

# HELSINKI OR LIBERATION?

## DOCUMENTARY REPORT



MADRID (SPAIN) NOVEMBER 1980

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UKRAINIAN CENTRAL INFORMATION SERVICE  
TORONTO 1981

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HELSINKI ON LIBERATION

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

THE CURRENT TENSIONS IN THE RUSSIAN-DOMINATED COUNTRIES WITHIN THE USSR AND IN THE "SATELLITES", THE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN, AND THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN POLAND FURTHER UNDERSCORE THE FARSIKAL NATURE OF THE SO-CALLED "HELSINKI PROCESS" -- PARTICULARLY IN THAT WHICH PERTAINS THE IMPLEMENTATION BY MOSCOW AND ITS "SATELLITE" REGIMES OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IF NOTHING ELSE, THEN THE EVENTS IN POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN SHOCKED THE WORLD INTO A REALIZATION THAT THE PROCESS OF "DETENTE" AS EMBODIED BY "HELSINKI" HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A KREMLIN PLOY TO CAJOLE THE REST OF THE WORLD INTO A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY.

WHILE THE WEST AND THE THIRD WORLD GRAPPLE WITH their "uneasiness" and "disillusionment" with "detente", and MOSCOW TRIES FRANTICALLY TO SALVAGE ITS "HELSINKI MASTER PLAN", IT AGAIN BECOMES APPARENT THAT THE ONLY VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO SUCH A WHOLE-SALE SPECULATION AND HORSETRADING WITH THE FATE OF ENTIRE NATIONS (INCLUDING UKRAINE) AND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF INDIVIDUALS UNDER SOVIET RUSSIAN AND COMMUNIST DOMINATION IS A FIRM POLICY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND STATE INDEPENDENCE FOR THOSE NATIONS.

THE ROLE OF YAROSLAV STETSKO, OTHER OUN AND ABN OFFICIALS, MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION FRONT (OULF) AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATION-MEMBERS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN) PRESENT IN MADRID WAS INTENDED TO EMPHASIZE THIS BASIC POLICY POSITION SO VITAL FOR THE SURVIVAL AND POLITICAL FUTURE OF UKRAINE AND OTHER NATIONS UNDER SOVIET RUSSIAN DOMINATION, AND, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, OF THE REST OF THE FREE WORLD. THIS POSITION, IN EFFECT, WAS THE CORNERSTONE OF THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF OUN, ABN AND MEMBERS OF THE OULF IN MADRID. IN THEIR NUMEROUS MEMORANDA, POSITION PAPERS, AND DOCUMENTATION MADE AVAILABLE TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WESTERN AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, THE NON-COMMUNIST DELEGATIONS TO THE CSCE, THE MEDIA AND THE INTERESTED PUBLIC IN GENERAL, THE OUN AND THE ABN PRESENTED THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD WITH A POLICY ALTERNATIVE TO THE POLITICAL VACUUM AND DEFEATISM CREATED BY "DETENTE" AND THE HELSINKI FIASCO. THE MAIN POINTS OF THIS POLICY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- 1) THE PLIGHT OF NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY SOVIET RUSSIA MUST NO LONGER BE CONSIDERED AN "INTERNAL MATTER" OF MOSCOW, BUT MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS AN ISSUE CENTRAL TO THE RESOLUTION OF WORLD PROBLEMS.
- 2) RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COUNTRIES DOMINATED BY SOVIET RUSSIA CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH NATIONAL LIBERATION AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC STATES OF THOSE COUNTRIES.
- 3) THE COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN AND THIRD WORLDS SHOULD INSTI-

TUTE A POLICY OF LEGAL RECOGNITION AND ASSISTANCE (INCLUDING MILITARY) TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY SOVIET RUSSIA AND APPLY ALL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC SANCTIONS NECESSARY TO PRESSURE MOSCOW INTO WITHDRAWING FROM ALL THE COUNTRIES IT NOW DOMINATES, STOP ITS RUSSIFICATION AND GENOCIDAL PRACTICES, AND RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

4) THE U.N. DECLARATION ON DECOLONIZATION, THE U.N. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (AND OTHER SIMILAR DOCUMENTS) SHOULD BE MADE INTO INTERNATIONALLY BINDING COVENANTS AND BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE FREE WORLD.

IN ADDITION TO SUCH STATEMENTS OF POLICY, THE ACTIVISTS OF THE OUN AND ABN DISTRIBUTED THOUSANDS OF COPIES OF MORE THAN FIFTY ITEMS OF UKRAINIAN SAMVYDAV (UNDERGROUND MATERIALS FROM UKRAINE) AND OTHER DOCUMENTATION IN TESTIMONY TO SOVIET RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE. MOST OF THE SAID MATERIAL WAS ISSUED IN SPANISH, ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN. JUDGING BY THE RESPONSE FROM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OF MANY COUNTRIES, DELEGATES TO THE CSCE, THE EUROPEAN MEDIA AND EVEN PRIVATE CITIZENS FROM AS FAR AS SWEDEN, THIS FORCEFUL CAMPAIGN OF DEMONSTRATIONS, HUNGER STRIKES, PRESS CONFERENCES, INFORMATIVE MEETINGS WITH OFFICIALS, ETC. CARRIED OUT BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OUN, ABN AND OULF IN MADRID RESULTED IN A REMARKABLE POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE UKRAINIAN CAUSE. SPANISH DAILIES SUCH AS "PUEBLO", "EL PAIS", "YA", "EL ALCAZAR", "ABC", ETC., "THE LONDON TIMES" AND OTHER EUROPEAN NEWSPAPERS, RADIO AND T.V. CARRIED NUMEROUS REPORTS, FEATURE ARTICLES ABOUT UKRAINE, AND PHOTOS COVERING THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ACTIVITIES. IN CANADA, FOR INSTANCE, THE FRENCH-LANGUAGE PAPER "LE DEVOIR" OF MONTREAL REPORTED ON NOV. 12, 1980:

"THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS HEADED BY MR. YAROSLAV STETSKO, THE LAST PRIME MINISTER OF A FREE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT (JUNE 30, 1941 --ED.) ... DEMANDED FROM THE DELEGATES TO THE CSCE TO PROCLAIM THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS UNDER THE YOKE OF THE USSR ... ACCORDING TO MR. STETSKO, THE CONCEPT OF THE 'BALANCE OF POWER' BELONGS TO HISTORY BECAUSE WHILE THE WESTERN COUNTRIES STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, THE USSR STRUGGLES TO CONQUER THE WORLD".

THE MOOD OF NATIONAL LIBERATION SWEEPING THE WORLD TODAY TOUCHED MADRID AS WELL, AND WAS FORCEFULLY DRAMATIZED ON LOCATION BY THE OUN AND ABN ACTIONS. NUMEROUS OTHER GROUPS, HOWEVER, LOBBYING IN MADRID FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BLATANTLY FAILED TO SENSE (BECAUSE OF POLITICAL NAIVETE, OPPORTUNISM OR MERE INCOMPETENCE) THAT UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF FOREIGN DOMINATION HUMAN RIGHTS CAN ONLY BE REALIZED IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION AND STATE INDEPENDENCE, BUT NEVER THROUGH THE "LEGAL SYSTEM" IMPOSED BY THE OPPRESSOR ON A CONQUERED NATION. UKRAINIAN DEMANDS SHOULD ALWAYS STAND AT A MAXIMUM, SINCE WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO COMPROMISE OUR PRINCIPLES AND GOALS.



MOREOVER, THE ISSUE OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY A FOREIGN POWER MUST NEVER BE EQUATED WITH THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IN MOST COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD AND/OR WESTERN WORLD. THIS SHOULD ALSO BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD, BECAUSE, UNDER CONDITIONS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AMOUNTS TO A DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE EXISTING NATIONAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, OR, AS IN THE CASE OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, TO A DUE PROCESS OF THE LAW. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN UKRAINE, IN A NATION UNDER FOREIGN OCCUPATION DOMINATING ALL WALKS OF NATIONAL LIFE, NEITHER "DEMOCRATIZATION" NOR A "DUE PROCESS OF THE LAW" IS POSSIBLE PRIOR TO NATIONAL LIBERATION AND STATE INDEPENDENCE. SUCH WAS THE MESSAGE THAT THE OUN AND THE ABN SUCCESSFULLY CONVEYED IN MADRID.

THE EDITOR



## THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP IN KYIV

ONCE AGAIN, FIVE YEARS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, THE PROBLEM OF UKRAINE AND THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE USSR CONFRONTS THE FREE-WORLD SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT. ONCE AGAIN THE WESTERN NATIONS MUST DECIDE ON A POLICY CONCERNING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE TO LIVE FREELY AND SAFELY WITHIN THEIR OWN NATIONAL BOUNDARIES AND TO HAVE THEIR RIGHTS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE RESTORED TO THEM. TO THIS END, THERE HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE USSR SEVERAL HELSINKI WATCH-GROUPS IN INDIVIDUAL NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS TO INFORM THE SIGNATORY NATIONS AND THE WORLD AT LARGE ABOUT THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS IN THE USSR. ONE SUCH WATCH-GROUP IS THE UKRAINIAN PUBLIC GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

### UKRAINE AND THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

THE KYIV HELSINKI GROUP WAS FORMED IN LATE 1976 FOR TWO IMMEDIATE REASONS:

1. THE ABSENCE OF INDEPENDENT UKRAINE, REPRESENTED BY UKRAINIAN NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT (SIMILARLY AS PLO IN THE UN) AT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. THE KYIV GROUP CONSIDERED THE ABSENCE OF UKRAINE, A NATION OF 50 MILLION PEOPLE, TWICE RAVAGED BY THE BLOODIEST WARS IN HISTORY, TO BE ILLEGAL AND TENDING TO UNDERMINE THE MORAL AND PRACTICAL FORCE OF THE ACCORDS.
2. THE LINKING OF UNIVERSAL IDEAS OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT MUST BE GUARANTEED BY THE PARTICIPATION OF UKRAINE AND BY BRINGING TO WORLD ATTENTION THE VIOLATION OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE AND THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION.

IN SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS AND DECLARATIONS THE KYIV HELSINKI GROUP NOTED THAT THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL RIGHTS WAS AT THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE AND THAT THE FORMATION OF THE GROUP WAS ONE MORE EVENT IN THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME.

### NATIONAL RIGHTS AND THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION I.E. NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

IN LINKING THE QUESTION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL RIGHTS TO THE HELSINKI ACCORD IMPLEMENTATIONS, THE KYIV HELSINKI GROUP ACTED IN THE BEST TRADITION OF WESTERN LIBERAL THOUGHT, AS EMBODIED IN THE GOVERNING PRINCIPLES OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE UN AND AS REFLECTED IN WORLD-WIDE IDEALS OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN THE 20TH CENTURY.

## NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

THESE IDEALS RECOGNISE THE NATION-STATE AS THE BASIS OF WORLD JUST ORDER AND THE NATION AS THE CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL ENJOYS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CIVIL RIGHTS. IN ACCORD WITH THE IDEAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION PEOPLE ASSERT THEIR CLAIM TO A DISTINCTIVE NATIONALITY, ENTITLING THEM TO LIVE THEIR OWN LIFE IN THEIR OWN FASHION. THUS SELF-DETERMINATION LEADS TO THE DEMAND FOR A SOVEREIGN STATE WHOSE PURPOSE IS TO PROMOTE AND PROTECT THE IDENTITY AND INTERESTS OF THE NATION IN WHOSE NAME IT WAS CALLED INTO BEING. THIS PRINCIPLE IS CLEARLY ENUNCIATED BY THE KYIV HELSINKI GROUP WHICH, IN THE FOURTH ISSUE OF ITS INFORMATION BULLETIN, STATES THAT THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT THE DEFENCE OF NATIONAL RIGHTS IS "WITHOUT ANY FOUNDATION". "THE UKRAINIAN GROUP IN DEFENCE OF RIGHTS SHOULD DEFEND THE RIGHT OF THE NATION TO ITS UNIQUE DEVELOPMENT, A RIGHT WITHOUT WHICH IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO STRUGGLE SUCCESSFULLY FOR INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL FREEDOM".

## COLONIALISM

IN THE 20TH CENTURY SELF-DETERMINATION HAS LED TO THE DECLINE OF COLONIAL EMPIRES AND THE RISE OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS, BUT THE BENEFITS OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAVE NOT BEEN EXTENDED TO ALL PEOPLES. SPECIFICALLY AND MOST FLAGRANTLY, THEY HAVE NOT BEEN EXTENDED TO THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE USSR. THE UN DEFINES A COLONY AS A "NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY", THAT IS, ANY TERRITORY IN WHICH THE GENERAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE ARE FIXED FOR THE WHOLE POPULATION BY A PEOPLE DIFFERENT FROM THE LOCAL ONE IN CULTURE, HISTORY, BELIEFS OR RACIAL ORIGIN. SUCH A DEFINITION PROPERLY APPLIES TO MOSCOW AND THE RUSSIAN EXERCISE OF POWER OVER UKRAINE AND OTHER NATIONS WITHIN THE MULTI-NATIONAL SOVIET STATE.

THE UN, ON WHOSE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS SOME ARTICLES OF THE FINAL ACT ARE BASED, UNEQUIVOCALLY SUPPORTS THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLES TO COMPLETE FREEDOM AND THE EXERCISE OF THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF THEIR NATIONAL TERRITORIES. THIS RIGHT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED IN A SERIES OF UN ACTS AND DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING THE DECLARATION OF DECEMBER 14, 1960, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF DECEMBER 6, 1971, AND THE RESOLUTION OF DECEMBER 30, 1976. THESE POSITIONS ARE ALSO UPHOLD BY PRINCIPLE 8, BASKET I OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, WHICH STATES:-

BY VIRTUE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES, ALL PEOPLES ALWAYS HAVE THE RIGHT, IN FULL FREEDOM, TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, AND TO PURSUE AS THEY WISH THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

IN LIGHT OF THIS PRINCIPLE, THE COLONIAL STATUS OF UKRAINE AND THE RESULTING VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT BE OVERLOOKED AT THE MADRID CONFERENCE.

## THE BASIS OF UKRAINE'S RIGHT TO NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION I.E. INDEPENDENCE

UKRAINE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION RESTS ON THE REALITY OF TWO HISTORICAL FACTS: ITS DE FACTO EXISTENCE AS A SEPARATE

NATIONAL ENTITY AND ITS TRADITIONAL ASPIRATION FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

THE FIRST HAS SUBJECTED UKRAINE TO DENATIONALIZATION AND RUSSIFICATION POLICIES OF MOSCOW, WHO SEES ITS DISTINCTIVE NATIONALITY AS A BAR TO THE CREATION OF AN IDEOLOGICALLY AND SOCIALLY HOMOGENOUS STATE BENT ON WORLD EXPANSIONISM. THE SECOND HAS RESULTED IN CONTINUOUS UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE TO ALL FORMS OF COERCION AND HAS LED TO THE PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION OF MILLIONS OF UKRAINIANS ON A SCALE UNPRECEDENTED EVEN IN THE 20TH CENTURY. THE RIGHT OF UKRAINE'S DEMANDS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION HAS BEEN AMPLY UNDERLINED BY ITS MODERN-DAY STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, OF WHICH THE SALIENT POINTS ARE THE FOLLOWING:

- THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC IN 1918 AND ITS SUBSEQUENT DEFEAT BY THE RUSSIAN RED ARMY, LEADING TO ITS INCORPORATION IN THE USSR.
- THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE ON JUNE 30, 1941 AGAINST GERMANY AND RUSSIA.
- THE STRUGGLE OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA) AND THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) AGAINST THE RUSSIAN AND GERMAN OCCUPATION FORCES FROM 1941 TO 1945, AND ITS CONTINUANCE AGAINST THE RUSSIANS WELL INTO THE 1950'S.
- THE CONTINUOUS REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY.
- THE UPRISINGS OF UKRAINIANS IN RUSSIAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE 1950'S, THE RESISTANCE TO RUSSIFICATION IN THE 60'S AND 70'S AND THE FORMATION OF VARIOUS RIGHTS GROUPS TO ALERT THE FREE WORLD TO UKRAINE'S PLIGHT AND PROMOTE ITS INDEPENDENCE.

WHAT ARE NATIONAL RIGHTS?

KYIV HELSINKI GROUP MEMBERS AND MANY OTHER UKRAINIAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAVE DELINEATED UKRAINE'S COLONIAL STATUS IN THEIR APPEALS TO THE FREE WORLD AND THE UN. THIS STATUS, ARISING FROM UKRAINE'S SUBJECTION TO RUSSIAN COLONIAL RULE AND ITS ATTENDANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, RESULTS FROM THE FOLLOWING:-

1. UKRAINE DOES NOT DIRECT ITS POLITICAL AFFAIRS OR CONDUCT AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL OR FOREIGN POLICY.
2. UKRAINE HAS NO NATIONAL ARMY, NO NATIONAL FINANCIAL OR MONETARY SYSTEM, AND NO FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES OR DIPLOMATIC CORPS.
3. UKRAINE IS DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP ITS NATIONAL RESOURCES; IT HAS NO POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING FOREIGN TRADE OR OF CONTROLLING ITS OWN ECONOMY FOR THE BENEFIT OF ITS PEOPLE.
4. UKRAINE HAS NO VOICE IN ITS CULTURAL LIFE. ALL ASPECTS OF CULTURE ARE UNDER STRICT CONTROL BY MOSCOW, WHICH HAS INSTITUTED A POLICY OF CULTURAL GENOCIDE WITH THE EVENTUAL GOAL OF RUSSIFYING THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION IN ORDER TO MORE EASILY EXPLOIT IT AND FURTHER RUSSIAN GLOBAL POWER.

SUCH VIOLATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE UKRAINIAN

PEOPLE CANNOT BE IGNORED BY THE MADRID CONFERENCE, BUT MUST BE ADDRESSED OPENLY AND FIRMLY.

#### THE MADRID CONFERENCE AND WESTERN POLICY

THE FREE WORLD CAN CONTINUE TO IGNORE THE NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN UKRAINE AND THE OTHER SUBJUGATED NATIONS WITHIN THE USSR AND CONFINE ITSELF MERELY TO THE RITUALISTIC EVASIONS OF THE PAST. TWO ASPECTS OF THE EUROPEAN AND WORLD SITUATION, HOWEVER, SUGGEST A CHANGE.

