

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

**Coexistence with the
Slave-owners in the
Russian Communist
Empire?**



*The
Prisoners*

Bronze Memorial
by Ossip Zadkine

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Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.
 Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

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Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to: Post office Transfer account: Munich 58 000 or Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account No. 307 430 (A.B.N.).

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69.

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slawa Stetzko.

Erscheinungsort: München.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Erich Kirmair, München 12, Westendstraße 49.

The Achilles' Heel of the Empire

It is a well-known fact that a trend towards one-man rule has always predominated in Russian history, the development of which has depended upon whether an individual with definite power-seeking tendencies was to be found at a particular time. The structure of its whole society has been such that one-man rule has inevitably entered its pyramidal pattern. The Russian people needs a cruel, mystical "Little Father", whether it be a "white" tsar, Lenin (whose embalmed body was exhibited after his death), the tyrant Stalin, or the gossip Khrushchov. An empire such as the Russian empire can only be sustained further by a totalitarian regime, by dictatorship. A complete development leading to genuine democracy would be identical with the dissolution of this empire. For this reason the Russian empire can never become democratic.

The so-called collective leadership — as a principle of government — can only exist to a very limited degree and can never be extended to the entire life of state and people; on the contrary, the continual limitation of the collective leadership tends towards one-man rule. This phenomenon also inevitably gives rise to one-party rule.

When Khrushchov was ousted, the main reason given for his overthrow was the intensification of the conflict with China and the economic crisis. But so far as these two reasons are concerned, there have been no changes since Khrushchov was ousted. The main cause of the change in the top leadership of the Russian empire was deliberately overlooked: none of the tyrants was or is in the position to rid the empire of its Achilles' heel — the national liberation struggle of the captive nations. The monstrous Communist system which has been forced on the captive nations is still the deciding factor in the latent crisis. The Party needed a scapegoat — and his name was Khrushchov.

When in Göteborg (Sweden) Khrushchov was alarmed by the spirit of the great Hetman and liberation leader of Ukraine, Mazepa, conjured up by the wreath-laying demonstration carried out by the ABN delegation under the leadership of the former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Yaroslav Stetsko, at the grave of King Charles XII, Mazepa's great ally, the Russian leader knew instinctively whence the biggest danger to the empire threatened. The old spirit of European knighthood, without fear or fault, whose last great representatives the Swedish King and the Ukrainian Hetman were, has found its renewal in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), in the October revolutionaries of Poland and Hungary, in the German "17th June" freedom-fighters, and in ABN's champion throughout the freedom-loving world.

Shelepin, typical representative of the criminal Russian adversary, made himself prominent among the Russian ruling class by organizing and carrying out the murder of the leader of the Ukrainians in their freedom struggle, Stephan Bandera. In this way and as a ruthless oppressor of every aspiration toward national freedom, he has shown the Russian rulers that he is worthy to be a candidate for the highest position in the top leadership. He is also a true representative of the new messianic generation which is to give the Russian aggressors

new energy. The leader of the new imperialistic class, which is to relieve the old, is pressing for power.

The last representative of the old band of criminals, Mikoyan, has disappeared. New men with a new fanaticism and a new messianism are pushing their way forward. And for the West the danger is becoming greater. The policy of co-existence will soon prove itself even more unequivocally to be false. The headstrong craving for freedom of the captive nations will provoke the leading class to use new methods to try and stamp it out by violence. Since 1959 the system of persecution has been extended in a new manner — with the decisive assistance of Shelepin. Since 1959 the Church and religion have also been seized in this new wave of persecution. The main attack began in that year. The captive nations, and especially Ukraine, are experiencing an apocalypse. The present time can be compared with the dark hours of Gethsemane.

This is all the worse, since the policy of coexistence has numbed the West's reactions. In 1930 the Primate of the Church of England in London organized a mass Christian demonstration against the persecution of Christians in the USSR. In 1962 the Primate of the same Church made an official visit to Moscow and dined with the persecutors of the Christians. Indeed, even the Vatican has dealings with Moscow.

François Mauriac once correctly said: "Christ is in his death throes in the USSR. We may not sleep at this time."

The shadows of Shelepin, the murderer of Stephan Bandera, fall across the whole empire. The KGB, whose spokesman he is, is reaching out for absolute power in the empire. The *Chekisti* (Bolshevist political police) are being glorified. KGB Chief Semishchasny has written in *Pravda* and the head of the KGB in Ukraine, General Nikitchenko, in *Radyanska Pravda*, that the *Chekisti* already control the whole of Soviet life, and that they will and should have even more power in the future.

Shelepin has not been demoted; Podgorny has lost the battle for the most important post and has been pushed aside into the representative post of President. Shelepin has become Brezhnev's deputy and has taken over the post of Second Secretary for Cadre and Organizational Questions, with the task of preparing for the next Party Congress.

Stalin had the same functions under Lenin, Malenkov under Stalin, Khrushchov, Kozlov (pretender to the supreme power who died prematurely), and Brezhnev all had the same functions before they came to power. It may be assumed that Malinovsky will be replaced by a closer colleague of Shelepin's.

The Free World can expect nothing good of Shelepin. Even less than before would it be possible to attain German reunification in freedom without the simultaneous and coordinated national liberation revolutions of all the captive nations and the dissolution of the Russian empire. Even more freedom-thirsty Germans from Russia's westmost colony, the so-called DDR, will bleed to death at the Berlin Wall. It is regrettable that these martyr deaths pass by the eyes of the youth of West Germany without leaving a trace, without triggering off mass protest demonstrations. Do the West Germans want the Americans to do their fighting for them?

Even if on 12th December 1965 foreign newspapers report a new student

demonstration in Pushkin Square in Moscow, it would be wrong to speak of demonstrations by Russian young people. As every historically trained person knows, it was also difficult in the past for the young people of the captive nations to study in the capitals of their native lands, so they went to the Russian universities, where they caused ferment. The anti-tsarist revolution was started by the Ukrainian Volynian Regiment in St. Petersburg, and Petlyura, later President of Ukraine, was able to publish his journal *Ukrainskaya Zhyzn* only outside Ukraine, in Moscow, and only in Russian. The situation today is a similar one: it is mainly non-Russian young people who are demonstrating in Moscow.

The Internal Security Sub-Committee of the United States Senate has published a documentation entitled *Murder International, Inc.* and subtitled *Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy*. In this publication Shelepin is denounced as the criminal organizer of murders and kidnappings on the evidence established by the German Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe in the trial of Stashynsky, the murderer of the Ukrainian freedom leader, Stephan Bandera, and on the evidence of other documents of the American Senate. Thus the public is warned against him.

The German press, however, has said nothing about the appearance of this documentation, although the press in the Anglo-Saxon countries has reported it in great detail. Neither America nor Great Britain are divided, but Germany. Neither America nor Great Britain are *directly* threatened, but Germany. There should be a much greater interest taken in matters which can help the German cause.

It is not the Americans, the British, and the French who should fight for the reunification of Germany in freedom, but the Germans themselves! The 17th June should be proclaimed and observed as Freedom and Independence Day — freedom and independence for *all* nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. The USA is the most powerful state in the world and *directly* threatened by no one, but it officially celebrates Captive Nations Week; while Germany, a third of which is under Russian rule, maintains silence and narrow-mindedly thinks only of the possibility of the liberation of its own subjugated nationals. The subjugation and enslavement of other nations does not interest the German Federal Republic at all! The Bonn government does not comprehend the nature of this century, does not recognize what the bell tolls! S. S.

M. Bakunin:

"We want the complete destruction, the total annihilation of the Russian Empire, of the empire which serves as an eternal danger to the freedom of the world, as a prison for all nations and for the nations beneath its yoke, and which is a violent negation of all which is considered to be law, justice, and humanity."

M. Gorkey:

"The cruelty of the Revolution is explained by the extraordinary cruelty of the Russian people."

For the Freedom of the Church in Ukraine

(The following is a letter from the Episcopal Conference of the Ukrainian Rite held in conjunction with the Second Vatican Council in Rome which was sent to Pope Paul on Nov. 12).

Reverend Father,

Before the close of its work, the Second Holy Ecumenical Vatican Council solemnly declared that religious freedom is a genuine human right, substantiated in human dignity and civil society, and, while it recognised this personal right, it condemned at the same time every violation of this inviolable right by any state authority.

Moved by this solemn declaration of the Council, the undersigned bishops of the Ukrainian Rite, who live in dispersed communities bring to your notice, Reverend Father, the lamentable condition of their Church, which in their native land is not only cruelly persecuted every day, but already for 20 years has been declared illegal by the state authority. Thus everyone who dares to continue to belong to this Church, is considered a criminal and subjected to the heaviest punishments, such as long imprisonment or deportation for forced labor in Siberia. A short description of this lamentable condition will be found in the book given with this letter, entitled "*Memorandum on the Persecution of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*".*

The Council declaration on religious freedom would be completely ineffectual for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, if this Church of martyrs and confessors of the faith did not recover after nearly 400 years of union with the Holy See its right to a life in orderly relationship to its native land, all the more so as this right is expressed for all citizens in the constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic: "With the purpose of protecting the freedom of conscience of the citizen in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the Church is separated from the state, and the schools from the Church. The freedom of religious action is assured, as well as the freedom of anti-religious propaganda, for all citizens". (Article 104 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.)

We therefore beseech you, Reverend Father, that you may, after your return from Rome, jointly with your flock, implore God and the All-blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Church and powerful helper of the devout, with pleas for the freedom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and all brothers who suffer persecution for Christ's sake, as Pope Pius XII in the Encyclical "*Orientales omnes Ecclesias*" has already urged the Bishops of the Catholic Church with the following words: "But we urge you and your entrusted Flock again and again to implore Him, the Lord, jointly with us, through earnest prayers and pious works of penitence, that He, through His supreme light, illuminate the mind of men, and that their will be subjected to His Supreme Will, so that He spare his People and not punish their lapses, and that He allow the Church of the Ukrainians to emerge free from this shameful persecution" (AAS, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, p. 62). May Saint Josaphat, the martyr and protector of union, be a powerful intercessor with God, so that this great gift of religious freedom, be frankly

acknowledged by every worldly power, in accordance with the principles solemnly laid down in the Council Declaration on Religious Freedom.

We further beseech you, Reverend Father, that you may, returned home in your native country, inform the rulers of that state of the *grave violation of religious freedom in Ukraine, to which some 5 million citizens are exposed*, who confess the Catholic religion in the Eastern Rite. Already in 1945, Pope Pius XII had denounced with great anguish and troubled soul this violation of the religious freedom of the Ukraine Catholic Church. May you urgently entreat the leaders of your state to approach the representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic at the United Nations, before whom the Pope himself Paul VI, appealed for religious freedom, through the representatives of the nations, so that religious freedom in Ukraine may soon be given back to the Catholics in full measure.

In this manner, Reverend Father, may we trust that the joint and constant prayers of all Catholic brothers, to God and the Virgin and Mother of God and of the Church, for our brothers suffering persecution, can bring them full comfort. Without doubt a conscious step by your nation at the highest body of the United Nations in defence of the right of all humans, as expressed in the Council Declaration on religious freedom, *and this religious freedom not only for the Ukrainian Nation but also for all nations of the Soviet Union will have as a consequence* the fact that all who believe in God can worthily lead a human life, in peace and justice.

We already assure you, Reverend Father, of our undying gratitude for your future beneficial act in favour of our Church and all churches which suffer persecution; we earnestly pray for you, your church, your clergy and the nation joined to you, and for the happiness of your whole nation, in accordance with the word of the Holy Ghost. "The brother who helps the brother, strengthens the community" (Prov. 18, XIX).

Yours in worship of Christ the Lord

Rome, 12 November 1965, on the feast of St. Josaphat.

Maxime Hermaniuk
Metropolitan, Winnipeg, Canada

Ivan Buchko
Archbishop of Leucade
Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainians
in Western Europe

Joseph Schmondiuk
Bishop of Stamford, USA

Ivan Prasko
Apostolic Exarch in Australia

Volodymyr Malanchuk
Apostolic Exarch in France

Andreas Sapelak
Apostolic Visitor in Argentina

Isidore Borecky
Bishop of Toronto, Canada

Ambrose Sensyshyn
Metropolitan, Philadelphia, USA

Neil Savaryn
Bishop of Edmonton, Canada

Andrew Roborecky
Bishop of Saskatoon, Canada

Jaroslav Gabro
Bishop of Saint Nicholas in Chicago, USA

Platon Kornylak
Apostolic Exarch in Germany

Joseph Martenets
Apostolic Exarch in Brazil

Augustine Hornyak
Apostolic Exarch in England

Troubadour of Ukraine's Freedom

Vasyl Symonenko was born in the Poltava *oblast'* of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and belonged completely to the post-Second World War generation. He went to local public and high schools, later attended the University of Kyiv — all under Soviet-Russian rule. He probably remembered the Nazi-German occupation during World War II, and the unwillingness of the Ukrainian people to fight in defence of the Soviet Russian and Nazi-German empires. He was surely impressed by the rising of the Ukrainian population in the cause of their own independent national statehood.

Vasyl Symonenko presented in his poetry and in his diary the whole panorama of the life, conditions, endeavours, attitudes, and struggles of the Ukrainian nation during the last two decades. His work can be called the testimony and picture of the Ukraine of this period.

Symonenko — Individualist

Vasyl Symonenko was a typical Ukrainian individualist. In the poem *Ia* (I) he contrasted himself with totalitarian collectivist man: "He was anxious to crucify me for my self-respect." However, "my pride did not fall on my knees... There are many similar to me in the world, but I am, by God, alone. Because, every I has his own name, you cannot rate everybody menacingly. We — is not a multiplicity of standard I's, but a multiplicity of diverse universes... Only those are respected by millions, who respect the millions of I's." This individualistic mentality of the Ukrainian is seen in *Zlodii* (The Thief): the labourer "with domestic dreams" has difficulty in comprehending totalitarian ownership; he is punished for using his own toil — which is called "stealing".

Symonenko excellently defined not only the meaning of human dignity and personality, but also a truly humanistic philosophy of man, each man as a whole unique

God-created being. In the poem *Samotnist'* (Loneliness) he compares himself to Crusoe, who awaits rescue from the surrounding "wild island". He longs for the establishment of a civilized, cultivated society, which will hold in esteem honour, dignity, and human respect. He pleads with God so send him an enemy if He will not send him a companion — anything but an apathetic environment, anything but the unchallenging humans. In his diary, under September 20, 1963, he gives a highly individualistic and richly spiritual definition of friendship: "When I am talking about 'the wild island' and my loneliness there is not even the smallest shread of contempt for people... I simply did not find in Cherkasy spiritual relatives, because friendship, as is well known, cannot exist on reason alone." His psychological struggles are shown on July 6, 1963: "Often doubts destroy confidence in my own courage. I do not know how I will endure real tests coming upon my head. Will I remain a human being, or will I be blinded, not only visually, but intellectually? Loss of courage is loss of human dignity, which I value above all else; even more than life itself. How many people — intelligent and talented — secured their lives, but lost dignity, and thereby changed life into a vegetative existence. This is most awful." Symonenko declared war on the concept of "Soviet man", who is without honour, without any spiritual and idealistic strivings, without courage and dignity.

Religious beliefs and the views of Symonenko.

From his writings we can ascertain something of Symonenko's religious feelings and beliefs. In *Zlodii* he asks: "Who robbed and plucked his soul? Who chained the hands of his conscience?" And he names the culprits: "the demagogues and liars." There are "as evidence — big sacks of stolen beliefs and hopes."

In *Balada pro zaishlobo cholovika* (Ballad about a stranger) Symonenko gives his views of the current Soviet Russian religious policy: "The sterile eunuch has boasted that he will conceive the Messiah." It amounts to pronouncing this policy as bankrupt and false. In the diary, under September 18, 1962, Symonenko yearns for the coming of a new Shevchenko or a new Franko (two greatest Ukrainian writers and national leaders): "I am waiting for him, as a believer waits for the coming of Christ. I believe, I will be lucky enough to hear the joyous hosanna in honour of his coming." Symonenko was probably reflecting in this passage the great intensity of religious strivings in Ukraine revolting against the officially conducted anti-Christian campaign.

In another place (on Oct. 8, 62) he calls for purification of the official "church" in Ukraine (which at present is the Russian Orthodox Church) of Pharisees and non-believers: "Hypocrites in cassocks transformed the beautiful Jesus and his Mother into ravishers of human race and spirit . . . I am opposing their new religion, their hypocrisy, who, not without success, are trying to transform Marxism into a religion, into a Procrustes' bed for science, arts, and love . . ." Thus he came out against the attempts of Russian Communist ideology to take the place of true supernatural religion.

In the poem *Zadyvlains' u tvoji zinytsi* (I am looking into your eyes) Symonenko confesses having prayed and says that prayer for the better future of Ukraine is the most beautiful prayer he knows. In *Samotnist'* he testifies to having prayed to God to send him true friends.

*On the Soviet Russian economic
exploitation of Ukraine*

Vasyl Symonenko expressed definite views on the Soviet Russian economic system in Ukraine. He ridiculed in his diary the false and deceiving promises of "paradise in the future" made by Communist propagandists. The poem *Zlodii* is a parody of the Russian collectivistic system: "From whom did you steal? You stole from

yourself. It is simply shameful to steal your own toil . . . For him with domestic dreams it is difficult to comprehend the paradoxes of the epoch." With indignation Symonenko demands that those who created this system "should be put behind the bars, before the court, for their robbery into prison." He indicts collectivism and exploitation of the individual and the lack of private property.

In the *Duma pro shchastia* (Ballad about happiness) he shows the very hard and unpromising economic livelihood of the Ukrainian people. Propaganda illustrations and official statistics do not show the "multihard life" of a toiling woman. She is "a happy milkmaid whose hands and legs are humming mightily" and nobody protests that "atomic rockets are racing into the cosmos, but not the jets of milk." Then Symonenko unequivocally advocates the abolition of this slave economy: "Truly, she is now happy; however, how hard this happiness is. Therefore, this Maria or Nastia is awakening the village by the bell of the milkpail in order that such happiness in the Soviet land should cease."

The poem *Nekroloh* (Obituary) has a subtitle: "Dedicated to the corn cob rotting at the *zahotpunkt*" (a *zahotpunkt* is a central processing station). Under "the corn cob" Symonenko shows those peasants and workers, who have lost all hope of a better life, of full human life. It is, again, an unequivocal indictment of the exploitative colonial economic system: "Curse upon you, sly mischief-makers in whatever offices you gad about."

*On the Russian social bondage of the
Ukrainian people.*

Vasyl Symonenko was much preoccupied with the Russian social order as introduced and developed in Ukraine. In all his writings one main theme dominates: under this foreign system there are two categories of people: rulers-oppressors and oppressed-exploited. In *Zlodii* he showed the Ukrainian peasant, who is without any social and personal rights and freedoms and in short, a slave. And on the other side are the demagogues and liars — rulers without any worthy moral or social principles. In *Du-*

ma *pro sbchastia* (Ballad about happiness) we find an awful panorama of the Ukrainian working class, suffering terribly under the yoke of a slave system. Satirizing the popular Russian phrase "happy Soviet life" he remarks: "Truly, she is now happy. However, how hard this happiness is." He demands a revolt against such "happiness". In *Granitni obelisky* (Granite Obelisks) he describes the present social expectations of the Ukrainian people as "the grave-yard of shot illusions, where there is no more room for graves . . . Billions of faiths — dug in the black earth, billions of happinesses — dispersed into ashes . . . By now the nation is one continuous wound, of blood the earth becomes predatory." ("Black earth" is symbolic of Ukraine.) It should be noted that in the above verse Symonenko uses the word "nation" meaning the whole Ukrainian population, all social classes. In the poem *Ia* (I) the oppressors "were eager to crucify me for my self-respect", they want to destroy any dignified social position. This colonial system aims at weakening social aspirations, family ties, and intends to make everyone an anonymous functionary. Symonenko combats degrading collectivism. His social philosophy opposes Russian Marxist Socialism head-on and is excellently expressed in *Ia*: "We — is not a multiplicity of standard I's, but a multiplicity of distinct universes."

In the poem *Kurds'komu bratovi* (To the Kurdish Brother) he mentions that the oppressors are breaking up families ("They let your son go fatherless"). In his diary Symonenko points out that the Russian social system induces the rearing of liars, people who are shut up in themselves with their social desires, who are very cautious in public, and dishonest. His great desire to be honest and to have a social order founded on honesty induced him to write the following thought: "I learned to drink brandy, to stink with tobacco, I learned to be silent and to be cautious, where one should be crying out. And what is most dangerous — I learned to be dishonest." (September 18, 1962)

The Soviet Russian social order is again presented and condemned in the following

remark: "No. I did not dream of having the kind of life which I am living. He is happy, who demands little from life — he will never be disappointed in it. The simplest and the shortest way to so-called happiness is to become a Philistine. A brain, capable of generating thoughts, is not capable of making its owner happy."

On Soviet Russian law and justice in Ukraine

Symonenko gave much attention to the problems of the Soviet Russian legal system imposed upon Ukraine. In the poem *Zlodii* he ridicules the legal notion of stealing from himself his own toil. He calls the executors of such law "demagogues and liars", who should be thrown behind bars and brought before the tribunals of justice for their robberies. In the poem *Granitni obelisky* (Granite Obelisks) Symonenko calls the Soviet Russian judicial system "apostles of crimes and hypocrisies." In another poem, *Zadyvlaius' u tvoji zimytsi* (I am looking into your eyes), he writes: "I have the holy filial right to stay alone with my mother." Here he is talking about Ukraine, which suggests that Symonenko felt keenly that Ukraine should have its own national law — not the one brought in from abroad by the Soviet Russian occupation regime.

In the poem *Brama* (Gate) he portrays the Soviet Russian police, of whose justice Symonenko says: "Hundreds of years of outrage and torture cause the dead to turn in their graves." In *Balada pro zaishloho cholovika*, he describes Soviet Russian justice as "falsehood inundating the land like a sea". In the poem *Kurds'komu bratovi* (To the Kurdish Brother) Symonenko defines the justice of the conqueror: "With the oppressor you will not be able to live in accord: he — rules, you — draw the cart! . . . He will do everything so that you will obey him." The indictment of Soviet Russian law is also found in the poem *Sud* (Trial). In it "the defendants punctured the quotations, which (quotations) are upheld by bayonets, . . . And she, the poor, was crucified in the name of fat paragraphs. She swore in vain with tears in her eyes, that

she never had done or would do anything wrong. . . . The judges had their own iron logic: she could not be put into any frames — she was a new thought.” In other words, Soviet law is not adapted to the needs of Ukrainian society. It is unjust, because it is formalistic and upheld only by the force of foreign bayonets. On September 3, 1963, he wrote down in his diary again the fact, that “all of us are under a squeezer”. On September 19, 1962, Symonenko pointed to the source of this foreign and unjust law: “Truly, Stalin did not rise to the pedestal, the people did not place him there, but he himself climbed up — by means of treachery, meanness, he climbed up violently and impudently, as all hangmen do.” In short, the law is despotic, totalitarian, and usurp-

ed. (Symonenko clearly had in mind the present rulers of the Soviet Union, for he wrote the above words almost a decade after Stalin’s death.)

Under the date October 16, 1962, Symonenko wrote: “There is nothing more dangerous than unlimited power in the hands of a limited human being.” Symonenko came out against the law and justice of Soviet Russian one-party rule. He illustrated his view with the boast of a representative of the colonial — Soviet — law, the head of a *kolkhoz* in a village, who exclaimed: “I will produce for you another ‘thirty-three.” (In 1933 the Russian regime in Moscow master-minded an artificial famine in Ukraine, in which 8 million Ukrainians died). (to be continued)

Nationalism Threatens Russia

At the XXth Party Congress N. Baibakov made a contrite criticism of himself. A year later Khrushchov shunted him out into the provinces. Last week Nikolai Baibakov, aged 53, resumed as Russia’s new Head of Planning and Kosygin’s deputy at his old writing desk on the ninth floor of the Gosplan building in Dyakovsky Square in Moscow.

Together with Baibakov 18 fellow ministers, also dismissed by Khrushchov, returned to their former offices in the Kremlin. 28 out of the 32 dismissed in 1957 were reappointed ministers for industry. This marked the return of the Soviet Union to the planned economic centralism of the Stalin era.

Against the opposition of the Stalinist economic bureaucracy, Khrushchov had removed the economic planning centre from Moscow to the Soviet Union republics. Unintentionally he promoted at the same time local tendencies towards autocracy. The nationalism of 106 million non-Russians, so laboriously held back by Stalin, was revived.

The new disease of *mestnitchestvo*, local patriotism, was most wide-spread in the national borderlands of the Soviet Union;

in the Baltic, in the Caucasus, and in Ukraine.

The head of Agitprop, Ilyitchov, complained that individual officials were anxious draw off as much investment capital for “their” republic or “their” region as possible, to the detriment of the general good.

Freed from the fetters of bureaucracy imposed by Moscow’s policy of centralism, the standard of living in Estonia, Latvia, Georgia and Ukraine rose quickly, more quickly than in Russia itself. The Baltic States especially developed more and more to become for Russia a substitute for the West.

In the suburbs of Tallinn extensive residential areas arose, which look just the same as those on the edge of the Baltic towns of Kiel and Luebeck. In the streets of Riga the motor traffic is heavier than in Moscow. In Riga and in Vilnius the shops are more elegant, the stores are fuller, there are more restaurants, cinemas and cafes, and better supplied collective markets than in Volgrad, Smolensk or Novosibirsk.

Consumer goods from the Baltic and Ukraine are a by-word for quality in the

whole Soviet Union: furniture from Tallinn, "Latvia" transistor radio sets, "Progress" ladies' shoes from Lviv, bicycles and electric razors from Kharkiv.

Even in distant Central Asia, in Alma-Ata, the architects are building more boldly and modernly than in boring, respectable Moscow. Houses and garden fences are kept in better condition than the ramshackle huts on the Volga.

In hot Georgia with its tea plantations and fruit cultivation there are more millionaire collective farms than in the fertile black earth belt of South Russia. When Khrushchov once visited a model collective farm in Georgia, he exclaimed: "We don't need to overtake the Americans but the Georgians!"

In theory each Soviet Republic has equal rights to those of its big Russian brother — the Russian Federation (RSFSR). Each one has its own parliament, government, and national party organs. Byelo-Russia and Ukraine are even in the United Nations. But the real power in the country is exercised by the Russians. Russians command the police, the army, the state security services. Russians control information and transport services. Even the state tourist office "Intourist" employs only Russian tourist guides.

In 1959 even Khrushchov the decentraliser had to make an example of someone: because of "national separatism", (preference for light industry instead of the heavy industry favoured by Moscow), the leading officials of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic were dismissed. Vice-premier Edward Berklav disappeared without trace into the expanse of Russia.

A similar purge rolled over the five Asian Soviet Republics from 1960 to 1961. 24 Party secretaries and 9 Central Committee members were expelled from the party for "nationalist deviationist tendencies". The Turkestanian comrades lost more than half of their leading officials.

In Georgian Batumi — Stalin's native town — the police arrested a ring of young

language purists. Every time one of the Georgians — high school and University students — used a Russian loan word, they had to pay a fine into a common fund.

To dampen the national insolence of the constituent republics, Moscow set up at the end of 1962 a Central Asian and a Trans-Caucasian Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. At the head of both Offices were Vladimir Lomonosov and Guriy Bochkarev, two officials who do not even aspire to a Central Committee, but officials with more power than officials more highly placed. Both are Russians.

At the same time the Kremlin is promoting mass immigration from Russia into the National Borderlands of the Soviet Union. 15 million Russian settlers in the new territories crowd the Turkish peoples living in Soviet Asia (13 million) into a minority. Every fourth one of the over 6 million living on the Soviet Baltic has emigrated there from Russia.

When the Estonian government early this year imposed a ban on immigration in the three largest cities of the country, Tallinn, Narva, and Kohtla-Järve, — directed against Russian foreign infiltration — the Moscow *Pravda* gave them a violent reprimand.

But all criticism of the strongly increasing local patriotism was in vain. At the end of September 1965 — just under a year after the fall of Khrushchov — his successors Brezhnev and Kosygin decided to tackle neo-nationalism in the Soviet republics at its economic roots.

For three days the Moscow Central Committee deliberated behind closed doors. The result was that decentralised people's economic councils had to bow to centralised state planning.

As the executor of this planning reform, the Supreme Soviet appointed Baibakov, dismissed by Khrushchov for unreliability. The new chief planner was for nine years a minister under Stalin.

Spiegel No. 42/65

US Senate on Shelepin's Crimes

Excerpts from Murder International Inc. (Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy)

Page 1—2

Petr S. Deriabin, who was an officer of the NKVD was heard on Friday, March 26, 1965 by the US Senate, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The subcommittee met at 9:50 a.m., in room 457, Old Senate Office Building. Senator Dodd was presiding and also present were: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; David Martin and Robert McManus, investigations analysts.

Senator Dodd asked: Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. Deriabin answered: I do.

Petr S. Deriabin testified that he served as an officer of the NKVD and later of the Ministry of State Security between 1944 and February 1954. In this organization he had reached the rank of major.

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Mr. Sourwine asked: You have testified, Mr. Deriabin, to the fact that the Soviet Government used murder as an instrument of policy throughout the dictatorship of Stalin. The documents in the Bandera-Rebet case made it clear that Stashynsky, the man who murdered these Ukrainian patriots, was a mere tool of the Soviet Government under the dictatorship of Nikita Khrushchev. He produced in court documentary proof that he had been decorated for these murders and awarded the Order of the Red Banner by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The award was presented to him by Aleksandr N. Shelepin, who at that time was chairman of the Committee for State Security of the USSR. That means he was head of the KGB, does it not?

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct; he was head of KGB.

Mr. Sourwine: Shelepin is presently a member of the Presidium, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. That means he is a top official of the ruling group which succeeded the Khrushchev regime, doesn't it?

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct.

Mr. Sourwine: Doesn't his presence in that position foretell or indicate that the new regime will continue the Khrushchev-Stalin-Lenin practice of using murder all around the world as an instrument of Communist policy?

Mr. Deriabin: I am sure of that. And Shelepin, it should be noted here, while being chairman of State Security, was at the same

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time Vice-President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. He was elected to a 2-year term in 1957, when he was chief of Soviet State Security.

Mr. Sourwine: This is a clear case, isn't it? A tipoff to the fact that a change in regime from Khrushchev does not mean any change in this policy of murder and assassination and kidnapping?

Mr. Deriabin: I don't think there will be any changes from Khrushchev's policies in the future.

Mr. Sourwine: Isn't this something which would perhaps be better understood in non-Communist countries — that changes in the top leaders in the Soviet Union are not going to mean a change in the face of Communism or the policies, practices, or tactics of worldwide Communism?

Mr. Deriabin: Your statement is correct; I am in complete agreement with that.

Mr. Sourwine: We have heard several times that folks used to say, "Well, if Stalin dies everybody will be all right."

