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The National Liberation Struggle Within the Russian Empire

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In my deliberations I would like to proceed from the assumption of our common fears and expectations and to attempt to find a way out from the critical situation, in which not only the nations subjugated within the Russian empire find themselves. I am not speaking about the cause of one part of the world — the subjugated world alone. I am speaking about our common cause — of the free and enslaved people, and more — of the free and enslaved nations.

It is said that mankind is on the brink of a possible destruction by a thermonuclear war. Does such a threat really exist? Is there really no other solution than capitulation before tyrannies or appeasement and detente at the expense of hundreds of millions of subjugated people and dozens of enslaved nations, acknowledging their slavery, the domination of Russian tyrants over them? Is there not one more, "overlooked", neglected superpower, not so much material and technological, as spiritual, moral and political, which plays a decisive role in events which are implacably approaching. Detente with tyrannies, the balance of power on a global scale, i. e. capitulation before despotic governments, or a wager on spiritual, moral, eternal values of man and nations — as a way out of the critical situation in which the world finds itself? Besides the technological, in particular the thermonuclear element of a superpower more important is the moral, spiritual element, or more precisely: the spiritual superpower is of greater importance. It is composed of individuals and nations, subjugated in the Russian empire and under the Communist yoke, who are thirsting for freedom and justice, ready to sacrifice

everything material. After all, why should a lawful process of the dissolution of empires on a world scale shatter at the borders of the Russian prison of nations? Why is the absurd anti-natural concept of the Russian empire which, in a way unprecedented in history, imposes upon the nations and individuals it subjugates its own way of life from metaphysics to the system of collective farming not to become bankrupt at last, but to preserve itself as some "new world, a new system of ideas and values?"

The spiritual, moral and political superpower of our epoch are the billions of subjugated people and dozens of enslaved nations within the Russian empire and languishing in Communist bondage. This is the true reality, the real factor of world politics which will decide the future of mankind.

Aside from the USA is there some other massive superpower in the world? The so-called Russian superpower — the prison of nations and individuals — is a colossus on clay feet.

It is not enough to possess the most modern weapons and military technology. One must have the souls of nations and individuals on one's side. Are the souls of the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Poles, Azerbaijanians, Lithuanians, Estonians on the side of Russia, on the side of Communism?

Even the Russian Sakharov must acknowledge the powerful, dynamic force of the concept of national liberation, although he champions human rights alone, not the rights of nations.

But we place national rights, liberation nationalism as a central issue, for at no time were human rights achieved

in a subjugated nation without the fulfillment of a prerequisite: an independent, democratic, but above all, a sovereign state of each nation . . . We sympathize with the human rights movement, but the ideas of this movement will never be realized in nationally oppressed countries, in an empire. Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn — in spite of all our sympathy for their limited aspirations — are not on our side for their goals are the rights of the Russian individual, while ours are the rights of people of the subjugated nations in their own independent states. Human rights of a subjugated nation can never be realized without the achievement of its national state independence. Both of them are striving for the impossible — to preserve the empire and to achieve human rights, unless only the Russian people are meant. In order to gain human rights Washington had to win national independence for America. Today, there are no individuals in the world defined in a way other than by their national contents. Hence, no human rights can be achieved without the rights of a nation to which an individual belongs.

Had the so-called democratic empires guaranteed human rights in the nations which they oppressed? We do not think so. Recapitulating, only a nation's own national state with a democratic system of government guarantees human rights in a given nation, having first fulfilled a precondition: national sovereignty.

The slogan of our epoch is independence vs. empire. Nation vs. the prison of nations! Human rights as a consequence of the national right and a democratic system! Self-determination is not a revolutionary slogan of our time. Lenin put forth a more far-reaching slogan: self-determination including separation, and deceived the peoples. Not a plebiscite of paper ballots, but a plebiscite of blood dating back a thousand years, repeated time and again in liberation and defense wars against aggres-

sors and conquerors of Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, etc. has self-determined these nations with millennial or centuries-old traditions as nations-states. Border villages can self-determine themselves, but not entire nations.

The ratio of forces in the Russian empire, including the satellites, is 2:4 to the advantage of the subjugated nations. Not only the oppressors but also the oppressed carry arms in the course of their general military duties. A democratic system and modern technology have in fact made classical warfare in line with the Clausewitz doctrine impossible. Modern technology is made impossible by a modern type of warfare: the guerrilla warfare. The "absolutist-aristocratic" doctrine of warfare propagated by Clausewitz is outdated now.

In a given case it is not a question of compromise between two governments on one territory — a compromise between the oppressor and the oppressed, but between the driving out of the occupying power and the establishment of the occupied nation's own government. The problem is not one of imposing one's own will upon the vanquished, in the sense of the Clausewitz doctrine, in a limited framework, but of a total driving out of the aggressor from one's own land by an all-out guerrilla war, of nations subjugated by Russia in synchronized, coordinated national liberation revolutions which would pass into a conventional war or both types of warfare would supplement each other.

When the concept of war has changed in the thermonuclear and ideological age, in the age of the downfall of empires, as a lawful development of history, in the age of the armed people, when atomic armament ceases to be, and tomorrow will no longer be a privilege of the superpowers or powers, when its quality will change into quan-

tity — for even the tiny Israel already has its own atomic bomb — then the horrible problem of atomic war will of itself cease to exist, creating a global stalemate. Both individuals and nations will again place their bets not on a homunculus — a narrow-minded intellectual — technician who allegedly has the fate of the world in his hands, but on man. Man will again become a Human Being with his own free will, his own morality. Mankind will find itself in the blind alley, if ethical and cultural progress does not go hand in hand with violent civilizational and technological progress. The former is lagging behind. The de-humanization, de-heroization, de-Christianization, a lack of religion, a lack of morality, a barbarization of humanity have reached an unprecedented peak . . .

Yet, in the face of all this our cardinal question is: does the fate of mankind lie in the hands of the Kremlin criminals and mass murderers of nations and individuals who possess thermonuclear arms? Our reply: No! The thermonuclear age is a blind ideological age. Hence we are not only faced with a political, strategic question, but with a metaphysical one: to be or not

to be for mankind? Individuals and nations must realize the ideals of freedom, truth, justice, human and national rights, God's teaching on earth, with profound faith in the higher force which guides the world, consistently and zealously, or fearlessly strive for their fulfillment, for this is their duty as higher beings.

A great shortcoming in the West today is the absence of great statesmen — ideologists, visionaries, charismatic men of words, faith, and heroic concept of life. Technocrats and pragmatists — at times with the best of intentions — have the voice now. In the age of thermonuclear arms and ideological wars this is a tragedy. Therefore James Reston aptly comments in *The International Herald Tribune* of March 4, 1974 under the heading of "The World Crisis of Democracy": "It is true that the men of eloquent idealism are gone — the Churchills and De Gaulles. They have been replaced on the whole with political technicians . . . There is a problem . . ." And he ends his article as follows: "The political 'decline of the West' is no longer a subject for theoretical debate, but an ominous reality, particularly, when the leader of the West, the



Ukrainians at the 7th WACL Conference in Washington, D.C. April 8-11, 1974

United States, has so much trouble of its own..."

The Present Forms and Methods of Struggle

Observing the present stage of struggle in Ukraine, it must be stated that moral and political struggle, conceptual and cultural strife, attempts to assert Ukrainian qualities and values, are continuing and intensifying. This period will not end since the stress on spiritual formation and assertion of the nation cannot be extinguished in spite of the various phases of liberation struggle and an accent on its different aspects, as for instance the socio-political, economic and military. So far, after the period of mass popular uprisings of 1942-1953, the emphasis was being placed on multi-faceted underground struggle including the armed-defensive and particularly, on the conceptual-political and cultural-religious and socio-political struggle of a limited scope. With the change of forms and methods of transition to a longer period of struggle, armed struggle was relegated to a secondary position, while the political concept of a revolutionary guerrilla struggle extended not only to the Ukrainian people at large but to other nations enslaved in the Russian empire, including the satellite states. After all, the CSSR does not differ much from the Ukr. SSR with respect to opportunities for independent action in foreign affairs.

The essence of the present state of struggle is a conflict between two contradictory national organisms — the Russian and the Ukrainian — in all phases of struggle, it does not mean the exclusiveness of only those elements defined in a given stage. As we have already mentioned, the emphasis on mass armed struggle of the 1942-1953 period in no way signified a neglect of the elements, the culminating mobilization of which was the concentration of all forces and energy

upon a decisive armed struggle. A changeover to other forms, which had been made by Gen. Roman Shukhevych, did not mean a failure of that stage, but rather was accused by the turn of events in the world, in the USSR and Ukraine.

