

The Freedom Manifesto

*Recd.
11/19/82
WALL, Korea*



1982

**The Manifesto of the Organization
of Ukrainian Nationalists**

December, 1940

**The Manifesto of the Organization
of Ukrainian Nationalists /OUN/
1982**

The Free World's Last Chance

**The Declaration of the VI Supreme
Assembly of the OUN
to the Subjugated Nations**

Munich 1982

Ukrainian Central Information Service (UCIS)
London — Munich — New York — Toronto

Druckgenossenschaft „CICERO“ e.G., Zeppelinstraße 67, 8000 München 80, W. Germany

The Manifesto of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

December, 1940

(Editor's note) *The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) solemnly reconfirmed the correct assessment and political foresight of the OUN Manifesto from December, 1940. The positions presented in this Manifesto have sustained their invariable relevance for over forty years and continue to be binding in the present national-liberation struggle of the OUN. This Manifesto was the revolutionary OUN's courageous challenge directed against both totalitarian systems of that time — German national-socialism and Russian communism-Bolshevism. It served as the ideological and political foundation of the struggle for Ukrainian Statehood, initiated by the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941. The full text of the OUN Manifesto from December, 1940 is as follows:*

The existing political power structure in the world that forcibly suppresses many developed and self-sufficient nations is collapsing from their aspirations to freedom and independence.

The Russian empire — the USSR — presently is the integral component of this power structure.

We, Ukrainians, are raising the banner of our struggle in the name of freedom for nations and the individual.

We are creating a new just world order and are laying the foundation for a new world political structure by dismantling the appalling prison of nations — the Russian empire.

I.

We are fighting for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation and of all nations enslaved by Russia.

We are fighting against Russian imperialism in all its forms, in particular against Bolshevism, which has led to extreme national-political, religious, cultural and social oppression, and economic exploitation.

II.

We are the bearers of a new, just order in Eastern Europe and in Russian-dominated Asia.

We are the bearers of freedom for all the nations subjugated by Russia, so that they may freely live in accordance with their own will.

We are the bearers of security for all peoples threatened by Russia.

III.

We call upon the revolutionaries of all nations subjugated by Russia to enter into a common front of struggle and cooperation with the Ukrainian nationalists-revolutionaries.

Ukraine is the true ally of all nations that are either subjugated or threatened by Russia in their struggle against Russian-bolshevik imperialism.

IV.

Objective conditions dictate that Ukraine is the vanguard of all nations subjugated by Russia in their struggle for complete liberation.

Ukrainians living on the lands of other nations subjugated by Russia are entering into the first front of their revolutionary struggle.

We call upon all Ukrainians — wherever they may be — to enter the ranks of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

V.

We are creating an all-national front in Ukraine of all peasants, workers, and the toiling intelligentsia against Russian oppression and exploitation.

We are fighting for our national sovereignty, for our land, and for a life of human dignity.

VI.

We are fighting:

against the extreme degradation of the individual at work and at home,
against the deprivation of the individual's happiness in life, against the total
privation of the people,

against the oppression of women, forced to do the most difficult physical labor
under the pretence of "equal rights",

against the criminal indoctrination of our children and youth with deceitful
bolshevik "sciences", newspapers, theaters, radio, cinema, meetings and all
other types of incoherent agitation of the Stalinist regime.

We are fighting:

for dignity and freedom of the individual,
for the right to freely express one's beliefs,
for freedom of religion,
for complete freedom of conscience.

VII.

We are fighting:
against the tyranny and terror of the Bolshevik clique,
against the brutal regime of the NKVD in the "kolkhozes", the factories, the
army, the navy, the Party, the "Komsomol", the schools and homes.

We are fighting:
for the right of the workers to freely express their political beliefs in word
and print,
for the right to free assembly,
for the right to form political, social and professional organizations.

VIII.

We are fighting:
against the economic plunder of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by
Russia,
against slavery in the "kolkhozes", the "sovkhozes" and factories,
against the plunder of the individual's meager earnings acquired through hard
labor,
against forced deportations from one's native lands.

We are fighting so that every nation presently subjugated by Russia will
be able to completely benefit from its own natural resources and its own
achievements of daily labor in the future.

IX.

We know and believe that the time is imminent when the cherished dream
of our forefathers will be fulfilled and the fire of national rage will flare up
from the blood of our heroic generations.

Ukraine will rise and destroy the darkness of bondage!

Only through the complete dissolution of the Russian empire and through
the Ukrainian National Revolution and revolutionary uprisings of all the
subjugated nations shall we realize Ukrainian Statehood and liberate the na-
tions subjugated by Russia.

Ukrainians and all nations enslaved by Russia!

Stand up in an unmerciful struggle against Russian-Bolshevik oppression!

Destroy the Russian prison of nations!

Freedom for all subjugated nations!

The Manifesto of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists /OUN/

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the highest revolutionary and political guiding body of the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine — turns to You, our great Ukrainian nation, in this decisive moment in world history, in this period of global revolutionary upheavals, at this time when the revolutionary situation in the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and its “satellite” countries — is becoming increasingly acute.

Ukrainian People, our Nation of Heroes and Indomitable Fighters!

Forty years ago, on June 30, 1941, by Your will and on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, an All-National Assembly presided over by Yaroslav Stetsko, proclaimed in the city of Lviv the renewal of Ukrainian Statehood. This momentous deed was carried out against the will and without the knowledge and/or approval of Nazi Germany. This Act of Independence heralded the beginning of a new epoch of Ukrainian Statehood and signalled the start of a two-front war of liberation against the two largest and most monstrous military, totalitarian, colonial tyrannies in the world — Bolshevik Russia and national-socialist Germany — the mortal enemies of Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

Ukraine's two-front war of liberation lasted for over a decade. It was organized and led by the armed underground of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, who was also the Deputy-Minister of Defense in the sovereign Ukrainian Government (UDP) led by Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko. Following the seizure and imprisonment of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, the members of the Ukrainian Government (three of whom were executed by the Gestapo), tens of thousands of OUN nationalists-revolutionaries and countless Ukrainian patriots, were also incarcerated in Nazi death camps. Nonetheless, the UDP never succumbed to Hitler's ultimatums to dissolve, and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), under General Roman Shukhevych's guidance, carried on with the functions and duties of the Ukrainian Government, thus maintaining the continuity of national authority in Ukraine.