Mr. Deriabin: I didn't believe it even then. I defected after Stalin's death, and I knew that the face of the Communist regime would not change.

Mr. Sourwine: Then, when Khrushchev was deposed there were many stories in newspapers in the Western World that things would be different. This was either pro-Communist or Communist propaganda, or just plain foolishness, wasn't it?

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct. And it should be said, if we give a little value to Khrushchev for his liberalism within the Communist regime and if we then have people like Shelepin at the top, I do not expect it to be better than it was under Khrushchev; I expect worse.

Mr. Sourwine: When the liberalizations are basically tactical rather than changes in policy?

Mr. Deriabin: Tactical.

Mr. Sourwine: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Martin has, I believe, custody of two documents which you, Sir, brought back from Germany, I would like to ask, in order to get these into the record, that Mr. Martin be sworn at this time. And I will ask a few questions about these documents.

Senator Dodd: Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. Martin: I do.

Testimony of David Martin

Mr. Sourwine: You are a staff member, and in that capacity you accompanied Senator Dodd on a recent trip abroad?

Mr. Martin: Yes.

Mr. Sourwine: Mr. Martin, would you state whether these documents are those procured by Senator Dodd in Germany from official sources and brought back to this country?

Mr. Martin: Yes; these were the documents that were given to Senator Dodd by Dr. Jagusch, who was the judge or president of the German Supreme Court.

Mr. Sourwine: You made the trip to Germany with the Senator?

Mr. Martin: And I was with Senator

Dodd when he met Dr. Jagusch and when Dr. Jagusch gave him these documents.

Mr. Sourwine: And these are the same documents which the Senator received from Dr. Jagusch?

Mr. Martin: Yes; they are.

Mr. Sourwine: Would you identify these two documents? And may they be offered for the record at this point?

Mr. Martin: Yes; I identify these as the documents that I received in this case.

Mr. Sourwine: What is each document?

Mr. Martin: One is a translation of the sentence and oral opinion of the court in the case of Bogdan Stashinskiy, and the translation they have here reads "written motivation of the verdict". I think they should have used the words: "justification or written elaboration of the verdict" in the Stashinskiy case.

Mr. Sourwine: May they be offered for the record at this time?

Senator Dodd: They will be admitted.

Deriabin testifies that Soviet State Security murdered Petlyura and Konovalts

Mr. Deriabin: I can only add to the Khokhlov testimony the fact that Soviet State Security engaged in assassination as early as the twenties, especially against the Russian and Ukrainian emigrant leaders.

I would give one example which was common knowledge while I was working in state security — the Soviet State Security assassination of General Kutepov in France. Also, there was the case of one Ukrainian nationalist leader, Petlyura. With regard to the case of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Bandera and Rebet from my knowledge of the Emigré Department of State Security, they were put on the list for assassination — in the case of Bandera, before World War II. They had been hunting for him since World War II.

Mr. Sourwine: By "hunting for him", you don't mean necessarily that they didn't know where he was, but that they were trying to set up a situation in which they could accomplish their purpose?

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct.

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Mr. Sourwine: On May 25, 1926, Gen. Simon Petlyura, then leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was assassinated in Paris.

Mr. Deriabin: I have heard it said in the Emigré Department of State Security that Petlyura was assassinated by Soviet State Security.

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Mr. Sourwine: Col. Evhen Konovalets, killed by explosion of a parcel bomb in Rotterdam.

Mr. Deriabin: I can only say that I have no personal knowledge about that, but I heard that his killing was organized by State Security when he was working with the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

Mr. Sourwine: Konovalets was a leader

of the Ukrainian nationalist movement at the time?

Mr. Deriabin: That is right.

Mr. Sourwine: These Ukrainian nationalist leaders seem to have been selected as victims in a large number of cases. Was there a special concentration on them, or was it just at that time that they were a particular danger to Soviet objectives?

Mr. Deriabin: They were a particular danger before World War II, and especially so right after World War II, which is why Soviet State Security kidnapped or killed such persons as Petlyura, Bandera and Rebet — because the nationalists, especially in the West Ukraine, were very active in 1946, 1947, 1948, and as late as 1949.

The Preparation of the Murder of Yaroslav Stetsko

The questions 1—18 under Section I (preparations for the attempt to murder Yaroslav Stetsko) were answered by Stashynsky as follows:

In which year and month, where and from whom did Stashynsky first receive instructions to watch Stetsko-Dankiw? What data did Stashynsky receive about Stetsko?

I received orders to ascertain information about Yaroslav Stetsko from my KGB superior officer Sergej in Berlin-Karlshorst in May 1959. When Sergej mentioned the name Stetsko, I knew which person was meant without Sergej having to enlighten me any further. From my political training with the KGB I had known for years who Stetsko was. Stetsko is the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian exile government; he was regarded by the KGB (and by the Russian men in power) as the next important person to Bandera. In the opinion of the KGB Stetsko and Bandera were, so to speak, one unit as regards their political significance. Bandera was regarded as the ideological leader of the OUN, Stetsko as the government leader. If I may be permitted to draw a comparison, — from the Russian point of view, Bandera would be equal to Khrushchov and Stetsko to Bulganin. The KGB was of the opinion that after Bandera's

death Stetsko would *also* succeed him as the ideological leader of the OUN. The KGB regarded Konovalets, Bandera, Stetsko and Melnyk as the big symbols of the Ukrainian fight for freedom. The KGB was also aware of the fact that their names are still remembered in Ukraine. Melnik — as I was told by the KGB — is living in France. The KGB no longer regards him as dangerous. It is of the opinion that he no longer engages actively in politics since he is too old and, in any case, is not a politician but, rather, *only* a military expert. Melnik is regarded nowadays by the KGB as a person of no consequence in the OUN. At any rate, Sergej did not concern himself with Melnik. When Sergej gave me instructions to spy on Stetsko he expressed considerable indignation at the fact that Stetsko had visited Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and had posed as governmental head on that occasion. Stetsko had to a certain extent given his visit there the appearance of a state visit. This, said Sergej, was the limit, since Stetsko could only have visited Formosa as the representative "of a few disreputable Ukrainian exiles", but not on an official state mission. When Sergej gave me my orders he told me that Stetsko was living in Ohmstraße in Munich under the name of "Dankiw". He also told me the

number of the house there, but I cannot remember it at the moment. The only new information I learnt about Stetsko from Sergej was that he was in Formosa and that he was living in Munich in Ohmstraße, under the name of "Dankiw". But I do know that the KGB ascertained his Munich address and the name "Dankiw" through one of his agents. I do not know the name of this agent.

Why did Stashynsky himself not watch the house in which Dankiw lived, but got another man to do this job for him in return for money? What is the name of this man and where did Stashynsky get to know him?

In May 1959 I myself watched Stetsko's apartment.

Why was Stashynsky sure that this man would not give him away? Was a photograph taken of the house in which Dankiw lived?

I did not take any photos of the house in which Stetsko was living at that time (Munich, Ohmstraße ?), but I did photograph the nameplates on the door. I did, however, give Sergej a detailed written report about the position and nature of the house.

Was Stashynsky armed with the same poison-pistol or with another weapon during the time that he was instructed to watch Stetsko's movements?

Apart from the "spray-pistol", with which I was to carry out the murder of Bandera, I had no other weapon with me at that time. The fact that I had the "spray-pistol" with me had no connection with Stetsko. During my stay in Munich at that time (May 1959) I did not watch Stetsko's movements. Even today I do not know Stetsko. Sergej never showed me a picture of Stetsko.

To whom did Stashynsky pass on a report about shadowing Stetsko and what other instructions did he receive in this connection?

As regards the information I ascertained concerning Stetsko (see question 3), I gave my superior officer in Berlin-Karlshorst a report. After May 1959 I did not receive any more orders with regard to Stetsko.

Why was it obvious to Stashynsky on the strength of the instructions which he received to shadow Stetsko that the latter was to be the next murder-victim?

It was evident to me that Stetsko was to be the next who was to be killed, since the murders of Rebet and Bandera were prepared in exactly the same way. In the case of Rebet and Bandera it all began in the same way. The preparations for the murders of Rebet and Bandera were exactly the same as those which were now being undertaken with regard to Stetsko.

During the preparation or the carrying out of the murders in question was Stashynsky only provided with the poison-pistol, or possibly with some other weapon? I only had the "spray-pistol" with me on these occasions.

Was the position held by Yaroslav Stetsko in the OUN and his activity abroad known to Stashynsky? Was this question discussed by Stashynsky and any KGB officers? With whom and where? Or with Shelepin? What danger was Stetsko to the USSR — according to the KGB officers?

I know through the KGB that Stetsko is the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian exiles (OUN) and the President of the ABN. I know that Stetsko has developed political activity in the Federal Republic of Germany as well as in all the other countries in which there are Ukrainian exiles; I also know of his visit to Formosa. In the opinion of the KGB Stetsko is the chief representative of the Ukrainians. I do not know closer details about Stetsko's activity in the Federal Republic of Germany and in other countries. I have only talked about Stetsko with my superior officer Sergej, but never with other superior officers, nor with Shelepin. In the general political training course which I had to undergo in the KGB, Stetsko and the fight for freedom of the OUN were referred to from the historical and political aspect (see also the answers to question 1). To the KGB Stetsko and Bandera were one and the same thing. For years (since the Polish trial of OUN men, in which among others Bandera was sentenced to death) both of them endeavoured to proclaim an independent Ukraine. True, the

opinion held in Russia and by the KGB was that such a step would never be successful. The power of the ruling men in Russia is regarded as too great. But the names of Stetsko and Bandera are in Russia and in particular in Ukraine a kind of symbol for the independence aims of Ukraine. These two men are regarded as freedom fighters. And this fact is unpleasant for the ruling men in Russia. In Russia and especially in Ukraine a name makes a lot of difference. If, for example, an appeal signed by Stetsko were circulated in Russia and above all in Ukraine, then everyone would know what it was connected with, namely with the idea of freedom and independence. In the opinion of the KGB and also, no doubt, in that of the Ukrainians themselves, the history of Ukraine has really been made by four men alone — Konovalets, Melnyk, Bandera and Stetsko.

According to the KGB, the Ukrainians have the idea that there are still people who are fighting for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, when they hear that men such as Stetsko are alive. Their cause, the cause of the Ukrainians, is thus still alive. And their hope is not yet dead. As long as there are men such as Stetsko, who are alive in the memory of the living, they will always be an obstacle to the rulers of the USSR. The KGB is convinced that the USSR will gain an ultimate victory in the internal political fight against the freedom and independence aims of Ukraine, once the Ukrainians are deprived of their "symbols". For this reason the KGB will continue to endeavour to liquidate men who are regarded as the "symbol" of the freedom and independence of Ukraine.

Did Stashynsky see Stetsko personally, when and where? Who pointed Stetsko out to him? Did he shadow Stetsko, when, how and where? Did he know whether other KGB men were watching Stetsko, and was any information in this respect passed on to Stashynsky either directly or indirectly?

I have never seen Stetsko, nor have I ever seen a photograph of him. Though he may have been present at the trial conducted against me by the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe, I do not know him. I never shadowed

Stetsko myself. I do not know whether other agents of the KGB did so. I know nothing about any information which might have been ascertained by other agents who might have shadowed him.

Was it not dangerous for one and the same man to ascertain addresses, to shadow persons and carry out murders? Was there no danger of the conspiracy leaking out? What assistants did Stashynsky have to help him in preparing the murders of Bandera, Rebet and Stetsko?

It was of course dangerous for one and the same man — as for instance myself — to ascertain addresses, watch the movements of a certain person and carry out murders. But it was of decisive importance to the KGB that the number of persons in the know should remain *very small*. This fact outweighed all others. For instance, I was sworn to secrecy towards everybody, even towards persons who might be my superiors. For instance, I was not allowed to even as much as mention the names of Rebet, Bandera and Stetsko to anybody (*only* to Sergej). My superiors relied on my skill and trustworthiness and were convinced that even if I should be arrested in the German Federal Republic, I would never give any secrets away. I never had anyone to assist me.

How did he get to know Stetsko's address? How was the shadowing of the person in question carried out so as not to attract attention? Did Stashynsky from time to time have someone else shadow the person concerned? Whom?

I received Stetsko's address from my superior officer Sergej in Berlin-Karlshorst. I did not shadow Stetsko, but I did shadow Rebet and Bandera. If one has received such a thorough training in the technique of shadowing as I did in the KGB, then one knows exactly how to behave in order to avoid arousing suspicion when shadowing someone. A person who shadows someone else must above all be attentive, careful and imaginative. I was the only person who shadowed Rebet and Bandera. I had no one to assist me. It is an absolute certainty that a KGB man who is to carry out a murder later on, will never have an assistant, not

even in the preparatory tasks, from ascertaining the places frequented by the victim to shadowing the latter, until the actual murder is committed. In this case, too, it would again be a "lone mission".

Did Stashynsky know that Stetsko had a body-guard? From whom did he learn this?

I do not know whether Stetsko had a body-guard. There was never any mention of this.

Why was the murder not carried out? Since Stashynsky, whilst preparing the murder of Bandera, was at the same time also watching Stetsko's house, was he to carry out both murders during the same period of time?

An attempt to murder Stetsko was not carried out, since the time was not ripe. In any case, the murder of Bandera had caused a considerable stir in the German Federal Republic and also elsewhere, since it was assumed that it was probably a case of political murder. It was known to the KGB that the police in Munich had no definite suspicions as to who the murderer could be, but the opinion was held in general by the KGB, including Shelepin, that the stir caused by Bandera's death must first of all be allowed to die down. I did not receive orders to murder Stetsko. But I am convinced that I should have received such orders for the winter of 1961/62, if my wife had returned to Moscow again, which the KGB kept insisting she should. I felt quite definitely that Stetsko was to be the next victim, even though nothing explicit had been said in this respect. Anyone who works for the secret service, knows what is being planned. He knows it instinctively. And my feelings have never yet deceived me in this respect.

What information was given during the training courses about leading Ukrainian freedom fighters, and about whom? How were they characterized?

Nothing, compare, however, the answers to question 1 and 8.

Since Stashynsky repents of his crimes, how are the leading anti-Bolshevist freedom fighters — in Stashynsky's opinion and on the strength of his knowledge and experience of KGB methods — to protect them-

selves? What other methods of the KGB are known to him? What agents amongst the Ukrainian and other emigrants are known to him?

I do not think there is any real protection against a murder ordered by the KGB. But the carrying out of such crimes could be made far more difficult. After all that I have found out about the methods of the KGB and on the strength of my experience with the KGB I would give the following advice: All important, politically active and leading members of the OUN should change their name, and also their Christian name and their residence at least every three years; they should from time to time also change the country of their residence. As aliases they should choose Christian names and surnames which are common in the country in which they live. And not Slav Christian names or surnames! The names which they choose and their address should not be given in any directories or telephone directories. For such books are an important aid to the KGB. Agents of the KGB for instance report the aliases of members of the OUN again and again to the KGB. If their names are in a directory or telephone directory, the KGB then knows the exact whereabouts of its victims, the fact that the police refuse to give information regarding the whereabouts of persons is of no consequence, since a KGB agent would, in any case, never go to the police. If the name and address of a person can be ascertained from a directory or telephone directory, there is no need to go to the police. Bandera's whereabouts, for example, were ascertained *solely* by means of the directory. He called himself Stepan Popel. Both these were Slav names. They were given in the directory. And his real Christian name was the same as the Christian name of his alias. I would also advise against name-plates on doors giving the real name or the alias. A *second* alias should be chosen for the nameplate on the door and for the house in which one lives. All OUN members should be thoroughly trained in the methods of shadowing and how to protect oneself against such methods. It is absolutely essential that one should be on one's guard against everyone and

should regard everyone with distrust. Complete secrecy must be the first commandment.

Otherwise I do not know of any KGB methods of murder. To my superior officer Sergej the "spray-pistol", which was given to me for the murder of Rebet and Bandera, was also a new weapon. He did however tell me that such a "weapon" had already been used effectively. I did hear that parcels containing explosives had been sent through the post and that the victim chosen had then met his death on opening the parcel. In some cases a poisoned needle was perhaps also used, which was injected from a "weapon" by means of compressed air and likewise left no trace. But I could not say for certain whether the KGB really used this type of poisoned needle. As an agent of the KGB amongst the Ukrainian emigrants I only knew Nadytshyn (Bisaha). Maximiv was to be recruited as an agent.

From whom did Stashynsky learn the address of the church where the Ukrainian emigrants held their divine services?

From my superior officer Sergej in Berlin-Karlshorst.

For what reason is Stashynsky convinced that he himself was watched by other KGB agents whilst he was watching the victims concerned or carrying out the murders?

"Overseas News" reported on December 16, 1965

Moscow's warning 'Bourgeois Nationalists'

Today *Pravda* accused a group of academics in the western Ukrainian region of Lviv of being apologists for the "so-called" independent state created there in 1918. This was the ephemeral national regime of Petlyura.

For decades, *Pravda* said, attitudes in these parts had been influenced by bourgeois concepts, and the newspaper gave a warning that although people with "immature" nationalist ideas are now insignificantly few it would be "dangerous" to ignore them. Certain workers, it said, had tried to gloss over the fact that this "republic" had been a tool of counter-revolutionaries.

This area has a turbulent history. It was under Polish administration from 1921 to 1939 and after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, it was incorporated in the Soviet Ukraine. When Hitler struck eastwards in 1941 an independent nationalist state was set up under Bandera.

It was rapidly suppressed but nationalist partisans resisted re-annexation by the Soviet Union for some time after the war.

Writers attacked

Pravda also indicated that the Writers' Union had protested about attempts to magnify the role of some writers and to see Ukrainian literature as a kind of separate stream.

The newspaper also discovered "serious shortcomings" in a boarding school in Turkov. Ukrainian history was presented here "largely from a bourgeois position".

The "complex" subject of national influences, *Pravda* concluded, requires constant attention. What the newspaper does not go into is the fact that this negative type of nationalism in the Soviet Union often overlaps with a kind of economic localism.

A great influx of Russian and other populations has diluted many of the national groups but the newcomers at times join with locals to press for special privileges or a higher standard of living for the areas they are living in.

I do not know whether I was being watched. But I always reckoned with this possibility, since this is one of the usual methods of the secret service. And I have reason to believe that I was watched. On one occasion Sergej showed me a photograph of a man in front of Bandera's house in Munich. Sergej said the man was Bandera. But it was not Bandera, whom I knew by sight. Another agent of the KGB must therefore have taken this photograph. I told Sergej that the man on the photo was not Bandera. Sergej looked slightly embarrassed and made some sort of excuse. But I am sure Sergej was trying to test me on this occasion.

Does Stashynsky know which KGB department is the competent authority for the "Committee for Repatriation" in East Berlin and the "Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad"? With which co-workers of these two committees was Stashynsky personally acquainted?

The "Repatriation Committee" in East Berlin comes under the authority of the KGB department which deals with emigration matters. I cannot describe this KGB department in more detail. I never heard of a "Society for Cultural Contacts with the Ukrainians Abroad". I was never acquainted with anyone on the staff of these two committees.

Soviet Press Attacks ABN

For years the nations subjugated by the Russians in their empire have been assured that they were thriving under the careful protection of their "elder brother", the Russian people, and that their existence as an independent people has been guaranteed. And yet these peoples are not convinced of this.

One has only to look through the Soviet Press to see that the talk is continually of "bourgeois national deviation", of "bourgeois national survivals" and of "narrow-minded local patriotism". It would take us too long to quote all this here.

It is enough proof to refer to 2 articles in the Moscow Communist Party organ *Pravda* and to an article in the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR.

In the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated 16 December 1965, No. 350, Moscow, the article "*The power of great friendship*" — "Notes on international relations" was featured.

The author is Doctor of historical science W. Malantchuk, secretary of the regional committee of Lviv, of the Communist Party of Ukrainian SSR.

This Malantchuk is one of those party officials who are toadies, submissive servers of their Moscow bosses and who are destitute of every elementary human dignity and self-esteem. The Russian proverb itself describes such creatures: "He who is born to creep, cannot fly." Such repulsive and awful types are, just like criminals, to be found in every nation.

He praises amongst other things the firmly decreed friendship between the nations of the Soviet Union and emphasises how freely and generously exchanges in the scientific field take place between these nations and how in this way more is done and each Soviet citizen comes to enjoy these achievements. He goes on to describe how

enormously the prosperity of all the nations of the Soviet Union has risen, in contrast to that of Western countries, and what friendship exists between the states in the Eastern bloc and how closely they cooperate.

"Such cooperation", so claims the author, "contributes to promoting and making firmer the international outlook of the people of the Soviet Union." Later he says that the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" see this and they get very worked up because it does not suit these "people born in the backyards of Europe and America" but they wanted to see the Ukrainian nation closed in within a narrow national shell and to see the roots of its friendship with its brother nations cut off. It is impossible to be more stupid and there is no remedy for stupidity.

It was not the Ukrainian nationalists but the Moscow government and the Communist regime which sealed off the Ukrainian nation from the world, as it did so with all the other nations, and kept them away from free intercourse with other peoples. "One sometimes meets in our country", he continues to write, "immature people who put local interests before the common interest of the whole state. They try to get for themselves as much as possible from the common kettle, to play less part in any joint effort and to choose cadres preferably in accordance with national characteristics. Of course the number of such people is insignificantly small, but it would be dangerous to ignore their attempts and not to stop them. The slightest weakening in the struggle against such phenomena could lead to great harm."

These warnings against nationalism are constantly repeated. In *Pravda* for 4 November 1965 one can read in the leader: "*As a common family towards Communism...*" "The nations of our countries are comrades, comrades-in-arms and brothers in the joint work of construction. The

Party trains them to have an implacable spirit of opposition to all appearances of national discord and national limitations, and urges them categorically to struggle against every remnant of nationalism and chauvinism, against customs and usages which hinder the build-up of Communism." But why then appeals of this kind to struggle, if these national phenomena are unusual and their agents few?!

"But the Party is watching and does not allow these national phenomena to spring up", the Party secretary of Lviv Malantchuk carries on. Thus the defect in history teaching in the boarding school in Turkov was dealt with by the Party organisation. It turns out that here the history of the Ukrainian nation "was being presented principally from a bourgeois-objective point of view". Thus there are everywhere national phenomena.

"But the Party organisations", so says Malantchuk, "are not going to let pass by the phenomena of national narrow-mindedness and relapse into nationalism", and stressed, "they are in favour of greater attention being paid and constant ideological work of training, carried on, in the complicated field of national relations."

Here it is clearly admitted what strength is possessed by national sentiment and how strong the national feeling is which does not let itself be subordinated to international relations.

According to the figures of this Party secretary Malantchuk there are in Lviv alone in addition to 56 Ukrainian schools, 20 Russian and 2 Polish ones. In these Russian schools are certainly educated the sons and daughters of the Russian "brothers and sisters" who have immigrated in the course of "National Friendship", and come to Ukraine to give "help and protection for the natives against the wicked Western militarist and imperialist capitalists", and also of course to "civilise" the country and to teach the population the language of the October Revolution, through which they can master science.

Malantchuk refers to Lenin, who foresaw "that the masses of the non-Russian nationalities, after they had freed themselves

from social and national subjection, would themselves realise the necessity of a voluntary mastery of Russian, which would be a powerful source of development of the economy and culture of all peoples and for producing closer relations, rapprochements and brotherly unity".

According to Lenin therefore our nations were so underdeveloped and their language so primitive that it was unsuitable for science and that it was only possible through Russian to have a share of civilisation.

It is historically well known that at one time, when there were in the state of Kyiv-Rus, literature, historical writings and theological work in the original and in translation and when in Georgia philosophic and theological academies existed and almost all the Greek philosophers and theologians had been translated, at that time and for long after that time the tribes from which the Russian nation was formed, were dwelling in forests as savage tribes.

And further: "The apex of our ideological work is to aim at the unmasking of nationalism, the political and ideological weapon of international reaction. The Party organisations train the working population to show no mercy towards any appearance of bourgeois ideology, to display revolutionary vigilance towards the hostile activities of imperialist circles and their employees — the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists."

Despite this attempt at international re-education, there are still "national phenomena". As Malantchuk himself writes, there are sometimes people who put themselves forward as champions of the Ukrainian Republic proclaimed in 1918, even literature critics who consider the development of Ukrainian literature "from the point of view of the modernised theory of uniform movement". And some of them "praise the writers of the past excessively".

In the course of this attempt to internationalise, Moscow employs the most refined methods of colonial policies. At the Central Committee plenary session of the Soviet Union in September 1965 it was decided to introduce uniform state planning and centralised administration. The leader

in *Pravda* of 4 November 1965 reads: "Technical progress, the speedy growth of social production, make it necessary for the labour measures of the republics and for the realisation of joint state economic plans, to be integrated even more. The various branches of production and the enterprises of the Union republics are so closely inter-connected that it is impossible to imagine the development of any republic at all outside the economy of the Soviet Union." There we have it! And then it goes on: "Therefore the harmonious agreement of the interests of the Union republics and of the autonomous republics with the interests of the whole state now acquires a special significance." That is to say of the Russian state of Moscow, of the colonial power!

Our countries have become absolute colonies of Russia, which are brutally exploited; but not only economically, even our people have served the Russians as workers from the early colonial times.

In the same article in *Pravda* of 4 November 1965 the following was quoted as an example of the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union: "It was not long since the modern city of Shevchenko was established on the previously deserted coast of the Caspian Sea, in the region of Mangishlak. This name was given by the working population of Kazakhstan to the place because there the Tsarist authorities had once held the great son of the Ukrainian nation. The mineral oil works of Mangishlak are a real embodiment of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Here citizens of 42 nationalities work in harmony, like brothers, one with the other. And in the development of the new lands representatives of 30 countries are working..."

Of course it is not mentioned here that these people were brought here under compulsion. Thus appears the Communist paradise, so philanthropic are the Moscow rulers!

It was mentioned at the beginning that there are people like Malantchuk in every nation.

An Georgian poet wrote the poem *Mamelucs*, in which one would read: „Cursed and damned be he who destroys the graves in his native land in foreign service, and rides over them to gain fame for himself.”

The people understood who this was meant for and this poem was quoted at every festival and by every fire. On the one side stand the people, stubbornly defending their national being, and on the other, the single traitors who are condemned to leave their land and to go to Moscow.

In the monthly of the Communist Party of Ukr. SSR, published in Lviv, *Zhovten* (October) and in the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukr. SSR dated 1 December 1965, No. 281 *Robitnytcha Gazeta* there are long articles on ABN, in which its composition and activities are described at length, naturally with the usual Communist mendacious and calumniating commentaries and abuse.

It must be admitted that they are exactly informed on the activities of ABN, but we have never kept anything secret and yet it can be seen from this that they follow our work with attention and are also fully informed about it by their agents.

The article is called: "Even the grave cannot make the humpback straight." — intended are the leading personalities of ABN.

The main force of the attack is directed against the President of ABN, J. Stetsko, for the motive force of ABN is "OUN-Banderivtsi" (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, whose leader was the late S. Bandera), who "exploits all the others (member organisations of ABN) for its provocative, anti-patriotic policies".

It is jubilantly reported that "the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalism of sad memory, Stefan Bandera, Andriy Melnyk and Ivan Bahriany have laid themselves in the grave".

But what does this jubilation help them, when the Ukrainian nation and the whole world knows anyway that Bandera was treacherously murdered on the orders of the

Soviet government, and that the giver of the orders was Shelepin. The day will come, when the criminals will be made responsible — the jubilation will pass from them! In the article it was fully described which national organisations are members of ABN and in which countries ABN has branches. They also know when and where ABN was founded.

In the article a full report appears on J. Stetsko's sending, on behalf of ABN, memoranda and declarations, among other things, to the UNO, the USA Congress and to governments, and that he urges in these that relations with the Soviet Union be broken off, that an economic blockade be imposed, that the subjugated nations be supported in their struggle etc. They also know that J. Stetsko has visited the USA, Australia, Canada and National China etc., has met prominent politicians and negotiated the introduction in the USA of the "Captive Nations Week" and that every year in the USA the day of Ukrainian independence is observed.

It is excellent that they report these things so fully. In this way the people will be informed exactly of our activities and

learn that the Free World recognises their right to independence.

But their effort to portray Stetsko as the agent of the capitalists is wasted. The people know that neither Bandera nor Stetsko are of feudal or bourgeois descent. They have come from the people and are acting on behalf of the people. They were the executors of the will of their nation and J. Stetsko is still so today. With this report they have contributed forcefully to the increase in his popularity among the people, confirming to them again that he is once more active and struggling for the freedom of his people with his full energy.

At the end of this very long article in the Communist Party organ one can read: "The sprinkling of incense won't help the dead either", and then: They (Stetsko and friends) cannot protect the Ukrainian nationalists nor those standing behind their backs, from the inevitable ruin through physical and moral annihilation."

If it is so, and they are condemned to death by history, why then so much noise against these people and their activities, why such violent attacks against ABN and its leading personalities?

Wolfgang Strauss

Is the Kremlin Afraid of the Ukrainian Emigration?

An atmosphere of worried unrest is noticeable amongst the Ukrainian emigrants in the Federal Republic of Germany. The cause of this unrest is an exceedingly violent smear campaign which is being conducted from Moscow and Warsaw and directed against prominent political and intellectual leaders of the exile Ukrainian camp in the free part of Germany. In particular, the editors and publishers of the respected and widely circulated weekly, *Shlach Peremohy* (Munich), and the former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Yaroslav Stetsko, have been exposed to unusually sordid attacks (unusual, that is, in terms of regular Communist usage!). They are represented as "fascist collaborators" and "... paid agents of the West German Army".

Parallel to this campaign are the intensive preparations being made in Soviet Ukraine for a show trial of national partisans who fought during the war and after it in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against Red police and military forces. In *Pidkarpatska Ukraina* (Sub-Carpathian Ukraine), a Communist Party paper appearing in West Ukraine, an appeal was recently published to surviving witnesses of atrocities allegedly carried out by UPA members to the effect that they should get in contact with the courts. Naturally, all the pogroms conducted

against the peaceful population of the Ukrainian villages between 1941 and 1946 are attributed to the UPA, whilst the real perpetrators, Russian NKVD specialists, are glorified as “liberators” and “meritorious *chekisti*”.

The most alarming element in these events is that similar show trials of national Ukrainian underground fighters rolled across the Soviet stage in 1959, too, in the year that Stephan Bandera was murdered. These trials formed the psychological “overture” to the brutal and malicious murder which took place at about midday on 15th October 1959. The Ukrainians are wondering anxiously whether Shelepin’s secret agents are planning a similar piece of villainy for 1966. At any rate, the Ukrainian exile camp has been warned, and is prepared for every revolting crime. The example of the cowardly murder of Bandera has made them acutely conscious of every nuance in the Soviet Russian smear campaign. On the other hand, the Ukrainians also expect the West German security organizations — and these include the Munich Police — not to wait until it is too late. Helplessness and resignation instead of planned activity — this must not occur a second time. Legal protection from the dark powers of the states which persecute them is an urgent human need of all those who have been granted asylum in the German Federal Republic.

