

Y A R O S L A V S T E T S K O

**The Present Stage  
of the National Liberation Struggle  
of the Subjugated Nations**

MÜNCHEN

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## The Nations Rise

Stalin died on March 5, 1953. In the summer of 1953 the Russian empire was shaken by uprisings in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norylsk and Karaganda. They were followed by uprisings and disturbances in Kingiri, Balkhash and other places, which were crushed by the MVD-KGB troops in 1954. A leading role in organization of these uprisings was played by the Ukrainian nationalists (Bandera Followers), as well as Lithuanians and prisoners of other nationalities.

On June 17, 1953 the Germans revolted, while in Magdeburg the Chekists shot 18 soldiers of the Soviet army who helped the rising workers.

In 1956 there took place a revolution in Hungary and the disturbances in Poland. Ukrainian, Turkestani, Byelorussian and other soldiers sided with the Hungarian freedom fighters, turning their tanks against Russian aggressors. On the foundation of the nationwide uprising in Ukraine (1942-1953) and Lithuania — for both of these nations waged guerrilla-type warfare on two fronts, against Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany — in line with the traditions of armed struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Bandera Followers), on the foundation of the struggle in concentration camps and the uprisings in 1953-1959 of prisoners, the revolutionary liberation movements increased in strength in the subjugated countries.

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU - February 1956), Khrushchev was forced

to "dethrone" Stalin, while on June 30th, the Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a resolution "on the combatting of the personality cult and its consequences". So as to save the empire from an erupting volcano, he also began to reorganize the concentration camps, fearing a chain reaction of uprisings of 17 million prisoners. The young generation of the subjugated nations, hand in hand with the unyielding older generation, launched the struggle on a broad front.

**The fear has been overcome.** The possibility of an uprising, even inside a totalitarian empire, has been documented by facts. Only a lack of synchronization, coordination and their extension to more subjugated countries prevented the downfall of the empire and the system. However, a realistic guidepost has remained: 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 three years ago, on August 31, 1970, in a 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.

It is worth recalling that the March 1917 revolution, which toppled tsarism, was effected in Petersburg by three regiments composed of Ukrainians (the Volhynia, the Izmailiv and the Preobrazhensk). The present-day Army with its technology and modern weaponry, with the concentration of material and fire power in individual strategically important locations, but primarily from the point of view of its multinational, heterogeneous human component, with the numerical superiority of members of the subjugated nations has its special role and significance. In addition, the Army is particularly important because it provides a meeting ground for the young people of various strata of nations coming not only from the circles of professional intelligentsia, but also from among the workers, the collective farmers and so forth.

The fact that the highest-ranking spokesman of the Armed Forces Command, Marshal Grechko, the KGB chief Andropov and the administration chief Kosygin are in the new Politburo of the CC CPSU speaks for itself. All

elements of violence have been united in the center of the tyrants.

A characteristic trait of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations is its nationwide scope. The struggle is not limited to a narrow circle of intellectuals. In connection with the occupant's total offensive upon the entire content 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 subserviant 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 state independence and historic grandeur of past centuries — there come the student rebellions (Tahanrih, August 9, 1956), 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*, April 19). In the Chernihiv region, collective farmers refused to give up their private plots of

land, winning an increase in their size (*Izvestia*, May 19). In some state farms of the Kazakh SSR, the workers systematically reduced their time of work (*Selskoe khozyaystvo*, July 17). In the Stalin region the miners forced the management to increase their wages (*Pravda Ukrainy*, March 6). In Dniprodzerzhynsk the workers of a metallurgical plant protested against the increase of work norms. Beginning with 1956 and up to 1973, 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 content. 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 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 the goal which is attractive. 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 is 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 Turkestanian, nor an Azerbaijani, 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 life, the Russian system of occupation, in recent decades. This is all the more so, since the realization of one's own national quality, of one's own inherent substance, of one's own values of traditional spirituality, culture, lawfulness, society and statehood of the past, the reawakening of national self-respect, the discovery of one's own millennial tradition of statehood, the treasures of one's own land not only of the present but also the richness of all-round state-political, cultural and sociopolitical creativity of the past. This is the final ideological victory over the enemy's system of ideas.

