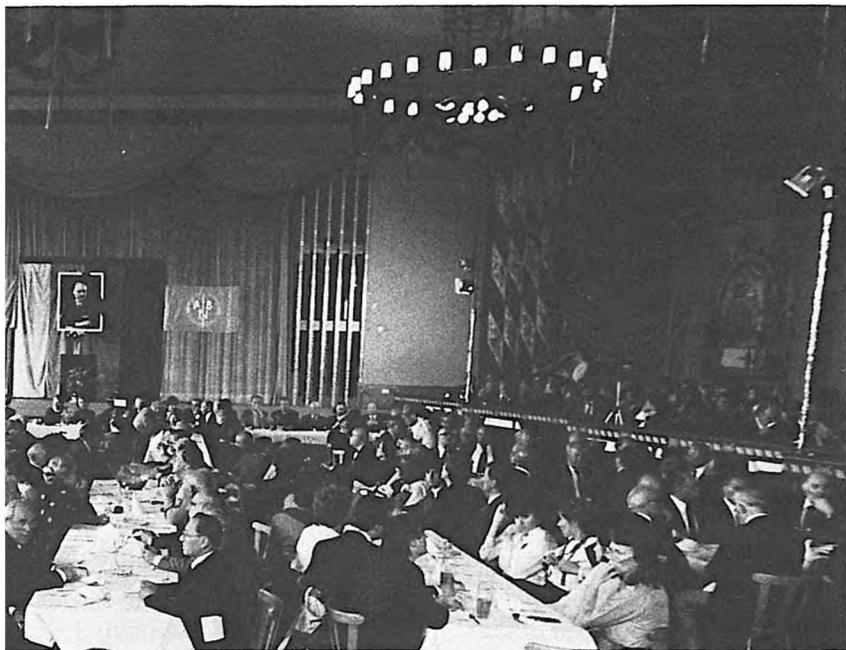
Metropolitan Andrey Count Sheptyckyj said the following about the deceased: “We recognize Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko as the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government. We offer the appointed government the obedience that is its due”.

The late Yaroslav Stetsko burned with love for Ukraine and was always ready to sacrifice his life on the altar of his homeland and that is why he had to endure much suffering. He was deeply religious and he drew his strength and steadfastness in the struggle for high ideals from his deep faith in God and his devotion to our Church.

The deceased leaves us an example of idealistic work for the good of his nation. May this inspire to emulation, those, who want to devote themselves to working for

# IME MINISTER OF UKRAINE

86, Munich, West Germany)



ast

Ukraine. Yaroslav Stetsko, through his work and his life encourages our youth to follow in his footsteps.

The Ukrainian nation needs such heroes, warriors of the spirit to finally reach its ideals, for which Ukraine's faithful sons and daughters have toiled through the ages.

In the name of the Holy Church I bid farewell to Yaroslav Stetsko and I call all of you to sincere and holy prayers for the repose of his soul.

May his memory be eternal!

You are the fountain of life Lord, you divinely lead your servant Yaroslav, who has come to you in faith. Receive his soul into the joys of paradise. Amen.

*Archpriest Paladiy Dubytsky*

## **“BLESSED IS THE ROAD UPON WHICH YOU ENTER TODAY, OH SPIRIT”**

One October day in 1959 I was a representative of our Church, delegated by the late Metropolitan Nicanor to attend the funeral services of Stepan Bandera, who died a tragic, heroic death.

Today I am also representing the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. I bid farewell to a great son of the Ukrainian nation with the blessing of Archbishop Anatoliy, who, unfortunately could not be present due to a poor state of health.

It is a great responsibility for me to represent our Church here today, because one way or another my words will enter the annals of our history or that of the enemy. But I have the assurance of our Lord God, who said to the apostles: "When you stand judgment do not be afraid of what you have to say, for the Holy Ghost will teach you what you must say."

"Blessed is the road, upon which you go today, oh spirit," — such is a verse from the funeral services of our Church. "Blessed is the road" not because we have gathered here today in a great multitude, so solemnly with so many wreaths and flags, but because the soul of the deceased has already found repose after a grave illness.

I can best express the faith and life's road of the deceased through the words of our great poet Taras Shevchenko, who in paraphrasing the First Psalm said:

*"Blessed is he who does not follow the advice of the wicked,  
Blessed is he who does not sit with the cruel,  
But in God's law is taught by freedom and the heart."*

Truly the deceased did not consort with the cruel, did not follow the advice of the wicked, he was a staunch and great patriot of our nation. Evidence of this is the brilliant and eminent Act of June 30, 1941 which he did not revoke, and for this, along with others who were instrumental in proclaiming the renewal of the Ukrainian state, was sentenced to concentration camps. As has already been said before me, he was raised the son of a priest, and he went on the blessed road of eternity, having received the last rites.

I want to underscore one particular aspect of his multifaceted activity — and that is his piety and love of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. He always emphasized that to him, a truly great martyr of the Christian faith and of Ukrainian patriotism was Metropolitan Wasyl Lypkiwskyj. I don't recall any festival of our Church here in Munich where the deceased, unless he was out of town, did not participate and speak, always underlining the road of martyrdom of our Church. For this, in the name of our Church, I thank him most sincerely.

Dear Mrs. Stetsko! Our gathering here may in part lighten your grief somewhat, but it will never fully erase it. Only the Lord God will enable you to survive this loss, as he so beautifully said once to his apostles: "A time will come when you will leave me, and each of you will go your own way, but I will not be left alone for our Heavenly Father is with me." And you, dear Mrs. Slava, although a time may come when you may not have many friends about you, your family and helpers may be far away, you may be left by yourself, but you will never be alone, because the Merciful Lord will help you to bear your cross, the heavy cross of serving your nation here, beyond the boundaries of our homeland. May God help you! Dear and honorable Yaroslav, in the name of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church — may your memory be eternal.

*Wasyl Oleskiw*

**"YOU WERE THE SYMBOL OF THE GREAT  
STRUGGLE OF KYIV AGAINST MOSCOW"**

In the name of the organized cadres of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the entire patriotic Ukrainian community in Great Britain, we bow deeply before your illustrious stature in this mournful moment of our last farewell.

As the head of the Ukrainian state which did not capitulate before the enemy, you were the embodiment of the heroic Ukrainian struggle of the OUN-UPA epoch.

You led the OUN and the entire Ukrainian Liberation Movement with heroic spirit, you were the champion of armed struggle for the attainment and confirmation of Ukrainian rule on our lands. You were the model of the ideal fighter, statesman, a deeply faithful Christian, a human being of the highest moral virtues. You were the symbol and the guide of the great struggle of Kyiv against Moscow, St. Sophia against Zagorsk, Ukraine against Russia.

Rendering you this last salute we thank you for your leadership, for your frequent visits of our community, your valuable ideas, directives and greetings which made our activity great. With feelings of irreplaceable loss and abandonment we bid you farewell on the road to eternity and vow that we will continue to dedicatedly work and struggle to fulfill our life's ideal — the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian Bolshevik yoke and the rebuilding of the independent Ukrainian sovereign state.

Eternal and glorious memory to you! Our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mrs. Oksana Romanyshyn and the entire family.

*Mykola Andruchiw*

## **“HE CHOSE THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE FREELY”**

Dear Friend and Leader!

In the name of the organized patriotic community in Canada, all colleagues and friends, we bow our heads deeply and render a last salute before the illustrious stature of our Leader, the late Yaroslav Stetsko.

He went with his nation to Golgotha but with faith in the Resurrection. He chose the road of struggle on his own, freely, of his own volition. He deeply suffered the subjugation of Ukraine and chose the road of struggle freely. We are grateful to him for his long years of committed work and self sacrifice for the cause of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, particularly for his care and support for our Canadian region.

We bid you farewell our dear Leader. You did not leave us of your own free will, but by the will of God, as was written in your book of life. You taught us to free ourselves from the fears concerning personal life, for the sake of the victory of the ideal and truth of Ukraine. You urged us to unite on the basis of our struggle for the honor and greatness of Ukraine.

Farewell, dear friend and Leader. We will continue to strive towards our goal with you beside us. Your spirit will always be with us.

May your memory and renown be eternal.

*Omelan Kowal*

## **“YOUR SPIRIT WILL BE WITH US”**

From all your friends in Benelux, family and the organized communities in Belgium, from all those here and those unable to attend, I bring to you our profound respect and last salute.

You have left us, by the will of the Almighty, during an important period of struggle over Ukraine, the struggle for its freedom and national sovereignty. However, the foundation laid by you and your illustrious predecessors in the leadership of the OUN towards Ukrainian statehood is so strong and unshakable that no enemy power can overcome it.

Your illustrious name, along with the names of Petlura, Konovalets, Stepan Bandera and Taras Chuprynka became a revolutionary banner for the Ukrainian nation under which new generations will march. Although you have left us orphaned amidst a turbulent sea, your spirit will be with us, for our spirituality is nourished by your creative strength, your uncompromising stance against the enemies of Ukraine.

Here at your grave we promise that we will faithfully follow the path of OUN, the path of your legacy and directives, for we know that your soul will not attain peace until Ukraine takes its rightful place among the free nations of the world.

Beseech the Almighty to grant us the strength to survive this road honorably and we will treasure your eternal memory.

Our deepest sympathies we extend to the bereaved Mrs. Stetsko and the entire family.

## FRIENDS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD MOURN DEATH OF YAROSLAV STETSKO

It is with much sadness and regret that I learn of the passing away of your husband, Yaroslav. Please allow me to extend my deepest condolences to you upon your great loss.

Yaroslav Stetsko was one of a rare breed of men. He was a brave and stalwart patriot who cherished liberty for his fellow Ukrainians, and for all people, everywhere.

Devoted to the cause of self-determination for the Ukrainian people, Yaroslav Stetsko stands out as a towering figure in the noble struggle against Soviet totalitarianism. His bold and inspiring vision represents a spirit that no system and no government can ever hope to extinguish.

Although we mourn the loss of Yaroslav Stetsko, we are content in the knowledge that he will live forever, in the hearts and minds of all who hold dear the freedoms that are the inherent rights of every man and woman.

Mrs. Stetsko, I know that you will continue forward in the gallant path

forged by your husband, as we strengthen our commitment against the evils of Bolshevism with renewed vigor and determination.

With deepest sympathy,

*Alfonse M. D'Amato*  
*United States Senator*

\*

I received today the wire telling me of the death of your revered husband, the only genuine Prime Minister of Ukraine.

Saddened as of course I am, still my predominant feeling is that of gratitude; personally, that I had the chance to meet him and spend even a brief time in his presence; and more generally, gratitude quite simply for his unceasing activity in behalf of freedom and for his courage, which was never diminished. Truly, a great man and a good man.

My thoughts are with you. I know that you will take some comfort, and much courage of your own, from the knowledge that your husband made so indelible a mark on his era — and for all

time, as long as the love of liberty endures in every part of the world.

With warmest wishes, always, and deep respect.

Sincerely,

*Charles M. Lichenstein*  
*Senior Fellow*  
*The Heritage Foundation*  
*U.S.A.*

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It is with deepest regret that we learned of the passing away of your husband, the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko, on July 5, 1986.

Your husband is well remembered and respected by myself and all the citizens of Onondaga County for his tireless efforts to bring to the citizens of our community the truth about the evils of the Soviet Russian empire, the real status of the subjugated nations and their continued struggle for independence. His honesty, knowledge and dedication made a lasting impression on all those who had the honor and privilege of meeting him personally and to hear his speeches. For us, who enjoy the full benefits of freedom, he came to symbolize that which no tyrannical regime can eradicate — the innate strivings of an individual for freedom for himself and his nation.

It was one of the great moments of my administration when in 1981, during one of his frequent visits to Syracuse and Onondaga County, I was able to make him an honorary citizen of Onondaga County.

This Sunday, August 17, 1986, in keeping with Ukrainian traditions and Requiem Mass to be celebrated in his memory, we join hundreds of communities throughout the United States in expressing our deepest sympathies to you and your family, the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Anti-

Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Ukrainian Communities throughout the world in this solemn commemoration.

May the noble ideals for which he suffered so much and so actively strived for be realized in the near future.

Sincerely,

*John H. Mulroy*  
*County Executive*  
*County of Onondaga*  
*State of New York*

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I send to you and your family my deepest regrets for the death of a great man of liberty, your husband, Yaroslav. It was an honor to have known him. I appreciate you and your courage and challenge you to carry on the great work of Yaroslav.

May God's comfort rest upon you and His light guide you as you "press the battle". You are and will continue to be in our prayers.

In your service,

*Dr. Jimmy D. Morgan*  
*State Director*  
*The Conservative Caucus, Inc.*  
*U.S.A.*

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It was with great sadness that I learned of the passing of your beloved husband, His Excellency Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, on July 5, 1986.

He will long be remembered for his fight against the ravages and inhumane cruelties of communism. As the International President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, he worked hard to raise the conscience of the world around him, and to make sure that it would never forget the devastating deeds perpetrated by Stalin and his cohorts.

We shall honor his memory, and I permit myself to express to you, dear Mrs. Stetsko, my own heartfelt sympathies, and the sympathies and

condolences of the Executive Board and members of the German American National Congress.

Sincerely yours,

*Elsbeth M. Seewald  
National President  
German American National Congress*

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We are extremely grieved by the death of the most respected Premier of Free Ukraine, the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, chairman of the OUN and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. On behalf of the Young Vietnamese for Freedom (YVF), the Asian Youth Anti-Communist League (AYACL) and the Co-Chairman of World Youth Freedom League (WYFL) UN/Chapter and all young Vietnamese freedom fighters overseas, we express profound sorrow to the Ukrainian freedom fighter friends, ABN, OUN and the fraternal people of Free Ukraine. Premier Yaroslav Stetsko was an outstanding leader of Free Ukraine, a valuable son of the Ukrainian people. As the leader of the ABN and OUN he made a very important contribution to outlining the strategy and policy of the Ukrainian Liberation Front. The honorable Yaroslav Stetsko was a creative theoretician. He always resolutely struggled to preserve the freedom and strengthen the might of liberation and the militant solidarity of various anti-communist liberation fronts in the world.

While mourning the death of the Honorable Premier Yaroslav Stetsko, we express grief and share the sorrow with the ABN, OUN and the family and relatives of the deceased Premier of Free Ukraine. We are convinced that the fraternal Ukrainian people will translate this sorrow into material strength in order to jointly advance to win new, greater victories in the cause of liberation

and victory for individuals and for all nations.

With great sorrow,

*Truong Quang-Si  
National Chairman,  
Young Vietnamese for Freedom  
WYFL, AYACL/Vietnam*

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I have just heard about your husband's death — and I am hastening to convey to you my sincere sympathy. May Yaroslav rest in peace, and may the Lord's favours be plentiful for him.

I shall always remember him as I met him nearly 4 years ago in Tokyo: a fine man of integrity, a true statesman and patriot. He certainly gave his life to his nation, as well as to all the people suffering under oppression. And so, Yaroslav will live on in people's memories — his spirit will never die.

Ukraine was lucky to have Yaroslav; and Yaroslav was lucky to have you, as his untiring catalyst and supporter. I shall pray that God give you the strength to cope with the loss of your husband and to continue your valuable work.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

*A.P. Taskunas, Editor  
Baltic News*

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It was with deep sorrow that we heard of the demise of our good friend and wonderful colleague, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, a torch bearer of liberty and human dignity who has made significant contributions to the cause of Afghanistan and the ongoing struggle of the Afghan nation against Soviet imperialism. His departure is an irreparable loss to the collective efforts of people around the world for establishing a just society, free from foreign domination and exploitation.

On behalf of the Afghan community in America, I convey our deepest sympathy

to Mrs. Stetsko and the bereaved family. We pray together that God rest his soul in peace.

*Habib Mayar  
Chairman  
Afghan Community  
in America*

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We Hungarians are deeply grieved by the passing away of Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and a dear friend.

It was Mr. Stetsko and his allies who concluded negotiations with General Farkass in the Transcarpathian region to work beyond the war for a democratic understanding between Hungary and Ukraine.

It was Mr. Stetsko who created a multinational organization in Munich after the war, who created a trend for understanding, rather than hate between neighboring nations.

It was Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko who professed the ABN principle that we should embrace our neighbors, not fight with them.

Mr. Stetsko was a nationalist in the Ukrainian terms, he was the leader of that thought, however, he was also well aware and acceptable to neighboring nations who were nationalistic, just as he was.

I got to know him in 1954-55. I learned to know him and advised my father, a deputy Foreign Minister of Hungary. They contacted each other, and they agreed that they have a common cause.

Ladies and Gentlemen, whoever is attending these funeral services, please note, there is nothing which could separate Hungarian and Ukrainian interests in the Carpathian enclave. We both have the same interests, but nothing

can be realized without the curbing of the Russian interest.

You have helped us greatly in the mounting of Prinz Rakoczy's freedom fight in 1704, we are fighting for you in 1986. If the Carpatho-Ukrainians do not fight with us, we will lose everything we had in Uzhhorod, Munkacevo and the neighboring rural communities. This fight is a common fight.

The Hungarian Community, including Bishop Dömötör, Mr. Laszlo Böjtös, Board Chairman, Mr. Imre Beke, Executive Director, express their deepest condolences.

I can only say, that the passing away of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko is a deep Hungarian loss.

*Charles Andreanszky  
American Hungarian  
Federation*

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I am dismayed and grieved to learn of the death of your husband, the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko. Your husband was dear in my heart as a great Ukrainian. He was not only a great Ukrainian nationalist, he was a distinguished leader of all those subjugated to Moscow.

Throughout the long years of our acquaintance I admired your husband as an idealist and an individual who fought tenaciously for the national independence of all captive nations. In this struggle your husband will always be remembered as a paragon of strength and determination.

Dear Slava, remember always that you do not grieve alone for the loss of your husband, all of us who knew your husband and shared his hopes and dreams will miss him greatly.

*Rusi Nasar  
(Turkestani)*

## GREAT FREEDOM FIGHTER FOR THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY

*The following tribute was delivered by Congressman Jack F. Kemp in the House of Representatives on Tuesday, August 12, 1986 and was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 13, 1986.*

Mr. Speaker, it is with great respect that I pay special tribute today to the great Ukrainian freedom fighter, Yaroslav Stetsko, who died on July 5. He dedicated his life to promoting the cause of liberty not only for his own people but for all those living in captive nations. As head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Revolutionaries and Prime Minister of Ukraine during World War II, Yaroslav Stetsko led the campaign to make Ukraine a free and independent state.

Mr. Speaker, the following article, from the July 20, 1986 *National Tribune* deserves the attention of the Congress and I ask that it be included in today's *RECORD* for all Members to read. Yaroslav Stetsko's leadership in the struggle for Ukraine's independence and his message of freedom for the captive nations are a lasting tribute to this great patriot's life.

### YAROSLAV STETSKO, OUN-R LEADER, PRIME MINISTER OF UKRAINE, DIES

Munich, West Germany — Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Revolutionaries and Prime Minister of Ukraine during World War II, died here Saturday, July 5, at the age of 74 after a prolonged illness. He is survived by his wife, Slava Stetsko, editor of the *ABN Correspondence*.

Stetsko, who was born into a priestly family in the Ternopil region of western Ukraine on January 19, 1912, was one of the leading persons in the political and military struggle for Ukraine's independence in the 20th century.

After graduating from the Ternopil gymnasium with exceptional grades, he entered the Lviv university as a student of philosophy and law. Stetsko joined the OUN as a student and among his first responsibilities as a member of the national executive board was ideological chairman and editor-in-chief of the underground publication "*Yunak*."

During the infamous 1936 trial of Stepan Bandera and others in Lviv, Stetsko declared during the Polish prosecutor's questioning, "I am a citizen of Ukraine. The Ukrainian state exists in our souls!"

In February 1940, following the division of the OUN, Bandera and Stetsko assumed the OUN's revolutionary leadership. Plans were immediately set in motion to proclaim the re-establishment of Ukraine's independence. This was further expanded with other Ukrainian political parties through Stetsko's role in the Ukrainian National Committee.

Independence was proclaimed on June 30, 1941, less than two weeks after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Russian occupied territories. Bandera, Stetsko, the revolutionary leadership and other nationalist figures were consequently arrested and imprisoned in concentration camps by the Nazis.

## **ABN GENERAL MEETING PAID TRIBUTE TO THE LATE ABN PRESIDENT**

The general meeting of the Central Committee of ABN was held on August 28, 1986, in Munich, at which tribute was paid to the Head of the Ukrainian National Government, co-founder and Prèsidant of the ABN, the late Yaroslav Stetsko. After observing a moment's silence, the former minister of Bulgaria and long-term member of the Central Committee of ABN, Dr. Dymitr Waltscheff, esteemed the deceased with great piety. He not only felt the loss of the late Y. Stetsko personally, but as a loss to the whole humanity of a great and noble diplomat, politician and Christian who, always disregarding the threat of death, dedicated his whole life to the achievement of an independent Ukrainian state and the liberation of all the nations subjugated by Moscow. Dr. Waltscheff asserted that the ABN will continue its reinforced activity in the same spirit and thanked everyone who had remained faithful to the late Y. Stetsko right until the end. He expressed warm words of condolence to Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

### **Slava Stetsko Elected ABN President**

The agenda of the meeting included the election of the new ABN President. On the written proposal by the President of the Council of Nationalities of ABN and President of the Turkestani Unity Committee, Mr. Veli Kajum-Khan, it was proposed that the present Executive Chairman of ABN, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, be elected as President of the ABN. Mrs. Stetsko has proved by her many years of hard work within ABN that all further activities will continue for the benefit of all the subjugated nations. This proposal was seconded in writing by the Estonian and Hungarian representatives, as well as by the representatives of Slovakia, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Croatia and Georgia from Great Britain and Belgium, even before the Central Committee general meeting. Colonel E. Ren also proposed Mrs. Slava Stetsko as ABN President on behalf of the Ukrainian delegation.

The general meeting unanimously elected Mrs. Slava Stetsko as President of the ABN on August 28, 1986. Thanking everyone for their confidence in her, Mrs. Stetsko accepted this position in order to continue the work of the great Yaroslav Stetsko and asked all the ABN members to help her as much as possible in this difficult task.

*ABN Press Bureau*

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▶ Stetsko's work on behalf of the Ukrainian nation and its independence continued after the war. In 1947, he was elected chairman of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which had its roots in the clandestine Conference of Captive Nations convened by Gen. Taras Chuprynka in 1943. Stetsko served as its only chairman. In 1968, Stetsko was elected head of the OUN-R central leadership.

Stetsko's anti-communist activity extended beyond Ukrainian affairs. As member of the honorary presidium of the European Freedom Council and a member of the presidium of the World Anti-Communist League, he met with international leaders and various statesmen, impressing upon them the need to wage a freedom campaign on behalf of the captive nations. Among the Western leaders he met were President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush.

## **“BE STRONG AND OF GOOD COURAGE”**

*On September 7, 1986, the 2nd anniversary of Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj's death was commemorated. This tribute by Rev. Werenfried van Straaten was delivered on the 1st anniversary of the Patriarch's death in September 1985.*

Your Beatitude, Your Excellencies, Dear Ukrainian Friends!

A year has passed since you bade farewell to your Patriarch and Confessor as he went to his eternal rest. I shared your grief at the funeral rites held in the Sobor of Saint Sophia. The sombre tones of the requiem Alleluia, the moving prayer and supplication of the singers and the tearful “Lord have mercys” shall remain forever in my memory. Throughout this year I have seen how orphaned you are and how you miss his fatherly presence. For this reason I repeat to you the words of Christ “Do not weep... I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in me, though he die, yet shall he live, and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die.”

The great works of Cardinal Slipyj were not just personal to him. They were the continuation of the strivings which Christian Ukraine had made from the very beginning of its Christian history. They were the continuation of the struggle for the rights of his people as fought by his great predecessors. The life of Cardinal Yosyf Slipyj came to an end but his vision must live on in the heart and history of the Ukrainian Church. It is now your task to continue and complete his life's work, to fulfill his will and to carry out his testament.

Your first task is to bear witness to Christ. That means to confess Him before men, not to disown Him, to carry one's cross, to suffer with Christ, to be ready even to sacrifice one's own life for one's friends. In the past forty years, Cardinal Slipyj, your bishops, priests and faithful have given witness in prisons and concentration camps. Now it is up to you to be witnesses of Christ all around the Free World and to spread the Kingdom of God on earth in the knowledge that you are the brothers and sisters of great confessors and that you belong to a people which has paid with its blood for its loyalty to Christ.

Your witness should reveal itself not only in discussion and in rhetoric, but rather in prayer and in strong unity with your persecuted brothers and sisters in Ukraine. Together you are ONE holy Church, ONE great people! You should extend true Christian solidarity to them. You should share their suffering and support them in their heroic struggle against their oppressors. Their witness is a challenge to your comfort. Imitate their spirit of sacrifice.

It was precisely in the year of Cardinal Slipyj's death that Christian Ukraine once again raised the banner of confessorship: the “Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine” and the “Ukrainian Catholic Herald” began appearing and more and more news from the catacombs reached us. Though the persecutors imprison and torture the fighters for truth, justice and liberty, their blood will give birth to new Christians.

These words are meant especially for you, Ukrainian youth. Before you lies the immense task of bringing the light of Christ's truth into a free and rebuilt homeland. Therefore you will need wisdom, fortitude and grace from God. You will need to live according to the heritage of your fathers, in self-denial without taint of egotism. Great

deeds require inner strength and hard work and I want to believe that you, Ukrainian youth, will not lack the spirit of sacrifice needed to carry out this task. Rely on the Holy Spirit. Like the Apostles after the Ascension, He will strengthen you with the gifts of Pentecost and enable you to bear witness to Christ and — if he calls you — to dedicate yourselves without hesitation even to the high service of priestly and monastic life.

From force of habit, I have brought with me my famous “hat of millions” because after this gathering there will be a collection for the persecuted Ukrainian Church. I will be at the door. But I would gladly renounce the whole collection, if I were sure that today, in this hall, one young man or one young woman made up their minds to give themselves to God, to live and to fight as His priest, as His nun, for the Church in need. Hundreds of priests and nuns have been murdered in your Ukrainian homeland. If not enough new vocations can be found over there as well as in the Free World, the battle for God’s Kingdom has already been lost among you. Be generous. Don’t abandon your Ukrainian Church. This is my special message to you, the young Ukrainians.

Within the framework of the continuation of the legacy of Cardinal Slipyj, you will need to develop and to devote yourselves to scholarship, to higher learning and to Ukrainian spirituality and to pursue all these in their proper institutions. These are the Ukrainian University, the Sobor and College of Saint Sophia and the Studite Monastery. Let your university and your college be burning fires of learning; let your Sobor be a symbol of the indestructibility of God’s Church and let your monastery be an always bright island of Christian righteousness and of Eastern monasticism and holiness. The Ukrainian Catholic University and the College of Saint Sophia are to become hearths around which will gather new generations of priests and lay witnesses, fighters for truth and learning free from coercion. Expand your University, complete and support it with your qualified academic and professional efforts.

The Sobor of Saint Sophia must gather all of you dispersed throughout the world. It must remain a sign and symbol of the destroyed and desecrated houses of God in Ukraine; it must be the expression of your hope for the future rebuilding of the churches in Ukraine and a stimulus to construct new churches in the places where you now live.

This was best understood by our Slavic Pope, who called himself “your brother in flesh and blood” and who, in his “concern and constant efforts on behalf of you all, both in your homeland and in the diaspora,” assigned to your new Cardinal the Sobor of Saint Sophia as his titular church.

This church is to be your centre of unity. Go to it in pilgrimage. Beautify and adorn it as your Patriarch wished, this being the place where he has been laid to rest. Pray at his grave for the future of your Church and Nation, until the day comes when you will be able to transfer his remains to the Sobor of Saint George in Lviv, and from there to Saint Sophia in Kyiv. In this sense, your loving care for the Sobor of Saint Sophia in Rome must be the visible sign of your gratitude and your monument to Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj upon the arrival of your second millennium.

We had all hoped that Cardinal Slipyj might still have been with us in 1988 to head the celebrations marking the millennium of Christianity in Rus’-Ukraine. But God wanted you to pass this milestone in your history without him. It will not be easy. I realise all too well that there are many powerful forces with vested political and pseudo-ecumenical interests who deny the Ukrainian people their independent



*Patriarch Yosyf Slippy*

Christian tradition. The propaganda and political strength of Moscow — both Orthodox and communist — are doing everything possible to rob you of your Christian millennium and arrogate it to themselves. And hardly anyone seems to have the courage to side with you, because you are politically weak and downtrodden.

Yet it demands only a minimum of critical analysis to determine that Christianity in Kyiv is several centuries older than that in Moscow and that the Christian tradition of Ukraine always had its own character, thus contributing to the riches of the Universal and Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Churches can wipe out this historical and ethno-cultural truth. On the contrary, they serve to strengthen its validity. Only a false heir resorts to violence.

In spite of the difficulties you face, I urge you to do all you can to prepare yourselves by inner renewal for your millennium. Let it inspire and consolidate your Christian faith and life. Do all you can to propagate the truth about it. Above all, do not become discouraged if the world does not want to accept the truth. And always

stress that genuine ecumenism can never be achieved at the cost of the truth and of the oppressed.