Depending on the phase of struggle in Ukraine, there exists a corresponding assistance campaign from abroad: in the phase of stress upon the moral and political fight major efforts are turned to strengthening this form as much as possible although this does not mean that in a different phase this work would be less intensive. And so, at present it is absolutely necessary to disseminate our own and other literature, in line with our plan as far as contents is concerned, in other words, corresponding to our ideas, concepts, viewpoint, faith and our road to liberation. Mandatory are radio broadcasts, the erection of our own radio station, verbal and written information, mass and militant actions and acts in foreign countries, as forms of support for the struggle in Ukraine and within the empire, the formation of a global anti-Russian front, international conferences directed toward our ends, a joint anti-Russian action with factors in the free world sympathetic to our cause, in particular with emigrations of ABN peoples and so forth.

In Ukraine and the empire, there continues a campaign in defense of Moroz, Shukhevych and other imprisoned cultural and political leaders and the ideas and principles of ABN are being propagated as a realistic method of liberation through our own efforts. Some of these methods are demonstrations of workers, strikes of workers and collective farmers lasting one hour, one day or even several days. An appropriate gradation of actions is also actualized here and there by attacking the enemy in various spheres of life, including the economic one... All of us remember the events in Novochoerkask, Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzherzhynsk in 1972. .

Reports are reaching us that during court proceedings against political, cultural or religious leaders, short-term strikes of students, workers and collective farmers were held. We have read in "The Cataract" that those being tried in Lviv were showered with flowers by the crowd on Pekarska Street as they were led from the automobiles to the court room... that Lina Kostenko strewed flowers in their path and that the defendants walked on a carpet of flowers to their trial...

We know about the organization of protest letters to the press from plants or collective farms, which also exerted pressure on opportunistic cultural leaders who were forced to "protest" on their part, because the fear for their own skin in the situation of mutual responsibility created by the KGB did not diminish, but increased when they were silent. When the likes of Svitlychnyi were active, Vinhranovskyi felt freer, when the likes of Moroz were active, Lina Kostenko felt freer, when the likes of Vinhranovskyi were active, Drach created more freely, when Drach is free, there is a lesser threat to Honchar and so forth. Honchar defended Kosmach. He defended the stolen iconostasis ("we were orphaned" — writes Moroz), thus defending himself, the author of "Sobor" (Cathedral). Sverstyuk defended his "Cathedral" in his "Cathedral in Scaffold-ing". Paradzhanov belonged to those petty thieves who concealed the theft of the Kosmach iconostasis. What happened? With the imprisonment and torturing of Moroz, Paradzhanov also fell from power because the circle of responsibility is narrowing... It is mutual responsibility which is the characteristic of the present era of Russian terror. Concealment of the theft of the iconostasis did not help Paradzhanov any. For this he and Lyubchyyk were aptly and severely criticized by Moroz...

Let us recall that Amalrik writes that 25% of the Kyiv workers signed a protest against the imprisonment of

cultural leaders, the fighters for human and national rights... A nationwide movement...

Slogans Pertaining to Dynamic Life

The liberation struggle in Ukraine is not an abstraction which is suspended in the air of theoretical slogans. This is not so. There the people are mobilized by vivid slogans growing out of real life, directing the struggle. The traditions of the nationwide struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) have not been forgotten. They are being perpetuated... The UPA is ingrained in the people because it united into one whole struggle all spheres of life: national coupled with social, cultural with religious, but everything brought down to the national denominator, that is, without a sovereign national state, without the Ukrainian Sovereign and United State it is not possible to attain a picture of Ukrainian content in any sphere of the life of the nation.

We can see how resistance is developing under the slogan: down with deportation of our youth to Kazakhstan, Siberia, Mongolia. Let us recall the resistance put up here and there by new draftees who were forced to serve on the Chinese border. The slogan resounded: Let's perform our military duty in Ukraine!

Now the Russians are transporting 25,000 skilled construction workers from Ukraine and other subjugated nations, including professional engineers, to build the infrastructure of Mongolia. We can hear the cry: let's remain in Ukraine, let's not go to Mongolia! In Ukraine and Kazakhstan, in Siberia and on the Russian territory there resounds the following slogan among the members of the subjugated nations: let's return home from Kazakhstan, Siberia and Russia! We demand Ukrainian newspapers, books, libraries. a place for our national needs. Let's return from Poland and the so-called retrieved lands to the Lemky or the

Kholm region. These are not our lands. We have our own native territory of the Lemkos or the people of Kholm. We request a bishop for our Greek Catholic Church in Poland. All these slogans are spread spontaneously for the nation lives and thinks. The OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and the UPA leave their traces everywhere. Decades of sacrificial acts, self-sacrifice, thousands of the fallen and tortured-to-death members of the OUN-UPA have not remained in vain on the road of struggle . . . Acts of sacrifice are never futile, they always serve as guideposts . . .

We hear from chance tourists how the young people demonstratively sing Ukrainian patriotic songs on Dnipro boats and buses. We can hear the slogan: down with discrimination against Ukrainians in Ukraine! Ukrainians for Ukraine — Ukraine for Ukrainians! Let's demonstratively sing Ukrainian songs in streetcars, buses and trains! Let's recall the observances at the grave of Taras Shevchenko in Kaniv. Let's recall Alla Horska and her call to courageously defend the Ukrainian Ukraine. On walls and facades of buildings we can read the inscriptions: Communism equals Nazism! The Bolsheviks are Nazis! Brezhnev is a new Stalin! Brezhnev is a racist Hitler! In factories of heavy industry, in particular in the armament industry, we can hear whispers: let's work slowly. This slogan was promoted by the British in the war against Hitler for the countries which he enslaved. They are recalling it in Ukraine and Lithuania, in Georgia and Turkestan and are applying it against the Russian occupants. Let's slow down in the factories, on the collective farms — this slogan resounds spontaneously. . . . Let's remember that even tiny Estonia raises her head. Only recently 40 Estonians were arrested on the streets of Tallinn because they demonstrated under the slogans: Russians get out of Estonia! Long live free Estonia! Estonia for Estonians! Thousands of demon-

strators in Kaunas protesting religious persecution in Lithuania — are generally well known. Let's not marry Russians — is a slogan in Turkestan. It is true in Ukraine as well. At an ABN Conference in London in 1973, a Turkestani author emphasized the Turkestani feeling of superiority over the Russians. Hence the slogans prevalent in Turkestan: Moscow is savage! Turkestan — the culture of centuries! Such a slogan is even more often in Ukraine. Ukraine is a culture of a millennium. When Kyiv was already a cultural center the wolves were still howling on the site where Moscow now stands. The idea of cultural superiority penetrates and is reflected even in literary creativity, of historical nature in particular. Sklyarenko is dead. Therefore he will not be hurt anymore by a mention of his work "Svyatoslav". There are many more such works, but their authors are still alive so we shall not mention them. Or, is not Skovoroda the pride of Ukraine? Or the novels about him?

But the battle is unfurling not only in the cultural sector, it encompasses the economic and socio-political sectors as well. Russia has imposed its socio-political and economic system and its institutions, which contradict Ukrainian nature and spirituality. For this reason about eight million Ukrainians perished in the struggle against the system of collectivization in Ukraine. For this reason, unchanged to this day, there resounds a slogan in Ukraine, spontaneously, naturally, lawfully: down with kolkhozes. Let's have de-collectivization; land for private toiling ownership of the peasant — these are unchangeable slogans until today . . . Kolkhozes are a Russian invention. Kolkhozes are a means of national and social enslavement. Let's have bigger private plots! Let's have private ownership of land of the farmers! Down with kolkhozes, as it had been down with landlords! Russian and Communist sharks get out!