For this reason, it will be impossible to crush the national aspirations. As a rule the revolution of soldiers was pre-

ceded 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.

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, Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan and Latvia reveal a similar purpose as that of the **Ukrainian Herald** and the creativity in Ukraine in general uncontrolled by censorship.

### **Metaphysical and Ethical Concept of the Liberation Struggle**

The facts of struggle are 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 materialism, but just the opposite. Two concepts of the world, two systems of value are clashing. This is no longer the question of "pure" and "betrayed" Communism, of "pure" and "betrayed" Marxism, but of Christian — or more broadly — of religious metaphysics and philosophy, of religious faith, of theism vs. atheistic materialism. This is the ideological and philosophical backbone of the struggle. It did not help any that in the textbooks of world history the Russians did not dedicate a single line to the greatest revolution-

ary event in world history: the birth of Christ, whose religion encompassed more than half a billion people. They also disregard other religions — Islam, Buddhism, Judaism — persecuting them as the "opium of the people". It is not an accident that the intellectual elite of Ukraine, for instance, cultivates the Christian philosophy of H. Skovoroda (1722-1794). This is what the young generation teaches: "God has created man... When there is no God, there are no people... Christians while building the kingdom of God 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 ideals, beliefs, selfless love of truth and respect for the God of their ancestors..."

"What have you created for your people in exchange for persistent agitation against religious beliefs and rites, ancient customs, traditions and holy days — i. e. all that which in the past a foreigner had to respect, if he wanted to show his respect for the people..."

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 Eastern Europe, 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. For us, Sovietology is the study of lies and deception, the exposure of falsehood. Regrettably, this is not so for Western statesmen.

Fifty years must have done their job, maintain the Sovietologists, i. e., they must have re-educated man. But they forget that Christianity has been re-educating man for two thousand years and has not transformed him into an angel. Why should a diabolical system be more successful — provided such comparisons can be drawn at all?

### **The National Idea and the Heroic Concept of Life**

To our regret, we cannot cite the authors' names, for some of them are languishing in prisons while others are still free. Nevertheless, the authentic-



ty of all the quotations is guaranteed by our conscience.

A young 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 state 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 questions of human conscience . . . Nationalism is an inseparable part of the nation itself. Without nationalism there is no progress; without nationalism there is no nation . . . The liberation movement in the whole world — the most outstanding phenomenon of the present — is occurring under the banner of nationalism. More than half of mankind considers it as its banner . . ."

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!" Or: "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 labor), declared in Mordovia: "If I were the sole Ukrainian in the world, I would still fight for Ukraine . . ."

A young Estonian prisoner in Mordovia proudly says, "Do you know Estonia is one thousand years old. Once, here 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 shouts: "Long live free Estonia!" — and then all know that the prisoner is an Estonian." This incident from camp life is related by Prof. Osadchyi, sentenced to 10 years after already having served two years of imprisonment, in the essay "Cataract". "The Ukrainian Kalynets — poet sentenced to 12 years — creates a new model of the world — says the brave Latvian poet Knut Skuenis . . ." a prisoner in a Mordovian concentration camp himself.

Or Ali Khashahulhov, a North Caucasian (Ingushet) sentenced as a young boy for anti-Russian nationalist (Ingushet) activity says 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 could 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 languages would die tomorrow, I would die today . . ."

The wolf and the native land . . . The Russians — foreigners. Where can one find Bolshevik "successes" 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 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" . . . And his father told him: 'You grow up, it is not yet certain what will happen in your lifetime' . . . And since the age of 14, Yurko has 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 9, 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 grove 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. "Denationalization is deheroization... 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 transmigration 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!

### **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 past is our treasure, the roots, the veins which nourish us with sap, and without which we shall disperse and wither... The knowledge of the PAST gives us an opportunity to perceive more profoundly our nation and ourselves in it..."

The young generation discovers the road of reawakening in the struggle for the assertion of its own values. It declares, "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 does it all weigh 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 for ever 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 to 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!

"Without freedom, comrades, there is no soaring, no creativity", declares another young writer.

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 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. The problems of Man, characters, examples, symbols, apostles, the alternatives of government — is a matter of no lesser significance.