Please allow me to touch upon the question that remained closest to the heart of the deceased: that of the recognition of the Ukrainian Patriarchate. I do this without any partiality or personal interest. I am guided only by the good of the universal Church and by my reverence for the vision of the deceased Cardinal, which he had inherited from Metropolitan Andrej and from those who went before him.

It would be a tragedy before history and your people, if you were not fully to achieve your Patriarchate. Can there be any doubt that this status is due to the largest Eastern Church united with Rome? The patriarchal question has been called “just” by the Holy Father. All Ukrainians must help him find a way to solve this question positively. Do not fear the problems and obstacles, but work solidly and steadily, approaching in love a solution while remembering the words of Saint Augustine: “In necessary things, unity, in doubtful things, freedom, in all things, charity.”

The good of the Ukrainian Church and the recognition of the Patriarchate call for an episcopate that is of one spirit and complies with its head in peace and love. In his testament, Patriarch Yosyf expressed unequivocally his sorrow at not having always received this support from his brother bishops. In the 17th century, Metropolitan Ruts-kyj had already agonised over this same failing. I therefore ask you as a good friend, dear bishops, in the name of your martyrs and for the sake of your suffering Church, unite yourselves in love with your Father and Head, His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan. You elected him and your choice was respected by the Holy Father. Only as a unanimous Synod will you be able to concern yourselves effectively with the task of fulfilling the work that Cardinal Slipyj left unfinished. And God will bless and reward you.

As the highest contemporary representative of the Ukrainian Church and people, you, Your Beatitude Myroslav Ivan, are the bearer of their dignity. You are also the spokesman of Ukraine’s Christianity and national identity. The fulfillment of your people’s aspirations depends greatly on your wisdom, courage and leadership. Your burden is great, but we all know that Christ will never give a cross heavier than we can bear.

Strengthened by the love and loyal support of the Ukrainian bishops, priests, religious and faithful, knowing of the Holy Father’s understanding and firmly trusting in God’s help, your Beatitude can confidently take up the task of gaining universal recognition of the Patriarchate of Kyiv and Halych. The fact that the atheists and collaborating Orthodox prelates try everything, with the help of many allies, to prevent the recognition of the Patriarchate, is proof that such recognition would promote the spiritual strength of the Ukrainian people and ultimately end the communist oppression. Therefore, it is a holy work. May God grant you the strength to complete this holy work, this deed of God, as your predecessor called it. You may count on the prayers, the sympathy and the support of 600,000 benefactors of Aid to the Church in Need.

Lastly, I want to refer to an important source of Cardinal Slipyj’s inner strength — his devotion to the Mother of God. His Testament shows that he was an avid theologian who had dedicated most of his academic efforts to the greatest Mystery revealed by God, that of the Holy Trinity and especially to the Holy Spirit. But this did not mean that there was no place for Mary in his life. His coat of arms was adorned



*Patriarch Yosyf Slipyj with Rev. Werenfried van Straaten*

with an image of Our Lady the Protectress. This was his way of stating that he had abandoned his whole life, with all its trials and tribulations, to her motherly protection.

At Lourdes in 1970, he solemnly commended the martyrs and Confessors of Ukraine to the Most Holy Mother of God. Without her intercession and care, his persecuted flock had no chance of survival. That is why he concluded his testament with the words: "Sitting on the sleigh and on my way into the far off distance... I say a prayer to our Heavenly Protectress and Queen, the Ever-Virgin Mother of God: Take our Ukrainian Church and our Ukrainian people under your powerful protection!"

On December 22, 1984, Your Beatitude commended the Ukrainian Church and people to the protection of the Most Holy Virgin. It was one of your first public acts after succeeding Cardinal Slipyj. Coming generations will be grateful to you for the filial love of Mary you have shown.

Our ancestors hymned her as the Star of the Sea. Ave Maris Stella! The darker the night came down over the world, the brighter shone Mary's light, showing the way to seekers and to those gone astray. It is still the same today — wherever men of good will follow her light, she overcomes the darkness. She is victorious in the souls of all who entrust themselves to her. While evil everywhere increases, in them good conquers. While a tide of sin washes over the world, in them God's grace is triumphant. While error spreads unrestrained, they are witnesses to God's truth. While discord divides the Church, they save her unity by love. While the Pope is contradicted, insulted or forsaken by countless numbers, they place themselves on his side to defend him. And while the beast of the Apocalypse publicly triumphs, Mary is victorious in the hidden lives of her children.

All men whom Christ has redeemed are Mary's children. Not only the saints but also the weak and the faint-hearted. The sinners and the apostates too. Even the persecutors of the Faith. Like a mother, Mary wants to help and save them all.

She is the Mother of the whole Church. She has pity on the whole human race which, led astray, corrupted and perverted by the evil spirit, revolts against God and refuses to serve Him. She, who has overcome all heresies, is firmly resolved to conquer also the most dangerous false teaching of all history, atheistic communism. She will not forsake us. The more the lips of those called to preach the truth fall silent, the more numerous become the messages she gives to her chosen ones of pure heart. She gathers the ranks of her humble warriors against the arrogant legion of the proud who would cast down God from His throne. And whilst the howls of God's enemies increase day by day, she commands her children to reply only with trust, sacrifice, prayer, penance and silence. Let us follow her call at Fatima to resist evil and to remain true to God. If we consecrate ourselves to her Immaculate Heart, she will save us from error. She will not let us fall into Satan's power. She will save us for eternity.

Dear Friends, Ukrainians!

In ending, I would like to ask you not to fall into sadness, for your sorrow shall be changed into joy. Your Moses has left you, but you, like the disciples of Christ, are to return home with great joy (Luke 24:53), because the Holy Spirit shall descend upon you and give you his gifts and your Church shall be reborn in Ukraine and in the diaspora.

And so I repeat to you, Your Beatitude Myroslav Ivan, the words of God spoken to Joshua after the death of Moses: "Be strong and of good courage; for you shall go with this people into the land that the Lord has sworn to their fathers to give them; and you shall put them in possession of it. It is the Lord who goes before you; He will be with you, He will not fail or forsake you; do not fear or be dismayed." (Deut. 31:7-8). "Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, you and all this people, into the land which I am giving to them... Every place that the sole of your foot will tread upon I have given to you, as I promised to Moses... As I was with him, so I shall be with you; I will not fail you or forsake you... for you shall cause this people to inherit the land which I swore to their fathers to give them. Only be strong and very courageous, being careful to do all according to the law which Moses my servant commanded you; turn not from it to the right hand or to the left... Be not frightened, neither be dismayed; for the Lord your God is with you wherever you go." (Joshua 1:2-9).

And also to you, all my Ukrainian friends, I say: "Be strong and of good courage; do not fear or be in dread; for it is the Lord your God who goes with you; He will not fail or forsake you." (Deut. 31:16). Amen.

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

by

**His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky**

**Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church**

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## THE SPIRIT OF UKRAINE

*Speech by the Hon. William Whitlock delivered on the 21st of June, 1986, in London at the ceremony of conferring upon him an Honorary Doctorate of Philosophy by the Ukrainian Free University*

I cannot adequately express my appreciation of the honour conferred upon me, this great honour bestowed by the institute of learning dedicated to the preservation of the highest ideals in Ukrainian culture.

I have various reasons for feeling pride. I am proud of my family without whose support and understanding I could never have carried out in my political career those things which I have been able to achieve. I am proud of the fact that I was for twenty four years a Member of the Mother of Parliaments, representing in it the citizens of the ancient city of Nottingham, and in that capacity having the additional honour to be for five years a member of the Government of my country. And now I have another great reason for pride — the knowledge that my espousal of the Ukrainian cause has been adjudged to be significant enough to warrant the recognition which has been accorded to it today.

This honour, which I so deeply appreciate, means that for so long as I am remembered, my name will be associated with Ukraine. I do not mean that I shall go down in history as having made a large contribution to the achievement of Ukrainian liberty, but that whenever my name comes to mind it will be remembered that I had an affinity with the Ukrainian people and with their country, although I have never visited it.

If I have done anything else in my political life I am happy to know that I reached the hearts of so many Ukrainians. Today I feel that I have been made an honorary Ukrainian.

Soon after I became a Member of Parliament in 1959, the hand of friendship was extended to me by the Ukrainians of Nottingham, and in time by Ukrainians elsewhere. As I grew to know them better I grew to admire them as good citizens, a colourful part of whatever community in which they lived, who at the same time determinedly preserved their own culture, bringing up their children to respect high moral standards in a world of increasing violence, crime and nastiness of every kind.

Increasingly I became aware of the intensity of their love for their country and of their passionate belief that one day it would be free again. I began to know more and more about the struggles to secure that freedom and about the horrors inflicted by the USSR on those who sought it, horrors which never seem to have aroused the abhorrence in the international community which such atrocities justified.

There was, for instance, the government imposed famine which killed over 7 million Ukrainian peasants in the 1930's. There has been the torture and execution of intellectuals, the inhuman treatment of large numbers of Ukrainians as enemies of the state, as worse than criminals, only because they believed in their nationhood.

That infamous treatment still goes on, and so too does the ferment of resistance in the USSR.

The degree which has been conferred upon me is, in the Latin phrase, *honoris causa*. You, Professor Cymbalisty, in heaping lavish praise upon me, have performed the *laudatio* — another Latin word. From the days when I studied Latin and Roman history I recall that Cato the Elder ended every speech which he made in the Roman Senate, on no matter what subject, with the words ‘*Delenda est Carthago*’ — ‘Carthage must be destroyed’. After waging three wars against the Carthaginians, the Romans finally destroyed Carthage. Now, the power which the Romans considered such a threat to their supremacy must indeed have had a significant culture, yet almost all we know about the Carthaginian way of life is contained in the entirely biased information, in the propaganda, passed down by those who destroyed it.

Well, like the Romans in their attitude towards Carthage, the USSR has set out to stamp out every facet of Ukrainian culture, its language, its literature, the national awareness of the Ukrainian people. It has not succeeded, but to some extent it has had more success with its propaganda. That propaganda of the Russians, combined with the passage of time which breeds indifference towards unhappy, distant things, and combined also with the lack of interest in Ukraine shown by the media — those things have removed from the consciousness of most people the knowledge that Ukraine is a separate, unique but captive nation. The nuclear power station disaster at Chernobyl has brought the name of Ukraine to millions but it has not in any way enlightened them as to the extent of the oppression which has been going on in Ukraine for so long.

It angers Ukrainians, I know, that much of the world, if it bothers to think about it at all, treats Ukraine’s fate as an oppressed nation as though it were part of history which can never be changed, as though Ukraine were just a labelled region on the map of the USSR.

Years ago I used to ask myself “Where is the spirit of Ukraine, the inspiration, the indescribable something which has moulded a nation?” In time I learned the answer to that question from conversations with my Ukrainian friends in which, I feel sure, they were not trying consciously and deliberately to give expression to the lasting imprint made upon their whole beings by their country, but by the strength of their sincerity and conviction they conveyed so much to me.

The spirit of Ukraine is in the rich, dark soil of its vast fertile plains which have nurtured civilizations from ancient times, in the great rivers which irrigate those plains and in the hills and mountains which frame them. It is in the great wealth and vitality of its traditional songs portraying various aspects of Ukrainian life, songs which sometimes convey a lyrical joy of life, but sometimes a haunting, brooding sadness arising from the harsh misfortunes suffered by the Ukrainian people.

The spirit of Ukraine is in its traditional dances, some of stateliness and some of great vigour, but all very colourful and entertaining to watch — and obviously, judging by the enthusiasm of the dancers, entertaining to perform.

It is in the Ukrainian language itself and in the richness of its extensive literature.

It is in the cherished traditions which have evolved from the glories and the tragedies of the past.

It is in the religious faith to which its people persistently adhere, despite attempts to eliminate it from their hearts and minds.

## THE HON. WILLIAM WHITLOCK AWARDED FOR FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

Former Nottingham North Labour MP Mr. William Whitlock received an honorary Doctorate of Philosophy from two Ukrainian universities in London on June 21, 1986, in recognition of his outstanding work for the five million Ukrainians living in countries outside the USSR, and for the millions still there.

“I am proud and delighted. The nuclear power station disaster at Chornobyl has brought the name of Ukraine to the attention of millions around the world.

“But it has not in any way enlightened them on the extent of the oppression which has been going on in Ukraine for so long,” said Mr. Whitlock.

His long association with the Ukrainians’ cause was identified when he formed, in the House of Commons, an all-party British Ukrainian Group consisting of MPs with Ukrainians living in their constituencies or who took an interest in their problems and affairs. He was chairman of the group until his defeat in the 1983 general election.

Ukrainians all over the world know him for his activities on their behalf over the years. Two memorable speeches in the House in 1975 and 1977 were highly critical of the USSR’s failure to observe human rights in Ukraine.

These speeches were translated into Russian and Ukrainian, and broadcast to the USSR from free stations in Europe. After each one, political prisoners whom he mentioned in the House were released.

“Ukrainians passionately believe that their country will one day be free. I have learned much about their struggles to obtain that freedom and about the treatment inflicted by the Russians on those who sought it. There has been torture and execution of intellectuals and inhuman treatment of large numbers of Ukrainians as enemies of the state, only because they believe in their nationhood,” said Mr. Whitlock.

The Ph.D to be conferred on him is a joint award from the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Catholic University.

*The Nottingham Evening Post  
June 20, 1986*

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► The spirit of Ukraine is above all in the steadfast opposition of its people to Russification, in the indomitable courage and iron will of such people as Valentyn Moroz in the face of the most inhuman of treatment.

And so, savage persecution, economic exploitation, attempts to suppress the Ukrainian language and culture, domination by an alien culture — all of those things have failed to destroy the spirit of Ukraine.

Because that is so; because Ukrainians far from their homeland as well as those still living there have kept faith with their national heritage; and because they have tended the fire from which the torch of liberty will be kindled, Ukraine will be free again.

It will be free again and its spirit and culture will blossom as never before, and the Ukrainian people will attain the great heights of human achievement of which they are capable.

*Chaj zhywe wilna Ukraina.*

# IN DEFENSE OF UKRAINE'S TWO FRONT WAR

## An Analysis of a Double Standard

The application of today's propaganda criteria to events of over fifty years ago, from the historical point of view, and in the tendentious political enemy's viewpoint is a falsification of historical facts and relations of historical processes. Some justify Chamberlain's and Deladier's Munich Treaty as an appeasement to a dictator, not only a sign of Britain's military weakness, but also the recognition of self-determination. This right of self-determination forms the rationale for the inclusion of the Sudetenland within a "Greater Germany" as a rectification of the Treaty of Versailles.

Some treat the annexation of Austria as the reunification of German lands, "Heim ins Reich" and the fulfillment of Wilson's principle regarding self-determination, while others view it as occupation. The Saarland is analogously included. Chamberlain justified Germany's annexation of Sudetenland and Austria as nothing more than an union of all ethnically German lands. Therefore, aside from Britain's military weakness, which precluded the appeasement policy, Chamberlain's decision was moreover based on the principle of self-determination.

Furthermore, the spokesman of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Innitzer, officially greeted Hitler as the unifier of German lands and saluted him with a "German greeting" at an official audience.

Carl Renner, the leader of Austrian socialists and later president of Austria also welcomed Hitler's *Anschluss*: Austria and Germany, regarding them as one nation—German. The socialists also welcomed a unification of Germany, regarding themselves as Germans. The Austrian nation also welcomed its union with Germany: it did not consider it occupation. Pope Pius XII concluded a concordat with National Socialist Germany. The National Socialist Party came to power through democratic elections and Hindenburg turned over office to them legally. The British government concluded a pact concerning the tonnage of naval fleets so as not to allow German domination over European seas, although, Germany was incapable of a challenge to Britain's naval supremacy. All this occurred in the midst of friendly relations with Hitler. To protect themselves from Moscow, Pilsudski, Moscicki and Beck concluded a pact of cooperation with Hitler in 1934. They all were well aware that Hitler was a dictator and that Nazism was racist, anti-semitic and judophobic. Let us re member that.

Although Russia invented the concentration camp, concentration camps existed in Germany and in Poland. In Bereza Kartuzka, Poland imprisoned not only Ukrainian patriots, nationalists, but also Polish citizens of opposing beliefs, priests, students, intellectuals. In Brest, members of the Polish Parliament, including Witos and other renowned political activists were held captive.

The Western countries knew perfectly well what Nazism was, what Hitlerism meant, but this did not prevent them from concluding pacts of friendship and cooperation with Germany as well as securing mutual trade relations. — As if they didn't know why Einstein was thrown out of Germany; they didn't know about Nazi purges of Jewish intellectuals, about *Krystallnacht*?! Only after Hitler discarded the camouflage of self determination, invaded and occupied Czechia (Slovakia was not an

occupied country but it declared itself independent), only then the West began to understand the threat to itself. In this context, is it then not possible to speak of collaboration between the West and Nazi Germany?! And consider Poland's invasion of Czechia. The annexation of Zaolzia from an invaded Czechia — can this not be considered collaboration of Moscicki with Hitler?! It is easy for the Polish Congress Committee of Canada to inaccurately and improperly accuse the members of the Ukrainian Division of “collaboration”. Yet wasn't the attack on Zaolzia actual collaboration?! And is not the Moscow leadership a set of war criminals with all those non-aggression and friendship pacts which provoked World War II, delivering for two years all necessary things (such as fuel, grain,) for conducting a war. Did not Moscow share the spoils with Hitler and was it not Moscow who maneuvered Germany into war and provoked world-wide bloodshed?

Did Stalin and company stand trial at Nürnberg? Bolshevism and Nazism shared their spoils like the wolf and the hyena. And was not Hitler's war against Britain supported for two years by Moscow as was the occupation of France, Belgium, Denmark, Holland and so forth?! Finland and the Baltic countries were occupied by Soviet Russia. Did not Moscow benefit from collaboration with Nazism and is it not responsible for millions of lives sacrificed during World War II? Did the Russians really not know what was happening in Auschwitz, Treblinka as they were helping Hitler fight against England after overwhelming other countries, Poland in particular?

There is still more... Was the president of Germany Prof. Karstens not a member of the National Socialist Party? And didn't President Lübcke, as an architect, not draw up plans for buildings which later became concentration camps? Didn't he know what they would hold? Did not German Nazi generals rebuild the *Bundeswehr*, — the current German army and was not one of them a leading NATO commander? What about the Hitlerite judges who passed horrible sentences including death at orders of the party and who, after WWII headed the judiciary and then refused to grant damages to those who suffered because of Nazism? How many Nazi generals are there in Honecker's army and how many concentration camp officials now run his concentration camps? Where was Bundeskanzler Schmidt — a representative of Göring's *Luftwaffe* at Marshall von Witzleben's trial? Did he protest when Feisler, the head of *Volksgerecht* (Civil Court) smeared the heroes of the anti-Nazi movement? Did the German nation not elect Hitler and the National Socialists in free, democratic Weimar elections? Hitler in fact came to power legally. Are we to judge the entire German nation for the crime of Hitlerism, all the generals of the Wehrmacht, all the members of the National Socialist Party and President Karstens? And how many Jews did Roosevelt save even though there were opportunities to do so? Did Churchill not know about the Jewish pogroms from the reports of the Polish government? Did Eden not know? And Gen. Franco, who saved over 100,000 Jews from death, was he honored as one of the “righteous”? Is Israel fair in this respect? And what do the defamers of our heroic epoch say about King Leopold III, who, without one shot fired, handed over the entire Belgian army into Nazi captivity? Which of the German Cardinals protested the Jewish holocaust? Did the Pope and the Vatican remain silent or did they protest? And how did Eden protect the criminals of the Katyn massacre so as not to “insult” the Russians? Was nothing known in the West about the National Democratic Polish Party's pogroms of Jewish students in Lviv and Warsaw? Isn't this

anti-semitism? But all remain silent. Is anyone as yet familiar with anti-Jewish excesses and pogroms committed by Muscovite bands of tsarist supporters and subsequent Bolshevik cutthroats? This is taboo!

Now let us turn to Wiesenthal's scapegoats and the worldwide anti-Ukrainian Jewry and non-Jewish slanders. We do not accuse the Hebrew nation which has suffered so much from Nazi and Bolshevik holocausts of anything, however, we are cautious of a large part of its leadership.

Let us recall the horrible scenes in Ukraine, Lithuania and Byelorussia in 1941. The invasion of German armies, not Nazi! Prisons in Lviv, Lutsk, Rivne, Vinnytsia and thousands of other cities and villages filled with the best sons and daughters of Ukraine — corpses, corpses, corpses, gouged out eyes, mutilated women's bodies, crucified priests in the cellars of prisons, thousands upon thousands tortured and murdered by the Muscovite NKVD.

We remember 1932-33: 7-10 million dead because of Moscow's famine-siege of Ukraine, the murderous famine of the wartime communism of the 1920s, millions of peasants and intelligentsia deported to Siberia. The hangmen: Dzierzynski, Menzhynski, Yagoda, Yezhov, Beria and then the epoch of Stalin... Blood shed and even more blood spilled. The army of the West suddenly appears, not the Nazis, not even Germans, but Occidental, the bearers of freedom, human and national rights, —the intelligent Ukrainian nation, not some tribe of cavemen, suddenly thinks of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Leibnitz, Herder, Beethoven, Bach.

Can the German nation of such geniuses bear evil? A holocaust? Chamberlain and the British heir to the throne visited Hitler and the Pope concluded a concordat and the issue of self-determination always mentioned in connection with the Sudetenland or Austrian *Anschluss*... But in Ukraine are corpses, corpses, mountains of corpses in Bolshevik prisons.

When Cardinal Innitzer and the leader of the Austrian Socialists Carl Renner welcomed the unification with Germany by Hitler, how could the Ukrainians in the face of millions of victims at the hands of the Russians not expect or hope that someone would help them get rid of their horrible chains? Churchill said that he would fight with the devil himself against England's enemy — Hitler. But for Ukraine, it was Moscow who was the Lucifer then, not Germany. Churchill could side with the devil against enemy number 1, but the Ukrainians were not allowed to believe that the "Occident" was not a criminal system of life, not a variant of Bolshevism and Nazism. Is Ukraine responsible for this? Or maybe the Occident itself is responsible along with those from the West who tolerated Nazism, including Chamberlain, Deladier, Pilsudski, Beck, Moscicky, the Vatican and the German Church?... When Ukrainians greeted the German army in its hell of Bolshevism, it was not because they were German or National Socialist, but because Ukrainians simply had had enough of Russian socialism and colonialism and because they believed in a Christian Europe. It was not their fault that such an Europe did not exist at that time, but a satanic system as was also a Luciferian system in the East?

Did Churchill not make a mistake and then admit his mistake too late, that the wrong pig had been killed... Ukrainians were smarter than Churchill because after

their initial response they realized at once that this was not a Christian Europe, but a Europe equivalent to the Satanic Russia — it was the Ukrainians who discovered this and then fought on two fronts against both satanic systems.

We should bow our heads before the heroic and wise Ukrainian nation. To those Western snobs, who continue to live in ignorance or bribed by Lucifer from the Kremlin to praise the “paradise” behind the Iron Curtain and who should not slander the Ukrainian nation, we say “Let them go and live there!”

Ukrainians are not ashamed that in the initial days they greeted the army of the Occident as Christian, humane and freedom loving. But Ukrainians are indignant that those which laid the foundation for Nazism or supported it in one way or another throughout the West, in London, in Paris, in Vienna and in the Vatican, in the Catholic and Protestant circles of Germany do not stand up and defend those who led the two front war and warned against Bolshevism.

The blame for the fall of Christianity and humanism in Europe lies not on Ukraine but on the Western Churches, on the Versailles Treaty system, built upon revenge and hatred towards nations, moral decay, the fall of heroism, unbridled egoism, materialism, Marxism, hedonism, relativity of national values and the denial of nations.

Like a giant in the midst of spiritual, eternal Christianity, the great figure of Metropolitan Andrej Sheptycky, alone in this anti-Christian Europe, raised a mighty voice of protest against the holocaust of Jews and the holocaust in Ukraine. Pseudo-righteous Israel, for the sake of cooperation with Bolshevism has denied to recognize him as one of the righteous. Ukrainians do not need this title for Metropolitan Sheptycky, it is below our dignity to solicit this from Israel. For us, he is our Ukrainian saint and whether or not he is honored by Israel is not important to us.

It is only important for us to affirm that Israel is ungrateful and unjust, its gratitude is not measured by justice, but by the interests of the ruling stratum. This is enough for us. Our true friends from Israel evaluate Israel’s ingratitude in the same way. But they are too weak to uphold Hebrew honor, to prevent the Kremlin’s utilitarianism and mockery from playing a role in matters of national honor.

Wiesenthal has not found one war criminal among the Russians or among the *Judenrats* because in his words, “there weren’t any among them.” “There aren’t any” in the DDR, he sees them only among Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Byelorussians. He should research the fact regarding Katyn, Vinnytsia, Dresden, Lviv, where Ukrainian patriots were murdered by the thousands in June of 1941. But among NKVD members there were many sadists of Jewish nationality, second only to the Russians. But this does not interest him. He regards Ukrainians (incidentally) in the same way that the KGB does.

What is the reaction of the German media, which claims that the accusation of Demjaniuk is suspect, writes about the *ukrainisches Untier* (Ukrainian monster). What if we called the Germans monsters, brutes, or if we called Jews such as Kaganovich, Yagoda, Trotsky and hundreds of other NKVD members and Chekists of Jewish nationality “Jewish monsters”?

Ukraine and the Ukrainians can be smeared in every way, but we are not allowed to challenge their “truth”. Hundreds of thousands greeted Chamberlain after the

Sudetenland crisis after the treaty in Munich with Hitler! Hitler was a German monster whose so-called Munich deception was enthusiastically greeted by the British!

Careful about slandering those who were wiser than the Western statesmen, others assumed the proper position with regard to the two monsters, Stalin and Hitler. We do not regret that we initiated a two front war when the "Christian Occident" revealed its true face vis-a-vis the holocaust. Today we appeal to the West and not to those Wiesenthals to appraise events from the point of view of historical facts and perspective. We appeal to the West not to justify their faults or war crimes or to those Roosevelts who have turned over half the world to Bolshevism — and forcefully handed over hundreds of thousands of prisoners and refugees into the hands of the devil. They ignored Churchill's words that "the wrong pig was killed..." It was a war crime to hand over those unfortunates, who threw themselves into rivers so as not to fall into the devil's hands. Heedlessly, Eden gave the order and unfortunately President Truman agreed to carry out the inhuman decisions made in Yalta or Teheran or Casablanca.

Did the Atlantic Charter suddenly disappear?! It was a crime not to recognize Stalin as one monster though he was the master of the German one.

Rashly Churchill forgot an essential truth of British politics: equilibrium of strength. He made Britain into a second-rate European power from a world empire, turning that position over to Russia. Stalin and Roosevelt had already decided the fate of the world and pushed London into forgetfulness. How could Churchill consider that England would be the primary land power in Europe? Churchill had the opportunity to turn the tide of history while English troops were leaving the Caucasus. He should have struck then, and regardless of Roosevelt.

Now the Russian ogre rules.

The West behaves in such a way as if it did not see the monster. It is not Demjaniuk! It is the monster who sits in the Kremlin... Why does not anyone remember that the biggest collaborator and war criminal of all is still alive: Molotov. And the CPSU? Is not the "party" responsible for the pact with Hitler which brought about World War II?! It certainly isn't the 92-year-old Hess, whose archives for some reason cannot be opened until after the year 2000. When will the monsters of the Kremlin finally stand trial before history?! Why is Wiesenthal not interested in Vinnytsia, the great famine, Katyn, the Jews murdered by the Bolsheviks. Why is he searching among Ukrainians and not for the Kaganoviches, the Radeks, the Yagodas, the Shelepins or the Chekists in the West? Interesting! Is this "something else?" Is there some unholy union?

The continuing Afghanistan war fostered by the Russians, where women, children and the elderly are being killed is a matter of fact. The boat people of Vietnam, who die on the way, the millions killed in Cambodia — are these not holocausts?!

Everywhere a double standard! Bolshevism is allowed to perpetrate holocausts much greater than those perpetrated by Nazism before the very eyes of the powers that be without any forceful reaction! Was Spengler mistaken?

*B.O.*

## 19TH WACL CONFERENCE

The 19th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) took place in Luxembourg from 6th-10th September 1986. The subjugated nations were represented by delegations of Ukraine, Rumania (these two were the strongest delegations), Byelorussia, Poland, Latvia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Vietnam and Afghanistan. The strongest delegations of the Free World were those of Belgium, National China, the Republic of Korea, the United States and France. Altogether there were over 300 delegates and observers from 100 countries.

The Chairman of WACL until this year's conference was the Chairman of the United States Council for World Freedom, General John K. Singlaub. The new WACL Chairman is now Belgian Senator Jose Desmarests, former Belgian Minister of Defence and Deputy Prime Minister.

The Conference worked with plenary sessions and the following committees: 1. Psychological Warfare (subversion, disinformation, terrorism); 2. Political Situation; 3. Economic Situation; 4. Moral Forces (communication, information, role of the young); 5. Drafting of a Joint-Communique.