In fact the Soviet press only rarely reports on the freedom efforts of Ukrainians in exile. By and large efforts are made to employ “dead silence” tactics. But it does sometimes happen that Soviet Russian propagandists suddenly break this silence with a wild drum roll when they find themselves compelled to name the enemy with his name.

This has happened recently. The drum roll began on 25th July 1965. The Kyiv *Radyanska Ukraina* published an inflammatory article against the Ukrainian national emigration. The writer, a certain Kasiyan, sounded the alarm; the political activities of the national Ukrainian exile camp can no longer be commented by dead silence.

Two events, above all, have given the rulers in Moscow food for thought. The first is the proclamation of “Captive Nations Week” last year in the USA; the second, the mighty demonstration by prominent Ukrainian creative artists and thinkers from all over North America, the highlight of which was the solemn declaration on 6th June 1965 in Toronto of a Freedom Manifesto signed by respected university professors, publicists, scholars, journalists, writers, artists, singers, actors, and publishers of Ukrainian descent. This manifesto from the exiles, from “the other Ukraine”, received a surprisingly favourable echo in the press in both the United States and Canada. All the more furious was the resonance of Soviet Kyiv.

Kasiyan had to admit in his article that the Ukrainian emigrants had succeeded in convincing world opinion with “facts” that Ukraine was “suffering beneath the yoke of the Kremlin regime”. This “imputation”, complains Comrade Kasiyan, is expressed in the American imperialists’ “Captive Nations Week”. Particularly in this “week”! It has also been fiercely attacked in the Kyiv *Literaturna Ukraina*, in whose columns appeared on 3rd September a contribution by Ivan Grishin-Grishuk, whose concern was to incriminate “Captive Nations Week” by attributing its foundation to the “reactionary elements” of the United States Senate.

The biggest illustrated magazine in Soviet Ukraine, *Ukraina*, has fixed its Socialist sights on Yaroslav Stetsko. The former Prime Minister and former prisoner in Sachsenhausen concentration camp (this fact is naturally hidden from Soviet readers), an open opponent of Hitler's regime in occupied Ukraine in 1941, has to content himself with the title "Hitlerist" (*Ukraina*, No. 43, October 1965).

Oleg Poltoratsky, a well-known Kyiv journalist, recently spent some time as a "tourist" in the USA and Canada and had "contact" talks with exile Ukrainian circles. In the organ of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union, *Literaturna Ukraina*, he attacked on 8th October 1965 the Hamburg illustrated magazine *Kristall* in the same breath as the exile Ukrainian weekly *Shlakh Peremohy*, which is known as the main mouthpiece of the Bandera party. Poltoratsky also takes up and answers the accusation that he is a "lackey of the Russians" and "a traitor to his own people", which indicates unquestionably that the exile Ukrainian press is definitely available to a certain circle of Soviet Ukrainian pressmen.

But the most hostile sounds of all in the present war against the Ukrainian emigrants come from Warsaw, where two Communist Party papers have stated that the editor-in-chief of *Shlakh Peremohy*, Danylo Tchaikovsky, served in the last war as an officer in the so-called Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, doing "the Nazis' dirty work" ("*Pogrobowcy UPA i SS*"). The truth is that Danylo Tchaikovsky spent from 1941 onwards in Auschwitz, which no less a man than the present Head of the Polish government can witness to — for he was in the neighbouring block in the liquidation camp.

The Polish Communists have also attacked the Commander of the Ukrainian volunteer division "Galicia", General Shandruk, and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, and have brought the oldest white elephant of all into the light of publicity, the theory that the murder of Stephan Bandera in 1959 was the work of "competing" Ukrainians, allegedly in the pay of the West German Army.

The cause of these tirades of hate is not least of all the fact that in the course of last year the exile Ukrainians have organized a whole series of successful political demonstrations, which even German publicity has taken note of. The grand demonstration on 25rd July, organized by ABN, demands special mention: speeches were made in the presence of some five hundred participants by Winfried Martini, Franz Gaksch, and Rudolf Wollner, as well as top exile Ukrainian politicians. Other events which must be mentioned are the Federal assembly of Ukrainians in Munich, attended by 2500 people and national Ukrainian youth's political Summer camp in England with 700 participants from all over the Free World. And the fact that the "Vasyl Symonenko Case" (Symonenko was a young poet from Cherkasy who died young and whose patriotic, anti-Communist poems attack the present regime) found its way into almost all the major press organs in the German Federal Republic, Austria, and Switzerland, is due entirely to energetic exile Ukrainian journalists in Munich.

But Ukrainian liberation efforts are not only on the increase in the Free World. The regime in Ukraine itself is being forced to take action against illegal operators of the national Ukrainian underground. A Ukrainian living in Argentina, Symkovytsch by name, has some interesting comments to make on this subject. Symkovytsch has only recently come back from the USSR, to which he had made a "vo-

luntary return” some years ago in the naive belief that he would find better living conditions there than in Argentina. He soon learned his lesson. Symkovytch has only the circumstance that he had retained his Argentinian citizenship to thank for the fact that he, a Ukrainian peasant, was allowed, after a nerve-racking bureaucratic war, to return to his new home in Argentina.

One night shortly before his departure Symkovytch was visited by a number of armed members of the Ukrainian nationalist organization OUN, who told him that neither the OUN nor the great majority of the Ukrainian people would ever give up their struggle for an independent Ukrainian Republic. Shortly after this, reports Symkovytch, the *rayon* administration's building in his village was attacked by OUN partisans and two much hated Party officials were killed. The attack was intended as a retaliatory blow on the part of Ukrainian nationalists which would bring to the attention of the whole *rayon* the existence and the hitting power of the armed underground organization.

As booty the partisans captured a machine pistol, four revolvers, and 5000 roubles. Reports of investigations and other important documents also fell into the hands of the illegal operators. Symkovytch reports that this attack was one of many.

Nobel Prize for the Glorification of Communism

Forger crowned with a Prize

The well-known Tsarist parliamentarian V. Shulgin, a Russian exile politician and one of the co-founders of the White Army under Denikin, Vranghel, and Alexeyev, returned repentant to the USSR in 1945.

Besides his books, which appeared in Paris, he wrote in the USSR a brochure which he sent to us all in 1960, entitled *I call on emigrants to struggle for peace*. On page 7 of this brochure we read: “The October Revolution came, and we took up arms — we, the Cossacks, rose, together with a few generals and the intelligentsia.”

Trotsky, addressing the members of the Red Army: “The Don is the centre of the counter-revolution; on the Don one revolt after another flares up; it is not only the fate of the Cossacks which is being decided on the Don; we are not concerned with the Don but with all Russia. It is time to meet our bitterest enemy in mortal combat.”

We quote these two eye-witness accounts to show the role the Cossacks played in their anti-Communist struggle for independence, for their beliefs, and for freedom.

Thanks to the terrible superiority of the Red Russians and thanks to the help of the West, the Cossacks were defeated. The Cossacks, a peasant people who, like the Russian peasants, were not really capitalists, but, in contrast to the Russians, rejected Communism, were a particular source of embarrassment to the Kremlin rulers.

The latter did everything in their power to represent this struggle to the public at home and in the West as something quite different from what it really was. And so they found Michael Sholokhov. Half-Russian, born in Cossackia, at

sixteen in one of the thousands of organized *prod-otryad* (provision procuring units) which plundered Cossackia and fed the starving population of Moscow.

Born on the Don, closely related and connected with the Cossacks, an orthodox Communist, Sholokhov wrote his first book *Quiet Flows the Don*, the main task of which was to hush up the fight put up by the Cossacks, and to show it in a false light as the customary criminal resistance of backward peasants against the "progressive forces" of the Revolution. At Stalin's wish, the central character of the novel, Grigoriy, was shown as a complete ideological loser, and Stalin himself as a great hero. Sholikhov took ten years to write this novel. As an obedient Party member, he described everything as he was ordered to from above. As the role of Stalin faded and weakened, Sholokhov tried his hardest to show that the Cossacks had fought for Bolshevik progress. Meanwhile he made 2,800 alterations in his novel in accordance with the new Party line.

Then, suddenly, in the Second World War, came the greatest insult of all: 200,000 Cossacks who had escaped Bolshevik annihilation fought again against Communism. Sholokhov, however, does not waste a single word on them in his story, *Human Destinies*. He mentions only "hate for the 'Fascists'."

In 1959 *Pravda* wrote that the latest of Sholikhov's works was finished — *They fought for the Fatherland*. But now we learn that this work will be finished next year. It is clear: once again, times have changed in the USSR. That is to say, the novel was written in the time of his friend Nikita, who is now playing table tennis in retirement, and must thus be completely altered. Sholokhov himself describes the work as "sweating blood".

Sholokhov, the greatest literary propagandist of Communism and of its future victory, best reveals to us his hopes in the novel glorifying collectivisation, *New Land under the Plough*. Nagulnov is learning English . . . why? "Am I a Communist? Yes! In England Soviet might will also be victorious. Have we many Communists who speak English? Well, certainly too few. And I'm joining them right now. Boys, take the generals and the capitalists and squash them like lice." So Sholokhov would like to see all the generals and the capitalists squashed like lice. *New Land under the Plough* is composed only of mockery and lies. The author has forgotten to relate that the whole process of collectivisation cost about a million Cossack lives and that their possessions were stolen. Does the King of Sweden, who conferred the Nobel Prize on Sholokhov on 10th December 1965, know that if the writer's pipe-dreams were to be fulfilled, he would suffer the same fate as the English generals and the capitalists?

Giving the Nobel Prize to Sholokhov is a glorification of Communism and of a propagandist obedient to the Party. A new disgrace for the West. The case of Sholokhov proves how the human mind can be prostituted by Communism and is even honoured by the ignorance of the West.

P. Polyakov

*"We are as unknown, and yet well known:
as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed."*

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

Yevgen Yevtuschenko - a Political Phenomenon?

Certain press organs in the Free World have labelled Yevtushenko as a political "phenomenon", as the idol of rebellious Soviet youth. I do not share this opinion. I find it hard to imagine phenomena (in this sense) that the government of the Soviet Union allows to travel abroad. On the other hand I know many young people with whom I had the great privilege of doing forced labour — and offering resistance — shoulder to shoulder for five years in the concentration camps of Vorkuta. These young people I shall never forget.

Yevtushenko emphasizes again and again that he is truly Russian. He talks a lot about the Soviet Union but he talks even more about Russia. Almost every one of his political poems contains the phrase, "I am a Russian!" When he was touring the German Federal Republic two years ago he again and again boastfully proclaimed, "Look at me, look what kind of a Russian I am!" In Yevtushenko's eyes a people other than the Russian does not seem to exist in the Soviet Union.

"My Russia!", "We Russians!" — I often heard phrases like these from Yevtushenko's lips in Munich in 1963. But in reality Yevtushenko is not a Russian — he only wants to be one! Why? His father was "transported" from Ukraine (most probably for political reasons) to Siberia. Why is it, then, that Yevtushenko denies his own people? Why have I not come across a single utterance of Yevtushenko's in which he acknowledges his Ukrainian origin, his own true descent?

Recently the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, solemnly declared that in the Soviet Union there is neither national discrimination nor favouritism, that Russian chauvinism is not dominant, that no people there has suffered national subjugation. What is all the more incomprehensible to me is Yevtushenko's conduct toward his own people, a profoundly freedom-loving people, a people endowed with great poetic and artistic talents which have given the world immortal poets and dramatists, great sculptors, singers and composers — Gogol, Bortniansky, Lysenko, Shevchenko, Kulish, Kotlyarevsky, Mykola Zerov, Les Kurbas, Lesya Ukrainka, Arkhypenko Is Yevtushenko ashamed of these Ukrainians?

"I am a passionate nationalist!" Yevtushenko called to German students in Tübingen in 1963. A Russian nationalist, however. Is what is allowed to the Russians to be forbidden to the Ukrainians? If it is, then why doesn't Yevtushenko rebel against this injustice, contradicting as it does the spirit and the statutes of the Russian Constitution? In his poem *Babyn Yar* Yevtushenko denounced Russian anti-Semitism: an honourable venture indeed.

But why does only anti-Semitism deserve to be unmasked and indicted? Were not other nations and national groups persecuted by Stalin, deported, destroyed, and russified? What happened to the Tatars of the Crimea, to the Kalmyks, the Volga Germans, the Lithuanians, the Estonians, the Latvians, the Poles, the Tchetshens, the Ingush, the Karelians? What happened to Yevtushenko's own people, the Ukrainians? The twenty-five thousand Jews in Babyn Yar were killed by monsters in German uniform; are the Bolshevik murders of Katyn, Lviv, Vynnytsia, Kharkiv, Rivne, Byelomor Canal to remain hushed up, unavenged? What about the massacres of Norylsk, Vorkuta, Vyatka, Kingir, Karaganda, Budapest, Miskolc, Kemerovo, Temir-Tau, which were all ordered and carried

out by Stalin's heirs *after* Stalin's death? Do the innocent victims of these crimes seem to be unworthy of an epitaph? Stalinist and post-Stalinist Russia both have their many Babyn Yars . . .

The murderers of the 26th and 27th June, 1954, the murderers of five hundred defenceless Ukrainian women in Kingir concentration camp, who, under the "supervision" of the then Minister of the Interior, Kruglov, were rolled flat by tanks, literally rolled flat, are those very Soviet leaders of today who never tire of talking about the "return to justice". Stalin's heirs employed exactly the same methods against the completely unarmed, striking miners on the Donets on 5th June, 1962, as were the bloody fashion under Stalin himself: machine pistols, bayonets and machine guns, truncheons and carbines . . . In Munich I heard Yevtushenko declaim: "Be not self-satisfied! If some continue to recount:

Do not worry . . . Peace can betray. As long as Stalin's heirs live among us, I will always feed as if he is still with us . . ."

Stalin's heirs are still among us; secret, terrible Stalinists. Yevtushenko should raise his bold voice, show his courage, and really be the man he represented himself to be in Germany — a rebel in the cause of human dignity! The battle is by no means at an end! Stalin is dead, but those who under him learned the bloody arts of crime, they live and rule.

Wolfgang Dietrich Strauss,
Former Political Prisoner SK 777 in Vorkuta, 1951—55.

Free World Loses Champion with Death of Dr. Tsiang

October 9, 1965, saw the passing of Dr. Tingfu Fuller Tsiang, Nationalist China's representative at the UN from 1947 to 1962 and a staunch friend of the captive nations. The death of the man who steadfastly argued that the government of President Chiang is not "synthetic" — it is the only legitimate government of China, based on a Constitution drafted and passed by the duly elected representatives of the people — is mourned by the Free World at large.

Dr. Tsiang was born in the village of Pao-Ch'ing in 1895. Learning English from American Presbyterian missionaries, Dr. Tsiang came to the U.S. in 1911, and worked his way through Park Academy at Parkville, Mo.

He went through Oberlin College on a scholarship from the Hunan provincial government and embarked for France, where he put his missionary training to use as a secretary of the YMCA for Chinese labour battalions attached to the French army.

After World War I he received his Ph. D. in history at Columbia University in Tientsin and Peking.

Dr. Tsiang gained prominence in China when he cautioned against warring against aggressor Japan in 1931 without allies and adequate preparation. He became China's ambassador to the Soviet Union (1936—1938). During the war Dr. Tsiang helped frame the Nationalist budget and worked on plans for postwar relief. In 1945 he was appointed director general of the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which, he later reported, cared for 700,000 refugees and saved 5,000,000 Chinese from starvation.

After his term at the U.N., Dr. Tsiang became the Ambassador in Washington, a post he later resigned. At his death he was 69.

We have lost a great friend of the captive nations, and the Free World has lost an indomitable fighter for world freedom.

We shall always remember him for his sterling humility, high intellectuality, and warm humanism.

Standard-Bearers of the Chosen People

In the Tsarist era, which was not particularly liked in Western Europe, it was the Russian revolutionaries who endeavoured to prove that the regime should not be identified with the Russian people. Now, *mutatis mutandum*, it is the Russian emigrants who are attempting to prove that only the Bolshevik regime is bad and that the Russian people, now as always, is a peace-loving people, well disposed towards the West. Whereas the Austro-Hungarian, the German, French and British Empires have all broken up, the Russian Empire stretching from Königsberg to Alaska and from Norway to the Dardanelles is to remain in existence; and this, we are told, is in the interests of world peace and of the non-Russian nations "resident" in the Soviet Union (and constituting more than half its population), who are to continue living happily under the leadership of the Russian "master race" . . . However, these nations do not have the right claimed by all the yellow and black peoples of Asia and Africa, the right to freedom and independence.

This thesis is upheld by, among others, the standard-bearers of the "chosen people" of Russia in the July edition of *Rußland und Wir* (Russia and Ourselves — published in Bad Homburg, Germany) (No. 4/5/6). In this Magazine an attempt is made to criticize my book *Der Geist Rußlands* (The Spirit of Russia — published by the Schild Verlag) in an article entitled *Das alte Lied von der russischen Barbarei* (The Old Song of Russian Barbarism). The reviewer, J. Bühlow, asserts that this book, in spite of the writer's "profound body of knowledge" and his "not uninteresting conclusions", gives an "affected and repugnant" impression and thus that "truth is left by the wayside".

De gustibus non est disputandum. But so far as the truth of my thesis is concerned the reviewer has made not the slightest attempt to prove the contrary. The book demonstrates that Russia has been and is alien and hostile to the West, politically, socially, culturally, and psychologically, and that the Russian people regards itself as "chosen" and as having a mission to bring its great truth to the "corrupt" West. The book includes a mass of unambiguous sayings of Russian politicians and thinkers, red and white, past and present. These sayings are all attacked by the reviewer without his bringing one scrap of counter-evidence. He says that much that "is unpleasant about the Russian makes him all the more likeable in the eyes of many West Europeans." Agreed! But *which* West Europeans? Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Leon Blum? For such West Europeans as the British General Fuller, who wrote the Foreword to my book, or Leibniz or Rohrbach or the Marquis de Custine, who wrote a brilliant book about his journey through Russia during the reign of Nicolas I, or the Englishman Fletcher, who visited Russia at the end of the sixteenth century, or many a modern writer who has not toured the USSR with his eyes shut — such writers all present the same picture of Russia and the Eurasian spirit of its people as I have, whether they were describing Bolshevik Tsardom or Tsarist Bolshevism. But the reviewer, who sees only the "pure soul of a child" in the Russian, fails completely to notice all this. And as is usually the case with those who are dazzled by the Russian's "pure soul of a child", inclination towards Russia is

accompanied by heavy criticism of the West. The reviewer reproaches me with the suggestion that I "attribute (to the Russian) a level halfway between man and beast". And what has Bühlow to say against this? He says that precisely what I regard as the Russian's negative side is simply an "expression of his spiritual health", a desirable "addition to the image of European man", which "without him (the Russian) would appear too unmanly" and even "inhuman". Bühlow, then, corrects me as follows: it is not the Russian who is "inhuman" but . . . the West European! And he recommends me and my fellow Ukrainians not to kindle the flames of "hatred" against "our greater Slavic brothers".

This sounds just like an article out of Moscow's *Pravda*, which continually reminds us to forget the atrocities committed by Peter "the Great" and other tsars, the destruction of our national independence, the introduction of serfdom, and the decimation of our people by the Bolsheviks — and instead to offer "our great brothers" our love and devotion. But Mr. Bühlow ignores all this. On the contrary! The "pathological rejection of Russia" in my book, he says, "can be dangerous", as it represents for readers a "strong temptation" to see "in the Soviet regime the necessary expression of Russian national character" and as a result of this to regard the non-Russian nations of the USSR as "potential allies of the West". The West, thinks this Russophile, needs no such allies. Talk of Russia's plans to rule the world is fantasy and "leads nowhere". This "West European", a standard-bearer of Russian imperialism, thinks that the result of a partition policy, in this case, "the impotence of Russia", would conceal a great danger for the West.

In other articles in the magazine *Rußland und Wir*, one reads that Russia has never hated the West, is not an aggressor, and that, when she has waged war against the West, these were purely defensive wars. To write such a thing is sheer nonsense and contradicts every historical fact.

From 1657 to 1709 Russia waged a war of conquest against Ukraine, and at the end of the eighteenth century conquered most of Poland. At the end of the nineteenth century she waged a war of aggression against Turkey and again from 1917 to 1921 against Ukraine and Caucasus. During the Second World War Russia invaded Ukrainian Galicia, Bukovina, Carpathian Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechia, and Slovakia. Furthermore from the sixteenth to the twentieth century Russia overran many countries in Central Asia, in Siberia, parts of China, and even Alaska — on the American continent.

So these were the "defensive wars" of the peace-loving Russian people. And that all this belongs to the messianic and imperialistic spirit of the Russian people I prove in my book *Der Geist Rußlands*. This is attested even by Russians:

A. Blok painted a picture of millions of Russians marching against the West, avowing that they *love* Europe, and that they regard her "simultaneously with love and hate", and that on account of this very love they want to crush her: "Is it our fault if your skeleton bursts asunder in our strong and gentle hands?"

K. Leontiev wrote in the nineteenth century: "The Russian family of peoples, even now egalitarian enough, will slide down the mortal path of racial intermixture even more quickly. And we — already people without ranks and soon to be without a Church — *we shall show up the Antichrist.*"

D. Mereshkovsky: "All the outward facts of our revolution are known to Europe, but she can never comprehend its inward nature. She sees a body which moves, but not the soul of the Russian Revolution moving within it. *For us politics are a religion.*"

Fyodor Dostoyevsky asked, "Why do nine-tenths of Russians living abroad associate with those left-wing movements in Europe which are repudiating their own culture? Do we not detect in this fact *the Russian soul*, which has always been alien to European culture? This is my opinion."

The poet *Tyutchev*, who proclaimed the approaching death of the West, wrote: "Over the gigantic ruin of the West arises like the holy ark this even greater Russia! Who will dare to challenge her rule?"

Y. Samarin is of the opinion that Russia "will undertake the task of liberation which we shall have to take over throughout the whole world sooner or later . . ."

One of *Dostoyevsky's* heroes says: "What I had time to notice and to examine in Europe shocks my Tartar nature." And "in Europe the formation of law and duty took centuries. Good and bad are laid down, weighed against each other. In Russia no such process has taken place, neither good nor bad have been measured against individual conscience; both have been dictated from above."

We read the same from *A. Herzen*: "Where you Europeans are brought to a halt by your own consciences, we (Russians) are only halted by a policeman"

These and similar Russian utterances about the spirit of the Russian people, its "pure soul of a child", and its attitude towards the West are to be found in my "pathological book", as well as in the writings of Bolshevik Tsardom and Tsarist Bolshevism. Will the West permit its Christian culture and its freedom to be destroyed by such a people and its accomplices? Is the West going to ignore all the manifestations and deeds of Russian Messianism? The great danger to the West remains near, very near.



AF ABN demonstration of solidarity with U.S. military support for Vietnamese anti-Communist w

Anti-Communist Mediterranean Centre

The Afro-Asian continent as a key-point in the conflict of the two worlds.

In the conflict between the two existing worlds, the Communist world and the Free World, we are concerned with a struggle for the existence and preservation of the free, civilised world, which is being threatened with complete annihilation by world Communism.

In this struggle the Afro-Asian countries form one of the most important fronts of the offensive against the free Western World for the advance of World Communism, whose might is borne by Soviet Russia.

Moscow has formed a firm front in these countries. It is a fact that many of the Afro-Asian countries are within the sphere of influence of the Russian empire and that Moscow has a firm footing in these countries.

Up to now the West has never succeeded in opposing Moscow's Communist propaganda about the imperialist desires of the "capitalist world" and about "neo-colonialism" with anything effective, and in convincing these countries of the groundlessness of Russian provocation.

The Western World holds itself back and hesitates to explain and to make clear to the Afro-Asian peoples that Russia is the only imperialist colonial empire which dominates and subjugates foreign nations and that the people in this empire have been robbed of all human rights.

Despite the important material help given by the West to the Afro-Asian lands, they feel themselves attracted by the Soviet Union and show full trust in her.

This proves that money and technical help alone do not serve the cause of freedom, and that people cannot be bought with money. Help of this kind is of a temporary character and leaves behind no deeper respect and does not bind people to their helper.

It is important and decisive to win over these peoples as friends and to convince them with facts that the Western World is ready to help them advance in their dignity as humans and make them civilised peoples of equal worth.

Moscow has realised that everything depends on this and has acted accordingly; she has been very active in this field, and this is now naturally working to her benefit.

The Russians set up the Lumumba University in Moscow for the young people of the Afro-Asian countries and created special faculties for them at the University of Tashkent. Hundreds of young Afro-Asians have been trained at these universities. At the end of their studies they return to their own countries as doctors, teachers, lawyers, economists, engineers etc. — and they are in those political, public and economic circles, as well as in all state positions, which are so decisive for the formation of public political opinion in a country.

In this way they all become convinced Communists, since they are thoroughly influenced and indoctrinated in Moscow and now accordingly mould official life in their own countries.

What has the Western World done about all this? Nothing! The few young people from these countries who have studied in the West return disappointed to their homes, since they find no human contact here. They feel that Western

people are simply polite and obliging to them, but that there remains a certain distance between them.

It is essential that the Western World do something in this direction to remedy this regrettable condition.

The Western countries must set up jointly a university for young people from Afro-Asian countries, and in a place where it would be easiest for these people to feel at home in a real sense.

In this way money from the development aid funds would be used in the most useful way, and it would assure a success which would benefit the West.

The suitable place for this purpose would be *Malta*. Malta forms an advance bastion of European civilisation. From time immemorial Malta has been inhabited by the most different races, cultures, and religions.

Malta forms a synthesis of European, Asian and African cultures and traditions and is at the same time of completely European stamp. Thus it could be a good mid-point between three continents.

The people there are open, internationally minded and farseeing in their mentality. They have close connections with the peoples of Asia Minor, as well as with those of Africa. And above all they know how to treat the people from these countries. In addition Malta is climatically very suited, a not unimportant fact.

There already exists in Malta the old university with every faculty. Thus it would only be necessary to develop it, found a technical faculty and to build student hostels.

Students would receive a grant and this would also be from the same development aid fund.

To demonstrate that the founding of such a university is an anti-Communist scheme and a proof of the readiness of the Western World's willingness to contribute to the civilised advance of the Afro-Asian peoples, an international anti-Communist conference should take place.

1. The international conference in Malta has the aim of influencing the African and Asian countries in the desired way. Thus at the conference representatives of America, Europe, of the Communist-subjugated peoples and above all from Africa and Asia should take part. The representatives of the nations subjugated by Moscow and Peking should make known their experience in their struggle against Communist domination.

2. As in Korea a Freedom Centre should be set up in Malta, where experts could train in the course of a year suitable men and women from Africa and the Near East for the anti-Communist struggle. Later they could become organizers, ideological and political leaders in the anti-Communist struggle in Africa and the Near East.

3. A suitable library and scientific institute for the problems of the anti-Bolshevist struggle should be set up in Malta.

4. The conference would also attract the attention of the public to Malta as a tourist and travel country, thus helping the economic development of this young state.

The problems which today concern and activate nations are not to be solved in isolation, singly. They are interwoven one with the other, and so we must consider and solve them on a global scale.

N. Nakashidse

A. Bedriy (USA)

Russian Imperialism in the Ideas and Policies of Lenin

Chapter II. The Tsarist Heritage in Lenin's Ideas and Policies

In the preceding chapter Lenin's national-ity, cultural and political background, and aspirations were examined. All these factors point toward the *existence of the continuity* of Russian national interests, culture, constitutional principles, economic patterns, and administrative methods from the Tsarist period to the Soviet period. Although the two periods were divided by a revolutionary period (which in Bolshevik phraseology still continues) the revolution was not absolute: not all aspects of the previous Tsarist world were destroyed by the new forces. In many respects this "revolution" was not at all "revolutionary", but rather reactionary or conservative; in others, it had the characteristics of reform, and only in some areas was it really revolutionary.

In this chapter we shall consider several aspects, but not all by any means, of Lenin's activities which bore definite marks of Tsarist heritage that were not destroyed by the revolution because they could not have been destroyed. There are certain historical and social laws which in normal circumstances exclude the possibility of continuity and heritage being completely eliminated. Some elements of the Tsarist heritage assimilated by Lenin and by the Bolshevik movement are summarized by George B. de Huszar:

... the Russian political, cultural, and social history and ideas that strongly influenced Lenin and made the Communist revolution possible. Some of these ideas and historical forces have tended increasingly to come to the surface in recent years: the autocratic tradition of the state, the ideas of paternal despotism, the movement toward agrarian socialism, the belief in the destiny of Russia and Russian society, the deep religious fervor of the Russian masses which tends to obscure the role and position of the individual and subordinate him to the transcendental symbols and forces. (1)

Other elements inherited by Lenin were: the principle of political and administrative

centralism, the principle of unlimited use of *force* by the ruling group, extensive activity of the *political police*, intolerance of the ideologies and cultures proscribed by the rulers, and political, cultural, and economic imperialism toward non-Russian nations.

Lenin's main Tsarist heritage was *absolutism*. In 1915 he stated: "this is a country where absolutism is alive..." (2). He adopted the Tsarist principles of monolithic political power with policy formulation by a small group of top leaders.

Furthermore, Lenin's absolutism was of the *despotic* kind modelled on the "anti-European" Russian tsars. He called it "dictatorship". The definition of despotism strikingly coincides with Lenin's definition of dictatorship: "Unrestricted power, beyond the law, resting on force in the strictest sense of the word..." (3) Lenin desired to become the new "Communist" tsar himself:

The revolution has only just broken the oldest, most durable and heaviest fetters to which the masses were compelled to submit. That was yesterday. But today the same revolution demands, in the interests of Socialism that the masses unquestioningly obey the single will of the leaders of the labour process (4).

On this point Leonard Shapiro stated: "Lenin had always sought to exercise complete control over the Bolshevik movement from a single centre consisting of himself and a few close collaborators." (5)

To Lenin concrete *physical and military power* was the main source of *legality and morality*. A student of Bolshevism, W. A. Sh., wrote: "The participation of the Russian people in the rising against Tsar Nicolas II is explained by the search for a strong authority." And "the October uprising, headed by Lenin and Trotsky against the Provisional Government of Kerensky, is also explained by the same striving of the Russian people to have an authority of

force." Then the author drew the conclusion:

Bolshevism of the Russian variety is Marxism, revised by Ivan IV, Peter I, Catherine II, and by the Russian people at large, based on the native concepts of life under a rule which is felt as the rule of an earthly god and which alone must be worshipped, begged, and always be obeyed; it is a government of authority beyond the limits of space and time. (6)

He then reasoned:

... the power of Bolshevism and the wisdom of its leaders rests precisely on their understanding, similar to that of Tsar Peter, of the psychology of Russian people who need divine authority, and set before themselves the objective to become such ... because "what tsar or government is it who does not torture and hang?" (7)

Another student of the Russian political constitution maintains that "the ruling method of the Russian tsars upon their own people completely suited the national spirit of the Muscovites". Therefore,

during the revolution the Muscovites summoned to the government again a despotism and dictatorship in the form of Bolshevism and gave to the Bolsheviks full support during the war with the freedom-loving peoples, who were creating their own free national states. (8)

A scholar of Eastern Europe, Yuriy Lypa, said of Lenin's chief historian, Pokrovsky:

He is proud of the history of his Russians, he praises their superiority over Europe, because Moscow (he demonstrated it brilliantly) in its policy, organization, and tendencies is the heir of the Golden Horde, the capital of the mighty Mongols on the Volga. (9)

Summarizing, Bolshevik despotism means maximum material force and all political power concentrated in the hands of the highest ruling group and the full authority to use this power according to the decision by this group, in which Lenin was the supreme despot.