The unbroken Valentyn Moroz, himself a banner of Man and Nation, writes that in I. Dzyuba's book the people "did not search for arguments, they searched there for FAITH, for a charge of infatuation. Outwardly it seems that an individual is first being convinced, and then he begins to believe. In reality, the opposite is true: first a person flares up, becomes infected with faith and only then are arguments selected for a ready-made conviction. 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..."

And on January 10th, 1965, in a speech delivered in Kyiv on the occasion of V. Symonenko's 30th birthday, Ivan Dzyuba urged: "The people are not waiting for anything so much as for a living example of heroic public conduct... The people need this example... and today such heroic actions are possible, and today as ever, the madness of the courageous is the wisdom of life... And today, or perhaps today as never before, one can and one ought to fight... 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..."

And Valentyn 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 NATIONAL 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

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 anymore.

### The Contrasting Worlds

In 1825 Herzen wrote, "Centuries of serf dependence were not able to eradicate everything independent and poetical in the celebrated Ukrainian nation. It has more individual development, more local coloring than we (the Russians); in our country the ill-fated uniform carelessly covers national life. Our people has no knowledge of its history, while every village in Ukraine has its own legend. The Russian people know only Pugachev and the year 1812."

And in 1971 the **Ray of Freedom**, 1/71, an uncensored Russian periodical criticizing "The Program of the Democratic Movement" of the USSR of Sakharov and Co., said that "the Russian people is the only one in history which destroyed its genuine intelligentsia or permitted it to be destroyed, in 1918-1921, 1928-1931, 1937-1939. The people as a whole are philistine slaves who often idealize their slavery and are at the same time capable of being cruel ty-

rants. If we were to establish a democratic order, then filled with vengeful hatred toward their 'nachalniks' of yesterday and contempt for today's 'soft' government, they would start a vicious, bloody orgy, as was the case in 1917-1921. And then the newly-emerged political adventurers, playing upon the evil passions of the mob, will thrust aside the 'slaverers' democrats in order to institute a new tyranny, with a new evolution of terror and cruelties in the course of decades..."

"The traits of the Russian Church: cringing before the state... Inactivity and non-resistance to evil... Religious egoism and anti-sociality... At this time, can voices of protest of the clergy be heard against the harassment of the dissidents? Do we hear anything about self-immolations, hunger-strikes, demonstrations, attacks on illegality, arbitrariness, imperialism, the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, the persecution of religion and so forth?"

"In the country half the population is non-Russian having its own interests and expectations... The question must be raised... concerning the realizations of the right to separation of developed (?! — Y. S.) peoples into independent states... In our everyday life there is alcoholism, sexuality, epicureanism... In the event of the first hard test there is repentance, testimony against friends... Dobrovolskiy against Ginsburg and Galanskov, Zinovyeva against Pimenov and so forth. A moral and political renaissance is needed... cultivation of moral purity in oneself... spiritual depths... unyielding courage... indestructible energy..."

Fearing unity of the national and the Christian ideas, **Robitnicha gazeta** of March 13, 1973, wrote: "Priest and former Uniate (Ukrainian Catholic) monks... attempt to conduct illegal religious activities... disseminate... religious leaflets, small calendars and prayer-books with anti-Soviet and anti-Communist contents... urge (people) not to

work in Soviet institutions, refuse to accept passports, military cards and other Soviet documents."

### 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. Cultural revolutions do not occur because culture is created in the course of centuries. What occurs are the culturally political revolutions, i. e. a forceful removal of the enemy occupant, who makes impossible the development of national culture from the nation's own traditional historic roots.

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. There was Shevchenko before the year 1918 in Ukraine. Without Petöfi and his brilliant revolutionary songs and deeds, there would not have been a Kossuth. Without Mickiewicz and Slovacki, there would not have been a Pilsudski. Nevertheless, parallel to this struggle of ideas, including armed clashes and mass demonstrations, strikes, and resistance to a hostile occupation and system in life generally.

A consequence of this is the inclusion of the spokesman of the extensive police and terror apparatus, Andropov, and that of Bonapartism, Marshall 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 or-

ganized 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 willpower, 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 reestablishing 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 Bilskyi, imprisoned since the age of 19 now in Potma, who went blind while in prison. Oleksa Bilskyi, 55, is suffering imprisonment solely for his nationalistic views, for which he refuses to repent.