FIRST, THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN HAS CHANGED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. THE WESTERN WORLD IS AGAIN CONFRONTED WITH AN UPSURGE OF RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM WHICH THREATENS USA AND EUROPEAN INTERESTS AND WORLD STABILITY. TO COUNTERACT THIS THREAT, THE WESTERN POWERS MUST PUT PRESSURE ON MOSCOW AND EXPOSE ITS INTERNAL PITFALLS IN ORDER TO WEAKEN ITS PROPAGANDISTIC PRETENSIONS ABROAD AND SUSTAIN NON-RUSSIAN FORCES OF DISSENT INTERNALLY. SO LONG AS THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE IS IGNORED BY WESTERN POLICY, MOSCOW IS GIVEN THAT MUCH MORE FREEDOM TO CHANNEL ITS ENERGIES OUTWARD AND EXPLOIT THE WEAKNESS OF THE WEST RATHER THAN FACE THOSE OF ITS OWN.

SECOND, EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT THE DEMANDS OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WILL NOT DISAPPEAR OR BE SILENCED, EITHER BY RUSSIAN COLONIAL REPRESSION OR BY THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE WEST. HISTORY SHOWS THAT UKRAINIANS WILL USE EVERY OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED THEM - FROM INTERNAL SITUATIONS IN THE USSR TO INTERNATIONAL PACTS AND AGENCIES SUCH AS HELSINKI AND THE UN - TO CLAIM THEIR RIGHT TO AN INDEPENDENT MEMBERSHIP IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. THIS PROCESS WILL INTENSIFY AND WILL ALWAYS BE A SOURCE OF INSTABILITY TO THE EXISTENCE OF AN ARTIFICIALLY CREATED AND SUSTAINED "SOVIET STATE". THUS MOSCOW'S FOREIGN POLICY OF EXPANSIONISM IS ORGANICALLY LINKED TO ITS ATTEMPT TO CONTROL A MULTINATIONAL POPULATION AND TO SECURE THE BORDERS OF ITS EMPIRE AGAINST THE "THREAT" OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND "CONTAMINATION". THE EXPOSURE OF THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION AS A RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE IS THUS NECESSARY TO CHECK MOSCOW'S AGGRESSIVENESS AND ITS CLAIMS AS A DEFENDER OF NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE THIRD WORLD.

#### RECOMMENDED ACTION AT THE MADRID CONFERENCE

THE HELSINKI ACCORDS DID NOT ORIGINATE IN A VACUUM BUT WERE THE RESULT OF RUSSIAN DOMINATION OVER A MULTI-NATIONAL EMPIRE IN THE USSR. AS LONG AS THIS DOMINATION CONTINUES, THERE WILL BE MORE AFGHANISTANS AND MORE THREATS TO THE WELLBEING AND STABILITY OF THE WORLD. THE HELSINKI ACCORDS MUST, THEREFORE, SERVE AS A REMINDER TO THE WORLD OF THE NATURE OF THE USSR AND OF THE RUSSIAN THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. THE MADRID CONFERENCE SHOULD, THEREFORE, TAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS IN AN EFFORT TO FOCUS ON THE ROOT CAUSES OF VIOLATIONS OF THE ACCORDS IN THE USSR:

1. IN RESPONSE TO THE REQUEST OF THE KYIV HELSINKI GROUP MEMBERS AND OTHER PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN UKRAINE, WESTERN

DELEGATES SHOULD BRING UP THE QUESTION OF UKRAINE'S COLONIAL STATUS AND ITS DESIRE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION PRINCIPLE ON BASKET I OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

2. THE DELEGATES TO MADRID SHOULD HIGHLIGHT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE, AND IN THE USSR AS A WHOLE, FROM A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE. THE MURDER OF VOLODYMYR IVASIUK OR THE INCARCERATION OF LEW LUKIANENKO SHOULD BE SEEN AS A CONCERTED AND PLANNED ATTACK ON THE UKRAINIAN NATION AND NOT JUST AS INDIVIDUAL INSTANCES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF A MONOLITHIC, NATIONALLY HOMOGENOUS STATE.

3. THE DELEGATES TO MADRID MUST GIVE EQUAL TIME TO INSTANCES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE SEVERAL SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE USSR. THEY MUST AVOID MENTIONING ONLY THE USUAL WELL-PUBLICISED CASES IN WESTERN NEWS MEDIA WHICH IGNORE THE EQUALLY TRAGIC AND IMPORTANT CASES IN THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS. THUS, VARIOUS SOURCES IN THE USSR INDICATE THAT UKRAINIANS MAKE UP THE MAJORITY OF THE POLITICAL PRISONER POPULATION IN SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS, YET UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS RECEIVE LITTLE ATTENTION IN THE WEST AND NO ATTENTION IN HELSINKI REVIEW CONFERENCES.

4. THE DELEGATES TO MADRID MUST TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF LINKING THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN TO THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE AND, IN THIS WAY, SHOW THE CONTINUITY AND PROGRESSIVE DANGER OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALIST EXPANSION TO WORLD PEACE. THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN BEGAN WITH THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE IN 1917-1920. IF AFGHAN RESISTANCE IS CRUSHED, THEN AFGHANISTAN WILL BECOME A DE FACTO SOVIET REPUBLIC WHOSE DESTINY WILL BE INTERTWINED WITH THAT OF UKRAINE, THE BALTIC STATES, AND OTHER SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE USSR. THE REALIZATION OF THE COLONIAL NATURE OF THE USSR WILL DO MUCH TO EDUCATE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE WEST AND PUT WESTERN POWERS IN POSITION OF INITIATIVE VIS-A-VIS THE RUSSIAN EXPANSIONIST DRIVE.

5. THE DELEGATES TO MADRID MUST LINK MOSCOW'S COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS TO ANY NORMALIZATION OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS' TRADE, CULTURAL, OR POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. MOSCOW MUST BE MADE AWARE THAT IT WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE AS A SIGNATORY OF A POLITICALLY BINDING AGREEMENT.

6. THE DELEGATES TO MADRID SHOULD WORK CLOSELY WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT I.E. THE OUN, IN ORDER TO FORMULATE AND COORDINATE A JUST AND MEANINGFUL CONFERENCE IN TERMS OF POLICY STATEMENTS AND FUTURE REVIEWS BY WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

ABN Correspondence (Nov.-Dec. 1980)





# ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN)

## M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE ON SECURITY  
AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE)

### THE AIM OF RUSSIA

THE CONFERENCE ON THE SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE) WAS INITIATED BY THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT WHICH AFTER WORLD WAR II AIMED TO ACQUIRE RECOGNITION INSTEAD OF A PEACE TREATY ALONG THESE LINES:

1. INVIOIABILITY OF THE BORDERS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, INCLUDING THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE PART OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE;
2. TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF RUSSIAN HELD AREAS COMPRISING NUMEROUS NATIONS WITHIN THE USSR AND SATELLITE COUNTRIES,
3. NON-INTERFERENCE IN ITS SO-CALLED "INTERNAL AFFAIRS", NAMELY, THE COMPLEX OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

(ARTICLES I, III, IV, VI - FINAL ACT OF AUGUST 1, 1975)

RUSSIA ACHIEVED THIS IN THE FINAL ACT. THIRTY-THREE STATES OF EUROPE, USA AND CANADA RECOGNIZED THE DEMANDS OF THE RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS. THEY DECLARED THE INVIOIABILITY OF RUSSIAN RULE AND INFLUENCE OVER NUMEROUS NATIONS OF EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA. BY RECOGNIZING THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOIABILITY OF THE EMPIRE'S BORDERS (NAMELY THE LEGALITY OF THE OPPRESSION OF NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS IN THIS EMPIRE) AND THE NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE "INTERNAL AFFAIRS" OF THE EMPIRE, ON ONE HAND, AND THE APPROVAL OF THE SO-CALLED BASKET THREE AND ARTICLES VII AND VIII ON HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS, ON THE OTHER, THE CONFERENCE AUTOMATICALLY EMBROILED ITSELF IN CONTRADICTIONS, EXCLUDED THE DEFENCE OF THE RIGHT TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND LEFT THEM AT THE MERCY OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST IMPERIALISTS.

### CONTRADICTIONS

1. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO STAND FOR THE INVIOIABILITY OF AN EMPIRE'S BORDERS AND ITS INTEGRITY AND AT THE SAME TIME TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS AND PEOPLE IN THIS EMPIRE. THERE HAS BEEN NO EMPIRE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND WHICH HAD RESPECTED SIMULTANEOUSLY THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS IT SUBJUGATED AND THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THESE NATIONS, NAMELY, HUMAN RIGHTS. HISTORY DOES NOT KNOW OF SUCH AN EMPIRE, ALL THE MORE SINCE THE USSR IS A RUSSIAN TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST EMPIRE.
2. ARTICLES VII AND VIII ARE IN PRINCIPLE CONTRADICTED BY ARTICLES III, IV AND VI. WHY DO THE NON-COMMUNIST SIGNATORIES NOT TRY TO REALIZE ARTICLES VII AND VIII AND BASKET THREE?
3. ARTICLES III, IV AND VI STAND IN FLAGRANT CONTRADICTION OF THE

UN DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (DECEMBER 14, 1960) SINCE THESE ARTICLES DECLARE THE LEGALITY OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE. THE WESTERN SIGNATORIES VIOLATED THE UN DECLARATION ON THE DISSOLUTION OF ALL EMPIRES BY RECOGNIZING IN THE HELSINKI ACCORDS THE INVIOABILITY OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST EMPIRE, AND BY AGREEING NOT TO INTERFERE IN ITS "INTERNAL AFFAIRS".

THE ABOVE CONTRADICTIONS CAN BE CORRECTED IF THE FOLLOWING POSITION IS TAKEN BY THE WEST:

ON THE BASIS OF THE UN DECLARATION ON DECOLONIZATION OF ALL EMPIRES IN THE WORLD AND ACCORDING TO THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (1948), THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS (1966), AND THE RESOLUTION PASSED IN 1976 IN CONNECTION WITH NAMIBIA, ETC., WE PROPOSE THAT THE NON-COMMUNIST PARTICIPANTS OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE PASS A RESOLUTION OF THEIR OWN CONDEMNING RUSSIAN COLONIALISM WITH THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTED CONTENT:

- "REAFFIRM THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLES SUBJUGATED IN THE USSR TO SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AS LAID DOWN BY THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND AS RECOGNIZED IN THE RESOLUTIONS 1514 (XV) AND 2145 (XXI), AND THE LEGITIMACY OF THEIR STRUGGLE BY ALL MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL AGAINST THE OCCUPATION OF THEIR TERRITORY BY RUSSIA.
- SUPPORT THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED IN THE USSR AND SATELLITE STATES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.
- APPEAL TO ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO GRANT ALL NECESSARY SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO ALL NATIONS COLONIALISED AND SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIA IN THE USSR AND THE SATELLITE STATES".

WE ASK THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO BE GUIDED IN ITS POLICY TOWARDS THE USSR BY THE RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE US CONGRESS ON JULY 17, 1959 (PUBLIC LAW 86-90) IN SUPPORT OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM AND OF THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM, AMONG THEM THE INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM OF UKRAINE.

#### THE ILLEGALITY OF AN ALIEN OCCUPATION

It is unlawful from the standpoint of NATURAL, DIVINE AND CURRENT INTERNATIONAL LAW TO RECOGNIZE AS LEGAL THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF A SUBJUGATED COUNTRY. IT IS ONLY THE PRACTICE OF IMPERIALISTS AND COLONIALISTS TO REGARD THE BRUTAL FORCE OF A CONQUEROR AS THE NORM OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR. MOREOVER, THE RECOGNITION OF RUSSIAN OPPRESSION (IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE OCCUPATION BY ARMED FORCES AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND RESISTANCE OF A SUBJUGATED NATION) TO BE INTERNATIONALLY BINDING WOULD ONLY LEAD TO THE RULE OF LAWLESSNESS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

IN HELSINKI, THE WESTERN COUNTRIES RECOGNIZED WITHOUT EVEN A PEACE CONFERENCE WHAT NO PEACE CONFERENCE, BASED ON CURRENT PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, WOULD DARE TO RECOGNIZE: ARMED AGGRESSION AND OPPRESSION AS A BASIS FOR SECURITY, CO-OPERATION AND PEACE. AFTER ALL, THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS WAGED IN THE NAME OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.

#### THE UNSUCCESSFUL POLICY OF THE WEST

THE HELSINKI ACCORDS ARE BASED ON THE POLICY OF DETENTE WHICH PROVED TO BE NONVIABLE IN VIEW OF THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION, ALONG WITH MERCENARIES FROM CUBA AND FROM SOVIET DOMINATED EAST GERMANY, OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS OTHER AGGRESSIVE OR SUBVERSIVE BOLSHEVIK ACTIONS IN ASIA. THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN WAS THE FINAL BLOW TO THE POLICY OF DETENTE AND ALSO TO THE FINAL ACT OF AUGUST 1, 1975. FURTHERMORE, BELGRADE WAS A FAILURE FOR THE WESTERN COUNTRIES SINCE, DURING THE SAID CONFERENCE, NUMEROUS MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN (KYIV) HELSINKI GROUP WERE SENTENCED BY OCCUPATIONAL TRIBUNALS TO 15 YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO SECURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BASKET THREE RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

AT THE PRESENT TIME, BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE, TERROR, TRIALS, DEPORTATIONS AND MURDERS BY THE KGB CONTINUE IN THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN UKRAINE, INCLUDING PERSECUTION OF THOSE WHO TRIED TO DEFEND BASKET THREE OR ARTICLES VII AND VIII.

TO QUOTE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, OF SEPTEMBER 2, 1980:-

"THAT THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT HAS DONE LITTLE TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE VALUES OF EAST AND WEST WAS ALREADY CLEAR AT THE FIRST FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE IN BELGRADE IN 1977-78. IN MADRID THIS YEAR, THE TURMOIL IN AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND CAN ONLY MAKE THE CONFLICTS EXPOSED IN BELGRADE MORE PRONOUNCED.

"EVEN BACK IN THE EARLY 1970's, WHEN BOTH SIDES REGARDED THE SECURITY CONFERENCE AS A POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT FOR NURTURING THE INFANT STIRRINGS OF DETENTE, THERE WERE VERY SHARP DIFFERENCES IN WHAT EACH HOPED TO GAIN.

"FOR THE SOVIET UNION, THE LANGUAGE OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT ON THE "INVIOLABILITY" OF EXISTING EUROPEAN BORDERS, SUBSCRIBED TO BY 33 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, PUT THE STAMP OF INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMACY ON ITS WORLD WAR II TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS AND CERTIFIED THE WEST'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE SOVIET-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT IN EAST GERMANY.

"IN EXCHANGE FOR CONCEDED THESE POINTS, THE WEST SOUGHT TO LIBERALIZE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EASTERN EUROPE THROUGH THE FINAL ACT'S EMPHASIS ON "FREE EXCHANGE OF PEOPLE, INFORMATION AND IDEAS...".

"THE RUSSIANS PREVENTED THE FINAL DECLARATION IN BELGRADE

FROM EVEN MENTIONING HUMAN RIGHTS."

THE ONLY ARTICLE OF THE FINAL ACT WHICH WAS REALIZED BY BOTH SIDES IS TO RESPECT THE INVIOABILITY OF THE BORDERS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, ITS INTEGRITY, AND NON-INTERFERENCE BY THE WEST IN MATTERS RELATING TO THE LIBERATION ACTIVITIES OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS. HENCE, THE ONE-SIDED SUCCESS OF THE BOLSHEVIK EMPIRE AND ITS SYSTEM.

### OUR APPEAL

IN VIEW OF MOSCOW'S (AND ITS SATELLITES) VIOLATIONS OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS AND THE DISMAL FAILURE OF THESE ACCORDS, THE SIGNATORY NATIONS OF THE FREE WORLD SHOULD RESOLVE THAT:

1. THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS ARE NOT AN "INTERNAL MATTER" OF THE EMPIRE BUT CONSTITUTE AN ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN, AND THAT EVERY EMPIRE SHOULD BE DISSOLVED. (ARTICLES VII & VIII).
2. THE UN DECLARATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS ON GRANTING INDEPENDENCE TO THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES, THE UN RESOLUTIONS APPROVED IN CONNECTION WITH NAMIBIA ABOUT PROVIDING ASSISTANCE (EVEN MILITARY SUPPORT) TO NATIONS STRUGGLING AGAINST COLONIAL YOKE, THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD HAVE AN INTERNATIONALLY BINDING LEGAL FORCE AND BE MADE APPLICABLE ALSO TO THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY SOVIET RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM.
3. THE NECESSITY TO CHANGE THE POLICY OF DETENTE WITH THE COMMUNIST TYRANTS INTO A POLICY OF LIBERATION OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS.
4. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FREE WORLD SHOULD EXERT CONSTANT PRESSURE ON THE USSR (BY MEANS OF AN ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF THE USSR AND AN ALL-ROUND SUPPORT FOR THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AGAINST THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION ARMIES) TO PERSUADE MOSCOW TO WITHDRAW ITS OCCUPATION ARMIES FROM UKRAINE, AFGHANISTAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN OVERRUN BY THE RUSSIANS.
5. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FREE WORLD SHOULD PRESSURE MOSCOW TO: ABOLISH ITS POLICY OF RUSSIFICATION AND NATIONAL GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE AND OTHER SUBJUGATED NATIONS; TO END THE DEPRIVATION OF FREEDOM OF FIVE MILLION CITIZENS OF THE USSR (70% OF THEM UKRAINIANS) HELD IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS, CAMPS OF HARD LABOUR, PRISONS, AND PSYCHOPRISONS; TO STOP THE DEPORTATIONS AND EXILE; AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO CONDEMN THE KGB MURDERS OF FREEDOM-FIGHTERS, E.G. ALLA HORSKA (1970), PRACTICING CHRISTIAN IVAN MOJSEYEV (1972), FATHERS IVAN LUCHKIW, MICHAEL LUTSKY AND A. GURGULA (1975), VOLODYMYR OSADCHYJ (1975), MATHEMATICIAN IVAN VYTENKA (1976), FREEDOM-FIGHTER MYKOLA KONCHAKIWSKYJ (1978), HISTORIAN M. MELNYK (1979), COMPOSER VOLODYMYR IVASIUK (1979); AND TO CONDEMN THE KGB MURDERS OF NATIONALISTS, MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

(OUN) AND THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA).