It is not by chance that such slogans are becoming more and more widespread since collectivization is an anti-natural phenomenon in Ukraine. One of the prominent Ukrainian cultural leaders writes that de-Christianization, collectivization, colonial industrialization, and resettlement from the village to the city has ruined the Ukrainian traditional structures of centuries and this will have far-reaching negative effects on the Ukrainian people. This is not a rhetorical or a literary phrase. A bit of statistics: Soviet agriculture employs about 30 % of the entire work force of the USSR, five times greater than West Germany. The farmers of Western Europe are capable of producing enough foodstuffs to guarantee the feeding of the European Community. The USSR manages not to import grain only in exceptional years. Industrial progress is manifested by the fact that a smaller number of farmers suffices to feed other fellow-citizens. Recently Brezhnev boastfully declared that they managed to supply the population with agricultural products from the 42 million hectares of cultivated land in Kazakhstan and Siberia. Upon the orders of Khrushchev, Brezhnev, the then Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, had been developing the "virgin lands" until the wind scattered the top soil and this became one of the reasons for the fall of Krushchev. In any event, the allegedly good present harvest in the virgin lands — in the words of Brezhnev — makes it possible to barely feed the population without imports. But why is it so? In the past, Ukraine alone was the grainery of Europe. But Brezhnev kept silent in embarrassment about another proof of complete bankruptcy of the collective system. The West European farmer, for instance, in particular the West German, harvests 43 double centners of grain from one hectare while in the USSR one hectare yields a bit less than 16 double centners of grain, hence two and a half times less. The farmers in the USSR on the average get 2000 liters of milk from

one cow, while the West German ones get 3,600 liters... Compare: the private and the kolkhoz economy. The Soviet farmer can cultivate on his own the maximum of 5000 sq. meters of land. These small parcels of land and tiny gardens amount to no more than 1% of all cultivable land in the USSR, yet they take care of 12 % (twelve percent!) of all food needs. Is this not a catastrophic figure for all admirers of the kolkhoz system, which more than all theories points to the absolute bankruptcy of kolkhoz economy. Megalomania afflicts Brezhnev, just as it afflicted Stalin, Hitler and Khrushchev. In all likelihood, he will twist his neck on it, especially with the resistance of the subjugated nations.

Concretely speaking, for Brezhnev the problem of the subjugated nations, including the Baltic states, has been solved. In the next 15 years, he is planning to make 50 million hectares of land from the Baltic to West Siberia suitable land for either grain production or pasture land, i. e. cultivable land four times that of West Germany. These are the new virgin lands. A gigantic sum of 35 billion rubles is being set aside for this purpose. Brezhnev talked about this in Alma Ata in connection with the 20th anniversary of Khrushchev's "opening of the virgin lands" in Kazakhstan... The sum of 35 billion rubles is 25 % of all agricultural expenditures for the years 1971-1974. Brezhnev stated that this was a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that the present "virgin lands" — 42 million hectares which were made suitable for agriculture in the last 20 years, today supply 27 % of all USSR grain. The question arises, how is it possible that 50 billion hectares of land suitable for agriculture just lay about without "being seen" by the brilliant CC CPSU and its chiefs? It must be assumed that for the drying out of swamps, cutting down of forests and so forth Moscow will "recruit" new prisoners, as had been the case with the

infamous construction of the „unique“ canals in the Stalin-Beria period... Brezhnev also remembered the need for reorganization of the Soviet agriculture on the „modern, industrial“ basis. Therefore, recalling the agro-cities of Krushchev, he announced the merging of collective and state farms, their fusion into „large production companies“ which should apply „industrial methods of agriculture“, adopting the achievements of science and technology. ... The same process of centralization is taking place in industry... Hence, the new Bolshevik cartels, trusts and monopolies... The ownership „for life“ of the kolkhozes is disappearing and in practice everything will become „life“ state farms...

A new deception of the peoples... A new method of putting the blame on

someone else... A new imperial policy in the economic sector as well... A new centralization of the occupying power's government in the agricultural field... Hence, completely natural and spontaneous are the slogans down with kolkhozes, down with sovkhoses, „agro-cities“, or other „large production companies“, or „economic regions“!... The process of national and social liberation revolution unfolds normally and naturally. The kolkhoz system is failing, although the occupation regime keeps it through terror not only as an economic system of occupation, but also as a system dictated by military considerations... The struggle in this segment of life is of primary importance, for this is the struggle against anti-natural, anti-Ukrainian, Russian way of life imposed on Ukraine by force.



Ukrainian and Byelorussian Delegations at the 7th WACL Conference in Washington, D.C. April 8-11, 1974. — From left to right: Dr. S. Halamay, Mr. Y. Deremenda, Dr. A. Bedriy, Dr. M. Kushnir (Ukraine), Mr. P. Pleskachevsky, J. Kossiak (Byelorussia).

The Invincibility of the National Idea

A young Ukrainian underground author says the following about the national idea: "The national idea exists and will continue to exist. It is real for us today and means the fullness of the sovereign nation and cultural existence of the Ukrainian nation. The national idea encompasses countless other ideas common to mankind — and the very absorption by the national idea, a dedication to it, leads at the same time into the most secret depths of other social and spiritual needs... The national question is knitted together by thousands of the finest threads with the most essential question of human conscience... Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself."

The late Vasyl Symonenko, a poet of Ukraine, most likely killed by the KGB ten years ago at the age of 29, called: "My nation exists! My nation will always exist! Nobody will eradicate my nation!", and: "Be silent Americas and Russias, when I speak with you (Ukraine)!"

Lev Lukyanenko, a young lawyer condemned to death (later commuted to 15 years of hard labour), declared in Mordovia (1972): "If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine!"

A young Estonian prisoner in Mordovia proudly said, "Do you know Estonia is one thousand years old. Once, there were sixty Estonians and Estonia survived. Estonia has survived in camps as well." And on one occasion, presenting a bouquet to a representative of the government, which when unwrapped turned out to be a mesh of barbed wire a prisoner shouted: "Long live free Estonia!" — and then all knew that Estonia was alive. This incident from camp life was related by Prof. Osadchyi, sentenced again to 10 years ("Cataract", 1972).

Or Ali Khashahullov, a North Caucasian (Ingushet) sentenced as a young boy for anti-Russian nationalist (Ingushet) activity said mournfully: "If our

nation does disappear, a skeleton of a wolf will harden high up in the mountains. Of a giant wolf. This will be the last wolf of the world. Wolf means the native land, its symbol, its flag. When the Ingushets were deported to Kazakhstan during the war, the wolves also disappeared from the Waynakh Hills. The wolves would not live without the Ingushets, who were deprived of their fatherland. The wolves did not wish to become a flag for foreigners... If I knew, says Ali, that my language would die tomorrow, I would die today..."

The wolf and the native land... The Russians-foreigners. Where can one find Bolshevik "success" here? These are testimonials of the total bankruptcy of Communist Sovietism and the Russian "older brother" theory.

"If Yurko — the son of Gen. R. Shukhevych — Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — had denounced his father he would be in the Crimea long ago."

"Go away, scoundrel", says Yurko to an overseer from the KGB who tries to talk him into signing a statement renouncing his father, "go away or I'll send you to a mausoleum..." Yurko languished for his father for 19 years already in camps of severe regime (1968). After serving his 20-year sentence, Yurko Shukhevych was sentenced anew on September 9th, 1972, to 15 years!

The young people have revived, have renewed themselves, have gained new life. They have grasped the great idea and revived faith in it.

"A nation is a temple, the desecration of which constitutes the greatest crime... Let the tenth part of a nation remain, but with full-valued spirituality — this is not yet fatal. A whole willow grows from a piece of a full-valued willow twig. We live in the spontaneously irrational, in the depths, by roots alone which continuously sprout but rarely reach normal blossom", says one of the greatest heroes in the

field of cultural creativity — Valentyn Moroz, convicted to 14 years of severe regime imprisonment. **"Denationalization is deherolization... de-Christianization, collectivization, colonialist industrialization, mass resettlements from village to city — all this constituted a destruction unprecedented in Ukraine's history of traditional Ukrainian structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed..."**

This formula summarizes the position of the young generation as far as its program and outlook on the world are concerned. It is deeply rooted in the traditional national spirituality. "An individual who respects, knows and loves the history of his nation — lives not only his own lifetime but as long as his people, his land... The nation is immortal, it will live... Know yourself in your people..."

The young generation is captivated by the heroism of its ancestors. It gave rise to legends which were revived by the young people: "Legends which cultivate and raise our spirit above this abyss, writes a young author... legends about the transmigrations of souls, contemplation of the soul's immortality, legends about the continuity of the kin, about the immortality of a people... We are speaking about the legend of the nation's eternity..."

The entire class theory, Marxism, Sovietism with its theory of the traditionless "Soviet" people, the world proletariat, of the withering away of nations, the class struggle, are 'useless!

Bolsheviks Were Unable to Change the Soul of the Subjugated Nations

The struggle is deeply rooted in its ideological and political motivation. It also determines the quality and the substance of freedom toward which the young fighters of the subjugated nations aspire. The struggle is neither being waged from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, nor from positions of philosophical mate-

rialism in general, but just the opposite.

I shall not use my own words, but those of representatives of the young generation in relating what they write and say regarding ideological, political and strategic positions. I regret that I am not able to give their names, but some of them have still managed to escape arrest.

This is what the young generation teaches: "God has created man... When there is no God, there are no people... While building the kingdom of God Christians have resurrected the dead spirituality... Happy are those who have God... The basis of morality is the idea of God and the immortality of the soul... Spiritual life is the only genuine life... The Church, the bearer of the spirit, must be preserved... The main thing is to defend the Church..."