It took the Russians, together with the Allied Forces, four full years to defeat Germany in the East; Ukraine on the other hand, was able to continue her armed struggle for liberation for over ten years, maintaining sovereign authority over vast areas of Ukrainian territory. It is significant to note that

Ukraine declared war on Germany on June 30, 1941, over half a year before the United States was maneuvered into the war on December 11, 1941.

Moreover, the Russian imperialists collaborated with Nazi Germany for two full years, from 1939 to 1941, supplying the German war effort with invaluable technical assistance and material support, such as oil and grain. The two principal co-conspirators and instigators of World War II were Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany — the Central Committee of the CPSU and the NSDAP.

Subsequent to Germany's defeat, the Ukrainian Insurgent-Underground State (1941—1951) of the UDP—OUN—UPA—UHVR, founded by the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941, led a war against the armies of the Tripartite Pact, concluded in 1947 between the USSR, Communist Poland and the CSR, whose sole purpose was to defeat Ukraine's revolutionary armed forces and thus reimpose Russian colonial domination over all of Ukraine. The heroism of our patriots from Lemkivshchyna and Kholmshchyna saved millions of Ukrainians living in the western and central regions of Ukraine from mass genocide and forced deportations to Siberia.

Ukrainian Brothers and Sisters!

With our dynamic, indestructible, revolutionary potential, with our system of values and ideals of renewal, with our huge population and the creativity and inventiveness of our talented people, with our economic potential and crucial geopolitical position — Ukraine is the pivotal revolutionary factor for resolving the world political crisis. Through the revolutionary reestablishment of Ukrainian Statehood, the Russian empire will cease to exist as will its enslaving communist system. As a result, the political map of the world will be fundamentally changed. With the dawning of a new age of freedom and justice and a world order founded on the national principle of mutual respect for each nation's right to freedom and independence, a return to the imperialist past will no longer be possible.

We turn to You, our People, as Your loyal sons and daughters, seeking only to guarantee Your well-being and to fulfill Your will, manifested through Your authority as the heart and soul of our Nation's quest for an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State. We are fighting for Your rights, that every free and sovereign nation enjoys when master of its land.

We do not seek personal power. We do not want special privileges or advantages for ourselves. As You know, ours is a fate of prison cells, torture, starvation and draconian persecutions that we, Your sons and daughters, warriors of the OUN and UPA, insurgents-revolutionaries, have borne in the past and are prepared to bear in the future. Happiness can never be ours, because we burn with the shame and disgrace of Russian bondage, which has shackled our heroic, valiant and highly civilized Nation. We aspire to erase this shame, this dishonor from our great Nation, which is fighting for the ideals of all humanity. Where is the grave of the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA? Where are the graves of the thousands upon thousands of martyrs,

who have fallen on the field of glory for Your freedom? Not even their mothers, wives, or children can tell us. Having tortured our comrades to death, the satanic Russian sadists are desecrating their graves.

On our land one never sees a monument to the Unknown Soldier of Ukraine. However, we know that all warriors for truth, liberty, honor, national independence and justice are all known to God. Continue our revolutionary tradition of building earthen monuments of our sacred native soil to the heroes of Ukraine, emblazoned with the words — *"To the Heroes of Ukraine — known only to God"*.

Today there are states, who have yet to complete the process of nation-building, but who, nonetheless, already enjoy the rights of national independence and statehood. *And You, our noble Nation*, victimized by the Russian enemy, continue to languish in captivity. But You — a Nation of Titans — *cannot be denied*. The hand of Providence is guiding You in Your great mission.

Humankind is being thrust forward by the irresistible force of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which is tearing asunder the empires of the world and replacing the artificial, imperialist constructs with organically constituted national, sovereign and independent states. The banner of this irresistible progressive process is being carried by Ukraine — a vanguard force in advancing the idea of opposing all forms of imperialism with that of national independence and statehood. Ours is a life-and-death struggle. Kyiv has risen against Moscow. The light of Saint Sophia and Saint Yuriy are advancing on the darkness and tyranny of the Kremlin and Zagorsk.* Zagorsk is the symbol of the "Caesaropapal" church of the Russian empire! The Kremlin symbolizes the militant atheism of the Russian communist system of subjugation — the torture chamber of nations and individuals! The irreversible process of disintegration of empires had been temporarily inhibited during World War II because of the unwise policies of the Western Allies on the borders of the Russian empire: instead of leading a crusade against both tyrannical, imperialist systems, namely Nazism and Bolshevism, the Western Allies demolished the former, at the expense of assisting the latter in the establishment and consolidation of its hegemonistic domination over the world.

God's Providence has imparted and entrusted You, *our Ukrainian Nation*, with a great mission: the ethical, moral, political, and spiritual rebirth of all humankind within the context of a heroic conception of life, the ideals of liberation nationalism, and a heroic Christianity, which posits the purpose of human beings, created in God's image, in their service and dedication to higher and nobler pursuits, rather than in base inclinations to materialism, hedonism, and service to the "golden calf" of material values. We have dedicated ourselves to the more noble spiritual values in life. In aspiring to serve our nation, we respect the right of every nation to independence and sovereignty and the basic, inalienable rights and liberties of every individual, regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

* Saint Sophia and Saint Yuriy are both ancient Ukrainian Cathedrals in Kyiv and Lviv respectively; Zagorsk is a monastery in Russia, that is also the center of the "Caesaropapal" Russian Orthodox Church of "patriarch" Pimen, which serves the interests of Russian communism, militant atheism, and imperialism.

A new global revolution is imminent — a revolution of the spirit, of morality, of an ethos of free and unfettered labor, of a cult of heroism, of respect for ascetism, and for liberty, as the foundation upon which the higher values in life can be realized. These values include the idea of justice for all in a world without serfs and masters, without slaves and tyrants, without exploiters and the exploited, so that there may be HUMANS on this earth — as creations of the All-Mighty God, so that nations may be free and independent in their own sovereign states, as a conception of God, as the cornerstone of God's order on this earth. This impending revolution will bring forth the victory of a heroic humanism, a heroic humanity over the dominion of hatred and despotism! Once the absurd notion of a slave without rights is expunged from the consciousness of the individual, all colonialism also perishes as an unnatural, un-Godly, criminal system of subjugation.

Dear Nation of Ours!