6. GRANT THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) (A REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION FORCE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE) A LEGAL STATUS AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN THE CAPITALS OF THE FREE WORLD.
7. TO BRING ABOUT THE RELEASE FROM IMPRISONMENT OF FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL, HUMAN AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS, AND TO PRESSURE THE USSR TO ABOLISH THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND PSYCHO-PRISONS. A MAXIMUM EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE FOR THE RELEASE OF MEMBERS OF THE OUN AND UPA AND OTHER PARTICIPANTS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP. PARTICULARLY, ASK FOR THE RELEASE OF THE FOLLOWING PRISONERS: VASYL PIDHORODETSKY, IVAN HEL, FATHER WASYL ROMANIUK, DANYLO SHUMUK, MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH, MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH, PETRO SICHKO, VASYL SICHKO, MYKOLA RUDENKO, OLES BERDNYK, LEVKO LUKIANENKO, OKSANA MESHKO, VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL, VASYL STUS, IRYNA SENYK, ZINOVIJ KRASIWSKYJ, YEVHEN SVERSTIUK, IVAN SVITLYCHNYJ, OLEKSANDER SERHIYENKO, AND YURIY SHUKHEVYCH, THE SON OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA). YURIY SHUKHEVYCH HAS BEEN SENTENCED SEVERAL TIMES FOR A TOTAL OF 30 YEARS IMPRISONMENT BECAUSE HE REFUSED TO DENOUNCE THE LEGACY OF FREEDOM ON INDEPENDENCE FOR WHICH HIS FATHER, GEN. ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH, FOUGHT AND DIED.  
SUCH IMPRISONMENT IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS, PRISONS AND PSYCHO-PRISONS VIOLATES THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (1948), THE DECLARATION ON DECOLONIZATION (1960/1970/1971), THE UN RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY STRUGGLE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AGAINST COLONIAL YOKE (1976), AS WELL AS OTHER AGREEMENTS MADE BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE USSR.
8. RECOGNIZE THAT THE POLICY OF THE BALANCE OF POWER IN COMBINATION WITH THE POLICY OF DETENTE IS NOT A VIABLE SOLUTION TO THE WORLD CRISIS IN VIEW OF THE AGGRESSIVE AIMS OF BOLSHEVISM, NAMELY: THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN ITS QUEST TO CONQUER THE WHOLE WORLD.

COMMUNISM AND FREEDOM ARE INCOMPATIBLE

IN PRINCIPLE, THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS. IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO TRY TO MAKE IT RESPECT NATIONAL OR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE COMMUNIST TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM STANDS IN CONFRONTATION WITH THE LIVING SPIRIT OF NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS, AND IT IS ENTANGLED IN NUMEROUS INTERNAL DISCREPANCIES WITH WHICH IT CANNOT COPE. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FORCES IN THE USSR DISRUPT FROM WITHIN THE BOLSHEVIK SYSTEM, NAMELY, COMMUNISM COMBINED WITH RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM. UNDER NO CONDITION IS THIS SYSTEM ABLE TO SOLVE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL CONFLICTS. BOLSHEVIK TOTALITARIANISM WILL LOGICALLY COME TO ITS END. IN ORDER TO PREVENT IT FROM RESORTING TO A DISASTROUS NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION AND TO ATTAIN ITS DOWNFALL THROUGH ITS OWN INTERNAL EXHAUSTION, THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WEST CAN DECISIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO THIS END BY CHANGING THEIR POLICY OF DETENTE INTO A POLICY OF ASSISTING THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS TO LIBERATE THEMSELVES BY OVERTHROWING THE EMPIRE AND ITS SYSTEM FROM WITHIN.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION IN AFGHANISTAN, THE POPULAR UPHEAVAL IN POLAND, AND SIMILAR EVENTS IN THE PAST IN UKRAINE: IN NOVOCHERKASK, NOVODZERZHYNISK, DNIPROPETROVSK, DONBAS, INCLUDING THE wide-spread and bloody UPRISINGS OF UKRAINIAN AND OTHER PRISONERS

IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS (TO WHICH THE FREE WORLD PAID NO ATTENTION) PROVE THAT THIS IS THE ONLY REMAINING POLICY TO FOLLOW IN ORDER TO RESTORE A JUST PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD.

#### ILLUSION OF SECURITY

THE HELSINKI ACCORDS ARE AN ILLUSION OF SECURITY AS WAS PROVED BY THE EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN, THE VIOLATION OF THE "BALANCE OF POWER" ON THE PART OF THE RUSSIANS, AND BY THE EVENTS IN POLAND, OR BY RUSSIAN AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA.

IN VIEW OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST EMPIRE, THE POLICY OF DETENTE AND THE BALANCE OF POWER CANNOT BE A SUCCESS BECAUSE OUR EPOCH IS THE EPOCH OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION, RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, CHERISHED BY HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF SUBJUGATED PEOPLE AND DOZENS OF SUBJUGATED NATIONS. THIS FORGOTTEN POWER IS THE KEY TO VICTORY.

#### OUR RECOMMENDATION

THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WEST SHOULD CONCENTRATE IN MADRID ON THE BROAD SPECTRUM OF NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY BOLSHEVISM AS THE DECISIVE FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOLSHEVISM (A SYNTHESIS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM) FOR NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

EACH AND EVERY COMPROMISE ONLY BENEFITS SOVIET RUSSIA AND ITS TOTALITARIAN BOLSHEVIK SYSTEM AS WAS PROVEN BY THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

YAROSLAV STETSKO  
CHAIRMAN

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 24, 1980

200 LIVERPOOL ROAD  
LONDON, N1 1LF  
ENGLAND

OCTOBER 1980

OPEN LETTER

TO THE DELEGATIONS OF THE WESTERN NATIONS AT THE MADRID CONFERENCE ON THE REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE OF AUGUST 1, 1975.

I AM HONOURED TO ADDRESS YOU ON BEHALF OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS, ACTIVE IN THE UNDERGROUND IN UKRAINE. WHEN YOU WILL REVIEW TOGETHER WITH ALL THE OTHER DELEGATIONS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF AUGUST 1, 1975, I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING FACTS:

UKRAINE IS A COUNTRY COLONIALY ENSLAVED BY COMMUNIST RUSSIA SINCE 1920 AS THE RESULT OF AGGRESSION AND MILITARY CONQUEST. EIGHTY PER CENT OF UKRAINIAN TERRITORY WAS FORCEFULLY INCORPORATED INTO THE SO-CALLED UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS IN 1922. SINCE THEN THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE HAVE MANIFESTED THEIR RESOLUTION TO RID THEMSELVES OF RUSSIAN COLONIAL DOMINATION AND TO REGAIN THEIR LOST NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. MILLIONS HAVE DIED IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

THE FINAL ACT OF AUGUST 1, 1975, CONCLUDED AT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE IN HELSINKI, FINLAND, WAS A SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT OF RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY: ALL THE WESTERN SIGNATORY STATES RECOGNIZED DE FACTO RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTIC AND COLONIALIST CONQUESTS, OUTLINED IN THE "DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTICIPATING STATES" (FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE). IN SUPPORT OF OUR CONTENTION WE ARE BRINGING TO YOUR ATTENTION THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS:

(1) THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND LIBERATION MOVEMENT (OUN) EXPRESSED ITS PROTEST AGAINST THE FINAL ACT AGREED UPON IN HELSINKI THROUGH ITS SPOKESMEN IN CO-OPERATION WITH SIMILAR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF LITHUANIA, BYELORUSSIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA, TURKESTAN, NORTH CAUCASUS, AZERBAIJAN, GEORGIA, ARMENIA (AND OTHER NATIONS UNITED IN THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS) AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD IN MUNICH, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, NOVEMBER 14-16, 1975. IN A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE WE READ THE FOLLOWING: "THE STATUS QUO AGREED UPON AT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE CONFIRMS FORMALLY BY THE SIGNATORIES ALL THE RUSSIAN-BOLSHEVIK PRACTICES OF COLONIAL RULE OVER OTHER COUNTRIES ON OUR CONTINENT, INCLUDING THE ILL-FAMED BREZHNEV DOCTRINE." ("LIBERATION PATH", LONDON, FEBRUARY 1976, P. 141)

(2) AT THE BEGINNING OF 1976 A DOCUMENT WAS BROUGHT OUT FROM THE SOVIET UNION THROUGH UNDERGROUND CHANNELS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, MR. KURT WALDHEIM, SIGNED BY THIRTEEN UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS INCARCERATED IN THE RUSSIAN PRISON AT VLADIMIR. THE SIGNATORIES EXPLAIN THAT "MOSCOW IS DOING EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER IN ORDER TO COVER UP THE IMPERIALISTIC NATURE OF ITS NATIONALITY POLICY AND THE WIDESPREAD DISSATISFACTION

WITH RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE, OF THE BALTIC COUNTRIES AND OF THE CAUCASUS." HELSINKI'S FINAL ACT SERVES THIS PURPOSE EXCELLENTLY. ("LIBERATION PATH", LONDON, DECEMBER 1976, P. 1402)

(3) THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS HELD ANOTHER CONFERENCE IN MANCHESTER, GREAT BRITAIN, OCTOBER 15-17 1976, AT WHICH THE FOLLOWING WAS RESOLVED: "THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT ACKNOWLEDGES the status quo versus the SOVIET UNION AND BY HAVING DONE SO, IT GAVE A FREE HAND TO THE RUSSIAN IMPERIALIST EXPANSIONIST POLICIES, THUS FORMALLY APPROVING MOSCOW'S INVIOLEABLE RIGHT TO ITS DOMINATION IN EUROPE AND BEYOND." ("ABN CORRESPONDENCE", MUNICH, NOVEMBER 1976, P. 7.)

(4) A UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX PRIEST, REV. VASYL ROMANIUK ( IMPRISONED BY THE SOVIET-RUSSIAN OCCUPATION REGIME) IN A LETTER (1976) TO THE HEADS OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH WHO RESIDE IN EXILE IN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES stated the following: "I CONSIDER MY DUTY AS A PRIEST - FAITHFUL TO GOD AND CHRISTIANITY - TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION ... THAT THE PRINCIPLE RESOLUTION OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE IS BEING TRAMPLED UPON, ALTHOUGH IT IS CONSIDERED A BASIS OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION AMONG NATIONS." ("LIBERATION PATH", LONDON, JANUARY 1977, P. 33.)

(5) A GROUP OF PATRIOTS IN UKRAINE FORMED IN NOVEMBER 1976 IN KYIV "THE CIVIC GROUP TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS" IN ORDER TO EXPOSE THE COLONIAL STATUS OF UKRAINE IN THE LIGHT OF HELSINKI'S FINAL ACT. THE GROUP WHICH WAS LED BY MYKOLA RUDENKO, A NOTED UKRAINIAN WRITER AND INTELLECTUAL, ISSUED ON NOVEMBER 9, 1976 ITS DECLARATION IN WHICH THE MEMBERS PROTESTED THAT UKRAINE, A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WAS NOT INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE. THE GROUP REQUESTED THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE TO INVITE UKRAINE (NOT THE UKRAINIAN SSR!) TO ANY INTERNATIONAL MEETING RELATED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. ("LIBERATION PATH", MAY 1977, PP. 550-551.)

(6) THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP ISSUED IN DECEMBER 1976 ITS MEMORANDUM NO. 1. IN SECTION 2 WE READ THE FOLLOWING: "SINCE THE EARLY YEARS OF STALIN'S DICTATORSHIP, UKRAINE BECAME AN ARENA OF GENOCIDE AND ETHNOCIDE..." THE AUTHORS QUOTE FROM AN ENCYCLOPEDIA: "GENOCIDE - ONE OF THE GREATEST CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, WHICH CONSISTS IN THE DESTRUCTION OF NATIONAL, ETHNIC, RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS GROUPS OF POPULATION..." (URE, V.3, P. 186.)

"THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE DID NOT KNOW WHAT IS FAMINE FOR MANY CENTURIES, BUT IN 1933 IT LOST OVER 6 MILLION PEOPLE WHO DIED FROM HUNGER. IT WAS A FAMINE ON THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE, ARTIFICIALLY ORGANIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT... WE SHOULD ADD TO THE ABOVE NUMBER OF VICTIMS THOSE WEALTHY PEASANTS WHO WERE DEPORTED WITH THEIR ENTIRE FAMILIES TO SIBERIA. THUS, WITHIN THREE YEARS (1930-1933) WE LOST NO LESS THAN TEN MILLION UKRAINIANS, WHO WERE EXTERMINATED AS A MATTER OF POLICY DECISION. THIS IS A QUARTER OF THE NATION'S POPULATION! AND THEN CAME THE YEAR 1937 WHEN UKRAINIANS WERE EXECUTED BY THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS. THEN CAME WORLD WAR II, DURING WHICH SEVEN TO EIGHT MILLION UKRAINIANS LOST THEIR LIVES. AFTER THE WAR CAME ANOTHER WAR:



THE EXTERMINATION OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA) WHICH TOOK UP ARMS AGAINST HITLER AND DID NOT PUT THEM DOWN ON STALIN'S ORDERS. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN, WOMEN AND OLD PEOPLE WENT INTO THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS... THE TERM OF THE SENTENCE WAS ALWAYS THE SAME: 25 YEARS. VERY FEW OF THESE TRUE MARTYRS RETURNED TO THEIR HOMELAND." ("LIBERATION PATH", MAY 1977, PP. 554-555.) THE 17-PAGE LONG DOCUMENT CONTAINS A LONG LIST OF FACTS ABOUT PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE BY THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL REGIME.

(7) A LARGE GROUP OF POLITICAL PRISONERS OF VARIOUS NATIONALITIES, INCARCERATED IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP NO. 36 AT PERM ISSUED A PROCLAMATION DATED AUGUST 1, 1978, UNDER THE TITLE OF "TEN DAYS OF SOLIDARITY OF PEOPLES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RUSSIAN COLONIALISM". THE AUTHORS OF THIS DOCUMENT DISCLOSED THE FACT THAT THEY BECAME POLITICAL PRISONERS BECAUSE THEY WERE ACTIVELY WORKING FOR THE RESTORATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR EACH OF THEIR PEOPLES: "IN CONDITIONS OF BRUTAL TERROR AND GROWING OPPRESSION, PRONE TO EVOKE DESPAIR, THE SPIRIT OF OUR PEOPLES IS UNBROKEN. OUR RESISTANCE IS INCREASING, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES AGAINST COLONIAL YOKE IMPOSED UPON OUR PEOPLES BY FORCE OF ARMS OF THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME OF SOVIET RUSSIA AND AGAINST THE FICTIONAL FORMS OF NATIONAL STATEHOOD CREATED IN ORDER TO CONCEAL THE BANDITRY, THE SO-CALLED 'UNION REPUBLICS' AND 'AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS' ... WE, THE PRISONERS, CONTINUE THIS STRUGGLE AND WE ACCEPT COMPLETELY ITS IDEALS. WE TAKE PART IN 'THE TEN DAYS OF SOLIDARITY OF PEOPLES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RUSSIAN SOVIET COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM' WHICH IS BEING ORGANIZED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE USSR ... WE EXPRESS OUR STRONG RESOLVE AND WILL TO MUTUALLY CO-OPERATE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF NATIONS AND RIGHTS OF MEN." ("LIBERATION PATH", JUNE 1979, PP. 722-724).

(8) THERE ARE DOCUMENTS WRITTEN BY INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS OF UKRAINIAN PATRIOTS WHICH EVALUATE VERY HIGHLY THE "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK" AND THE LAW OF THE U.S. CONGRESS (PL 86-90) SIGNED BY PRESIDENT D.D. EISENHOWER. IN ONE SUCH DOCUMENT WE READ: "THE MOST PROMINENT GROUP OF PEOPLE (IN THE UNITED STATES) GIVES ITS EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT TO AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLES WHO FIGHT FOR THEIR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION. BECAUSE THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE, TO WHICH I AM HONOURED TO BELONG, LINGERS IN COLONIAL CONDITIONS, IT IS MY DUTY TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS INTERNATIONAL HUMANE ACTION." (VOLODYMYR MARMUS, STATEMENT TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR OF JULY 17, 1978, "LIBERATION PATH", NOVEMBER 1979, P. 1316)

(9) OLES BERDNYK, A NOTED WRITER, MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP IN KYIV, WROTE IN 1977 A PHILOSOPHICAL-POLITICAL TREATISE ENTITLED "KNYHA BUTTYA SVYATOYI UKRAYINY" (A BOOK OF EXISTENCE OF HOLY UKRAINE). BERDNYK DEVOTED HIS WORK TO THE MAIN PROBLEM OF UKRAINE - ITS REGAINING OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. WHEREAS SOVIET RUSSIA IS REALIZING THE GOAL OF CREATING A SO-CALLED "SOVIET PEOPLE" BY MEANS OF FUSION OF THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES WITH THE RUSSIAN MASTER NATION, OLES BERDNYK ADVANCED AN ENTIRELY OPPOSITE THESIS THAT "THE IDEA OF A FUSION OF NATIONS IS CRIMINAL." THEREFORE, "THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK IS TO TRANSFORM AND TO LIBERATE NATIONAL LIFE FROM THE DICTATORIAL STATES AND IMPERIALISTIC FORMATIONS." ("LIBERATION PATH", DECEMBER 1979, PP. 1450-1453.)

(10) FOUR WELL-KNOWN UKRAINIANS ACTIVE IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN KYIV, NAMELY O. BERDNYK, V. STRILTSIV, P. SICHKO AND V. SICHKO SENT TO MANY GOVERNMENTS, MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, "THE FRIENDLY MESSAGE" DATED APRIL 30, 1978. THE AUTHORS ARGUE THAT "THE EARTH IS A CRADLE COMMON TO ALL OF US, AND IT IS CRIMINAL TO DESTROY SOME PEOPLES FOR THE GLORIFICATION AND WELL-BEING OF OTHER PEOPLES, BECAUSE SUCH A POLICY WILL INEVITABLY EVOKE A CRUSHING BOOMERANG OF THE COSMIC UNITY TO THE VIOLATORS OF NATURE. LET THE HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS OF THE DEMISE OF EVEN THE STRONGEST EMPIRES AND DESPOTISMS BE A FOREWARNING TO WHOMEVER IT MAY BE ADDRESSED!" ("LIBERATION PATH", DECEMBER 1979, PP. 1454-1457)

(11) THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP OF KYIV DISTRIBUTED IN THE SPRING OF 1979 THE FOURTH ISSUE OF ITS "INFORMATION BULLETIN". IN THE EDITORIAL ARTICLE SIGNED BY TEN PERSONS WE LEARN ABOUT A STRONG CONNECTION OF THE GROUP WITH THE WHOLE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PAST AND RECENT YEARS. THE MAIN AIM OF THE GROUP IS TO FIGHT AGAINST THE RUSSIAN IMPERIALIST POLICY ACCORDING TO WHICH "WE ARE INCLUDED TOGETHER WITH OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS INTO THE SYSTEM OF THE INTERESTS OF THE STRONGER AND THE RULING NATION." ("LIBERATION PATH", DECEMBER 1979, PP. 1458-1461.)