The young generation has reached the level of ontology. In the face of imposed Marxist materialism it would be a mistake to remain without an answer to the problem of man's origin and being.

Ethics motivated by religion has a lasting foundation. It is not by chance that one underground author in Ukraine writes: "We shall build the holy cathedral, send our spirit to heaven and it will stand for centuries... How much did our ancestors have to sacrifice while inculcating in their children human ideas, beliefs, selfless love of truth and respect for the God of their ancestors..."

Religion has been placed at the foundation of cultural creativity: "It is impossible to imagine traditional cultural treasures outside the Church... A struggle against the Church means a struggle against culture... How many times was the nation saved by the Church alone... Under the conditions (prevalent) in our countries, the Church was the only force independent of the government..."

"The apotheosis of man as a creature like unto God and not a cog. How can stone-age despotism be ingrained in the soul of a Ukrainian, who as early as the Middle Ages elected and deposed the Cossack chief, 'Koshovyy', and could himself become a 'Koshovyy', who gave birth to the philosophy of Skovoroda — A hymn to human individuality, with the maxim 'know thyself' . . . philosophy for which the Ego is the basis of everything, even of the kingdom of God, and even God himself is nothing other than the fully developed Ego. He who knows himself has found the desired treasure of God . . . The true man and God are one and the same!"

In the face of these and similar documentary revelations of the point of view of the young generation inside the subjugated nations, the Sovietologists of most of Western research institutes with their thesis about the "new" Communist and later even the "Soviet" man can declare their bankruptcy.

Traditions of the Subjugated Nations and their Own Way of Life

In their literary, historical, philosophical and sociological works, the young persecuted authors express the following views: The past is our greatest treasure, a spiritual shield, a highly tested experience. An individual with just the present is like a tree without roots . . . We deposit into the immortal national treasury our very best and take from it as much as one can . . . We pour ourselves as a drop into its (national) sea and think about the eternity of the sea . . ." And an underground author makes a typical assertion: "Our nation did not follow the older brother (the Russian people - Y.S.) . . . but chose a difficult, thorn-covered spiritual path — but **its own** . . ."

The young generation discovers the road of reawakening in the struggle for the assertion of its own values. It de-

clares, "The present events in Ukraine are also a turning-point: The ice of fear which firmly bound the spiritual life of the nation for many years is breaking . . ."

"Spiritual slavery — says another author — is the greatest national calamity; prosperity makes a man neither great nor happy. What is it all worth in comparison with freedom, with life for which you strive, and with the right to think! Wealth is to be found within ourselves, and not in money, property or deeds . . . **Conscience is the worst torture . . .**"

"No matter where you go — writes still another author — there are foreign bayonets . . . The Russians stand in regiments. The stronger think, strive to counteract evil . . . The weaker — only pray . . . We have no right to die as long as our people live in slavery . . . The earth will not receive us, will throw us out . . ."

In the face of Brezhnev's neo-Stalinist terror, also toward the creators of cultural values, such a mighty: "But, why do they now fear the **Word** more than hundreds of swords? . . . The bonfires . . . were turning into ashes, concealing every spark for the conflagrations to come, which will yet raise the flames as crimson banners and herald the great day . . . All of us are precursors . . . The messiahs will follow in our footsteps . . . They cannot help coming . . . Nothing is permanent in the world, including falsehood . . . The Messiah will come soon and through his sufferings save the people and their freedom . . ."

Persecution, suffering and death is the road which leads toward resurrection.

"Jesus was seized . . . and crucified . . . and he rose forever in the hearts of the unfortunate . . . We are but precursors . . ." say the unsubdued of our days about themselves. **We live in the pre-revolutionary era in the Russian prison of nations and individuals, a**

colossus on clay feet, a colossus on a volcano.

And today our purpose is to point out its weak spots in order to help liberate the free world from the fear of a rabbit hypnotized by a boa constrictor.

"Tyrants love tears and repentance, while somebody's uncrushed dignity is the same for them as a knife in the heart!"

Just as in the early stages of Christianity, the enemy-tyrant is afraid of the word, that is, of ideas and of the faith backing it. The thermonuclear age is an ideological age and requires an ideological struggle.

The young generation of the subjugated nations has been re-born. It has stood up in ideological and active defence of national traditionalism, of the national heroism of life, of heroic religiosity, and heroic humanity, of the individual.

"It is impossible to break people, to turn them into slaves, until you steal their holy days, until you destroy their traditions, until you trample on their cathedrals...", state the contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals.

And in contradiction to the thesis about the so-called Soviet fatherland, the young generation firmly declares, "one can choose one's friends and one's wife, but not one's fatherland; a human being has but one mother, or none at all" (V. Symonenko).

After 40 years the nations still hate the collective system which suppresses man's "Ego", individualism and creative initiative and transforms people into a flock, the individual into a "small cog" as a well known writer from Ukraine puts it. One of the young poets — presently in prison — writes: "... and the soil became a torment for Ukraine, just as the kolkhozes a modern compulsory service for a landlord... compulsory service — 3 days, kolkhoz — 7 days; three buckwheat sowers out of three do not sow ..."

V. Moroz, the defender of the national principle of world organization, of traditionalism, of Christian — or rather religious foundations of culture, and the defender of one of the oldest centers of Ukrainian pre-Christian and Christian culture, i. e. old town Kosmach, contrasts Kosmach to Babylon — i. e., the organic, natural, and national concept of world organization to the fusing of nations concept. Megalopolis effaces the individual and kills freedom. As Ihor Kalynets, poet and philosopher, proposes a new model for world order, Moroz, historian, advances a universal conception for saving the world, in another complementary aspect. However, neither of them was offered the nobel-prize so far. Knut Skueniks, a well known Latvian intellectual, staying in the Mordovian concentration camps, characterizes Ihor Kalynets's work as follows: "The Ukrainian, Kalynets, also presents a new world model. He has created it in a surprisingly quiet and profound way. You may enter it and leave it perplexed. You may fail to understand it but you will remain perplexed. You will start looking for something. If you find it — you are lucky; if you don't — you deny, at your pithecanthrope's low level, this new world and you brand the poet as being 'antique'. You exclude him from society, but one day your grandchildren will cling to this new world and you will be helpless.

The art must be created and managed by artists. If some other manager — a dogmatist — takes over the art it will perish. Art does not tolerate ignoramuses — it belongs to the sphere of a jeweller, not an artisan."

"When you enter into literature — clean your shoes" — says Vyshnya (a famous Ukrainian humorist, longtime prisoner of Stalinist prisons). Latvian Knut Skueniks writes: "Art is created by those who have a free mind. An enslaved mind can only create an ingenious model of everyday life in enslavement and reproduce its frame and

bars. However, it will never be able to produce an advanced world model, i. e. a model people will understand later on..." (M. Osadchyi "Cataract").

Truth Is Dead without Its Carriers

Truth does not triumph of itself. It triumphs when its carriers are ready to sacrifice their lives for it. **"What is important is to believe, the arguments will find themselves..."** No apostle has ever converted anyone by arguments. Not a single spiritual revolution had occurred without apostles. Contemporary renaissance is also impossible without them..." writes the unbroke Valenty Moroz.

And Ivan Dzyuba said: "There are epochs when decisive battles are fought in the sphere of social morality, public conduct, when even the elementary human dignity resisting brutal terror can become a revolutionary force. Our age also belongs to such epochs..."

Valenty Moroz continues: "It is possible to have great spiritual treasures, but they simply will not be noticed if they are not taken by an **infatuated** person and melted down in the furnace of his infatuation... Contemporary Ukraine needs apostles, not accommodators, not realists with their 'arguments'. Not one spiritual revolution has taken place without apostles... If we want to be Ukrainians, let us fear a 'realist' like fire... **Ukraine is a flower which has grown among the snows...** An idea is not enough. An idea is bare and dry — what is needed is its living embodiment..."

"The truth is known — what is needed is faith... Faith needs absolute truth, dogmas. Dogmas — says V. Moroz — are gladly criticized by all, and this is understandable in our reality, but while pursuing this petty occupation they somehow failed to notice that an individual without any dogmas, an individual who does not believe in anything, has become the main danger. Nihilism has set in — a product of mass culture... In a human being the

technical function is being developed hypertrophically at the expense of the spiritual and this for some reason is called progress."