Forty years ago the course of history reached a crucial juncture. The fate of many nations was being decided on the balance scales of history, as the objects of the imperialist ambitions of two totalitarian, imperialist powers: Nazism and its prototype — Bolshevism. At that time, the OUN, in its Manifesto from December 1940, proclaimed the principles for the creation of a new and just international order, founded upon the right of every nation to independence and sovereignty. This Manifesto was a direct challenge to the imperialist, neo-colonial ambitions of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. In the name of these principles the OUN rose up in arms, entering the battle of ideas and concepts.

The two-front war of liberation of Ukraine, undertaken under the banner of Freedom for Nations and Freedom for the Individual, exhorted and inspired the subjugated nations of the East and West to rise up in a common front against both of these inhuman systems of tyranny and imperio-colonialism, to destroy both satanic, racist, anti-human empires, and to erect on their ruins a system of national independent states, each within its ethnographic boundaries. Then we envisioned a world without colonies and empires, a world without slaves and their masters-despots! This was a far-sighted step taken by Your sons and daughters from the OUN and UPA, whose Testament of Truth was the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941 and the founding principles of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), established on our initiative on November 21-22, 1943.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Underground State of the UDP—OUN—UPA—UHVR survived for over a decade despite seemingly indomitable odds. The insurgent-revolutionary strategy that we formulated ourselves and instituted in the two-front war of liberation became and continues to be the guiding semaphore of our liberation struggle. This strategy could have led to the destruction of both despotisms with a minimum loss of life. But the West failed to comprehend the vital importance of this modern strategy of waging a liberation struggle. In light of the present thermo-nuclear and electronic age, this strategy acquires all the more significance. Any and all nuclear weapons

are rendered useless in an all-national revolution, when an entire nation takes to the barricades. By its insurgent-revolutionary strategy, the OUN and UPA saved our nation from mass genocide at the hands of the German and Russian oppressors. Yet, our warning, our revolutionary semaphore was not understood by the Western Allies.

We were left alone against all the hegemonic powers of this world. Yet in the end, we emerged victorious! Ours was a moral and political victory! And once the atom bombs began to fall, once the threat of a thermo-nuclear war became more acute, the irrefutable driving logic of our Ukrainian alternative became all the more evident.

Our Ukrainian Nation!

In this frightful age of thermo-nuclear armaments, Ukraine is the beacon of hope and salvation for all humankind. Ukraine's potency in this regard stems from our deep understanding of spirituality, idealism, liberty and national independence, all of which, taken together, are much stronger than thermo-nuclear bombs! The Achilles' heel of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and the "satellite" countries — is the subjugated nations, which constitute two-thirds of the population of the empire. The world's path of salvation from a thermo-nuclear Armageddon lies in the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, that are internally tearing the Russian empire asunder. In a common front with the other subjugated nations, Ukraine is again presenting all freedom-loving humanity with a way out of this grave crisis, just as she did forty years ago.

On behalf of the Ukrainian nation and all the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, we are sending the following message to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world: after having fought and defeated Germany and its national-socialism and after having maintained a state of war against Russia and its communist system for over sixty years, we will continue to lead a war of liberation together with the other subjugated nations, employing our modern revolutionary means of struggle, *as the new ideological-political and spiritual superpower of the world!*

Our revolutionary forces are also armed with modern technological means of warfare. Our sons, who are forced to serve in the Soviet army, are equipped with modern weapons. The enemy has no other choice but to arm our young men. In cognizance of this fact and with a full sense of responsibility for the salvation of all humankind from an atomic catastrophe, we extend our hand to the West not in search of unilateral assistance, but in the hope that a mutually beneficial common front between the subjugated nations and the Free World can and must be forged. Our only precondition is that our political concept, aims, strategy and typology of struggle be respected and recognized: the dissolution of the Russian empire and the dismantling of the bolshevik system of slavery from within through simultaneous and synchronized national revolutionary uprisings and the revolutionary reestablishment of national independent and sovereign states of the subjugated nations within their ethnographic boundaries.

We call upon all the nations of the world — whether free or enslaved, whether recently or long-since subjugated — to join our Front of Revolution! History has proven that a subjugated nation, waging a national-liberation revolution, never had to pay nearly as great a price, in terms of lives lost, as in an imperio-colonial war. A subjugated nation, when forced by her subjugators to fight in an imperialist war, will always suffer heavy losses in human life, since the imperialists minimize their losses at the expense of the subjugated. In World War II, essentially an imperialist war, the Ukrainian nation suffered many million fatalities in the interests of foreign powers. Yet in our own two-front war of liberation, in which we employed and fully utilized various revolutionary, insurgent-guerilla methods, no more than fifty thousand of our warriors lost their lives in defense of their nation, in defense of their national, insurgent-underground state against the communist Russian and Nazi German invaders.

Peoples of the Free World!

We seek to rid the world of the enemy of all freedom-loving humankind. We aim to achieve this end *without an atomic war*, but through the internal disintegration of the Russian empire through the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations. In advancing our alternative, we concurrently caution the free nations of the world not to ignore our potential and actual strength and not to attempt to use any type of thermo-nuclear weapons on our lands, simply because of the West's lack of conventional military armaments and preparedness, which in itself is a result of its hedonistic, comfortable and self-complacent lifestyle.

Tyranny and terror are no longer capable of evoking fear in the subjugated. This fear has already been broken! A new era is dawning — the era of revolutions and national wars of liberation! The West can either take the side of revolution or the side of reaction, namely, the preservation of the stability and perpetuity of the Russian empire and its communist, bolshevik system. There are no thermonuclear weapons that can oppose the force of liberation nationalism, since these weapons are also in the hands of the freedom-fighters.

Nations have risen, and nothing can stop them!

The West ignored our alternative during the Second World War. Now the free nations of the world can no longer afford to ignore this alternative, since otherwise they will perish in a global thermo-nuclear conflagration.

On the balance scales of history there now lie two diametrically opposed forces: the "Soviet", i.e., Russian, racist "supernation", — and the multifaceted mosaic of national cultures, nations, as a conception of God, individual human beings, created in God's image. Nations against empires! Freedom and national independence — against slavery and national subjugation! Ours is a worldview of humanity, that posits an organic, free and just world community of nations, each of which contributes its share to God's treasurehouse of spiritual creativity in opposition to imperialism, colonialism, and racism of all kinds! Ukrainian nationalism posits a concept of social justice and of a just distribution of wealth in opposition to the accumulation of this wealth in the hands of a

totalitarian "super-state" or a system of financial capitalism, with the negation of private ownership on a mass basis, also with regard to the means of production!