(12) ON APRIL 10, 1979, FIFTEEN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR PROCLAIMED "THE SECOND TEN DAYS OF SOLIDARITY OF PEOPLES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST Russian Soviet COLONIALISM." THE UNDERSIGNED REVEALED THAT UP TO THE PRESENT DAY SUPPRESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IS BEING WAGED AGAINST ALL NON-RUSSIAN PEOPLES ... IN THE USSR. THE GROUP "EXPRESSES ITS APPRECIATION OF ALL THE ACTS OF SOLIDARITY IN THE ANNUAL HONOURING OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK PRACTISED IN THE AMERICAN STATE OF NEW YORK... OUR TEN DAYS OF SOLIDARITY MAY INFLUENCE A FURTHER EXPANSION AND STRENGTHENING OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK." THE GROUP "CALLS UPON ALL PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS, ALL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUAL PERSONS EVERYWHERE TO ADVANCE RESOLUTELY AND SYSTEMATICALLY THE DEMAND OF A COMPLETE AND FINAL LIQUIDATION OF ALL FORMS OF NATIONAL AND COLONIAL ENSLAVEMENT - INSEPARABLE ELEMENTS OF THE LAST EMPIRE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND - THE RUSSIAN-SOVIET 'PRISON OF PEOPLES', WHICH TODAY, CLOSE TO THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE MAIN BARRIER TO WORLD PROGRESS." ("LIBERATION PATH", FEBRUARY 1980, PP. 186-189).

(13) IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF 1980, A 70-PAGE LONG TREATISE HAS BEEN CARRIED OVER THROUGH UNDERGROUND CHANNELS FROM UKRAINE TO THE WEST. WE KNOW THE REAL NAME OF THE AUTHOR, BUT TEMPORARILY HE MUST REMAIN ANONYMOUS. THE WORK IS ENTITLED "HRANI KULTURY" - (FACETS OF CULTURE). ITS AUTHOR MAINTAINS THAT "THE IDEA SACRED TO EACH NATION IS THE IDEA OF A SOVEREIGN STATEHOOD." THEREFORE, "THE enslaved PEOPLES HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEFEND THEIR LIFE AS SOCIAL ENTITIES AND TO FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE WITH SOVEREIGNTY BY ALL AVAILABLE AND OPTIMAL MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL...". ("LIBERATION PATH", APRIL 1980, PP. 425, 430) IN THE SOVIET UNION THERE ARE VARIOUS PEOPLES, LIKE THE UKRAINIANS AND THE RUSSIANS - "TWO COMPLETELY DIFFERENT AND MUTUALLY INCOMPATIBLE NATIONS... RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM WERE IN THE PAST AND ARE PRESENTLY HOSTILE. THOSE RELATIONS CAN BE TRANSFORMED INTO FRIENDLY AND NORMAL RELATIONS

ONLY AFTER UKRAINE IS ABLE TO LEAVE THE EMPIRE, TO CONCLUDE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY BETWEEN SOVEREIGN NATIONS, AFTER RUSSIA RETURNS TO THE UKRAINIAN STATE ALL THE UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORIES (KUBAN, KURSK REGION, VORONIZH REGION, BILHOROD REGION, ETC.) ILLEGALLY ANNEXED TO RUSSIA, AFTER THE REPARATION OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION, THE REPARATION AND RETURN OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL TREASURES ROBBED AND SHIPPED OUT TO RUSSIA IN THE LAST THREE CENTURIES." (IBIDEM, P. 432.) THEREFORE, "THE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY LIVES, STRUGGLES AND HAS A GOAL, NAMELY: SOVEREIGNTY, STATEHOOD AND FREEDOM." (IBIDEM, P. 433.)

THE AUTHOR REVEALS THE ENORMOUS EXTENT OF ETHNOCIDE BEING EXECUTED IN UKRAINE BY THE RUSSIAN RACIST OCCUPATION REGIME. HE CONFIRMS THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG RESISTANCE OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION TO THIS RACIST RUSSIFICATION. HE DESCRIBES THE SOVIET UNION AS A NATIONAL RUSSIAN EMPIRE OVER MANY CONQUERED PEOPLES. UKRAINIANS ARE COMBATING "THE ZOOLOGICAL CHAUVINISM OF THE RULING NATION AND ITS INTOLERANCE OF THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE SUBORDINATED NATIONS. UKRAINIANS ARE OPPOSING THE FORCED INFLUX OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION INTO ETHNIC TERRITORIES OF OTHER PEOPLES..." (IBIDEM, P. 435.) THE AUTHOR VERIFIES THE EXISTENCE "OF AN ACTIVE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT". ("LIBERATION PATH", MAY 1980, P. 556).

HE BELIEVES THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL QUESTION SHOULD BE PLACED ON AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM IN THE SAME WAY AS IT WAS DONE IN THE PAST IN RESPECT TO MANY PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND ASIA WHICH WERE COLONIAALLY ENSLAVED. RUSSIAN RACIST COLONIALISM WILL CONSTANTLY EXPAND UNLESS IT IS CHECKED AND REPULSED BY FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES. IN UKRAINE, A NATION OF 50 MILLION, THERE ARE MANY RUSSIAN COLONISTS WHO ARE "THE FIFTH COLUMN" AND A STRATEGIC BASE OF THE OCCUPATION REGIME. ("LIBERATION PATH", APRIL 1980, P. 440.) THIS DOCUMENT CONCLUDES WITH THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY: "THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE IS VERY TRAGIC. HOWEVER, THERE IS OPTIMISM ON THE BASIS OF THE GREAT EFFORT OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE TO RESIST THE COLONIALISTS. THE HEROIC SELF-NEGATION AND THE SACRIFICIAL DEDICATED WORK OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF THE BEST SONS OF UKRAINE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF THE NATION TO LIFE, SOVEREIGNTY AND STATEHOOD. WITH THE FEELING OF NATIONAL DIGNITY, HONOUR AND NATIONAL PRIDE WE ACCEPT THE WORK OF PRECEDING GENERATIONS, THE WORK AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS EMBODIED IN THE NAMES OF MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKYJ AND SYMON PETLIURA, YEVHEN KONOVALETS AND STEPAN BANDERA, YAROSLAV STETSKO AND ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH, MYKHAILO SOROKA AND ZENON TERSHAKIVETS, WHO BECAME THE MOST VALUABLE IN OUR NATIONAL TREASURY." ("LIBERATION PATH", JUNE 1980, P. 707.)

(14) A PROMINENT FREEDOM-FIGHTER IN UKRAINE, IVAN ANDRIYOVYCH HEL, KEPT PRESENTLY IN THE RUSSIAN SOSNOVKA PRISON (MORDOVIAN ASSR), SENT A LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DATED JULY 25, 1979. MR. HEL STATED: "THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IS A PRISON OF NATIONS... COMPARING HUMAN LOSSES, RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM IMMEASURABLY SURPASSED GERMAN NAZISM. THE ARTIFICIALLY CREATED FAMINE IN UKRAINE (1932-1933) ALONE KILLED CLOSE TO TEN MILLION PEOPLE. GENOCIDE HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO ETHNOCIDE TOGETHER WITH THE TRANSFER OF ENORMOUS MASSES OF (UKRAINIAN) POPULATION (BEYOND THE BORDERS OF UKRAINE), WHO ARE UNDER A TREMENDOUS PRESSURE TO ASSIMILATE THEMSELVES INTO THE RUSSIAN NATIONALITY..."

THE SO-CALLED UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS IS A STATE WHICH OCCUPIED UKRAINE AND WHICH IS IMPOSING ON UKRAINE'S TERRITORY RUSSIAN SOVEREIGNTY... FOR THE PURPOSE OF AN UNINTERRUPTED FUNCTIONING OF THE IMPERIALISTIC INSTITUTIONS AND ALSO FOR THE UNSPARING SMOTHERING OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE, RUSSIA HAS FORMED AN OCCUPATIONAL REGIME, WHICH TOGETHER WITH COLLABORATORS AND TRAITORS TO THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE, IS ROBBING Ukraine of its national treasures." ("ABN CORRESPONDENCE", JULY 1980, PP. 9-12.)

(15) AT THE END OF 1979 A DOCUMENT WAS SENT FROM THE SOVIET UNION SIGNED BY 18 UKRAINIANS WHO ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS. THEY REVEAL THE COLONIAL POSITION OF UKRAINE UNDER RUSSIAN OCCUPATION EXISTING SINCE THE 1920'S. IN THE 1930'S "AROUND 600,000 PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN INTELLIGENTSIA WERE PERSECUTED...". ON ABOUT 20 PER CENT OF UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY (WHICH WAS NOT UNDER RUSSIAN OCCUPATION) AN UNDERGROUND NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AROSE WHICH WAS ACTIVE IN THE PERIOD OF WORLD WAR II AGAINST ONE INVADER, AND AFTER THE WAR FOR DECADES AGAINST THE NEW INVADER". THE GROUP REQUESTS THE UNITED NATIONS FOR ASSISTANCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE: "WE PETITION THE UNITED NATIONS TO REGISTER UKRAINE AS A COLONY AND TO place THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION ON THE AGENDA OF THE NEXT SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS." ("LIBERATION PATH", JUNE 1980, PP. 717-720.)

IN VIEW OF THE PRESENTED EVIDENCE, THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS REQUESTS THE GOVERNMENT YOU ARE HONOURED TO REPRESENT TO REVIEW ITS POLICY TOWARD THE FINAL ACT ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE OF AUGUST 1, 1975, IN SUCH A LIGHT THAT RUSSIAN COMMUNIST COLONIALISM WOULD BE CENSURED, ALL ITS CONQUESTS OF OTHER NATIONS EXPOSED AND CONDEMNED, AND THE NATIONAL ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIA RECOGNIZED. WE RESPECTFULLY REQUEST FROM YOU, GENTLEMEN, A STATEMENT CLARIFYING THE POSITION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT REGARDING SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALIZATION, DECOLONIZATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ISSUE OF STATE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE.

VERY TRULY YOURS,

YAROSLAV STETSKO

CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF  
UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS  
LAST PRIME MINISTER OF FREE UKRAINE

## M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE NON-COMMUNIST SIGNATORIES OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

October 1980

IN OUR MEMORANDUM TO THE NON-COMMUNIST PARTICIPANTS AT THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WE INDICATED ESSENTIAL CONTRADICTIONS AND SHORTCOMINGS EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS OF AUGUST 1, 1975. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CONSIDERATION OF THE FOLLOWING IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS:

OUR POSITION

1. THE DESTINY OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED EITHER AS INTERNAL MATTER OF AN EMPIRE OR ANY OTHER KIND OF MULTI-NATIONAL STATE STRUCTURE CREATED BY FORCE AND UNDER FALSE PRETENCES.
2. THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (INCLUDING ITS NEO-COLONIAL SATELLITE STATES) IS A colonial RUSSIAN EMPIRE BUILT UPON A TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST SYSTEM OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC, STATE AND POLITICAL LAWLESSNESS -- AN ORDER IMPOSED UPON THE PEOPLES BY THE FORCE OF ARMS AND TERROR.
3. NEITHER HUMAN NOR NATIONAL RIGHTS CAN EVER BE REALISED IN A COMMUNIST TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM. BOLSHEVISM -- A VARIETY OF COMMUNISM BASED ON MARXISM AND LENINISM -- COMBINES MARXISM WITH RUSSIAN HISTORICAL IMPERIALISM AND ITS COLLECTIVIST CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL ORDER INHERENT TO THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL FABRIC AND MENTALITY.
4. NOT A SINGLE EMPIRE IN THE WORLD - EVEN WITH THE EXISTENCE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN THE METROPOLIS OF THAT EMPIRE, THAT IS, IN THE METROPOLIS OF THE RULING NATION -- CAN GUARANTEE THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS EITHER HUMAN OR NATIONAL RIGHTS, AS THIS WOULD BRING ABOUT THE DISSOLUTION OF THAT EMPIRE.

The failure to include in the Final Act of these four crucial FACTS HAS CREATED CHAOS, AS DETAILED IN ENCLOSURE NO. 1.

FACTUAL CONFIRMATION

THE HELSINKI ACCORDS HAVE NEITHER ALLEVIATED THE SITUATION OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND PEOPLE INSIDE THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (I.E. THE USSR) NOR HAVE THEY CHECKED RUSSIAN COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AGAINST EVER NEW COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH ARTICLE V OF THE FINAL ACT REQUIRES "INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY". EVEN THE PUBLIC MONITORING GROUPS SUCH AS UKRAINIAN, LITHUANIAN, ARMENIAN, GEORGIAN, AND OTHERS, WHICH HAD APPEARED IN CONNECTION WITH THE INITIATIVE OF WESTERN CIRCLES IN ORDER "TO PROMOTE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS" BASED ON THE JURIDICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE FINAL ACT SIGNED BY THE USSR AND ITS SATELLITE COUNTRIES, WERE DESTROYED BY THE TERRORIST BOLSHEVIST SYSTEM, OR, MORE PRECISELY, BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM. IN REALITY THE HELSINKI ACCORDS BECAME

HARMFUL TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION EFFORTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ENDEAVOURS OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY BOLSHEVISM SINCE THEY CREATED AN ILLUSION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMON FRONT WITH THE WESTERN SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT. Unfortunately, the latter DISPLAYED THEIR POWERLESSNESS IN FACING THE RUSSIAN OPPRESSORS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND THEIR COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS WHICH SOVIET RUSSIA IMPOSED BY FORCE.

DESPITE THEIR SIGNING OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS THE RUSSIAN AGGRESSORS HAVE OCCUPIED AFGHANISTAN AND CONTINUE THEIR GENOCIDAL WAR AGAINST THE FREEDOM-LOVING AFGHAN NATION. THE CONDEMNATION OF THE RUSSIAN AGGRESSION BY 104 MEMBERS OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CREATED ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ACT UPON WHICH THE FREE WORLD SHOULD BASE ITS ACTIONS RATHER THAN ON THE OUTDATED SO-CALLED "INVIOABILITY" OF THE EMPIRE AND ITS BORDERS. THE RUSSIANS CONTINUE THEIR AGGRESSION AGAINST THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND THEIR GENOCIDAL PRACTICES IN S.E. ASIA WITH THE AID OF THEIR RED VIETNAMESE HENCHMEN, ETC. NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS CAN NEVER BE REALIZED INSIDE THE BOUNDARIES OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST EMPIRE, OR ANYWHERE WHERE THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATIONAL ARMY HAS A CHANCE TO SET FOOT and WHEREVER A COMMUNIST SYSTEM IS IMPOSED.

#### BOLSHEVISM BENEFITED FROM THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

IN BELGRADE, THE WESTERN SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT DID NOT SUCCEED IN DEFENDING ANY NATIONAL OR HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS OUT OF FEAR THAT THE USSR AND ITS SATELLITES WOULD LEAVE THE CONFERENCE. EXACTLY AT THE SAME TIME AS DEMANDS WERE BEING MADE TO RESPECT ARTICLES VII & VIII, AND THE ENTIRE BASKET THREE, RUSSIA SENTENCED UKRAINIAN FREEDOM-FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS - LAWYER LEV LUKIANENKO, OLEKSA TYKHYJ, AND OTHERS - TO 15 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT. NOW, ON THE EVE OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE, EXACTLY THE SAME CRIME IS BEING REPEATED AGAIN. COMPLETELY DISREGARDING THE FINAL ACT, THE RUSSIANS SENTENCE AND EVEN MURDER PRIESTS, CULTURAL ACTIVISTS (E.G. COMPOSER Volodymyr IVASIUK) NOT TO MENTION THE MURDERS OF NATIONALISTS (OUN) - FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

WITHOUT EVEN CONCLUDING A PEACE TREATY THE RUSSIAN TOTALITARIAN EMPIRE (DUE TO ARTICLES I, II, III, IV, VI OF THE FINAL ACT) ACHIEVED LEGAL, AND DEFACTO RECOGNITION BY WESTERN GOVERNMENTS OF THE INVIOABILITY (INCLUDING THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES), NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE "INTERNAL AFFAIRS", WHICH MEANS THAT THE WEST ILLEGALLY DISMISSED THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS (THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY FORCE OF THE FREEDOM-LOVING WORLD) AS AN INTERNAL MATTER OF THE EMPIRE.

ARTICLES VII, VIII AND BASKET THREE TURNED OUT TO BE INEFFECTIVE VIS-A-VIS ARTICLES III, IV, VI, SINCE THE WEST PROVED TO BE UNABLE TO ENFORCE THE REALIZATION OF THE FORMER, ALTHOUGH A WHOLE RANGE OF POSSIBILITIES IS AVAILABLE TO ACHIEVE THAT END: STARTING WITH AN ECONOMIC BLOCKADE (WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE WITHDRAWAL OF EVERY KIND OF TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE AND GRAIN SUPPLY) TO THE POLITICAL ISOLATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE COMBINED WITH SUPPORT TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS WHICH DISRUPT THE EMPIRE FROM WITHIN AS EXEMPLIFIED BY POLAND AND

AFGHANISTAN, AND BY THE GROWTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL IN UKRAINE, TURKESTAN, LITHUANIA, BYELORUSSIA, THE CAUCASIAN NATIONS, GEORGIA, AZERBAIJAN, ARMENIA, N. CAUCASUS, CZECHIA, SLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, BULGARIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA, EAST GERMANY, AND OTHER NATIONS.

THEREFORE, WHILE THERE IS A LACK OF COUNTERACTION ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT, THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE - THE USSR - REAPS ALL THE BENEFITS FROM THE ACTUAL CONCESSIONS MADE BY THE WEST IN BELGRADE, AND PRESENTLY IN AFGHANISTAN, VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA AND EVEN IRAN.

THE ILLEGALITY OF SOME OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS IN THE LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

TODAY THE SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT ARE BOUND BY CERTAIN LEGAL DOCUMENTS WHICH CONSTITUTE A NEW INTERNATIONAL LAW AND CONTRADICT SOME ACCORDS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, SUCH AS RECOGNITION OF THE INVIOLABILITY OF THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE. THESE ACTS ARE THE DECLARATION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF DEC. 14, 1960 IN REGARD TO THE DECOLONIZATION AND GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES, THE RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF DEC. 6, 1971, THE RESOLUTION OF DEC. 13, 1976, AND THE RESOLUTION OF DEC. 20, 1976 IN REFERENCE TO NAMIBIA - ALL OF WHICH SHOULD ALSO BE APPLIED TO THE COMPLEX OF THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE.