In conformity with Tsarist theory Lenin identified the state with the government. The Soviet state meant political power held by the Russian proletariat. The state is for

them a society ruled by a definite class. Where the rule of a class extends there exists the same state. Therefore, the state is considered not as a geographical entity but as a social entity. Civil war results if two or more competing state systems exist in the same geographical area. Lenin's state is in the possession of the proletariat — when speaking in ideological terms, but of the Bolshevik Party — when speaking in actual political terms. (10) In the previously quoted book *Smienna viekh* Potiekhin explained: "It is becoming clear even to politically blind men that socialism is the most appropriate form for Russian conditions of people's rule." (11) The state is to Lenin, as it was to his predecessors — the tsars — the means by which to accumulate political power. He wrote: "... we say that state power is absolutely essential; and essential not only for Russia now, but for every state, even if it were directly passing to socialism." (12)

In order to achieve absolute despotic power a system must be based on the principle of *complete centralism*. All the greatest tsars strictly followed this principle and Lenin also accepted it, but he used the authority of Marx in addition: "Marx's observations on the experience of the Commune ... do not reveal a trace of federalism ... Marx was a centralist." (13) It goes without saying that in a despotic state, based on a collectivistic society, the best organizational principle is the centralistic principle. The federalistic principle is typically "Western" — European. Its notions, brought into Russia by "Westerners", were thoroughly eradicated by the Bolsheviks, except for some federalistic terms left in the written Soviet constitution.

In despotic Russia brutal force was freely used for political purposes, because most Russians believe in *force as the highest law*. Lenin maintained: "Not a single problem of the class struggle has ever been solved in history except by violence." (14) His deterministic principle was not based on Marxist economic determination but rather on traditional Russian power-determinism. Therefore, he said, "... a good Communist is at the same time a good Chekist ..." (15)

A Communist accordingly must first of all know how to apply force unscrupulously for political objectives. Therein lies the essence of Marxism's Russification. Lenin confessed that European culture did not accept his notion of Communism. About West European Socialists he said:

People are so degraded and dulled by bourgeois legality that they cannot even conceive of the need for other organizations, illegal organizations for the purpose of leading the revolutionary struggle. (16)

In contrast, as he believed, "strange are legal convictions to our intelligentsia, which would discipline it from within. We need outside discipline." (17) By outside discipline he meant the law of force. Whereas with regard to Europe Lenin was a true revolutionary, with regard to Russia he was a conservative and a traditionalist. The formation of the political secret police (V. Ch. K.) was an act by which Lenin sanctioned the centuries-old practice of the tsars. Lenin once boasted he would overtake Peter I in the endeavours to steal from the West its technological and scientific achievements. (18) He said he would "not shrink from adopting dictatorial methods" and would "not hesitate to use barbarous methods..." In short, Lenin thought that to the Bolsheviks as well as to the tsars "a standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power." (19) On this question Lenin contradicted Marxism by approving the traditional Tsarist theory.

Lenin's political ideology had deep roots in Russian history, especially in that of the nineteenth century. George A. Morgan maintains that

as in the relations between ideology and power, the Russian heritage and Leninism are in the main complementary rather than mutually exclusive factors. Leninism itself profoundly Russified the Marxism on which it fed, and Marxism flourished in Russia partly because even before it was Russified it fitted salient traits in Russian revolutionary feeling and national experience. (20)

The above-mentioned scholar, Yuriy Boyko, stated: "Lenin was a Russian from head to foot, grown up in Russian traditions, above all in the traditions of Popul-

ism, the Black Hundreds, and the People's Will." (21) Referring to an outstanding populist leader, Lenin confessed: "This heritage belongs to us. Our task is to continue the same course, originated by Zhelabov." (22)

Lenin's course of activities was predetermined by the Russian political tradition which he described thus: "The whole history of Russian socialism has made it inevitably its immediate task to struggle against the autocratic Government and for political liberty." (23) Georg von Rauch wrote about the predecessors of Bolshevism:

Chernyshevsky, Tkachev and the thousands of "Friends of the People", including the radical terrorist wing, had one trait in common. They all believed that the Russian people were pre-destined to realize socialism in a special way, different from that advocated in Western Europe... "Admittedly our people are very uneducated", Tkachev wrote, "but they are saturated with the idea of communal ownership. They are, so to speak, instinctively, traditionally, Communistic. (24)

Lenin had to "choose" the attitude of an opposition party working in the same cultural climate in which the regime worked. He identified his efforts with the struggle "for political liberty", by which he meant that a new elite would appropriate all political power in Russia. On many occasions he stressed the predetermination of his politics by the Russian heritage: "counter-revolution has roused in millions and tens of millions of people a bitter hatred for the monarchy..." (25) As a Russian opposition leader Lenin did not entertain any thoughts about the dissolution of the Tsarist empire. He only desired to replace the old imperial system by a new one. Lenin expressed himself about the events of 1861 in truly imperialistic and traditionalist terms:

It is quite natural that the public should, with particular enthusiasm, celebrate March 3 (February 19), the anniversary of the fall of old feudal Russia and the beginning of the epoch which promised Russia liberty and prosperity. (26)

In the imperial constitution introduced

by Lenin Tsarist heritage is clearly perceived. Richard Pipes described it in the following words:

The governments of the autonomous regions and republics, as one Soviet jurist correctly remarked, had more in common, from the point of view of authority and function, with the prerevolutionary Russian Zemstva, than with the governments of genuine federal unions. There can be little doubt that the tradition of those institutions, introduced during the Great Reforms of the 1860's, exercised a profound influence upon the evolution of Soviet concepts of autonomy. (27)

One of the leaders in the populist movement, L. Dmytrievsky, who later became a member of the RCP (B) and achieved therein an outstanding position, explained the "narodnik regeneration" of the Bolsheviks:

We saw — to our surprise — that in Leninist "Marxism" there was much which singularly was acceptable to us, who did not discontinue to remain narodniks...

international Communism is slowly changing into a teaching close to narodnik maximalism, but with a stronger national colouring. We became convinced that the Soviet Government was defending Russian national interests not only because of circumstance, thereby defending the unity of the larger part of Russia, etc., but that it was altogether a Russian Government, founded on the needs of people's life at that moment, and created and changed by the people after its model and similarity. (28)

Another Russian, Martov, debating with Lenin before 1905, saw in the tactics of the Bolshevik leader nechaism, namely a Russian adaptation of the Machiavellian theory, dictatorship, and exclusiveness. (29) Lenin, in short, combined the principles of an anti-regime opposition with the principle of preserving the Russian empire. In fact, regarding both principles he was a perfectionist: he desired to give Russia a better government and to make Russia a greater empire than she had been hitherto.

(to be continued)

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5. Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Random House, New York, 1960, p. 239
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7. *loc. cit.*,
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11. *op. cit.* p. 173
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13. "State and Revolution", 1917, v. 7, pp. 50-1
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15. "The Co-operatives", 1920, v. 8, p. 229
16. "Collapse of the Second International", 1915, v. 5, p. 214
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18. *see supra*, p. 23
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21. "Russian Populism as the Source of Leninism-Stalinism" in Vyzvolnyj Shlakh, v. 127, May 1958, p. 508
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23. "Immediate Tasks of Our Movement", 1900, v. 1, p. 38
24. History of Soviet Russia, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1957, p. 8,
25. *see supra*, p. 4
26. "Worker's Party and Peasantry", 1901, v. 2, p. 234
27. The Formation of the Soviet Union, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, p. 247. The Soviet juror mentioned is B. D. Pletnev, "Gosudarstvennaia struktura RSFSR", in Pravo i Zhizn, Moscow, no. 1 (1922), pp. 29-30
28. Sudba Rossii, Berlin, 1930, p. 40
29. P. Lepeshinski, Na Povorote, Leningrad, 1926, p. 176

From Letters to ABN:

December 13, 1965

Dear Mr. Stetsko

Having received your gracious letter of November the 9th, I wish to express my sincere thanks to you for your most kind effort to give a wide publicity to the important Resolution of the recent APACL Conference.

Your Organization's full support for our League as well as your cooperative effort with our League in the years past have indeed boosted our League's international prestige. The reprinting of the important Resolution and Declaration of the APACL Conference in the US Congressional Record can best serve as an example. I am confident that all concerned will be profoundly pleased over this matter.

With kindest regards, Sincerely yours,

*Ku Cheng-kang, President
APACLROC*

November 5th 1965

It gives me a pleasant surprise when I find my name on your mailing list. (This is the third issue of your journal which I received today.) I find some good articles in your journal and they make very fascinating reading.

*Prof. K. L. Kamal
Tilaknagar, Jaipur, India*

24th Nov. 1965

I should be grateful if you would consider placing the Library of the University College, Dar es Salaam, on your complimentary mailing list to receive your publications.

*H. Holdsworth
University College
Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika*

31st October 1965

There appeared in The Sunday Telegraph of the 7th of March this year an article on the front page which referred to a statement by the British Member of Parliament, Sir William Teeling, concerning pro-Communist Labour M. Ps. It seems that this statement was published in your ABN Correspondence sometime at the beginning of this year.

My position is that of Chairman of the United Kingdom Commission on Psychological Warfare and subversion, in the United Kingdom Delegation to the NATO.

Statistics of the kind produced by Sir William Teeling are most valuable in alerting our NATO Allies to the subversive activities that can flourish within our respective parliaments from day to day without the public being aware of them until it is too late.

*Mr. Gordon Lett
London, England*

31st October 1965

Thank you for sending us ABN Correspondence. It is always interesting. You may be interested to know that it is seen by approximately 600 people in our Community Centre Library.

*D. Shipper
Llanishen, Cardiff
Great Britain*

AMERICAN VETERANS AGAINST COMMUNISM

1112 S. Glenelder Avenue - Hacienda Heights, California - United States of America

October 20, 1965

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

It has been our pleasure to have periodically followed the activities of the OUN and UPA in their dedicated fight against Soviet tyranny. Through our contact with APACL in Taipei, we learned of the existence of the Society of Veterans of the UPA in the USA. We contacted this organization and it generously supplied us with information concerning the anti-Communist efforts of the ABN and its component groups and Units Abroad. We had earlier heard of the ABN but did not fully realize the vast extent of its anti-Communist operations or of its complete objectives.

"American Veterans Against Communism" (AVAC) fully concurs with ABN objectives. Only a totally defeated and dismembered USSR will give the Free World a guarantee of peace and permit the application of the Four Freedoms which the United States, Britain, and Free China fought to achieve during World War II. AVAC realizes that the enemy of freedom today is not only the Sino-Soviet bloc but also its covert apparatus which operates in every free nation to corrode and destroy from within. We know that ABN and its components have been under heavy attack from pro-Communist groups in the West which faithfully serve the Kremlin as pliant tools.

"American Veterans Against Communism" congratulate you, Mr. Stetsko, and the ABN, its components, its Units Abroad, and its entire membership — from highest to lowest, excluding no one, for a gallant and courageous fight against heavy odds. We realize that many of you fought Communism before such action was popular with the British Foreign Office and the American State Department — consequently some of your most dauntless freedom fighters have been unjustly slandered and vilified by elements remaining loyal to Marxism.

AVAC is a true American friend of the ABN and is willing to help you in any capacity to bring about the total and unconditional defeat of the Sino-Soviet bloc and the consequent liberation of captive peoples and captive nations.

Very truly yours,
John S. Arvidson
Field Director — AVAC

29th October 1965

Many times I have thought of writing to tell you I appreciate the copies of ABN Correspondence which you send me. I read it carefully and get much from it.

Your picture of Christ knocking on the UN is beyond praise!

The last article on the religious life in the Ukraine is most interesting.

I also very much like Dr. Donzow's article. He evidently knows who the enemy is! But without saying so, which is clever. Prof. Dr. Katona also knows what he is speaking about. I have read, your 'Lack of Ideology'. It is a grand article.

Donzow says it is a task which ABN is fulfilling to find men of the new chivalry in every country. If you can suggest some in the US I will contact them. We need help here as well as in Ukraine . . .

B. F. v. Stahl, Colonel
Omaha, Nebr. USA

September 20, 1965

I am finishing writing a book tentatively titled The Power of Positive Conservatism. In the Appendices I am listing descriptions of anti-Communist/anti-fascist organizations that the reader can get in contact with. Attached is the circular I have sent to many organizations requesting information.

I would also like addresses of some of your various ABN units in Germany, England, Argentina, Australia, and Canada so that I can ask them for a description also, if you don't mind.

Keith L. Warn
Hawthorne, Calif, USA

29th October 1965

On November 4th I shall give a talk at the public library on the Magna Carta — and will try to bring in the captive nations as well.

Bernadine Bailey
Chicago, USA

Mr. J. Blyschak - ABN
San Francisco

August 3, 1965

Good luck to you in all your endeavours and I hope that your people will very soon enjoy complete and total freedom, for we ourselves in this country are not safe if any segment of the world is dominated by slavery.

George Christopher
Commonwealth National Bank
of San Francisco, USA

Madrid, 16th July 1965

On behalf of the Minister, I should like to express his gratitude for your kindness and for the interesting document enclosed On Captive Nations Week.

As you know, we customarily receive the publications of the ABN which I read assiduously and most fruitfully. Indeed, this Ministry looks with the greatest sympathy on the activities of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and their efforts in favour of the self-determination of those peoples oppressed by communist regimes.

Together with our renewed thanks, Mr. Secretary General, please accept this assurance of our highest esteem.

Luis Santiago de Pablo
Ministerio de Informacion
y Turismo

I am very pleased to know that your July 23 Public Meeting was a great success. My only regret is that we in England do not observe Captive Nations Week. To our shame and to our regret we have not yet a British national anti-Communist organisation representing British anti-Communists.

Your report and Resolution were very interesting. I wish to associate myself with the Resolution.

Victor J. Lloyd
Slough, Bucks, England

Mr. J. Blyschak - ABN
San Francisco

July 21, 1965

Please be assured of my continued support for your efforts on behalf of millions behind the Iron Curtain.

William S. Mailliard
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, USA

July 5th, 1965

I find ABN Correspondence full of factual news and information. It is a deadly weapon against the evil forces of Russian Communist imperialism and Chinese Communism and their allies. I congratulate your Editorial Board on its excellent work for the just cause of the national liberation of all non-Russian peoples from Russian Communist imperialism and for the liberation of China mainland and South-east Asia from Communism.

Victor J. Lloyd
Slough, Bucks, England

June 28, 1965

Dear Mrs. Stetsko:

1) I am thankful to the person who has mailed to me this year's issues of ABN Correspondence. Christ knocking at the UN building is certainly impressive.

2) What have Canadian loyalists done?

a) helped to organize a demonstration (of about 600 persons) on May 12, 1965, in front of United States Consulate in Toronto in support of U.S. resistance to Communism in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. But resistance is not enough!

b) taken part in a demonstration against the Moyseyev Dance Group in front of the Maple Leaf Gardens, Toronto, on May 11 and 12, 1965.

c) printed (in thousands) the Declaration (enclosed), which has been mailed and distributed . . .

c 1) demonstrated on June 17, in the front of Massey Hall, Toronto, in support of the meeting inside the Hall where the Baltic people was commemorating the tragic events of June. (I received the entograph on the Declaration with the inscription "Best Wishes" from the Minister of Defence, The Hon. Paul Hellyer).

c 2) On the same date, June 17, the Declaration was distributed at the demonstration in New York before the UN building. (U Thant sent down his secretary to obtain more copies of the Declaration).

c 3) Canada's Prime Minister Pearson received a copy of the Declaration (see copy of the letter from his secretary). We have not given in — our "conversation" with the Prime Minister will continue until he recognises the principle of the universal implementation of high ideals.

c 3) As a result of mailing the declaration to about 400 Canadian newspapers, the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter was not widely reported in Canada.

Mr. N. Amber
29 Goulding Ave.
Willowdale, Ont.
Canada

June 2, 1965

The situation in Japan is very bad. The Japanese Socialist Party is now Communist so far as diplomatic policy is concerned, and it is increasing in popularity since the Vietnam operation began. USA has become unpopular in Japan. We have started new campaigns against the Japanese Socialist Party. I will be writing about recent increasing Communist infiltration in Japan in Free Front, the organ of APACL, which I expect you receive regularly.

Prof. Dr. J. Kitaoka
Tokyo, Japan

FONDATION NATIONALES
des SCIENCES POLITIQUES
Service des Périodiques

Paris, March 16th, 1965

Gentlemen:

We should be very glad to have our Library placed on your mailing list for a free service of: ABN Correspondence

This publication would thus be available to the many professors and students of the Paris Institut d'Etudes Politiques and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration who use our Library.

Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

J. MEYRIAT
Director of Documentation

**CASTRO'S ATTEMPT TO AUCTION
STOLEN WORKS OF ART
AN AFFRONT TO EUROPEAN
DIGNITY**

Shipment of stolen art treasures to Europe shows Castro's desperate economic situation

Castro's intention to auction a considerable quantity of confiscated art treasures on the European market has aroused understandable indignation all over the world, and particularly in Europe, where it is regarded as an affront to the dignity of the Old Continent. The shipment of stolen valuables, which arrived in Rotterdam, Netherlands, aboard the Cuban freighter *Aracelio Iglesias*, is intended to be sold "to the highest bidder" in another desperate Castro effort to obtain some badly-needed dollars with which to prop his regime's crumbling financial situation.

Unidad Revolucionaria requests that all those Cubans and former residents of Cuba who have been affected by Castro-Communist confiscation laws should supply us with a detailed statement of the goods

stolen from them, particularly silverware, bronze and marble objects, china, carpets and jewelry in general. This information will be used in trying to prevent this shameful operation from being carried out, to which end we shall make every possible effort. The above information may be sent in by mail or delivered personally at our offices, 10 S.E. 9th Street, Miami, Fla.

Finally, a word of caution to potential buyers of these confiscated valuables: all the objects involved form part of Cuba's national artistic wealth, and disposal of it by any one government is unlawful and inadmissible from any point of view. If this illegal sale is consummated, the Free Cuban Government that will replace Castro's after the latter's downfall will fulfil its inescapable duty to seek recovery of the stolen goods through every possible legal and diplomatic means, as was done by the governments of the liberated European countries after World War II.

*Unidad Revolucionaria (U. R.)
Miami, March 27th, 1965*

April 2nd 1965

Your latest bulletin has been duly received and applauded. May all your efforts be crowned accordingly.

Hanns Fischer
Literary Agency,
Chicago, USA

March 22, 1965

ABN publications are of importance for our library and we highly appreciate your kindness in sending us these copies.

M. Hunink, Librarian
Internationaal Instituut voor
Sociale Geschiedenis
Amsterdam, Netherlands

Buenos Aires

20th March, 1965.

Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko
President of ABN

In accordance with a resolution of the second General Assembly of the World Union of Croatian Youth, which has taken place in the city of Montevideo in Uruguay, we are honoured to convey the Assembly's greetings to ABN. In accordance with this resolution, unanimously approved by all delegates of Croatian Youth living in 17 countries of the free world, we should like to thank ABN for its solidarity with the peoples living beneath the Communist yoke and above all for your support of the just cause of the Croatian people.

With sincerest greetings to all members of ABN,
Zvonko Hasenay,
Secretary.

Domagoj Vlahovic,
President.

March 8th 1965

Your journal which is dedicated to restoring freedom to countries subjugated by Soviet Russia and other Communist powers would be of much interest to me. You see my country too, Zanzibar, has fallen into the clutches of Communism. I would like to contribute an article to your esteemed journal if that is possible.

Muhamed bin Abdulla
Southsee, England

March 4th, 1965

We should appreciate it highly if you would send us your paper ABN Correspondence on the same terms, as we consider your periodical very important for the study of social history.

M. Hunink
Librarian
Internationaal Instituut voor
Sociale Geschiedenis
Amsterdam, Netherlands

News And Views

"Legion of Michael the Archangel"

On 30th November 1965 a service took place in the *Damenstiftskirche* in Munich to mark the 27th anniversary of the death of Corneliu Codreanu and thirteen of his comrades-in-arms in the Legion Movement in Rumania. The service was conducted by Dr Vasile Zapartan, ecclesiastical head of the Rumanians in the German Federal Republic. Following the religious observance tribute was paid to the dead by Dr Zapartan in Rumanian and Mr Vasile Mailat in German.

Who were these Rumanian legionaries? When the movement was founded on 27th June 1937 it received the name "Legion of Michael the Archangel", which in everyday usage has become the "Legion Movement", and its members "legionaries". The founder and first leader of the movement was Corneliu Codreanu, "Captain" to the legionaries. Today the Legion Movement is led by Horia Sima. In order to illuminate the goals of the Legion Movement, we give here some extracts from an interview with Horia Sima which was published in a French magazine in August, 1965:

"The legionary must become a new man, able to sacrifice himself for his people and his Christian belief."

"For the legionary politics are not a battle for power by which personal interests and ambitions can be realized, but continual labour in the service and for the use of the people."

"The politician can destroy the lives of millions of human beings, or he can help them towards a better life."

"Thus in Cornelio Codreanu's sense, politics means the leadership of a people in accordance with its historical destiny. For this reason Codreanu held the opinion that the Legion Movement is not a political programme but a political confession of faith."

"New" Russia

We congratulate Mr. Robert Conquest on his article "Russia: the Great Illusion" in *The Daily Telegraph* of November 29th, 1965. From his article it is clear that he knows the Soviet Union very well and it is a pity that more articles of this kind do not appear in the Western world. We quote:

"... there is a vast excess weight of illusions about the New (the latest "New") Russia which has been accumulating in the West. *The Observer* said: '... under Khrushchev, a start has been made on dismantling the machinery of dictatorship by the regime itself — an almost unprecedented event in history': no facts whatsoever support this statement, but still" ...

"... The latest 'new spirit' in the Soviet economy has been very greatly exaggerated in the West."

"... For years plan after plan has been announced with immense fanfares — and taken seriously. Back in 1957, we were told the United States was about to be caught up with in milk and meat production. The abandoning of these promises passed unnoticed, covered by the spectacular proposals of the Seven-Year Plan. That Plan in turn, was overtaken by the dynamic long-term Plan of 1961."

"... Stalin had slave labour on a vast scale. He introduced a type of serfdom for the peasantry. Professional torturers and professional liars abounded — but at least they weren't capitalists, so everything was all right, or nearly all right, or about to be all right."

"... 'Liberalisation' is another nice vague word. It usefully blurs the distinction between the slave-owner who is quite kind to his slaves and the one who actually sets them free. Tolstoy used to complain of the 'liberal' landlord in Tsarist Russia that he would do anything for the peasant except get off his back."

"... Above all, Mr. Stewart should warmly and publicly rebuff any references to British colonialism from the rulers of the largest surviving empire. Mr. David Astor once wrote that the new Russian régime had repudiated Stalin's crimes. Yes, except the ones which still benefit them and which are reversible, such as the annexation of the Baltic States."



However, we may not shut our eyes to the fact that America has tolerated imperialist policies towards the "liberated" states similar to those of the Soviet Union in East Europe. For this reason Communist propaganda falls on fertile ground in South-East Asia, especially in South Vietnam, where national consciousness is most rampant. Even today, the Vietnamese are proud of the fact that the hordes of a Djengis Khan had to stop at the frontiers of Viet-

nam. This pride has grown even greater as a result of the victory over French troops. I have myself seen a photograph on which could clearly be seen how their blood was caught in a bowl. When democratic methods are no more use, the United States does not shrink from employing the methods of her co-existence partner.

The American press charged Diem with corruption and nepotism. The accusation of corruption is certainly unjustified. So far as nepotism is concerned, one must admit that all of Ngo Dinh Diem's brothers occupied high positions of trust. But one could charge Kennedy with nepotism in exactly the same way: he appointed one brother, only about thirty years old, Attorney General, while an even younger brother became a Senator. There are gifted families everywhere — in America and in Vietnam.

L. K.

An American Senate Documentation

Murder International, Inc.

Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy

This investigation was made and published by the Committee for Internal Security of the United States Senate under the leadership of Senator James O. Eastland, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Senator Everett Dirksen and others.

This book contains informative documentation, until now unpublished, of numerous crimes against humanity organized by the Soviet Government.

Much space is occupied in this documentation by the investigation of the crimes of Alexander Shelepin, whereby special attention is given to the proceedings and the grounds for sentence of the German Federal Court of Justice in the case of the murder of the freedom hero and leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, Stephan Bandera, organized by the Soviet Government and under the personal charge of Shelepin.

In the detailed foreword to the documentation Senator Thomas J. Dodd counts the Karlsruhe trial among the most important in world history, not only on account of the terrible human drama, but also on account of the historical and political significance of the verdict of the highest German court.

This documentation occupies 176 pages, and can be obtained from the ABN Press Bureau, 8 Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Restive Soviet Students — Demonstration for Imprisoned Writer

The rebellion amongst young intellectuals is becoming more and more unpleasant for the Soviet authorities. Recently Yesinin-Volpin, a well-known scholar and son of the famous poet of the Revolution, was temporarily imprisoned. He had demonstrated openly for two "anti-Soviet" writers. Twenty students were arrested, and ten of them forbidden to continue their studies.

On 5th December two hundred demonstrators in Pushkin Square in the middle of Moscow demanded a public trial for the two imprisoned writers Sinyavsky and Daniel, of whom it is alleged that they smuggled anti-Soviet writings under pseudonyms to the West.

Officials in plain clothes broke up the demonstration, in the process arresting Yesinin-Volpin and a theology student, but both were released after questioning.

Nevertheless the demonstrators met with astounding success. They are said to have received assurances that the two writers will be tried in public and "in accordance with the law".

Yesinin-Volpin had already been attacked heavily by Khrushchov, and was later confined for a time to a mental hospital, which in the Soviet Union is regarded as a "harmless substitute" to the cells for refractory intellectuals.

The Orthodox Church Persecuted

It was recently announced in a minute agency report that the theological seminary at Lutsk in the Soviet Ukraine had been closed, fresh evidence of the fact that the struggle with the Church in the Soviet Union has not been relaxed, as many people have been willing to believe lately.

There are now only three theological seminaries left in the Soviet Union, from which graduate about a hundred priests each year. One hundred new priests for many

million Christians! If one considers the fact that at present 11,000 priests are still working, and that this figure decreases by about ten per cent each year due to old age or death, one can easily calculate by what date the clergy as an institution will have ceased to exist. To ensure that believers have no opportunity to conduct church services without priests, churches are continually being closed. Since 1959, 15,000 churches have been closed altogether, mostly with the most threadbare of excuses. At present there are 7,000 churches for 35 million people.

The monasteries are suffering the same fate. The government takes every possible opportunity to dissolve one monastery after another. Within the last six years more than forty monasteries have had to close their gates, so that only twenty-six monasteries now remain.

Agents are planted to spread rumours about the priests' moral behaviour or other activities. But since these rumours are not even silenced by ecclesiastical investigations and official statements that they are unfounded, these priests are finally suspended from their duties "under public pressure".

It can already be said today that the Orthodox Church as an instrument of organization has ceased to exist. The fact that the government is intent on giving the Church a representative position for foreigners to see makes no difference to all this. Thus Patriarch Alexei holds receptions, receives messages of greeting from Premier Kosygin, and sends his representatives to international church congresses and conferences. But these are only Potemkin villages, behind whose façade the death knell sounds.

Atheist Propaganda in the Soviet Union

The Soviet press has recently been subjecting the forms and effects of atheist propaganda in the USSR to a critical examination.

Freedom from "Illusion"

"Religious prejudices are hard to kill, and their conquest is no easy task", says the Red Army Organ *Red Star* summing up an analysis of atheist propaganda in the Soviet forces.

"Those believers whom one wishes to talk to and to win over, to free from their illusions, seldom take part in organized discussions", writes the trade union paper *Trud*. The satirical magazine *Krokodil* illustrates this fact with a cartoon showing an anti-religious evening lecture — being given to an empty auditorium.

Trud states in an article entitled *Atheists must be more active!* that the weakness and lukewarmness of atheist propaganda can only be to the advantage of the priests — "a cunning enemy, who is frightened of nothing". The paper complains about only moderate successes in the "treatment of individuals" amongst believers.

Especially criticized is the fact "that very few teachers really take part in the atheist battle", although according to a decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU school work must be co-ordinated with the work of the "Association for the Spreading of Scientific Atheism". "Many teachers and lecturers in the Association only make generalizations about the harmfulness of religion. Such explanations are of little use!"

New Method Demanded

A letter from an atheist biologist was published recently in the government organ *Izvestia*, in which certain atheist propagandists were told ironically that it was "extraordinarily naive to assume that religious worship which is millenia old can be stamped out in a few decades."

Now as always, many people find comfort and help in their inherited beliefs, he wrote. "The Communist interpretation of life and death brings neither happiness nor comfort."

Even the atheist journal *Nauka i Religiya* ("Science and Religion") attacks a certain form of atheist propaganda, which through its "insults" leads only to "hardening" against the "atheist message".

Efforts must be made to consider "what modern religion represents, why the Soviet people still believes so much in God, why men can be believers, and what draws them to religion."

In another article the journal refers to demands made at the All Union Congress of Journalists with regard to "scientific atheistic propaganda", who rejected the "primitive and one-sided production of evidence against religious ideology" on the grounds that this form of propaganda does not deal religion a "death blow", but leads to "renewed consolidation of the Church".

Atheist Handbooks criticized

Comments were also made at the Congress about the use of unbelievable propaganda materials and inexact quotations from the Bible. Lastly, *Nauka i Religiya* reports, the Congress criticized the misuse of administrative measures against the Church and its adherents, and demanded that such measures should be replaced by "good methods of demonstration".

The journal itself severely criticizes in another issue the two atheist handbooks which have recently been published in the Soviet Union.

The handbook issued by the Institute for Scientific Atheism is said to contain "erroneous propositions, inexact formulations, and frivolous views on questions of religion and atheism". And in the "Atheist's Dictionary" published by the same Institute are to be found "inexactitudes, misuses of technical expressions and other inexcusable pieces of negligence."

In the Lithuanian Soviet Republic doctors have been brought actively into the anti-religious campaign, according to a report in the Lithuanian Communist paper *Tiesa* about the founding of a Union of Atheist Doctors, which is carrying out "energetic activity amongst the people".