The time has long since passed when the great and powerful Ukrainian nation, with its national and cultural traditions of many millenia, was only a footnote of history. Ukraine will never be a new Hiroshima or Nagasaki! Our land will not be the thermo-nuclear experimental laboratory of the super-powers! No forces of this world will be able to dishonor our Nation, our heroes and warriors, who simultaneously fought against both of the criminal, genocidal, colonial systems of Bolshevism and Nazism, bearing incalculable sacrifices in this struggle. It would be a heinous crime against God and all of humankind to attempt to discredit the bearers of great ideals of renewal in the spirit of heroism and liberation nationalism, since they are the heralds of the only path of salvation for all humankind from global Bolshevik destruction.

A liberation revolution is the only alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust!

For this reason one OUN radio-broadcasting station would be many times more powerful in the war against Bolshevism than an atom bomb. One insurgent detachment would be by far more significant than several nuclear missiles, whose reverberating ricochet of death would leave its indelible mark not only on Kyiv but on Washington as well. *National revolutions liberate nations; atomic wars destroy them!*

The revolutionary-insurgent forces of the OUN-UPA fought on two fronts. The Ukrainian soldiers in the Red Army also assaulted Berlin, which, like Moscow, attempted to vanquish the idea of an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State and to enslave the Ukrainian people. Our soldiers expected to turn their weapons against their Russian oppressors at an opportune moment after defeating Germany in a final struggle for Ukrainian Statehood. Let this fact serve as a reminder for NATO.

Ukrainian Nation, You are the only indigenous inhabitants of Your land, on which You have lived and prospered for many long centuries. You have carried within Yourself the millennium-old relics of the Ukrainian Individual, dating as far back as the Paleolithic age. Your historic roots are to be found in the highly-developed culture of Trypilia, which at that time represented the zenith of agricultural civilization in Eastern Europe. Regardless of the formal name under which national-state activity began forming on Your land, You, and no one else, created the great Antae state. You were the architect, the founder of the powerful Kyivan Rus'-Ukrainian Kingdom, which raised the banner of Christ's faith and the "Truth of Rus'" that were to become the mission of Your life. You then continued this mission in the Halych-Volyn' Kingdom, after Your gold-domed Kyiv fell from the onslaught of the Tatar invaders. And when You and all of Europe were being threatened by a new wave of Turko-Tartar invasions, You proudly and intrepidly took up the first line of defense, the impregnable bastion of which became the Zaporizhian Sich, which also gallantly protected you from the Polish and Russian invaders.

In this century, after languishing in captivity for many long years, You again rose up in arms and renewed Your statehood in 1918 in the form of the Ukrainian National Republic, or, for a short period, the Independent

Ukrainian Hetman State, thereby guaranteeing the future continuity of the struggle for Ukrainian statehood, independence, and sovereignty, despite the colonial quadri-partition of Your land by its occupiers. Furthermore, in spite of the Russian siege of Your land by starvation and mass terror, You continued to manifest Your right to national statehood at every opportunity and on every enclave of Ukrainian land, an attestation of which was the creation of the Carpatho-Ukrainian State in 1939, subsequently crushed by a new colonial invader.

In Your two-front war of liberation, You engendered the most recent period of Ukrainian Statehood — *the Ukrainian Underground-Insurgent State of the UDP—OUN—UPA—UHVR (1941—1951)*. In defense of this state You gave birth to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which, together with the armed revolutionary OUN underground, fought for over a decade to secure Your Statehood on the vast expanses of Your land. All of the above historical periods were epochs of our Ukrainian Statehood, not only as separate administrative forms but as spiritual-qualitative categories, as His Holiness, Patriarch Yosyf I, teaches us in his Epistle on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood by the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941.

In 1979 we commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), our all-national organization, which stands above the interests of separate social groups or political parties. The OUN places the good of the nation above all particular vested interests. It cultivates an ideal of heroism, as an example for our youth, which must aspire towards eternal, rather than transient, merely material values. The OUN cultivates an ethos of free and unfettered labor, so that the individual can find happiness in life through his creative work and pursuits, rather than treat labor as a punishment from God.

In 1981 we commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the reestablishment of our Statehood. In 1982 we will commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the heroic Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Soon we will be marking the millennium of the official adoption of Christianity in Ukraine — the Christianity of Kyiv, not Moscow. Moscow did not yet exist when Kyiv was already a center of culture and science. Kyiv was the torch, the Athens of Eastern Europe. Any Ukrainian State that came into being on our land, whether in pre-Christian or Christian times, was our native State.

The Ukrainian Patriarchate is an integral component of our spiritual state. Its roots reach far back in antiquity, to the time when St. Andrew came to Ukraine, preaching Christ's word on the hills of Kyiv. *The Ukrainian Patriarchate is a direct challenge to Russia*, which has no right to claim patriarchal supremacy over Ukraine. Furthermore, the Moscow patriarchate was bought with soiled money and forced on Byzantium. The battle for the Ukrainian Patriarchate is also a battle for acknowledging the primogeniture of Kyiv over Moscow. The Ukrainian Nation aspires to be united in one Patriarchal Church, founded by the will of the Nation, by the will of the hierarchy of our churches, — a vision that can only be achieved by way of voluntary agreement. The battle, initiated by the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — His Holiness Yosyf I — is an all-Ukrainian battle. Its aim is to overcome once and

for all the autocracy and lawlessness of Zagorsk, which has no right to speak on behalf of Christian Ukraine, or, for that matter, on behalf of any of the non-Russian Orthodox Churches of the East. Earlier, the great Metropolitan and Martyr of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Vasyl Lypkiwskyj, began this battle by severing his Church from the Moscow patriarchate and returning to the Catacombic Church of the first age of Christianity. Both our Archbishops aspired towards the same goal, as great Sons of Ukraine, Martyrs for their Nation and for her Church. The Ukrainian patriotic community desires a unification of our Orthodox Arch-Episcopates into one Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, as an antipode to the Moscow patriarchate. Our community is promoting the consolidation of our Orthodox Church in a Patriarchate.

Ukrainian Nation!

Your goal remains the same as always — to acquire and reestablish Your sovereign authority on Ukrainian land, on all our ethnographic territories. Without such national authority, You will neither have freedom, nor land, nor will You be able to freely utilize the products of Your labor. In order to establish Your own national authority, You must have power. Power — is an idea, an organization, and armaments, through which authority is established. You must acquire such power, because the colonialist will never voluntarily leave our land, abundant with milk and honey. Might can only be fought with might and not with tears. You have the weapons. Your sons are in the ranks of the Soviet army. Once You have inculcated them with a fervent national consciousness, they will turn their weapons against the Russian invader-transgressor of our land. You have the weapons. You are not powerless!