The plenary sessions also comprised regional reports. The Secretary General of WACL, Prof. Woo Jae-Seung reported on the activities of WACL as a whole, then the representatives of regions reported on their regional activities. The report on the



*Presidium at the 19th WACL Conference. From left to right: Mrs. Slava Stetsko (ABN); Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (MESCI); Prof. Woo, Jae-Seung, WACL Secretary General; Sen. Jose Desmarests, WACL Chairman; Gen. John K. Singlaub, outgoing WACL Chairman; Col. Georges Rombouts (ECWF); Mr. Walter Chopiowskyj (CNC, USA). At the podium: Dr. Radu Budiscanu (Rumanian delegate)*

region of the subjugated nations was presented by Mrs. Slava Stetsko. All the regions had their own separate meeting on the second day of the conference.

Speakers at the conference were: at the opening ceremony — WACL Chairman General John K. Singlaub; WACL Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang and Dr. J.M.A.H. Luns, former Secretary General of NATO and former Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands who spoke on: “Strengths and Weaknesses of Western Democracies”. Speakers at the plenary sessions were: Dr. Emilio Adolfo Rivero, Attorney and free-lance writer in the United States, member of the Cuban resistance (18 years of prison), who spoke on: “Central America, a Key to Western Security”; Vice-Admiral Ko Tun-Hua (retd.), professor of the National Chengchi University and Executive of the Chinese Society for Strategic Studies in Taiwan, who spoke on: “The Role of Sea Lanes in the Global Balance of Power”; Dr. Shao Yu-Ming, President of the Society for International Studies in Taiwan, who spoke on: “Mainland China Today”; Mr. Pierre Faillant de Villemarest, President of the International Conference of Resistance in Occupied Nations (CIRPO), who spoke on: “The Real Conditions of Combat of Resistance Movements (Afghanistan, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam) and the Clandestine Movements in the East”. Additional speakers were also admitted to speak at the plenary sessions. Dr. Radu Budiscanu from Rumania and Dr. Ivan Bankovski from Bulgaria spoke on behalf of the subjugated nations. There were also separate contributions from the Afghan and Cuban representative.

The speakers at the closing ceremony were: General Robert Close (retd.), Belgian Senator, President of the European Institute for Peace and Security; Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Honorary Chairman of WACL; and Senator Jose Desmarets, WACL Chairman, who also closed the conference.

The conference adopted a final communique and paid special tribute to the great fighter for independence of the subjugated nations, the late ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko. Both are printed in this issue.

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**We ask our readers to note  
that the ABN Correspondence representative  
for the United States is:**

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with all our other publications  
and accept your subscriptions.**

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## “FREEDOM FOR ALL MANKIND”

*Joint communique of the 19th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League  
Luxembourg, September 6-10, 1986*

More than 300 freedom-fighters from the various organizations of the World Anti-Communist League in 100 countries and international organizations assembled in Luxembourg September 6-10, 1986 for the 19th WACL General Conference with the theme of “Working for Peace in Freedom”. Effective measures for forceful action were adopted. A great global unity of freedom forces was demonstrated.

The Conference examined the changing world situation and noted three most conspicuous trends of development:

1. Moscow-Peking reconciliation showing their unchanged drive to communize the world;

2. Measures on the Chinese mainland concerning economic reform, modernization, external opening-up, etc. are aimed at amassing logistic strength for external expansion and seeking aid and assistance from the Free World;

3. Growing awareness of more free nations that no communist will help check other communists.

The Conference re-affirmed that the main current of this age is for national independence, freedom and democracy, for progress and well-being.

The further joining of strength for freedom and for an end to communist expansionism, the 19th WACL Conference resolved to urge all the nations and peoples of the world who love freedom and respect democracy to:

A. Draw and keep a clear line between the freedom camp and the communist bloc, bearing in mind the Moscow-Peking reconciliation;

B. Be vigilant against Soviet Russian schemes to infiltrate the mass media, political parties and religious and educational institutions. One typical example is the systematic instigation of anti-nuclear and pacifist campaigns all over the world;

C. Strengthen the existing common defense arrangements of free nations, promote free world regional security systems, and work for the adoption and implementation of a global anti-communist strategy. Positive efforts should be made to help developing nations repel communist advances.

D. Render moral and political support to the liberation struggle of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Caucasia and the other subjugated nations in their quest for national independence, statehood, sovereignty and democracy;

E. Help by all means those nations fighting with arms against communist slavery imposed upon them by Moscow, such as Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, Vietnam and other freedom-loving peoples in Asia, Latin America and Africa, and support the Cuban freedom-fighters by helping them to overthrow the Castro regime;

F. While condemning apartheid and urging the South African Government to accelerate the ongoing reforms, condemn the insurgency instigated by the ANC, UDF and SACTU, its political allies, which are using the issue of apartheid to gain support, For if this insurgency succeeds, the resistance movements — UNITA in Angola,

Renamo in Mozambique, the Seychelles Resistance Movement (MPR) and others will be extinguished and the Soviet Union will proceed to conquer all of Africa, with its strategic minerals and geopolitical assets. Instead of sanctions the Free World should seek out the support of Black leaders to fashion, by dialogue, a democratic South Africa.

**G.** Oppose and counter Soviet and North Korean military and naval build-up in the Northern Pacific aimed at dominating that region while the United States is being denied access to the merging mini-states and countries in the South Pacific by the nuclear free zone treaty;

**H.** Counter the counterpart Soviet military build-up in the region of the Kola peninsula, the northern flank of Europe, which is being linked up with Moscow's expansion in Cuba and Central America;

**I.** Promote economic development of developing countries by removing tariff barriers. Developed nations ought to invest more in developing countries, promote economic and technical cooperation with them and help their industrialization and modernization programs;

**J.** Call upon the Free Nations to stop supplying Soviet Russia and other Communist regimes with subsidized grain and butter helping to stabilize these regimes and to turn this aid against the Free World through the developing countries;

**K.** Strictly enforce embargoes on all forms of transactions — capital, facilities, weapons and technology — that would help communist regimes grow;

**L.** Express sympathy for Ukraine and Byelorussia as well as other surrounding nations which suffered the radiation from the Chornobyl reactor due to Soviet negligence, lack of information and refusal of foreign help for the suffering population;

**M.** Reconcile religious and racial conflicts and promote unity and cooperation in the name of anti-communism for the sake of freedom and democracy. Strongly protest the systematic persecution of Turkish speaking minority in Bulgaria with respect to the language, names, culture and religion;

**N.** Actively support the efforts of Hongkong and Macao residents to safeguard their rights, interests and free democratic ways of life. The Free World should not stand by and allow those people to be swallowed into the communist gulag;

**O.** Positively develop anti-communist activities in all enslaved countries and areas. Stepped-up spiritual and material assistance should be given those behind the Iron Curtain who are struggling for national independence, freedom, democracy and human rights. All the strength for freedom should be galvanized behind and outside the Iron Curtain for a joint action against all communists — in the Soviet Union, on the Chinese mainland, and elsewhere. A decisive victory for freedom shall thus be won for the assurance of lasting world peace.

WACL must continue its best exertion for the attainment of its goal: Freedom for all Mankind. The 20th WACL Conference will be held at an appropriate date in 1987 in Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.

All the participants of the 19th WACL Conference are most grateful to the WACL Belgian and Luxembourg Chapters for the excellent arrangement and warm hospitality they have made and offered.

## CZARIST STYLE RUSSIFICATION CONTINUES

*The following article appeared  
in the August 15, 1986 issue of The Wall Street Journal*

Can the non-Russians expect a “cultural thaw” under Mikhail Gorbachev?

The recent Congress of Soviet Writers proved to be an event marked by extraordinary candor and lively debate. Encouraged by General Secretary Gorbachev’s emphasis on “openness,” the participants probed the limits of the permissible. They attacked the literary establishment’s old guard, called for the easing of censorship and pressed for the publication of the proscribed works of Boris Pasternak and Anna Akhmatova. But there was a further, in some ways even more sensational, side to the Congress that has passed largely unnoticed in the West. Various non-Russian authors made use of the occasion to speak out about a highly sensitive and virtually taboo subject — the gap between theory and practice in the area of Soviet nationalities policy.

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

The problems raised at the Congress confirmed once again how misleading the official rosy picture of national relations in the world’s largest multinational state is. The standard Soviet line is that the “nationalities problem” as inherited from the Czarist empire — the infamous “prison of nations,” as Lenin dubbed it — has long since been resolved. The U.S.S.R. with its more than 100 different nationalities is described as a harmonious union of “free and equal” peoples, and the state claims that it is pursuing a policy of genuine internationalism. Any difficulties in the sphere of national relations acknowledged by the Soviet authorities are generally ascribed to negative survivals from the past, pernicious influences from outside and shortcomings in ideological indoctrination.

### **Russian Dominance**

In fact, the reasons for the persistence of the lion’s share of national tensions in the Soviet Union boil down to the fact that decision-making remains concentrated in Moscow and many of the non-Russians still have reason to perceive the Russians — barely half of the Soviet Union’s population of 280 million — as enjoying a position of political and cultural dominance.

In recent years the Kremlin has ridden roughshod over national sensibilities by promoting the role of Russian, ostensibly for practical and cogent reasons, but all the same at the expense of the local languages. This, together with the general extolment of things Russian, and the distortion of history for the same ends, has brought frequent complaints from non-Russian dissidents and representatives of the national elites alike. The most common charge is that Moscow is pursuing a thinly veiled policy of Russification, in which pressure on the non-Russian languages is but the thin edge of the assimilatory wedge.

There is no shortage of evidence from official sources either indicating that the nationalities problem remains one of the crucial issues on the Soviet political agenda. Today, the significance of this question lies not so much in the potential threat to the stability of the system, as in the bearing which it has on the Kremlin's ability to deal with problems in the sociopolitical, economic and military spheres. Emphasis therefore, continues to be placed on intensifying political and economic integration, and promoting one-sided bilingualism, whereby non-Russians are expected to become proficient in Russian, but 24 million or so Russians living in non-Russian republics are under no such compulsion to master the local language.

Needless to say, Russian writers also have plenty to be disquieted about. During the last few months, a number of them have been active in campaigns to preserve Russian historical monuments and to thwart schemes to divert some of the water from Russia's northern rivers to arid regions in the south. Nevertheless, apart from the perennial issues of censorship and bureaucratic interference, their concerns and priorities do not coincide with those of their colleagues in the non-Russian republics. After all, the Russian language, despite encroachments resulting from Sovietization, can hardly be considered to be in a state of siege. Nor is the Russian historical and cultural heritage seriously in question. Yet for the non-Russians, these are precisely the burning issues. Hence their sensitivity about things the Russians largely take for granted.

This was evident, for instance, from the great concern about the role and status of the Ukrainian language that dominated the Congress of the Writers' Union of Ukraine held in early June. This theme was then taken up at the end of the month at the all-union level by Mr. Oliinyk, the poet who is a leading figure in his republic's literary establishment. In guarded terms he deplored the fact that in violation of the proclaimed principles of Soviet nationalities policy, the Ukrainian language is being progressively squeezed out of educational and cultural life. What is more, alluding to Czarist times, Mr. Oliinyk appealed "to our Russian friends" to review the mandates of those local and native zealots "who obviously inherited their servile psychology from those who were given allotments of their own land for the price of speaking broken Russian," and who pursue in Moscow's name a "nihilistic" line toward the Ukrainian language and culture.

Or take publishing, for example. The Estonian writer Vladimir Beekman drew attention to the difficulties that non-Russians face because Moscow decides which books the non-Russians may publish, which works they may translate, and which publications they may sell abroad. He expressed disappointment that "the damage done by all-union centralization from the viewpoint of our country's national literatures" had hardly been discussed, and pointed out that this "is precisely where the present system results in the most obvious absurdities." After citing a number of

examples, he challenged the notion “that all questions are always best seen from Moscow.” A similar point was made by the Latvian Janis Peters, who also spoke about the need to guard against “the robotization” of language.

### ‘Rolling Stone’

Various other writers touched on some of the broader implications of the Soviet nationalities policy. A Kalmyk writer praised Mr. Oliinyk’s speech and lamented that his people “had lost the sense of being masters” on their native land. The Tatar representative warned that “if a man is deprived of the feeling of having a native land, he turns into a rolling stone.” Significantly, a well-known Russian writer also endorsed these misgivings about the goal of Soviet nationalities policy. Vasiliï Belov, who boldly asked at the Congress “when will we finally have respite?” proclaimed his rejection of the idea of nations slowly being obliterated through their merger with others.

So far, there has been virtually no follow-up in the Soviet press on the sensitive issues raised by non-Russian writers in Moscow. Even the accounts of their speeches were toned down in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the all-union paper serving the literary intelligentsia. Nevertheless, a more defiant mood seems to have gripped some non-Russian authors. On July 30, the Latvian poet and translator Klavs Elsbergs, writing in the republican Komsomol newspaper *Padomju Jaunatne*, asked why so little was being written about problems in the sphere of national relations. “Ostriches,” he pointed out, “are not, and cannot be good internationalists.”

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## SPONTANEOUS DEMONSTRATION IN UKRAINE

During a recent concert in Chernivtsi, south-western Ukraine, at the beginning of September, a great commotion arose after the singer Sofia Rotaru performed songs by the late Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, reported the German newspaper *Die Welt* on September 23, 1986.

As Rotaru ended her performance, the audience spontaneously rose and began to pray loudly for Ivasiuk — an extremely popular young Ukrainian composer from Chernivtsi, who was murdered by the KGB in 1979. The Russian authorities feared Ivasiuk’s compositions which were filled with Ukrainian folklore and love for his country. The official version given that Ivasiuk had committed suicide, was not accepted by the population, who knew very well that he had often been summoned by the KGB and interrogated. According to eye-witness accounts, the militia present at the concert could do nothing but stand by helplessly and watch this outburst.

Since his death, Ivasiuk’s grave is constantly adorned with fresh flowers brought by the population. People also donate money for special requiem services to be held in memory of Ivasiuk in churches throughout Ukraine. During these services prayers are uttered in which not the *late*, but the *murdered* Ivasiuk is remembered.

This outburst demonstrates the defiant attitude of the people in Ukraine towards the Russian occupational regime, and the strength of Christian faith, national feelings and aspirations. This faith is also evidenced by the fact that since the Chornobyl disaster, churches throughout Ukraine have been filled with people praying — (and this in an atheist-imposed regime!). People are beginning to be less afraid of the Russian authorities and are giving way to their inner outrage by such demonstrations.

# CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

## PART VI (cont.)

To the Chairman of the Military  
Committee of the Political  
Consultative Council  
Dien Siao-pin.

Mr. Chairman!

In the present international situation no one has the right to stand aside from the events which take place in the contemporary world. After the Helsinki Accords which raised my hopes, nothing changed at all... However, the world did come to realise the danger which the USSR presents to the future generations. One mistake was made — great China did not take part in these agreements. Ukraine found itself in the same situation as China after the death of Sun Yat-sen. And all this happened because of foreign intervention. In 1927, the genius of generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was necessary to achieve the timely stabilization of the situation in your country. After that, China stood alone against two great powers... And China emerged from this situation as the victor, guided by the genius of Mao Tse-tung.

At the present time, Moscow's chauvinism has reached the very last moments of its oppression over the subjugated peoples of this huge socialist empire. By its policies, Moscow has clearly demonstrated its amorality and its non-adherence to the existing legal norms of human co-existence. Pseudo-humanism and complete lack of principles in the realization of its egoistic interests, and amoral means of attaining Moscow's chauvinist desires, form the basic characteristics of the present rulers of the Kremlin. Moscow has no sense of gratitude.

The Afghan venture is a carefully thought-out action to seize foreign territory under the pretext of a non-existent Communist brotherhood and mutual friendship... This state has no sense of any mutual human friendship whatsoever...

The events in Poland frightened the rulers of the Kremlin to such an extent that they decided to break with the whole world just to preserve the empire by any means and any methods they could, despite the fact that Moscow's methods of oppression have never changed.

In 1904, the retreating Russian army robbed the Chinese National Bank in Peking. Robbery is the principle of existence of the socialist empire. Not a single criminal or military adventurer of the present time has committed, and it has never occurred to him to commit, such a terrible crime as present-day Moscow has committed — the shooting down of the Korean airliner.

Exactly a month ago, Moscow decided to evict 3 million Ukrainians from the mountain districts of Ukraine and to settle faithful Russians from the Urals in their place... Why? One thing is clear — Moscow fears new stirrings in Ukraine in connection with the assault of chauvinism on our rights and our culture. If today the world does not stand up as one solid wall to block the encroachments of Moscow, tomorrow will be too late.

Ukraine is torn apart into five parts. In addition, Ukraine, supposedly a sovereign state, does not possess a single embassy of its own. We are without a voice and we are threatened with complete destruction at the hands of the Muscovite occupants. And yet, the

United Nations Organization does not take any measures, as if Ukraine did not exist in this world. In my opinion, it would be necessary, indispensable even, to transfer the residence of the UNO to Moscow so that its members could see for themselves and understand what Moscow really is...

Mr. President, I think that great China will offer a helping hand to Ukraine. We are in danger! We are threatened with destruction! I, the representative of my 50 million-strong nation, ask you, on behalf of my people and myself, to raise your voice in defence of the rights of my people. I ask you, and China in your person, to raise your voice on the high platform of the UNO on the issue of the present situation in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian people know how to be grateful to their friends and remember their enemies well. The genocide against our people carried out by the rulers of the Kremlin, will not pass without a trace. We shall never forget the 10 million Ukrainians starved to death by Communist Moscow. It is either life or death! Either we fight or we face eternal slavery and the complete destruction of our nation. We have chosen the former!

The Free World, including great China, should constantly intervene in everything the Kremlin initiates which is directed towards the strengthening of its hegemony over little planet Earth.

I believe that the day is not far off when free peoples, presently oppressed by the Muscovites, will sit in judgment of the world's aggressor, Moscow, for the crimes against humanity which it has committed.

With sincere respect for you and your people,

*Yosyp Terelya, Chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics and member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church*  
21.5.1984. Dovhe, Ukraine.

To Yaroslav Schabat, Otto Schick and Zdenek Mlynarz.

#### OPEN LETTER

from the Chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, Yosyp Terelya.

Friends!

We are neighbours, and close neighbours at that, but we are separated by barbed wire which the Muscovite occupant has made the criteria of his own ideas and actions.

Although the past remains constantly on the spot, it has continuation in the future, and thus everything that we have today is merely a "continuation of the past". Existence gives rise to all kinds of vital activity. In this case, life compels us to think and, what is most important, not to remain silent.

Not so long ago, our peoples were building their future together. We were the citizens of one state — Czechoslovakia. However, the last war and the events which followed brought in their own changes and we became slaves of Moscow... Part of the blame for this lies also with the Free World which gave us up as prey to the tyrants of the Kremlin. Our peoples were faced with a dilemma — to be or not to be? The hangman is hoping that his victims will not rise up and come forward with accusations (against him) because they shall be dead. Nevertheless, we still go on hoping that our future will be different from today — we are waiting for the judgment of history.

Having put down everybody and everything that was, and still is sacred to the peoples of the Earth, Moscow proclaimed its credo to be usurpation and subjugation. They (the Muscovites) do not have and have never had any understanding of ordinary human

friendship, good neighbourliness or mutual understanding... After the events of 1956 in Hungary and the events of 1968 in Czecho-Slovakia, Moscow realized that its actions were free from punishment — the world did not react to these events in an altogether completely Christian manner. The occupation of Czecho-Slovakia and the undeclared war against the peoples of this republic were, therefore, not condemned from the high platform of the UNO — not a single word of any significance was said against the aggressor...

The Human Rights movement in the subjugated sector of Eastern and Central Europe frightened the rulers in Moscow — people do not submit to them! Why then, did Moscow sign the Helsinki Accords? One thing is clear, it was with the aim of disinformation. The rulers of the Kremlin did not expect that people would begin to demand from them the realization of what had been signed... What did the Human Rights groups in Ukraine achieve by their peaceful pleadings with the rulers in Moscow? They achieved practically nothing. However, we did succeed in bringing to the attention of everyone on the wide international arena the terrible breach of human rights in the USSR. One should not fall into despair. The legal Human Rights movement for national, economic and political rights was necessary, if only to show the world the real face of Moscow. The essence of Moscow's expansionism is the subjugation of foreign nations.

In 1982, I wanted to visit my relatives in the Czech SSR and explain to them the circumstances surrounding the murder of my brother, Mykhaylo Terelya, in Prague, in 1967, where he had an apartment in the Hradchany area of the city. Before this, I wrote an official statement to the Minister of Internal

Affairs of the Czech SSR, and the local organs of the KGB apparently did not object to my visiting my relatives... But I did not receive permission to make this journey because I refused to "help" the KGB by visiting certain human rights activists in the Czech SSR, thereby carrying out a provocation. The official bodies with which I corresponded in connection with the death of my brother in Czecho-Slovakia, also called a halt to the inquiries... But what was there to inquire about when the Czech KGB killed my brother?... Who was there to punish?

My older brother, a monk of the Basilian Order, was sent, in 1945, to work in the eparchy Pryashiv, where he worked as a priest until 1963. After 1963 he left the priesthood and entered the school for officers in the city of Prague. At first, he lived with our sister in Kobylitsia, but later on he got an apartment in Hradchany, where he was killed in 1967 by the KGB of the Czech SSR. My uncle, Yurko Terelya who works in the organs of the KGB, originally as the head of the outpost in Shumava and now in Prague also took part in this operation. The blood of his nephew lies on him personally... My brother was accused of being an agent of the CIA — the usual stereotype charge when it becomes necessary to find fault and deal with someone who does not agree with them (the KGB)...

We, Ukrainians and Czechs, and also the Slovaks, have an old tradition of relations, starting from the last century until this day, and thus it would be expedient on the grounds of solidarity to conduct the human rights movement directed against the encroachments of Moscow.

Together we should expose and broadcast the breach of human rights both in the USSR and in the Czech SSR,

for they are fundamentally in solidarity in methods of suppressing the freedom of thought. Communists are the same both here and there... "Charter 77" is equally hateful to Moscow as it is to Husak.

Moscow has probably forgotten the lessons of history. It thinks that its victims will become silent forever, but this will not be so. The full burden of responsibility for the heavy crimes against our peoples lie with the rulers in Moscow. We will not become silent forever, and no repressions will destroy the Human Rights movement either in your country or here in Ukraine.

*Yosyp Terelya*

21.5.1984, Dovhe,  
Transcarpathian Ukraine,

\*

**Resolution of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Transcarpathian region, and the Regional Soviet of People's Deputies concerning the actualization of methods to combat manifestations of nationalism and Zionism.**

Uzhhorod, July 3rd, 1984.

Of late, Western propaganda organs have intensified their anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. In the first place, US imperialism is counting on the Banderite lackeys and the so-called underground Ukrainian Catholic Church. Unfortunately, the regional Party organization has waged an ineffective struggle against manifestations of nationalism and Zionism on the territory of our region. This applies, to the same degree, to anti-Catholic propaganda and to the militantly atheistic upbringing of youth in the spirit of Leninist internationalism and faith in the Party. Just in the last half year, the Catholic underground has mobilized its activities for the so-called legalization of the Church. Under the guise of religion,

the activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church intensified their anti-Soviet agitation which was exploited by our enemies abroad. The KGB has information that the Banderite underground, under the guise of a new label, the Ukrainian National Front, carried out a series of actions the consequences of which were already discussed at the May, 1981 meeting of the Regional Committee and in October, 1982.

For instance, in the village of Muzhiyev, Berehivskiy district, on 24th May, 1981, the terrorist band of "Chornyi" derailed a military train carrying radar from the Vilokskiy military base. This held up the "Polish action" for nine months. At the Jewish cemetery in the town of Mukacheve a cache of anti-Soviet Zionist literature and explosive cartridges filled with trotyl were discovered during construction work. These are only isolated instances showing the activization of the Banderite and Zionist groups.

The highland operation (in the Carpathians), in 1982, to liquidate terrorist-deviationist groups in Lavochno and Volovets was not completed. The bandit group of "Chornyi" was not completely liquidated. To this day, our friends in the KGB have yet to uncover those responsible for robbing two collectors in our region, or those who took 10,000 cartridges and 99 hand-grenades from an army unit in the town of Mukacheve. There are many shortcomings and one can enumerate a whole list of unpleasant incidents, but beyond all the obvious shortcomings, the KGB has had a qualitative success in its work — the liquidation of Borys Mykhaylo Terelya, a member of the bandit group "Chornyi". Unfortunately, with the death of this bandit, a link of his contacts with the Banderite lackeys in the neighbouring region was cut. In the Irshavskiy district there was a successful

operation to liquidate an underground printing press of the Catholic and Baptist communities. During this particular operation, about 1,000 editions of various religious literature were confiscated. All this demands from us continued efforts and precise actions towards the liquidation of even the slightest manifestations of nationalism and Zionism on the territory of our region, and that is why, in light of the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, subsequent plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and statements by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade K.U. Chernenko, the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Regional Soviet of People's Deputies resolve:

a) to strengthen anti-nationalist propaganda in the press and expose all the negative aspects of bourgeois nationalism and Zionism by using the recantations of former dissidents and anti-Soviet clerics;

b) as obliged by the Party organization, to open a section for forced psychiatric treatment alongside the existing sections of the regional psychiatric hospital, and to relegate two-thirds of the Ukrainian Catholic activists to forced treatment; for the present, it is not desirable to hold trials of Ukrainian Catholics; to provide a separate section for some 250 people at the regional investigative prison, where forced treatment would take place, and to draw in cadres from proven friends in the medical services, including 5 doctors and 60 nurses;

c) to move carefully in the villages, where the influence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is strong; during searches and detentions, not to confiscate Bibles, prayer books and other

religious literature, actions that could have a negative impact on relations between the believers and state organs; to avoid, wherever possible, publicizing political cases against Catholics; to use criminal sentences against members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which would discredit the Church and its members, particularly in dealing with the activists; to extensively use the recantations of former political prisoners before people of our region, publicly at village clubs and town cultural centres;

d) to prohibit Sunday religious services, justifying this by the fact that summer period is a hectic time for the collective and state farms of the region; to use administrative punishments — fines, withholding premiums and bonuses — against the real “loud mouths”; to put their children in public nurseries, kindergartens and boarding schools, and to subject especially active individuals to forced psychiatric treatment;

e) to use the law that was published in Instruction No. 81 on May 28th, 1984, against Catholic activists that are members of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics and members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church.

Copies of the given resolution will be referred to the regional KGB administration and the militia so that they can familiarize themselves with it.

*Signed:*  
*Bandrovskiy*  
*Voloshchuk*

July 3rd, 1984

\*

An action in our town directed towards the destruction of the ancient monuments ended with the decision of the Lviv Regional Council to liquidate the Jewish cemetery and to use the gravestones for “construction”.

## GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE: ITS SECRET BELONGS TO HUMANITY

*(The following article appeared in the Los Angeles Times on August 14, 1986. James E. Mace is a staff director of the Commission on the Famine in Ukraine in Washington. He was until recently a research associate at Harvard's Ukrainian Research Institute, and has published extensively on Soviet policy towards Ukrainians in the 1920s and 1930s.)*

Ukrainians share a horrible secret with Jews, Armenians, Cambodians and other victim-survivors of genocide. It is the secret of memories that can be told but never shared. It is a secret not because those who keep it would have it so, but because those who have not experienced it cannot fully comprehend it, no matter how they try.

Unlike the others, Ukrainians bear a double secret — the interior one of what they experienced, and the world's ignorance of it.

The facts are stark: in 1932-33 millions of people in Ukraine starved to death in direct consequence of government policy. The figure usually given is 7 million, but that is only an educated guess, as are the figures of 6 million Jews, 1.5 million Armenians and so forth. When murder is committed on such a scale, even the perpetrators lose count, and scholars are left with fragmentary evidence, a jigsaw to put together as best they can.

The significance of genocide is in any case more qualitative than quantitative, more in the nature of the act itself than in the number of its victims. The individual victims are secondary to the real victim: a nation, a religion, a race — an integral part of humanity.

Like the Cambodian genocide, the Ukrainian was ultimately unsuccessful. Like Cambodia, Ukraine continues to exist — but as a conquered nation, occupied and controlled by foreigners.

Ukrainians, now numbering more than 42 million, constitute one of 15 republics in the multinational Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, second in population only to the capital republic of historic Russia. When the Russian and Austrian empires disintegrated during World War I, Ukraine declared its national independence, as did all the nations lying between the ethnic territories of Germany and Russia. Lenin and the Russians were able to conquer Ukraine only after a protracted struggle and

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► However, not a single building site accepted the gravestones. The town council then left them to the discretion of the prison warden. And, oh, what a surprise! A place was found for these old gravestones inside the prison. They were used to pave the prison yard. Now they are under full "protection". So the dead Communists have even locked up the spirits of the dead Jews in a Soviet prison. Judeophobia truly has no bounds and no limit...

In the town of Bolekhiv, the Jewish synagogue (a Ukrainian architectural monument from the end of the 17th century) was turned into a forge...