MOREOVER, THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ARE BEING VIOLATED BY ARTICLES III, IV & VI OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. WHEN THE UN APPLIES ANTI-IMPERIAL AND ANTI-COLONIAL DECREES (PASSED BY A MAJORITY OR ALL THE UN MEMBERS) TO NATIONS WITHOUT PREVIOUS STATE TRADITIONS, THEN THE ASCRIBING TO A NEO-COLONIAL STATUS OF NUMEROUS NATIONS IN EUROPE AND ASIA WITH THOUSAND-YEAR-OLD TRADITIONS AND HUGE CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD CULTURE IS NOT ONLY A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS OF A NEW WORLD ORDER TO BE BUILT ON THE RUINS OF EMPIRES, BUT ALSO OF NATURAL AND DIVINE LAWS, NAMELY, THE RIGHT TO A FREE LIFE AND NATIONAL STATE INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY NATION AND HUMAN BEING. YET, THE NEO-COLONIAL STATUS OF UKRAINE, POLAND, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, EAST GERMANY, LITHUANIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA, BYELORUSSIA, TURKESTAN, AZERBAIJAN, NORTH CAUCASUS, BULGARIA, CROATIA, RUMANIA, CZECHIA, SLOVAKIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA WAS RUTHLESSLY ENSHRINED AT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE.

THE WELL-KNOWN ARTICLES OF THE Final Act of the HELSINKI ACCORDS ALSO CONTRADICT PUBLIC LAW NO. 86-90 OF THE US CONGRESS OF JULY 17, 1959, IN REGARD TO THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS BY WHICH IT UNANIMOUSLY DECLARED ITS OBLIGATION TO SUPPORT THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM, AND STATED THE NECESSITY TO RE-ESTABLISH NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM OF UKRAINE, POLAND, HUNGARY, LITHUANIA, TURKESTAN, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, AZERBAIJAN, ESTONIA, LATVIA, BYELORUSSIA, CZECHIA, SLOVAKIA, BULGARIA, RUMANIA, EAST GERMANY AND OTHER SUBJUGATED NATIONS.

## OUR POSITION

HOWEVER, IRRESPECTIVE OF ALL THE EXISTING COVENANTS THAT ARE BINDING UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW AND WHICH CONFIRM OUR AIMS, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, THE DECISIVE FACTOR IS OUR VERY OWN WILL TO STRUGGLE AND TO DESTROY THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE -- THE USSR AND THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM -- AND ESTABLISH ON ITS RUINS OUR OWN INDEPENDENT, NATIONAL, DEMOCRATIC STATES WITHIN THEIR ETHNOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE WEST WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND ITS BANKRUPT COMMUNIST SYSTEM OR WILL TAKE MEASURES TO MEET OUR ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM.

AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND HAVE ONCE AGAIN CONFIRMED THAT OUR POLITICAL PRINCIPLES ARE CORRECT: UNITY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS, UNITY OF NATIONAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS. A COMMON FRONT OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AND SIMULTANEOUS NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY UPHEAVALS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS WILL BREAK UP THE EMPIRE FROM WITHIN AND LIQUIDATE THE OBSOLETE COMMUNIST SYSTEM. THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM ADVANCES WITH ITS BRUTAL RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM, HAND IN HAND WITH CHAUVINISM AND RACISM, TOWARDS THE CONQUEST OF THE ENTIRE WORLD. THE USSR -- A PRISON OF NATIONS AND PEOPLE -- IS A COLOSSUS ON FEET OF CLAY! IT IS BEING RESCUED BY THE WEST BY MEANS OF ECONOMIC, TECHNOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, AND EVEN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ITS OWN DISADVANTAGE AND DOOM! THE STRENGTH OF BOLSHEVISM LIES IN THE IDEOLOGICAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL WEAKNESSES OF THE WEST, IN THE LACK OF A POLITICAL WILL TO FIGHT AGAINST THE DEGENERATED YET AGGRESSIVE BOLSHEVISM WHICH MOBILISES THE RUSSIANS THROUGH MESSIANISM, CHAUVINISM AND RACISM, AND THE IDEA OF CONQUEST THROUGH CONTINUOUS SUBVERSION AND WARFARE.

## OUR SUGGESTIONS

IN VIEW OF THE FOLLOWING DISMAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE COMMITTED BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USSR AND THE KGB: GENOCIDE, ETHNOCIDE, AND LINGUICIDE; THE RUTHLESS RUSSIFICATION OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS; THE KILLING OF PRIESTS AND BELIEVERS OF THE CHRISTIAN, ISLAMIC, JEWISH AND OTHER FAITHS, OF CULTURAL WORKERS, ESPECIALLY FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS; THE THROWING OF FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE INTO CONCENTRATION CAMPS, PRISONS AND PSYCHO-PRISONS -- AMONG WHOM ARE MEMBERS OF THE HELSINKI GROUPS IN UKRAINE, LITHUANIA, GEORGIA, ARMENIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES; THE LIQUIDATION OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE LITHUANIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, BAPTIST AND EVANGELICAL CHURCHES -- AND THEIR BANISHMENT INTO THE UNDERGROUND; OTHER CRIMES AGAINST THE IDEAL OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS; THE VIOLATION OF BASKET THREE RESOLUTIONS, IN PARTICULAR ARTICLES VII AND VIII, THE UN CHARTER, THE DECLARATION ON DECOLONISATION OF 1960, AND ALL OTHER INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS INCLUDING THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS; AND IN VIEW OF THE AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN AND DUE TO THE GENOCIDE PRACTISED THERE, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING TO THE NON-COMMUNIST SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS:



- A. TO DECLARE THAT THE ACCORDS ARE NULL AND VOID IN REGARDS TO: THE RECOGNITION OF THE STATUS QUO OF THE RUSSIAN CONQUESTS; THE INVIOALABILITY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, ITS BORDERS, AND THE OBLIGATION BY THE WEST NOT TO INTERFERE IN THE SO-CALLED "INTERNAL MATTERS" OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE EMPIRE, WHOSE POPULATION CONSTITUTES A MAJORITY, ARE NOT AN "INTERNAL MATTER" OF THE EMPIRE).
- B. "REAFFIRM THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLES SUBJUGATED IN THE USSR TO SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AS LAID DOWN BY THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND AS RECOGNIZED IN RESOLUTIONS 1514 (XV) AND 2145 (XXI), AND THE LEGITIMACY OF THEIR STRUGGLE BY ALL MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL AGAINST THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THEIR TERRITORY BY RUSSIA.
- C. SUPPORT THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED IN THE USSR TO ACHIEVE SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.
- D. APPEAL TO ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO GRANT ALL NECESSARY SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO UKRAINE, LATVIA, GEORGIA, NORTH CAUCASUS, BULGARIA, POLAND, TURKESTAN, LITHUANIA, ARMENIA, ESTONIA, BYELORUSSIA, AND OTHER NATIONS COLONIALIZED BY RUSSIA IN THE USSR AND SATELLITE COUNTRIES IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM".

IF ON DECEMBER 20, 1976, THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY WITH 107 VOTES NOT ONLY RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT OF AN AFRICAN PEOPLE (NAMIBIA) TO INDEPENDENCE, BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW DECLARED ITS POLITICAL AND MORAL SUPPORT FOR THE "ARMED LIBERATION STRUGGLE" OF THIS PEOPLE, THEN UKRAINE (A NATION OF 53 MILLION WITH A 1000 YEAR-OLD TRADITION OF STATEHOOD AND CIVILIZATION), TURKESTAN, GEORGIA, BYELORUSSIA, LITHUANIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA, ARMENIA, AZERBAIJAN, NORTH CAUCASUS, SLOVAKIA, CROATIA, BULGARIA, RUMANIA, POLAND, HUNGARY, CZECHIA, HAVING BEEN FIGHTING FOR ITS INDEPENDENCE FOR CENTURIES, CLAIM THE SAME RIGHT FOR THEMSELVES.

Therefore, we urge the Western powers that in view of the UN CHARTER SIGNED BY THEM, IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DECLARATIONS REGARDING THE DECOLONIZATION, AND IN THE LIGHT OF ARTICLES VII & VIII AND BASKET THREE OF THE HELSINKI ACT, TO TAKE LEGAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND, IF NECESSARY, RADICAL STEPS (SIMILARLY TO THAT WHAT THE USSR IS DOING WITH ITS TANKS AND CUBAN SOLDIERS IN AFRICA) IN ORDER TO ENFORCE THE DECOLONIZATION, THAT IS TO SAY, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

- WE URGE THE WESTERN POWERS TO USE ALL MEANS POSSIBLE IN EXERTING PRESSURE ON MOSCOW TO BRING ABOUT THE ABOLITION OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND PSYCHIATRIC PRISONS, THE RELEASE OF NATIONAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS, IN PARTICULAR TO CEASE THE MURDERS OF POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVISTS AND FIGHTERS FOR NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS, THE CESSATION OF RUSSIFICATION, OF NATIONAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION, AN END TO COLLECTIVIZATION AND STATE CONTROLLED ECONOMY, AND, ABOVE ALL, THE

WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN OCCUPATION FORCES AND OF THE COMMUNIST TERROR APPARATUS FROM ALL SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE USSR AND SATELLITE COUNTRIES, AND THUS ENABLE THEM TO RESTORE THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRATIC ORDER.

- WE APPEAL TO THE FREE NATIONS THAT THEY REPLACE THEIR POLICY OF "DETENTE" AND "BALANCE OF POWER" (WHICH BROUGHT UNWARRANTED RESULTS FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE WEST, AND IS DETRIMENTAL TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM) BY A POLICY OF LIBERATION.

- WE APPEAL TO ALL COUNTRIES OF THE FREE WORLD TO PROVIDE AFGHANISTAN WITH MILITARY AND OTHER AID IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THE EXPULSION OF RUSSIAN INVADING ARMIES FROM THAT COUNTRY, AND TO STRENGTHEN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF NOT ONLY THE ISLAMIC NATIONS SUBJUGATED IN THE USSR BUT OF ALL THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY MOSCOW IN THE USSR AND THE SO-CALLED SATELLITE COUNTRIES - I.E. CHRISTIANS, MOSLEMS, BUDDHISTS, AND JEWS.

- WE APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FREE NATIONS TO INCLUDE AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE LAST REMAINING EMPIRE IN THE WORLD - THE USSR - THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLES SUBJUGATED IN THE RUSSIAN COLONIAL EMPIRE AND THE RESTORATION OF THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY.

WE WISH TO REMIND THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR HAS ENSHRINED IN ITS BODY THE AGGRESSIVE WARS OF THE EMPIRE UNDER THE NAME OF ACTIVE ALL-ROUND SUPPORT TO THE SO-CALLED NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL UPEAVALS ("PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM").

- WE ASK FOR STEPS TO BE TAKEN TO HALT FORCED RUSSIFICATION (EQUIVALENT TO ETHNOCIDE AND NATIONAL GENOCIDE) WHICH IS BEING CARRIED OUT THROUGH THE MIXING OF PEOPLES, FORCEFUL DEPORTATIONS FROM THEIR NATIVE COUNTRIES, AND COLONIZATION BY RUSSIANS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS.

RUSSIFICATION IS A CRIME AGAINST THE UNIVERSAL CULTURE OF MANKIND, ITS BARBARIZATION, BECAUSE IT AIMS AT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MOSAIC OF NATIONAL CULTURES WHICH GUARANTEE THE PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD CULTURE.

- WE APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF FREE NATIONS OF THE WORLD TO GRANT CITIZENSHIP TO THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS WHO REQUEST IT, CHANGING IF NECESSARY THEIR OWN CONSTITUTION FOR THAT PURPOSE.

THE ABN POSITION IS THAT WITHOUT THE REALIZATION OF NATIONAL RIGHTS - NAMELY NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM - IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO REALIZE HUMAN RIGHTS, FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES.

- WE URGE THE NATIONS OF THE FREE WORLD TO PLACE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR ON TRIAL BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL Tribunal in the HAGUE FOR THEIR CRIMES OF GENOCIDE, AGGRESSIVE WARS AND OPPRESSION

OF AN INCREASING NUMBER OF NEW COUNTRIES.

- WE APPEAL TO ALL FREE NATIONS TO DEVELOP A WIDE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND AGAINST COMMUNIST TYRANNY, TO STOP ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL HELP, TO STOP THE POLICY OF DETENTE AND INSTEAD TO SUPPORT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS WHICH CAN BREAK UP THE EMPIRE AND THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM FROM WITHIN. THIS IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS,

FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

YAROSLAV STETSKO (UKRAINE)  
LAST PRIME MINISTER OF FREE UKRAINE  
PRESIDENT OF ABN

Veli Kojum-Khan, President

DR. B. HAYIT (TURKESTAN)  
NATIONAL TURKESTANIAN UNITY  
Committee

Col. D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia), President  
Byelorussian Liberation Front  
Representative of the Byelorussian Central  
Council

DR. ANTE BONIFACIC (CROATIA)  
CROATIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION  
Committee

Adelaida Lemberg (Estonia)  
Estonian Information Centre

DR. D. WALTSCHOFF (BULGARIA)  
POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ABN  
FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE  
BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT

H. KASSAJEP (N. CAUCASUS)  
NORTH CAUCASUS NATIONAL COMMITTEE

BASIL MAILAT (RUMANIA)  
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ABN  
FORMER MAYOR OF BUCHAREST

DR. M. AUSALA (LATVIA)  
LATVIAN COUNCIL

L.M. POKORNY (SLOVAKIA)  
SLOVAK LIBERATION COMMITTEE

JOSEF KAIRIS (LITHUANIA)  
LITHUANIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION  
LITHUANIAN CHRISTIAN FEDERATION OF WORKERS

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# DISIDENTES

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# CONTRA

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# LA CONFERENCIA

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Disidentes de todas las nacionalidades que forman la U.R.S.S. y el Pacto de Varsovia se dieron cita ayer en Madrid protagonizando actos de protesta de todo tipo, mientras muchos, como el Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones, reclamaban que Occidente ponga fin a la distensión entre Este y Oeste.

Fotos: Carlos MONGE-G. CATALAN-Efo-Europa Press

**E**N contrapunto a la Conferencia de Seguridad y Cooperación en Europa, unos cuarenta ucranianos, letones, búlgaros, eslovenos y rumanos se manifestaron ayer por las calles adyacentes a la sede de la reunión reclamando la «independencia de las naciones sojuzgadas por el imperialismo y comunismo rusos».

En paralelo a esta manifestación, un sacerdote letón, residente en la ciudad americana de Filadelfia, Maris Kirsons, corrió sus venas sobre una bandera soviética, protestando por la rusificación de su patria.

El show de la disidencia no se limitó a los países del Este. Seis chinos, vestidos de bonzos, interrumpieron el tráfico sentándose en la

calzada mientras cantaban himnos religiosos y pacifistas.

Los chinos, que no arremetieron contra ningún país en particular, se negaron a despejar la calzada ante el requerimiento policial, terminando todos detenidos.

• • •

Los movimientos de protesta en el área del Palacio de Congresos y Exposiciones continuarán hoy con una huelga de hambre que iniciarán ucranianos disidentes en la plaza de los Sagrados Corazones.

## Treinta y nueve testimonios

Bruce Alan Kiernan, director del grupo americano de seguimiento de los acuerdos de Helsinki (Helsinki Watch) difundió ayer en Madrid una lista de 39

personas encarceladas y condenadas en la U.R.S.S. por pretender hacer cumplir en su país los derechos humanos.

El más destacado es el físico Yuri Orlov, condenado a siete años de trabajos forzados, tras los cuales deberá pasar otros cinco en el exilio.

## Bloque antibolchevique

El poeta Mykola Rudenko, el científico Anatoli Shcharanski y el músico Merab Kostaba, también figuran en la lista proporcionada por Kiernan, quien solicitó que se envíen telegramas a Leónidas Breznev, reclamando por la liberación de los presos.

Miembros del Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones (ABN), pidieron ayer en una rueda de prensa cele-

brada en Madrid que la Conferencia de Cooperación y Seguridad Europea proclame «la carta magna de la independencia de las naciones subyugadas dentro de la U.R.S.S. y sus países satélites».

La conferencia de prensa, organizada con el apoyo de *Alianza Popular*, estaba presidida por el último primer ministro del Gobierno ucraniano libre y presidente de ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko. A la misma asistieron representantes de disidentes de *Ucrania, Bulgaria, Eslovenia y Rumania*, así como miembros del Gobierno polaco en el exilio.

Los representantes de ABN afirmaron que los acuerdos de la conferencia de Helsinki de 1975, «no han mejorado la situación de las naciones oprimidas por la U.R.S.S., y que incluso la han empeorado».

Según dijeron, los países no comunistas que firmaron el acta de Helsinki «han asesinado un duro golpe a la lucha de liberación nacional de los pueblos y naciones esclavizadas por el imperialismo y comunismo ruso, al respetar el «statu quo» de las conquistas territoriales rusas».

## Contra los acuerdos

Pidieron a los países no comunistas que declaren no válidos los acuerdos de Helsinki y obliguen a Rusia a retirar sus Ejércitos de ocupación, suspender las deportaciones masivas a Siberia, liquidar los campos de concentración y cárceles psiquiátricas, y liberar a todos los presos políticos y religiosos, a la vez que interrumpir los asesinatos y la persecución de los disidentes».

El señor Stetsko señaló que el concepto de equilibrio de fuerzas pasó ya a la historia. «La diferencia esencial entre las fuerzas de Occidente y Rusia —dijo— es que las primeras luchan por la paz y las segundas por la conquista del mundo. No se puede hablar de equilibrio de poder militar porque técnicamente el poderío ruso está por encima. Por eso la política de distensión no se puede sostener».

«La alternativa —agregó— es la coordinación perfecta de todos los países subyugados, que representan más de la mitad de la población rusa.»

La ABN está formada por disidentes de los siguientes países y regiones: Armenia, Azerbaijón, Bielorrusia, Bulgaria, Caucaso del Norte, Croacia, Checoslovaquia, Eslovenia, Turkestán, y Ucrania.

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Estos son los hombres del Bloque  
Antibolchevique de Naciones.



Disidentes letones queman una bandera de la U.R.S.S. ante la sede de la Conferencia de Madrid.

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Por la libertad de los ucranianos.



También disidenten.

# PAGINAS CENTRALES

# Diario

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Búlgaros y ucranianos, protestan  
codo con codo.



Una Eslovaquia sin checos,  
sólo para eslovacos.