The doctors hold series of lectures about the origin of man and the "reactionary nature" of religion.

"Holy water injurious to health"

The organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party has published some details of the doctors' atheistic activities. One lady doctor

announced to the population that chemical analysis had shown holy water to be injurious to health.

Other doctors have formed themselves into amateur dramatic groups, performing the anti-religious play *Guest at the Lord God's* in the most varying places. The intention is to visit all the villages and collective farms in a given area with this performance.

But former clergymen are used as atheist propagandists for preference.

One of these ex-priests, a certain Ragauskas, has been particularly prominent in the campaign against religion. In an article which was recently published in the Communist youth newspaper *Komjaunimo Tiesa* he accuses believers of leading a "double life". Whilst they avoid any witness to their faith in public life, they continue to append their religion to their private lives. This, writes Ragauskas, is insincerity.

Force not ended

In this connection the paper worriedly relates that "not a few" in Lithuania still believe in God, go to church, pray, celebrate religious festivals, and "carry out other cult acts".

That the struggle against religion is not limited to anti-religious propaganda, and that no one shrinks from using administrative means is proved by a case which came up in the University of Vilnius in the last academic year:

A student of Philosophy and History was expelled from the University, because he had tried to prove the existence of God in a student discussion.

"Comrade Prime Minister" — soft soap!

Pravda recently reported that the Prime Minister of the "independent, sovereign", mighty flourishing, utterly self-reliant Ukrainian Soviet Republic, Pavlo Ivanovitch Kasanets, had been appointed Minister for Metal. This kind of "promotion" — of the Prime Minister of a "sovereign" state — is an unveiled insult aimed by Moscow at the non-Russian peoples. In the same

manner, the Soviet Ukrainian "Minister for Foreign Affairs", Palamartchuk, was made Soviet consul in Marocco. Comrade Minister, we don't envy you your title.

Five Condemned to Death in Latvia

As reported by the Russian Press Agency TASS, five sentences of death have been passed in the Riga court on Latvian "war criminals", of whom three live in the West. The Russian agency gave no more exact reason for these death sentences.

The trial lasted three weeks, and as a result of this the "court" sentenced the following persons to be shot: Josef Bazakovitch, Janis Krasowikis, Albert Aichelis (at the moment in the West German city of Karlsruhe), Boleslaw Maikowskis (living in New York) and Harold Puntulis (living in the Canadian province of Ontario). Peter Waitzuk was condemned to 15 years imprisonment.

Stalinists are being rehabilitated

The new Kremlin clique has been rehabilitating Stalinists who were earlier put on one side by Khrushchov.

The Soviet Russian Central press has reported the awarding of the order of Lenin to A. Andreyev, member of the Politburo under Stalin and Secretary of the Communist Party from 1935—1953. He has also become Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR.

Sergiy Kaftanov, who was Minister of Education under Stalin, has been distinguished by the award of the "Red Banner of Work". He was appointed Rector of the Moscow Institute of Technology and Chemistry not long ago. From 1959—1962 he was Deputy Minister of Education.

Former Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, N. Rodionov, has become the First Secretary of the area committee of Tchelabinsk. Engineer N. Kozziukov has become the Deputy Minister for Coal Production.

Latest reports say that the pillar of Stalinism, Molotov, has become political adviser to the Prime Minister of the USSR, Kosygin.

Changes in the administration of the Ukrainian SSR are closely connected with the rise in Stalin's reputation.

New Crimes by the Russian Secret Police (KGB)

20 years ago, that is, in December 1945, the Russian Bolshevik military court in Ukraine passed sentence on Mykola Prokopovych Matsevytch from Perehinsko, in the Rozhniti area of the Ivan-Franko district of Ukraine. At the trial Matsevytch was able to defend himself to some extent, and as a result he was not shot but only imprisoned and deported.

In 1965, the local newspaper *Prykarpatska Pravda* (Sub-Carpathian Truth) opened a savage campaign attacking Matsevytch, on the orders and following the directives of the Secret Police (KGB). "Witnesses" have even come forward — Leon Khrypka, Olha Voloshyn, Stefan Hlushko and others. This reptilian Bolshevik newspaper has begun to publish letters ostensibly from these "witnesses".

From these "letters" and a statement on this matter by the Bolshevik public prosecutor's office, the affair is as follows: after the second Russian Bolshevik occupation of the West Ukrainian provinces the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) and the UPA (The Ukrainian Insurgent Army) continued the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine. A combat group was active in Perehinsko, led by Kost Narizniak, alias "Verchovy".

In addition the following people belonged to the group: Mykola Matsevytch ("Kraziviv"), Onufriy Krailo, the brothers Melnykovytch-Fedir ("Gonta") and Lev ("Morozenko"), Jakiv Dotsiyiv and Pavlo Matsevytch ("Nepkyiv").

In the statement issued by the public prosecutor's office, it is announced that "in view of the numerous declarations and demands of the inhabitants of Perehinsko (!), which have been brought to the editorial office and the investigation committees, the authorities had to take up criminal proceedings against Matsevytch, Mykloa Prokopovytch". It was further declared that the investigations undertaken by the state security forces had clearly proved that Matsevytch, after joining the UPA, received the pseudonym of "Kozhushenko" and a position in the local combat group SB (of the security forces) of "Verchovy".

"At present Matsevytch is under arrest. His case is being seriously investigated."

To organise the subsequent monstrous trial with all possible publicity against the OUN and UPA, the Communist newspaper *Prykarpatska Pravda* is appealing to the population to denounce the "bloody deeds" of the freedom fighter Matsevytch and the other fighters. Thus a large-scale trial against the innocent Ukrainian patriots, based on lies and extortion by the Russian secret police is about to take place. This is what Russian justice in Ukraine looks like!

Ivan Bunin

"Don't boast about God's will with your Russian-ness. We are a cruel people."

"We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be regarded as our worst enemies. They preach love of one's neighbour and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the Revolution. Down with love of one's neighbours. What we need is hatred. We must know how to hate; only thus shall we conquer the universe."

Anatole Lunarcharsky, former Russian Commissar of Education

Dear Reader,

We have been sending you for a long time our periodical "ABN Correspondence", which enjoys the highest reputation among freedom-loving people as an uncompromising defender of the complete freedom of the people and of the nations struggling against Communist tyranny.

ABN Correspondence has contributors in every continent and concerns itself not only with the subjugated nations but also combats Communist subversion in the free countries. Thus ABN Correspondence has become their mouthpiece.

ABN Correspondence receives no subsidy at all from any state or private circles in the Free World. Its publication is paid for from the financial resources of our emigrants.

We must therefore turn to you to contribute financially to the maintenance and development of our periodical.

We ask to you to renew your subscription or to transfer the necessary sum to the press fund.

Please inform us whether you and your circle of friends will continue to be interested in our publication.

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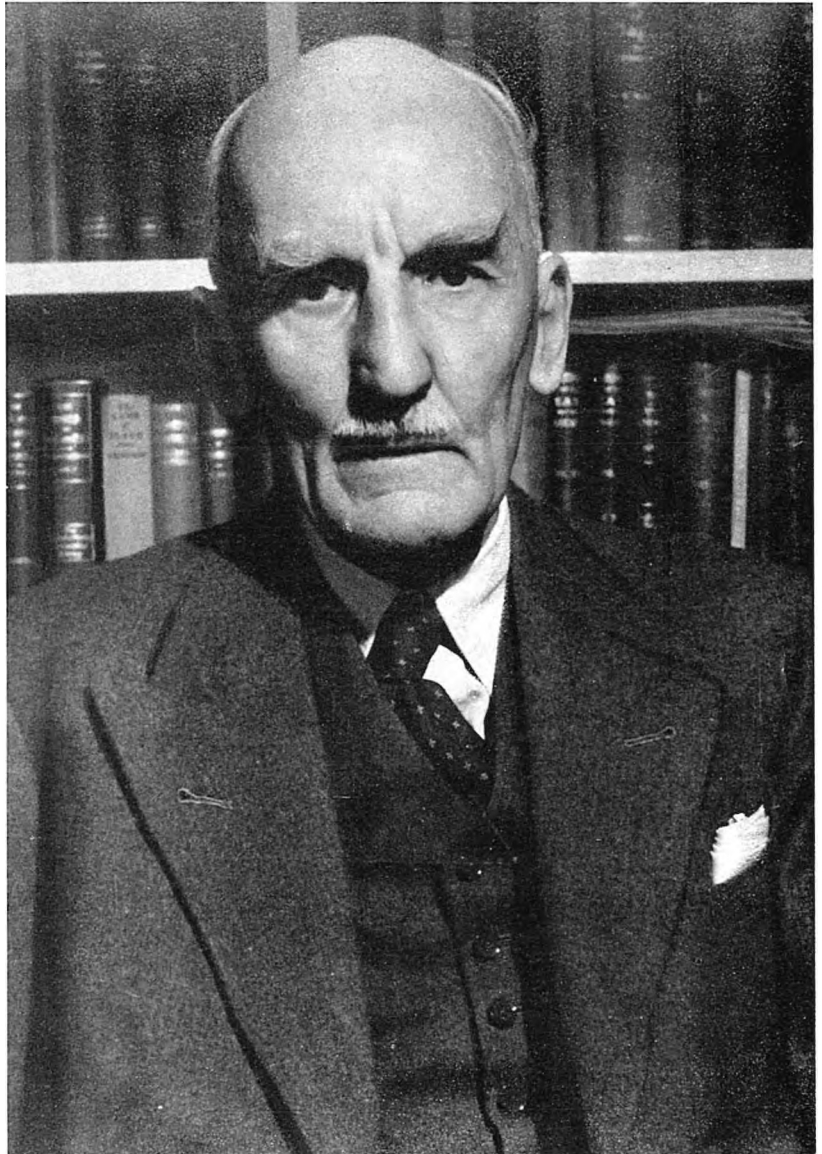
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Freedom**



*Major-General
J. F. C. Fuller
(1878 - 1966)*

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.
 Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

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Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to: Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account No. 30/26135 (A. B. N.).

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69.

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.
 Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slawa Stetzko.
 Erscheinungsort: München.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Erich Kirmair, München 12, Westendstraße 49.

Great Military Thinker And Champion Of Freedom

(General J. F. C. Fuller)

On February 10th, 1966, there died in Falmouth, England, a man whose ideas have to a considerable extent shaped the character of 20th century military and psychological warfare. This man was also a great friend of the nations struggling to free themselves from the grip of Russian imperialism and Communism.

Major-General John Frederick Charles Fuller, C. B., C. B. E., D. S. O., who died at the age of 87, was not only a brilliant professional soldier, but also an outstanding military thinker, writer and historian. With a striking clarity of mind he foresaw some of the main trends in the development of modern warfare. He pioneered the introduction of mechanisation into the British Army, and in particular the use of armoured fighting vehicles, i. e. tanks, in the First World War and developed the theory of tank warfare widely used in the Second World War. His originality of thought and farsightedness did not always meet with the understanding of his superiors, colleagues and the general public, which is the usual fate of those who are in advance of their own age. Especially in the years since the Second World War, Gen. Fuller applied his thought to the problems of the defence of the West against the threat of Russian Communist expansionism and advocated a strategy for the West which aimed at a political victory through military strength and support of the revolutionary national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Gen. Fuller was born on September 1, 1878, at Chichester, the son of the Rev. A. Fuller. He was educated in Switzerland and at Malvern, as well as the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. In 1898 he was commissioned in The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry and served in

South Africa throughout the Boer War. He was present at the relief of Kimberly and for the last six months of the war served as intelligence officer with native scouts. He reached the rank of captain in June, 1905, and in 1913 he joined the Staff College. During the First World War he served as staff officer both at home and overseas. In July, 1915, he became G.S.O. 3 on the staff of the VII Corps in France and soon was promoted to major. Towards the end of 1916 he was appointed G.S.O. 2 of the Tank Corps and devoted his energy and drive to the organization of the new revolutionary arm and to the development of its tactics. Although he was not the inventor of the tank, he clearly realized its possibilities for breaking the deadlock of positional trench warfare and transforming it into mobile war, utilizing the tank not merely to pave the way for the infantry through wire obstacles, but also for its psychological impact on the enemy.

In April, 1917, he became Chief-of-Staff of the Tank Corps and was mainly responsible for the planning of the successful Cambrai attack in November, 1917, which typified the subsequent battles until the victory in November, 1918. For his services he received the D.S.O. in 1917, was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1918 and to colonel in 1920. As a War Senior staff officer he worked in 1918 on a plan for the expansion of tank warfare which was to be applied if the war should continue.

In 1923 Fuller became chief instructor at the Staff College and in 1926 Military Assistant to Chief of Imperial General Staff. He felt frustrated, however, in his new post, because his proposals for mechanising the British Army and re-equipping it with modern weapons, especially the tanks, were not implemented owing to financial

stringency on the part of Government. In 1927 he became Chief-of-Staff at Aldershot and afterwards commanded brigades. In 1930 he was promoted Major-General, but was not given any employment, and in 1933 he was placed on the retired list. His outspoken arguments for modernising and mechanising the Army in order to make it more efficient did not make him very popular in Britain. Fuller's ideas were however, attentively studied in Germany and the U.S.S.R. and applied in practice.

Upon his retirement from active service General Fuller turned his attention to writing, chiefly on historical and military themes. From his pen came out many books in which he analysed military experience of the ages and developed his thoughts on future methods of warfare. In his *Memoirs of an Unconventional Soldier* (1936) he criticised some of the highest military authorities in Britain for what he considered to be a lack of understanding for the possibilities of tank warfare. The three volumes of his *Decisive Battles of the Western World* present a brilliant analysis of the most important battles starting with the Graeco-Persian wars and ending with the Second World War. He devoted separate books to Alexander the Great, the U. S. General Grant and his last book, published only last year, was devoted to *Julius Caesar: Man, Soldier and Tyrant*. His book, *On Future Warfare*, is a masterpiece of military thought, revealing him as a great theoretician and far-sighted visionary.

General Fuller not only deeply understood purely military aspects of war, but, as a student of Clausewitz, knew that war must be subordinate to politics. It is because of this that he, to a greater degree than any Western politician or military thinker, grasped the essence of the present conflict between the West and Communist Moscow and Peking and showed the way for bringing about a victory of the West without resorting to a thermonuclear war. *He pointed out the great untapped military resources on the side of the West in the form of the revolutionary national*

liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. It is because of this that Gen. Fuller became acquainted with the Ukrainian liberation struggle and the fight of other enslaved nations against Moscow. His friendship towards Ukrainian and other freedom fighters struggling against Moscow's tyranny for national independence was sincere and deep. His thoughts on the problems of Western strategy vis-a-vis imperialist Communist Russia were developed in many articles published in the *ABN-Correspondence*, *The Ukrainian Review* and numerous pamphlets published by the Scottish League for European Freedom and the A.B.N. His two pamphlets published separately, *Russia is Not Invincible* and *How to Defeat Russia?*, have made a great impact on Western military thought.

In General Fuller the Ukrainians and other enslaved nations have lost a true and sincere friend whose contribution to the liberation fight against Moscow will always be remembered with gratitude. His is an eminent example of a true Westerner in the best sense of the word, seeking with real understanding of their aspirations to help the enslaved nations to win that freedom to which they so passionately aspire.

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk

In his article, "What the Kremlin Fears Most", General J. F. C. Fuller writes:—

Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the A. B. N., however lacking in organization, in it still is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither one without the other can achieve what should be Western aim — not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

General Fuller On Russian Empire

General Fuller writes: "*No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik empire.* It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century back: "The Russian Empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Czardom." Break that hoop and its Imperium is at an end. When last autumn the Hungarians rose against their tormentors, the shock to the Kremlin was so great, I am convinced, that had America and Great Britain flown a provisional government into Hungary, which on arrival would then call upon them for military support, rather than risk a nuclear war the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious. It is that *the Kremlin is living on a volcano*, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen-bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel . . .

"Because both America and Great Britain

realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian fighting man-power, they have decided to make good their deficiency in it by relying on what they call tactical nuclear weapons; in other words, less powerful nuclear weapons than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which they call strategical nuclear weapons. This is to tackle the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is not to increase weapon power, but to reduce Russian superiority in man-power, and so indirectly increase Western man-power. This can be done by subverting the Russian fighting forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the USSR and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, well over 2,000,000 prisoners were claimed by the Germans. This is an unbelievable figure until it is realized that the vast majority of these men were deserters — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Georgians, Turkestanians, and other subjugated peoples."

On the same problem Geg. Fuller writes in **RUSSIA IS NOT INVINCIBLE:**

Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change of regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western Powers should coincide with the A.B.N. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish — that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step towards achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common Anti-Bolshevik Front. The second is the creation of a Psychological Warfare General Staff which will give teeth to this union, and it should comprise three main branches — Operations, Intelligence and Supply.

The duties of the first should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries, and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national

armies, around which the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

The duties of the second should be to collect and co-ordinate information gathered by the underground movements; train intelligence agents for work not only behind the Iron Curtain, but also in all countries which in war time may be overrun by the Russians, so that guerilla war may be organized in their rear, and by intensive propaganda keep the spirit of counterrevolution alive.

The duties of the Supply Branch should be to make ready on a vast scale all the requirements of guerilla warfare: the provision of arms, ammunition, explosives, medical stores, rations, radios, etc., etc., as well as earmark the aircraft needed to carry them and also personnel to prearranged dropping points, so that, when the flag falls, the psychological bomb may be detonated

from the Arctic shores to the Mediterranean and from the Pacific to the Elbe.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But, if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in Bolshevizing the world.

*

Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, stated that the main elements in the war for which the West should arm, should be the following:

“In an ideological age wars take on an ideological character;
They are conflicts of ideas in which bullets play a secondary part;
The cold war is the real war, and its aim is internal attack on the enemy;

Ideas are largely impotent unless backed by force — the threat of actual war;

The greater the threat, the more audaciously can cold war be waged, hence the importance of scientific superiority; As this may lead to the outbreak of actual war, the West must be prepared, not only to fight it, but to convert its war into civil guerilla war within the enemy's country;

These things the Western nations will never adequately do unless:

- a) Western Germany is fully re-armed;
- b) Unless they cooperate with the National Resistance Movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Finally, let us remember this: In the mobile and scientific warfare of today, he who prepares for defense only digs his own grave.”

Mrs. J. F. C. Fuller
c/o United Services Club
Pall Mall
London S.W. 1

February 11, 1966

Dear Mrs. Fuller,

Please accept our most profound sympathy with you on the sad occasion of the death of your highly esteemed husband, expressed on behalf of the Ukrainian and other enslaved nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Your bereavement and grief are great, but they are no less for us, spokesmen of the subjugated Ukraine and other enslaved nations whose cause this great man steadfastly and fearlessly defended in his activity in the fields of military science and policy. The world of great military and political ideas, not merely of our century, has lost a theoretician of genius and a man of far-sighted military and political vision. The subjugated nations, on the other hand, have lost a defender of the idea of their national and political independence and of liberation through revolution. And entire mankind has lost a military thinker who pointed out and justified by arguments an alternative to an atomic war, and, consequently, a way to save mankind from thermonuclear annihilation.

The revolutionary movements striving for national liberation and their leaders found in the works and justified predictions of General Fuller a confirmation of their faith in the correctness of their ideas for liberation.

His name will be inscribed in golden letters in the history of sincere and loyal friends of the ABN.

May the Lord also keep you, dear Madam, in His protection in the future.

I remain, with the expressions of the most profound respect and deepest sympathy for you,

*Yours very sincerely,
Jaroslav Stetsko
former Prime Minister of Ukraine
President of the ABN*

Revolutionary Age

Trotskyites in Peking — Stalinists in Moscow

It is wrong to assume that Moscow is interested in a peaceful solution to the Vietnam conflict. Every complication in Asia is strengthening the position of the Russians in Europe, since the USA is compelled to become more and more involved in Asia and to relegate European problems to second place. The conflict with Red China is at present occupying the USA's main forces, so that she finds herself having to maintain so-called peace in Europe on the basis of the status quo. Moscow knows how to take advantage of this situation, and is therefore concerned that the position in Asia should become more complicated — in this case, the situation in Vietnam. It goes without saying that the Russians would never contribute to a relative victory for the Americans in Vietnam. False speculation about the war conflict between Moscow and Peking and resulting endeavours to form a common Russian and American front against Red China will only lend strength to Communism. The main cause of Moscow's disagreements with Peking does not lie behind Peking's demands for the return of Russian-occupied Chinese territories; nor, for that matter, does Red China occupy any Russian territories. Both powers occupy territories which are neither Russian nor Chinese, but which are ethnographically alien to both. The main causes of the Peking-Moscow conflict are to be found (apart from the rivalry for the leadership of world Communism) in:

Russia's temporary refusal to enter a war (including a nuclear war) with the USA, should Red China advance *southwards* (Peking's main direction of expansion);

Peking's emphasis on the "national liberation element" in the wars and revolutions of Africa, Latin America, etc., in contrast to Moscow's preference for the "international proletarian element". In practice there are few differences between the two powers on this question;

Russia's greater support technically and materially of pro-Russian, so-called neutral countries, which causes Red China to feel neglected.

Mao Tse-tung's seizure of power received partial support from the duped Chinese peasants, whereas in Russia the proletariat has been decisively active. The resulting positions in the two countries have caused differences between them.

The enormous difficulties in which China finds herself in the second decade of the existence of her Communist system drive her to make *immediate* conquests and wars in order to escape her internal difficulties and crises, whereas Russia is occupied with "digesting" the extremely large areas she has conquered.

Thus Russia is pursuing Stalin's concept of "the building of Socialism in one country", in this case in the present sphere of Russian rule. Peking, on the other hand, follows Trotsky's theory of *immediate* world conquest and "permanent revolution", so that the Communist system in China may be consolidated. Thus Trotskyite Maoism and Stalinist Khrushchovism are engaged in a running battle

of words. In foreign affairs, and basically in internal affairs as well, Khrushchov followed the Stalinist line, as Brezhnev and Shelepin are now doing, whilst Mao Tse-tung clings to the Trotskyite line. However, the failures which this line is causing him are making him swing gradually towards Stalinism too. This change of opinion is being forced upon him by his defeats in Indonesia, in India, and in the Kashmir struggle, by the misfortunes of the second Bandung Conference in Algiers, by the break in diplomatic relations with Peking made by certain African states, by the fiasco of the big communes, by the strengthening of Moscow's position in the Communist Parties of various countries (in Cuba, for example), and not least by the Vietnam disgrace caused by Mao's "American paper tiger" theory. In fact it is the Red Chinese paper tiger which has been exposed to the world, not the American!

Let us look at a historical parallel — the defeat of the Red Army in the Battle of the Vistula in September 1920 by the united Polish and Ukrainian Armies, the suppression of the Béla Kun revolt in Hungary, and the putting down of the Communist revolts in Hamburg, in Bavaria, etc., by national German elements, have all proved the unreality of Trotsky's world strategy. Without any doubt the Ukrainian Army's defensive war under the command of Symon Petlura did the greatest of services to the Western World. The Ukrainian Army held up the march of Trotsky's Russian hordes to the West.

Both politically and militarily Mao Tse-tung will have to move from Trotsky's "permanent revolution" to Moscow's Stalinist path; in other words, he will have to devote his energies to the "building of Socialism" in his own country, or rather in the complex of countries he has already conquered. Each defeat brings Mao Tse-tung nearer to Moscow and compels him to employ Moscow's more careful methods, which up to now have brought Russia great success. All the same, the Russian empire is and will remain a colossus with clay feet.

The term "polycentralism", invented in the West, and employed to describe the present stage of World Communism, is not necessarily a sign of the weakness of world Communism, for there has never been monocentrism in the world Communist movement; there have always been Trotskyites, Bukharinists, and now Maoists and Titoists. The only difference lies in the fact that Mao Tse-tung and Tito both control political and military forces outside the Russian empire. But this does not mean that Communism, as an intensified form of Russian imperialism, has become less dangerous.

With the help of the West Russia has succeeded in shifting her boundaries from those of 1939 to those of 1945 and in drawing into her sphere of influence China in 1949 and Cuba in 1959. It is impossible to see why Russia should be less dangerous now, when the Russian way of life dominates an incomparably greater area than it did in 1939. It is indeed true that dissension has multiplied within the world Communist movement, but it is also true that the Communist system itself has spread enormously. In any case it should be clear to any reasoning human being that the Russian Communist occupies a position much closer to that of the Chinese Communist or the Serbian Communist than to that of the American, English, or French Democrat.

What is more, one must ask how many countries the West has liberated from Russian or Red Chinese domination since its Pyrrhic victory in the Second World

War, and how many countries Russia and Red China have conquered in this period. The borders of the Russian empire reach to the centre of Europe — Berlin — and beyond; in 1949 China was overcome, then Korea, Vietnam, Tibet, and Cuba; and a number of African countries are already pro-Communist orientated. The West has not been able to push the Iron Curtain one inch eastwards. In 1953 the East Germans rebelled, in 1956 the Poles and the Hungarians. Between 1953 and 1959 there were riots by Ukrainian concentration camp prisoners. And where has the West intervened in the cause of freedom? On the borders of Red China Tibet was overrun, and the Communists still rule Albania, although the country's relations with both Moscow and Belgrade are not at all good. Cuba became a Russian satellite before the gates of New York, thousands of miles away from Russia — and the West is not even able to bring the tiny Albanian people over to its side and to give assistance to the Albanian national liberation movement. The West is in a bad way.

Vietnam in the Ideological Age

In Vietnam about 200 000 Americans are fighting the Vietcong although not a single Russian or Red Chinese division is fighting alongside the Vietcong. The USA simply does not comprehend the nature of the revolutionary age. We are living in an ideological era which is also the era of the thermo-nuclear bomb. Ever since the Paris Commune wars have been decided by revolutions rather than by battles, as, for example, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904—5 and the World War of 1914—18 when national liberation revolutions removed Russia from the victorious *entente*. In the Second World War Germany neglected to incite and assist the national revolutions within the Russian empire, whilst Roosevelt and Churchill neglected to support the anti-Nazi revolts in Germany and helped Russia to win the War. At the same time Moscow began to undermine non-Communist countries, and the Cold War began, the real war of the Revolutionary Age. The West is arming for traditional war, war in the old style but raised to the nth degree — in other words, for thermo-nuclear war!

Is the West supporting the war of liberation in the enemy's territory, the national revolutions of the captive nations, the liberation movements of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, East Germany, and Tibet? Why don't nationalist Chinese troops land on the Chinese mainland? Where is the Cold War, led by our ideas, by our people, with the technical assistance of the West? As long it is not to be seen, the Americans will have to fight right down to the last soldier without any chance of final success. Only liberation nationalism is an alternative to Russian and Red Chinese colonialism and imperialism. The concept of liberation knows no frontiers; its expansion has no 17th Parallel. We cannot win if we only support freedom as far as a particular demarcation line. How are the North Vietnamese or the North Koreans to throw off Communism if the Americans only concede freedom to the South Vietnamese and the South Koreans? With the death of Diem Vietnam was ideologically disarmed by the Americans. Diem's Vietnam wished to be and to remain America's partner, not her minion.

Although we completely support President Johnson's Vietnam policy of meeting the Communists with armed force, we reject President Johnson's political concept, which limits the liberation of a nation to a demarcation line regardless

of the fact that the living body of the people is thereby being cut through. The continuation of the policy of the divided world is the cause of America's failure to retain influence in Asia. "Compulsory peace" brought about by the division of a country is the American version of peace. But the Vietnamese version of peace demands a liberated, united, whole Vietnam, an independent, national, anti-Communist state, with a social order corresponding to the soul and tradition of Vietnam. The war in Vietnam can only be won with the idea of liberating *all* Vietnam, with a guarantee to respect her sovereignty without lowering her national dignity, and by carrying the war of liberation into North Vietnam. The man who sits in a dungeon yearns for freedom, not for peace. The captive nations want no peace in slavery, but freedom; Vietnam is not struggling for peace in her chains, but for freedom. The Vietnamese are dying for national independence, for personal freedom and human dignity. The world should help them to obtain freedom, not peace — only *then* will peace come. Any other peace is a tainted peace, in the interests neither of Vietnam nor of the captive nations, and only part of the plan for the division of the world. The freedom-loving world can expect nothing good from such a peace; it is against such a peace that the Vietnamese are fighting — and so are we. S.

The Antichrist Has Come

by Most Rev. Fulton J. Sheen

The Antichrist has come! His black wings are pressing upon us. His advent hastens because he has already convinced us that he does not exist. In the days of Christ, we had to send missionaries to the naked in far-off lands. In the days of Antichrist, we have to send missionaries to clothe the naked in America. Satan tears Christ from the Cross and then flings that cross-less Christ to a spineless Christian West and throws the Christ-less cross of discipline to the Reds. He then erects the anti-cross, the twisted cross, on a "rock" that is not Peter and a "roll" that is not bread. He denies immortality, but stuffs Lenin with immortal paraffin and wax. He draws paintings of paint, that man may never see himself as an image of God. He roots out of the soul compassion for the raped and the martyred and bids his sob sisters show compassion for the rapist and the mob.

Michael! Draw thy sword once more. Mary! Lift thy heel to crush the serpent! You faithful! Save souls where souls are saveable. Repent! De-mammonize yourself! Evil is a parasite which feeds on goodness — once on morsels, now on chunks. God gave us two weapons: knees and hands. Knees — to spend an hour a day in reparation for sins. Hands — to reach alms to Christ starving on a thousand streets. With this column, we begin a national plea for one hour a day of continuous prayer before the Blessed Sacrament (the laity may include Mass). How many of you will answer? How many will open their hands, too? —

(Our Sunday Visitor, July 25th, 1965.)

*"We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live;
as chastened, and not killed."*

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

The Hon. Robert E. Sweeney, Member of Congress, U.S.

Taras Chuprynka-- Died In The Name Of Liberty



I wish to pay particular tribute to the spirit that prompts Ukrainians everywhere to hold steadfast in their love of Ukrainian Nationalism and to continue to arouse public opinion, both here and in the World, concerning the continued oppression of the Ukrainian people by the USSR.

On this significant 16th Anniversary of the death of the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who died in the year 1945 in the line of duty, we reflect upon the hardships and indescribable miseries of the Ukrainian people and the ruthless persecution that they have endured, for remaining steadfast and clinging to their national ideals, for dreaming and cherishing their independence

and a freedom; and we say to their oppressors who have wrought such intense misery and suffering upon the sons and daughters of Ukraine, in the spirit of the crucified:

Oh, Father; for their oppressions forgive
them, for they know not what they do.

It is well also that on these anniversaries, the World reflect upon the preciousness of the freedom of speech and expression, the freedom to worship God, the freedom from want, and the freedom from fear that has been withdrawn for so many years from the people of Ukraine.