\*

In the town of Dolyna, the synagogue now serves the town authorities as a bakery... As we browse through the section entitled "Ukraine" in Ihor Hrabar's "History of Architecture in Russia", we find that the synagogue in Dolyna dates back to the 18th century.

substantial concessions to national aspirations. For a decade, Ukrainians were to the Soviet Union what Poles later became to the Soviet Bloc — the perpetual thorn in the side of the larger entity, most conscious of their national identity, most assertive of their prerogatives and least willing to follow Moscow's example in organizing their internal life.

The majority of Ukrainians lived in the countryside, in a centuries-old agrarian tradition, and that was where the opposition to Moscow arose. At the end of the 1920s the Soviet Communist Party announced the "collectivization of agriculture on the basis of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class," as the official phrase went. With "collectivization," farmers lost claim to their land, and were forced to bring the fruits of their labor to a central point so that the state could more easily take its share. To many villagers this was practically indistinguishable from the conditions of serfdom under which their grandparents had toiled. "Kulaks" was a sort of generic category for rural "class enemies," and state policy required their "liquidation" because only through the elimination of village leadership could the ability to resist be broken. At the same time, a thorough purge of other indigenous leaders — priests, writers, teachers — began.

By mid-1932 the war had virtually been won; 80 percent of the farmland had been collectivized. At least 200,000 farm families — 1 million individuals — had their property seized; most were killed or exiled to Siberia or Central Asia.

The huge quotas imposed on Ukraine by the authorities in Moscow could not be met. The Ukrainian Communist Party predicted a catastrophe and begged for relief. Meanwhile, Moscow was dumping a million tons of grain on a depressed Western market.

Despite superhuman effort, Ukraine slipped further behind its quota. Moscow dispatched a virtual army to assist — mostly urban outsiders. After the 1932 harvest was taken from the collective farms, the grain collectors went around to farm houses. They searched every nook and cranny for concealed foodstuffs, even tearing up stoves to find bags of flour scrapings that desperate farmers had mixed with finely ground leaves. The slogan was: "The struggle for bread is the struggle for socialism."

The population was utterly deprived of sustenance. Each survivor has his or her own story of those days. Most were saved by their cleverness in outwitting the commissars. Others exchanged small gold or silver mementos — a wedding ring, a silver crucifix — for food at special stores set up for this purpose.

For those not so fortunate, the sentence was death by starvation. Whole villages succumbed. Those who were children at the time remember being told not to go out alone for fear of being eaten by neighbors crazed by starvation. Those who lived in the cities recall that much of the meat in urban markets was thought to be human.

Ukraine and the adjacent Cossack territories of the Caucasus were written off; the border between them and Russia proper was closed. Famine did its work in secret.

Only in the wake of World War II did sizable numbers of eyewitnesses flee to the West, but by that time few people cared to hear their story. The Ukrainian famine virtually disappeared from public awareness, almost as if it had never happened.

Why did it happen? Historians must turn to circumstantial evidence and try to judge a tree by its fruits. The famine was localized in areas with populations that had proved to be particularly stubborn in opposing the social and national policies of Stalin: Ukrainians, Cossacks, Tatars and Volga Germans. The famine was imposed,

## SOVIET RUSSIAN POLITICAL WARFARE

### Political Warfare in Greece: The Ethnos Case

In 1983 a Greek journalist in his book “Take the Nation in your Hands” provided a well-documented case for Soviet disinformation in the West. *Ta Ethnos* (The Nation) appeared first in 1981. Two Greeks with long Soviet Russian contacts had launched the newspaper: Yannis Yannikos and George Bobolas. All main journalists employed had prior records of being communists or fellow-travelers. Yannikos is a communist who has had a death sentence for war time activities commuted. After his release from jail in 1955 he soon became a main publisher of Soviet publications in Greece. He also had close contacts with the Soviet Russian copyright office VAAP. This organisation has been run by two important KGB officers, Boris Pankin and Vasily Sitnikov according to the author of the book, Paul Anastasi. Pankin later was promoted to ambassador of Soviet Russia to Sweden.

According to Anastasi, Yannikos was recommended by Moscow to work with George Bobolas, who also had a number of financial contacts with Moscow. The stories in *Ta Ethnos* are copies of the Soviet Russian propaganda line. The newspaper soon after the shooting down of the South Korean KAL 007 accused the CIA of deliberately having provided the Soviet military and the shooting down was defended. The Soviet Russian invasion of Afghanistan has been defended as justifiable and *Ta Ethnos* accused the CIA of having planned and executed the murder of Indira Gandhi.

The Ethnos case is only one in a long line of recent Soviet attempts to influence the Western public through spreading disinformation via journalists, newspapers and confidential newsletters.



and the reason became clear when we see what accompanied it: strict centralization; the withdrawal of all concessions to non-Russian national groups; Russification in language, thought and ideology. Everything that hinted at nationalism was eradicated.

The famine was a forceful blow against the very body of Ukrainian nationhood. It transcended the millions of individuals who died, as the nation itself became the primary victim. This is the hallmark of genocide.

Memory of such tragedy is a difficult thing, even when the regime that committed the atrocity is no more. The Jews who lived through the holocaust have amply documented that terrible psychic cost that must be paid by those who survive such inhumanity. Ukrainians have an additional burden, in that the regime that victimized them is still very much in power.

Yet survivors always bear the debt of remembrance, the duty of ensuring that those who died will not be forgotten. It is for this reason that the Ukrainian-American community lately has found a renewed determination to tell the story of its people's tragedy. Even though what happened in Ukraine 50 years ago remains beyond our full comprehension, the secret of the Ukrainian genocide belongs to humanity as a whole, for any genocide diminishes all of humanity.

In a recent issue of the "National Security Record" (No. 87 of January 1986) published by the Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C., Dr. Jack Wheeler, director of the Freedom Research Foundation, La Jolla, California, outlines the importance of anti-communist guerillas fighting against Soviet supported regimes in the Third World. Until today no Soviet supported Marxist-Leninist government has fallen from attacks from within. But if one genuine popular rebellion from inside a Soviet colony succeeds in overthrowing the ruling regime and establishes a non-communist government, the Brezhnev doctrine that proclaims the historical inevitability of Marxism-Leninism will have been shattered once and for all.

That is why the guerilla wars of national liberation being waged in eight Soviet colonies on three continents represent a geopolitical phenomenon of immense historical significance. Just as the Third World rejected Western colonialism in the 1950s and 1960s, so it is now rejecting Soviet colonialism in the 1980s. And it is using the Soviet's own strategy of armed guerilla resistance — wars of liberation — to do so.

One should not look at a world map and see each anti-Soviet struggle as piecemeal, but rather as related parts of a historic global momentum against imperialism. What we are seeing is the "second stage" of post-World War II movements of national liberation, now aimed at Soviet imperialism.

The pendulum of history has swung away from Soviet Marxism as a model for countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and towards the concepts of democracy and a free market economy. In Latin America, for example, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala are all functioning democracies. In eight of these twelve countries, democracy had been restored in just the past six years.

There is, then, a "window of opportunity" right now for freedom and democracy to advance in the world. The Soviet Union has overexpanded and is on the defensive. But if this opportunity is not seized soon, the Kremlin will consolidate its gains and be on the imperialist march again: toward Baluchistan (southern Pakistan) and the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, toward Mexico and the Panama Canal, and toward South Africa... Dr. Wheeler suggests this goal, among others, for Western foreign policy: destabilizing the Soviet Empire through an energetic and orchestrated exploitation of its vulnerabilities. Yes, that is indeed what political warfare is all about. He also suggests that the Defense Department of the United States establish a special unit to provide logistical support and training for freedom fighters around the world.

In a conclusion Dr. Wheeler states that it is important for the West to cure its disease: letting the Soviet Empire expand. "When America aids communist dictators who are battling pro-Western liberation forces, even in terms of hard-headed *realpolitik* we are backing the losers. In Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and all other places where the people are fighting Soviet imperialist aggression, America has a historic opportunity to seize the initiative by providing them with effective moral and material support.

President Reagan has clearly stated his commitment to freedom wherever people are willing to fight for it. Now he must overrule those foreign policy advisers who forever support the status quo and order meaningful military and humanitarian assistance to help the struggle for freedom succeed. If he does so, he can turn the tide of history against Soviet imperialism."

*(Newsletter of "The Political Warfare Front," January-March, 1986)*

## CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK 1986

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

The Captive Nations Committee in England headed by Mr. Gunars Tamsons represents Byelorussia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine and has been actively promoting the struggle for freedom of these nations and all subjugated nations for 17 years since its founding in 1963. This year's commemoration included a service at the Bradford Cathedral, a wreath laying ceremony and a special meeting and concert. The resolution adopted by the meeting condemned Russia for the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, demanded that Russia uphold the Human Rights Helsinki accords, which it has continuously violated, further demanded family unification as part of the Helsinki Accords and the immediate release of all political prisoners. The unanimously adopted resolution was sent to the US Mission to the United Nations, to the Prime Minister of England, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council and British Members of Parliament. Participating in the commemoration were parliamentarians and members of the press. The Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. President of the European Freedom Council was the main speaker.

In the United States Captive Nations Week was commemorated by a demonstration in front of the United Nations. New York Governor Mario Cuomo and New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato, although unable to participate, sent letters of support which were read at the demonstration organized by the American Friends of ABN. Representatives of subjugated nations spoke, demanding national and human rights for their subjugated nations. Participants at the demonstration paid tribute to the founder, long term President and untiring fighter and supporter of freedom for all subjugated nations — the late Yaroslav Stetsko.

Captive Nations observance in Washington, D.C. remembered the late Yaroslav Stetsko as a man who devoted his life to the struggle for independence of all the subjugated nations. Representatives of the Captive Nations, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee attended a special luncheon on Capitol Hill hosted by several U.S. Congressmen. On July 22, President Ronald Reagan signed the 1986 Captive Nations Week Proclamation in which he underscored the renewal of America's resolve "to support the struggle for freedom throughout the world by observing Captive Nations Week."

Some 150 persons gathered for the annual luncheon which was sponsored by the National Captive Nations Committee along with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. The Captive Nations Steering Committee was comprised of the Hon. Edward Derwinski, Counselor, Department of State, Rep. Gerald Solomon, Rep. Samuel Stratton, Rep. Philip Crane, and Rep. Don Ritter. The official program was led by Rep. Gerald Solomon. Addresses were delivered by several Senators and Congressmen including, Sen. Robert Dole, Representative William Broomfield, Rep. Dennis Hertel, Rep. Don Ritter, Rep. Philip Crane, Rep. Helen Bentley and Rep. Mario Biaggi. In addition to the speakers, Rep. Gerald Solomon read the Presidential Proclamation. In attendance were Rep. Frank Guarini and representatives from the offices of Rep. Thomas Kindness and Rep. Mary Rose Oakar as well as 20 other congressional aides.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### THE KGB AND SOVIET DISINFORMATION

by Ladislav Bittman

The author, Ladislav Bittman, is a Czech defector and one of the world's leading experts on Soviet Russian disinformation. He is a graduate of the Charles University in Prague and from 1954 to 1968 was an intelligence officer for the Czecho-Slovak state. For two years he was the deputy commander of the disinformation department of the Czech intelligence service. After the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, he sought political asylum in the United States. He is also the author of *The Deception Game*, his first book with revelations on how the communist governments use disinformation and black propaganda to deceive the West.

It is one of several sophisticated and thorough analyses to be published recently on the subject of disinformation against the West by Warsaw Pact countries. Bittman puts the finger of the true problem today in the West in the area of deception: Western journalists. If Moscow exploits a journalist he or she is an important asset. A journalist can be investigative and professionally curious without raising suspicion, especially in the United States where the press traditionally is aggressive and involved in deep probing journalism. Bittman discloses that every East European and Soviet Russian embassy in the West maintains two funds for payment of journalists. One is administered by the press department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and abroad by the embassy press attache. He rewards reporters who are willing to write favourable articles about Soviet Russia and other communist countries with money or a free trip to holiday

resorts on the Black Sea. The second fund is used by the KGB to compromise and recruit secret agents among journalists and to plant disinformation. The reporter is trapped and compromised and the KGB threatens to destroy his professional and private life if he does not cooperate. Some journalists cooperate with the KGB out of ideological reasons, but they are comparatively few.

The book contains case studies of the French journalist Pierre Charles Pathe, who worked for the Russians for a number of years publishing a confidential newsletter, "Synthesis". More well known is Wilfred Burchett, who during the Vietnam war was an important asset to Moscow and Hanoi propaganda. The latest interesting case of disinformation is Dane Arne Herlov Petersen, whose connection with the KGB was disclosed in 1981. He worked more as an agent of influence than as a source of secret information.

In his book, Mr. Bittman also has some important recommendations for a Western response. The most important is to spread a sound and broad knowledge about disinformation methods, weapons and tactics. To counter the campaign for peace, one of the most successful propaganda campaigns of the last decade, is one necessary step. The KGB has served as a silent, invisible operator, using among others, agents of influence to intensify the campaign to portray the United States as "militaristic".

In general, the KGB operations in the field of disinformation and "active measures" have one major weakness: stereotyped execution. If an operation succeeds, the same method is used again in a number of other cases and the pattern can be used for identification and public exposure.

In his book, Bittman also recalls the Russian love affair with terrorism, past and present. In 1961 Bohdan Stashinskyj defected after assassinating two exile leaders, one of them Stepan Bandera, head of the OUN, using a gas pistol filled with cyanogen. But terrorism has continued after a relatively quiet period from 1959 to 1968. A huge explosion shattered the Radio Free Europe building in Munich in February 1981 injuring three of the employees. Support for terrorist groups like RAF in West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy and IRA and INLA in Ireland is also mentioned by the author as an example of Soviet Russian support for terrorism.

Mr. Bittman's latest book is highly recommended for the help it gives all Westerners in understanding an important dimension of Moscow's political warfare.

Published by Pergamon Press Ltd., Headington Hill Hall, Oxford OX3 OBW, England in September of 1985. The price is 12.50 British Sterling.

*Bertil Häggman*

### **A STUDY OF PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH — A CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM**

In 1984 the Strategy Board of the American Security Council Foundation published an important and far-reaching study "A Strategy for Peace Through Strength" (American Security Council Foundation, Boston, Virginia 22713, USA. Price \$4.95 (in paperback). The Foundation has also produced a one half hour TV documentary version of the book in VHS and BETA videocassette format at US \$65.00 per copy.

This study is of great importance for everyone wanting to support, study and seek new roads in public diplomacy. The chapter on the crusade for freedom takes

as a starting point President Ronald Reagan's speech in the British Parliament in June 1982. President Reagan then said, among other things: "I believe the renewed strength of the democratic movement, complemented by a global campaign for freedom, will strengthen the prospects... for a world at peace".

In December 1983, President Reagan created the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) to "promote principles of democracy" to the world. The purpose of the foundation is to promote free and democratic institutions throughout the world through private sector initiatives, the facilitation of international exchanges, democratic training programs and democratic institution-building abroad. "The groundwork," said President Reagan when commenting on NED, "is slowly laid to initiate plans, programs and strategies designed to counter totalitarian ideologies and aggressive political action moves undertaken by the Soviet Union or Soviet surrogates."

The study recommends a \$5 billion annual expenditure by the United States for three purposes: to develop democratic infrastructure abroad, to enhance broadcasting abroad and especially behind the Iron Curtain and to assist anti-communist movements all over the world. If this program was implemented, the West would at least have started to try to oppose the massive Soviet political warfare program worldwide. But it is important that West European nations also assisted in building up the political warfare capability of the Western democracies.

The EFC should support the efforts of this American foundation and work through parliaments, the private sector and other fields to create a similar capability in Western Europe.

*Bertil Häggman*

## **ABN CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR TORONTO**

The 1986 Annual International Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) will be held in Canada. ABN-Canada will host this event at the Holiday Inn in downtown Toronto November 20-22, 1986.

The Conference, entitled **CAMPAIGN FREEDOM**, will address pressing political and strategic issues under the general theme of

### **“Frontiers in Defense and Liberation — Alternatives to a Nuclear World War”.**

Status reports on world-wide ABN activities as well as the work of various supporting organizations, will be made by their respective representatives. In addition, representatives of the Captive Nations will assess the current situation in their respective homelands. Spokespersons for the anti-communist liberation movements have been invited to report in person on the status of their struggle.

The major topics of the ABN Conference program are tentatively divided into the following areas:

**“The Soviet Russian Offensive Against the Free World”  
“Captive Nations — A Key Issue in International Politics”  
and  
“The Free World’s Frontiers in Defense and Liberation”.**

Specifically, the Conference will address the Issues of International terrorism and political warfare; Soviet-inspired communist insurgencies; the tactical and strategic counter-measures that the Free world should develop and implement in order to stop and reverse Soviet Russian and communist political and military expansionism; and the need for active support of national liberation movements.

A special guest speaker is scheduled for the Campaign Freedom Dinner on the last day of the Conference.

For further information contact the Conference Preparatory Committee at:

**Campaign Freedom Conference Preparatory Committee  
140 Bathurst Street  
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2R3 CANADA  
Tel: (416) 863-6660**

ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION



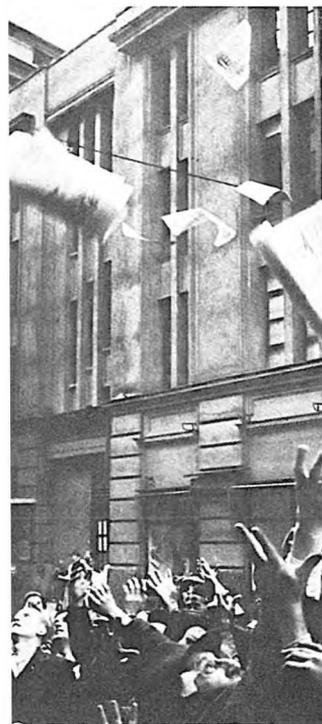
hundreds of Soviet tanks rumble mightily  
in the street in Budapest. The tanks  
were moving into action against the  
poorly equipped revolutionaries.



The demonstration beneath the statue  
of General Bem that touched off the  
revolution October 23, 1956.



"RUSSKI GO HOME" shout the demonstrators as they  
march towards the Parliament.



Free Press, and the first edition just off the press.



Dusted with lime a Soviet tankman lies where he met his death!

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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B. SOROKA

CAROL SINGERS

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## **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

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## UKRAINIAN HEROINE DIES

*“The world has no idea that in this dreadful prison, two Ukrainian women, Zarytska and Didyk, are serving a 25-year sentence. They could have been released sooner — if only they had renounced their ideals or betrayed their friends. Yet, they refused to do either and resolved to serve out their “punishment” to the end...”*

*Anonymous political prisoner  
of the Vladimir prison, 1972*

**KATERYNA ZARYTSKA-SOROKA**, leading member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Head of the Red Cross of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and long-standing political prisoner, died in Ukraine on August 29, 1986. For her firm nationalist beliefs and devotion to the cause of Ukrainian liberation, she spent more than 30 years in Polish and Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps.

Kateryna Zarytska was born in 1914 in Lviv, Western Ukraine. She received her higher education at the Lviv Polytechnic and graduated from the Mykola Lysenko Institute of Music. From an early age she was already an active member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Her life's heroic path led her to be arrested after the assassination of the Polish Minister Pieracki in 1934, and together with a group of 12 leading members of the OUN, headed by Stepan Bandera, she was subsequently sentenced in 1935 by a Polish court in Warsaw to eight years of imprisonment for her membership in the OUN, as well as for escorting the fighter Matseyko across the border to Czecho-Slovakia, although she did not admit to any of these charges.

In 1936, Zarytska was tried at a Lviv court, which was in fact a continuation of the “Warsaw Trial”. Twenty-three leading members of the OUN, headed by Stepan Bandera, were also tried by this Polish court in Lviv at the end of which, Zarytska was sentenced to five years of imprisonment.

After Poland's capitulation in 1939, Zarytska was released from prison. Soon afterwards she married Mykhaylo Soroka and together they actively joined in the clandestine struggle against the Russian occupiers. At the end of 1940, Zarytska was arrested by the Bolsheviks for the first time, and in 1941, in a Lviv prison she gave birth to a son, Bohdan.

At the same time, in 1940, the Bolsheviks arrested her husband Mykhaylo Soroka and, accusing him of membership in the National Executive of the Revolutionary OUN, they sentenced him to eight years of imprisonment. He was re-arrested in 1952 and accused of “leading underground organisations in concentration camps” and was sentenced to 25 years of incarceration in concentration camps.

The late Mykhaylo Soroka was an indomitable fighter for an independent Ukrainian State and died as a martyr and hero in 1971, in a Mordovian concentration camp. Moscow's barbarity did not even allow Soroka's wife to have the last remains of her deceased husband transferred back to his beloved Ukraine.

At the outbreak of the Russian-German war in June 1941, Kateryna Zarytska was released from imprisonment and once again became actively involved in the

clandestine work of the OUN, where she successfully executed various tasks. She worked in the Lviv Regional Executive of the OUN and was the contact person of the Central Executive of the OUN.

During the second Russian occupation, she took over the leadership of the Red Cross in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and worked for the journal "Idea and Act". In October 1947, near Khodoriv, during a military struggle with NKVD units, Zarytska was injured while defending herself, and fell into the hands of the enemy. In prison she took a cyanide capsule, but her life was saved.

During interrogations, which were conducted by MVD Major K. Halskyj-Dmytruk, she underwent heavy physical injuries. Zarytska suffered this maltreatment and torture calmly and bore herself courageously. She was sentenced to 25 years of incarceration by a separate decree, in which she was accused of being a member of the OUN, the contact person of the Central Executive of the OUN, and a member of the Regional Executive of the OUN. At first she was incarcerated in Verkhny-Ural and Vladimir prisons, and from 1968 in the Mordovian concentration camp.

Political prisoners who met Kateryna during her incarceration, maintain that she was a staunch heroine, who served as an ideal living example for others.

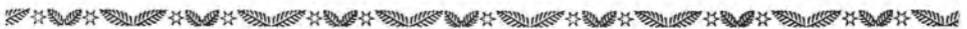
After ending her entire term of imprisonment in October 1972, Zarytska was released and came to Lviv. However, she was not permitted to live with her son or her mother and therefore she was forced to settle in the Khmelnytsky region.

During her so-called life of freedom, Kateryna was always under the diligent surveillance of KGB agents and constantly persecuted by "unknown hooligans". Notices often appeared on her front door with threats of burning down her house. However, the security organs did not react to any of this.

She was occasionally attacked in the Soviet press, where she was described as a "professional nationalist". But in spite of all this, Zarytska remained staunch until the day she died. When she spoke of herself, she said: "I am keeping up my spirit... I would never emigrate... We will see what will happen..." She considered that her place was in Ukraine alone, that her life belonged to Ukraine alone. She was the model example of a Ukrainian heroine, who lived only for the great idea of the invincibility of her own nation, and she will remain as such in the eternal pantheon of the heroes of Ukraine.

Kateryna Zarytska-Soroka was buried in the family grave at the Lychakivskyj cemetery in Lviv, beside her mother who died on August 1, 1986.

She will be remembered as one of Ukraine's greatest freedom fighters.



Compliments of the season and sincere wishes for a

**MERRY CHRISTMAS**

and a

**HAPPY, PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR**

to all our friends and readers of ABN Correspondence.

**ABN Central Committee**



## “ALL THAT HE HAD IN LIFE HE DEVOTED TO ONE IDEAL”

*Address delivered at a requiem for Yaroslav Stetsko in the Ukrainian Cultural Center  
in Toronto, Canada on August 13, 1986.*

Every memorial gathering has three psychological-spiritual tasks:

— religious supplication, through our holy martyr Church we assure the deceased an honorable place among the members of our suffering Ukrainian Church before our Creator;

— through the gathering of friends and colleagues we honor the deceased and thereby ease the painful loss of a dear one for his family;

— through the remembrance of shared experiences and cooperation with the deceased, his friends and close ones attempt to ensure in the minds of contemporaries a worthy portrait of the deceased and to pass it on to his descendants.

In the case of a national activist, these three tasks carry a greater significance than in the case of an average citizen, because they touch the entire being of a nation.

And today, as we respectfully remember the name, work and efforts of the late Yaroslav Stetsko, we attempt with more care than usual to create an original portrait of this all-Ukrainian activist and architect of a renewed independent Ukrainian state. We want to see not only a shallow portrait on a smooth surface, but we yearn to carve out a three dimensional portrait with our words. To achieve this, we must take note of the most minute details from his life and work, from his relations with individuals and organized groups. For only then is it possible to have an all-sided view of this historical figure, and only in this manner can we avoid the waning of human memory, on the surface of which, events and acts are erased as quickly as the tracks of footsteps in the sand.

In this understanding, my own humble remembrances about the late Yaroslav Stetsko-Karbovysh may have real value to some future researcher and to the younger generation.

I have said Stetsko-Karbovysh, for it was under the pseudonym of Zinovi Karbovysh that he was known as the ideologue of the Ukrainian nationalist movement and a leading activist of the OUN in the 1930's. His impressive words from the Lviv trial in 1935 have been preserved in memory. As a defendant he declared: “Ukraine should become an ideal, moral and cultural center around which the struggle of other subjugated nations can be concentrated. Ukraine should be the ideal and moral leader in their liberation struggle”.

I remember when in the beginning of 1941 we secretly disseminated his brochure entitled “Workers” in Kholmshchyna and Lemkivshchyna. This work is and always has been proof for me that OUN has never neglected the workers' question in the realm of the liberation struggle and has always attempted to solve it. Yaroslav Stetsko-Zinovi Karbovysh has always been a pioneer in this field and at a time when the workers of Ukraine were bridled and exploited by two occupying powers — Soviet Russia and Hitler's Germany.

I came to know the views of the late Yaroslav Stetsko-Zinoviy Karbovych more precisely and deeply through direct, candid meetings and conversations with him. The first of such meetings was secret, as he, (along with a number of prominent political prisoners) had just been released from concentration camp and was living under surveillance by the German authorities, as he was not allowed to travel beyond the city limits of Berlin. Along with other matters concerning our national liberation struggle, I related to him how our underground network in Lviv, in December of 1941, disseminated two small postcards with photographs and biographical data: one of Stepan Bandera, the leader of revolutionary OUN and another of Yaroslav Stetsko, the head of the Ukrainian government of June 30, 1941. Many members of our network feared that both Bandera and Stetsko would be liquidated by the cruel regime of imprisonment. At that time, one of the older members of OUN (I. Mizernyj, later commander Ren of the UPA — Ukrainian Insurgent Army) said to me: “If the Germans do not execute them, then they will survive any misfortune. Regardless of his frail physical stature, Yaroslav Stetsko is capable of greater endurance than one might imagine at first glance”. Commander Ren said this to me in January of 1941.

“And now, you dear friend, tell me what helped you survive Hitler’s brutal camp?” I asked Yaroslav Stetsko.

He answered, with his characteristic, gentle smile: “Faith in God and the justice of the Ukrainian liberation cause. As God allowed me to defend this cause in the hardest of times between two invaders, I believed that God will allow me to yet add to the success of this cause. This hope helped me survive three years of imprisonment”.

This conversation in October of 1944 and later observations convinced me that the religiosity of Yaroslav Stetsko was sincere and deep. His belief in the concept of a sovereign Christian Ukraine was one of the basics of his convictions and not a principle to a political goal. Disregarding all attacks on him, he consistently justified the right of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to its own sovereign patriarchate. Simultaneously he yearned for the unification of Ukrainian orthodox hierarchies into one sovereign structure of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In my own writings on these two themes, I had the unconditional support of Yaroslav Stetsko, who regarded the independence of the Ukrainian Church as one of the fundamental prerequisites to an independent, united Ukrainian state.

This was an active faith, not only verbal. The greatest proof of this active faith in a sovereign Ukraine based on a Christian foundation were the conditions of the creation of the independent Ukrainian government of June 30, 1941 through revolutionary methods. Yaroslav Stetsko reached Lviv with a group of leading members of the OUN despite German obstacles. German border patrols, regional militia and military had the decisive order of Hitler and Himmler to intercept all Ukrainian nationalists and not allow them to reach re-conquered Ukrainian lands. Members of the revolutionary OUN were forced to steal through border barriers of barbed wire, and cross the rivers Sian and Buh. Some of them perished in the process, others were captured by the Germans and sent to prisons and concentration camps.

Yaroslav Stetsko had the same difficulties as the other OUN members, but having overcome these obstacles with them, he was able to give this collective breakthrough a state-like form and character. Having the support of such military leaders as General Roman Shukhevych, and having found a common understanding with such secular and church activists as Dr. Panchyshyn, Kost Levyckyj, Metropolitan Andrey

Sheptyckyj, Bishop Josyf Slipyj and Bishop Polikarp Sikorsky of Lutsk, he formed a coalition government for the renewed independent Ukrainian state. Each subjugated nation which craves its own statehood must from time to time renew its yearning with acts. The main significance of the Act of June 30, 1941 as well as the main merit of Yaroslav Stetsko is that he, as the head of this government, gave and preserved for us this evidence of the determination of our people.