Nation of ours! We will no longer be the cannon-fodder, the sacrificial lambs for every colonial occupier! Take Your fate into Your own hands! Do not wait on foreign powers for Your deliverance from slavery. Freedom *ex gratia* is not freedom! This maxim is all the more true when these foreign powers would oppose our liberation, opting instead to preserve the inviolability of the empire. A possible military conflict may present an opportunity for liberation. However, this is a remote eventuality, never a certainty. No subjugated nation can afford to wait in its liberation struggle for such eventualities, that may never come.

We have no reason for being in Afghanistan — a country of fighters who seek freedom as we do. Similarly, Ukrainian soldiers are by no means defending Ukrainian interests when forced to fight in Angola, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Cuba, Poland, Nicaragua, East Germany, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Bulgaria, Korea, Mongolia, Georgia, Turkestan, or in any other country of the world. We want to help other nations liberate themselves from under the Russian imperio-colonial yoke, and not to help the Russians subjugate these nations. *Our mission is freedom, national independence and statehood; the goal of the Russians is subjugation and slavery.*

Ukrainians for Ukraine! We must all serve our country, not its hangmen.

The Ukrainian Nation must become the master, the sovereign of its own ancestral land. We will consider all non-Ukrainian inhabitants of Ukraine our brothers and sisters on the precondition that they will assist us in razing to the ground the Russian prison of nations and its concomitant Bolshevik system and in driving the Russian invader from our land. Our friend is someone who proclaims his or her allegiance to our ideals. But above all, our friends are those who take up arms and fight alongside our warriors against the Russian occupiers of our land in a battle of life and death. A Russian, born in Ukraine, will only then be considered a worthy friend of Ukraine when he acts accordingly.

Ukrainian Nation!

The OUN is the bearer of a just political, socio-economic order, the cornerstone of which will be the good of the nation, our Ukrainian Nation, the good and well-being of the family and the individual. We do not seek to build capitalism on the ruins of communism. We envision an order of the rule and sovereignty of the nation, of a Ukrainian democracy, founded upon the spiritual values and social ideals of the Ukrainian Nation. This will be a new, free and just order, one that was envisioned by our great national poet and prophet, Taras Shevchenko, an order without slaves and their masters-despots: "All enemies, foes will vanish, and there will be a son, and there will be a mother, and there will be human beings on this earth".

National-socialism and fascism were *not* nationalist movements, and they never referred to themselves as such.

Nationalism, in particular Ukrainian nationalism, is anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-totalitarian, anti-communist, and anti-capitalist. Is it not true that imperialism was also inherent to the democratic-liberal, capitalist order? Great Britain was a democratic country, and yet she ruled over the largest empire in the world at that time. President De Gaulle respected the wishes of the Algerian nation and disavowed any French claims to domination over Algeria, in spite of stiff opposition from the French socialists and a number of liberal groups.

Nationalism is an ideal, a system that has yet to be fully effectuated in a number of aspects. It posits the citizens of a nation as the sons and daughters of one organic entity. This is precisely what Shevchenko meant when he wrote of "the living, the dead, and those yet to be born".

We, the OUN, proclaimed our enmity with Nazism and Bolshevism in our Manifesto of December 1940. The OUN is the bearer of a system of genuine rule of the people and national self-authority and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Nation. We do not need to be taught the principle of the rule of the people. Our Zaporizhian Sich, our Kozak epoch, as well as our medieval period of history attest to the fact, that the notion of slavery is foreign to our Nation. The right to a free, direct, secret, nationwide ballot will determine the content of our national authority, founded upon an intrinsically Ukrainian philosophy of right, and on the spiritual and social ideals of our Nation. This autho-

city will guarantee the right to private property, the right to ownership, not only of the products but also, in a determinate capacity, of the means of production as well, the right of every tiller of land to ownership of that land, because an individual is truly free only when he or she is also independent from an overseer imposed from above. Our national state will painstakingly care for the good of the whole nation, for the good and well-being of every family and individual, guaranteeing all their inalienable rights and liberties. The exploitation of one class by another will cease. No longer will there be a class of communist exploiters, or a class of capitalists, or large landowners. Our state will foster ideals of heroism in life and devotion to one's fellow human beings for the good of the other, rather than mere egoism or devotion to a class, a clique, or vested interests. The nation itself, through its elected legislative body, will determine the forms of ownership of the means of production in a manner that will safeguard freedom and justice in society.

The OUN Program, adopted by the Fourth Supreme Assembly of the OUN and by the subsequent Assemblies, presents the political and social position of the OUN from the perspective of the interests of the whole nation, the family, and the individual.

Ukrainian Nation!

The instigators of war are the bolsheviks, the Russian imperialist chauvinists and colonialists, who seek to conquer the world. They are fomenting a new world war.

Our OUN motto is — away with world war! Away with imperialist wars! Away with colonial usurpation of foreign lands! Away with thermo-nuclear weapons! Russian armies — get out of Afghanistan! Get out of Poland, Turkistan, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia and other subjugated nations! Moscow — out of Ukraine! *The OUN is for a liberation revolution of nations that will internally tear asunder the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — and will destroy Bolshevism, tyranny, slavery, the "kolkhoz" system, integral étatism, the forced domination by a Russian imperio-colonial occupational system and its communist system of domination over nations and individuals.* A liberation revolution will destroy all the forms of Russification, namely, the forced importation of a Russian way of life and Russian norms into Ukraine and into other subjugated nations. Authority will be appropriated by the Ukrainian Nation as a sovereign in its ancestral land!

Subjugated nations in the Russian empire, let us begin transforming Russian colonial wars into national-liberation revolutions, into national-liberation wars against Russian imperialism, that will ultimately lead to the dissolution of the empire and the destruction of the communist system of slavery! Only a liberation revolution of nations, not an imperialist war, can raze the prison of nations to the ground! We have the necessary weapons; let us turn them against the colonizer. The imperialists cannot drop atom bombs on the revolutionaries, on the insurgents in our cities and mountains, in our forests and villages, because then they will also be destroying themselves, their occupational military and KGB forces and their lackey servants, and all their colonialists that inhabit our lands by

the millions. Pilots, remember that you carry in your bombers the instruments of the destruction of your nations. Turn them against your oppressors, against the center of the empire, where the imperialist chieftains and international terrorists have their headquarters. Our liberation banner is the liberation concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — the ABN!