"... Let us look at national history", — writes a young philosopher of history currently in prison — "had not those become its heroes who with a child's smile have passed over abysses and have raised highest the spirit of **rational immortality**? Have not the practical, the down-to-earth and the ill-adjusted been forgotten..., who ridiculed the Don Quixotes. For legends are created by a Don Quixote, who glances with a fiery look beyond the summits of life. And the rash Don Quixotes become heroes of folk tales (sagas) and national history... but the people collect the traces of the great, often futile, efforts of a Don Quixote, into a legend singing praises to the madness of the courageous..."

When I. Dzyuba issued a **statement of repentance**, V. Moroz declared to the court: "Well, we shall fight. Just now, when one has signed a statement of repentance, another one reclassified himself as a translator — just now it is necessary for someone to give an example of firmness... The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind bars is not easy for anyone. But not to respect oneself — this is more difficult yet. And therefore we shall fight!"

As can be seen from the facts of direct struggle, the subjugated nations possess those who believe in the idea of national liberation, its apostles and carriers. Therefore, neither the idea nor its carriers can be killed any more.

Nationalism — An Unconquerable Force

How inflammatory is the national idea is evidenced by protest self-immolations:

— On November 5, 1968, **Vasyl Makukh**, 50, the father of two children, the fighter of UPA and the Organiza-

tion of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), long-term prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps, burned himself in Kyiv with the exclamation: "Long live free Ukraine!"

— On January 20, 1969, the Czech student, **Jan Palach**, immolated himself in Prague while shouting: "It is better to die in flames than to live under Russian colonial yoke!"

— On February 10, 1969, — the Ukrainian patriot and former prisoner of concentration camps **Mykola Beryslavskiy**, 55, the father of three children, attempted self-immolation as protest against Russification, for which he was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment.

— On May 14, 1972, — the Lithuanian nationalist student **Romas Kalanta** burned himself in Kaunas with the exclamation: "Long live independent Lithuania!"

— On May 29, 1972, — Lithuanian worker **Stonis**, 29.

— On June 3, 1972, — Lithuanian worker **Andrus Kukavicius**, 60.

— On June 9, 1972, — attempted self-immolation of the Lithuanian **Zalish Kauskas**.

— The heroic conduct before the court of the Lithuanian sailor, **Simonas Kudirka**, sentenced to 10 years of harsh imprisonment, who greeted his verdict with the exclamation: "I demand freedom for my fatherland, Lithuania!"

— The heroic conduct of the young Ukrainian historian, **Valentyn Moroz**, in a Russian court, with his by now famous expression: "If having placed me behind bars, you were counting on creating something of a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then this is not serious. Try to understand at last: There won't be any vacuum any more!"

The national idea is embodied in concrete action, in direct struggle of the subjugated nations in their native lands and in the concentration camps, as for example, the much publicized hunger

strike in Potma in March 1972, in which the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish and other political prisoners participated; street revolts and disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk in 1972; the armed clashes of Georgian nationalists with the Russian occupation detachments in Tiflis; armed clashes in Erivan, Armenia, also occurring in recent years...

In June 1971, a revolt broke out among the Kabardinians (North Caucasus) in the city of Nalchyk. It was crushed by military units of the Russian KGB, and a woman was even executed by shooting after a closed trial. In December 1972, in Derbenti, in Dagestan (North Caucasus), armed kolkhoz workers forced the KGB to release the head of the kolkhoz, who had given meat to starving peasants. In June 1971, in Tyraspol, the Moldavian students demonstrated for two days for secession of Moldavia from the USSR and its annexation to Rumania... During the 1972 Jewish Passover, the KGB organs provoked racial disturbances between the Kabardinians and the Jews in the course of which the KGB killed 8 Kabardinians and two Jews in Nalchyk.

In Estonia, there appeared the renowned letter of the representatives of the Estonian intelligentsia defending the right of the Estonian people to independence, and threatening that the time will come when the tanks will not be marching on Prague and Bratislava, but on Moscow and Leningrad.

In Turkestan, in May 1969, the Uzbeks shouting "Russians get out of Uzbekistan" revolted in the concentration camps. These disturbances spread across Tashkent and Bukhara. The famous struggle of Crimean Tartars, defended by General Hryhorenko (Ukrainian), is by now widely known throughout the world. The Armenian groups, "Shand", ("in the name of the fatherland") and "Paros" (torch) fought in 1919/70 for independence and unity of Armenia, publishing a periodical and

leaflets. Its members included students and workers.

The heroic national and religious efforts and decisive resistance to Russification are renowned throughout the subjugated world. Lithuania has not and never will put down its arms in its struggle for independence and the Christian religion.

In Byelorussia, the writer Bikov strongly protested against the Russification of the country. Byelorussian youth raised its voice in protest...

An underground organization was founded by the Latvians in 1962 called the "Baltic Federation". Its aim was to fight for independence of the Baltic nations — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — and to jointly counteract the Russian occupants...

In Bulgaria and Rumania, national resistance is constantly growing. In Hungary, there were new student disturbances in 1973! In Poland a revolt by workers, in 1971 was responsible for the toppling of Gomulka.

Is it possible to stop the process of disintegration of world empires (the number of United Nations members which has tripled proves it) for any inconceivable reason whatsoever at the frontier of the totalitarian, antireligious Russian empire?! The fundamental contradictions of the empire and the system are realized and felt by the subjugated nations every day as they are no longer illiterate but, on the contrary, every average person is highly educated, all the more so as these captive nations (such as Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Armenia and others) are in possession of ancient, over a thousand-year-old cultures. Does the permanent Soviet and Communist propaganda with respect to the attributes of sovereignty for the newly created states, e. g. on the African continent — as armed forces of their own, separation from the "metropolis" and from the empire, sovereign foreign policy, withdrawal of imperialist armies from the former colonies etc.

— not remind even a pupil of a primary school in Byelorussia or Azerbaijan, Estonia or Latvia of the complete contradiction between windy rhetoric and the reality, i. e. the colonialist situation of those nations which are constantly exposed to the Russian KGB, Russification, the Russian occupational army, the lack of any sovereignty as to decisions concerning their own affairs etc.?! In the mentality of even the subjugated nations' children the question of national independence is always on the order of the day, even being supported by official propaganda. When attacking the Western states' nonexistent colonialism and imperialism the Russian occupants are employing a two-edged sword.

Consequently, liberation nationalism of the subjugated nations in the cruelest Russian empire is not only stimulated by the inborn striving towards the creation of their own way of life but it is also conditioned by international development. The national principle as opposed to the imperialist one is the slogan of the present era.

V. A. Kapshytser, a recent Jewish emigrant from the USSR to Israel, writes: "One of the major questions facing us is the national question... The national forces are breaking the Communist empire apart..."

Brezhnev denotes "local patriotism" as related to "nationalism" in the economic sphere. After the mass arrests in Ukraine the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Shcherbytskyi, the successor of Shelest, stated during the April assembly of the CC of Ukraine in 1973 that many authors revealed national conceit and limitation, idealized the patriarchal system, interpreted the history of Ukraine in the light of depraved ideological views on "originality". The party secretaries of Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Uzbekistan, Armenia and other pseudo-republics were removed from their posts because they had not been successful in fighting

their nations' liberation nationalism. The "Ukrainian Historical Journal" (No. 3, 1973) states in the essay entitled "Anti-Sovietism — the Chief Trend of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalist Subversive Activity", that nationalism cannot be repressed. The author, V. P. Cherednychenko, is quoting from Lenin: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two slogans which irreconcilably oppose each other expressing two policies (rather: two world outlooks) with respect to the national question". In order "to overcome any manifestations of nationalism in the economy" the Russian imperialist leadership is also forcefully unifying the economic geography according to the Tsarist model. The theoretically existing sovereignty of the "republics" being violated, seven economic regions have to be created: The Far East, Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Northern Centre, Volga-Ural, Central Asia and the South. The so-called "Ug" (South) of the USSR exactly corresponds to the "Ug" (South) of Tsarist Russia. It includes among others Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and North Caucasus. The food shortage in Ukraine (1973) — the richest European country — proves the bankruptcy of the system as well as the imperialist extermination and exploitation policy. So does the purchase of grain in the USA or Canada and even Germany.

The empire is undergoing a period of economic recession, too.

W. Kollarz says: "Nationalism is a kind of explosive against Communism" and "finally Communism may capitulate before nationalism at the international scale" (see "Communism and Colonialism", London/New York (1964), p. 13).

Popular Movements (Nationwide)

It must be stated that the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations are popular movements, in which an active part is taken not only by students and intellectuals, but

also by workers and collective farmers.

According to Andrei Amalrik, out of the 134 signatures appearing under one Kyiv protest letter in defense of prisoners, 25 % were those of workers of the Kyiv factories.

The strength of our movement was always to be found in the people, who continuously produced ever new heroes.