The appearance upon the surface of life of DARING individuals who stand up for their convictions, defend human and national rights and risk their own lives and freedom — all this is of crucial importance. Of course, if the struggle were limited only to the forms and methods employed by them, it would have no prospects. It must always be borne in mind that these figures could

have appeared only on the foundation of the twofront struggle of the UPA-OUN, the Lithuanian insurgents, the nationwide resistance of the Georgian, Turkestani, Armenian, North Caucasian, Azerbaijani and other nations.

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 guideline for their mobilization must be transmitted openly. A description of mass armed action in Novocherkask, Nalchyk or Tiflis broadcasted 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, of the fighter of UPA-OUN Makukh are rare in history.

In the main, the liberation movements of the subjugated nations are nationwide movements. This is confirmed by those who appeared in the West, particularly the Jews; the Ukrainian nationalist movement, the movement of the Georgians, Lithuanians, Turkestanis, Tatars, Jews, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians... Before our very eyes, the liberation movement of the Croats — the struggle of an entire nation for its independence.

The 1972 disturbances in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk (Ukraine), Nalchik (North Caucasus), Kaunas (Lithuania), Moldavia, Tashkent and Bukhara (Turkestan) and in 1973 in Tiflis (Georgia) and Erivan (Armenia) and earlier along the Don (Cossackia), or the toppling of Gomulka in 1971 following a workers' revolt, the student disturbances in Budapest in 1973, the posture of the Czechs and Slovaks who have not given up their struggle for independence in 1968 and later the Bulgarians and Rumanians who resolutely combat imposed Communism just as the Poles do or the Germans who perish at the Berlin Wall prove that the liberation movements of the subjugated nations are not only movements of the intelligentsia but of the people in general. The fact that the young intellectual elite is united in a common front with workers and collective farmers is a guarantee of the invincibility of the popular revolution of nations. In his book "Will the USSR Survive the Year 1984?", Andrei Amalrik mentions that out of 134 signatures protesting imprisonments in Kyiv, 25% were those of workers.

"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 (Cataract, p. 42).

Without discrediting anybody's struggle for freedom we would like to recall that in Moscow only several persons demonstrated against the sentence passed on Bukovsky, the majority of them being Jews...

The world-renowned Estonian declaration of the spokesmen of national freedom about the fact that all three Baltic states are resolutely in favor of independence, that Marxism is bankrupt, while Christianity is invincible, that the time will come when tanks will not be marching on Prague or Bratislava but on Moscow or Leningrad, proposes the only realistic road to liberation — the armed struggle. (To Expect or to ACT?)

The maneuvers of MVD troops in the fall of 1970 held near Moscow under the motto "Crushing Revolts in Concentration Camps" point to the preparations of the occupant for a confrontation with its greatest threat. Vasyl Symonenko points to armed struggles as the only road to liberation. "Oh Kurd, save your cartridges, but do not spare the life of 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 to Jan Palach his poem "about a virgin killed by the occupants in Golden Prague".

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.

"Long live free Ukraine" — said Vasyl Makukh;

"Long live independent Lithuania!" — said Romas Kalanta;

"It is better to die in flames, than to live under the Russian yoke!" — shouted Czech Jan Palach.

How deeply were they inspired by an idea when they were capable of this kind of a sacrifice?!

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"A trial will be held, and everything will start all over again: new protests and signatures, new material for the press and radio of the entire world. The interest in what Moroz has written will be added to the fire which you want to extinguish."

Valentyn Moroz, 1970  
(In Lieu of the Final Speech)

\*

"Let people know only one 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!"

Valentyn Moroz  
Vladimir Prison, 1973

\*

"If, by placing me behind bars, you are counting on creating a vacuum in

the Ukrainian renaissance, then it is absurd. Understand at last: there will never be a vacuum again."

Valentyn Moroz, 1970  
(In Lieu of the Final Speech)

\*

"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 no national or social distinguishing features whatever. Valentyn Moroz is being physically and morally tortured day by day.

Remember this!"

Israel, October 1973

Anatoly Radygin



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