It is also worthwhile to remember here that by the initiative of Yaroslav Stetsko, (in the spirit of his 1936 declaration) the underground network of revolutionary OUN circulated a leaflet-declaration in the beginning of July, 1941, which stated: "Ukrainians! At this time of military-revolutionary upheavals, the occupant is attempting to divert attention from his crimes to persons of other nationalities, who by force or due to personal motives, patronized the occupant. The wrath of the Ukrainian nation should be directed only at the occupant — at Bolshevik Moscow".

Citing an excerpt of this leaflet from memory, (which was circulated in Dobromylshchyna and Sambirshchyna) I emphasize that its context is in harmony with the declaration of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptyckyj, by which he recognized "the government of Yaroslav Stetsko" and hoped that this government would treat all the citizens of the renewed Ukrainian state justly "regardless to which creed, nationality or social group they belong". Both declarations were diametrically opposed to the racist and colonial politics of Germany, particularly in Eastern Europe.

Despite the liquidation of the independent Ukrainian government in Lviv by the Germans, Metropolitan Andrey continued to morally support the lawfulness of the Ukrainian state, and in particular, the acts of the head of that government, Yaroslav Stetsko. In a meeting with spiritual leaders on December 18, 1941, the Metropolitan explained that he supported the government of Yaroslav Stetsko because "at that time, the matter of the renewal of Ukrainian statehood was of the utmost importance to the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian Church..."

From the narratives of leading members of the revolutionary OUN and from conversations with Yaroslav Stetsko, I became acquainted with his exceptional position on Ukrainian statehood during this critical time. Foreseeing German repressions against this government, Yaroslav Stetsko, on the eve of his imprisonment, instructed his assistant Lev Rebet to release from their posts those ministers who were not members of OUN and those members of the government who were members of revolutionary OUN were instructed to go underground as soon as the Germans would arrest the prime minister. The liberation struggle should be continued, the avantgarde of which was and further should continue to be the revolutionary OUN. Unfortunately, the swift arrest of Lev Rebet and other OUN members who were in the government did not permit the second part of the instructions of Yaroslav Stetsko to be implemented. Nevertheless, his instructions prove that he understood the need for state continuity and the importance of revolutionary methods in the liberation struggle.

His decision to realize in peaceful times, the concept of a single front of subjugated nations on the basis of the first conference of subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia is evidence of views on the idea of the state. This conference took place in November of 1943 in Ukraine under the protection of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) divisions. A year later (November, 1944) he explained to me during one of our meetings: "Our external political activity in post-war years should be based on the

resolutions of this conference. Therefore, we must form a united front of activists from all the subjugated nations against Bolshevik Moscow”.

Let us not forget that in November of 1944 the end of the war was not yet in sight, no one knew what direction international relations would take during peaceful time. But in the words of Yaroslav Stetsko, the outline of his concept of the practical structure of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which was formed a year and a half later, in February of 1945, was already visible. The history of the development and achievements of the ABN is, based on action, a history of the successes of Yaroslav Stetsko, as a leader in Ukrainian international post-war politics.

In relation to the growing tension between the West and the East, during the first post-war years, among Western European statesmen, the movement for a united Europe, the so-called European Community, was gaining strength. Yaroslav Stetsko was actively and seriously interested in this movement. In May of 1948, the first congress of United Europe took place in the Hague, Holland, under the honorary chairmanship of Winston Churchill. As president of ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko took advantage of this opportunity to promote the cause of the subjugated nations. On his directive, I personally delivered to Winston Churchill a memorandum from ABN and the Anti-Bolshevik League for the Liberation of Nations. This was the first breakthrough for ABN in international politics in the West. Since that time, the ABN movement has achieved global proportions and today, is convincing evidence of the foresight and organizational capacity of our revolutionary activist and statesman — Yaroslav Stetsko.

As the leader of revolutionary OUN and president of ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko boldly conducted actions, the goals of which were to evolve the nationally sovereign world perception among Ukrainians in Ukraine and simultaneously, to find support for Ukrainian independence among countries which were under the pressure of Moscow. The ideas of revolutionary OUN and ABN, over the course of the last 40 years have penetrated into Ukraine and to her geopolitical neighbors. Thereby, Soviet Russia is faced with a double indemnity — indomitable Ukraine and indomitable Afghanistan.

Outlining this verbal portrait of the late Yaroslav Stetsko-Zenoviy Karbovykh with such terms as statesman, patriot, staunch revolutionary, I do not intend to depict his person as a cold statue. That would contradict his character, as he was a very humane political activist, a candid and modest human being. He respected his fellow speakers, always allowed them the opportunity to express their views and took them into consideration. In issues of principle, i.e. the question of Ukrainian independence, the attitude towards Russia and her colony the USSR — he never relented. But in matters concerning tactics, strategies and methods of the liberation struggle and all internal Ukrainian matters, he knew how to accept the prudent advice of others.

He also had the sense of humor of a true Ukrainian. During our last meeting in New York, he related the following anecdote when I asked him how he withstood the constant discomforts of travelling by airplane: “At one airport I had to go through the metal detector four times. Each time the detector signalled that I had metal on my person. The controllers were baffled and I finally explained to them that aside from having an iron will, I had nothing else that was metallic. The controller smiled and allowed me to pass through”.

This anecdote can be applied to the characterization of Yaroslav Stetsko. He had an iron will and iron endurance which were never shaken by imprisonment or wounds. He was not frightened of the enemy's threats of death unless he cease his revolutionary activity.

Yaroslav Stetsko-Karbovych never yielded in his convictions and never adapted the demands of the so-called new epoch. His activism, I surmise, had two sources. First, his unyielding decisiveness to endure the course upon which the will of God and his own yearnings placed him. The second moral mainspring of his activity was his love for his country — Ukraine. If we assert that Ukrainian nationalism is love, such love that impels a patriot to sacrifice even his life for sovereign Ukrainian statehood, then Yaroslav Stetsko possessed this love throughout his entire life. The words of the poet Ivan Franko are appropriate to him:

*“All, that he had in life, he gave  
to one idea.  
He burnt, he shone, he suffered  
and wearied for it.*

I perceived him as such from near and from afar over the course of forty-five or more years. And this three-dimensional portrait of him that I have attempted to convey is worthwhile for us to preserve in the memory of contemporary and future generations of Ukrainians. For decades will pass, party differences will be forgotten, but the historical date of June 30, 1941 will always burn on the horizon of Ukrainian statehood and in its light, the figure of its main creator — Yaroslav Stetsko-Karbovych — who in the critical days of the Ukrainian nation, honorably and boldly opposed two imperialist, totalitarian invaders and placed the matter of Ukrainian independent statehood before humanity.

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“The nation is a natural phenomenon, with God-given rights, everlasting and indestructible, while the Soviet people is an artificial, enforced “gobbledig” created by the Russians. This is an attempt to melt various nations into one fictitious concept, and in reality — by enforced Russification — into Russian haemophilic chauvinism, so badly in need of some new blood...

The first element of the crisis the communist system is undergoing now in the countries behind the Iron Curtain is caused by the fact, that communism has taken a modern form of Russian neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), with all the satellites, is not and does not represent a voluntary union of the sovereign nations. It is a “union” under a totalitarian system making up the new communist Russian empire, enforced by Russian arms and terror, into which, highly cultural nations, some looking upon more than one thousand years of heritage, are hammered. **The Achilles heel of every empire was and is any enslaved nation held by force within it.** The national-liberation struggle of any enslaved peoples destroys an empire from within...”

*Yaroslav Stetsko  
“The Communist System in Agony  
Amidst the Subjugated Nations”*

## AN UKRAINIAN'S APPEAL TO AFGHAN BROTHER

Our nations — Ukraine and Afghanistan — are divided by thousands of kilometers and in past history, our peoples had nothing in common, yet today, we are brothers. We became real brothers, not on account of a father's or mother's blood, but spiritual brothers on account of the blood we have both shed in the fight against our common enemy — Russian imperialism, which holds our freedom-loving nations captive.

Ukraine fell victim to insidious Moscow more than three centuries ago. Since then, the new Kremlin tsars, just as the old tsars, plunder our homeland, torture and destroy our people, our culture, turning Ukraine into one of their colonies and the Ukrainian people into their serfs, or else by Russifying them, turn them into traitors — Russian henchmen.

You, Afghans, have been leading a heroic struggle for over 6 years against the Russian occupants, who cunningly seized your beloved Afghanistan. Your persistent courage in this uneven struggle is amazing, and we bow our heads before the love you possess for your beloved country and for freedom. Be assured that you are not alone in your holy war — we Ukrainians, are with you — just as throughout the course of our whole history, we were always with those who defended their freedom, for the Ukrainian people never subjugated anyone. When, in the last century, the Russian tsars subjugated your Caucasian Muslim brothers, our great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, fearlessly stood in their defence and in his famous poem “The Caucasus”, he wrote:

*Mountains beyond mountains, crags in stormclouds cloaked,  
Wild heights sown with sorrow, soil that blood has soaked.*

At that time, when nobody believed in the victory of the proud Caucasian fighters, and even the most prominent Russian poet, Aleksander Pushkin wrote: “Submit Caucasus — Yermolov is coming!” (one of the tsar's generals — a bloodthirsty conqueror of the Caucasus), the Ukrainian poetic genius, Shevchenko, daringly and passionately exclaimed:

*And glory to you, dark-blue mountains,  
Frost and snow protect you;  
And to you, great hearted heroes.  
God does not forget you.  
Battle on — and win your battle,  
God himself will aid you;  
At your side fight truth and glory,  
Right and holy freedom!*

With these words, Shevchenko did not only appeal to the courageous fighters-Djiguits (Caucasian horsemen), but to all those who defend their own country from aggressors and fight for their freedom.

For his open stance against the occupants and for his firm resistance to Moscow, Shevchenko spent 10 years of exile far beyond the Ural mountains and the Caspian Sea, where he lived among your own faithful Muslims, befriended them and depicted them with great love in his paintings. If Shevchenko were alive today, then there is no

doubt that he would stand up in defence of your righteous war. Therefore, we, his descendants, with every right, appeal to you with his prophetic words filled with hope:

*Battle on — and win your battle!*

Glorious Mujahideen fighters! Today the whole world is watching your heroic and self-sacrificing struggle against a merciless enemy, fully equipped with arms, — an enemy, which is conducting a dirty war against your freedom-loving nation. Unfortunately, however, the world perceives all this quite inactively, with unseeing eyes, still unable to completely understand that you are the ones shedding your warm filial blood, not only for your own beloved Afghanistan, but also for the freedom and the future of their descendants. For along the path of the Russian insatiable imperialists lay, among others, the proud Caucasian peoples, then our green Carpathian mountains and now your own beloved mountains. If no one were to stand in the way of this Russian covetousness, just as you have done, then Russian imperialism would spread as far as the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Cordilleras and the Andes. This insatiable Russian dragon constantly requires new victims, fresh blood, until the day it dies.

However, we, Ukrainians, firmly believe that the nations of the world will recover their sight and victory will be yours. The last hour of the Russian empire has struck, for God removed the last remains of sense from the Kremlin leaders, when they attacked your land, so that it became the bone, which will stick across the ravenous throat and the foul-smelling mouth of the Russian vampire which will, therefore, choke and perish. It appears that it is the will of great Allah that you should be the ones to inflict this deadly wound, from which its rabid blood will flow and will be the cause of its ignoble perdition. And although you will have to make a great sacrifice for this by paying with the lives of many of your faithful sons — national avengers, all the nations of the world will bow to you in gratitude, fathers will show their children that place on the map where your holy, blood-stained mountains are to be found, and will teach them to pray fervently for you. And for centuries people will go on pilgrimages to your country, in order to fall on their knees in respect and prayer and bow their heads over the graves of the noble fighters, who fell for their beloved country and holy freedom.

The Russian conquerors are now mercilessly plundering your country: they are ruining your agricultural system and burning your crops to the ground, they are destroying your settlements and looting your property, they openly terrorise the peaceful population and mutilate your children, and resort to undisguised genocide of the Afghan people. The Russians acted in the same way in Ukraine. In 1932-1933 alone, Moscow exterminated over seven million Ukrainian peasants by an artificial famine. And how many more were killed in battle with foreign colonialists, executed or deported from Ukraine?! After the Second World War, a heroic, unparalleled struggle of the glorious Ukrainian Insurgent Army was led against the Russian occupants. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were arrested, entire Ukrainian villages were deported to Siberia, the land was burnt out. The best sons of Ukraine — the bloom of our nation — took up arms in order to defend the independence of their beloved homeland. Yet, the shameless enemy labels these Ukrainian freedom fighters as “bandits”, just as it now calls your courageous national avengers — the Mujahideen. The Russian occupants have centuries of experience in abusive lies: in the past they

called our glorious steppe-fighters — *Haydamaky* thieves and robbers. In his work “The Cold Ravine”, Taras Shevchenko uses these lying words of the Russians as a counterattack:

*‘The Haydamaky were no warriors,  
Thieves they were and robbers.’*

And replies to such slander:

*Thou liest, people-starver:  
For freedom and the holy truth  
A robber does not rise up.*

And accuses the enemy to his face:

*It is you that are the robbers,  
You, the insatiate!*

Yet in those post war 1940’s and 1950’s, it was very difficult for us, Ukrainians, to fight against Moscow, for in this struggle with a predominant enemy we were completely left to ourselves, in as much as after the defeat of Nazi Germany, the nations of the world were blinded and deceived by false Soviet propaganda and naively believed the Kremlin vultures, which pretended to be innocent doves, cooing about peace on earth and peaceful co-existence among nations. Meanwhile, they were preparing a noose around the neck of the free world. And only now, by what is happening in your country, the world will understand with full insight their ravenous interior and criminal nature. You have revealed this monstrous lamb’s face and the whole world has now seen Moscow’s lupine smirk in this infamous war against a free people, who have never threatened anyone and whose only “fault” has been their immense love for their beloved country and ancestral faith.

The Ukrainian people express their solidarity with the freedom-loving Afghan people in their liberation struggle. We, Ukrainians, will help you fight our common enemy with all possible means at our disposal. But if you, Afghan partisans, ever come across any young sons of Ukraine among the soldiers of the Soviet occupational army, then remember that they have been sent to Afghanistan against their will and the Ukrainian nation bemoans their fate, just as Taras Shevchenko bemoaned the death of his beloved friend, Yakiv de Balmen, who perished in the Caucasus mountains while marching with the tsarist Russian army against the Circassians:

*And they drove you there, Yakiv, to die as a stranger,  
My friend, my one friend! Not for our Ukraina,  
But for her hangman they made you shed blood,  
— Not black blood, but good; and you drank your reward  
From a Muscovite chalice of Muscovite poison!*

The innocent blood which both our peoples have shed is falling on the heads of the Kremlin autocrats, but these criminals will be rightfully punished. The time will come when the Kremlin tyrants will stand trial by the free nations for all the grievances they have caused to peoples, for all the mothers’ tears, for all the orphaned children’s cries, for the trampled honour of girls, for the destruction of human fates, for the burnt down villages and ruined towns, for the wounds, the torture and death of our fighters. This trial will go down in history as the Moscow trials. And when the enemy is led onto the scaffold, the world will sigh with relief because the crime was not left unpunished and the millions of victims of Russian terror will finally be able to rest in peace in known and unknown graves.

## **“WE WILL NEVER REST UNTIL THE CAPTIVE NATIONS ARE FREE AGAIN”**

*(Remarks by United States Senator Donald W. Riegle, Jr. delivered at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Michigan, during Captive Nations Week, July 20, 1986)*

I am greatly honored to have been asked to be your main speaker at this 27th annual commemoration of Captive Nations Week. I bring greetings from the nine and a half million people of Michigan whom I am privileged to represent. I am especially pleased that we are meeting in this magnificent Ukrainian Cultural Center. We have among us a special guest, a young freedom fighter from Afghanistan, and I would ask him to stand up so that we might acknowledge him and our support for his countrymen.

I would like to begin by sharing with you my own sorrow at the passing away of Yaroslav Stetsko two weeks ago. I would ask you to join me in a moment of silence as we remember him. He was a powerful man whose inspired leadership in the struggle to restore freedom to Ukraine has left a mark which can never be erased. The time he shared with many of you during his frequent visits to this very place are special memories to be treasured. We feel his presence here with us today as we mark this Captive Nations Day 1986.

We are here today to demonstrate our solidarity with the innocent people of the Soviet Bloc who were taken captive by force and who remain captives by force. Of those 31 nations victimized by ruthless regimes and occupying armies, 13, or more than one-third, are held in bondage behind the Iron Curtain. Their captivity is offensive to all of us who love freedom and justice. We gather here today to say: we do not accept it, and we will never accept it. We are determined to change it, and in time, we will change it. The struggle will not end until freedom and independence is achieved for all the Captive Nations of the world. Commemorations like this one today are vitally important.

The most glaring evidence of that fact came in the form of a recent *Pravda* editorial, which chastised the ignorance of our government and our people for commemorating Baltic Freedom Day on June 14. *Pravda* stated:

“...U.S. President R. Reagan recently signed a Congressional resolution about a so-called “Baltic Freedom Day”. Let me begin by saying that this strident statement is couched in unacceptably rude tones that are impermissible in communications between states that maintain diplomatic relations. And all the more intolerable and insulting in respect to the Soviet Union (as is often the case) R. Reagan has the wrong name? Or perhaps his advisors have not explained to him that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are, of their own free will, an inalienable part of the Soviet Union and not “oppressed people” as it might appear to the U.S. President from his California ranch? Or perhaps he simply signed the document without reading it, which he should not do of course. Otherwise, it must be stated that the U.S. lawmakers and the U.S. President have political standards so low that they would make any half way knowledgeable schoolboy blush.

“It is never too late to learn. Maybe it would be worthwhile for U.S. Senators and Congressmen headed by their President to sit down and read the elementary textbook, “The History of the USSR” in order to gain at least some basic knowledge about our country’s state organization...

“...Anti-communism has long been assigned a place on the garbage heap of history, which is where the newly hatched U.S. congressional resolution sporting R. Reagan’s signature will also end up.”

It is these comments from *Pravda* that will end up in the garbage heap of history. But clearly we are getting their attention, and that is important.

No doubt today’s commemoration will evoke a similar response. We are fighting for freedom — and if we are relentless, we will achieve it. It is important for us to review the events that took place at the close of World War II, when the Soviet occupation in Eastern Europe and the installation of puppet governments slammed the door shut on freedom in Eastern Europe. Each of you here has his own powerful memories, and has heard the tragic story, of the moment when freedom was snuffed out in your homeland. For the people of the Baltic States, it happened on June 14, 1941, when, during the night, Soviet secret police went from house to house, arresting entire families and herding them into railroad cattle cars bound for Soviet slave labor camps in Siberia. In the end, 50,000 innocent men, women and children were the victims of deportations and extermination. The stories of Soviet communist brutality in other Captive Nations are just as chilling:

**In Ukraine**, there was the man-made famine of 1933, in which 7 million Ukrainians died.

**In Czecho-Slovakia**, there was the suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968.

**In Poland**, there was the 1981 imposition of martial law and the smothering of the independent trade union solidarity.

**In Romania**, the people continue to suffer under a government with one of the worst human rights records in all of Eastern Europe, where the persecution of the Byzantine Rite Catholic Church is notorious.

**In Albania**, where there is no religious freedom.

**In Croatia**, where the communist regime has stifled the creativity of the Croatian people and are trying to destroy their national identity.

The suffering endured by the captive peoples is compounded by the fact that the perpetrators of these inhumane acts have never been brought to justice. Today, survivors of this persecution mourn for their murdered and enslaved family members, friends and countrymen. They yearn deeply for the independence of their nations, suffering under illegal Soviet occupation and rule. In the Baltic States in particular, mass deportation has been replaced by systematic repopulation. Elsewhere, the mass extermination of individuals has been superseded by the extermination of cultures, languages and traditions.

Now there are new threats to the homelands. The Chornobyl incident three months ago, outraged the world with censored news and incomplete information. The citizens living in the affected areas were not told of the radioactive cloud which passed over them, and of the life-threatening dangers to themselves and their children. Here in America, we struggled to piece together information from incomplete and inaccurate Soviet news stories, Western news accounts, intelligence sources and word of mouth.

For the victims and for those who care about them in the West, the nightmare is still going on. Bit by bit, the outside world is becoming aware of the profound proportions of the disaster: the casualties, the estimates of future victims, the contamination of land, crops and livestock are piling up. 250,000 children alone have been evacuated from Kyiv. The death toll in Ukraine has climbed to at least 26 with over 300 in serious condition — a number that is increasing daily. There may be many more that we do not know about. 60,000 children have been evacuated from Byelorussia. This means that at least half a million teenagers and adults in the affected area were also subjected to high amounts of radiation, with grave dangers to their health, and that the evacuation occurred after the government's refusal to admit that Byelorussia had been contaminated by the radiation emissions.

In Latvia, nighttime mobilizations of reservists are continuing, with Latvians being sent, unprotected, into clean-up operations at Chornobyl. This clandestine mobilization is a chilling replay of the June 14, 1941 "Night of Terror" in which thousands of Latvians were awakened in the middle of the night, arrested and deported to labor camps in Siberia. I have personally shared my concern over this development directly with President Reagan at the White House last month. In addition, I have written to Soviet Ambassador Dubinin, urging, in the strongest terms, that this clandestine mobilization be immediately halted.

Even as the tragic truth of Chornobyl reaches the West, the leadership in the Kremlin continues to lie about the extent of the damage. The Kremlin's blatant disregard for the welfare of the human beings affected by this tragedy is damning evidence against a regime which would have the world believe that it values the lives of its citizens. The communist rulers enrich themselves by bleeding the people they subjugate. This monstrous conduct cannot continue forever, and at some future point, the latent strength of the suppressed will explode and break these bonds. Freedom is coming to the Captive Nations, and we must do everything we can to hasten its arrival.

There is a great danger that another Chornobyl-like accident could happen. It is particularly distressing to note that what will grow to be the largest nuclear power station in the world, is currently operating in the northeast part of Lithuania. Just as the Ukrainians actively fought the construction of the Chornobyl nuclear plant when it was proposed in the 1960's, Lithuanian and Soviet scientists have protested the building of the Ignalina plant, because it lacks proper facilities to cool and contain contaminated water from the reactor core. Unless significant new safety precautions are taken, another Chornobyl, of even greater magnitude remains a grave danger.

Chornobyl is only the most recent manifestation of the cloud of darkness under which the Captive Nations have been living for decades. The Soviet policy of Russification threatens the survival of their cultures, languages and traditions. Repression is harshest against those who have a strong national consciousness and dare to express it. Throughout the Soviet system, cruel and vicious treatment of political prisoners occurs during both interrogation and confinement to labor camps, prisons or psychiatric hospitals. Physical and psychological abuse of prisoners is common. It is difficult for normal people to even comprehend such brutality.

The ongoing repression of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, in Romania, in the Baltic States and elsewhere has nearly eliminated every trace of religious freedom. Soviet refusal to permit Pope John Paul II to visit Lithuania vividly demonstrates Moscow's heavyhanded suppression of religious life. Soviet restrictions on travel,

communications and emigration have greatly worsened the human rights situation.

But these Soviet policies will never succeed. Instead of destroying the spirit of the Captive Peoples, the Kremlin's repressive policies have fostered in them an even stronger desire for freedom and independence. National and human rights groups remain active. This year marks the 11th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords on human rights. In the Senate, I am pleased to co-sponsor legislation declaring August 1 "Helsinki Human Rights Day", in special tribute to the people of the Captive Nations who, at great personal risk and sacrifice, continue to pursue civil rights in their homeland.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, the largest of its kind, provided impetus for human rights activists to demand not only that the Soviet government uphold the human rights guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, the Helsinki Final Act, and other international human rights declarations, but also to assert that the Western democracies have a responsibility to support the struggle for achievement of human rights of those living under Soviet domination.

In order to meet that obligation, we must take certain actions.

**First, we must set the historical record straight.** It is an outrage that some of the most blatant crimes against humanity remain unknown to much of the world. More than 50 years after the fact, our government is finally giving the appropriate focus to the Ukrainian famine by convening a commission to document the tragedy, to make it part of the historical record, and, in so doing, ensure that such a tragedy never occurs again. We are all proud of the fact that Bohdan Fedorak is a member of the commission, and we thank you, Bohdan, for your important leadership. It is important that the story be told and that the facts be brought to light now for both the living and for those whose lives were lost. As a member of the Congressional Ad-hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, I am strongly committed to this important effort.

**Second, we must form a united front,** focusing on the common enemy to liberty and freedom which is Soviet and communist oppression. We must not allow ourselves to be divided and distracted from our common goal of promoting freedom in the nations of the world where it has been taken away by force. If we do otherwise, we weaken ourselves in a manner which the Soviets are sure to exploit.

Today, we hear Polish authorities charge that U.S. officials knew in advance, but did nothing to prevent the imposition of martial law there. In his speech last month to the Polish Communist Party Congress, Gorbachev asserted: "We know what is sought by those in the West who hypocritically describe themselves as friends of the Polish people. They are not at all concerned about the fate of the Polish nation. Their aim is to dismantle socialism. Really, the worse it is in Poland, the better it is for them."

As your Senator, and as an American citizen who feels passionately about freedom and justice, I reject this communist propaganda and the notion that the United States is weak in its resolve to aggressively support the people of Poland in their struggle for freedom. This pin I wear today — the symbol of the Solidarity movement in Poland — represents freedom not only for the people of Poland, but for all peoples imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain.

I join with our President in declaring, without reservation, that, for those who seek freedom, security and peace, we in this country consider ourselves the custodians of their dream. The tragedy that befell Poland in December of 1981 dealt a blow to

freedom all around the world. While we cannot change the course of past history, the future is ours to build. We must respond with all of the resources at our disposal to promote the independence of nations now occupied by the Soviet Union.

And so we must devise a strategy to penetrate the Soviet system and promote the forces of freedom. We must get the truth and vital information across international borders to the Captive Peoples. To help in that effort, we must have strong support in the Congress for funding for the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

Despite the current budget crunch, VOA is undergoing a \$1.5 billion dollar modernization effort to replace old equipment and build new transmission and relay sites. This program will expand VOA's ability to reach areas deep into the Soviet Union and to avoid jamming. Through letters to USIA director Charles Wick and resolutions in the Senate, Senator Simon, I and others are urging the administration to enter into discussions with Soviet authorities aimed at eliminating Soviet jamming of Western broadcasts, particularly those of the Voice of America.

We must also work to have a greater U.S. presence in the Captive Nations. We will soon open the U.S. Consulate in Ukraine — an important accomplishment which will provide a vital pipeline for communication between people in Ukraine and those in the Free World. Had a consulate existed 3 months ago, I am sure the world would have known more quickly of the Chornobyl disaster and would have been in a position to help limit the damage.

We must ensure that human rights is a central element in our overall policy toward the Soviet Union. The Helsinki Final Act contains pledges by the participating states to “promote and encourage the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms”. We must push our government to more aggressively pursue the question of human rights in our dealings with Soviet officials at all levels and in all forums. Each time we raise Soviet human rights abuses at Helsinki review meetings, we remind the world that the Soviet Union is a brutal state which abuses the rights of its citizens, and we help build world opinion against Soviet conduct.

I will be introducing legislation this week which places the U.S. government firmly on the side of those struggling for their religious freedom against Soviet oppression. The resolution will urge the U.S. delegation to the Helsinki review meeting in November to press for a full restoration of the Byzantine Rite Catholic Church in East European countries where it is banned, and for freedom of religion in all the Captive Nations..

Calling attention to Soviet human rights abuses and its failure to abide by its Helsinki commitments also serves to make clear that there can be no substantial improvement in U.S. — Soviet relations without significant movement in the area of human rights. This pressure on divided families is paying off. Recently, the Soviets have allowed a number of family reunifications to occur. Some Baltic citizens were among those granted emigration permission. These steps are welcome and encouraging, but it is too early to tell whether this represents the beginning of a policy of less internal repression, or simply an effort to blunt Western criticism for propaganda purposes. An indication of true change would be a general amnesty for political prisoners and the expeditious resolution of outstanding human rights cases, such as that of Kaisa Randpere, Janis Barkans, and Balys Gajauskass.

**And we also have work to do here at home. First, we must fight ethnic stereotyping wherever it appears.** We succeeded in our effort to have producer Michael Landon remove the name “Jan Baltic”, to characterize a neo-Nazi character in one of his recent television programs. This is a victory for all ethnic Americans, and we must continue to demonstrate, through multi-ethnic cooperation, that ethnic stereotyping will not be tolerated.

**Second, we must ensure that our own laws are applied equally and fairly.** Individuals protesting in front of the Soviet embassy in Washington must be given the same protections afforded other U.S. citizens who take their protests to the South African embassy on behalf of the oppressed people in that country. Legislation I have co-sponsored will remedy the inconsistencies in current law, and will guarantee the right of all our citizens to stand peacefully on a public street in front of the embassy of another country, holding up a sign saying “Soviets out of Afghanistan”, or “Support Solidarity”, or “Apartheid is evil”. I will work aggressively for its prompt passage and implementation.

We know from those who have been imprisoned of the impact that public protest has on those within the walls of the Soviet Gulag. Anatoly Shcharansky, during his recent visit to Washington, told us stories of how, when, by some slim chance, reports of such protests reached the prisoners’ ears, their burdens seemed lighter and their hopes brighter. So our government must not chill these public protests — we must welcome them.