# EL ALCAZAR



Director: Antonio IZQUIERDO

Madrid, miércoles, 12 de noviembre de 1980 / 25 pesetas

## Lo que la URSS se niega a oír en la Conferencia de Madrid

*Ayer, en la calle, alrededor del Palacio de Congresos, un grupo de personas dijo lo que la Unión Soviética se obstina en no querer oír en los amplios salones de la Conferencia de Madrid.*

*Ucranianos, estones, lituanos, disidentes, exiliados, evadidos... hombres y mujeres que han podido huir de las variadas pero implacables formas de terror del bloque soviético, sacaron sus carteles, sus pancartas y banderas y sus símbolos folklóricos a la calle.*

*Estas fueron sus demandas: «Viva Ucrania libre», «abajo la tiranía soviética», «fin del yugo soviético en Bulgaria», «por la independencia de Eslovaquia», «libertad para los prisioneros políticos en Ucrania»... Un letón con residencia en Filadelfia se cortó las venas en protesta por la ocupación soviética de su país, después de colocarse sobre una bandera de la URSS. La Policía realizó ocho detenciones.*

*Mientras tanto, sucesivos despachos de agencia daban cuenta del enésimo intento por llegar a un acuerdo. Cualquier mínima sugerencia, la más leve predisposición, hasta la más*

*banal de las declaraciones era inmediatamente interpretada en uno u otro sentido para intentar conocer el desenlace del largo «impasse». Sin embargo, cada vez cobraba más fuerza el hecho de que la URSS no está dispuesta a tolerar que sus continuos atentados contra los derechos humanos fueran sometidos al veredicto de la opinión pública mundial desde la Conferencia de Madrid.*

*Pero mientras se sucedían las consultas, y los delegados de Austria y Suiza agotaban sus posibilidades de mediación, y cundía cada vez de forma más ostensible el pesimismo, y las cancillerías europeas daban por seguro el fracaso... mientras que el reloj permanecía quieto, estático, al borde de la media noche, en la calle, un grupo de personas, gentes que han conocido en su propia carne la experiencia de la dominación soviética, intentaban decir a la Conferencia de Madrid y a las 35 naciones allí representadas lo que los delegados de Moscú no han querido escuchar. Pero ahí está su testimonio, como la exposición «samizdat», como su patética demanda de atención formulada en rueda de Prensa. La URSS, otra vez, ha hecho oídos sordos. ¿El resto del mundo será cómplice de su silencio?*





12-XI-1980

# Madrid, plaza universal de la libertad



Con los brazos en cruz y con la cruz en pecho, este religioso se cortó las venas frente al Palacio de Congresos y Exposiciones, sede de la Conferencia de Madrid, en un acto simbólico de protesta universal contra la opresión soviética en su país, Letonia. (Foto Efe.)



«Seis millones de ucranianos, desde 1933, prisioneros de la Urss», dicen las pancartas de estos manifestantes ante la Conferencia de Madrid. Los pueblos y los hombres no se resignan a vivir bajo la tiranía. (Foto Larena.)



Madrid, miércoles 12 de noviembre de 1980

# Sangre por libertad de los pueblos bálticos

La Conferencia de Madrid se ha convertido en un gran escaparate mundial de la disidencia antisoviética. Una protesta múltiple y, sin embargo, uniforme en su protagonismo y objetivos: denunciar a la Urss como régimen de dictadura contra las ideologías y los pueblos que ansían su libertad. Ucrucianos, letones, lituanos, afganos reclaman ser libres. Escritores, científicos, sindicalistas huidos o expulsados de la Urss, porque piden el ejercicio de los derechos reconocidos en Helsinki.

## Protestas, huelga de hambre y corte de venas

Emulando a los bonzos, que se quemaban vivos en Saigón en señal de protesta durante la guerra del Vietnam, un reverendo venido a Madrid desde Filadelfia (Usa), Maris Kirsons, lituano de origen, ha montado un simulacro de suicidio ante el Palacio de Congresos para atraer la atención mundial sobre la falta de libertad de las minorías bálticas en la Urss.

Ha sido un espectáculo macabro. Delante de la entrada principal, el reverendo Kirsons, con alzacuello sobre una camisa de manga corta que le dejaba los brazos libres y luciendo sobre el pecho una gran cruz de plata, se cortó las venas y vertió su sangre sobre una bandera soviética, extendida en el suelo. Dos médicos —especialmente llegados para asegurar que el «show» no tendría mayores consecuencias— contuvieron la hemorragia cuando ya se habían formado dos charcos de sangre y, por lo visto, trasladaron al reverendo Kirsons a una clínica privada madrileña para que le suturasen las heridas.

Los organizadores de esta cruel exhibición han abogado en favor de las libertades de las minorías bálticas y recordado que las autoridades soviéticas —Lituania es una república soviética— han condenado a cinco años de prisión al párroco de Laudona por oponerse a la propaganda atea. Con todos los res-

petos hacia quienes sufren falta de libertad bajo el régimen autoritario del Kremlin, el montaje del martes por la mañana ante el Palacio de Congresos —que hubiese ocurrido una hora antes de inaugurarse la Conferencia de Madrid de no haberse «parado los relojes»— ha constituido un aldobonazo propagandístico malsonante, que no beneficia a otras legítimas manifestaciones de protesta por la falta de libertad en la Urss.

Medio centenar de disidentes de países del Este amenazan con una huelga de hambre ante el Palacio de Congresos. La Unión Soviética no ha cumplido con los compromisos del Acta de Helsinki, suscritos de puño y letra por Breznev. Es legítimo el que la Conferencia de Madrid se ocupe de la falta de libertad dentro de la Unión Soviética y del riesgo que la invasión de Afganistán ha supuesto para la seguridad de Europa y en el mundo. Constitu-

ye, sin embargo, un grave riesgo de injerencia en cuestiones internas de un Estado soberano el fomentar el separatismo. Y no es la madrileña calle del General Perón foro adecuado para plantear reivindicaciones independentistas de Estonia, Letonia y Lituania (que pertenecieron a la Rusia de los zares hasta 1919 y volvieron a Rusia en 1939 por un acuerdo entre Hitler y Stalin, y quedaron definitivamente bajo la Unión Soviética al liberarlas de la ocupación alemana poco antes de concluir la segunda guerra mundial).

Tampoco es el magno certamen de Madrid foro adecuado para que a su sombra aparezcan —como ha ocurrido el martes— pancartas de grupos políticos extranjeros reivindicando «libertad para Ucrania». Precisamente en Helsinki, en el Acta que esgrimimos quienes reivindicamos más libertad en los países del Este, se comprometieron todos los Estados del Continente —y Usa y Canadá— a reconocer las fronteras existentes en Europa, surgidas de la segunda contienda mundial.

José V. COLCHERO



CONTRA LA OCUPACION SOVIETICA

## Huelga de hambre de ucranianos

Madrid, 11 (INFORMACIONES)

Ayer tuvo lugar en un hotel madrileño, una conferencia de prensa, convocada por A.B.N. (Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones), organización que desde su fundación, en plena guerra mundial, coordina la lucha de resistencia de las naciones hoy ocupadas por la URSS, tanto dentro como fuera de las fronteras del Estado soviético.

Esta rueda de prensa, así como las facilidades que está recibiendo en España la citada organización, ha sido posible merced al apoyo de Alianza Popular.

Presidían la mesa de la rueda informativa destacados representantes de Ucrania, Bulgaria, Eslovaquia y Rumanía. Al mismo tiempo que se hizo una llamada a la solidaridad con los pueblos hoy invadidos y ocupados por el Ejército soviético, se anunció públicamente, mediante una nota informativa, que hoy, a mediodía, en la plaza de los Sagrados Corazones, tendrá lugar una manifestación, seguida de una huelga de hambre, con participación de un grupo de patriotas ucranianos.

En la citada conferencia de prensa se puso de relieve que sólo dentro de las fronteras de la URSS, de un total de 250 millones de habitantes, 140 millones están privados de sus derechos nacionales de soberanía e independencia.

Ante la pregunta de un informador, un portavoz de A.B.N. insistió en que, si bien lamentan la ausencia de representantes de los grupos de resistentes de nacionalidad rusa, es el "imperialismo ruso" el principal enemigo que debe ser abatido. Es decir, A.B.N. propugna la retirada de la URSS a sus fronteras naturales exclusivamente rusas.

Por último, al mencionar la coincidencia de su acción reivindicativa con la apertura oficial de la Conferencia de Madrid, uno de los asistentes, entre el público, de nacionalidad polaca, señaló que nada puede esperarse de positivo en cualquier acuerdo con la URSS, porque —según dijo— los soviéticos sistemáticamente violan e incumplen aquellos pactos de los que no se derivan ventajas para el Gobierno de Moscú.

La A.B.N. está formada por disidentes de los siguientes países y regiones: Armenia, Azerbaiján, Bielorrusia, Bulgaria, Cáucaso del Norte, Croacia, Checoslovaquia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungría, Idel-Ural, Letonia, Lituania, Polonia, Rumanía, Servia, Siberia, Eslovaquia, Eslovenia, Turkestán y Ucrania.

## Protestas y detenciones al margen de la CSCE

Madrid, 11. (Resumen de agencias.) — La Conferencia de Organizaciones no Gubernamentales, paralela a la CSCE, se ha desarrollado hoy en su segunda jornada de trabajo conforme al orden del día fijado ayer. Mientras tanto, grupos de manifestantes han protestado por los regimenes políticos de países y 35 personas (21 españoles y 18 extranjeros) han sido detenidos.

Por lo que respecta a la conferencia paralela, destaca la intervención del Consejo Europeo de Iglesias que ha merecido la aprobación de los delegados. De ella, según las mismas fuentes, se desprende la necesidad de instar a las organizaciones no gubernamentales a la continuación de la conferencia no gubernamental de seguridad y cooperación, sin que los resultados de la CSCE puedan condicionar el desarrollo de posteriores reuniones de este tipo.

Todos los delegados fueron unánimes en que las organizaciones participantes den soporte a la segunda década de desarme, tratando de presionar a sus respectivos gobiernos a fin de que los mismos eliminen los obstáculos políticos que imposibilitan hasta el momento la consecución de un desarme total y completo.

Por lo que respecta a los detenidos, todos ellos se encuentran actualmente esta información en los centros de la Jefatura Superior de Policía acusados de «manifestación pública y alteraciones del orden público». Entre ellos hay 4 japoneses, 2 coreanos, 4 norteamericanos, 2 alemanes, un alemán y un habitante de Sri Lanka (antiguo Ceilán). Por lo que respecta a los españoles, todos ellos pertenecen a grupos de conciencia y a diversas organizaciones antimilitaristas. El hecho más espectacular de las últimas habidas hoy lo produjo Kirsons, de origen letón (soviético), quien se presentó ante la Conferencia del Palacio de Congresos y protestó por la situación en que

se encuentra su país —oprimido por la URSS— se cortó dos pequeñas venas en ambos brazos y durante unos dos minutos estuvo derramando su sangre sobre una bandera soviética que había depositado en el suelo. Tras su acto simbólico fue retirado del lugar por la dotación de un coche policial, que le prestó asistencia.

Finalmente hay que añadir que medio centenar de manifestantes ucranianos, letones, búlgaros y rumanos se han manifestado, a mediodía de hoy, por calles cercanas al Palacio de Congresos y Exposiciones, donde se celebra la Conferencia de Seguridad y Cooperación Europea.

Los manifestantes portaban banderas de sus países, así como pancartas donde se podían leer lemas como: «¡Viva Ucrania libre!», «¡Abajo la tiranía soviética!», «¡Por la independencia de Eslovaquia!», «¡Libertad para Rudenko!», y otras frases equivalentes. Asimismo llevaban fotografías del dirigente sindical polaco Valessa. Según los panfletos que han repartido, los manifestantes solicitan libertad para los países bajo dominio soviético y libertad para las personas. Algunos de los participantes han indicado que en las próximas horas iniciarán una huelga de hambre para protestar por la situación en que se encuentran sus países.

Asimismo, en las salas de prensa de la Conferencia han sido depositados escritos sobre los Derechos Humanos en la República Democrática Alemana, y denunciado la existencia de cárceles para disidentes.





El disidente letón Maris Kirson se introdujo unas jeringas en las venas y derramó su sangre sobre la bandera de la URSS, ante el Palacio de Congresos, para protestar por la falta de derechos humanos en la Unión Soviética. A la derecha, manifestación de pacifistas japoneses. ANTONIO TIEDRA

Fueron detenidas 36 personas extranjeras

## Marginados de diversos países se manifestaron ante la Conferencia sobre Seguridad

Los alrededores del Palacio de Congresos y Exposiciones de Madrid, donde tienen lugar los trabajos de la Conferencia sobre Seguridad y Cooperación en Europa, fueron ayer escenario de numerosas manifestaciones de grupos de diversas nacionalidades que expresaban sus protestas contra los regímenes políticos de sus respectivos países. Las Fuerzas de Orden Público detuvieron a 36 personas (dieciocho de ellas, españolas, y el resto, de diversas nacionalidades), entre las que se encontraba un pastor luterano nacido en Letonia que se practicó unas incisiones en los brazos para verter su sangre sobre la bandera soviética que tenía a sus pies.

FERNANDO GRANDA  
Fuerzas de la Policía Nacional detuvieron durante la mañana a cuatro personas de nacionalidad japonesa, cuatro norteamericanos (entre ellos una mujer), dos suecos, un alemán, seis letones y un cingalés. Los detenidos participaban en las distintas manifestaciones llevadas a cabo frente al palacio y en las calles adyacentes al recinto.

Poco antes de las diez de la mañana, Maris Kirsons, pastor luterano nacido en Letonia (Unión Soviética) y residente en Filadelfia (Estados Unidos), de 39 años, casado, se colocó frente al edificio sede de la Conferencia y, pisando una bandera soviética, se aplicó unas agujas hipodérmicas en los antebrazos para «derramar su sangre por la opresión» que su región de origen sufre bajo el dominio de la Unión Soviética. El pastor fue

retirado del lugar por fuerzas de la Policía Nacional, que lo trasladaron a la Ciudad Sanitaria La Paz, donde fue atendido y, posteriormente, dado de alta.

A la misma hora, un grupo de unos diez japoneses, ataviados con túnicas amarillas y portando un estandarte y una pancarta con texto antimilitarista, se pasearon por el lugar. Fueron dispersados por la policía, que detuvo a cuatro de ellos, mientras entonaban diversos himnos.

Desde la plaza de los Sagrados Corazones, esquina al estadio Santiago Bernabéu, un grupo de unas cuarenta personas, que manifestaron pertenecer al Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones (ABN), se dirigieron en manifestación hacia el palacio donde se celebra la Conferencia Europea. Bajo el lema «Libertad para todas las naciones,



Un pacifista japonés, en las cercanías del Palacio de Congresos. ANTONIO TIEDRA

Libertad para el individuo», los participantes portaban pancartas en las que pedían libertad para Ucrania y varios países del este europeo. Repartieron también octavillas, mientras daban vueltas a la plaza, en las que «exigen la liberación de las naciones subyugadas como única alternativa política para evitar una guerra atómica».

Otro grupo de personas, éstos nacidos en Letonia, pertenecientes

a la Asociación Mundial de Letones Libres, quemaron una bandera de la URSS para denunciar la violación soviética de las disposiciones del Acta Final de la Conferencia de Helsinki en los territorios de Letonia, Estonia y Lituania. Los manifestantes intentaban hacer pública la violación de los derechos humanos en sus países de origen y el no reconocimiento del principio de autodeterminación de sus habitantes. Una gran pancarta con alusión a este tema fue colocada en la fachada principal del estadio del Real Madrid, a la altura de la segunda planta. Miembros de la Policía Nacional la retiraron poco después.

Algunos de los participantes en las manifestaciones protagonizadas por personas nacidas en países del este de Europa manifestaron su decisión de realizar una huelga de hambre por las mismas razones.

Asimismo, diversos escritos de denuncia de la violación de los derechos humanos en la República Democrática Alemana y sobre la existencia de cárceles de disidentes en los países del bloque soviético fueron depositados en las salas de Prensa de la sede de la CSCE.

Otras dieciocho personas, militantes de la Organización Comunista de España (Bandera Roja) y Unificación Comunista de España (véase página 3 de este mismo número), fueron detenidas por las Fuerzas de Orden Público cuando se manifestaban contra «la agresividad de las dos potencias mundiales».

Manifestaciones y cargas policiales en la jornada inaugural

## Treinta y nueve detenidos frente al Palacio de Congresos

MADRID. Un total de 39 personas (21 españoles y 18 extranjeros) fueron detenidas ayer, delante del Palacio de Congresos y Exposiciones, donde están reunidos delegados de 35 países, para celebrar la Conferencia de Cooperación y Seguridad Europea, informan a Efe fuentes policiales.

Todos los detenidos, que se encuentran actualmente en los calabozos de la Jefatura Superior de Policía, fueron acusados de «manifestación ilegal y alteraciones del orden público».

Entre los detenidos se encuentran cuatro japoneses, seis letones, cuatro norteamericanos, dos suecos, un alemán y un habitante de Sri Lanka, antiguo Ceilan.

La mayoría de los 21 españoles detenidos pertenecen a grupos de objetores de conciencia y a diversas organizaciones antimilitaristas. Es muy posible que los 39 detenidos pasen hoy a disposición judicial, según señalan a Efe las mismas fuentes.

Por otra parte, diversos incidentes se registraron ayer en las proximidades del Palacio de Congresos y Exposiciones, con motivo de la inauguración de la Conferencia.

De una parte, el pastor luterano de Letonia Maris Firkons, con residencia en Filadelfia (Estados Unidos), se abrió las venas frente al Palacio, después de colocarse sobre una bandera de la Unión Soviética. El autolesionado fue asistido en la Residencia Sanitaria La Paz, donde fue dado de alta.

Mientras tanto, un grupo de personas vestidas de bonzos realizaron una manifestación antimilitarista en las proximidades del Palacio.

Además, unos quince miembros de la Organización Comunista de España (Bandera Roja) y de Unificación Comunista de España fueron detenidos por la Policía, que realizó una carga, cuando se manifestaban contra «la agresividad de las dos potencias mundiales».

Los participantes en la manifestación —pacífica y en silencio, según manifestó a Efe un portavoz de estos partidos políticos— solicitaban que se pusiera «un freno a las ansias hegemónicas de las dos superpotencias y la celebración de un referéndum entre la población española sobre la entrada de nuestra nación en la OTAN».

Por otra parte, bajo el lema de «Libertad para todas las naciones, libertad para el individuo», unas cuarenta personas, pertenecientes al Bloque Antivolchayvique de Naciones (ABN), se manifestaron en silencio, dando vueltas a la plaza de los Sagrados Corazones hasta altas horas de la noche de ayer.

# — UCRANIA, LA GRAN AUSENTE —

**U**N país de casi 50 millones de habitantes, con una superficie igual a la de España, estado fundador y miembro de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas, la República Socialista Soviética de Ucrania no ha sido invitado a la Conferencia de Madrid, que tan íntima y directamente le atañe. Y nos parece imprudente dejar pasar inadvertido este hecho en el momento y en las latitudes donde pueblos como el catalán, el vasco y hasta el gallego parecen recuperarse, y no sin nuestra simpatía personal, su estatus de la nacionalidad, con gobiernos y parlamentos no solamente propios, sino genuinos y operantes.