The center of international terrorism is in Moscow, within the walls of the Kremlin. The murder of all, who stand for truth, liberty, justice, for harmonious cooperation between nations and for a just peace, is planned within those very same walls. Moscow murdered Symon Petliura, Yevhen Konovalets. Stepan Bandera, — leaders of the Ukrainian national-liberation struggle; the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, died a hero in a battle with Russian forces, in March 1950.

We must not create false illusions in the meek hope that the West and NATO will begin to deliver us from bondage. Let us begin our liberation on our own. The world comes to the aid only of the strong and mighty. The world detests beggars. Do not shoot at the Afghan Freedom Fighters — the Mujahideens. Direct your weapons at the Kremlin imperialists, the oppressors of your nations.

We are also sending *our message to the Russian people*. The bearer of Russian imperialism is not only the ruling élite of Russia, but, generally, the Russian nation as well. This is an undeniable truth that need not be ignored. Without the active support of the Russian nation, the empire would long since have fallen. Bolshevism is a by-product of the Russian spirit. This was ascertained even by a number of prominent Russian thinkers. Russian imperialism, with its insatiable messianism — under the cover of Pan-slavism, “defense of Orthodoxy”, world communist revolution, or the so-called liberation of colonial peoples — has but one goal: to conquer the entire world. Do the Russian people truly believe that all of freedom-loving humankind will forever tolerate the imperialist aspirations of Moscow? Do they truly believe that if they continue their imperialist aggression on the entire world, they will avoid being swept away by all of freedom-loving humankind, in particular by the subjugated nations, who constitute two-thirds of the population of the empire?! A Ukrainian political prisoner recently stated that “Russia should not expect to be able to forever trample upon the dignity of nations.” In this era, characterized by the irreversible dissolution of empires, we call upon the Russian nation to desist in its colonial enslavement of nations and individuals and to content itself with its own nation-state within its ethnographic boundaries, because otherwise it will meet a fate not unlike that of the Nazi German empire.

We direct our message in particular to those who are the immediate executors of Russia’s imperialist and expansionist policies — to the Russian soldiers. Whom are you fighting for? For the prison of nations and individuals?! For the enslavement of ever greater numbers of peoples?! For a global KGB concentration camp?! For whom are you sacrificing your lives? For the chains and manacles with which you shackle freedom-loving nations and people?! Either lay down your weapons, or direct them at your chieftains. Drop your bombs on the Kremlin, and put an end to this slavery and tyranny. No one wants to destroy your nation-state, as long as it remains within its own indigenous ethnographic boundaries. May you live there in peace, ridding yourself of all

imperialist ambitions, as a tranquil, civilized people, who desire freedom and peace for their children and grandchildren. Do something with your tyrants, so that your nation will not meet a more devastating fate than Nazism. Bring an end to your tyranny and empire before it is destroyed in a long and hard struggle with the subjugated nations. We do not seek vengeance. We only desire our freedom and independence. Build your Russian state on your own indigenous ethnographic lands, but get out of the lands of all the subjugated nations! Get out of Ukraine!

Ukrainians, our salvation lies in simultaneous national and social liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations against Russian imperio-colonial slavery and the Bolshevik system.

Our fate is in our hands; our standard-bearer is the OUN!

All the nations of the world aspire toward freedom and independence, and all desire to avoid an atomic war. The OUN projects an alternative to such a war. In the words of our great poetess, Lesya Ukrainka, we declare that "*he who liberates himself, will be free; he who is liberated by another will be led into slavery.*"

Freedom-loving nations and people of the world, unite in a common struggle under the banner of the ABN against Russian imperialism and communism, for independence of nations and freedom for the individual!

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is a host of warriors, the *corps d'esprit* of Ukraine, of the Truth of Ukraine, which will triumph when its bearers are triumphant and ready to die in its name. "You will forge a Ukrainian State, or die in the struggle for It". This is our testament. Hold high our national blue-and-gold flag of freedom and our golden national symbol, the Trident!

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!

Kyiv versus Moscow!

Glory to Ukraine! Glory to Her Heroes!

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

Autumn 1981.

The Free World's Last Chance

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

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

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

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

Détente and Balance of Power — a Path to Capitulation

The peoples of the West and their Governments, unable to fully comprehend the already acute and ever-growing danger to their own survival as free nations, have now for over thirty years continued to delude themselves into believing

that coexistence can be maintained with the Russian empire on the basis of establishing a balance of power. Furthermore, the peoples of the West have been lulled into a false sense of security, (which their Governments have not sought to dispel) that ultimately the interests and goals of the Western nations and the Russian empire will converge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War

Deeply concerned with the tragic and potentially cataclysmic consequences of the West's strategy, that is purportedly designed to forestall war and nuclear holocaust, but which is inherently flawed and, therefore, will ultimately lead to such a war, the VI Supreme Assembly of the OUN appeals to the

nations of the Free World to abandon, *in their own self-interest*, their policies which are based on the perpetuity of the Russian empire and to work with the liberation movement of the Ukrainian nation — the OUN, and the liberation movements of the other nations subjugated by Russia. The only viable and realistic alternative to a thermonuclear Armageddon is a political and military strategy based on coordinated and synchronized revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the nations, subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. The primary threat of a nuclear war, its *causa sui*, lies in the continued existence of the Russian empire. This threat can be precluded only with the elimination of its cause through the dissolution of the empire by national-liberation revolutions!

Is the West to become a Reactionary or Revolutionary Force?

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

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

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

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

Our Demands and Proposals

With a view towards effectuating a qualitative change in the political strategy of the West *vis-a-vis* the Russian empire — the USSR and its "satellite" states — the VI Supreme Assembly of the OUN adopted the following concrete

proposals and demands, which are meant to serve as a foundation for such a change:

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

In pursuance to such a declaration, the West should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by creating a network of centers for psychological warfare based on the political and ideological concepts of the OUN and the ABN in respect to all subjugated nations. Such centers should be made available to the OUN and ABN and their efforts directed at the subjugated nations in the USSR and its "satellites".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appeal

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

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

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

By helping us — you are helping yourselves!

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

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

The Declaration of the VI Supreme Assembly of the OUN to the Subjugated Nations

Nations subjugated by Bolshevism! Fighters for common ideals!