**Third, we must safeguard our asylum laws.** The fate of Myroslav Medvid is, tragically, out of our hands, and there is no excuse for it. The special investigation being conducted into the Medvid case by the Helsinki Human Rights Office in Washington, which I strongly supported, should provide answers to the many questions which surround this case. We must take seriously any recommendations made by the commission to ensure that no individual arriving on our shores seeking refuge from oppression in his own land is denied entry. A welcoming attitude toward the world’s oppressed is an integral part of the American tradition, reflecting the best of our past and the most noble of our social values, and it must be carefully safeguarded. It is what we celebrated at the Statue of Liberty just 16 days ago.

Americans of East European descent and especially young Americans of East European descent have a critical role to play in eventually winning freedom in their homelands. You, and others like you, will ultimately determine the force with which this country continues, in the decades ahead, to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. We must encourage our young people to prepare now to be the future policy makers and leaders of this country.

When our government considers issues affecting the Captive Nations, representatives of those groups must be part of the decision-making process. We must move our protests directly into the rooms where the decisions are being made and into the seats of the decision makers. When crises like Chornobyl occur, our government officials must know they can turn to your organizations for guidance and assistance in resolving critical life and death issues.

And we have to find ways to encourage and do more to help our children achieve the highest levels of personal success in this country. We must spend more time with our children and with our grandchildren and help them set their sights higher. If they want to go to Harvard, let’s get them in. Let’s see that they get the money they need. If

we don't do that, we're making a mistake. It's such a paradox because family members of our own in this room today are in Captive Nations, and they can't do these things. They can't express their national identity the way they wish to because they're being confined.

But we are not. And what they would do if they could, is what we must do here. American support for the return of freedom to the Captive Nations is an important demonstration of our belief in the right of self-determination for all people, in all nations of the world.

We must be no less attentive to the plight of the people of the Captive Nations than we are to the plight of the oppressed in South Africa. We must not permit the passage of time to dull our awareness and sensitivity to the injustices imposed upon the Captive Nations each day.

We do not know when the citizens of the Captive Nations will again be able to determine their own destinies. But history has shown us that, over the centuries, these courageous people have maintained their unity and national identities under successive occupations, only to emerge again as proud, independent nations. Everyone who loves freedom and justice must support them in their long struggle to do so again.

We here today publicly affirm our convictions that the struggle within these nations continues, and we remain firm in our support. So let us work together in the names of our brothers and sisters in the Captive Nations who are depending upon us to help lead the fight for their freedom.

Let the word go forth from this center today that we will never rest until the Captive Nations are free again, and that today, and each day, brings us ever closer to that blessed goal.

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**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**  
**August 15, 1986**

It gives me great pleasure to extend warm greetings to all those gathered for the 17th Biennial Convention of Byelorussians of North America.

This summer America celebrated its Centennial Year of Liberty, commemorating the dedication of the Statue of Liberty, that proud symbol of freedom and hope for millions throughout the world. Byelorussians are among the many groups of immigrants who, having experienced Soviet oppression, have a special appreciation of Lady Liberty. You can take pride in the important role you play in furthering the traditions of the Byelorussian people and in making America a culturally richer and more vibrant land in which to live.

May the ancient faith of your fathers give you strength, courage, and hope as you seek to advance the cause of freedom and self-determination for your beloved homeland.

God bless you.

**Ronald Reagan**

## **PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS** **Means of suppression** **of the religious and national movements in the USSR**

The intensification of the regime in the Soviet penitentiary institutions began on a large scale during the period of Andropov's rule and has been increasing constantly ever since.

Here is a short list of the new regulations introduced in concentration camps and prisons:

1. In the camps, the general dwelling zones have been divided into small local zones, which means that the barracks are separated from each other with a barbed-wire fence — a prohibited zone — and it is forbidden for prisoners to walk to another barracks during their free hours; this hardens the regime drastically making it in fact similar to that in prisons.

2. For any minor violations of the internal camp regulations (such as failure to stand up at the appearance of an overseer, failure to remove the hat in front of an overseer, refusal to shave the beard or to give up the scull-cap in case of religious Jewish prisoners, possession of "forbidden" books, especially the Bible, failure to fulfill the working quota, etc.) the prisoner is placed into the punishment cell for a ten-day term.

Within the last eighteen months a new regulation has been introduced which allows the administration to prolong the punishment-cell term, without releasing the prisoner, for another ten days, and then for another still, thus making the term practically endless. This is often the same as a death sentence, for in the punishment cell the prisoner is given only his underwear while the temperature there in winter is no higher than +5 or +7 degrees Celsius. There is no bed (except for a narrow wooden plank on the concrete floor during the night hours), no blanket; a lower than usual ration of food is given once in three days. All this quite frequently results in pneumonia or tuberculosis, which, due to the lack of medical help, very soon makes the prisoner an invalid.

3. Previously, the camp administration had the right to place the prisoner into an inside-the-camp prison ward for up to three months as a punishment for more serious violations, such as refusal from work, demanding to introduce the status of political prisoner (there is no such status in the Soviet penitentiary system, and the political prisoners are regarded as regular criminals), a hunger-strike with some demands, refusal to comply with the administration's demands, etc. Lately, the camp administration has been granted the right to prolong this inside-the-camp isolation to a year.

Besides, it is now allowed to draw up a new court sentence right inside the camp and to convict the prisoner, for one of the above mentioned violations, to up to three years in a specially closed strict prison (like the one in Chestopol). This term is included into the originally given term.

However, there is another new right given to the camp administration and it is to draw up new indictments and try prisoners right inside the camp giving them additional sentences which are added to the original ones for "violations" such as forbidden

books (Bible among them), critical statements about the situation in the USSR or about the camp administration, continuing the previous “criminal activity” such as religious, political, or defending human rights inside the camps, writing and keeping one’s own poems, and so on.

Here is a very short list of prisoners who have been tried for the second, and sometimes even third, time inside the camps for one of such “crimes”:

**Mykola Horbal** (Ukrainian nationalist, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group) was sentenced in 1979 to 5 years in strict-regime camps; arrested again inside the camp in 1984 and sentenced to an additional 8 years in strict-regime camps plus 3 years in internal exile for writing songs and poems, as well as the article “The Right for Defence”.

**Victor Grinev**, an artist, originally arrested in 1982 and sentenced to 3 years in general-regime camps for having rejected the Soviet citizenship due to political reasons and for writing an open letter on the subject. Re-arrested inside the camp in late 1984 and sentenced to an additional 1.5 year in strict-regime camps.

**Samuel Epstein**, a math teacher, arrested and sentenced to two years in general-regime camps for helping political prisoners; re-arrested inside the camp on the eve of the supposed release and sentenced to an additional two years in strict-regime camps.

**Mikhail Kukobaka**, (Byelorussian), an instrument-making worker, arrested in 1978 and sentenced to 3 years in general-regime camps for oral critical statements about the Soviet regime and for writing and publishing uncensored articles in the West; re-arrested in the camp in 1981 and sentenced to an additional 3 years in strict-regime camps for making critical statements while in the camp; re-arrested for the second time in the camp in 1984 and sentenced to another 7 years in strict-regime camps plus 5 years in internal exile.

**Merab Kostava**, musician, sentenced in 1977 to 3 years in strict-regime camps plus 2 years in internal exile for membership in the Georgian Helsinki Group and Georgian Initiative Group for Human Rights Defence. Re-arrested in exile in late 1981 and sentenced to an additional 5 years in strict-regime camps; re-arrested for the second time in the camp in 1985 and sentenced to another 2 years in strict-regime camps for continuing to defend human rights while in camps and exile.

**Alexander Shatravka**, sentenced in 1982 to 3 years in general-regime camps for “anti-Soviet” statements, collecting signatures under a petition calling for disarmament and for having written the book *If You Are Sick with Freedom or a Report from a Cannibal’s Stomach*. Re-arrested inside the camp in 1984 and sentenced to an additional 2 years in strict-regime camps for “continuing political activity in the camp”.

In 1984-1985 many of those who had been previously sentenced for their belief in God and religious activities were sentenced to additional camp terms while serving their original sentence. N. Baturin, Ya. Skornyakov, A. Kozorezov, N. Boiko, M. Khorev, M. Zhikharev are just a few of many examples.

This list can be continued almost endlessly. The established practice of repeated trials and additional sentences illustrates the tendency of the Soviet Russian authorities not to release from the camp those dissidents whom they consider dangerous. This is in complete contradiction with the Soviet law stating that the longest allowed prison term is 15 years. Just recently, in 1985, an activist of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was re-arrested after having spent 32 years in camps

and prisons. There are many other known examples of political or religious activists who were kept in the camps much longer than 15 years. The Ukrainian nationalist M. Soroka died after 23 years, head of the underground church of Seventh Day Adventists, Vladimir Shelkov, died after 28 years while serving his fourth term.

4. The monthly food norms fluctuate, as it has been already said, from 15 to 8 roubles' worth (from the general regime camp to the strict prison regime). But there have been indications recently that the administration illegally reduces even these meager norms. Prisoners placed into incarceration punishment cells are not given food for several days and are thus driven to a state of extreme emaciation, sometimes to suicide or murder.

Here is an excerpt from the testimony of K. Borisov describing one of such cases:

"I was kept in the punishment cell for six months. In the beginning the food (a soup and 200 grams of bread) was given once in three days. Then the regime commander lieutenant Danilov said he was reducing my food ration as to a non-working parasite. I started getting my soup (water with rotten cabbage) once a week. After half-a-year I became brutalized with hunger. At this point a new prisoner whom I had not known before was placed into my cell and he was given his soup, porridge and bread, according to the norm. He is chomping and I am hungry... I tell him: "I am asking you kindly, before I get angry, do not eat in my presence, leave my cell". He did not leave and kept eating in my presence and I could not stand it anymore. So once I lost control of myself and started beating him with his tureen and kept beating until he fell unconscious. Now I have been tried for this and given an additional 6 year term. I ask you very much to consider my complaint. Because I was driven to all this."

No wonder that the martyrology of the KGB victims in the camps is growing from day to day. Among the recent losses we can name the Ukrainian poet V. Stus, Ya. Dirksen, V. Vinkelis, O. Tykhyj, Ya. Vitolinsh, I. Mkrtychyan, V. Marchenko, M. Dyukarev and so many others.

5. A short while ago the camp administration was granted still a new right which makes the regime much more brutal: it has been declared that in cases of "mass insubordination" the guard has the right to open fire at the prisoners in the camp zone without warning. We already know of several cases of such shooting in the camps in 1984; for e.g. in Tula camp no. 45, working at the construction of the samovar plant (producing cartridges in fact); in Armenian general regime camp in the town of Leninakan.

The camp administration does not let through even the official complaints to the higher levels; prisoners are being deprived of relatives' visits, of the right to receive parcels, of the right to correspondence; prisoners get handcuffed and brutally beaten up. All this leads them to a state of deep depression: there are frequent cases of self-maiming when prisoners chop off their own fingers or hands. There are many eye-witness testimonies to this. For example, Yu. Brizgunov of camp no. UYe-394 in Bashkiria writes as follows: "I have been a prisoner since the age of 16, and I am 26 now. I have been kept on specially strict regime for eight years: hunger and beating are all I can see in my life. During all these 10 years I have not had a single meeting with my relatives. The administration always finds the reason for cancelling the visit: violation of the regime. Arbitrariness reigns in the camp, the working norms are impracticable, the prisoner's personality is a constant target of mockery and humiliation. As a result,

prisoners protest by opening their veins, cutting their bellies, chopping off their hands or fingers, jumping down from 2nd or 3rd floors..."

And here is what Bronislav Gaidis writes from camp YaB-257/3 in Khabarovsk: "Scurvy reigns here, we are losing our teeth, but parcels containing garlic or vitamins are not allowed to get through to us. "Education" methods are the punishment cell and hunger. They throw us naked into concrete incarceration cells. In despair prisoners commit awful acts like chopping off their hands, swallowing spoons..."

6. In their outward appearance, the KGB officers nowadays are polite, but after a polite conversation during which the man under investigation did not confess, he was placed into a standing ward with a blinking lamp which flashed its blinking light straight into the eyes of the prisoner. After an hour or hour and a half of such torture, the man under investigation became hysterical and did not even know why, for the lamp blinking was so frequent that it could not be noticed, it was just being felt.

Or else a "polite" investigator sends a tough nut into the so-called "press-hut". This is a general chamber where 6 or 8 well fed criminals have just one task: to beat the man under investigation and keep telling him: "If you don't confess, you'll see worse times". And indeed, if the man does not confess after the beatings, he gets raped, turned into a homosexual and mocked at in every possible way. This practice has been described by many victims and witnesses. The most recent case which received wide publicity in 1985 was that of Dan Shapiro of Moscow, a Jewish activist who was forced in such a way to publicly denounce his activities and his friends. Prior to that, testimonies containing very similar stories had been given by M. Kukobaka about the Eletz prison, by A. Smirnov about Moscow, by A. Bolonkin about Ulan-Ude, by S. Soldatov about Tallin, by V. Silchenko, D. Zakharov and others. Besides, there are some testimonies of criminals who were used by the KGB in such "press-huts".

It is old news already that the Soviet authorities conceal the real numbers of political prisoners by placing them into the criminal groups. Our Research Centre counts 5 to 30 political prisoners in each of the 2500 camps and prisons that we know in the USSR. In all the criminal camps the KGB via the camp administration systematically stirs the criminals and hounds them at the political prisoners. We have many testimonies concerning the beating of political prisoners in the criminal camps. For example, A. Shatravka was driven to a suicide attempt by such systematic beatings in the camp of Zhantas, Khazakhskaya SSR. As he said himself, he was once again brutally beaten up by guards already after he returned from the camp hospital where he had been treated following his suicide attempt.

7. Within the latest two years, the KGB has consolidated its efforts directed to the liquidation of all kinds of internal dissent and concentrated them on the national groups (the Jews, Ukrainians, Germans, Tartars, Balts, etc.) and believers in God of all denominations. The latter are persecuted for prayer gatherings if they are not registered officially and for attempts to print the Bible. Among those believers presently languishing in camps and prisons, many have been arrested and sentenced for their participation in the illegal printing of the Bible. The latest wave of such arrests took place in the autumn of 1985 in Moldavia. Here are names of these latest victims: A. Borinskii, Z. Tarasova, N. Shevchenko, E. Yanushevskaya, L. Ivashchenko, A. Yanushevskaya.

The families of the arrested believers are being practically destroyed in many cases: when parents are arrested and tried they get deprived of their parental rights for

giving “anti-social” education to their children, the children are taken away to the special children’s houses for “re-education” (in reality these children’s houses are a kind of prison for children), and after the children reach the age of 18 they are transferred to regular criminal camps. The regulation allowing the giving of an additional sentence right inside the camp on the eve of the due release is being used against the believers extremely frequently. There are religious families for whom arrests and trials follow endlessly for long years. One of the most known examples is the family of Ritikov of Kharkiv in which both the father and the elder son are presently imprisoned. Arrests of the wives of especially active believers became everyday practice in recent months. Examples can be given of families of Hermanyuk, Yuditsev, Firsov; Mrs. Kozorezov has been forced to go into hiding to avoid arrest.

As for national groups, they have different aims, but very similar fates. The Jews and the Germans are fighting for the right to be repatriated to their homelands. The Tartars are in a struggle to go back to their homes in the Crimea from the Siberian and Eastern regions where they were forcibly deported by the Soviet authorities during World War II. Baltic republics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) try to get rid of the Soviet Russian occupation of their territories. The Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Asian republics as well as Georgia and Armenia want independence from Moscow and are trying to stop the present intense Russification of their nations. All these national movements, in spite of their different aims, present a real threat to the stability of the Soviet regime and therefore the Soviet authorities (even though formally proclaiming their support of the national-liberation movements throughout the world) ruthlessly suppress the national liberation movements inside the USSR, persecute the activists of these movements, disperse peaceful demonstrations, arresting and imprisoning their participants, arrest the authors of books and articles discussing the problems of national liberation, arrest the Tartars illegally appearing in the Crimea, arrest the Jews for studying their Hebrew language and for demanding exit permits. The recent wave of arrests and additional sentences given to the activists of all these movements presently in the camps are showing that the Soviet Russians are determined to do away with each and every manifestation of national consciousness. The arrests are usually accompanied by beatings and are made openly, apparently in order to intimidate those who are still free, to make them realize what awaits them too. However, this does not always work and the youth become more and more active.

For the Asian nations, the role of catalyst is being played by the war in Afghanistan. More and more often we hear of cases where the Afghan freedom fighters penetrate into Soviet Russian territory, bringing leaflets that call for the unification of Moslems.

The persecution of thinking reached the level of absurdity in 1985-1986. People get ruthlessly beaten up, arrested and placed into camps or psychiatric prisons for such “crimes” as meeting with foreigners (there are many testimonies to this, among them, a testimony of an invalid without legs Yu. Kisilyov), for participating in pop music groups, for studying Hinduism (the students of Krishna teaching are arrested one and all, including the sick and pregnant women — over 35 of them have been sentenced within the last year), for participation in the non-official peace movement...

8. In the political camp for women in Mordovia (camp no. ZhKh-385/3-4 in Barashevo), within the period of 1983-1985, the women prisoners have made 193 hunger strikes and protests against the inhuman working conditions, hunger and

humiliation. For this they are ruthlessly thrown into incarceration punishment cells, in exactly the same above described conditions as men.

9. The situation of the Jewish dissidents has deteriorated drastically within the last two years, the persecutions have spread to the Jewish believers (the mere practicing of Jewish rites and traditions is punishable today), the students of Hebrew, the Jewish children. While the world celebrated the release of A. Shcharansky, many Jewish activists in the USSR have been sentenced and sent to camps and prisons to occupy the “vacant” place. And those who are still “free” suffer from constant threats, expecting arrest at any moment, get summoned to the KGB for interrogations, get searched in their homes, get beaten up in the streets or even in their homes if they get together to celebrate a Jewish holiday.

Josef Begun has been arrested and sentenced for the third time (this time for the longest possible term for his “crime”) for teaching Hebrew.

Another Hebrew teacher, Evgeny Koifman of Dnipropetrovsk was arrested and sentenced just recently to two and half years for alleged “possession of drugs” (a very popular charge used against the Jewish activists these days). What is new in this case is that during the investigation period, Koifman’s wife was kept in a psychiatric hospital. There she was interrogated after a doctor injected her with drugs, afterwards she could not recall anything she had been saying during the questioning. The investigator has ignored everything she told him after the drugs had worn off.

Still another Hebrew teacher sentenced earlier, Yuli Edelstein, was constantly beaten up by criminals who used sticks and their boots for this purpose and who were inspired by the KGB supervisor who had promised to beat his religious extremism out of him. Such treatment continued from April till autumn 1985 when under unknown circumstances (officially described as an “accident”) Edelstein was crippled so that his life is now in serious danger. His left hip and pelvic bone have been broken and the urine canal has been torn. He remains practically unattended, even though kept in the prison hospital in Ulan-Ude.

Since late 1984, a new method of “pressure groups” has been adopted by the Soviet authorities against political dissidents, specifically against the Jews. The method is very similar to that of the above described “press-huts” with the only difference being that the “pressure groups” are not only used in special prison chambers, but also in the camps and even outside the camps to intimidate political and religious activists and their families. Josef Bernstein lost his eye during such treatment in a “press-hut”. Others, like Edelstein, Lifshitz, Zunshain received the same treatment while in the camps. Nadezhda Fradkova was beaten up in the psychiatric hospital; Alexandr Panariev was once again beaten up in the army where he was forcibly drafted after he had applied for an exit visa, now he is getting the same in the camp. The Jewish children are also subject to this treatment: Avi Goldstein, Yulia Lerman, Karmi Elbert, have suffered serious fractures as a result.

10. The above described brutality towards all manner of free thinking cannot be explained just by the arbitrariness of local authorities. On the contrary — they act in complete agreement with the Soviet law. On June 13th, 1985, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a new decree extending the use of various methods of psychiatric treatment for completely sane individuals who refuse to think by communist cliches. Now the punitive organs in the USSR can order forced psychiatric treatment of any individual for “psychotic development of personality which can be

equalled to a psychiatric disease”, or for “temporary mental derangement”. With such a diagnosis, anyone can be placed into a special psychiatric hospital, as already during the investigation period it can be decided that such a “temporary mental derangement” is taking place...

Thus, Gorbachev’s rule has already marked itself with a significant expansion of the area of use of the repressive psychiatry.

Another new law — the enactment of the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR no. 736, dated August 6, 1985 — prohibits any visits to Moscow and its suburbs for all those who have been denied the right of residence in Moscow as well as those who have been tried for all deliberate crimes. A special permit to visit Moscow can be granted only in exceptional cases, like the death of a close relative. In order to obtain such a permit, one is to submit a special request 72 hours before, with all the authorized documents proving the fact of the emergency.

In other words, in order to attend one’s mother’s funeral, one has to know about it three days before she dies, moreover, have a document proving her death.

This new law practically makes Moscow a closed city. It is now closed to all those who used to come there to buy food items unavailable in the provinces. It is now closed for those who could previously hope to get more qualified medical help which is available in the capital. It is now closed to those who would come and visit Moscow’s libraries, theatres and other cultural and educational institutions.

The effect of this new law will be felt most by those against whom it was really aimed — those who can no longer come to Moscow to submit petitions and complaints to the higher legal authorities, to meet with foreign reporters or tourists or with the Moscow activists in order to inform them of what is going on in the province or in order to arrange their exit documents, and so many others whose plight as religious, political or emigration activists is so much harder because of the mere fact of their sometimes complete isolation in the province.

11. As far back as 1980, our Research Centre established the fact of prisoners of the Soviet Union being used at the extraction and processing of uranium ore. Information on those special camps whose prisoners are used for various work connected with uranium without any protective measures was collected gradually. If in 1977 we only knew about six such camps, in 1980 we already had 41 such addresses, now in 1986 we have at our disposal 45 such addresses of camps that must be called by no other name than extermination camps because in them, prisoners become sick with leukaemia within half a year’s work and die of it very soon after. To our knowledge, at the moment up to 200,000 prisoners die annually in these camps.

The following is an excerpt from one of the numerous testimonies on these extermination camps that we managed to collect. It was received from B. Axelrod in 1985:

“At a distance of 100 kilometers down from the city of Krasnoyarsk along the Enisei river, on its right bank (across from the pioneer summer camp) in Sukhobuzinskii region, near the village of Ust-Kan, there are several mines where uranium ore is being extracted; closeby there is a factory for processing uranium. All this is well hidden in the taiga. The prisoners live under the earth, in the waste drifts. The local population say they can often see transports of prisoners being brought into this camp, but nobody ever saw anyone leaving it... The guard soldiers who frequent the village near the pioneer camp (where I worked) in order to buy vodka, told me

# YAROSLAV STETSKO AND UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

by Maria Riccardi

The small, thin man introduces himself simply as “Stetsko, prime minister of Ukraine.”

Nearly 40 years ago, at the age of 28, Yaroslav Stetsko and other members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists seized Lviv, then capital of Ukraine, from the Soviets, and convened a national assembly. The assembly appointed Stetsko prime minister of the new independent government. But on the day he took office he knew what awaited him. Two weeks later, because of his lack of cooperation with Hitler, he says, the Germans arrested him and put him in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Stetsko spent the next three years in “the bunker” — the prison he says the Germans reserved for “the serious cases.” Slowly and carefully, he describes the solitary confinement, the physical and mental torture. “I was alone with only my spirit telling me to continue,” he says, shaking his head. “I couldn’t give up no matter what happened to me.”

The prime minister and his wife, Slava, were in Washington last week for the 23rd observance of Captive Nations Week, celebrating the 40th anniversary of renewed Ukrainian statehood. “It is something so important to us,” says Slava Stetsko, who was imprisoned for nine months by the Nazis. “We have dedicated our total selves to our country.”

They return to stories of the war, their voices at times shaking with emotion. In the concentration camp, Stetsko says he refused to resign his office even when he knew

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when they were drunk that there are some 20,000 prisoners in the camp and they are guarded only from the outside, as the radiation inside the drifts is very high.”

All the information published by various organizations about the Soviet Russian concentration camps presents only bits and pieces of the entire picture. To give the whole and complete picture of life and horror in those camps is presently impossible because of the high secrecy the Soviet Russians surround them with. After the eventual fall of the communist rule in the USSR, the world will shudder from the testimonies of the survivors telling about the brutality of this regime, just as it shudders today hearing of the Nazi crimes. But then it will be too late to cry about those 80 million (or maybe then more?) murdered by the Soviet authorities, as it is too late today to cry about millions of Nazi victims... Therefore it is time to act today against the criminals who have usurped power over the countries under Soviet Russian occupation.

*Research Centre for Prisons,  
Psychiatric Prisons and  
Forced-Labour Concentration  
Camps of the USSR*  
April, 1986  
Israel

that 65 of the 70 prisoners in that camp had died. He couldn't give up, he explains, his troops were still fighting for Ukrainian freedom.

Once the war was over, he says, "The thing in my mind was to conquer that Communist empire."

In 1946 he became president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and still holds the office. Today 33 subjugated nations, including Poland, Lithuania and Afghanistan, belong to the group. He is also head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

His involvement in these organizations, he says, has placed him in danger. In 1959, the man who admitted to the murder of Stepan Bandera, Stetsko's friend and chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, said he was about to assassinate Stetsko in Munich, which is his home.

"There is always someone on our heels," says Slava. "We have to travel in such secrecy. We cannot live openly. We cannot live secure lives because of what we believe."

They travel widely, visiting Ukrainian emigrants and gathering moral and political support. When the Ukrainian nationalist army "was completely crushed" in 1951 by the Soviets, Stetsko says the country was defeated only physically. "It was not a moral defeat," he insists. "We can't be squashed. We are fighting for the great ideal — the liquidation of the Soviet supremacy."

He sighs deeply. For a moment, the 68-year-old man's eyes sadden. He picks up a copy of the speech he gave to members of Congress at a luncheon. Suddenly, his energy returns. "Synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial empire are the only alternative," he reads aloud with power in his words. "Soviet Russia has skillfully exploited Western fear of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to ever increasing conquests."

Another pause. He has faith that the youth of subjugated countries will carry on this war against communism. "In our country, the younger generation has found strength in the graves of our heroes," says Slava. "They take pride in our great historical past."

The Stetskos do not have children. "We have put all of our strength to Ukraine," the woman says, fingering the gold cross around her neck.

"I have given everything," her husband adds, "and I will continue to fight until my death."

*The Washington Post*  
July 21, 1981

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"In Ukraine, only the top of the iceberg can be seen, the top of the revolutionary volcano. When the explosion comes, Ukraine will sweep away —together with other enslaved nations — everything reactionary. We all would wish that Americans be on the side of *revolutionary nationalistic* liberation processes in the world, particularly in the Russian empire, and not remain in a camp of *anti-national and therefore anti-social reaction!*"

*Yaroslav Stetsko*

## “INSTEAD OF A FINAL STATEMENT”

*Vasyl Ovsienko was born on 8.4.1949. In 1972 he graduated from the Philological Faculty of Kyiv University and went to work as a teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature in a secondary school in the Kyiv region. He is married.*

*Ovsienko was first arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 4 years of labour camps on the basis of Article 62 of the UkSSR Criminal Code. He was released after serving his full sentence and was immediately placed under government surveillance. He was forbidden to work as a teacher and was subjected to frequent interrogation.*

*V. Ovsienko was again arrested in 1978 and sentenced on 7-8.2.1979 to 3 years of strict regime labour camps according to Article 188-1 of the UkSSR Criminal Code, on the basis of fabricated evidence. The real witnesses were not allowed to attend the trial. During the trial Ovsienko made a final statement (printed below) in which he stated his innocence and denounced the case which had been prepared against him as a fabrication. He also spoke up in defence of the Ukrainian nation, condemning Soviet Russian oppression and persecution in Ukraine.*

*Just before Vasyl Ovsienko was due to be released, he was re-arrested and transferred from the camp to Zhytomyr prison, where in August 1981 he was sentenced to 10 years of strict regime camps and 5 years internal exile on the basis of Article 62 of the UkSSR Criminal Code for the illegal dissemination of propaganda among the inmates. His final statement during the 1979 trial, as well as his 1977 declaration to the State Public Prosecutor of the UkSSR, in which he stated Ukraine's constitutional right of secession from the Soviet Union, were used as evidence against him during his trial in 1981.*

*Presently Vasyl Ovsienko is serving his sentence in Perm camp 36-1, where he is made to carry out forced labour despite his very poor health.*

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Here, where justice is being administered upon me, there is no one to talk to. Here I am alone amongst hissing snakes, like an unburnable bush. You tried to surround me with guards, fences and walls. But instead, you have used these to surround yourselves from the people. It is you, not I, who is afraid of publicity. It is you, not I, who have hidden yourselves from the people lower than the bottom floor, in the underground, in order to create your black deeds.