It is significant that the city is also becoming a part of the liberation struggle. This is an important phenomenon. The countryside was the mainstay of the OUN - UPA to the greatest extent. It is a good turn of events that the city is taking over its due role. To demoralize the village is the enemy strategy. Ukraine's reply: while defending the village, a successful advance upon the city. The intellectual elite, the students, the workers are standing on the frontlines... Not only an ideological but also active struggle has developed, e. g. the actions of students and workers. The same things are occurring in Lithuania (Kaunas), Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Croatia, North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The so-called Samvydav (self-publication) from the subjugated countries, widely known in the world, is proof of this. The **Ukrainian Herald**, an uncensored publication of the Ukrainian patriots, besides political statements and documentation, also carries literary works while the **Chronicle of Current Events** limits itself only to an informative content. The **Exodus**, dealing with Jewish affairs, and other periodical and non-periodical publications outside censorship published in Estonia, Lithuania (**Lithuanian Herald**), Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan and Latvia reveal a similar purpose as that of the **Ukrainian Herald**.

What is the heart of the matter? Yuriy Yofe — an emigrant from the USSR to Israel — stated: "The Democratic

Movement (in Russia) is a purely intellectual phenomenon, which was never so popular as, for instance, the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement..."

We repeat: A characteristic trait of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations is its nationwide scope. In connection with the occupant's total offensive upon the entire contents and way of life of the subjugated nations, a massive counteroffensive is being waged. This means that there is in progress a struggle for a farmer's right to the private ownership of land, at least for an increase in size of so-called private plots of land, versus the collective system imposed by force and terror; in contrast to compulsory socialist realism, i. e. the cultivation of the reality of slavery in spiritual creativity, there is a return to the national traditions, to the individual sources of spirituality of each nation; in opposition to militant atheism there comes the cult of the ancestral religion, the millennial or centuries-old traditions; against the "Orthodox Church" subservient to the Kremlin regime, which serves the atheist government and whose mission it is to become the third Rome, each nation's own religious traditions combined with the national idea are fearlessly defended. Side by side with the ideological, cultural, intellectual, literary and artistic struggle in the sphere of the humanities which encompass the entire complex of spiritual creativity; side by side with philosophical idealism, with so-called historicism — i. e. the cult of great national figures of the age of national independence and historic grandeur of past centuries — there come the student rebellions (Tahanrih), in which the students openly take an anti-government stand at seminars; there are disturbances among the peasant youth, as confirmed by the Soviet press, while revolutionary attitudes become rampant among former prisoners ("Izvestia"). In the Chernihiv region, collective farmers

refused to give up their private plots of land, winning an increase in their size ("Izvestia"). In some state farms of the Kazakh SSR, the workers systematically reduced their time of work ("Selskoe Khozyaystvo"). In some Ukrainian regions the miners forced the management to increase their wages ("Pravda Ukrainy"). In Dniprodzerzhynsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning with 1955 and up to 1974, there are countless such examples. What is the heart of the matter?

The decisive factor, it must be emphasized, is that various strata within the subjugated nations have joined in the struggle. They are fighting to fully realize their idea of the substance of each sector of life. Such a fulfillment can be achieved only in their own independent states. A precondition of essential changes in every sphere of life is each nation's own government in its own land. Without the sovereign rule of a given nation there is "no land and no freedom". Therefore the new slogan is not "Land and Freedom", but "Sovereign Rule, Land and Freedom". This is self-evident to all strata of the subjugated nations. Without a political revolution, that is without the assumption of power by those staging it, i. e. the subjugated nations, there is no fulfillment of the aspirations of any stratum of a people. The essence of the present stage of the liberation struggle is a spontaneous and systematic mobilization of the broad circles within the subjugated nations in order to reach the zenith — the renewal of national statehood, which only then will make an all-round development of a modern nation possible. The slogan, "freedom", alone is insufficient. Freedom is a framework which must be filled with the contents. Freedom is a prerequisite, an opportunity to make a choice among diverse values. It is mandatory to clearly define for what values, for

what qualities does one stand. The peoples have been deceived for many decades. A struggle for justice, for lawfulness — this is a revolutionary slogan which mobilizes the moral sentiments in a system of "legalized" lawlessness and disfranchisement. Political self-determination — we underline — is not a mobilizing slogan, for Lenin even added "including secession" to it, yet he was able to deceive the people. Therefore, the only rallying cry is national independence — complete separation from Russia. There is no other alternative. The disintegration of the empire and the re-establishment of independent national democratic states is an attractive goal. A struggle is being waged for sovereign rule, for freedom and justice, for the realization of the nations' own ways of life in their own states. In this aim there are simultaneously concentrated the definition of the contents of every phase of national life, the principles of its organization, for never in the history (e. g. of Western empires) was there a situation where a subjugated nation had to fight not only against military occupation and economic exploitation, but also against a hostile spirituality, sociality, a contradictory way of life, an entirely different system of life and beliefs. Bolshevism, Communism, Sovietism, the Russian way of life, the spiritual, cultural and religious Russification are neither a Lithuanian, nor a Georgian, nor an Estonian, nor a Byelorussian, nor a Turkestani, nor an Azerbaijani, nor a Jewish, nor a Ukrainian way of life. A characteristic phenomenon of the contemporary era of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations inside the Russian empire and in the Communist-dominated countries is that hand in hand with the direct forms and methods of struggle, such as demonstrations, strikes, revolts, mass actions and armed clashes, goes the ideological, political, cultural and religious struggle, a struggle of two

opposite concepts of life — the Russian, Bolshevik, Communist concept and that of the subjugated nations. It is a clash of total national organisms, of the captor and his captives, who are not only physically oppressed and economically exploited, but attempts are also being made to deprive them of their national soul. And this is essential in that struggle, the struggle for the souls of nations!

And the greatest achievement of our liberation struggle, a guarantee of our victory is the fact that the struggle for the soul of the subjugated nations was taken up by the young generation, which at times was born of parents already grown up under the Bolshevik occupation, a generation which has never seen the free world, but to the contrary, was reared in an atmosphere hostile to its own nation, in the spirit of the occupant.

The banner of traditionalism of a millennium, the primacy of the spirit, the immortality of the soul, the banner of the nation, of the eternity of a nation was raised by the generation of the sixties and the seventies, was carried by sons and daughters not only of inmates of prisons and concentration camps, but also of average workers, collective farmers and even technocrats.

This is the greatest blow suffered by the Communist ideology and system of occupation, in recent decades.

For this reason, it will be impossible to crush the national aspirations. As a rule, the revolution of soldiers was preceded by the revolution of poets and creators of spiritual values.

The ideological, spiritual, moral and political revolution, is a precondition of armed revolution. The creativity of the young generation has a clear national political aim: The national state.

Revolution Possible

In the thermo-nuclear and the ideological age, the most timely and real is the liberation, revolutionary, insurgent

concept which will destroy the empire and the system from within. In the fall of 1970, manoeuvres of MVD forces took place near Moscow under the slogan, "Suppression of Uprisings in Concentration Camps..."

The uprisings of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Armenian, Byelorussian and other prisoners in concentration camps in 1953-1959, the disturbances and revolutionary upheavals in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechia and Slovakia, the nationwide insurrection in Ukraine in 1942-1953, the partisan warfare in Lithuania have established that revolutionary struggle is possible, even in the totalitarian, Russian, imperialistic system. The courageous acts of Croatian nationalists have proven the weakness of Yugoslavia as an artificial, forced, colonial structure in Europe.

Simultaneous and not separate, isolated revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated peoples are the surest road to liberation. The occupational regime will be powerless when confronted with them for it will not be able to use nuclear arms, this being self-destructive (also because of radioactive fallout). Moreover, the administrative machinery itself is infiltrated by anti-imperial and anti-Communist elements. The Soviet Army is composed not only of Russians but also of soldiers from the subjugated countries, while the satellite armies — as shown by the Hungarian Revolution, the disturbances in Poland and the events in Czechia and Slovakia — will not take a stand against their own rebelling compatriots, but to the contrary will themselves rise against the occupant. What is more, the soldiers of the Soviet Army, which is based on universal, compulsory military service, are tightly bound with their nations, living by the same ideals as their fathers and mothers.

It is not an isolated incident that four years ago, on August 31, 1970, in military court of the Baltic Military

District there ended a trial of an underground organization inside the Army which had its branches in Poland, Azerbaijan and other places. The resonance of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will be heard in the armed forces. Neither the KGB nor the Party are able to protect it against this, since the soldiers of the Soviet Army are an inseparable part of the nations from which they come. It was not a chance occurrence that in the first half of 1973 over 15,000 young Ukrainians of military age were thrown into punitive detachments along the Sino-Soviet border.