On these anniversaries, let it never be said that we, as citizens of a free Republic, have ever abdicated our responsibility or withdrawn our interest from the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberty and independence. On these days of anniversary let us remember well the underlying principle of our own American foreign policy which has been described by our Secretary of State as follows:

“No one can convince us that the contest between freedom and Communist imperialism is not for keeps. This struggle must be our first order of business until a worldwide victory for peace and for freedom has been secured. We want the communists to see that their aggressive hostility toward the Free World is not only costly and dangerous, but futile.”

The resistance movement of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of contemporary note can be traced back to the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists — O.U.N. — and from the original Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, evolved about 1921 a group of Ukrainian officers having participated in the struggle for independence in the Eastern Ukraine, as well as Galicia, resolved to form a quasi-military underground organization. Its aim was to prove to the outside world and to the Ukrainian community that the Poles were unable to establish effective government in the region of the Western Ukraine.

These fighters for Ukrainian independence regarded the right of national self-determination not as an established fact but as an organically connected process of social development. Unfortunately, in their zeal to obtain that sacred right of national self-determination, these lovers of liberty had to return to the ancient truth that the question of life is a question of force and force alone.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was founded in Vienna in 1929 and it is interesting to note that it is dedicated to the pursuit of active idealism, national independence and *pan-Ukrainian brotherhood*.

In June 1941 the Ukrainian people proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian State and formed a government intending to wage war against the Soviet oppressors. However, thwarted by German policy, which failed to support Ukrainian independence but rather occupied and exploited the country, Chuprynka formed the underground insurgent army, known as the UPA.

He remained in the service of his people in Ukraine following the Soviet occupation and he knew what it was to live with a price on his head for on March 5, 1950, he was killed by the Soviet Security Forces.

Wherever Ukrainian groups meet and are committed to joint action, either underground or above ground, to seek Ukrainian independence, General Chuprynka will be recalled as the rallying figure who emphasized the unity of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

Never throughout all of his activity, in the UPA, and the OUN, did he become disillusioned at the prospect of continuing the fight against his oppressors and conquerors. Never did this great Ukrainian leader give up the struggle, and he lived for the day that sooner or later, a Ukrainian state would be re-established and her suffering ended.

When the Polish Communists, with Soviet help, liquidated Ukrainian settlements in Poland; and when the resistance forces were in flight and his people mercilessly plundered and murdered, did he give up faith? History will always record that the Ukrainian people in exile or in underground in their homeland have stood in resistance, proud for the World to behold, refusing to yield to the systematic transportation of thousands of families from their homeland to Siberia.

Throughout these sufferings that involve the pillage of whole villages at a time, never a wimper or a sob was heard from the Ukrainian. Never before had the World encountered such fortitude, and never before has the world witnessed a people who have suffered so bravely. While the Soviet leader may regard the Ukrainian National Movement as reactionary, one out of step, as he says, with the march of history, and doomed to failure, so too he should remember was the resolute march of the Continental Army of the American General Washington, a movement out of step with the march of history.

The Ukrainian National Resistance Movement can then be said to be a movement to resist the exploitation of man by man and a movement dedicated to a complete and absolute resistance to Marxist Ideology.

General Chuprynka was a military leader, a Citizen of the world, who fought for freedom and died in the name of liberty, and we, the inheritors of a free society, commemorate his death in an effort to find in his dying the inspiration to carry us forward in our national and independent endeavours for liberty.

(Correction: the year on page 9, line 14 should be 1950 instead of 1945)

Military Aspects Of The Liberation Problem

"If we wish to defeat our opponent, we must proportion our efforts to his power of resistance; this is expressed by a product whose factors cannot be separated, that is: the size of the available resources and the strength of will power."

(Clausewitz; "On War", 1st Chapter)

I am aware that this question is one of great delicacy, especially as almost all politicians in the West today speak of "relaxation of tension", to which also politicians in the East pay lip service (or the other way round). Those who speak of anything like "reunification" or even "liberation" are described as "warmongers" or "revanchists" by the Communists, and are often even called "insane" or at least "trouble-makers" in their own camp.

The Prime Importance of Politics

To avoid being placed in any of these categories mentioned above, I should like to state here that I am not arguing for an atomic war as a means of liberation. I also recognise the prime importance of politics and the privilege of politicians to decide military political questions. All military factors must — even after they have been brought into operation — serve political ends. This basic principle is unassailable in any state: and there are even in most recent history — on both sides of the political dividing line of our time — enough examples of political leaders decisively rejecting undesired interference in political objectives by high ranking soldiers.

So we need hardly recall here the fate of the American general MacArthur, who, in spite of his glory won in the second World War, was recalled by President Truman from his position as Commander in Chief in the Korean War "for unauthorised military and political actions". Perhaps less known is the fact that after the same fate was suffered by the Soviet Marshal Zhukov in 1957, three years later two further spokesmen for the Soviet generals, Marshal

Vasili Sokolovski, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, and Ivan Konyev, Supreme Commander of Military Forces of the Warsaw Pact, were ousted for their disagreement with Khrushchov's ideas of strategy.

Theory and practice in this question, therefore, are in agreement on both sides: but of course it has not been decided if the politicians are right in these conflicts over the political interest of the country or bloc concerned. (There are on both sides many who assert the contrary). The only thing beyond doubt is the prerogative of political leaders to make the decisions even in military questions. It is still an open question whether history will support the politicians or the opposing generals.

Threat to the Free World

Privilege however cannot be separated from responsibility. Knowledge must be demanded as a prerequisite for privilege. The statesman and the responsible politician must be able to control military means exactly as accurately as others. Military knowledge must therefore be the privilege not only of the professional soldier. Military political thought must be demanded most urgently today by politicians, especially as the rulers "over there" have never ceased to proclaim the annihilation of the Western system (they call it "capitalist") by all means, as their ultimate political aim. Even slogans about coexistence, the desire for trade relations, atomic test agreements, and phrases about disarmament etc. are openly declared means — tactical moves — of gaining this aim.

Consequently it would be highly irresponsible if the custodians of freedom were to construe these threats, often and openly expressed, as ideological gossip, behind which the Kremlin leaders — on account of the Chinese danger — conceal a decidedly changed aim — endeavours towards liberal reconstruction work, shoulder to

shoulder with the "capitalist world", for the welfare of all mankind.

But even the credulous idealists, who allow themselves to be led by this illusion, can't overlook the danger which threatens mankind from Peking. Eventually the second "Byzantine" focus of the world Communist ellipse will be in the long run in a position to manufacture these "super weapons", which, in the theoretical game of chess with these weapons, could even then reach a stalemate, if they were also numerically inferior to the arsenal of the opponent. We do not wish to prejudge the ensuing balance, if we point, as an example, to the "stalemate" theory of certain Western circles, who, in spite of the tenfold superiority of the US nuclear weapons arsenal and the fivefold superiority of the international carrier system (ICBM rockets), are of the opinion that this numerical superiority is offset by the effect of the deterrent.

These theoreticians say further, that the relatively smaller Soviet arsenal of "super weapons" is already more than sufficient to extinguish all life on the American continent and amongst its allies. (This "manifold" killing capacity is called in NATO technical language "overkill capacity"). It is not hard to guess how these theoreticians will assess Red China's "super weapons" in the following decade; and since the Chinese Communists are less sensitive than their Soviet rivals and, according to these theories, several hundred million Chinese — thanks to the numerical superiority of the population — would survive victoriously the exchange of atomic blows which would annihilate America and her allies, there can be no doubt about China's determination to employ its "super weapons" to force a decision. The consequences of the stalemate theory, in view of this heightened threat can only be capitulation. (Perhaps also, with the aged Bertrand Russell: "better red, than dead").

In short the Free World has been for twenty years faced with a constant and ever mounting threat, openly aimed at completely destroying its existence. This

terrible danger can certainly not be avoided through surrender and capitulation.

Changing Strategic Thought

In view of this massive threat, responsible politicians are constrained to hold their military forces in reasonable readiness, to be in a position to be able to repulse the threatening evil. A policy of liberal development can be pursued, and yet — or perhaps because — one can prepare for a decisive struggle, which will be provoked by the enemy.

This preparation for war, — or as Clausewitz in the above-quoted book expresses it: "the proper preparation of the armed forces" — is already part of the "art of war" or military science. It means much more than simple equipment with good and up-to-date weapons. There is hardly one field in national and international life — physical or the like — in which preparation for an effective defence of the country must not penetrate. Only an extremely conscientiously built up military preparedness can hold back the potential opponent from an aggressive action. He should know that in the case of a war he himself would be exposed to annihilation.

The build up and preparation of forces must follow a defence policy, or, expressed in technical language, be in line with strategic thought.

The concept of strategy, as well as strategy itself, has changed with time. Towards the end of the eighteenth century this expression came into military colloquial language, meaning, in the sense of the Greek word (*strategos* = General), only something like, "the skill in war of the general". In Clausewitz, we read, "strategy is the employment of military action for the purpose of the war". But he describes also its functions: "strategy must sketch out the plan of the war, plan the single campaigns and arrange the single engagements in them."

In our century, the scope of this concept has substantially widened. In this extended sense it is often termed "great" or "higher" strategy and refers to the employment of all the sources of power of a nation or a

coalition to gain political aims. The construction of this strategy runs on two rails: one political, the other military. It would be destroyed if the two rails weren't parallel.

Strategy does not develop in a vacuum. It is determined exactly by the spirit of the time; in this way it is exposed to certain changes. For example, when rationalism dominated thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, strategists scorned offensive action, which they rejected as something "barbaric", which only "aroused passions" against which defensive action was a "service for the welfare of mankind". (So wrote Count Schaumburg, teacher of one Scharnhorst, in his study characteristically entitled *Mémoires pour servir l'art militaire défensive.*)

Napoleon incorporated the spirit of the subsequent French Revolution into the conduct of war. Feelings displaced reason: the enemy must be annihilated. Instead of manoeuvring and outmanoeuvring a decision on the battle field was sought. But the ruin of the *Grand Armée* opened the door again for a short time to reason in strategic thinking, though Napoleonic traditions which continued to be maintained in Prussia (Clausewitz, Moltke, Schlieffen), became stronger and even determined military thought in the second World War.

Present-day Strategy

It is understandable that, after the ruin of the German army — victorious in the first "lightning wars" (*Blitzkrieg*) — most military strategists followed again the way of reason; and however much a paradox it may sound, the spirit of the eighteenth century is to be found in present-day strategy! Let us only think of Schaumburg's words on the offensive and defensive conduct of war, of the computers which replace in the Pentagon the "genius" of the "great general"; the mathematic element, as a result of overmechanization, occupies a decisive place. "Aerial spies" reconnoitre the complete country of the supposed enemy; everything is calculated, proved, . . . where is there still room for subtle intuition? Add to this strategic "super weapons" which are no longer

a monopoly, — even the Atom Club has become crowded. So if one of the atomic powers swung an atomic blow, it would also be annihilated, and one's own annihilation — so speaks reason — is, God knows, not the aim of war. The dramatic question is only, does the opponent think so?

This idea determines today the military and strategic thought of the responsible leaders in the West and at the moment it seems, also in the East. Peking however does not share this view. What the yellow rulers are planning for the time when they will possess the "super annihilation weapon" no electronic brain can calculate, nor any horoscope predict. What Mao Tse-tung has said about it, is anything but quieting.

The "way of reason" of American strategic planning discovered the deterrent theory and — to make it credible — rebuilt the armed forces in accordance with the Radford plan, almost exclusively as a deterrent force.

Soon afterwards the Pentagon had to state that the enemy could get round this deterrent by small wars, guerilla warfare and infiltration — just as low-flying aircraft could break through the radar belt.

Next it was supplemented in strategic defence by the "sword and shield concept", in which conventional or orthodox forces form the shield of defence to be able to repulse like with like, and only if this is not sufficient is the sword seized and a blow dealt by atomic weapons; at first only with weapons of "small calibre" — tactical atomic weapons — so as not to unleash at once an atomic war with the heaviest intercontinental missiles. This empirical approach based on experience already shows a departure from pure "neo-rational" thinking in strategy. (The training in guerilla warfare is a further step.)

It can only be hoped, that in the Pentagon policy will be decided by those who understand strategic defence not as mere passivity, but even prepare and train the forces of the "shield" for the carrying out of counter-blows, — perhaps even without having to take up the atomic sword. This can happen in a local war. Against this, in

an atomic world war — may God prevent it — the atomic sword could hardly be left in the sheath, since it is a matter of vital interests and the side whose existence is seriously threatened will not surrender before it has thrown every weapon into the fight for existence. But this can also — theoretically — be prevented if the people are not willing to fight for the regime or system and can stop these apocalyptic weapons from being used.

Passivity in Western Europe

The American theories and attempts which led to a pragmatic verification of the strategic concept, thanks to Kennedy's three-year term of office, are openly criticised in Europe, often rightly. But this criticism comes from a very weak position, particularly since the Western European countries, which are more strongly threatened than the USA, have not made overmuch effort for their own safety. In the shadow of economic success and increased living standards they allow the Americans, with flaming sword, to watch over them.

Then came disillusionment like a bolt from the blue. During the Cuba crisis they suddenly saw that they could be dragged into a nuclear war, even if European vital interests were not concerned.

The French President Charles de Gaulle, unswerving and unintimidated, drew the consequences for his country: he began to build up the "striking force" (*force de frappe*), which since then in the press and in diplomacy has raised so much dust. The consciousness of the European was awakened.

The Dilemma of Soviet Strategists

Moscow has also in the last ten years pursued a consciously offensive policy, which concentrated in its main features on Western Europe. The taking of the "European fortress", however, is only an immediate objective, so to speak the first step of a wide plan of world conquest. The build-up of forces is most exactly determined by this aim; having to deliver the means, in the various phases of the graded political acts

of threats and aggression, actually available and useable at any time, to enable political requirements to be carried out, if need be by force. The exclusively defensive attitude of the Western powers in every critical position makes it easy for the Kremlin to be always able to seize the initiative itself. Yet its resources are not enough to employ force of arms against the Atlantic alliance, beyond a threatening attitude. Khrushchov tried three times to intimidate NATO or separate NATO states with bluff. All three were classic attempts through a suggested, temporary, military superiority, to extort political concessions without the use of arms, and thus to make important strides towards main political objectives.

The first, in 1956 during the Suez crisis, which had such a fatal effect on the Hungarian People's Uprising, succeeded. He was able to make the British and French withdraw from Egypt by threatening the use of rockets, and at the same time stop Hungary from leaving the Warsaw Pact, by the most brutal armed force.

The other two — the repeated menace to West Berlin and the Cuban adventure — misfired. Khrushchov wanted between 1958 and 1962 to make capital out of the pretended intercontinental rocket gap, so played up by both sides.

Through these crises it became manifest:

1. that the Soviet rocket superiority can only be very short-term and will never be a sufficiently decisive factor in a nuclear war;
2. that meanwhile America was gaining the upper hand in the building of intercontinental missiles;
3. that Moscow's political manoeuvrability was substantially limited through internal political difficulties with the satellite states, through the catastrophic economic position and through Peking's demands.

Previously, however, this was not yet clear. The Kremlin, infected by the American Radford plan, promulgated since 1956, had ordered the re-equipment of the Soviet forces to suit the demands of an adopted nuclear strategy. The re-equipment meant additional burdens in the financial and economic sectors which even in the Soviet Union

could only be managed at the expense of conventional forces. An important number of Soviet generals expressed ideas similar to those of Ridgeway and his supporters, sharply against the Radford plan. They expressed no opposition to the modernisation of the Forces and their equipment with atomic weapons, but were against the haste and the scale on which it was carried out.

"Good is the most exact measure for all things", wrote Aristotle in his work *Politics*. The measure stated by Khrushchov in his speech on the 4th January 1960 — a further reduction of 1,200,000 men in conventional forces, which concerned nearly a third of the numbers at that time, — indicated clearly a radical change in strategic thinking. He took over without reserve the American theory of deterrence, which he — relying on the Soviet lead in rocket building — considered exactly the right means for an offensive blackmail policy.

The Americans exercised a further influence on the military policy of the Soviet Union when they reconsidered their defence policy and suggested in the summer of 1961 the strengthening — though rather a small one — of conventional weapons in the Western Alliance.

Malinovsky reacted at once and spoke of a possible failure of the Soviet deterrent (which in fact since Khrushchov's Berlin ultimatum in 1958 was not proving very effective), and consequently Soviet forces could be involved in a preventive war. This change of position naturally led to an interruption in the disarmament of conventional forces; but the foremost rule of policy remained the deterrent.

When it became clear to the Soviet leaders that they were inferior to the Americans in intercontinental missiles, and for the present they could not succeed in catching up with the USA in this field, let alone surpass them, they jumped at the idea of intercontinental rocket defence. They broke the tacitly made 1960 gentleman's agreement on a three year moratorium on atomic tests, to test nuclear weapons of between 30 and 60 megatons. (1 megaton = the explosive

power of 1 million tons of conventional explosive.) This supernuclear force is, however, not only suitable for the destruction of enemy rockets already in flight, (in the stratosphere or above), but it can destroy even greater areas. It cannot, however, be employed against strategic targets very much; it is much more to create the effect of terror and thus offset the superiority of the American deterrent.

The Balance of Forces

In the past year there was a discussion in the technical press over the true military strength of the Soviet Union. The almost "magic" number of 175 Soviet divisions was strongly disputed. Even the American defence minister McNamara held that the Soviet Union is not only inferior in strategic "super weapons" — quantitatively and qualitatively — to the Atlantic alliance, but even in conventional forces a balance exists, although a few years ago the USSR had a decisive lead. 10 years ago, according to McNamara, the Soviet Union still had 5.75 million men under arms. Today this number amounts to 3.3 million, and with the Warsaw Pact countries together, 4.3 million. Against this the total forces of the USA are about 2.7 million, and of NATO (including the USA), 5.8 million men.

Meanwhile the conflicts about the military strength of the enemy have died away. General Lemnitzer, Commander in Chief of NATO forces in Europe, was able to assure his listeners at the meeting of the NATO Parliament on the 16th November 1964 in Paris, that the information services both of NATO and of individual states "completely agree" on the assessment of the military strength of the Soviet bloc.

The Institute for Strategic Studies in London, an unofficial organisation, which developed as one of the first international research centres for problems of comparative military strength, records in its annual report the shift in the proportion of military forces mentioned earlier, in favour of the Atlantic Pact organisation. According to the information of this research centre — supplemented by the sources given at the end — the following survey can be given:

Joint Strength
(as of January 1965)

A. Alliances in the Free World
NATO

Country	Population (millions)	Total Strength (men)	Military Budget 64/65 (milliard dollars)	Military Service (months)
USA	192	2,700,000	50.5	24
Canada	19	120,000	1.4	var.
WEU				
Great Britain	54	425,000	5.6	var.
France	49	620,000	4.3	18
West Germany	58	430,000	5.0	18
Benelux	20	240,000	1.25	12-24
Italy	51	480,000	1.75	18-24
WEU total	232	2,195,000	17.9	
Denmark	4,7	52,000	0.2	14-24
Norway	3,7	37,000	0.25	12-15
Portugal	9,0	120,000	0.7	18-48
Greece	8,6	162,000	0.25	24
Turkey	31,0	480,000	0.4	24
NATO total	500,0	5,866,000	71.6	
CENTO (excluding those in NATO)				
Iran	22,0	208,000	0.2	24
Pakistan	98,0	252,000	0.25	var.
CENTO total	120,0	460,000	0.45	
SEATO				
Australia	11,0	52,000	0.65	var.
New Zealand	2,5	12,500	0.1	var.
Philippines	30,5	56,000	0.07	var.
Thailand	31,0	84,500	0.1	24
South Vietnam	15,0	500,000	0.5	state of war
SEATO total	90,0	705,000	1.4	
US Allies in the Pacific				
Japan	97,0	245,000	0,75	var.
South Korea	28,0	600,000	0.15	mixed
Formosa	12,0	600,000	0.15	24
"PACIFIC"	137,0	1,445,000	1.05	

The military alliances of the Free World, with a population of almost 850 million people keeps about 1% (8,476,000) under arms. The United States contributes directly 74.5 milliard dollars — 2/3 of the cost (excluding indirect military aid). The "bridgehead of Europe" contributes almost all the rest, about 20 milliard dollars. Asia

* This information originates, on the one hand, from official budget figures in the currency concerned, according to which the Soviet Union's share would amount to about 13.3 milliard roubles, thus giving at the Moscow rate of exchange approximately 15 milliard dollars. Since however the high research costs for the super weapon system are not included in the budget, and various indirect military expenses are contained in the budget figures of other

and Australia provide merely 4 milliard dollars.

B. Alliances of Communist States
Warsaw Pact

Country	Population (millions)	Total Strength (men)	Military Budget 64/65 (milliard dollars)	Military Service (months)
USSR	230,0	3,300,000	c.30.0	24-60
Bulgaria	8,0	125,000	c.0.7	24
Soviet Zone of Germany	17,0	106,000	c.1.2	18
Poland	32,0	272,000	c.2.2	18-24
Rumania	19,0	222,000	c.0.7	24
Czechoslovakia	14,0	235,000	c.1.5	24
Hungary	10,0	104,000	c.0.5	24-36
Warsaw Pact total	330,0	4,364,000	c.36.8*	

Peking Bloc

Country	Population (millions)	Total Strength (men)	Military Budget 64/65 (milliard dollars)	Military Service (months)
Red China	750,0	2,475,000	?	?
North Korea	12,0	350,000	?	?
North Vietnam	17,0	250,000	?	?
Albania	2,0	38,000	c.0.05	24-36
Peking bloc total	781,0	3,113,000	?	

Unallied

Yugoslavia	20,0	296,000	0.4	18-24
Cuba	7,5	90,000	?	?
	+	200,000 militiamen		
Unallied total	27,5	586,000	?	

In this way the combined population under Communist rule amounts to about 1,140 million. There are therefore 250 million more in the Communist countries than in the Free World. If Moscow is separated from Peking, the following remarkable picture is obtained: Against 330 million people in the Warsaw Pact countries, there are 500 million in the Atlantic Alliance (about 50% more). Against 4.3 million soldiers of the Warsaw Pact countries, NATO has about 5.8 million, a superiority of almost 35%.

ministries, we have doubled this figure, giving 30 milliard dollars. In the case of the Satellite states, such a large difference does not exist, especially as there are hardly any expenses for military research. However, in order to allow for figures hidden in the budgets of other ministries even here, we have taken as a basis the official dollar rate of these countries, which equals at least a doubling of the original budget figure.

Canadian Prime Minister At The Anti-Communist Press Conference

On October 27th, 1965 a press conference was held at Toronto. In his address Mr. H. Matei Hojbota appealed to the conscience of the Western Free World, and asked for intervention. He referred to mass deportations of the Rumanian population from Bessarabia to Siberia as well as other national groups from Finnish Karelia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine.



From left: H. Matei Hojbota, Rumanian Representative in ABN (Canada) and representative of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent; Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada; Mr. John Pucinini, Representative of the Metropolitan City Hall, Toronto; Dr. Stanley Haldas, M. P. Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Northern Affairs; Hon. Paul Hellyer, Minister of National Defense.

Despite its recently carried out atomic test in Lop Nor, in Sinkiang, Red China could at the moment conduct a dangerous expansion drive only with abundant Russian help. That would mean, however, a weakening in the Soviet satellite zone, which it would try to avoid, since she could not win much in Asia, and might lose every-

thing in Europe. Efforts in the military field can scarcely be increased, since the Soviet economic system is already in a critical position. This picture, however, could in the course of the year lightly swing to the favour of the Communists, if the Free World idly watches the military development of Red China. (to be continued)

Vasyl Symonenko (1935-1963) — Troubadour Of Ukraine's Freedom

(Continuation)

Some philosophical views

We can trace some of Vasyl Symonenko's philosophical views. He witnessed so much lying and double-talk that for him truth and finding the truth were very important concepts. He said in his diary: "The noble lie glorifies the truth." (September 18, 1962) In the poem *Dum.: pro sbchastia* he showed masterfully the lies and falsehoods of official Soviet Russian statistics and reports, concluding that these reports were prepared solely "in support of ideas."

Symonenko was a lover of originality in intellectual pursuits ("I hate intensely the bureaucratic patented plump wisdom ..." or the "new thought", persecuted in *Sud*). He liked subjectivism as the full expression of the individual. He yearned after personal liberty, much is necessary for true creativeness. He perceived the cosmos to be a dynamic system. His cosmos was God-created, because for Symonenko Marxism could never replace a supernatural religion. He was an anti-rationalist, who did not believe in the supremacy of intellect (e. g. "friendship cannot exist on reason alone" or "If the poet does not give any new thoughts and emotions — he is a formalist", or "uniqueness of Jesus and immaculate conception of Mary".)

Symonenko — Ukrainian patriot

Symonenko was an ardent Ukrainian patriot, who understood keenly that Ukraine is under the colonial slave domination of its Soviet Russian rulers. He not only knew well the two greatest Ukrainian writers and poets, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko, but he venerated them and followed their teachings. He awaited the coming of "a future Taras or Franko. I am waiting for him as a believer awaits Christ. I believe, that I will be lucky enough to hear the glorious hosanna in

honour of his arrival . . . He will rise from among us, the little black-earth poets." He confessed that he could never become a Russian poet or writer, "a Shostakovich or a Lev Tolstoi" (diary of September 18, 1962). *Zadyvlaius' u tvoji zinytsi* is a very patriotic Ukrainian poem. In it Symonenko professed: "Ukraine, you are to me — a wonder! Let year follow year, I will for ever be enchanted by you, mother — you are so proud and beautiful. Out of love for you I sow pearls in man's soul, out of love for you I think and create, let America and Russia be silent, when I am talking with you . . . I have the holy filial right to stay with my mother alone . . . Ukraine, you are my prayer, my eternal desperation . . . even when abuses are being heaped upon you — it does not matter to me!"

Discussing the problem of realism, he professes to be an adherent of the realism of Taras Shevchenko. Shevchenko perceived the actual life of the Ukrainian people under tsarist Russian slavery, but he also visualized the possible reality — of the free, independent, wealthy, creative, and progressive life of the Ukrainian people. The opposite "realism", against which Symonenko was struggling, is the realism of Stalin, Dmyterko & Co. This second "realism" shows slavery to be a happy life, servile hopeless people to be happy citizens, formalism to be progress, exploitation to be true economics, injustice and tyranny to be the best law. For Symonenko "miserable existence is the worst thing that can happen." On July 6, 1963, he recorded in his diary: "It looks as if some people are afraid of Shevchenko. The remnant of revolution." In other words, the Soviet system is counter-revolutionary, while Shevchenko's ideas represent true realism, they are in harmony with laws of nature. No wonder

that Symonenko mentions that he made at least two trips to the grave of Shevchenko. He calls Shevchenko "a lark" — a hopeful symbol of truly happy life.

Deliberating on the foreign colonial rule of Ukraine, Symonenko concluded: "You cannot live in peace with the slave-master . . . our worst enemy is chauvinism" — which means foreign imperialism.

The political views and ideas of Symonenko

Symonenko was much concerned with the political system prevailing in Ukraine. He reproached the government of the Soviet Union for being more interested in the exploration of space than in the welfare of the working people. In *Granitni obelisky* he blamed the Soviet Russian government for killing, murdering, and cheating the people. He described the rulers as "hangmen and tyrants", "apostles of criminality and hypocrisy". This government rules through economic exploitation (*Duma pro shchastia, Nekroloh*), police tyranny (*Brama*), unjust law (*Sud, Zlodii*), social degradation (*Granitni obelisky*), persecution of freedom to worship (*Balada pro zaishlobo cholovika*), and Russian chauvinism with regard to Ukrainian culture and nationality (*Zadyvlaius' u tvoji zinytsi, Kurds'komu bratovi*). Symonenko categorically opposed despotism and tyranny: "Stalin did not rise to the pedestal, the people did not place him there, but he himself climbed up, by means of treachery, meanness . . ." or "there is nothing more dangerous than unlimited power in the hands of a limited human being." He combated totalitarian rule: "No teaching should monopolize the spiritual life of humanity." (October 8, 1962)

Symonenko wanted to have a sovereign Ukraine, completely independent of Russia: "Whith an oppressor you lack life in peace", in *Kurds'komu bratovi*, or "It thunders the world-wide furious battle for your life, your rights" in *Zadyvlaius' u tvoji zinytsi*. He definitely resisted an international order based on

domination by Russia over Ukraine. In his view just international order can only be achieved by the determination of justice-loving and freedom-loving peoples. (These conclusions are drawn from the two poems *Zadyvlaius' u tvoji zinytsi* and *Kurds'komu bratovi*).

Symonenko's over-all ideology

Vasyl Symonenko expounded in his poems and diary many positive ideas. He propagated the ideal of a fully developed man, having his own "I", being courageous and holding on to his own convictions, never being satisfied with a vegetative life, but striving to be creative, free, honest, and self-respecting.

He dreamed of an economic system which would secure a dignified livelihood for all social classes, a really happy life without slaves, exploitation, and Socialism, but with the right to private property and the individual's control of his own labour.

Symonenko professed justice based on objective criteria, on natural rights, but not on decisions of unlimited power or abstract bureaucratic forms.

Symonenko definitely favoured freedom of religious beliefs, not controlled by any totalitarian ideology. He inclined toward the acceptance of supernatural religion, and he strongly opposed the materialist concept of religion.

In politics he favoured the sovereignty of the people instead of one-party rule or a regime based on force. But above all, he opposed Russian domination over Ukraine, be it political or cultural. He called this kind of imperialism chauvinism, which to him was the most savage enemy of mankind. Any government in Ukraine must work not only in the best interests of the Ukrainian people, but be limited to the national boundaries of Ukraine, because otherwise it would turn chauvinistic.

Symonenko favoured science and scholarship based on scientific theories, on free experimentation, on facts rather than on abstract dogmas. Individual and national freedom was his motto.

Revolutionary nationalism — his ethics

Symonenko did not simply proclaim his views passively, impotently and hopelessly. He was an optimist, a voluntarist, a revolutionary. In *Zlodii* he demands that all the Soviet Russian judges and law officers be thrown into prison. In *Duma pro sbchastia* the workers are shown to be already in revolt against the foreign colonial economy. In *Nekroloh* he hurls a "curse upon the mischief-makers".

In *Granitni obelisky* he confesses: "My soul is burning, my angry mind just boils, and hatred is exploding in laughter that swirls with wily gusts... Tremble, all you assassins! Think much, blood-thirsty dastards. For, life doesn't fit at all upon your hoofs so narrow... For each and every assassin and tyrant is already waiting a well twisted iron brace! Those hunted down, those killed and torn to pieces are getting up. They march to do justice... And on the branches of a sturdy tree — these apostles of crime and deceit shall sway."

In *Zadyvlaius' u tvoji zinytsi* Symonenko comes out as a true freedom fighter for national independence from foreign, Russian, colonial enslavement: "I am looking into your eyes, blue, troubled, like morning. Red thunderbolts are striking from them, full of revolutions, re-

volts, and insurrections... Not all the devils are yet living in heaven, many of them are walking here on earth. See, I am fighting with them every hour, hear — the roar of the age-old battle!... In the world a savage battle is continuing for your life, for your rights... I will spend my last drop of blood for your sacred banner!"