Al otro lado del meridiano, que pasa por el muro de Berlín y las alambradas de la Baja Austria, el proceso lleva signo contrario. Una cosa se promulga en la Constitución y en las leyes, otra cosa se habla en los congresos y plenos de los comités centrales de los partidos y una tercera completamente distinta se ejecuta por las autoridades burocráticoadministrativas y policiales. Ucrania soviética tiene una pasable Constitución, pero pruebe usted a hacer uso de su articulado, e dirán que es usted demente y, por tanto, debe ser tratado en una cárcel psiquiátrica o es usted un potencial enemigo del pueblo y, en consecuencia, se le condenará a cinco, diez o más años de campos de concentración. Por esto, la gente raras veces comunica sus pensamientos, huye de los contactos con los extranjeros y pretende distraerse con el deporte y el alcohol, si es más simple, o con el arte y las ciencias exactas, si es de más elevada espiritualidad. Para salir al exterior hace falta haber demostrado una intachable conducta política y dejar como rehén a algún familiar de primer grado. No es de extrañar que en tales circunstancias se sepa poco o nada de Ucrania.

■ Hace un par de semanas me contaba, a título de anécdota, un retirado diplomático, pero que mantiene todavía contactos con sus antiguos jefes y subordinados, que cuando un antiguo ministro de Asuntos Exteriores necesitaba pedir al jefe del Gobierno de la Ucrania soviética su apoyo a la candidatura de España para el Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU se encontró con la desagradable sorpresa de que en todo el Ministerio nadie supiese el nombre del destinatario de tan importante misiva. Los funcionarios del «viejo solar» de la plaza de Santa Cruz, sin tener que ponerse colorados, se dirigieron en solicitud de ayuda a la Embajada de la Unión Soviética, pero (y esto sí que es grave) allí tampoco les atendieron en el acto. Por lo visto tuvieron que consultar, no se sabe si con Moscú, con el «who is who» americano o con la almohada, para poder informar a nombre de quién debería enviar la súplica de su presidente de Gobierno. Creemos que todavía peor sería el resultado si en un concurso de RTVE el locutor preguntase quién es el actual ministro de Asuntos Exteriores de Ucrania. Y no es de extrañar que con los actuales atributos de «soberanía» a nadie se le pasara por la imaginación invitar a la Conferencia de Madrid al ministro de Asuntos Exteriores de Ucrania, que tampoco sabemos si mantiene o no las relaciones diplomáticas con España. Todo esto parece demasiado «dialéctico» y excesivamente «científico» incluso para los descendientes de la estirpe de Talleyrand y de Bismark.

El nombre de Ucrania está relacionado con tristes anécdotas. Una de ellas, por ejemplo, es de cómo explicar el hecho de que un país con un 30 por 100 de población agrícola, conocido de antaño como «granero de Europa», ahora con todos los adelantos técnicos, padece hambre y pretenda quedarse con excedentes agrícolas de los Estados Unidos, Canadá, etc., privando con ello de pan a los pueblos que no tienen capacidad material de producirlo. En cuanto a la industria, tampoco las cosas están demasiado brillantes. En Ucrania todavía existe problema del hilo y de la aguja. La gente compra en las tiendas no lo que necesita, sino lo que en este momento le está dispuesto a vender.

■ No hay libertad individual ni nacional. Se persigue la religión. El país está cubierto con una tupida red de cárceles y campos de concentración, cuyos habitantes no son capitalistas ni terratenientes, sino representantes de la clase trabajadora. A sangre y fuego se combatió el intento de creación de unos sindicatos libres. El

## Taras MAKARENKO

país está sometido a una tenaz campaña de rusificación. Para ilustrar hasta qué absurdos llega a veces este intento, traeremos a colación el caso del propio jefe de Estado, el del anterior presidente del Soviet Supremo y, por tanto, antecesor de Breznev en el empleo, el poltaviano Nikolay Podgorny, quien para congraciarse con los rusos cambió su apellido de Pidgorny a Podgorny, a un que la Prensa comunista de Ucrania seguía transcribiéndolo con la «i», acentuando con ello el claro origen ucraniano de su propietario.

Son víctimas de rusificación y de persecución religiosa individuos como Vasil Striltziv, Yosip Zisels, Vasil Ovsienko, Mijailo Melnik, Miroslav Simchik y miles de otros cuya enumeración ocuparía muchos periódicos enteros. Los dirigentes del Kremlin y sus virreyes en la Ucrania soviética no piensan ni remotamente en cumplir los acuerdos de Helsinki. Proponen el desarme, proponen fechas y lugares de dos nuevas Conferencias, una en Varsovia, y en Bucarest la otra, pero no desean hablar de los derechos del hombre, tema que les parece baladí y de ninguna trascendencia. Por esto han acudido a Madrid algunas docenas de ucranianos residentes en el Canadá, Estados Unidos e Inglaterra, con el propósito de dar el vivo testimonio de lo que ocurre en su patria. Llegó también el ex primer ministro de Ucrania, antiguo prisionero de los alemanes, Yaroslav Stetzko, disidentes como Valentín Moroz y otros.

■ Todos ellos tendrán muchas cosas que contar, muchas incógnitas que revelar. Con este propósito organizan, juntamente con otros pueblos de Europa Oriental, una conferencia de Prensa, que tendrá lugar hoy lunes, 10 de noviembre, a las 19 horas, en el madrileño hotel Mindanao, conferencia a la que invitan a todos sus amigos y simpatizantes, y en especial a los representantes de los medios de información españoles y extranjeros, deseosos de saber la verdad de lo que ocurre en aquel rincón de Europa llamado Ucrania.

## CONFERENCIA DE MADRID: El tema de la invasión soviética de Afganistán

# ENERGICA CONDENA ESPAÑOLA

◆ La intervención de Rupérez, considerada una de las más duras contra la Unión Soviética en relación con el tema afgano

MADRID. (PUEBLO, por J. M. R.) — El jefe de la delegación española en la Conferencia de Madrid, Javier Rupérez, lanzó ayer una enérgica condena contra la invasión soviética en Afganistán, en el curso de la segunda sesión de debate general de la CSCE. Según los observadores, la intervención de Rupérez ha sido una de las más duras respecto a la cuestión afgana. Al mismo tiempo, el «foro de la distensión», como teóricamente se llama a la conferencia, va convirtiéndose al paso de los días en una especie de «foro de la disensión», merced a los múltiples actos y acusaciones de que viene siendo objeto la Unión Soviética —desde dentro y desde fuera de la CSCE— en su política de derechos humanos.

Para Rupérez, que intervino en la sesión de la mañana del debate general, la invasión de Afganistán supone una violación de varios de los principios que contiene el Acta Final de Helsinki y significa un

atentado contra la seguridad europea, aunque la acción se haya producido lejos de las fronteras del viejo continente. Rupérez señaló también la condena española a la política de derechos humanos del bloque

socialistas y precisó que esa condena no entra en contradicción con el principio sexto del Acta Final, el que consagra la no injerencia de las naciones en los asuntos internos de las otras, y que es el principio que exhibe a diario el bloque oriental para refutar las acusaciones occidentales.

Varios otros delegados intervinieron ayer en el curso del debate general. Por el lado socialista, la República Democrática Alemana concentró su intervención casi exclusivamente en las relaciones entre las dos Alemanias, proponiendo la necesidad de elaborar una

política que reasegure las fronteras establecidas en Europa. Más moderados estuvieron los yugoslavos, que criticaron abiertamente la política de bloques, desarrollando la posición clásica de no-alineamiento de su país.

### ● DISIDENTES

Mientras, la disensión ha llegado a la CSCE y las protestas contra la política de derechos humanos de la URSS son cada vez más sonoras y numerosas. Ayer, un disidente eslovaco acusó abiertamente al número tres de la delegación checoslovaca en la conferencia de haber formulado declaraciones falsas ante un tribunal de su país, declaraciones que provocaron la ejecución de once personas.

De otro lado, un autodenominado «Bloque Anti-Bolchevique de Naciones» dirigió ayer un memorándum a los países occidentales representados en la CSCE en el que pide la anulación de aquellos acuerdos por los que se reconocen las actuales fronteras de la Unión Soviética. En la larga lista de naciones «subyugadas por Rusia en la Unión Soviética», el referido bloque incluye las siguientes: Ucrania, Lituania, Estonia, Letonia, Georgia, Armenia, Turquestán, Bielorrusia, Cáucaso del Norte, Croacia, Chequia, Eslovaquia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungría y Alemania oriental.

**SU INDEPENDENCIA HA SIDO PEDIDA POR UN GRUPO DE DISIDENTES CON MOTIVO DE LA CONFERENCIA DE MADRID**

# UCRANIA

## LA CALIFORNIA SOVIETICA

- Con sus cincuenta y un millones de habitantes y sus enormes riquezas en uno de los más prósperos territorios de la URSS
- Hasta el final de los años cincuenta no se superaron las consecuen-

EL autodenominado Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones, organización en la que participan ciertos grupos de disidentes, ha publicado un comunicado, coincidiendo con el inicio de la celebración de la Conferencia de Madrid, exigiendo «la independencia de las nacionalidades que se integran en la Unión Soviética». Uno de los objetivos de dicha organización es el logro de la «independencia de Ucrania», una de las repúblicas más prósperas de la URSS, cuya situación es comparable a la de California con respecto a los Estados Unidos.

Tanto California como Ucrania son entidades nacionales con un peso específico semejante al de Estados como Francia o el Reino Unido. En ambos casos se trata de nacionalidades muy desarrolladas, con una gran influencia sobre la organización estatal federal en la que se integran.

Pese a que las devastaciones originadas por la invasión nazi y los efectos de la guerra fueron mayores que en ninguna otra república soviética, con la destrucción casi total de su agricultura y su estructura industrial, Ucrania se ha recuperado de las consecuencias de la guerra con mayor rapidez que otros te-

gnariamente en la construcción de la URSS. En actualidad, Ucrania figura en las leyes soviéticas como una «república federada», es, junto con Bielorrusia, la única república soviética miembro de pleno derecho de las Naciones Unidas. Sometida a las invasiones de los tártaros, la región del norte del mar Negro.

### LA POSICION DE LOS DISIDENTES

El Bloque Antibolchevique de Naciones ha publicado un memorándum con el motivo de la Conferencia de Madrid, en el que se solicita de «naciones subyugadas» a las repúblicas integradas dentro de la Unión Soviética. Exigen a los países occidentales «la defensa de los derechos nacionales de las naciones», y que presionen para «la independencia de Ucrania, Lituania, Georgia, Armenia, y otras repúblicas de la URSS.» La citada organización propone «apoyar la lucha armada de las naciones subyugadas de la URSS para su autodeterminación, libertad e independencia nacional.» También piden que sean declarados «nulos y sin efecto los convenios referentes al "reconocimiento" del "statu quo" de las conquistas rusas. La inviolabilidad de las fronteras del imperio ruso-bolchevique y el compromiso del mundo libre de no interferir en los "asuntos interiores" de dicho imperio.»

URSS, que terminó en 1921 con el tratado de Riga, reajustó las fronteras. La Galitzia oriental quedó en manos de Polonia, mientras la Ucrania soviética se convertía en 1922 de nuevo en República federada de la URSS.

Durante el stalinismo se contempló con recelo las muestras de nacionalismo ucraniano. La ocupación alemana entre 1941 y 1942 tenía por objetivo conquistar el trigo de Ucrania y sus reservas naturales. Tras la guerra, la República soviética de Ucrania se anexionó Galitzia, Volinia, la Rutenia subcarpática, Besarabia y Bucovina del Norte, y años más tarde, en 1954, le fue añadida la península de Crimea.

### EL FACTOR UCRANIANO

Con sus actuales 700 millones



PUEBLO 19 de noviembre de 1980

WEST EUROPE

## Protesters seize a chance in Madrid

From Harry Debelius  
Madrid, Nov 11

While diplomats wrangled inside Madrid's Palace of Congresses about the agenda for the European Security Conference today, a man lay in a pool of blood on the pavement outside.

He was Mr Maris Kirsons, a Latvian exile who chose the dramatic and dangerous expedient of slashing his wrists in order to call attention to his people's demand for freedom. He was taken to hospital, where he was later reported to be out of danger.

Dozens of other groups have also seized the opportunity offered by the conference to publicize the causes of oppressed peoples in East European countries. They are making sure that issues close to their hearts have a forum, if only in the streets of Madrid.

About 70 Latvians marched through the centre of Madrid at midday, calling for independence for their small Baltic country which has been a part of the Soviet Union since 1940. They set fire to the red hammer and sickle flag, sang songs in their own language and dispersed peacefully.

Spanish leftist demonstrators also marched by, shouting slogans against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, against Nato and against the arms race. A number were arrested.

In the afternoon, about a dozen Ukrainians began a two-day fast to call attention to their demand for Ukrainian independence. The hunger strikers included Mr Valenty Moroz, who was allowed to leave the Soviet Union and take up residence in the United States last year when he was exchanged for two imprisoned Soviet spies.

A spokesman for the Ukrainian nationalists said: "Human rights guarantees signed in Helsinki have meant little more than a cruel farce for defenders of national and human rights in the countries occupied by the Russians."

# La conférence de Madrid démarre sans ordre du jour

nisée la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe (CSCE).

Pendant toute la journée, le Palais des congrès, situé à la sortie nord de Madrid, était devenu le point de rassemblement de plusieurs groupes d'opposition aux régimes socialistes de l'Est, venus dénoncer la violation des droits de l'homme dans leurs pays. Des Ukrainiens et Lettons ont notamment manifesté à plusieurs reprises.

teur de la section soviétique d'Amnesty International, est maintenu dans l'isolement et est empêché d'écrire à sa famille.

La «Fédération mondiale des Lettons libres» a pour sa part dénoncé la «constante violation des droits de l'homme» en Lettonie, «colonisée, exploitée et pillée par les Russes». Elle exige le droit à l'autodétermination des peuples letton, lituanien et estonien.

Le bloc anti-bolchévique des nations (ADN), présidé par M. Yaroslav Stetsko, dernier premier ministre du gouvernement ukrainien libre, et auquel participent des dissidents ukrainiens, bulgares, slovaques, arméniens et des membres du «gouvernement polonais en exil», ont demandé aux délégués à la CSCE de proclamer leur appui à l'indépendance «des nations sous le joug de l'URSS et de ses satellites».

Selon M. Stetsko, le concept d'équilibre des forces est passé à l'histoire car tandis que les pays occidentaux luttent pour la paix, l'URSS lutte pour la conquête du monde.

Dans la soirée, la «conférence d'organisations non gouvernementales pour la sécurité et la coopération en Europe», à laquelle participe notamment la fédération

# THE MINNEAPOLIS

Friday, November 21, 1980

NEWS INSIDE



## Army of lobbyists battle Soviets

By HENRY GOTTLIEB  
Associated Press

MADRID, Spain—They came to Madrid with tales of daring escapes from the Soviet Union, horror stories about Siberian labor camps and plans for hunger strikes and protest meetings.

One of them bled all over a Soviet flag.

They are an army of fighters for human rights, encamped in the hallways, doing battle at diplomatic cocktail parties and firing off salvos of press releases on the fringe of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, where delegates from 35 nations

are debating East-West compliance with the 1975 Helsinki accords.

"We are here to show the world what's going on and teach it about injustice," said Nina Strokata-Karavanska, holding up a thin, gray-striped prison dress once worn by another Ukrainian dissident in a Soviet labor camp.

The human rights lobbyists have been in Madrid since the conference began two weeks ago, holding press briefings and pleading with Western delegates to confront the Soviet Union during private sessions of the conference.

Among them are groups seeking bigger emigration quotas for Sovi-

et Jews, nationalists from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia who want independence for their Baltic homelands and U.S. labor representatives agitating for better conditions for workers.

One of the most famous activists, Andrei Amalrik, a writer and scholar who immigrated to the West in 1976 after years in Soviet prisons, was killed in an automobile accident en route to the conference.

Maris Kirsons, a Protestant minister from Philadelphia, shocked the conference last week when he cut his arms and let blood drip onto a Soviet flag to protest Soviet treatment of Latvians.

Vladas Sakalys, a blond-haired Lithuanian who spent 15 years in work camps, told reporters of walking 375 miles through forests, climbing barbed wire fences and swimming lakes to escape from the Soviet Union to Finland this summer. He showed pictures of his wife and two children and said he never expects to see them again.

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Stockholm, Nov 16, 80


Dear Mrs Stetsko,

Congratulations on your ~~success-~~  
ful demonstration in Madrid

We watched you and President Stetsko  
(heading Ukrainian demonstrators) on  
the Swedish TV evening news  
last Wednesday Excellent!

I suppose this TV report was  
transmitted to other Scandi-  
navian countries as well

Best regards

 Paul  
son



THE MASS MEDIA ABOUT THE OUN AND ABN ACTION IN MADRID  
(SPANISH AND OTHER PRESS)

PUEBLO (10.11.1980)

"(IN UKRAINE) THERE IS NEITHER INDIVIDUAL NOR NATIONAL LIBERTY. RELIGION IS PERSECUTED. THE COUNTRY IS COVERED WITH A THICK NETWORK OF PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS... THE COUNTRY IS SUBJECTED TO A RELENTLESS CAMPAIGN OF RUSSIFICATION ...."

"THE RULERS OF THE KREMLIN AND THEIR VICEROYS IN SOVIET UKRAINE DO NOT THINK EVEN REMOTELY ABOUT FULFILLING THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. THEY PROPOSE DISARMAMENT, THEY PROPOSE DATES AND PLACES FOR TWO NEW CONFERENCES -- ONE IN WARSAW AND THE OTHER IN BUCHAREST -- BUT DO NOT WISH TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH TO THEM IT SEEMS TRIVIAL AND WITHOUT ANY TRANSCENDENCE. FOR THIS REASON SEVERAL DOZEN UKRAINIANS HAVE COME TO MADRID FROM CANADA, THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND WITH THE PURPOSE OF GIVING LIVE TESTIMONY OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THEIR HOMELAND. THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF UKRAINE AND A FORMER PRISONER OF THE GERMANS, HAS ALSO ARRIVED (IN MADRID)...".

19.11.1980

"ON THE OCCASION OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE, THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS HAS MADE PUBLIC A MEMORANDUM IN WHICH THE REPUBLICS INTEGRATED INTO THE SOVIET UNION ARE DESCRIBED AS SUBJUGATED NATIONS. THEY (ABN) DEMAND FROM THE WESTERN NATION TO DEFEND THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF NATIONS AND TO PRESS FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE, LITHUANIA, (LATVIA, ESTONIA), GEORGIA, ARMENIA, AND OTHER REPUBLICS OF THE USSR. THE SAID ORGANIZATION URGES TO 'SUPPORT THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED IN THE USSR FOR THEIR SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE'. ALSO, THEY ASK THAT THE PROVISIONS RELEVANT TO THE 'RECOGNITION OF THE STATUS QUO OF THE RUSSIAN CONQUESTS, THE INVIOABILITY OF THE BOUNDARIES OF THE RUSSIAN-BOLSHEVIK EMPIRE, AND THE COMMITMENT OF THE FREE WORLD TO NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE 'INTERNAL AFFAIRS' OF THE SAID EMPIRE BE DECLARED NULL AND VOID!".