Not only the captive nations' aspiration of freedom and independence makes them strong but also the fact that their fighters dispose of technological weapons as well, including the most modern type thereof, as it is impossible to exclude over 200 million captive nationals from technological production. It is the unsolvable contradictions of the imperialist Russian and the Communist system that constitute a decisive weakness on the part of the subjugator. Openly turning to Russian chauvinism and attempting to completely russify the captive nations proves the weakness and bankruptcy of Communism in the USSR.

Can one expect of any self-respecting nation, even the most insignificant one, to idolize its subjugator and exploiter as "elder brother" as the Russifiers are constantly demanding and repeating? The young Ukrainian intellectual Ivan Dzyuba dared to describe and condemn this situation in his work "Internationalism or Russification?", published in English by Weidenfeld and Nicholson in London, and in other languages as well.

It will be interesting to know that Prof. Sakharov writes in his book on the renewal of Russian chauvinism and the hostilities of the Russians to the non-Russians: "Russian anti-Semitism is an example of this".

The Russian occupants and their serfs are frightened by, the fact that American and British intellectual elites are beginning to understand and appreciate liberation nationalism. Nationalism is not Nazism, Fascism, imperialism, colonialism, anti-Semitism and the like, but their opposite ideological and political philosophy. It implies the independence of each nation, patriotism, true democracy residing in the nation and including the entire people — not just stratum, class or group; it also means to respect the right of even the smallest nation of the world to independence and abolish exploitation of any nation in the world; it is an anti-Communist and anti-totalitarian ideology stressing heroic humanity and social justice, idealism, anti-Marxism, the primacy of the national and social elements over egoism, and of national heroism of life. Therefore, nationalism frightens Moscow. An American sociologist, quite often referred to by Bolshevik theoreticians, Hans Kohn, says that nationalism is a social phenomenon "wherein all problems of recent and contemporary history are condensed". The well known English economist investigating the problems of international politics, Barbara Ward, maintains that "nationalism is undoubtedly the most powerful political force today" ("Five Ideas That Change the World", New York (1959), p. 19). The former executive director of the CIA, L. Kirpatrick, Jr., shares this view; in 1969 he wrote: "We no longer doubt that nationalism is the most powerful explosive force in world society..."

All these quotations have been taken from Soviet journals, which show that Moscow is afraid of possible Western interest in liberation nationalism.

By means of brutal terror — hundreds and thousands of patriots and cultural workers being its victims — by throwing them into mental asylums, using chemical and medical devices for breaking man's will power, assassi-

nating fighters for national independence, applying national and cultural genocide, Russification, another artificial famine in Europe's richest agricultural country, imposing a phantom-like concept of a Soviet people, artificially creating and imposing a new unified system of economic geography in the empire, intermixing the nations — by mass deportations — the Russian usurpers are trying in vain to counteract the liberation nationalism of the captive nations.

The Road to Liberation

The spiritual and moral revolution is a real fact. It is a precondition of a political revolution. The national political revolution is unconquerable provided it grows out of the traditional original elements of spirituality and sociality of a given nation. Synchronization of the national and social revolution is a guarantee of its success.

Now a particular struggle is being waged in the cultural sphere, for it is a battle for the national and human soul. Before the soldiers take to arms, a revolution is staged by poets and artists.

A consequence of this is the inclusion of the spokesman of the extensive police and terror apparatus, Andropov, and that of Bonapartism, Marshal Grechko, in the highest Party organ. The presence of Gromyko in that body testifies to the success of the policy of weakening the West. This policy also furthers the intensification of terror inside the country. Brezhnev (Party) and Kosygin (Administration), Andropov (KGB), Grechko (the Military), Shelepin (Trade Unions) and so forth — all organized forms of violence are united in the highest body of the Party. Their chief aim is to save the empire from revolts of the subjugated nations. Re-Stalinization, intensified Russification, mass imprisonment of fighters for national and human rights, national and cultural genocide, linguicide, modernized methods of terror,

psychiatric clinics, chemical and medical means of breaking an individual's will power, the use of arms in crushing national and social resistance, as well as open revolt of the masses (e.g. Lithuania) — all this characterizes the era of Brezhnev.

Counting for national and religious rights on reformism, evolution, the "human" face of Communism, constitutionalism and democratization from above has proved disappointing. Those who fought for the fulfillment of rights guaranteed by the constitution are behind bars.

There is noticeable one basic difference between dissidents and fighters for national rights, between reformists and nationalists. The former strive to repair the existing empire and system; the latter wish to topple it by re-establishing independent national states. For this reason many of the former belong to the so-called third Russian emigration, while the latter are either executed or languish in concentration camps for 15, 20 and some even for 35 years, as the Ukrainian nationalist Oleksa Bil'skyi, imprisoned since the age of 19, now in Potma, who went blind while in prison. Oleksa Bil'skyi, 55, is suffering imprisonment solely for his nationalistic views, for which he refuses to repent.

The underground organizations continued to exist and still exist. Some were short-lived, others not. The OUN in Ukraine and anywhere else where Ukrainians live is consistently active in the underground.

If the essence of an underground revolutionary organization is primarily ideological unity and political guidelines for action, and afterwards only in the last rank technical contacts for the sake of following these guidelines, which to a large extent can be done openly, then it is impossible to destroy it. If our concept of liberation is not a palace revolt but a general revolt of nations, then the guidelines for their mobilization must be transmitted open-

ly. A description of mass armed action in Novocherkask, Nalchyk or Tiflis broadcast over the radio constitutes a guideline for analogous actions in Dnipropetrovsk, Tashkent or Kaunas and vice versa. In such actions, new leaders emerge. Underground organizations provide an **alternative authority** to that of the occupant. It is also created by **leaders** of spirit and action who have come to the fore openly. This results in the occupant's attempts to force statements of repentance and to discredit the underground as a foreign agency in order to do away with **symbols**, with **alternative leadership**, with the **alternative of the subjugated nations' sovereign rule**.

In order to prevent the enemy from resorting to his wicked techniques of deception, the Lithuanian heroes took out medical certificates prior to their self-immolations attesting that they are mentally healthy. Such instances of courage as that of the young student worker Kalanta, or student Palach, or the fighter of UPA-OUN Makukh are rare in history.

"Glory! Glory! Glory!" shouted the crowd which filled the entire Pekarska Street in Lviv (this occurred throughout the five days). Flowers were tossed to us. They fell on the metal roof of the car, through a crack in the door upon us. When we proceeded to the court building, we walked on a carpet of fresh spring flowers..." writes M. Osadchyi about the trial of the cultural leaders of Ukraine (Cataract, p. 42).

Vasyl Symonenko points to armed struggle as the only road to liberation. "Oh, Kurd, save your cartridges, but do not spare the life of the killers!... **Converse with them with bullets...** Oh, Kurd, save your cartridges. Without them you won't be able to protect your kin!"

There is no path to liberation other than the simultaneous national liberation revolutions of nations subjugated in the USSR and the guerrilla strategy is the only realistic one. Nuclear bombs

cannot be dropped on revolutions and revolutionaries, for this is tantamount to the occupants' committing suicide. The greater the growth of classical military technology, the greater becomes the significance of armed people, the "primitive" method of warfare. On the heels of the general call for further development of conventional arms, there will come a time when voices will be raised in support of uprisings inside the empire of tyrants, as a way of avoiding a nuclear war.

In the nuclear age ideological, psychological and political warfare is becoming more intensive. In military technology and strategy, this is reflected by guerrilla warfare. Both Moscow and Peking are aware of this. This awareness, however, is still lacking among the official circles of the West.

The processes of development inside the subjugated countries normally proceed along the lines of popular uprisings and a joint front of the captives against their captors. It was not by chance that while in a concentration camp, a young Ukrainian poet dedicated his poem "About a Virgin Killed by the Occupants in Golden Prague" to Jan Palach.

Another dedicated his poems to Georgia, Latvia, Moldavia, Byelorussia, and still another wrote:

"If you want your nation to be free, express solidarity with those who are liberating themselves and you will find support among them..."

The invincibility of the spirit and a joint front of struggle of the subjugated is a guarantee of victory.

An Appeal from the Underground

An Appeal from Ukraine, smuggled to the West, appeared in "The Daily Telegraph" on the 16th of August, 1973:

"Our front is compelled to act illegally, and that is why we mail this appeal without signatures. We appeal to the public opinion of the world to

raise its voice in defense of the Ukrainian people, and against Russian despotism.

"The UN Charter and Declaration of Human Rights, which were also signed by the governments of the USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, guarantee to each and every nation the right to national independence and individual freedom. However, the Party and Government of both the USSR and Ukrainian SSR completely disregard their own laws. The latter is, actually, the colonial administration of Ukraine receiving direct orders from Moscow.