Symonenko's dynamism is perceived in the poem *Samotnist'*, in which he yearns for struggle: "God, send me an enemy if you can't send a friend!" And in *Ia* he courageously resolves: "My pride will not kneel before you" — you, the foreign invader. Symonenko took as his motto for the poem *Kurds'komu bratovi* the words of Taras Shevchenko (the spiritual leader of Ukrainian nationalism): "Fight — and you will achieve victory." This poem starts with the demand: "Mountains are calling for... Oh, Kurds, keep, save your bullets, but do not save the lives of your assassins! Fall upon the fathers of despotism and robbery with a bloody wind-spout, fall upon them like a storm. Keep talking with them by means of bullets... You will never live in peace with the captor... Oh, Kurd, keep safe your bullets, without them you won't be able to save your people. Don't rock to sleep the power of hatred... until the last chauvinist falls into the gaping pit!"

From the Perspective of 1956

The Fairytale Of Wicked Stalin And Good Lenin

It was the "good Lenin" who created, as leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, the *system of party dictatorship* and of *state terrorism* which Stalin was later to stamp with his personal characteristics; it was Lenin who preached the necessity of physically annihilating the hostile classes and *begot the notorious Tcheka* by a government decree on 20th December 1917, the *Tcheka* which under various names and disguised in various ways has, in accordance with the principles of in-

quisition, by using the rack, persecuted every sign of "counterrevolutionary forces"; this same Lenin also extended the reign of terror employed to annihilate the bourgeoisie to the Socialist parties; in his own life-time the use of terror did not even stop when it reached the ranks of the Communists themselves, but fought, compromised, forbad, or dissolved every independent "grouping" or "opposition", rebuked, cold-shouldered, exiled, expelled from the Party all their leaders.

It would be easy to quote numerous passages from Lenin's writings in which the founder of the Bolshevik regime proclaimed the *inevitability* of the reign of terror, "*the cruelest terror of all time*", and the continual silencing of all opponents, and made pronouncements against "*inappropriate sentimentality*", appealing to "*Communist morality*", consisting of the "murder and annihilation" of the enemies of the Revolution. No, the "good Lenin" was no "vegetarian" like those Socialists which he despised and mocked under this label. He was a revolutionary carnivore with an enormous appetite. As creator of the ideology and organization of the Bolshevik state, as proclaimer of revolutionary morality, and as originator of the system of state terrorism in Russia, the "good Lenin" prepared the way to despotic rule for the "wicked Stalin".

The return to the "path of Lenin" means *no basic change in the structure of the Bolshevik regime*.

The fairytale of the good Lenin and the wicked Stalin is disseminated for consumption *abroad* in the form of the statement that Lenin set up the thesis of "*peaceful co-existence*" of *Communism* with Capitalism, whereas Stalin — veering away from his predecessor's path — disregarded this principle in his practical policies and thereby "frequently endangered Soviet Russia's peaceful relations" with other powers, as Khrushchov put it in his speech. The dethronement of Stalinism and the return to Leninism is supposed to make the West believe that from now on the Soviet Union will cease its strivings to extend its realm by violent means: this, we are told, will ensure for the future that Communist and Capitalist states can live peacefully side by side, and that the insurmountable opposition between the two systems will from now on

be carried out in the form of "peaceful competition".

But unfortunately even this part of the new Russian fairytale of the wicked Stalin and the good Lenin is — a fairytale. The "good Lenin" never under any circumstances put forward the thesis of the possibility of long-lasting peaceful co-existence between Communism and Capitalism; his whole thinking was dominated by a vision of the inevitable fight to the death between the two systems; along with all his comrades in the Old Guard, he held that the preservation of the Communist regime in Russia would only be possible if the "only certain victory", victory on a world scale, fell to Communism. Lenin simply advocated *short-lived agreements* with Capitalist countries on tactical grounds, in view of political conditions, and because they seemed necessary to him in order to preserve for the moment the "citadel of the Revolution" in Russia and to strengthen the Bolshevik regime for the unflagging battle against Capitalism. In this and in no other sense do the new leaders of Soviet Russia understand the term "peaceful co-existence" which they are offering the West, and in this and in no other sense can they rightly appeal to Lenin. When they make a non-existent thesis of Lenin's into a motto of their political propaganda, they are governed by the intention of deceiving the West about the *utterly conditional and temporary character* of this "peaceful co-existence"; they wish only to veil Communism's unchanged, lasting claim to total power, and to cause the Free World to give up its intellectual resistance and its political and military defence positions.

(Extract from an article by W. Bretschger in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, Zürich, Switzerland, 15th July 1956)

M. Bakunin:

"We want the complete destruction, the total annihilation of the Russian Empire, of the empire which serves as an eternal danger to the freedom of the world, as a prison for all nations and for the nations beneath its yoke, and which is a violent negation of all which is considered to be law, justice, and humanity."

Conquest Of Lithuania - Control Of The Baltic

Lithuania's relations with the Soviet Union before the occupation of Lithuania in 1940

Although the Russian government had undertaken in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to relinquish its claim to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, *Izvestia* wrote on 25th December 1918:

"Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are an obstacle on Russia's route to Western Europe and therefore form a barrier to our Revolution. These areas separate the Soviet Union from revolutionary Germany... Right now the Russian proletariat has the best chance of affecting the revolution in Germany favourably. The conquest of the Baltic ports would offer Soviet Russia the opportunity of furthering the revolution in the Scandinavian countries and thus transform the Baltic into a Soviet revolutionary sea."

Even in the years of Lithuania's independence from 1918 to 1940, when there were peace and non-aggression treaties between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, Moscow never neglected to keep agents in Lithuania who had been trained for "street terror".

Of the numerous treaties which were signed between Lithuania and the Soviet Union we mention only the following here: *Peace treaty of 12th July 1920*, in which the Soviet Union "recognizes without reservation the sovereignty and independence of the State of Lithuania, together with all the legal consequences which result from this recognition, and relinquishes voluntarily and for all time all claims to sovereignty." *On 26th September 1926* the Lithuanian-Soviet non-aggression pact was signed:

"... each of the parties signatory to this treaty undertakes to desist from any act of aggression against the other partner." *On 10th October 1939* in Moscow the so-called Mutual Assistance Agreement was signed between Lithuania and

the Soviet Union although it had already been arranged with the Third Reich on 23rd August 1939 that the territory of the Lithuanian state fell within the sphere of interest of the USSR.

Molotov said at the session of the Supreme Soviet on 31st October 1939: "... The treaties rest on mutual respect for the political, social and economic order of the partners, and their purpose is to strengthen the principles of good and neighbourly relations between our peoples. We shall strive on account of this unconditional reciprocity to adhere to the signed treaties loyally and zealously, and we declare that rumours about the Sovietization of the Baltic States can serve only our common enemies and the interests of certain anti-Soviet elements."

In spite of all the treaties signed with Lithuania and all its obligations towards her, Moscow staged a charge against Lithuania on account of its agreements with the Third Reich, and as a consequence handed Lithuania an ultimatum on 14th June 1940; on the following day Lithuania was completely occupied by numerous Red Army units, the NKVD, and whole flocks of agents.

The transformation of independent and sovereign Lithuania into the Soviet Republic of Lithuania and her incorporation into the Soviet Union by means of terror, fraud, and force.

After the occupation of Lithuania the state and its legislation were controlled entirely from Moscow. The Kremlin thought it important to give the impression abroad that Lithuania had submitted to Soviet rule voluntarily and happily. For this reason a puppet government, known as the "representation of the people", was immediately set up. The government party was dissolved, as were all other organizations existing up to the occupation; the previous parliament was sent home, political prisoners, almost all

Communists of non-Lithuanian nationality, were released; the Communist Party of Lithuania was made legal; and the Lithuanian army was renamed "the Lithuanian People's Army".

The now legalized Communist Party of Lithuania and the Communists released from the prisons were the main instruments in the execution of the Kremlin's plan for Lithuania. This began with demonstrations, parades, gatherings. Pictures of Stalin, Molotov, and the "heroes" of the Soviet Union were carried through the streets, the "bourgeoisie", were attacked, together with the previous government, and people took up the cry of "Long live the Soviet Republic of Lithuania!"

A handful of Communists under the leadership of Soviet agents long since trained for this purpose and supported by the armed forces which flooded the land were able to crush the resistance of the Lithuanian people in its infancy.

But this was only the prologue to the tragedy which Moscow had in store for Lithuania. The former's main object was the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

Just one month after the occupation of Lithuania elections were held. In order to create the impression that these elections were not being staged by the Communist Party, Moscow saw to it that Communist elements which were not Communist in name joined in. This alliance called itself the "Lithuanian Work-

ers' Union". The candidates were picked by Moscow and had been chosen and approved in advance. There was no question at all of any kind of initiative on the part of the people in the nomination of the candidates.

It is the customary Soviet method to insist that everything is done with complete unanimity. For this reason it was demanded in every possible way that every citizen should vote. So that these "elections" should take place with as little friction as possible, the more active leaders and members of the former Lithuanian political parties were arrested and thrown into prison a few days before the elections. What was more, in order to minimize the will of the nation to resist, demonstrations were put on by local Communists with the assistance of the Red Army and the NKVD, and posters with slogans on them were pasted up everywhere or carried about. The Lithuanian public was completely aware that non-participation in an election in the Soviet Union counted as a crime equal to sabotage or counter-revolutionary activities. Furthermore, participation in the election was marked in passports and identity cards. For these reasons many Lithuanians "voted" out of fear of what would happen if they did not do so. In any case, refusal to vote would not have altered the situation, for where there are no parties and no competition between candidates, the nomination of the candidate can be counted as his election.

"I do not believe that we can reasonably assume that these manifestations of a change in policy reflect a change in the ultimate objective of the Soviet leadership, which is to extend the sway of Communism over the rest of the world. Their disputes with the leadership of Communist China is not over the ultimate objective, but how it is to be achieved and who is to control the world-wide Communist movement. Expansionism is so deeply engrained in Communist doctrine that it would be naive for us to expect any Communist leadership to repudiate it."

Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, Statement before joint session of Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Subcommittee on Department of Defense Appropriations, page 4. January 1964

Colonialism Under The Soviet Russian Constitution

The so-called Soviet Union consists of two types of satellite colonies and colonial dependencies:

a) external colonial satellites: these are the non-Russian countries which were subjugated after World War II and which, although nominally independent, are directed and exploited by the local Communist parties controlled by Moscow.

b) internal colonial satellites: these are the non-Russian countries and nations which were first subjugated by the Russian Tsars, and which attained their full independence in 1918—1920, but were then subjugated again by the Russian Bolsheviks. They allegedly form a “free” Soviet Union and can “freely” secede from the Soviet Union, according to the Soviet Constitution;¹ but in reality these nations are Russian colonies *par excellence*: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Turkestan² (including Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tadzikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan), and Ukraine.

c) colonial dependencies: these are the non-Russian nations and peoples which were forcibly attached to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic: Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Karelia, North Caucasia and Siberia.

This Soviet Union is nothing other than the modern form of the Russian imperium which strives to subdue the whole globe and erect Russian World Domination by means of new Bolshevik methods and under the catchword of a “proletarian world revolution”.

1917 was the year of the beginning of the revolution and the year of the downfall of Tsarist Russia. The non-Russian peoples subjugated by Russia waited impatiently for its decay to extricate themselves at last and to constitute states of their own. The secession of several nations would have been the complete ruin of the Russian great pow-

er. Something had to be found that might win the allegiance of these peoples. Accordingly in April 1917, the Bolsheviks adopted at the Seventh Party Conference a resolution entitled “On the Question of Nationalities” which stated in part:

“The policy of national oppression, an inheritance from autocracy and monarchy, is still fostered by the landowners, capitalists, and petty bourgeoisie in order to protect their class privileges and to disunite the workers of different nationalities. The contemporary imperialism, by furthering the tendencies toward the subordination of weaker peoples, is a new factor leading to an increase of national opposition.

The removal of national oppression can be effected only under an evolutionary democratic and republican form of government and state which will secure a complete equality of all nations and languages.

All nations included in Russia must have the free right of separation therefrom and the right of a free and independent state. The denial of such right and the failure to take proper measures to guarantee its proper execution are equivalent to support of the policy of annexation and conquest. Only recognition of the right of the nations to separate will secure a complete solidarity of the workers of different nations and further the actual democratic union of the nations.”³

With the conclusion of the War the Bolsheviks had gained power in Russia and were no longer striving for the Empire’s dismemberment. The slogan regarding the right of nations to secession had been abandoned. At the Twelfth Party Congress, Stalin stated:

“It should be remembered that apart from the right of peoples to self-determination there is also the right of the working class to consolidate its power, and to this . . . the right of self-determination is subordi-

nate. There are occasions when the right to self-determination comes into conflict with another, higher right — the right of the working class which has attained to power. In such cases, it must be stated frankly, the right of self-determination cannot and must not serve as an obstacle to the realization of the right of the working class to its own dictatorship. The first must yield to the second.”⁴

Thus, from the beginning, the Bolsheviks’ attitudes toward the nationality question have been based solely upon political expediency with the ultimate objective of establishing the uncontested power of the all-powerful, centralized Soviet Russian state. Self-determination of nations had only tactical significance in the grand strategy of Russian colonial imperialism.

Subsequently, Russia was transformed into the Soviet Russian colonial empire, the USSR. Declaration of the rights of nationalities was incorporated into the Constitutions of 1918, 1922, and the so-called Stalin Constitution of 1936. According to the present Soviet Russian Constitution, the “sovereignty of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.” is guaranteed by Articles 13, 15, 18, 18 a, and 18 b. Article 13 refers to a “voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics”, and Article 15 stipulates that “each Union Republic exercises state authority independently”. Article 18 stipulates that the “territory of a Union Republic may not be altered without its consent”, and Article 18 a and 18 b even stipulate that “Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them”, and that “Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations”.

These Articles are, however, contradicted by Articles 14, 19, and 20 of the Constitution. Article 15 emphasizes that “the sovereignty of the Union Republic is limited only in the spheres defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.” which lists matters falling within the jurisdiction of the Union. This article deprives the constituent federal republics of all important state functions and transfers them to the

Union. The USSR is given power in the following matters: international relations; the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace; the admission of new republics; control over the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and ensuring conformity of the Constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the USSR; approval of changes to boundaries between Union Republics; approval of the formation of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions within Union Republics; military affairs; foreign trade; internal security; national economic planning; determination of fundamental principles for the development of the land, national resources, and public health; national taxation and finances, banks, industry, agriculture, and trade of national significance; transportation and communication; money and credit; insurance; criminal and civil law; citizenship and amnesty acts. Article 19 stipulates that “The laws of the U.S.S.R. have the same force within the territory of every Union Republic,” while Article 20 states simply and concisely that, “In the event of divergence between a law of a Union Republic and a law of the Union, the Union law shall prevail.”

The laws of the Union enjoy equal force within the territory of every consistent republic. In the event of discrepancy between republican law and Union law, the Union law prevails. The Council of Ministers of a constituent republic can issue decisions and orders only on the basis and in pursuance of the Union laws in operation, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Union. Furthermore, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union has the right to annul decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the constituent republics if they do not conform to the law. The Union Republican Ministries of the Union supervise the work of the corresponding ministries in constituent republics. Also, the Prosecutor-General of the Union supervises the strict enforcement of the laws by all ministries, and he appoints prosecutors for the constituent republics, autonomous republics, autonomous regions, and national regions.⁵

Thus the central authority retains the veto power over legislation of the constituent republics and exercises its power of supreme supervision and control. The Ministry of State Control, the Party Control Commission, and the agencies of the Prosecutor-General, all operate locally without restrictions for the purpose of preventing any particularistic tendencies from interfering with central objectives.

The constitutional amendments of February 1, 1944, granted the constituent republics the right to organize republican ministries for foreign affairs and defense,⁶ to enter into direct relations with foreign powers, and to raise their own armies. There is, of course, no question of an independent diplomacy or of sovereign armies. To the Union alone is reserved "the representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion, ratification, and denunciation of treaties of the USSR with other states, and the establishment of the general character of the relations between the Union Republic and foreign states."⁷ Actually, this reveals that not the real instruments of authority but only the fictional ones were given up by the USSR. This follows from the very text of the decrees.⁸ Furthermore, the command and organization of the Soviet armed forces is so highly centralized — and distinguished by a marked predominance of the Russian nationality — that it is hard to see what role these ministries could play. Not one order from the defense ministry of a Union Republic has ever been published. The explanation is not difficult to find: no such ministry has been set up, and a minister of defense in a Union Republic has yet to be appointed, and the formation of their own troops by the republics, in accordance with Article 18b, has in practice so far never been permitted. In addition, Soviet law recognizes no constitutional jurisdiction to which the constituent republic could appeal in order to oppose encroachments by the Union.

The extent to which the Constitution is actually formulated on paper can be seen from Article 17, which stipulates that every Union Republic has "the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R.," but Article 21

of the same Constitution stipulates, "Uniform Union citizenship is established for citizens of the U.S.S.R.," and Article 133 reads: "To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the Motherland — violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage — is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes." In other words, any attempt to obtain any advantage from Article 17 of the most democratic Constitution automatically becomes a serious crime, according to Articles 21 and 133.

The right of each Union Republic to withdraw from the Soviet Union was written into the Constitution for purely propagandist reasons. In 1913, Lenin not only rejected federalism but also the right of secession: "Generally speaking," he said, "we are against secession," adding that "the right to secede is an exception to our general centralist position," but that this exception was necessary to keep the chauvinistic Russian element in check." In other words, the proclamation of the right of secession had no other purpose than to obtain the support of the subjugated nations who were being ill-treated by Russian chauvinistic elements. In any case, during the 45 years' existence of the self-styled federative state, not one Union Republic has ever begun the procedure necessary for leaving the USSR.⁹ Furthermore, the Soviet Penal Code contains a clause applicable to any person or group advocating separation and qualifying *ipso facto* such an attempt as an act of counter-revolution: "High treason, i. e., acts committed by citizens of the U.S.S.R. with intention to damage the military power of the U.S.S.R. or to violate its state independence or the integrity of its territory... are to be punished by the supreme criminal punishment..."¹⁰

Another group of principles covers "rights" that have been continuously and grossly violated. Article 127 reads that "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of

a court or with the sanction of a procurator”, and Article 128 asserts: “The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.” On the other hand, however, Article 104 of the Soviet Code of Legal Procedure contains a supplementary clause which states: “The procedure regarding confirmation of arrests which are carried out by organs of the state political administration, that is of the KGB, is determined according to special rules issued for this purpose.”

Article 124 provides “freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda.” This means that freedom of “religious propaganda” is not guaranteed by the Constitution and, in fact, constitutes a crime under separate legislation. On the other hand, the full power and apparatus of the state and party are mobilized on behalf of “anti-religious propaganda,” which is the basic freedom in the Soviet Constitution obviously superior to freedom of religion. Since virtually all physical property in the Soviet Union belongs to the state, churches and religious institutions are either non-existent or in a state of decay and disrepair; clergymen are hounded and

persecuted, while believers find themselves harassed and insulted and discover that their opportunities in Soviet society are severely limited. “Freedom of worship,” means freedom to worship silently, inconspicuously, and in isolation.

Article 126 reads that “citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed the right to unite in public organizations: trade unions, co-operative societies, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies,” but not in political parties or organizations. This article does not give Soviet citizens even the right to join the Communist Party, which is reserved only for “the most active and politically-conscious citizens,” and “is the leading core of all organizations . . . both public and state.” Political action outside the framework of the party is illegal and thus subject to the harshest penalties.

The distribution and influence of various nationalities within the party at the national level has been highly uneven. In sheer numbers, Russians have always dominated membership in the party. The distribution of the various nationalities is shown as follows:

Nationality Distribution of the Party, July 1961:¹¹

Nationality	Party members	Percentage	Total number	Percentage
Russians	6,116,700	64.0	114,114,000	55.0
Ukrainians	1,412,200	14.7	37,253,000	18.0
Byelorussians	287,000		7,913,000	3.6
Georgians	170,400		2,692,000	1.3
Armenians	161,200		2,787,000	1.3
Kazakhs	149,000		3,662,000	1.7
Uzbeks	142,000		6,015,000	3.0
Azerbaidzhanians	106,000		2,940,000	1.4
Lithuanians	42,000		2,326,000	1.2
Latvians	33,900		1,400,000	0.7
Tadzhiks	32,700		1,397,000	0.7
Turkmen	27,300		1,002,000	0.5
Kirgiz	27,300		969,000	0.46
Moldavians	26,700		2,214,000	1.1
Estonians	24,100		989,000	0.48
Others	866,100			
Total	9,626,700		208,827,000	

In addition, it is interesting to point out, that the Russian Soviet Republic had no party organization of its own.¹² This is not a form of discrimination against the RSFSR but, on the contrary, an indication of its privileged position. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is, in fact, the Russian Communist Party, and the Communist Parties of the other Federated Republics are merely its offshoots.

Thus the Soviet Constitution is in itself evidence that the rights and sovereignties of the nationalities of the USSR are only a fiction and that so-called independent Republics of the USSR are only administrative appurtenances for the exercise of centralized Russian power in Moscow. In the practical sense, the Constitution represents not only a triumph for centralized Russian power, but it symbolizes also the supremacy of the Russian people over the other nationalities of the USSR.

Recent reports from Russia hint at the formation of a new constitution which is to accord attainment of more modern Russian colonialism. This new policy is based on the tsarist tradition of Russification, on the Communist ideology and the achievements of Stalinist genocide, and is endeavoring to build up a politically, economically and culturally unified empire on the territories of the present Soviet Union.¹³

In accordance with the formulation of a new constitution, as the better device of denationalization and Russification methods, the federal republics will be completely obliterated and replaced by a series of regions in which Russian will be the main language¹⁴ and a new Soviet man can prepare himself to enter into that Communism which is the Russian colonial empire's ideal.

This policy of instilling a new national character into the people and thus forming a new Soviet Russian nation is considered of major importance in the Soviet Union. At the Twenty-first Party Congress, Khrushchov stated:

"... we must begin right away educating the man of the future. We must develop in Soviet citizens a Communist morality based on devotion to Communism and implacable opposition to its enemies."¹⁵

Another so-called Soviet theoretician on the national problem writes:

"Russia, the home of Lenin and of the socialist revolution, is also the home of the new socialist culture. It is the first country to have set the whole of mankind an example as to how one should carry out fundamental changes in society and put all cultural achievements at the service of the workers. The founders of socialist realism, Gorky and Mayakovsky, and countless prominent masters of art and culture, as well as scholars emerged out of the very heart of the Russian people. It is therefore perfectly obvious that the development and the strengthening of relations and the cooperation of the individual cultures of the Soviet peoples as well as their mutual enrichment must be effected by means of their union with the Russian Soviet culture."¹⁶

The Soviet Russian press persistently stresses the role and the task of the Russian language in the construction of Communism in the USSR. It affirms that the Russian language creates a new linguistic community, which is far greater than the community of the individual national languages. This community is characterized by a joint territory and economic life, which finds expression in a common socialist culture and language. In view of the above opinion on culture and language, it is obvious that the concept "Soviet people" is identical with the concept "Russian people."¹⁷

The Soviet Constitution and the new nationality policy of the Russian Communist Party clearly proves that the plan of construction for Communism in the USSR is closely connected with the plan of destruction of the non-Russian peoples. This plan envisages the transformation of all non-Russian nations of the USSR into one common Great Russian nation with one common Great Russian language. The means used to achieve this aim are the following:

(1) A systematic mixing of the population and the settlement of territories, wherever possible, with the Russian element.

(2) The further Russification of the schools, which Russians carried out by means of the so-called reform of the educational system.

The main purpose of this reform is to break down the fundamental principle of instruction in one's mother-language and extend the network of Russian schools to non-Russian children.

(3) The preservation of all the "achievements" of Stalin's national policy in the field of culture and language.

(4) The liquidation of "nationalist deviations" in the Communist parties of the federative republics.

(5) Liquidation of the federative state forms of the Soviet Union which have been maintained up to now, and the creation of the new centralized state, the Russian Communist Empire.¹⁸

¹ *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, Art. 17

² In accordance with the ancient Roman principle of divide and rule, Soviet Russia in 1924, partitioned Turkestan into five Soviet Republics, namely Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzikistan. In this way Russia made out of one territorial frontier five frontiers, out of one people five peoples and nations, out of one Turkish language five languages, out of one historical development five different historical processes, and of one culture five cultures. There was only one thing which the Russians could not achieve, and that was to make out of one Islam a five-fold Islam, for they could not split up Islam into various bits and pieces.

³ Quoted in, Batsell, Walter Russell. *Soviet Rule in Russia*. New York: Macmillan, 1929. p. 76. See also memo on p. 71.

⁴ Josif V. Stalin. *Marksizm i natsionalno-kolonialnyi vopros*. Moskva, 1938. pp. 126—27.

⁵ *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, Arts. 19—21, 49 f, 75, 76, 78, 81, 87, 113, 115, and 117.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Arts. 18 a, 18 b, 60 e, 60 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Art. 14 a.

⁸ N. S. Timasheff. *The Great Retreat*. New York, 1948. pp. 197—8.

⁹ Paul Barton, "Russian Colonialism Within the USSR," *Military Review*, 42: 43, February 1962.

¹⁰ *Ugolny kodeks R.S.F.S.R.*, Art. 58, Par. I.

¹¹ Roy C. Macridis and Robert E. Word (eds.) *Modern Political Systems: Europe*. Engelwood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.

¹² Since 1956 there has been a bureau of the Central Committee directing party activities in the RSFSR, but its powers are extremely limited.

¹³ "Khrushchev Proposes Drafting a New Constitution", *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 14: 15—17, May 23, 1962.

¹⁴ According to Paul Barton's article, "Russian Colonialism within the USSR," compulsory instruction in Russian throughout all non-Russian schools has been started. The number of hours devoted to teaching Russian in these schools increases as courses become more advanced, to the detriment of instruction in the national language. In the national schools of Uzbekistan, for example, Russian in the eighth year takes up six hours per week and Uzbek two hours. It should be added that Russian schools are attended by numerous native children even in non-Russian republics. The percentage of school children in Russian schools in Byelorussia amounts to more than double the percentage of Russians among this republic's population; much the same applies to Georgia; and in Armenia, Moldavia and other subjugated countries, the proportion is as high as three times the percentage of Russians in the population. Among other reasons is the fact that previous attendance at non-Russian schools is a hardship in applying for admission to a higher educational institution and is thus prejudicial to the individual's career.

¹⁵ *Sovetskaya Rossia*, January 28, 1959.

¹⁶ H. Iasnitski, "The Programme of the Communist Party of the USSR on the Mutual Enrichment and Unification of Cultures," *Kommunist Ukrainy*, No. 12, 1961.

¹⁷ Quoted in, M. S. "Khrushchov's National Policy," *ABN Correspondence*, 13: 7, May/June 1962.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5—6.

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

2. *Cultural and economic heritage*

As regards his cultural heritage Lenin was in many respects not only a traditionalist but also not at all a revolutionary. He cherished the age-old Russian messianism. Y. Boyko maintains that "messianism, a world-wide mission of the Russian people, is the fundamental trait of Russian spirituality during the extent of ages and is completed presently by Bolshevism." (30) He, Lenin, associated Russian people with the task of protecting common people from exploiters all over the world. Non-Communist and non-Russian values were proclaimed false and were combatted in the manner of the nihilistic spirit. Russia was announced to be the center of true culture. Dostoevsky described Russian messianism as follows: "The significance of the Russian man is all-European and world-wide. To become a true Russian can mean and means . . . to become a brother of all people, all men if you like." (31)

Lenin accepted traditional Russian religious values. V. Soloviev said of the Russian faith: "Among us Russians, in the midst of pseudo-Christian society, there appeared our own Islam, but not in regard to God but only in regard to the state." (32) Generally speaking, Russians believe not in God but in an idol on the state throne. Lenin made himself such an idol. His prescription was to worship Bolshevik despotism. Eugene Malaniuk wrote in his remarkable work *Do Problemy Bolshevyzmu*:

With the first blowing of Bolshevism, with the first speech by Lenin, Muscovites — through the "Marxist" phraseology — felt the traditional spirit of autocracy, the spirit of historical tsarism, the spirit essentially native to a Muscovite. (33)

Stalin said in 1917: "We must free ourselves of the out-dated prejudice that only Europe can show us the way. There

is a dogmatic and a creative Marxism. I have decided in favor of the latter." (34) Lenin easily adapted this nihilistic religious monism for his russified Marxism. Raymond Aron described Bolshevik ideology correctly when he said:

The G. P. U. and the N. K. V. D. did not originate in the pursuit of traitors and suspects in wartime: it was a weapon of civil war, the instrument of terror, the inquisition indispensable to a secular religion impatient to convert heretics and to maintain orthodoxy. (35)

Here the traditional Russian messianism, secularism, autocracy, impersonality, and Marxism are combined.

Lenin was well-acquainted with the Russian literature of the nineteenth century and exalted its values:

. . . let the reader call to mind the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy like Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and the brilliant band of revolutionaries of the 'seventies'; let him ponder over the world significance which Russian literature is now acquiring. (36)

In the 1840's and 1850's Sazonov was already working on the russification of Marxism. Yuriy Boyko writes:

Sazonov is a simplifier; he combines the nihilistic Russian string with his marxist beliefs; he is a striking anti-individualist and a defender of barbarism in counterbalance to the Western civilization. (37)

It was natural for Bolshevism to be a Russian movement because it grew organically out of the historical Russian culture. The noted scholar, Dmytro Donzov, showed that Fiodor Dostoevsky had foretold the aims and methods of Bolshevism in his work *Byesy*. (38) And E. Malaniuk concluded:

. . . there does not exist in the literature of the world a work more informative about Bolshevism, and therefore more

anti-Bolshevik, except perhaps the History of the Town Glupovo by M. Saltykov-Shchedrin . . . and also, maybe, the novels *The Secret Agent* and *With the Eyes of the West* by Joseph Conrad. (39)

The socio-cultural heritage accepted by Lenin was anti-individualistic and anti-humanistic. E. Malaniuk explained it:

No 'Russia' tolerates within her boundaries freedom of any kind — neither personal, nor kin and tribal, nor — all the more — national . . . She cannot tolerate physical nor metaphysical freedom, neither bodily nor spiritual — therefore the Church can only be a department of the Interior Ministry. Every 'Russia' is based on the foundation of all-sided destruction of individualism, thus denying the right of private property as the basis of personal freedom of the individual, kin and status . . . Thus, 1) total destruction of every individuality and in logical connection therewith — 2) total prohibition of private ownership everywhere and continuously — being modified and injected by terror as a system — those are the fundamental bases on which a state construction of the "Russian" type can exist. (40)

To Lenin impersonalism or anonymity is the same as "Chekism": Man is treated as a "blind" functionary of the system without any rights. Malaniuk affirmed on the subject of Russian literary heritage: "they all were united by an ardent hatred of the European humanistic culture . . ." (41) N. Berdyaev, a Russian intellectual, believed that in the radical "Westernism" of the Russian intelligentsia there always was very much uniquely Russian, strange to the West and even much Asiatic . . . The European thought was disfigured beyond recognition in the intelligentsia's consciousness. (42)

Otto Zierer in his latest world history wrote:

What makes the year 1917 a turning-point in history is not only the coming of the USA into Europe but in a far larger degree the withdrawal of Russia into Asia. The Bolshevik revolution with

its radical negation of all Western spiritual achievements very soon revealed itself as a defection from Europe. Truly, its spiritual stimulus — the teaching of Karl Marx, based on the dialectics of Hegel — is of European origin. But in the minds of Russian revolutionaries Marx serves only as the intellectual instrument for awakening elementary forces of completely different sources, which are pushing Russia out of the European family of nations, and are giving her a strange and incomprehensible face, in the deepest sense hostile to Europeanism. (43)

The imitation of Western achievements was not only an imperative necessity for the Russians, but a natural inborn working style, morally justified and honored by Russian culture. Lenin did not feel embarrassed at announcing the practice of "barbarous methods", because it conformed to the impersonal "Chekist" mentality of the Russians.