You nosed out all my tracks, eavesdropped on all my words, frightened people away from me and slandered me with absurd statements. And when you were unable to find any falsity, slyness or trickery in me, you became convinced that I was in principle incapable of committing any crime. And you became afraid of me. This is precisely why you resorted to the vile fabrication of the “affair”, just as you used to do on a vast scale during Stalinism according to the principle: “A case will be fabricated, as long as there is a person”. In my case, there is a precedent of the rebirth of Yezhovshchyna and Beriivshchyna.

I am not guilty of anything and you are very well aware of it. However, you have sent me to this disgusting court in order to ruin me. What for? For the reason that I am interfering with your intentions of robbing and deceiving the people. Because I know the truth about you and my conscience does not allow me to suppress this truth.

Because I am one hundred times more noble than you. Because I do not accept swine-like philosophy, whose biggest blessing on earth is to eat from the trough to which you have been led by Russian imperialism in the guise of communism. You, “Soviet people of Ukrainian descent”, who are being led by this trough-like philosophy, helped Russian imperialism to exterminate by hunger one third of your people in 1933. You helped Hitler and Stalin to trample down millions with war and repressions. It was you, who prepared the wagons for the deportation of the remainder of Ukrainians to Siberia. It was you, who destroyed the prime of our people — the intelligentsia. You are now destroying their beautiful language, spreading in its place your dirty lies. You are tearing apart its soul, forcing everyone to become thieves, liars and cowards. You are exterminating its lucid mind with your vodka. You are the nation killers.

This sentence is a continuation of the genocide of the Ukrainian nation. Yes, I am a condemned man. Sooner or later you will destroy me. I am not your first nor your last sacrifice. But I go to this death conscientiously, because I know that by this deed I am defending the life of my nation. I am guided by a Superior Law of Life — the Law of Sacrifice. Your snake’s hissing is heard only by those stone walls, but my voice will be heard by the whole of Ukraine, and the entire world. You are self-murderers and rulers of your deaths. All your failures in world politics are a result of a scandalous destruction of natural human rights for the freedom of expression and the right to do what we please. Whoever is conscientious will not want to deal with a gang. You usurped the right to talk in the name of truth. But no one among people has this right. It is God’s privilege. The principle of total equality grip the minds of people even more, people whom you would like to have as submissive cattle forever. But people no longer want to be somebody’s slaves, because they began to feel like People and this is why the ground shook beneath you.

Nobody, including yourselves, believes in your communist-imperialistic demagogy. The people have seen the lying essence of your communist “truth”, of your socialist “democracy” and have turned away from you. The whole world turns away in disgust from your loathsome face. No demagogy will save you and no repressions. What you are doing to me is already a farce, a comedy and the beginning of the end. Prepare yourselves some rope and do not miss the moment to hang yourselves on time. Because soon, the national rage will fall upon you. The people will disregard you. Your names will be on par with Judas’ and your sons will condemn you.

And Ukraine, blessed by God and golden like a dream, will rise in all her beauty and strength and will take up a worthy place in the circle of free nations. It is already unavoidable just as a triumph of the truth, goodness and justice is unavoidable. Ukraine will be free from you aliens, traitors and hangmen, and independently of whether you want it or not. As Ukrainians we want this and we sanctify this idea with great sacrifices.

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### “CATARACT”

by Mykhaylo Osadchyy

An Autobiographical Outline. An underground publication from Ukraine. Hard cover —111 pp. Available from: ABN Buro, Zeppelinstr. 67, 8000 Munich 80, W. Germany and Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 200 Liverpool Rd., London N1 1LF, England., Cost: US\$6.00

## BYELORUSSIAN WORKER KUKOBAKA DESERVES YOUR SUPPORT

In August 1968, Warsaw Pact forces crossed the borders of Czecho-Slovakia. At that time, Mikhail Kukobaka was an electrician working in Kyiv, capital of Ukraine in the Soviet Union, and he went along the following month to the Czech Consulate where he expressed to the Consul his sympathy for the Czechs and his outrage at what he saw as an invasion. He subsequently refused to take part in official trade union activities and political elections. He was arrested in April 1970 by the KGB who put pressure on him to help them discredit a West German diplomat. Mikhail would not comply and spent the next 6 years in various special psychiatric hospitals where dissenters and genuine madmen are confined together.

During a brief period of freedom in 1977, he was examined by a Russian psychiatrist (Dr. Voloshanovych — now in the West) who found no trace of mental illness. However, he was twice forcibly committed to psychiatric hospitals during this period for refusing to take down an icon (he is an Orthodox Christian) and pictures of Sakharov and Grigorenko he had hung above his bed in a workers' hostel; for passing around among his fellow workers copies of the UN Declaration on Human Rights (to which the Soviet Union is a signatory); and for defending a woman who had been driven to the point of suicide by problems with the local administration. In the first instance, he was freed only after the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Prisoners (an unofficial body) threatened to publicize his case widely inside and outside the Soviet Union. Mikhail also wrote essays on his childhood and experiences in psychiatric hospitals which circulated in *samizdat* (unofficially-published literature).

He was re-arrested in October 1978, pronounced sane this time by the KGB and given a three-year sentence in labour camps for disseminating “fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system” (article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code). Mikhail should have been released on October 19, 1981 but was re-arrested in Elets prison 13 days before that date and charged with the same offense as before “based on conversation with other prisoners”.

In April 1982, he was transferred to the Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow but the KGB again ruled him sane and he stood trial in Elets on August 13, 1982. Sentenced to three years strict-regime labour camp, he was due to be released on October 19, 1984 but was he? Mikhail is 48, in poor health and has no family.

Mikhail ends a description of 6 years in special psychiatric hospitals with the words: “I am told: no one will believe this. This can't be proven. They don't believe now that healthy people are crippled in crazy houses for dissident thinking, that physical torture is used under cover of “white robes”. Man doesn't want to believe in evil, in very great evil. It tries one's conscience. It forces one to think: if this is true, why do I remain on the side, why don't I interfere. It means that I am a coward, I am dishonorable. It is easier not to believe”.

The odds against Mikhail actually being released on October 19, 1984 are heavy. A new law was passed in the Soviet Union on September 13, 1983, making it possible for a prisoner who has transgressed prison regulations to be sentenced to further imprisonment of up to five years.

## PRIEST IN LITHUANIA BELIEVED MURDERED

The death of a prominent Catholic priest in an auto collision February 5 was no accident, alleges the latest issue of the "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania", recently smuggled to the West.

The Chronicle, a clandestine publication, has been documenting violations of human rights in Soviet Russian occupied Lithuania since 1972.

According to issue no. 70 of the Chronicle, dated April 23, 1986, Fr. Juozas Zdebskis' "collision was not accidental, but a carefully planned and executed act of violence". Zdebskis had been under KGB surveillance for more than 20 years. Subjected to threats and sentenced twice, the Lithuanian priest had several other close brushes with death under suspicious circumstances.

Zdebskis was a founding member of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights, banned by Soviet authorities, and pastor in Rudamina, Lithuania.

According to the Chronicle, Soviet authorities issued conflicting reports on the death of Fr. Juozas Zdebskis. The Department of Motor Vehicles reported on state-run Lithuanian television that a Zhiguli automobile owned by Zdebskis crossed the center lane, colliding with a milk truck, killing three passengers in the Zhiguli and injuring a fourth, R. Zemaitis. The cause of the collision was being investigated.

The national Soviet news agency TASS gave a slightly different version of the incident: Zdebskis' Zhiguli, driven by Sabaliauskas, was passing an automobile and collided head-on with a milk truck.

Zdebskis, Sabaliauskas, and an unidentified woman passenger were reported killed immediately; Zemaitis was hospitalized. The driver of the milk truck slightly injured, was also taken to the hospital.

In neither report were the names of the milk truck driver, or the passengers of the automobile which Zdebskis' car purportedly was passing, mentioned. After the collision, Zdebskis' car was towed and searched.

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▶ As of October, 1985, Mikhail Kukobaka was not free. Once again, he was re-arrested in his corrective labour colony shortly before the end of his 3-year sentence in October 1984 and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. The address of his camp is: SSSR, RSFSR, 618263 Permskaya oblast, Chusovskoy raion, P. Kuchino, uchr. VS 389/36, M.I. Kukobaka, Soviet Union.

*"The first and most important human right, or rather, obligation to oneself, is to stand by one's convictions. I am frightened of prison, of camps, of lunatic asylums... But I am more frightened of lies, base behaviour and my own participation in either of these, than of any prison. I am not ashamed to be called a prisoner, but I am bitter at having been born in this country and I am ashamed that, until I was nearly 30, I myself was an obedient cog in the system. But my convictions changed a long while ago. I want to live according to my convictions, to read what I want, to look at what I want. And you are trying me for this desire!"*

*Mikhail Kukobaka  
at his trial in 1979*

After the day of his death, the pastor's rectory telephone was disconnected by the authorities. Friends learned of his death only a day later. The whole funeral took place under KGB surveillance. Those making funeral arrangements were brazenly followed by KGB automobiles.

The Chronicle concludes that "the shoving of Father Bronius Laurinavicius under the wheels of a truck (in 1981), the sadistic murders of Leonas Sapoka and Mazeika (also priests), the liquidation of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, efforts to destroy the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights at any cost, and constant KGB attacks on Father Zdebskis, allow one to form the supposition that this collision was not accidental...; all the more because various obstacles were posed to claiming the remains of Father Zdebskis, and his personal effects."

According to unconfirmed reports from alleged eyewitnesses, Zdebskis was stabbed and beaten to death on the street. A photograph of the deceased, apparently made on the scene, is inconclusive.

In 1981, Fr. Zdebskis suffered severe suspicious chemical burns, also while riding in his own car. He was taken to the hospital for treatment, where KGB agents ordered the attending physicians to diagnose Zdebskis' condition as venereal disease, an order they refused to comply with.

Zdebskis had been involved in other auto incidents before the accident that took his life. In 1974, he escaped injury after being forced off the road by two cars suspected of being used by the KGB. In 1976, although a total abstainer, he had his license revoked for 18 months on charges of drunk driving, in an apparent effort to discredit him. Since Zdebskis travelled extensively, ministering to conscripts in the Soviet army, and to pockets of Catholics in remote areas of Siberia, Tadzhikistan and Armenia, suspension of his driver's license forced him to curtail his activities, and facilitated the tracking of his movements by the KGB. Last year another Catholic Committee member, Fr. Vaclovas Stakenas, survived an attack, similar to that which led to the death of Fr. Jerzy Popieliuszko.

According to the Chronicle, the sole survivor of the collision, R. Zemaitis, gave contradictory accounts. Authorities forbade Zemaitis visitors.

The Chronicle reported that two bishops, 100 priests and "countless throngs" of faithful, the greater portion of which consisted of youth, participated in Fr. Zdebskis' funeral February 10. His remains were buried in the churchyard over objections from the authorities.

This latest issue of the Chronicle is dedicated "to the late Father Juozapas Zdebskis, zealous apostle of Christ's love, and loyal son of the Nation". Zdebskis was 56 at the time of his death and would have celebrated his 35th anniversary as a priest this year.

*Lithuanian Information Center*

*July 2, 1986*

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## **GORBACHEV DISCLOSES THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE**

The communist Russian empire has long since become ideologically and morally exhausted. Vladimir Lenin managed to prolong its existence through personal diabolical genius. During the Second World War, the Russian leaders were able to give free reign to Russian chauvinism as a result of the reckless policy of Nazi Germany. The West instantly supported the Russian imperialists, thinking that a Russian second front was vital to them against Hitler's Germany. Meanwhile, the Russians used this to their advantage. Yet, in no way did they succeed in destroying the resistance and liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, Ukraine in particular. The Russian empire has only been able to exist until now due to KGB terror and its armed forces.

Today, this has resulted in the fact that the Russian leaders are forced to openly admit the declining tendencies within their empire and have started to create alarm about its salvation. Two important documents have appeared to prove this: firstly, Mikhail Gorbachev's speech delivered in Krasnodarsk, Kuban, on September 19, 1986, and secondly, the manifesto by the Movement for a Socialist Renewal. Both documents conclude that the USSR is a monolithic state of the highest degree. Thus, the most vital problem — the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire, namely, its imperial, colonial nature, is completely passed over in silence.

On the other hand, both documents reveal the complete bankruptcy of the empire in the economic and social-administrative fields. In his speech in Krasnodarsk, Gorbachev asserted: "For decades urgent problems have remained unsolved." In other words, the Russian elite has not succeeded throughout the course of decades to solve the critical situation in the empire.

The first to attempt to save the empire by an ideological programme were the Russian dissidents of the 1960's and 1970's. However, the empire's terrorist-reactionary establishment purged them out and sent them to the West so that they could spread confusion and weaken the support for the national liberation movements. Just as within the empire, these dissident groups came into conflict with the active national emigré groups of the subjugated nations in the West.

It is true that they succeeded in bringing over to their side part of these emigré groups by means of bribery, the deception of "human rights" with their reformatory, anti-regime, insignificant ideals. However, the national liberation movements were victorious in this conflict, proof of which, albeit by words, is the sympathetic attitude of President Ronald Reagan.

The period of power of the despots Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko brought no solution to the essential problems of the empire, but only succeeded in pushing them aside. Only now, Mikhail Gorbachev has decided to bring these critical matters to light, the reason for this being that the Kremlin leaders can no longer ignore these problems. The manifesto by the Movement for a Socialist Renewal dramatically reveals several critical problems in the empire. It states that the USSR is 10-15 years behind the West in economical development and that the "USSR is on the way of being categorized as one of the underdeveloped nations" because "the living standard of the Soviet people (?) is one of the lowest in the industrial world." This living

standard “is very reminiscent of the life of Russian peasants at the beginning of the 20th century.” The authors of this manifesto compare the situation in the Russian empire to that in the United States of America, asserting for example, that “automization in the USA is 8 times greater than that in the USSR.” They make a general statement that “after 70 years, the social-political system in the Soviet Union has been unable to gain supremacy over the capitalist countries, either in the field of economy, education, technology or in the welfare of the people.”

After analysing Gorbachev’s speech, it appears that he has the same opinion about the current crisis, as do the authors of the manifesto, and maybe even sees the crisis as worse and more hopeless. With this in mind, we can accept his following assertion: “We are all living in a time of crisis. A reversal of policy is taking place in the life of Soviet society.” The first statement is a diagnosis, the second — his wish. He explains a “reversal of policy” in the following way: “The whole society and every citizen should be reconstructed.” This is the typical totalitarian way of thinking of a despot, who has suddenly decided “to realize the fundamental changes in all spheres of life. I have called these changes revolutionary in essence.”

Here, Gorbachev recalls Mao Tse-tung’s “cultural revolution”, yet we are well aware that present day leaders in China have thrown this “revolution” onto the rubbish heap. Gorbachev also recalls Joseph Stalin, who asserted that collectivization and the destruction of Ukrainian peasants was a revolutionary requirement on the way to establishing socialism and industrialization. Today, it has been revealed that Gorbachev’s predecessors were nothing more than bloodthirsty nation-killers, demagogues and despots. Gorbachev presents himself as being very similar.

Gorbachev wants to conduct his “revolution” first of all by eliminating all those who wish “to retain the old obsolete system and to retain their privileges.” This approach is very reminiscent of Ivan the Terrible and Peter I, who, after deciding to introduce some new order, executed thousands of people who had become overrun with “privileges” during the reign of their predecessors. Opposition to Gorbachev’s notions must be great in the present imperial elite because as he says: “from all tribunes they cry out louder than anyone else.” This means that opposition exists in various circles in many spheres. Then, Gorbachev parallels his fantasies with those of “the NEP (New Economic Policy) period, when V. I. Lenin underwent great pains to demonstrate” his intentions. Gorbachev places himself on a par with Lenin, but he should not forget that then came Stalin who liquidated the NEP.

Next, Gorbachev proposes to “involve the people in the process of reconstruction by a democratization of society.” This so-called “democratization” should be the means by which the empire could be saved! This “depends on an educational-technical process, on intense technology, on the individual, whom we are including in the new methods of management and administration.”

All nations enslaved by Russia will do everything they can to prevent Gorbachev’s plans of saving the empire from being realised. In the first place, no one believes that this plan is realistic, because in order for nations to exist there are matters which can never be realised by a totalitarian, but only by a free individual. This category includes the expression of social initiative, healthy and creative competence between people, productivity of privately owned enterprises, etc. Gorbachev wishes to fulfill these plans, but the conditions are the liquidation of the imperial and totalitarian system. Since he has no intention of liquidating either imperialism or totalitarianism, he will,

therefore, not bring up these conditions, which are vital for the realization of his plans. Besides, any kind of reform needed for strengthening the empire will result in an even greater enslavement of the subjugated nations, which regard any kind of program as impossible, as long as the genocidal policy of Moscow continues to exist and as long as these nations do not regain their independence, statehood and democratic governments. Therefore, the first thing is to destroy the empire and totalitarian order, and only then will it be possible to talk about economic, technological and social progress within the framework of the independent states of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia and others.

Therefore, the enslaved nations will take advantage of any, no matter how small, flaw in this so-called transient stage of Gorbachev's plans, in order to spread and strengthen their own national forces for the imminent conflict with the forces of the Russian empire at the time of its transformation. Our task is to intensify the crisis within the empire and aim it in two directions: in the negative sense — to strengthen the stagnation and the degenerate tendencies of the existing reactionary regime, and in the positive sense — to take advantage of this critical situation in order to prepare strong, national cadres, a nationalist elite, revolutionaries-fighters for an Ukrainian independent sovereign state, a fine Christian and culturally creative elite.

Gorbachev is perhaps aware that he is propagating a self-delusive salvation of the empire. The crisis, which he is presently making public has been growing stably for decades. The root of all evil is the imperialism of the Russian nation, and this very imperialism is the greatest bastion for progress, justice and the freedom of nations and the individual. Thus, the crisis conforms to history. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and all the other national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are the avant-garde of the progressive powers. The existing crisis in the empire will continue to grow until the final conflict between the freedom-loving forces and the forces of Russian communist evil, crime, tyranny and genocide.

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# CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

## Part VII

God and the truth are with us!

On the 8th of May (1984), one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Oleksa Tykhyj, was murdered in a Perm labour camp. His murder was planned and premeditated... What were the Moscow officials counting on when they agreed to the murder of a Ukrainian human-rights activist? They had one aim — to intimidate, to show that they are not subject to any courts and trial proceedings...

Ukrainians! Oleksa Tykhyj and his friends never took up arms, did not call for the overthrow of the regime, but only pointed out to the authorities the violations of citizens' rights and demanded that, whenever possible, those violations be corrected... The Communists do not need correction of their orders, their follies; they want to rule by themselves...

A similar threat now hangs over Ukrainian Catholic, Pavlo Kampov who is serving his illegal term in Russia. P. Kampov is ill; he is almost blind and the camp authorities received orders to do all it takes to physically destroy P. Kampov. A Kyiv KGB official told Yosyp Terelya in one "conversation": "We will destroy you one by one. They will make some noise about it in the West, and that is where it will end; we will give the West all it needs, and those profiteers will go back on all their agreements..."

We only know of two blind Ukrainians who are imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps just for being Ukrainians, but there are many more of those nameless "zeks" known only to their tormentors..."

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Long-time prisoner of conscience, Vasyl Pidhorodetskyj, a former member

of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, was moved from prison to labour camp VL-315/30 in Lviv...

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Repressions against Christians in Ukraine have not quietened down. On April 14, 1984, a group of Pentecostals gathered for a prayer meeting at the home of I.M. Hetsko in the village of Kushnytsia in the Transcarpathian region. After a short time, the home was raided by a group consisting of local "atheists" and regional militia. The leaders were brutal and arrogant; the names of all the faithful were taken down, all the Bibles and Christian literature were taken away and the host was fined 50 *karbovantsi*. On May 5, the faithful gathered at the home of Yu. M. Palka, where a similar scenario was played out and a fine of 50 *karbovantsi* imposed. Regional authorities constantly persecute the Pentecostal community in Kushnytsia. Dmytro Yurievych Prodan, the village presbyter, was called to the regional procurator's office where regional procurator S. Braila officially warned him that he would be dragged to court if he did not stop "deceiving residents because everyone knows that there is no God... and we will not tolerate the spread of religious fanaticism in our region". On June 25 a "community" commission was formed which called Mr. Prodan in for a "conversation" and warned that force would be used if he did not renounce his faith. On July 3, an article appeared in *Nove Zhyttia*, the local newspaper which must be read as a signal presaging legal prosecution...

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On the night of June 21, in the village of Pniatyn in the Lviv region, Peremysla-

ny district, a detachment of militia and KGB invaded the village —not unlike the Nazi punitive units of the past — surrounded the Catholic Church and destroyed it in the course of three hours. All the church articles were burned. This is how the authorities paid back the villagers because the people did not want to accept a Moscow (Russian) priest... KGB detachments and special militia units assigned to fight “disorder” have for a long time behaved like occupiers in Ukraine! Nothing is sacred to these “servants of the people, faithful Leninists”; they serve — through faith and righteousness for a piece of horsemeat sausage — the Moscow (Russian) occupiers by destroying their own faith, culture and language...

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On June 22, Vasył Kobryn, the chairman of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, was called in (by the authorities) for a “chat”. The “chat” took place on Pidvalna Street in Lviv, where he was hosted by the chairman of the Church Council of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Reshetylo, and his assistant, Savchuk, and a third “co-worker” who did not give his name and who was clearly a KGB man. The authorities behaved with insolence — threats and blackmail. After a while, realising that their threats were having no effect, Reshetylo asked Mr. Kobryn to sign a paper acknowledging that he had been forewarned about his human-rights activities in that any Catholic activities are considered “anti-Soviet” in the USSR. Kobryn did not sign the paper. Reshetylo revealed that this time the authorities will finish with the “Initiative Group”, noting that “those who are with Rome are against us...”

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Currently in Ukraine there are over 200 concentration camps which house

390,000 prisoners, not counting the 10,000 inmates in 29 psychiatric hospitals and one special prison (psychiatric hospital) in Dnipropetrovsk. Some one and one half million prisoners work on government building projects; truly, the party and the government think the same when it comes to re-educating the masses. An order was issued calling for the complete introduction of the Russian language in the (penal?) system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Ukraine. Everyone must accept (Russian) as the “all-Soviet language”, according to the assistant political officer at labour camp VL-315/30, Capt. Kinazhay. Capt. Kinazhay could in no way explain what an all-Soviet nation is.

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On May 5 of this year in the village of Olekshytsi in the Hrodnenskyj district of Byelorussia, the homes of local Catholics were searched. The KGB was looking for “subversive” Catholic literature. Of late, the authorities have launched a campaign to frighten Byelorussian Catholics...

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The Byelorussian Catholic Church (Eastern rite) was almost completely liquidated by Moscow (Russian) pillagers. Beginning in the late 1970s, five Ukrainian Catholic priests went to Byelorussia and began extensive underground missionary work, reviving three deaconates and scores of individual parishes. The Byelorussians have not forgotten their native faith nor the fact that they are Byelorussians. Pray for the Byelorussians and their martyred Catholic Church! Ukrainians! Catholics! Help the revival of the Byelorussian Catholic Church by both word and deed. God is with us. Let His love shine on you and all those who burn with the desire to become genuine members of the living Church of Christ.

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Profit for Moscow is a loss for Ukraine. That is how the “union” of two equal republics looks in the Afghanistan war. Lately, the number of funerals of Transcarpathian boys killed in Afghanistan is increasing. On June 3 funerals took place in the villages of Ilnytsia and Bilka... In addition to crosses, military decorations from the government, emblazoned with red stars, were placed on the graves. At night, the officer who escorted the coffins announced in a drunken stupor that he was not even sure which bodies were in which casket, and that some only contained a leg or a piece of charred flesh that may not even belong to the deceased. That is why it was forbidden to open the coffins, he said.

One hundred and eleven men from the Irshava district perished in Afghanistan, 45 were seriously wounded and 91 slightly wounded. Fifty-two men from the Svaliava district were killed. From the Mukachiv district 122 were killed and 145 seriously wounded, of which only 10 received pensions of between 35 and 54 *karbovantsi* and the rest are being cared for by parents...

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“Unknown” persons broke the windows at the home of the Ukrainian artist, Panas Zalyvakha who lives on Oleh Koshovyj Street in Ivano-Frankivske in May and June, the last time on June 7th. The aim was to unnerve the artist and his family in order to isolate him from his compatriots and to prevent him from being able to create by being constantly afraid for his work. From time to time, KGB-men break into the house and walk off with whatever takes their fancy...

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Mykhaylo Ilkovych Vynnytskyj was born on October 14, 1926, in the village of Chaikovychi in the Sambir district. He

attended elementary school in his native village and proved to be a very good student. In time, he was sent by his father to secondary school (gymnasium) in Lviv. In one year, Mykhaylo finished two gymnasium classes; after the gymnasium, Mykhaylo enrolled in the Redemptorist monastery in Lviv. He was 18 years old. His piety and passion for learning amazed everyone... However, the Soviet occupation came and with it new blood and tears for our nation.

Mykhaylo Vynnytskyj's father was drafted into the army and sent to the front, where he was killed in the battle for Berlin. The family found itself without a father, and in 1946 the mother died... The Redemptorist monastery was already destroyed and persecutions began which in fact had not stopped since the Russians came... Mykhaylo Vynnytskyj was drafted into the army, and in 1950 he was discharged; however, on his way home he was arrested by the MGB and sentenced by the *troika* to 10 years in a labour camp, in typical Russian fashion, they had exploited him in the army as a slave doing all kinds of building and cleaning, and then arrested him only because he refused to renounce God... In 1955, after the death of the tyrant Stalin, Mykhaylo Vynnytskyj was released.

In 1957, Mykhaylo Vynnytskyj was ordained by Bishop Mykola Charnetskyj. The Rev. Mykhaylo Vynnytskyj showed himself to be a zealous Catholic and servant of God, and this obviously did not please the atheists who were in power during a new wave of religious persecution. During the Khrushchev era, the Rev. Vynnytskyj was again arrested and sentenced to three and a half years in prison and five years internal exile. After completing his “punishment” for his faith and because he, as a Ukrainian priest, did not convert to the “ancient”, Russian faith, the Rev. Vynnytskyj

returned to Lviv. For a long time he was denied a residence permit, but finally everything was behind him and he found work in the department of pharmaceutical medicines. But this did not fit the plans of the KGB. He was still a Catholic! As such, he had to suffer and live in constant fear that he would be taken away. This is the righting of accounts — fear and despair and uncertainty — that is the basis of the Communist credo.

Pious is the man who fears God! The Rev. Vynnytskyj lives as becomes a true Christian monk — with faith and an open heart for all, ready to react to all injustice, to all bleeding wounds. Unshakable in their faith and a belief in the Apostolic Altar, servants of God displease the occupiers. On January 17, 1975, he was arrested and sentenced on a fabricated charge to five years in a labour camp and three years' internal exile.

He served his term of exile in the same area as Danylo Shumuk. After the trial, an article was published by Procurator Antonenko entitled "Street Religion" which was filled with hogwash and lies about the Catholic priest. The regime is expert at writing in such a way that the reader does not know what is going on but one thing is clear — he who is against the regime faces eternal servitude and injustice...

In 1983, the Rev. Vynnytskyj was released, but even though his brothers have a house, half of which belongs to the priest, he was barred from living there. The Rev. Vynnytskyj has been denied a residence permit for a year and a half. A year ago he managed to find work as a stoker at a kindergarten, but when the KGB found out that a priest had a job and a piece of bread they had a "chat" with the director of the kindergarten, Maria Stepanivna Chernyk, and asked in amazement why the Rev. Vynnytskyj was working. As if working was shameful or

forbidden. The director said that the priest worked well and that she was pleased with him. Then the KGB ordered that the Rev. Vynnytskyj be fired, at which time the director revealed that she was a Christian too and would not do so. The KGB then said that if this was the case they would dismiss her from her post which in fact happened! The priest is being threatened with a new sentence, and the KGB will find the how and the why because there is a campaign on to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Prepared by  
Vasyl Kobryn  
July 5, 1984

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### **WILL THE SOVIET EMPIRE SURVIVE ANOTHER 300 YEARS?**

It will survive if that is what is convenient for foreign capitalism. My view is this; it is convenient for Western capitalism to have a partner like the USSR which cannot compete with the West because of a ruined economy, unprofitability, the inability to carry out any kind of economic work... It is convenient to have an eternal debtor. A small example: in 1921, the Communists turned over the oil at Baku to the British; according to the agreements, the British even had a right to maintain a militia which existed until 1927. The Communists are ready to sell off the whole empire, sections at a time — and for retail — just to save their rule. True, today there are no Communists who are obliged to Western capitalism for bringing them to power... These have been forgotten.

It will survive if we, nationalists, expect a regeneration of the empire — this will never happen. Russian chauvinism grows in its own fertile soil, on Great Russianism, on the basis of selectivity of the Russian nation, without which not one among the nations of this great

empire could exist... The exceptional vitality of Moscow's imperialism lies in its brutality and disrespect toward the captive nations, its offhandedness in international politics, its impudent belief that it is needed!