We live in a period of the fall of empires and the founding on their ruins of independent nation-states of the heretofore subjugated nations. This process had been momentarily halted on the borders of the Russian-communist empire, which has spread its sphere of influence and domination over many nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Free World shrinks from properly identifying and exposing the USSR for what it really is — a multinational empire, and not a nationally monolithic state. The Russian imperialists are careful to mask this fact, propagating the existence of a so-called Soviet people, as some kind of a new historic entity, which in practice amounts to nothing more than a Russian super-nation. This is a manifestation of their inherent racism.

The deterministic ideology of marxism-leninism in a symbiosis with historical Russian imperialism and Russian messianism is manifested by the continuous aggression of the USSR — the Russian empire, i.e., the world of totalitarianism against the world of freedom.

The aspirations of the individual to perfection can freely manifest themselves in the multifaceted Free World and can carry humanity along the path of trial and error to a better life, as we can see in the fall of the imperialism and colonialism of Western multi-national states.

Moscow, with its lackey-servants, is cognizant of the role of the national idea and of aspirations to social justice, and abuses these aspirations of nations and individuals, propagating on this side of the Iron Curtain the idea of national independence and sovereignty, the liquidation of the feudal-capitalist order for the benefit of a wider distribution of private property, even masking its true intention behind slogans of nationalism and democracy. Only the naïve and the uncritical allow themselves to be deceived, because a communist society, in practice, is hell. The USA lost the war in Vietnam because it did not include in its calculations the inherent characteristics of the Vietnamese nation and did not propagate or strive for the idea of a unified Vietnam. On the contrary, the USA encumbered the national Vietnamese from doing this. The existence of so-called sanctuaries in the countries neighbouring South Vietnam was partially responsible for the communist victory. Instead of creating sanctuaries for Vietnamese refugees in Thailand, instead of forming insurrectionary units and helping them with arms, food, medical supplies and propaganda, — the Free World capitulated. Even if someone were to come to the aid of the Vietnamese in this manner, he would be labelled a war-monger in the Free World. Moscow greatly benefited from all this. There are many cross-currents of interests in the Free World. That is why Moscow can easily exercise the principle of "divide et impera". The Free World must come to understand that the Russian empire is the principal threat to everyone. It must relegate all local misunderstandings to a

secondary plane, otherwise the Bolshevik threat will spread to the rest of free humanity.

Therefore, to effectively stem the aggression of the world of totalitarianism, the Free World must decide to defend itself, even with arms, if necessary. Otherwise, the world will become the continuous prisoner of Russian terror and this will lead to its capitulation. Only after adopting such a firm stand can the Free World counter the diabolical intentions of Moscow. It can then support the national-liberation movements within the Russian empire, that are capable of effectuating the downfall of the empire and the Bolshevik system — without an atomic war.

For an Anti-Bolshevik Front

Without a common front of the Free World and the subjugated nations — there can be no victory. All the political concepts, implemented by the West with regard to the USSR, have proven to be bankrupt. The policy of *détente* and balance of power has led the West to a catastrophe, because in the shadow of *détente* the USSR has overtaken NATO with regard to armaments and has conquered a number of new countries. It is absurd to pursue a concept of balance of power without the existence of common aims between partners, i.e., when one partner aspires to conquer the world and the other to maintain a *status quo*. The only salvation for the Free World from a thermo-nuclear war is a policy of liberation of the subjugated nations. There is no other alternative to atomic war, other than the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, which are internally tearing asunder the empire and the Bolshevik system. When nations and individuals begin fighting for noble aims, for the realization of God-given human rights, for liberty, justice, for truth and faith in God, when they fight against all tyrants, against the hangmen of nations, colonial usurpers and militant atheists — they can never be destroyed in the plan of God's Providence. The fate of all humankind, its thermo-nuclear extinction, cannot be placed in the hands of the criminals in the Kremlin. Only Providence can decide on the existence of humankind. The responsibility of the subjugated nations and individuals is to fight with a faith in God's justice, even at the risk of death — so that God's truth may triumph on this earth, for the victory of freedom for nations and freedom for the individual in their national independent democratic states, each within its ethnographic boundaries with equal rights for all peoples, regardless of differences of race, religion or wealth.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which now stands on the threshold of the fortieth anniversary of its founding during the two-front war of liberation of Ukraine, organized by the OUN-UPA against Bolshevism and national-socialism, on November 21—22, 1943 in the forests of Ukraine, — is the coordinating center of the national-liberation movements of the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. The ABN is the ideological, strategic and political vanguard, to which all the subjugated nations look for guidance in their liberation struggle against Russian imperialism and communism. Without a common front of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "sa-

tellite" countries — there can be no dissolution of the empire and the liberation of nations!

The OUN supports the liberation struggle of the Polish nation for its liberty and independence within its ethnographic boundaries and condemns the occupation of Poland by the agents of Moscow. The OUN believes, that the Polish people and the Polish Catholic Church will respect and defend the national, political, religious and cultural rights of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, and other national groups. The OUN expresses its solidarity with the courageous armed struggle of the Afghan nation and condemns the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. We call upon the Afghan fighters for freedom to also lead a psychological-political war, designed to demobilize the Soviet army, which is a multinational army, and to treat those prisoners of war, who refuse to fight against the Afghan nation, as friends and comrades-in-arms, and not as the enemies of Afghanistan! The OUN believes that only in a common front of subjugated nations can victory be achieved. A separate, isolated revolutionary-liberation struggle will not lead to our goal.

With the development of military technology the significance of an insurgent-guerilla strategy, implemented by an armed nation, becomes all the more evident. It is the only salvation from atomic destruction for all of humankind.

The Bankruptcy of Communism in the Subjugated Nations

The communist system and the communist way of life behind the Iron Curtain are clearly in a bankrupt state. This has already been proven in Novocherkassk, Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzherzhynsk, Donbas, Berlin, Budapest, Prague, Bratislava, Minsk, and most recently in Poland, where Moscow is leading a terrorist war against 10 million workers, against the entire Polish nation with the aid of the Polish military junta, the communist militia and Russian soldiers in the ranks of the Polish army. This bankruptcy is already an irreversible fact in all of the subjugated nations. For this reason Russian imperialism has been openly dealing from a racist position of a Russian super-nation under the guise of a so-called Soviet nation. Russification clearly is the method of the old formula of denationalization of nations, now veiled in bankrupt communism.