"The government of the Ukrainian SSR did not even obtain the privilege for Ukrainian convicts to serve their sentences on Ukrainian territory, for here they are citizens and here they could obtain better assistance from their families. For attempting the realization of just rights, Ukrainian community leaders were punished, some by death (L. Lukyanenko, I. Kandyba who had their sentences commuted to 15 years of prison and concentration camps of severe regime); for attempts to free cultural creativity and for opposing Russification, several hundred cultural workers, poets, artists, scientists and scholars (such as V. Moroz, Y. Sverstyuk, V. Chornovil, I. Svitlychnyi, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, W. Stus, Iryna Senyk, Mykhaylo Osadchyi, I. Hel and others) were punished by heavy sentences of up to 15 years of imprisonment in concentration camps and exile; for protesting against unlawful court proceedings and for the defense of the rights of individuals, punishments in the form of unspecified terms within special psychiatric asylums under KGB supervision were passed (L. Plyushch, professor of cybernetics, A. Lupynis, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and others); for religious convictions beaten to death were I. Moyseyev, Mykola Khmara and others, or were sentenced to long years of incarceration (priest V. Romanyuk to 10 years, and others); for refusing to de-

nounce his father, Yuriy Shukhevych was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, after he had previously served 20 years; for defending her husband, the microbiologist Nina Strokata-Karavanska was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment; for defending the rights and freedom of their nations were executed A. Oliynyk, P. Kovalchuk, I. Chayka and others; and tortured to death were M. Soroka, V. Malchuk and others.

"For defending the rights of the Ukrainian, Tatar, Jewish and other nations, S. Karavanskyi, Gen. P. Hryhorenko and Ivan Dzyuba were punished with extreme severity.

"For defending the discriminated Jewish people, Petro Yakir, and others, were again put behind bars.

"In order to break the will of resistance, the KGB are using modern chemicals and medical drugs manufactured by their professional staff, or are systematically poisoning foodstuffs (P. Starchyk, I. Dzyuba, V. Moroz, L. Lukyanko, I. Kandyba and others).

"Through the application of modern methods of breaking the will power of a human being, the terror of Brezhnev-Andropov surpasses that of Stalin-Beria's type.

"We warn you that if national rights and freedom of individuals, freedom of creativity and religion are not defended not only by us, who are suffering at present persecution and cruel treatment, but also by the entire cultural world — then a massive and intensive terror will gain the upper hand in the whole world, for Russian chauvinists and Communists will not come to a standstill and will not be satisfied with what they have conquered.

"We call upon workers, writers, artists, scholars, students and young people, women and Churches and all people of good will to demand the immediate abolition of the use of chemical and medical means and the application of malpractices including psychi-

atric methods, and furthermore the release of all political and religious prisoners, the liquidation of concentration camps, the end of Russification, and the realization of national independence for the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." **The Front of National Defense of Ukraine**, July 1973.

And at the end, I would like to express our bitter disappointment. Only a few people in the West raise their voice in defense of nations and human rights, for the freedom of religion and cultural creativity of members of subjugated nations: Ukraine or Latvia or Lithuania or others. Neither the press, nor politicians, nor governments, nor the Vatican, nor Churches, humanitarian or judiciary institutions do this — they all remain silent and do not condemn the draconic sentences of Moscow against one of the most famous cultural leaders of Ukraine, Valentyn Moroz, who is sentenced to 14 years' severe regime, or the Lithuanian Simas Kudirka. No one from the Western publishers published the works of Valentyn Moroz or Yevhen Sverstyuk or Ihor Kalynets or Vasyl Stus, whose works are of great artistic value, but on the other hand they publish Solzhenitsyn, Medvedev and Sakharov. The reason for this is that the authors from Ukraine or Latvia stand not only for human rights, but also for the rights of nations.

It is a kind of "decline of the West" when it defends the representatives of the ruling Russian nation and not the subjugated nations. Therefore, I am seriously afraid that such ignorance of Ukraine and other subjugated nations may bring some representatives of these nations in the free world to desperate acts, but for this the West will be responsible. The West is indifferent to the lot of hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples and dozens of subjugated nations. This is only our warning.

Urgent Action Needed in Defense of the Persecuted

In news just received from Ukraine we have learned about a new Russian-Bolshevik crime: "At present Svyatoslav Karavanskyi (writer and literary critic, sentenced to 25 years of concentration camps, released 1960, but again arrested in 1965 to serve the rest of his sentence; in 1970 his term was prolonged for another 5 years of imprisonment) is serving his unlawful imprisonment in a political concentration camp of an especially severe regime. Such a concentration camp, where people are buried alive, could only have been thought up by the devil himself. In this concentration camp the prisoners constantly live and work under lock, without any fresh air, because they are never taken out for exercise.

"In this concentration camp the prisoners are forced to work long hours in glass-grinding workshops, from which dangerous dust unceasingly penetrates the lungs of the undernourished prisoner and seriously threatens his life. This threat is increased also by the fact, that the glass-grinding workshops are situated in the same buildings adjacent to the prisoners' living quarters. The cells, polluted by this poisonous dust, are also a hazard to human life. This dust is everywhere: in the air, on the beds, in the clothes, and in the food. The prisoners regard that in comparison with this death-dealing prison the Vladimir prison was a real blessing."

Another report from behind the Iron Curtain says that three prominent Ukrainian women, Stephania Shabatura, Nina Strokata and Iryna Kalynets, imprisoned in Soviet Mordovian prisons, have appealed to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, by letter dated 10th May, 1973, in which they protest against the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation, and demand for themselves an open trial in the presence of a UN representa-

tive. The text of their appeal is as follows:

"To the Secretary General of the United Nations

An Appeal

Stephania Shabatura, born 1938, sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in camps and 3 years' forced exile, an artist from Lviv.

Nina Karavanska-Strokata, born 1925, sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in camps, a scientific worker from Odessa.

Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv, born 1940, sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment in camps and 3 years' forced exile, a poetess from Lviv.

The day 12th January, 1972, was the beginning of a new wave of repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. We are being persecuted and imprisoned simply because we, as Ukrainians, stand for the preservation and advancement of the Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine. All arrests, conducted during that year in Ukraine — are violations of the Declaration of Human Rights by the Soviet authorities.

We are defenseless before the Soviet unlawful court. We are tried illegally and at present are serving our sentences in the Soviet political camp No. 3 in Dubrovlag, Mordovia. We refute all the charges that were brought against us. We are not asking for a favour, only for a normal, fair and open trial in the presence of a representative of the United Nations. 10th May, 1973. **Stephania Shabatura, Nina Karavanska-Strokata, Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv.**"

During his last months in prison Anatoliy Radygin (his memoirs entitled "Episodes from Mordovian Concentration Camps", Nagaria, Israel, October 1973) repeatedly asked Valentyn Moroz what message he could deliver to the free world. Pain-stricken as he was Valentyn Moroz frowned and repeated insistently:

„Let people know only on thing: I am being retained together with insane people and my life is like hell! They are trying to make me mad just like those who are thrown into my ward. They are assassins and cannibals! I do not have any air to breathe!”

Radygin, the author of the memoirs, adds the following:

“Thus I repeat, too: one of the most honest and talented Ukrainian publicists is reduced to a state of complete exhaustion approaching insanity. His present existence comprises a frightful mixture of hungry life in jail and the miserable existence in a room of a mental asylum where he is constantly attacked by semi-animals that have completely lost their human look and have no distinguishing national or social features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and morally tortured day by day.

„Remember this!” — the author concluded this passage.

Appeal to the Conference

In view of these alerting reports, we ask the Conference to:

Severely condemn and together with us urge the liquidation of all concentration camps!

Demand the release of all prisoners condemned and imprisoned for their national, political and religious convictions!

Demand the termination of the application of chemical and medical means of breaking the will power of political and religious prisoners in order to extort statements of repentance from them!

Vigorously denounce the practice of confining fighters for national and human rights in insane asylums!

Demand an end to persecution of believers in God and cultural leaders who defend the essence and spirituality of their own nation, without which a nation perishes!

Demand the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and the Communist terror apparatus from the Russian-subjugated nations within the USSR and its satellites!

Demand a return of national sovereignty to all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellites, as well as for those nations enslaved in the artificial state of Yugoslavia!

Without national culture there is no world culture!

If you don't want to see a KGB gun and the law of the jungles prevail in the world, fight for humanism and for morality based on religion!

We ask you to join in the protest against Russian and Communist crimes for the defense of the imprisoned and persecuted fighters for human and national rights!