It will survive if we, nationalists, do not take advantage of the Afghanistan conflict. How? This conflict (we shall not talk about Moscow's goals and tasks) is taking place right on the border of the USSR. There are nations in Afghanistan that are also found in the Soviet Union and find themselves under Moscow's occupation; clearly, if partisan activities should erupt on the territories of these republics, the Russians will have to fight on several fronts. We Ukrainians cannot stand apart from the fight of nations for their liberation; this means that we should take an active part in all such movements. In Europe there are only four nations capable of carrying on a protracted armed struggle against Moscow even single-handedly. These nations border each other and have mutual interests; they are: Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Slovaks. All those nations have a common religion; they are Catholic. I purposely do not mention the Ukrainian Orthodox; there is no such Church in Ukraine, only the Moscow so-called Russian Orthodox Church. The entire anti-Russian movement going on in Ukraine today is tied in with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Any *ad hoc* groups or individuals who violated regulations in eastern Ukraine were not tied to any kind of Church. If one talks about faith in general, then Church life in these lands has been quashed and interrupted for a long time, a fact that must be reckoned with in the future. The scores of Catholic priests that are doing missionary work in eastern Ukraine are doing very difficult, heroic and extremely zealous work on a

not always grateful turf... This is why the national idea has taken hold better in the last 10 years in our eastern lands, clearly indicating that Christianity obliges one to outlined norms, to service and forgiveness. Any kind of national movement is condemned to failure if it is not grounded in a Church. This should be counted! As a rule, people who adhere to the national idea, in time become believers.

How can Ukrainians and others in the diaspora help their metropolia? By a united and mutual protest against any kind of Kremlin initiatives. At the present time, Moscow is afraid of the reelection of President Reagan because it is in our interest. Greater contacts with the international community, revealing before the world the face of the most horrible empire that ever existed. The German people are the most sympathetic to enslaved Ukraine, and Austrian Catholics in particular warmly accept our grief, something that must never be forgotten. To the east, the Japanese are our sympathisers. I had a conversation with a Japanese economist who was in Moscow in 1981 as a representative of a Japanese firm and he told me this: "If Ukraine wins its independence, we will witness the second economic miracle in world economy". I asked: "And which was the first?" He answered: "We, the Japanese". I asked him why he used the term "win", maybe Russia will grant us independence the way England and other nations did to their colonies. "Never!" he answered, "You have to present the Russians with a *fait accompli*, but even then you will get only what they do not need. Tell me Yosyp Mykhaylovych, what practical gains have Ukrainians achieved by channelling their greatest energies in the pacifist dissident movements — that is, what has Moscow given you in answer to your pleas, what have you received?" The answer is "Nothing".

“We were once at war with China, and now we have friendly relations. Why aren’t you looking for friends in the East? This could lead to concrete results in your struggle. The West will never, I repeat, never give you concrete support, with the exception of a few countries that will give you moral support, and not always that. The fact that Ukraine is a colony of Moscow does not especially concern those that have freedom. Tell me, what do you know of Japan? About China? About the rest of the countries of the east?”

I answered that I knew practically nothing, that is, what I do know is very little.

“Learn, look for analogies; it will be useful in the future”, he said.

It (the USSR), will survive if we do not wish to hasten events which will not always remain to our advantage. For this we must work and, what is important, not disunite, those who divide a nation, under any pretence, are our enemies, deadly enemies.

It will survive if the (Ukrainian) emigre community does not unite, if there is no unity on religious or any other grounds. Although we in the metropolia create one unified body that stands firmly on both legs, the emigration unfortunately, is divided. Even in our Ukrainian Catholic Church, not everyone listens to the head of the Church, and this can lead to unwanted repercussions — and this should be remembered by those who dare to defy Patriarch Yosyf I — we do not understand this; and if this is so, then the people who go against unity will be mercilessly excommunicated from the nation. The road to Ukraine will be closed forever to these people. These people do nothing, I repeat, nothing for the cause of Ukrainian liberation — whichever way they could, they caused harm and continue to cause harm... Sometimes we think that they are agents of Moscow...

It will survive if we do not unite with the Polish patriots. In this we should forget all those things that have divided us because lately there are too many things that bind us together.

It will survive if we do not foster tighter relations with the German people, for it should be remembered that lands originally German (the GDR) are now under Moscow.

It will survive if we do not unite with healthy Russian nationalist forces to which chauvinism and (Greater Russian) hegemony are alien goals.

It will survive if we forget about the 20 million Ukrainians who died of starvation and physical repressions.

Today, Ukraine is experiencing rampant Russification. What is this? It is probably a provocation. Moscow waits for spontaneous action, organises it itself with the aim of settling with the human-rights movement and once and for all finishing with nationalism...

During my imprisonment in Yaniv labour camp, there was a visit from a political lecturer from Kyiv. His lecture topic was “Foreign Enemies”. He began with China and revealed that in the case of war the “zeks” would be taken to the front, to which the hall erupted with whistling... The lecturer later moved to the topic of Poland, about which he said: “After the war Wojtyla build over 10,000 churches; before the war there were 7,000 in Poland. The Poles are preparing for war with the USSR...”

He also added that Poles did not allow Ukrainians to grow as a nation, but now the Russians have elevated our (Ukrainian) culture...

After this, he added pathetically: “The state remembers about you; you are the vanguard of the workers whose work counts. Let our enemies not think that they can succeed in dividing our society. We have been examining the possibility

that time spent imprisoned can count as time on the job. Don't believe the dissidents!"

Not a word about nationalists, because he knew that there were several hundred in the zone.

Why did these "recruiters" suddenly remember that "zeks" are human beings? Things in Afghanistan are going badly, so they are trying to recruit these poor boys in the labour camps and at the same time gauge the mood of the "zeks".

*Yosyp Terelya*

July 27, 1984

Dovhe, Transcarpathian Ukraine

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#### A UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC'S PRAYER

to V. Kosolapov, Soviet-Russian functionary, member of the so-called Republic Committee for Defence and Peace, doctor of philosophy and professor at the Radio and Telegraph Agency of Ukraine

Comrade Communist,  
Defender of Peace Kosolapov!

In your article dated June 15 of this year, entitled "Socialism and peace", you outline, clearly and precisely, the Soviet peace platform which blames all Americans, Germans, Englishmen, neo-fascists and all kinds of enemy forces for only waiting for an opportunity to wage war against your "peaceful" socialist country.

What is the threat of war? It is when national leaders cannot feed their own people, covet foreign lands, are afraid of their own people and need war to divert attention from all the everyday problems afflicting their country.

And now, comrade communist, let us see what you carry before you like a shield, the shield of Communism, — disarmament. Knowing you as a militant atheist, I am happy that you want disarm-

ament; looking from the sidelines, you are almost a believer (some will agree and say that you are actually a believer, believing that (1) socialism has been built and that, (2) Communism will follow). Under socialism your country buys from 70 to 80 million tons of bread from bad and hostile camps (not to be confused with concentration camps) like America... And how many tons are you counting on from Communism, that is, if this is not a state secret? I think that for America war is not convenient for purely economic reasons; there would be nowhere to sell its extra bread. And further, Christians, seeing that you are putting all your efforts towards Communism, are giving you the opportunity — and in so doing are also feeding you — so that you, God forbid, will not fall from such a responsible path; go forward, be brave.

Disarmament is nice. But I will allow myself to ask — who will begin first? Why do you only want to disarm Europe and the United States and not Asia? But the main thing is that you decided to use a stupid example that may impede (your meaning), and what if they will not listen to you (because they will not know the Russian tale "The Wolf and the Lamb").

You spoke very well about peaceful coexistence (we will not talk about the war in Afghanistan so as not to confuse you). Coexistence is a very inappropriate word; "existing" means "not living"... It means not having a living base. It is apparent right away that I have lived for a long time under the leadership of your dear party; the terminology I use in appraising you is government-mandated, authentically socialist. You must forgive me. I never completed higher Soviet education, which I do not regret. I have never liked you and your party. We co-existed, me in your concentration camps, and you in your element... But I do not want to exist; I want to live. You allow me

## INTERVIEW WITH COMMANDER MASOOD

(Recently the well-known British journalist, Sandy Gall, visited Afghanistan and met Commander Masood in Takhar province and interviewed him. Below are extracts from this interview.)

*What are the military changes in the last four years in Afghanistan?*

The most important change is the escalation of the war. Every year the war has become more severe. Both (Mujahideen and the Russians) have increased their forces qualitatively and quantitatively. In the last four years the Russians have brought into Afghanistan troops who are more experienced and better trained. They also have more modern weapons. They use long range guns and heavy artillery. The Russians no doubt have gained more experience in the last four years in Afghanistan. They use better tactics too.

*What kind of war is being launched by the Russians in Afghanistan?*

Anywhere you go in Afghanistan you will face thousands of destroyed villages. Every day you can see in Afghanistan that our villages are bombed by Russian fighter aircraft and shelled by Russian heavy and long range artillery. Every day you can see

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and my nation merely to exist, as you do to the others.

The second thing you mention (in your article) is the demagoguery the United States puts out in exchange for giving you an opportunity to talk about peace. You are right; demagoguery must be abandoned and, as you write, a wiser course must be honestly taken. As to your third point, it is in agreement with your "explaining far and wide the domestic politics and activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". That is right. Let us explain and correct one another. The objectives of your party's politics are clear: Russification — there is no Ukraine, there never was and never will be — expanding prisons and labour camps, destroying our culture, and so on.

And you concluded with beautiful words: "One of the conditions for realising this possibility is the timely actualisation of the above-mentioned causes of peace and their dissemination in foreign environments where there are those whose goals it is to stop imperialist provocation regarding local conflicts".

You could not have said it better: (it was clear and exhaustive. You want to "peacefully" destroy a nation only because it wants to live. Peace for you is indispensable; without peace you will not be able to fulfill given party obligations for your great fatherland.

Forward Kosolapov! And when you win the war for peace, let me have some of this *pyrih*<sup>1</sup> (baked with American bread). You are after all a believing person, that is we are allies... Extending a hand of friendship to the Ukrainian nation, you came with peaceful intentions to Ukraine; you have to teach these *khakhly*<sup>2</sup> how to create peace, Kosolapov. And what would happen if you and the other 14 million of your peaceniks, who came to Ukraine uninvited, returned to the Russia you hold so dear in your hearts and there begin to build peace and existence to your soul's content...

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<sup>1</sup> Dumpling.

<sup>2</sup> A derogatory term for Ukrainians.

that crops are burned, animals killed and the people themselves massacred. Pressure on the civil population is much more than the pressure on the Mujahideen. This clearly shows the Russian's policy to either push the civil population to the cities under their control or force them to leave the country. I think that the Russians have started a war against the civilian population not against the Mujahideen.

*What is your biggest problem?*

It is obvious that we are fighting against a super-power (Russian empire — Ed.). Eight years of war can not be without big problems. But this year the main problem in the North would mainly be shortage of food. Unfortunately we have had little rain in the North and also on 15th June, 1986 the Russians launched a massive offensive in the areas of Kunduz and Takhar provinces. Hundreds of harvests of the people were burnt and their irrigation channels were deliberately destroyed. The people did not have a chance to cultivate their rice fields. So these areas may be threatened with famine. We have to think about this problem right now.

*What do you think about the withdrawal of 7000 troops from Afghanistan?*

Militarily speaking, the withdrawal of 7000 troops has no value, because the Russians have sufficient forces in Afghanistan. Moreover the Russians have brought and are bringing thousands of their commando troops from the Soviet Union into Afghanistan by helicopters and Antonov planes whenever they need. I think it is just a political manoeuvre to propagate and confuse the world public opinion.

*What about changes in the Soviet Tactics?*

As I told you before during several years of war in Afghanistan the Russians have learnt how to fight. But fortunately the Mujahideen have also changed their tactics. The Russians are no longer better than the Mujahideen.

*Four years ago you had told me that, you would leave Panjshir valley and expand your fighting zone?*

Establishing different and new bases in different parts of the country has been and still is the upper most priority. With the help of God we were able to create a central command for the five provinces in the North. The first two, neighboring Kabul are Parwan and Kapisa provinces and the last three are Kunduz, Baghlan and Takhar. We have established several bases like Panjshir in these areas. We mobilized the Mujahideen. We stepped up the level of fighting against the enemy. Despite all kinds of regional economic and logistic problems we are, thank God, successful in our efforts.

*How are you financed?*

The biggest financial source is the people themselves. We get Usher (ten percent of the harvest) from people. Those who work in the cities in the government offices give us voluntarily five percent of their salary. Mines like salt lapis and emerald are in our control which we sell in the world market. And lastly the easiest financial source are the enemy convoys which bring food and other things from the Soviet Union. We capture both money and commodities from these convoys.

*Do Afghan refugees return to Afghanistan while the Russians are still here?*

There were two reasons why the people left the country.

1. The communist take over.
2. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

As long as these two reasons are there refugees will never return.

*What about the Geneva talks?*

The Geneva talks are useless. Since we are not controlled by any outside power we will not accept any settlement which we are not part of.

*How many times have the Russians tried to assassinate you?*

Three or four times but with the help of Allah they have always been discovered and foiled by our brothers.

*We hear you are getting married. Is it true?*

It is not true. You know better that there is no time for such things.

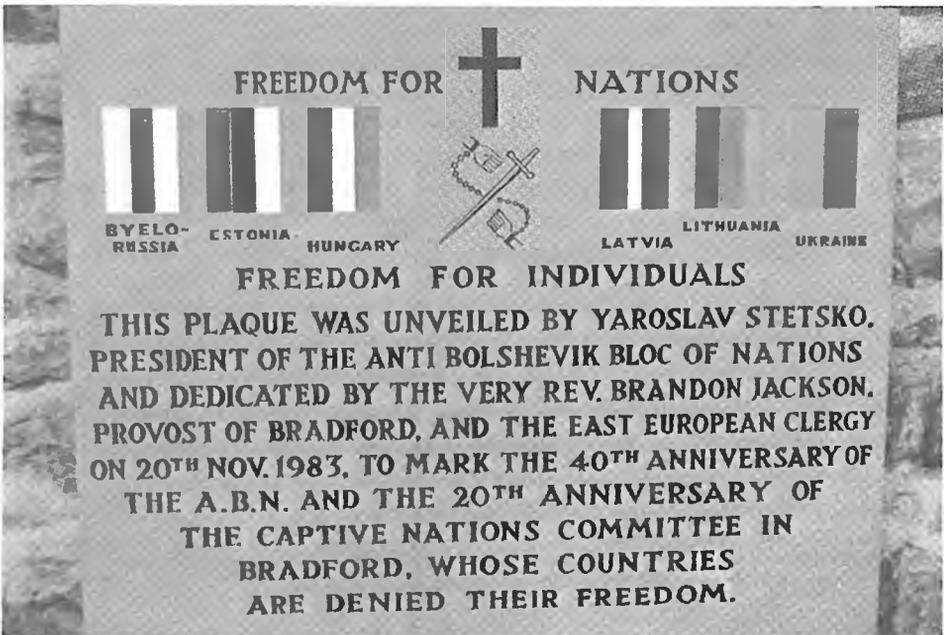
*For eight years you have been fighting against the Soviets. Have you ever thought of giving up and surrendering?*

It is the enemy which should give up. Russia is condemned by the world public opinion and political and economic pressures have increased on them. Soviet losses are high and this has an effect on its people. The puppet regime in Kabul is in a critical position. Parcham and Khalq parties are fighting against each other. Najib's coming to power has worsened the situation. From all this you can judge yourself is this the time for fighting or giving up?

*What is your message to the leaders of the West?*

If, God forbid, the Afghan nation is defeated in their just war (Jehad) the Russians would be encouraged. Therefore I ask all nations of the West to pay attention to their human responsibilities and feel responsible for the Afghan Mujahid Nation.

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## UKRAINIAN WRITERS' CONGRESS: EXCERPTS

The Ukrainian Writers' Congress, convened in Kyiv on June 5, 1986, was characterised by a wide-ranging consideration of the state of the Ukrainian language and letters. Although the public statements made by the officially sanctioned writers were within the boundaries sanctioned by the state ideology, and many included well-worn formulas concerning the friendship of peoples, they nevertheless reveal an intense concern about the sad state of literary life in the Ukrainian SSR.

Below are several representative excerpts from the statements of leading Ukrainian writers.

### **Report by Pavlo Zahrebelny, First Secretary of the Ukrainian Writers Union:**

“In what things does national dignity manifest itself first of all? From the writer’s point of view, it manifests itself in the national character depicted by artistic mastery. Therefore we cannot remain indifferent to such things as the language in which business correspondence is conducted, the language in which technical, scientific and socio-political literature is published or what language is used in kindergartens, in schools, in higher educational establishments, in Komsomol and Pioneer organisations, or how many theatres have already become bilingual because such an approximate language gives rise to approximate thoughts, approximate feelings, approximate work, and, as a consequence, approximate people. Let us be frank: He whose speaking ability is poor, also lives and works badly. One is convinced of this by the example of those drones and punks who have ceased to understand us, who instead of living are “sailing high.”

We are especially concerned over the fact that the publication of Ukrainian books in Ukraine is fewer than two copies per capita. I am naming the things which do not depend on us. But it is we citizens who should speak frankly about the obvious omissions in cultural construction...

We should have made ourselves heard on such issues as harming the River Dnieper by senseless planning, the disorderly way in which our large and small towns are being built, how hundreds of thousands of hectares of fertile Ukrainian black soil is lost under the construction of more and more new enterprises, or how much land has been flooded by badly selected artificial seas, and what harm is inflicted upon nature by the insufficiently planned operations of chemical combines. But we have said nothing...”

### **Speech by Yuri Shcherbak:**

“...I would like you to understand me correctly. I speak here not as prosecutor with the regard to native literature, which I love and which I am trying to serve with heart and soul, but rather as a doctor trying to make a diagnosis in order to find out how to treat the disease. This disease is marked by a light-weight, schematic simplified attitude to contemporary phenomena and unwillingness to touch upon painful problems, in order to avoid having troubles later with the publishing of one’s books. Everything I say here applies also to me personally. How often, taking my place at the writing desk, I think of what to leave out, what not to mention, what not to see, knowing beforehand the way the editors think and the logic of their pencils. I have learnt well the rules of the literary salon, where,

the whole uneven route is marked by flags which indicate the acute problems of life. It is this which causes the amazing monotony of numerous books, especially those written by young writers, the pettiness of subject matter and pre-planned correctness of presentation..."

**Speech by Ivan Drach, poet:**

"We speak a great deal about our youth, its weak acquaintance with the native culture and particularly about its disrespectful attitude to contemporary literature. One of the reasons for this lies in the fact that we have not learned as yet to speak quite frankly about the truth, about how we lived and how we are living now. We should tell the truth aloud.

In the board's report it was noted that close to 215 books by Ukrainian authors have been published in foreign countries and only a few in fraternal republics. This bears witness to the fact that the prestige of modern Ukrainian literature is falling among Soviet multinational belles-lettres...

Or can we be indifferent when a youth, dressed up, as the saying goes, as if for a parade, while greeting from the platform war veterans, utters "correct", eloquent and necessary words, but as soon as he had stepped down, he undoes all those shiny buttons and laughs at his own words as if to say that up there he acted as expected, that up there he was one person, and here is something different."

**Speech by Leonid Novychenko, Ukrainian literary critic and Ukrainian SSR Academy of Science member:**

"... I share the concern expressed in the speech of Oles Honchar about Ukrainian literature and the classics, about the Ukrainian language and the cultural ecology in general which has become in

our times such a pressing necessity. The print-runs of the greatest masters of the word are falling. Cases occur when books by Dovzhenko, Yanovskyy and Vasylchenko are rotting in warehouses. This should stir our public, apart from well-wishers and our union. Meanwhile, very few books by our classic writers can be found in school libraries. Should not our cultural public come out with effective assistance here by creating, on a voluntary basis, a fund sufficient to replenish school libraries with books by the native classic writers? As the *Radyanska Shkola* publishing house is now widely engaged in the publication for schools of books by the Ukrainian classic writers in Russian translations, without denying the need for such publications, we should remind it that greater print-runs of classic Ukrainian works in the language of the original are needed..."

**Dmytro Pavlychko, poet and playwright:**

"Unfortunately, the drama companies of our republic very rarely and unwillingly and at times sceptically, approach the Ukrainian Soviet dramaturgical heritage. They are not using its mighty ideological and artistic potential and its educational force. For a long period now Ukrainian dramaturgy, both Soviet and preOctober, has not occupied a substantial and determining place in the repertoire of drama companies..."

There are a score of other important problems which disturb us playwrights, the speaker continued. In particular there is the staging by a number of Ukrainian drama companies of plays in two languages — Ukrainian and Russian — which leads to the maiming of both languages by the actors..."

*Soviet National Survey, No 9, 1986*

## BOOK REVIEWS

### TO DIE IN AFGHANISTAN

"To Die in Afghanistan" draws a compelling picture of life in Afghanistan today. Published by the Helsinki Watch and Asia Watch committees in December 1985, it acts as a supplement to "Tears, Blood and Cries: Human Rights in Afghanistan Since the Invasion, 1979-1984," a 1984 book based mostly on eyewitness testimonies of rights abuses in that country.

"To Die in Afghanistan" covers the topics needed to understand the war in Afghanistan: "Mass Destruction in the Countryside," "Mass Repression in the Cities," "Creation of a New, Soviet-Trained Generation" and "Human Rights Violations by the Afghan Resistance."

It does not go into a detailed analysis of what the experts say is going on in Afghanistan, rather, it lets Afghan refugees in Pakistan speak for themselves:

"My name is Shir Dal, I am from the Kats area. I lost four members of my family... They killed 768 people along the valley. They burned the fields everywhere in the province, all the way up to the provincial capital... The children who were killed, their parents could not recognize them because they were burned. They made fires with wood, and put the children in them, or put kerosene on children and burned them, and sometimes they burned children alive... Burned alive..."

Another refugee, a former teacher, Fahima Naseri, said:

"I was in prison; I was tortured; I suffered a lot; but the hardest thing for me was to leave my country. My main wish is to die in Afghanistan."

Helsinki Watch, which monitors the latest developments in Afghanistan, claims that under the new Soviet leader

Mikhail Gorbachev, attacks against civilians have intensified. A larger number of civilians is being massacred by the Soviets, the committee says.

Since last year, Helsinki Watch noted four new developments in the war in Afghanistan:

- Thousands of children are being sent to the Soviet Union for 10 years or more to be educated, many without the consent of their parents.

- For the first time, physical evidence of the existence of anti-personnel mines camouflaged as everyday objects, has been proven. These objects have been reported on by the Soviet media and Afghanistan's media, which is under Soviet control. They were said to be products of "imperialist terror."

- Terror against civilians has increased in areas where the resistance operates.

- New torture devices have been added to those already in existence.

"To Die in Afghanistan" by the U.S. Helsinki Watch and Asia Watch Committees, New York-Washington, 1985, pp. 105, price \$8.00 may be purchased in New York from Helsinki Watch at 36 W. 44th St., New York, N.Y., 10036; (212) 840-9460; or in Washington from Asia Watch, 739 Eighth St. S.E., Washington, D.C., 20003; (202) 546-9336. The newly translated Russian version of "Tears, Blood and Cries" may also be purchased at these locations.

*Ukrainian Weekly*

### JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA ON UKRAINE

The following excerpt is found in "The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia" under the heading *Ukraine*. This description of Ukrainian attitudes towards Jews in Ukraine during the Second World War differs drastically from some of the

slandorous comments disseminated in the media during the past year.

“In August, 1941, the notorious Eichmann, formerly Gestapo head in Vienna, was appointed head of the Gestapo in Ukraine with complete authority to deal with the Jews there as he saw fit. Two months later great massacres of Jews in Ukraine behind the battle lines took place. Thousands of Jews unable to retreat with the Soviet armies into the interior or Russia were mowed down by Nazi machine gun fire. In the course of these massacres, which were reported to have begun as early as the month of August, 1941, more than 50,000 Jewish men, women and children were murdered in Kiev alone. Nazi troops and agents spread anti-Jewish reports among the Ukrainian population which, however, remained sympathetic toward the Jews, refusing to participate in the massacres and in many instances giving shelter to refugee Jews from Ukraine, Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe.

“In November, 1941, large numbers of Jews from Bukovina and Roumania were deported to Ukraine, where they were interned in makeshift ghettos. Reports spread by the Nazis in Ukraine that the Jews of the province were responsible for the massacre of many Ukrainian nationalists in Lemberg at the time when the city was occupied by the Soviet troops failed to set the Ukrainian population against the Jews, and Ukrainian leaders in Nazi occupied Galicia cooperated in relief and administrative problems.

In early January and in April 1942, the Nazi authorities made new attempts to incite the Ukrainian population against the Jews through anti-Semitic propaganda. All these attempts remained unsuccessful. New massacres of Jews in Ukrainian towns, including Novozibkovo, in the district of Kiev, and Unich, occurred in September and October, 1942. In the latter month large numbers of Jews were deported from Limbourg, Liege and Antwerp (Belgium) to Ukraine.

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### “THE THIRD REICH AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION”

by Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk

This 227-page paperback book contains a collection of German archive documents from 1934-1944 relating to the Ukrainian liberation movement at that time.

The book, compiled and edited by Dr. Wolodymyr Kosyk, historian and graduate of the Sorbonne in Paris and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, has appeared at a time of a mass campaign against the Ukrainian national liberation movement. For years now, the Soviet Russian propaganda machine has been aimed against the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), accusing them of close collaboration with the Nazis, and making them co-responsible with the Nazis of committing war crimes in Ukraine and elsewhere.

These documents provide much evidence of the true relations between the National Socialist Party of the Third Reich and the Ukrainian liberation movement, thus invalidating the accusations of Ukrainian collaboration with Nazi Germany. They further cast light on Hitler's *Lebensraum* policy on Ukraine and the position taken by the Ukrainian nationalist movement towards, not only the Soviet Russian, but at the same time Nazi Germany's occupation of Ukraine.

The book contains an introduction written by Dr. W. Kosyk, as well as a broad index. It was published by: *Ukrainisches Institut Für Bildungspolitik e.V. München* and can be obtained at the price of 18.00 DM or U.S.\$7.00 at: *Zeppelinstr. 67 8000 München 80, West Germany.*

## CONGRATULATIONS TO DR. IVAN DOCHEFF ON HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY



*Dr. Ivan Docheff at the ABN Conference in London, November 1985*

Dr. Ivan Docheff, honorary president of the Bulgarian National Front, celebrated his 80th birthday on January 8 this year. As leader of the Bulgarian National Legion and President of the Bulgarian National Front, Dr. Docheff dedicated his whole life to Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people in their struggle against communism and Russian imperialism and to achieve freedom for his country.

Dr. Ivan Docheff was one of the founders of the BNF in 1947. He was president of this organisation for 35 years and to this day, holds the position of honorary president.

He began to publish the anti-communist journal for the Bulgarian emigration, entitled "Bulgaria", which first appeared in 1945 in Salzburg, Austria. In 1951, he founded and became the first editor of the journal "Borba" in Toronto, Canada. Dr. Docheff is the author of the book "50 Years of Struggle Against Communism for the Freedom of Bulgaria", in which he describes the situation in Bulgaria under the communist regime and the struggle of the Bulgarian nation for independence. This book was published in English in 1982 and in Bulgarian in 1985.

From 1965 to 1977, as president of the Bulgarian National Front in the United States, Dr. Docheff was the Bulgarian national president in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in the United States and in the Captive Nations Committee in New York. For his successful work in the struggle for freedom, Dr. Docheff received several awards: the order of "Freedom of Bulgaria" from the BNF; the "Great Cross of St. Alexander" from H.R.H. King Simeon II, and many other awards of merit from various national anti-communist organisations. Dr. Docheff often met with U.S. Administration officials, U.S. senators and congressmen and was invited to the White House, where he gained support for the Bulgarian cause.

On behalf of the Central Committee of ABN, we would like to express our most sincere greetings and best wishes to Dr. Docheff — a great leader of the Bulgarian liberation movement — and wish him many more years of success in his fight against Russian imperialism and communism and in his struggle for Bulgarian independence.

## THE BALLAD OF MYROSLAV MEDVID

Come and listen to the tale of a desperate young man,  
Who yearned for his freedom in a freedom loving land.

Sealing his papers in a jar, he then took a mighty dip  
In the cold dark waters of the muddy Mississip'

Swimming to the levy's bank, on joyous hopes he dwelt,  
Never thought the border guards would send him back to hell.  
You, sailors all be wary of the land of dreamy dreams  
And never jump ship at the port of New Orleans.

Moving up the river, got to get a load of grain,  
Never give a damn about the youngster from Ukraine.

The hammer and the sickle just thumbs its haughtly nose,  
At the U.S. Eagle and the Senate's useless prose.  
For justice is deaf and she never hears the screams,  
And the cries of desolatoin of a young man's dreams.

Forget the thrill of Mardi Gras, its phony kings and queens,  
Never jump ship at the port of New Orleans.

Those 60 miles inland, on this muddy old stream,  
The hammer and the sickle forever reigns supreme.  
And there is none to hear your moaning, none to hear your sighs  
The proud Russian banner, its supremacy implies,  
And the daring young seaman from the struggling Ukraine  
Will we ever know his sorrow, can we ever feel his pain?

Ye Seamen all be wary of exotic tropic scenes  
And never jump ship at the port of New Orleans.

By Mrs. Jean Moore  
L.A., USA