Communism-marxism has lost the battle of ideas in the empire. Liberation nationalism and a democratic system based upon a sovereignty of the people, which is inherent in every nation, have emerged victorious. Religion is also achieving victories in its battle with militant atheism.

When the Russian empire is arming itself at all costs, so as to conquer the world, — the subjugated nations, who are internally dismantling the empire, hold the key to the resolution of the current global political crisis. They are the new ideo-political superpower, that is also armed with modern weaponry, because the sons of the subjugated nations are in the armies of the empire. The time is imminent, when these soldiers will turn their weapons against the occupant of their Fatherland. Revolutionary armies will be born, so as to bring

about the full fruition of the armed liberation struggle. The soldiers of the Soviet army and the armies of the "satellites" will either come over to the side of the insurgents, or they will directly destroy the Russian occupation, by turning their weapons against their oppressors.

The Neglected Power

Unfortunately, the politics of the Free World, in particular the USA and NATO, have yet to take into account the factor of the nations subjugated in the Russian empire. Instead, they strive to maintain a *status quo*, guaranteeing, in fact, in the Helsinki Accords, the indivisibility of the Russian empire and the inviolability of Russian imperio-colonial conquests, viz., the present boundaries of Russian spheres of domination in Europe and Asia. Our goal is to change this state of affairs, bring down the empire and destroy the communist system. Processes of destabilization are propitious to our liberation movements. Our task is to strengthen these processes with regard to the Russian prison of nations.

The national-liberation processes in Poland and the liberation war in Afghanistan are continuously underscoring the weaknesses of both superpowers with their thermo-nuclear weapons and rockets. This weaponry is of little consequence in a situation, where an entire nation takes up arms in a struggle for its liberation.

So as to avoid being crushed by a Bolshevik onslaught, the West must build up its conventional armaments, and simultaneously decrease the military potential of the enemy by creating a situation where the front would be on the territories of the enemy. To accomplish this, the soldiers of the Soviet army, in particular those from the subjugated nations, must be persuaded to change sides. This would be possible only when the political concept of the West vis-à-vis the USSR is fundamentally altered: from a policy of détente and balance of power the West must adopt a policy of liberation, concurrently recognizing the need for the dissolution of the Russian empire.

The central issue confronting the subjugated nations is the necessity of preparing well-planned, systematic, coordinated revolutionary-liberation actions, that in the final outcome will create a revolutionary situation in the enslaved countries. Only then can our strategy of simultaneous revolutionary uprisings be fully implemented. The widest emigré circles of the subjugated nations and their political representations must exhibit a high degree of activity — from mass demonstrations to academic conferences, so as to mobilize public opinion, the mass media, and the academic community. The primary purpose of such activity would be to expose the USSR for what it really is — a Russian colonial empire camouflaged by its communist system. Also, this activity must bolster support for the revolutionary-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which is decisively constricting the military potential of the enemy and is preventing atomic destruction. The mission of the emigré community, as an integral component of the subjugated nations, is to be the spokesman of the aspirations of these nations in the Free World!

The Churches of the subjugated nations must do all they can in defense of the Catacombic Church, against militant atheism and the 'Caesaropapistic' churches that only serve the communist atheistic regime. The ecumenical dialogue with the Russian orthodox pseudo-church of Zagorsk must be terminated! The trade unions of the Free World must come to the defense of the working classes of the subjugated nations and of the collectivized disappropriated peasantry, who themselves are the object of unheard of exploitation at the hands of the totalitarian system of Russian state capitalism.

The intellectual community of the Free World must be mobilized by actions for the return of free creativity to the cultural activists of the subjugated nations. This can be achieved only with the dissolution of the Russian empire, which is a prison of nations and individuals.

Ukraine — in a Common Liberation Struggle

Ukraine is the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire and the communist system; this is due to the indestructible revolutionary human potential of Ukraine, its highly developed population of 50 million, its geopolitical position, its economic resources, its world of ideas and liberation-revolutionary concept. With the reestablishment of Ukraine's independence the Russian empire must fall, thereby paving the way for the reestablishment of independent states of all the subjugated nations. The political configuration of the globe will then be fundamentally altered, since the global in scope colonial prison of nations, which encompasses not only Europe and Asia, but Africa and Latin America as well, will cease to exist. The system of ideas and values of Ukraine — the national against the imperialist idea, a cult of a heroic morality and a heroic Christianity of Catacomb Churches, the idea of democracy inherent in every nation, the idea of native self-rule, the principle of a just settlement of border disputes on the basis of an ethnographic principle with the elimination of imperialism — is bringing new elements into the world order.

In the struggle against the Russian occupant, many Christian, Islamic and Buddhist nations are uniting with Ukraine in a united front of close cooperation. The anti-Russian front, the anti-Bolshevik front is growing.

The biological growth of the Russian population has dropped, while the populations of the Islamic nations (Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, and others) is burgeoning very quickly. All the subjugated nations are combating Russification, so that it (Russification) can no longer defeat them, since the Russians are already a minority in the USSR. Terror, concentration camps, prisons, psychiatric asylums that break one's will, exile, — all these means can no longer break the spirit of nations. Mass genocide, as during Stalinist times, is no longer possible. Nations have forgotten their fear. The empire sits on a volcano! It is being challenged by noble fighters! Not only are the underground national-liberation organizations openly and honourably manifesting their ideals, but separate activists are also demanding freedom and national independence! The empire must fall!

The methods of the liberation struggle, now being implemented in Poland, were previously utilized in Ukraine (strikes, the call for free trade unions).

The ABN continues to be the moral and political guiding force, conscious of the fact that freedom *ex gratia* is not freedom! The ABN will not wait for a deliverance from slavery by foreign bayonets, but is realizing the idea of a common front of the subjugated nations against the Bolshevik empire and tyranny!

The Supreme Assembly of the OUN calls upon all the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries to continue along our revolutionary path in striving towards our common goal through our cooperative efforts: the dissolution of the Russian empire, the USSR with its colonial "satellites" and the reestablishment of independent national democratic states within the ethnographic boundaries of the presently subjugated nations!

Freedom-loving nations and people of the world — unite in the struggle for national independence and freedom against Russian imperialism and communism!

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!

FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!

Autumn 1981

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

Read!

Read!

ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

8000 Munich 80, Zeppelinstr. 67, West Germany

Annual subscription: 15 Dollars in USA, and the equivalent of
15 US Dollars in all other countries.