"YESTERDAY, THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS ADDRESSED A MEMORANDUM TO THE WESTERN NATIONS REPRESENTED AT THE CSCE IN WHICH IT ASKS THAT THOSE PROVISIONS WHICH RECOGNIZE THE CURRENT BORDERS OF THE SOVIET UNION BE ANNULLED. IN A LONG LIST OF NATIONS 'SUBJUGATED WITHIN (AND OUTSIDE) THE SOVIET UNION' THE SAID BLOC INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING: UKRAINE, LITHUANIA, ESTONIA, LATVIA, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, TURKESTAN, BIELORUSSIA, (THE REGION OF) NORTH CAUCASUS, CROATIA, CZECHIA, SLOVAKIA, RUMANIA, BULGARIA, HUNGARY, AND EAST GERMANY."

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LA VANGUARDIA (11.11.1980)

"THE MOST SPECTACULAR EVENT OF THE PROTESTS HELD TODAY WAS CAUSED BY MARIS KIRSONS OF LATVIAN ORIGIN. HE APPEARED BEFORE THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES AND, IN PROTEST OF THE SITUATION IN HIS COUN-

TRY OPPRESSED BY THE USSR, CUT TWO SMALL VEINS IN BOTH OF HIS ARMS AND FOR ABOUT TWO MINUTES HAS BEEN SPILLING BLOOD ON A SOVIET FLAG HE HAD PLACED ON THE GROUND ...".

"FINALLY, IT SHOULD BE ADDED THAT ABOUT FIFTY UKRAINIANS, LATVIANS, BULGARIANS, RUMANIANS (AND OTHERS -- ED.) HAVE DEMONSTRATED AT NOON TODAY THROUGH THE STREETS NEAR THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES AND EXHIBITIONS WHERE THE CSCE IS BEING HELD."

"THE DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED THEIR NATIONAL FLAGS, AND ALSO PLACARDS WITH SUCH INSCRIPTIONS AS "LONG LIVE FREE UKRAINE", "DOWN WITH SOVIET TYRANNY", "INDEPENDENCE FOR SLOVAKIA", "FREE RUDENKO", AND OTHER SIMILAR PHRASES. THEY ALSO CARRIED PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE POLISH UNION LEADER VALESSA. ACCORDING TO THE PAMPHLETS THAT WERE DISTRIBUTED, THE DEMONSTRATORS ASK FOR FREEDOM FOR THE COUNTRIES UNDER SOVIET DOMINATION AND FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL. SEVERAL OF THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT IN THE NEXT FEW HOURS THEY WILL BEGIN A HUNGER STRIKE TO PROTEST THE SITUATION IN THEIR COUNTRIES."

11.11.1980 (REPORT ON THE ABN PRESS CONFERENCE)

"A PRESS CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE ABN (ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS) TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY IN A MADRID HOTEL. THE ABN IS AN ORGANIZATION WHICH, SINCE ITS FOUNDATION AT THE HEIGHT OF WORLD WAR II, COORDINATES THE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS OCCUPIED TODAY BY THE USSR INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SOVIET STATE.

"THIS PRESS CONFERENCE, AND THE FACILITIES WHICH THIS ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN ENJOYING IN SPAIN, HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE DUE TO THE SUPPORT OF THE ALIANZA POPULAR.

"THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS PRESIDED BY RENOWN REPRESENTATIVES OF UKRAINE, BULGARIA, SLOVAKIA AND RUMANIA. AT THE SAME TIME CALL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE NATIONS INVADED AND OCCUPIED BY THE SOVIET ARMIES WAS ISSUED, IT WAS ANNOUNCED IN A PRESS RELEASE THAT TODAY AT NOON, IN THE SQUARE OF SAGRADOS CORAZONES, A DEMONSTRATION WOULD TAKE PLACE FOLLOWED BY A HUNGER STRIKE IN WHICH A GROUP OF UKRAINIAN PATRIOTS WILL PARTICIPATE.

"IT WAS STRESSED AT THE SAID PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF THE USSR ALONE, OUT OF A TOTAL OF 250 MILLION OF INHABITANTS 140 MILLION ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR NATIONAL RIGHTS TO SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

"IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION FROM A MEDIA PERSON, AN ABN SPOKESMAN STRESSED THAT ALTHOUGH THE ABSENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF RUSSIAN GROUPS OF RESISTANCE IS REGRETABLE, IT IS RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM THE MAIN ENEMY THAT MUST BE VANQUISHED. THAT IS TO SAY, THE ABN PROMOTES THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE USSR TO ITS NATURAL, EXCLUSIVELY RUSSIAN BORDERS.

"FINALLY, UPON MENTIONING THE COINCIDENCE OF THE (ABN --ED.) ACTION WITH THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE, ONE OF THE ASSISTANTS (OF THE ORGANIZERS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE --ED.) OF POLISH NATIONALITY POINTED OUT THAT NOTHING POSITIVE CAN BE EXPECTED FROM ANY TREATY WITH THE USSR BECAUSE -- ACCORDING TO HIM -- THE SOVIETS SYSTEMATICALLY VIOLATE AND BREACH THOSE PACTS FROM WHICH NO ADVANTAGE CAN BE DERIVED FOR THE MOSCOW GOVERNMENT.

"THE ABN IS COMPOSED OF DISSIDENTS (I.E. REPRESENTATIVES

--ED.) OF THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES AND REGIONS: ARMENIA, AZERBAIDZHAN, BIELORUSSIA, BULGARIA, NORTH CAUCASUS, CROATIA, CZECHIA, SLOVAKIA, ESTONIA, GEORGIA, HUNGARY, IDEL-URAL, LATVIA, POLAND, RUMANIA, SERBIA, SIBERIA, SLOVENIA, TURKESTAN AND UKRAINE."

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EL DIARIO (12.11.1980)

"DISSIDENTS OF ALL THE NATIONALITIES THAT FORM THE USSR AND WARSAW PACT MET YESTERDAY IN MADRID TO TAKE PART IN PROTEST ACTS OF ALL TYPES, WHILE MANY OTHERS LIKE THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS DEMANDED THAT THE WEST END DETENTE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

"TO COUNTER THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, SOME FORTY UKRAINIANS, LATVIANS, BULGARIANS, SLOVENIANS AND RUMANIANS DEMONSTRATED YESTERDAY THROUGH THE STREETS NEAR THE SITE OF THE CONFERENCE AND DEMANDED 'INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM'.

"SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THIS DEMONSTRATION A LATVIAN PASTOR, MARIS KIRSONS, WHO LIVES IN THE AMERICAN CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, CUT HIS VEINS OVER A SOVIET FLAG IN PROTEST AGAINST THE RUSSIFICATION OF HIS HOMELAND...

"THE PROTEST ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TODAY IN THE AREA OF THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES AND EXHIBITIONS WITH A HUNGER STRIKE BY UKRAINIANS AT THE SQUARE OF SAGRADOS CORAZONES.

"MEMBERS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS ASKED YESTERDAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD IN MADRID THAT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE PROCLAIM A 'CARTA MAGNA OF INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED WITHIN THE USSR AND FOR ITS SATELLITES'.

"THE PRESS CONFERENCE, WHICH WAS ORGANIZED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ALIANZA POPULAR, WAS PRESIDED BY THE LAST PRIME MINISTER OF THE FREE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT OF THE ABN, YAROSLAV STETSKO. THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS ATTENDED BY DISSIDENTS (REPRESENTATIVES --ED.) OF UKRAINE, BULGARIA, SLOVENIA AND RUMANIA, AND ALSO MEMBERS OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IN EXILE.

"THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ABN STATED THAT THE HELSINKI ACCORDS OF 1975 'HAVE NOT ONLY FAILED TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS, BUT HAVE MADE IT WORSE.' ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY SAID, THE NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES THAT HAVE SIGNED THE HELSINKI ACCORDS 'HAVE DEALT A HARD BLOW TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES AND NATIONS ENSLAVED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM BY ADHERING TO THE 'STATUS QUO' OF THE RUSSIAN TERRITORIAL CONQUESTS'.

"THEY ASKED THE NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES TO DECLARE THE HELSINKI ACCORDS VOID AND TO COMPEL RUSSIA TO WITHDRAW ITS OCCUPATION FORCES (FROM THE OPPRESSED NATIONS --ED.), STOP THE MASS DEPORTATIONS TO SIBERIA, ABOLISH THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND PSYCHO-PRISONS, FREE ALL POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS, AND TO PUT AN END TO THE ASSASSINATIONS AND PERSECUTIONS OF DISSIDENTS.

"MR. STETSKO POINTED OUT THAT THE CONCEPT OF THE BALANCE OF POWER IS ALREADY HISTORY. 'THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN

THE FORCES OF THE WEST AND THOSE OF RUSSIA--HE SAID--IS THAT THE FORMER STRIVE FOR PEACE, AND THE LATTER FOR WORLD CONQUEST. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SPEAK ABOUT A BALANCE OF MILITARY POWER, BECAUSE, IN ITS TECHNICAL ASPECT, RUSSIAN MIGHT IS SUPERIOR. FOR THIS REASON THE POLICY OF DETENTE CANNOT LAST'.

"HE ADDED THAT 'THE ALTERNATIVE IS A PERFECT COORDINATION (OF THE STRUGGLE --ED.) OF ALL THE SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES, WHICH REPRESENT MORE THAN HALF OF THE POPULATION IN THE USSR.

"THE ABN IS COMPOSED OF DISSIDENTS (REPRESENTATIVES --ED.) OF THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES AND REGIONS: ARMENIA, AZERBAIDZHAN, /THE BALTIC STATES/, BIELORUSSIA, NORTH CAUCASUS, CROATIA, CZECHIA, SLOVAKIA, SLOVENIA, TURKESTAN, AND UKRAINE (AND OTHERS)."

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EL ALCAZAR /12.11.1980/

"YESTERDAY, ON A STREET NEAR THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES, A GROUP OF PEOPLE SAID SOMETHING THAT THE SOVIET UNION STUBBORNLY REFUSES TO LISTEN IN THE SPACIOUS HALLS OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE. UKRAINIANS, ESTONIANS, LITHUANIANS, DISSIDENTS, EXILES, AND REFUGEES...MEN AND WOMEN WHO MANAGED TO ESCAPE THE VARIED BUT IMPLACABLE FORMS OF SOVIET BLOC TERROR TOOK TO THE STREETS THEIR PLACARDS, BANNERS AND FLAGS, AND THEIR NATIONAL SYMBOLS.

"THE FOLLOWING WERE THEIR DEMANDS: 'LONG LIVE FREE UKRAINE', 'DOWN WITH SOVIET TYRANNY', 'END SOVIET SUBJUGATION OF BULGARIA', 'FREEDOM FOR SLOVAKIA', 'FREE UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS'... A LATVIAN WHO RESIDES IN PHILADELPHIA, AFTER STEPPING ON A FLAG OF THE USSR, CUT HIS VEINS IN PROTEST FOR THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF HIS COUNTRY. THE POLICE ARRESTED EIGHT PEOPLE...

"NEVERTHELESS, THE FACT THAT THE USSR WAS NOT PREPARED TO TOLERATE THAT ITS CONTINUOUS OUTRAGES AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS BE SUBJECTED TO A VERDICT OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AT THE MADRID CONFERENCE WAS CONSTANTLY GAINING IN STRENGTH...

"WHILE THE CLOCK REMAINED QUIET, STATIC, ON THE BRINK OF MIDNIGHT, DOWN ON THE STREET A GROUP OF PEOPLE--PEOPLE WHO HAD EXPERIENCED ON THEIR OWN FLESH SOVIET DOMINATION--TRIED TO SAY TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE AND THE 35 NATIONS REPRESENTED THERE WHAT MOSCOW HAS REFUSED TO HEAR...

"THE USSR HAS AGAIN TURNED A DEAF EAR. WILL THE REST OF THE WORLD BE AN ACCOMPLICE TO ITS SILENCE?"

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YA /12.11.1980/

"ABOUT FIFTY DISSIDENTS FROM EASTERN COUNTRIES HAVE THREATENED WITH A HUNGER STRIKE IN FRONT OF THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES. THE SOVIET UNION HAS FAILED TO OBSERVE THE COMMITMENTS OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT SIGNED BY BREZHNEV IN HIS

OWN HANDWRITING. IT IS LEGITIMATE THAT THE MADRID CONFERENCE OUGHT TO DEAL WITH THE LACK OF FREEDOM WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE DANGER TO EUROPEAN AND WORLD SECURITY THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN HAS ENTAILED."

"A MANY-SIDED PROTEST, AND YET, UNIFORM IN ITS COMPOSITION AND OBJECTIVES: NATIONS WHICH YEARN FOR FREEDOM. UKRAINIANS, LATVIANS, LITHUANIANS, AFGHANS DEMAND TO BE FREE." (FROM A PHOTO CAPTION DEPICTING AN ABN DEMONSTRATION).

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EL PAIS /12.11.1980/

"SHORTLY BEFORE 10 A.M. A 39 YEAR OLD LUTHERAN PASTOR, MARRIED, BORN IN LATVIA AND RESIDING IN PHILADELPHIA (US), POSITIONED HIMSELF IN FRONT OF THE BUILDING WHERE THE CONFERENCE IS TAKING PLACE AND, STEPPING ON A SOVIET FLAG, HE INTRODUCED SOME HYPODERMIC NEEDLES INTO HIS FOREARMS IN ORDER TO SPILL HIS BLOOD IN PROTEST FOR THE OPPRESSION THAT HIS COUNTRY OF ORIGIN SUFFERS UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE PASTOR WAS TAKEN AWAY BY ELEMENTS OF THE NATIONAL POLICE WHO TOOK HIM TO A HOSPITAL WHERE HE WAS TREATED AND AFTERWARDS RELEASED....

"A GROUP OF SOME FORTY PERSONS WHO BELONG TO THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN) DEMONSTRATED FROM THE SQUARE OF SAGRADOS CORAZONES TO THE PALACE WHERE THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY IS TAKING PLACE. UNDER THE CATCHPHRASE OF 'FREEDOM FOR ALL NATIONS, FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL' THE PARTICIPANTS CARRIED PLACARDS DEMANDING FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE AND THE VARIOUS EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WHILE DEMONSTRATING AROUND THE SQUARE, THEY ALSO DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS DEMANDING 'LIBERATION OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS AS THE ONLY POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE TO A NUCLEAR WAR'.

"ANOTHER GROUP OF PEOPLE OF LATVIAN ORIGIN BELONGING TO THE WORLD FEDERATION OF FREE LATVIANS BURNED A SOVIET FLAG IN ORDER TO DENOUNCE SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE IN LATVIA, ESTONIA AND LITHUANIA. THE DEMONSTRATORS WANTED TO PUBLICIZE THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND THE NON-RECOGNITION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ITS INHABITANTS. A LARGE SIGN ALLUDING TO THIS THEME WAS PUT UP ON THE SECOND FLOOR LEVEL OF THE MAIN FACADE OF THE REAL MADRID STADIUM. MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL POLICE TOOK (THE SIGN) DOWN A WHILE LATER.

"SEVERAL OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS WHO WERE BORN IN EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES DECLARED THEIR DECISION TO STAGE A HUNGER STRIKE FOR THE SAME REASONS."

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LE DEVOIR /12.11.1980/ MONTREAL, CANADA

"ON THEIR PART, THE WORLD FEDERATION OF FREE LATVIANS DENOUNCED THE CONSTANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATVIA -- 'COLONIZED, EXPLOITED AND PILLAGED BY THE RUSSIANS'. IT DEMANDED THE RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE LATVIAN, LITHUANIAN AND ESTONIAN PEOPLE.

"THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS HEADED BY THE LAST PRIME MINISTER OF THE FREE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT (JUNE 30, 1941), MR. YAROSLAV STETSKO, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF UKRAINIAN, BULGARIAN, SLOVAK, ARMENIAN DISSIDENTS (REPRESENTATIVES --ED.), AND MEMBERS OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, DEMANDED FROM THE DELEGATES TO THE CSCE TO DECLARE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF 'THE NATIONS UNDER THE YOKE OF THE USSR AND (THE INDEPENDENCE) OF ITS SATELLITES'.

"ACCORDING TO MR. STETSKO, THE CONCEPT OF THE BALANCE OF POWER BELONGS TO HISTORY NOW, BECAUSE WHILE THE WESTERN COUNTRIES STRIVE FOR PEACE, THE USSR STRIVES FOR WORLD DOMINATION."

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THE TIMES /12.11.1980/ LONDON, GREAT BRITAIN

"WHILE DIPLOMATS WRANGLING INSIDE MADRID'S PALACE OF CONGRESSES ABOUT THE AGENDA FOR THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE TODAY, A MAN LAY IN A POOL OF BLOOD ON THE PAVEMENT OUTSIDE.

"HE WAS MR. MARIS KIRSONS, A LATVIAN EXILE WHO CHOSE THE DRAMATIC AND DANGEROUS EXPEDIENT OF SLASHING HIS WRISTS IN ORDER TO CALL ATTENTION TO HIS PEOPLE'S DEMAND FOR FREEDOM. HE WAS TAKEN TO HOSPITAL, WHERE HE WAS LATER REPORTED TO BE OUT OF DANGER...

"ABOUT 70 LATVIANS MARCHED THROUGH THE CENTRE OF MADRID AT MIDDAY, CALLING FOR INDEPENDENCE FOR THEIR SMALL BALTIC COUNTRY WHICH HAS BEEN A PART OF THE SOVIET UNION SINCE 1940. THEY SET FIRE TO THE RED HAMMER AND SICKLE FLAG, SANG SONGS IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE AND DISPERSED PEACEFULLY...

"IN THE AFTERNOON, ABOUT A DOZEN UKRAINIANS BEGAN A TWO-DAY FAST TO CALL ATTENTION TO THEIR DEMAND FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE...

"A SPOKESMAN FOR THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS SAID: 'HUMAN RIGHTS GUARANTEES SIGNED IN HELSINKI HAVE MEANT LITTLE MORE THAN A CRUEL FARCE FOR DEFENDERS OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COUNTRIES OCCUPIED BY THE RUSSIANS.'"

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UKRAINIAN  
CENTRAL  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE



УКРАЇНСЬКА  
ЦЕНТРАЛЬНА  
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