In addition, Lenin's conception of revolutionary methods was typically Russian. The law of force, or illegality in Western terms, was natural to the Russian way of life. Therefore, he wondered why Europeans "cannot even conceive of the need for other organizations, illegal organizations . . ." (44) In this respect he referred not to some conservatives but to West European Marxists who apparently were politically closest to the Bolsheviks; the spiritual gulf between the two cultures proved to be immense.

Lenin fully accepted the heritage of the Russian socio-economic philosophy based on equalization according to the impersonal mass-horde and collectivist society. Even in 1868, a Russian emigrant, Utin, addressed the following declaration to Marx: "The Russian people at all times strive toward the realization of great premises, stated by the International Congresses of Workers, for the community rule over land and tools of work." (45) Incidentally, it should be noted that Russia was the first country outside Germany where Marxism found its disciples. From this aspect, a true Russian usually solves class problems by violence, by mass anon-

ymous means. Lenin's attitude to narodism is expressed in the following:

The Social-Democrats have stated dozens of times that they do not, with the stupidity of a certain unintelligent bird, throw the whole of Narodism overboard, but single out and take for their own its revolutionary and democratic elements. (46)

Lenin interpreted the 1861 emancipation act not as an act liberating the individual and the non-Russian nations from tsarist slavery but as an act equalizing the classes and denationalizing the peasantry of the non-Russian nations:

It is quite natural, — that the public should, with particular enthusiasm, celebrate March 3 (February 19), the anniversary of the fall of old feudal Russia and the beginning of the epoch which promised Russia liberty and prosperity. (47)

Our argument is proved by the following quotation by Lenin, which shows that by liberty and prosperity he meant nationalization and total collectivization of land, property, and tools: "But the land nationalization had to become the demand of the peasant masses in the Russian revolution as the slogan of farmers, who wish to break through the shell of mediaevalism." (48)

The existence of large collectivistic forms of economy in tsarist Russia is verified by Lenin:

... every large farm, for instance, every large landed estate, of which there are 30,000 in Russia, shall be transformed as quickly as possible into a model farm, to be worked jointly by agricultural workers and trained agriculturists, and with the application of the cattle, implements, etc. of the landlords. (49)

The whole change was, that whereas previously a landlord was the manager, and he called the economic unit "a landed estate", later the same unit was called a "model farm" and was directed by a Chekist. Finally, Lenin did not even intend to abolish the "capitalist" establishments in Russia, but proposed only to change their titles and personnel. He said: "Socialism cannot be built unless ad-

vantage is taken of the heritage of capitalist culture." (50)

3. Military and police heritage

Lenin inherited the tsarist principle that "the standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power", because violence was to him the mightiest political weapon and "illegal" means (in Western terms) were dominant in tsarist times. He called them "dictatorial" and boasted of the "barbarous methods". Lenin and the Bolsheviks even adopted the tradition of periodically changing the name of the secret police. The state machine in Leninist as well as in tsarist times consisted of totally impersonal bureaucrats. This was the reason why Lenin was so proud that "Marx's observations on the experience of the Commune... did not reveal a trace of federalism." The totalitarian government of the great tsars seemed to him Marxist, and vice versa, Marxist teaching became to this Russian, thoroughly brought up in traditionalist values, very natural and "true". Lenin's secret police had precisely the same powers as the tsarist "tretye otdelenie": it was all-powerful in the state. "The Terror was an integral element of Bolshevik governmental practice from its very beginning" — observed Georg von Rauch. (51)

The Red Army, formed under Lenin's guidance, was founded in many respects on the heritage and traditions of the tsarist army. In the first place, it was a Russian army, as was the tsarist army. P. Karyi, a former high officer, declared:

Already in the years 1917—1918 the Red Army was composed of 90 per cent of Russians. The remaining 10 per cent included some Chinese, Latvians, Lithuanians, and some 'Little Russians' from the various other captive nations of Moscow. (52)

From the beginning, *the cadre of Red Army officers was composed of former officers of the tsarist army... The Red Army was organized not by any indeterminate Bolsheviks, but by former tsarist generals and corporals, who went into Bolshevik service. Such*

"pillars" of the Red Army as Voroshilov, Budionny, Primakov, Kotovsky, Yakir, and others were former corporals, sergeants, and commanders in the tsarist army. Zinoviev confessed in 1917 that the Kremlin was surprised by the great patriotic upheaval of the Russians roused by the appeal of Gen. Brusilov to defend the integrity of Russia from 'counterrevolution'. (53) And Zinoviev declared:

We, the Bolsheviks, had always hoped, that the Russian patriotic soldiery and officers would actively respond to our call to strengthen the Red Army in the face of an enemy threat. And we were not mistaken. Tens of thousands of Russian soldiers and officers from all parts of Russia are voluntarily reporting for service in the Red Army. (54)

Lenin agreed with Zinoviev (55) and even expressed the opinion that without the personnel of the tsarist army the Bolsheviks "would have been unable to create an army". He said:

After many months of meetings, the discipline of the Red Army was not inferior to the discipline of the old army. Strict, stern measures were adopted, even shooting, — measures that were not even adopted in the old army. (56)

In many respects the Red Army took over the structure, the tactics, and the strategy of the Imperial army. It is an established fact that the general staff of the Red Army was organized by the tsarist General Brusilov. P. Karyi stated that in the newly formed military schools:

The Red officer cadets are learning military courses according to old tsarist models. The lectures are the same as under the tsar, although no so-called polit-education courses are being introduced. (57)

The same traditionalist messianistic spirit was also instilled in the army: the education stressed the "invincibility of the Red Army". P. Karyi explains that "the Bolsheviks devoted particular attention to the question of the nationality of the candidates for the rank of officer . . . Russians had the prerogative, and the 'inorodsi' only followed after them." (58) The solution of the nationality ques-

tion in the army followed strictly tsarist patterns. (59) Even most of the songs in the Red Army were the same as in previous times. (to be continued)

30. "Rosiyske istorychne korinnia bolshevyzmu" in Ukraina proty Moskvyy, collection of articles, Foreign Section of OUN, v. 2, 1955, pp. 93—115
31. Speech on Pushkin, on June 8, 1880, according to Y. Boyko, *ibid.* p. 109
32. According to A. D. *op. cit.*, p. 23
33. On Bolshevism and the Liberation Struggle, collection of essays, Foreign Section of OUN, v. 5, 1957, p. 7
34. Sochinennia, Moscow, 1946, v. III, p. 187
35. The Century of Total War, Beacon Press, Boston, 1955, p. 89
36. "What is to be done?" 1902, v. 2, p. 48
37. *op. cit.*, in Ukraina proty Moskvyy, pp. 98—99
38. "Vydyvo bolshevyzmu u Dostoyevskoho", in Visnyk, monthly, New York, 1955, v. 12—14, p. 17
39. "Do Problemy Bolshevyzmu" in Ukraina proty Moskvyy, p. 16
40. *op. cit.*, pp. 63—64
41. *Ibidem*, p. 61
42. "Aziatskaia i evropeyskaya dusha" in Sudba Rossii, coll., 1918, p. 57
43. Das Bild unserer Zeit, 1917—54, v. 41—44, p. 39; according to S. Lenkavskyy, "Natsionalna Polityka Bolshevykiv v Ukraini" in Vyzvolnyj Shlakh, v. 113—116, p. 269
44. *supra*, p. 34
45. According to Y. Boyko, "Russian Populism as the Source of Leninism-Stalinism" in Vyzvolnyj Shlakh, v. 127, p. 511
46. "Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy", 1902, v. 2, p. 318
47. Workers' Party and Peasantry", 1901, v. 2, p. 234
48. "Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy" in First Russian Revolution, 1905—1907", 1907, v. 3, p. 232
49. Speech on Agrarian Questions, 1917, v. 6, p. 369
50. "Report of Central Committee of RCP(B) at 8th Party Congress", 1919, v. 8, p. 36
51. History of Soviet Russia, p. 64
52. "About the Psychological Formation of the Soviet Officer's Face" in Vyzvolnyj Shlakh, v. 62—63, Nov.-Dec. 1952, p. 15
53. *Ibidem*, p. 16
54. According to A. Yurenko, "On the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Red Army" in Vynyk, v. 112, February 1958, p. 59
55. *Cf. supra*, p. 15
56. "Tasks of Political Education Departments", 1921, v. 9, p. 266
57. *op. cit.*, Vyzvolnyj Shlakh, v. 62, p. 16
58. *Ibidem*, v. 63, p. 9
59. *Cf. supra*, p. 24

News And Views

To Consider Russian Colonialism In Ukraine

Upon the proposal of Congressman T. J. Dulski, on February 3, 1966, Congressional Record published in full the memorandum on Soviet Russian Colonialism in Ukraine by Jaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine. This memorandum was sent to the United Nations Special Committee on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We are publishing the full text of the memorandum.

Dear Mr Chairman,

Since I have as yet received no answer to my charge against the Soviet Government of 6th May 1963 on the matter of an investigation into Russian colonialism in Ukraine, I beg, apropos of the murder of Stefan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian anti-colonial liberation movement, who, on the instructions of the Government of the U.S.S.R., was on 15th October 1959 murdered on the soil of a foreign, sovereign State, the Federal Republic of Germany, to renew today in my capacity as head of the last independent Ukrainian Government on Ukrainian soil my charge against the Soviet Government and especially against Alexander Shelepin, as organizer of the murder.

On this occasion I also base my case on the investigation* made by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary under the leadership of Senator James O. Eastland, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Senator Everett M. Dirksen and others.

The U.S. Senate Committee has investigated the methods of the Government of the U.S.S.R., employed particularly on the captive nations, and has reached the conclusion that murder and kidnapping are instruments of official Soviet policy. The Government of the U.S.S.R. has used these methods in Ukraine in particular, as well as on freedom leaders living abroad. The U.S. Senate has published the sentence and oral opinion and written elaboration of the verdict of the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany in the case of Bogdan Stashinsky, from which the highest German court unequivocally verifies the guilt of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and particularly of Alexander Shelepin in the murder of Stefan Bandera with both documents and facts and condemns them. The U.S. Senate has further confirmed the guilt of the Government of the U.S.S.R. with fresh evidence.

I charge the Government of the U.S.S.R. and Alexander Shelepin with:

1. infringing upon human rights by murdering the Ukrainian freedom leader, Stefan Bandera, and the anti-Communist political writer, Professor Lev Rebet;

* Murder International, Inc., — U.S. Government Printing Office Washington: 1965

2. employing cruel colonial methods in the struggle against the liberation urge of a captive nation on the territory of a foreign sovereign State;
3. infringing upon the sovereignty of a foreign State by preparing and executing on its territory the murder of the Ukrainian freedom leader Stefan Bandera and the anti-Communist political writer and scholar Professor Lev Rebet.

I assert that the Government of the U.S.S.R. has most grossly infringed upon the United Nations Charter, Preamble, Chapter 1, Art. 1 and others and Resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation.

I request the Committee on Colonialism to investigate my charge against the Government of the U.S.S.R., to condemn Russian colonialism in Ukraine and other occupied countries, and to denounce this crime against peace and security.

In this context I should like to mention the precedent in international law of the infringement of Argentina's sovereignty by Israel in the case of the criminal Eichmann and the statement made by the Security Council. In the case of the murder of the anti-colonial freedom leader and hero, Stefan Bandera, however, and of the infringement of the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany by the Government of the U.S.S.R. the Security Council of U.N.O. has expressed no view and made no mention of the matter whatsoever.

The whole complex of questions to be investigated by the Committee on Colonialism is connected with the threat to peace and security entailed in the infringement of the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany, and should therefore also come before the Security Council.

I enclose the U.S. Senate's documentation and ask you, as Chairman of the Committee, to bring the charge I have made before the Committee, so that

- a) after its investigation of the complex of Russian colonialism in Ukraine it passes a resolution and
- b) in connection with the establishment of the threat to peace and security of the U.S.S.R. recommends the Security Council to make further investigations.

In accordance with Article 6 the U.S.S.R. should be expelled from U.N.O. and the whole complex should be further laid before the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Since I make my appearance before the Committee as spokesman for a non-sovereign people struggling for its freedom and independence, I ask those members of the Committee who stand honestly for the ideals of U.N.O. and for indivisible freedom and national independence, and for personal freedom and human dignity for the peoples and individuals of the Russian colonial empire, to take up my charge as their own to follow it up within the framework of the legal possibilities contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

Yours respectfully

(Jaroslav Stetsko)

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

AF ABN vs Consular Treaty

On January 26, 1966, American Friends of Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, Chicago and Washington Branches submitted a petition to the Hon. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen against ratification of the Soviet American consular treaty.

The petition was sponsored by American Latvian Assn., American Lithuanian Community, American Estonian Assn., American German Congress, American Democratic Cuban Assn., American Slovak League, American Cossacks Assn., United American Croats and American Ukrainian Liberation Front, presented by Mrs. Ulana Celewych, Secretary of the AF ABN, Chicago Branch. The petition was signed by 52,246 persons and stated that Soviet Consulates and Embassies have a long history of actions repulsive to our political standards and morals, such as kidnapping, blackmail, extortion and murder of the more prominent Anti-Communist leaders. Such a treaty would grant Russian consular agents complete immunity from criminal prosecution with no penalty other than banishment from the country.

Our policies and our image among the people under Russian colonial domination would again suffer a severe setback; and the American public, engaged in a bitter war against the aggressive forces of North Vietnam, would be confused.

The Soviet American consular treaty was signed in Moscow on June 1, 1964. The treaty was approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Aug. 3, 1964.

The main opposition to ratify the treaty came from FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who stated that "our Government is about to allow them (Russians) to establish consulates in many parts of the country which, of course, will make our work more difficult." The Hoover warnings about the dangers from Russian espionage were supported by the sound minded American organizations and a minority of four members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Lausche of Ohio, Hickenlooper of Iowa, John Williams of Delaware and Mund of South Dakota. Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Conn. also cited the Hoover statement in his dissent.

Last year the Senate postponed the ratification of the treaty until this year.

Press Bureau of AF ABN Washington, D. C.



Left to right: Mr. K. Avizienis (Lithuanian); Mr. V. Mayewsky (Ukrainian), President of ODFFU Washington Branch; Prof. P. Lejins, President of American Latvian Association; Mrs. U. Celewych (Ukrainian), Secretary of AF ABN (Chicago Branch); Hon. Edward J. Derwinsky, Congressman; Hon. Everett M. Dirksen, Senate minority leader; Mr. T. Caryk, Secretary of AF ABN Washington Chapter; Mr. W. A. Kollacks (German), President of German American National Congress; Mr. A. Dankevych, President of AF ABN Washington Chapter; Mr. S. Rudzitis (Latvian). Absent from picture a representative of Slovakia Dr. J. Mikus.

Our Problems In U.S. Congressional Record For 1965

On 13th January, 1965, the official organ of the United States Congress, the *Congressional Record* published at the suggestion of *Congressman Dulski* the speech made by *Dr. Nestor Procyk* on 20th December, 1964, at a banquet held in honour of the great Ukrainian poet and freedom fighter, Taras Shevchenko, at Buffalo, N.Y.

On 22nd January, 1965, the *Congressional Record* published in a special edition the resolution proposed by *Senator Dirksen* concerning the forty-seventh anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence.

On the same day *Congressional Record* published at the suggestion of *Congressman Young* a letter from *Dr. Anthony Zukowsky*, President of the North Dakota branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc. In this letter, which is addressed to *Congressman Young*, *Dr. Zukowsky* asks the United States Government to honour this day appropriately and to publish a report on Ukraine and her fight for freedom in *Congressional Record*. After the letter comes information on Ukraine, the land, natural and industrial resources, history, present political status, religion, and Ukrainians abroad. This is immediately followed by a short outline of Ukraine's more recent history by *Senator Dodd*, in which *Taras Shevchenko's* poem *I care not* is quoted in its entirety.

On 25th January the *Congressional Record* published a thirteen-page report on discussions in the U.S. Congress about the anniversary of Ukrainian independence, the Ukrainian people's struggle for freedom, and its overthrow by its treaty-breaking, Communist neighbour, Russia. *Congressman Delaney* put forward a resolution proposing a *Shevchenko Freedom Library* in the Library of Congress. A second resolution asked for the issue of a *Captive Nations Freedom Series* of postage stamps in honour of national heroes

of freedom, commencing with a *Taras Shevchenko Freedom Stamp*.

On 26th January the *Congressional Record* again took up the questions discussed on the previous day and gave verbatim reports of speeches by *Congressmen Daniels*, *Hon. John D. Dingell*, *Hon. James A. Byrne*, *Hon. William B. Widnall*, *Hon. Peter W. Rodino jr.*, and *Hon. McCormick*.

On 7th July, 1965, the *Congressional Record* reprinted an article to which *Congressman Dulski* had drawn attention in the House of Representatives: "Those who have lived behind the Iron Curtain know the tactics and methods employed by the Communists. We would do well to heed their warnings." The article — *From Behind the Iron Curtain*, published in *ABN Correspondence* No. 2, 1965 — was reprinted in full in the *Congressional Record*.

On 9th August the proposed consular convention with the Soviet Union was discussed in Congress. The *Congressional Record* published a comprehensive report on the discussion, as well as two letters from *Professor Lev Dobriansky* to *Hon. J. W. Fulbright*. Here we read: "A blind ratification of the Convention would form another chapter in our long, inept dealings with the Russians and expose us to the charge of being a nation of hypocrites when the President and others proclaim our 'devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty'." These letters are followed by a long article by *Professor Dobriansky* strongly opposing the setting up of consulates in the USSR.

Congressman Derwinski said in the discussion: "The question of establishing consulates obviously jeopardizes the policy whereby our government does not recognize the forcible incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the USSR. If we should, for example, estab-

lish consulates in any of the Baltic States, it would represent a *de facto* recognition of Soviet control which would be an international triumph for Communism. The two other major cities in the USSR, where the Russians might suggest we should establish a consulate, are Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, and Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. These two states have voting rights in the United Nations. It would be a mockery of justice to consider consular offices there."

On 6th August *Senator Frank J. Lausche* caused to be published in the *Congressional Record* verbatim the message delivered by the *Hon. Mary V. Beck*, first councilwoman of the City of Detroit to the Cardinal Joseph Slipy Committee, the headquarters of which are in Cleveland. Her message clearly depicts "the spirit that resides with Ukrainians everywhere, hoping and praying for emancipation from the tyranny of the Communists of Russia."

On August 17, 1965 the *Congressional Record* brought the Proclamation by the President of the United States on the occasion of the Captive Nations Week, the speech of the APACL President *Ku Cheng-kang* at the mass rally during the Captive Nations Week in Taiwan, his cablegram to US President *L. B. Johnson*, the text of the message from *Professor Dr. Th. Oberländer* to the Captive Nations Committee, a report on the speech delivered by *Jaroslav Stetsko* on behalf of the Central Committee of ABN at Washington and excerpts from all important American newspapers concerning the Captive Nations Week observances.

On September 23, 1965 the *Congressional Record* published *Congressman Derwinski's* and *Congressman Stanton's* comment on the 18th anniversary of the assassination of *Nikola Petkov*. *Mr. Derwinski* said: "I am hopeful that the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian leaders in exile will continue their efforts towards and their faith in the eventual victory of justice over tyranny and the reestablishment of a free, independent government

in Bulgaria." *Mr. Stanton* said: "On September 23, 1947 *Nikola Petkov* was hanged by the Communist regime. His death was neither the first nor the last of men and women who sought to bring liberty and democracy to Bulgaria. But the nature of his trial and his gallant performance during it are an example of the hard and dangerous tasks which must be faced in fighting oppression."

On 17 August, 1965 the *Congressional Record* brought the resolution of the Central Delegation of the ABN for Australia and New Zealand, in which the Australian government was urged to proclaim a Captive Nations Week.

Following this the *Congressional Record* quoted the national newspapers printed in America and also American newspapers which had reported Captive Nations Week observances.

On 7th October, 1965 the *Congressional Record* published at the suggestion of *Congressman Dulski* the resolutions put forward by ABN at the 11th APACL Conference on the liberation of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism, as well as the final declaration of the Conference.

On 22 October, 1965 the *Congressional Record* brought in full *Jaroslav Stetsko's* address given to the 11th APACL Conference at Manila. On the suggestion of the Hon. Robert E. Sweeney, Congressman of Ohio, the *Congressional Record* published on 19 January, 1966 the speech of Dr. Zenon R. Wynnytsky, delivered on the occasion of a rally held in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 16, 1965.

The Hon. Robert E. Sweeney, who called Dr. Zenon R. Wynnytsky an outstanding and courageous American, said: "His comments at the Cleveland rally should be 'must-reading' for every American who today is being lulled into complacency and led by clever propagandists to believe that in the last analysis the Free World has little to fear by reason of this spread of Communist influence in the world in which we live."

Dr. Wynnytsky, who is executive direc-

tor of the Ukrainian section of ABN, said in his speech: "Americans, pray and work for our victory in Vietnam. Do not expose the future happiness of your country and your children to the lies and experiments of the big Communist brother. And let me reassure you that when the time comes and we are called to arms, we — the Americans of Ukrainian descent, will fight and die if necessary for our beloved adopted land. There is no other more honourable way to die than as a free man in defense of a free country. Don't wait do die as a slave."

On 7th October the *Congressional Record* published a one-column report on the ABN's solidarity demonstration in Munich on 23rd July, 1965, when well-known German politicians, deputies and writers spoke. The demonstration was to show solidarity with the U. S. Congress resolution on Captive Nations Week.

On the same day *Congressional Record* published the question to the German Federal Government tabled by Professor Theodor Oberländer, asking whether the Federal Government does not regard it as necessary and appropriate to pass a resolution similar to that of the U. S. Congress with regard to Captive Nations Week. This proposal was rejected by Dr. Schroeder, German Foreign Minister.

Honour for Cardinal Slipy

The Ukrainian Cardinal, Archbishop Major Joseph Slipy has been elected a member of the Papal Tiberian Academy.

The Ukrainian Dr. Yuriy Fedynsky, scholar for many years at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, has been appointed Professor of International Law at the University of Bloomington, Indiana, USA.

"Communism and Religious Freedom"

A round-table discussion on the subject "Communism and Religious Freedom" was held from 19 to 20 December, 1965 in Bolzano (Italy — South Tyrol). This conference was organised by the "International Institute for European Research — Antonio Rosmini". Representatives of the intellectual elite of Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, were present.

After the introductory remarks of the Mayor of Bolzano, M. Giorgio Pasquali, and of the Prefect, M. Augusto Bianco, M. Giovanni Ambrosetti, Director of the Institute, presented the subject of the round table discussion and illustrated its basic ideas. Following this, the President of the Institute, M. Adolfo Munoz-Alonso, officially opened the work of the conference.

There then spoke, giving reports: Professors Amadeus Silva Tarouca, Michael Schmaus, Marino Gentile, Sergio Cotta, Felice Battaglia, Father Gustav Wetter, Father Clemente Riva, Mme Sofia Vanni Rovighi.

In the lively discussions which followed the presentation of these reports, the following made several contributions: Professors F. J. von Rintelen, Dario Galli, Mario Nicolodi, Anton Hilckmann, Marino Gentile, Sergio Cotta, Renato Lazarini, Cantoni, Father Benedetto D'Amore and Mme Maria Teresa Antonelli.

ABN was represented by Jaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Prof. F. Durcansky, former Slovak Foreign Minister and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Head of the Press Office of ABN. In the discussion, Jaroslav Stetsko put forward the point of view of the nations subjugated by Russia.

"We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be regarded as our worst enemies. They preach love of one's neighbour and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the Revolution. Down with love of one's neighbours. What we need is hatred. We must know how to hate; only thus shall we conquer the universe."

Anatole Lunacharsky, former Russian Commissar of Education

DECLARATION

by the third Convention of the Central Committee of the Croatian Associations of Europe — Paris, 1965 — presented to UNO and to the Heads of Government of the United States of America, Great Britain, France and Germany.

Against a common belief in the existence of a single Yugoslav nation, we most emphatically deny that such a nation exists. The Croatian people, against their will, in a most undemocratic and arbitrary way, were forced, in the year 1918, into a state formation called Yugoslavia, and after shedding the chains of slavery in 1941, proclaimed their own Independence after a long struggle for freedom and statehood. In 1945, the Croatian people were once again fettered by the chains of slavery, and this time, in addition, a Communist yoke was foisted upon them, after massacres and atrocities unprecedented in latter-day European history.

The Croatian people never lost their national individuality nor did they denounce the right to their own statehood which is in accordance with a thirteen-hundred years constitutional tradition and political identity of their own.

That the Croatian people do not consider themselves to be a part of an arbitrarily created Yugoslav nation or state, is proved by the fact that on the 10th of April 1941, proclaiming the Independent State of Croatia, they took advantage of the opportunity offered by the international dislocation of the political balance of power at that time in Europe, for their own sake to break all ties with Belgrade.

Thus we protest most strongly against all decisions made during the last war in Yalta, which are the cause of the present day enslavement of the Croatian People, and we request that the signatory powers amend this in guaranteeing and agreeing to let the Croatian people exercise their right of self-determination, to shape their own destiny, way of life and kind of Government.

Consequently, on the grounds of this generally accepted democratic principle, and a thousand years old Croatian tradition, we stand firmly for Croatian national individuality and separate statehood.

The Croatian people are part of Europe, whose progress and salvation lie in her unity. Thus we wholeheartedly support all trends of European statesmen towards such a united Europe, in the hope that one day Croatia may join, directly in her own identity and will, represented by her own constitutional body — the Croatian Sabor — this European community, for the benefit of her people, the progress and lasting peace in the geo-political area of this part of Europe.

We do not shun any reasonable co-operation with the other peoples of the Balkans, if it is based on the mutual respect of peoples' freedom as a natural and undeniable right.

The Croatians enjoy a traditional reputation of being a peaceful people, but during long passage of centuries, clearly showed their determination not to bargain when their freedom and independence were at stake, but to fight for them until victory, by not accepting any arbitrary decisions by any outside nations or statesmen without the Croatian people's consent.

*President
Dr. Andrija Ilić*

*General Secretary
Josip Biošić*

From Letters to ABN:

Anti-Communist Organisations!

The APACL Freedom Center is a pioneering institution in the entire Free World. While it has been created to train personnel to out-think, outdedicate and outmanoeuvre Communist aggressors in Asia, it is showing all Free peoples the way toward defeating Communist infiltration and subversion, and toward winning peace with freedom.

This activity merits the support of all free peoples, above all those in Asia, but those in the United States, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa, as well.

All APACL Member Chapters have been given a quota of 1000 dollars as their contribution to the support of the APACL Freedom Center in 1966.

Contributions may be in the form of money, professors, cold war specialists, furniture, equipment such as typewriters and various business machines, books to make the Freedom Center library one of the outstanding libraries on this subject in the world, and like materials.

The Board of Directors respectfully asks your organisation to consider what you might give to participate in this important undertaking and report what you might be able to do for the Board at your earliest convenience. Your voluntary contributions are requested prior to the 12th Annual APACL Conference to be held at the APACL Freedom Center, Seoul, Korea, in October 1966 so that a full report of your contributions can be made at that time.

Very truly yours,

*Jose Ma. Hernandez Secretary-General
Manila, Philippines.*

Dear Sir,

I am a regular reader of my favourite magazine "ABN Correspondence" in English. I found that really it is the only magazine which can inspire a villain to return to the right path and can remind him of his duties. You bold people are determined in your aims. It is time for us to think about the world situation, at the time when the Communists are enslaving the people of the nations and spreading false ideology among the peoples of the Free World for the selfishness of some demagogues. It is a universally recognised fact about the Communist ideology that the scoundrel leaders try to come to power and after that all the innocent peoples of the so-called Marxist Leninist nations become slaves, therefore it forces us to think.

Being very interested about the works of the ABN association, I want to read some valuable literature about ABN and its organizations, its prominent leaders, its centers in the foreign countries. I also want to read its various periodicals, including ABN Correspondence.

I have learnt the English, French, German, Spanish, Urdu, Sanskrit and Hindu languages. Would you please send me some valuable literature and periodicals regularly in any of the above mentioned languages?

I hope that you will send me all these and encourage me to know more about the ABN Organisation.

*Yours faithfully, Sujan S. Deora
Jodhpur University, India*

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Secret Organization of Revolutionary Strike in Novocherkassk

Only now have the detailed circumstances of the events of June 1962 become known. In the first six months of 1962 a well-planned underground organization directed the preparations for a simultaneous general strike in the cities of the Don Basin; appropriate instructions and appeals were sent to workers at their home addresses. When in June 1962 it was announced that prices were to rise and wages to be decreased a strike broke out in various works and factories in Novocherkassk, a great demonstration in which the strikers gave vent to their grievances. The militia proved to be too weak, so the Party ordered the commander of the Novocherkassk garrison, a Ukrainian, to suppress the demonstration with all the means at his disposal — including shooting into the crowd. However, the commander refused to carry out this order. He stated that he would not cause his own people to be shot at, and shot himself before the eyes of his comrades, who were so impressed that they also refused to obey orders.

After this the troops of the State Security Police, stationed nearby, were sent in with tanks which drove the demonstrators apart in a great street battle and suppressed the rising. The streets were full of blood, the corpses of those shot, and of bodies crushed by the tanks. In the Don Basin it is said that the fault lies with the impatient population of Novocherkassk for the failure of the rising, for they brought the strike out into the open without instructions or the approval of the organization's leadership or of the other cities.

Militia Recruitment Difficulties

The young people of the towns and villages have no wish to join the militia and the *Druzhyynyki* ("voluntary" force) and are refusing to take notice of enlistment

orders, so that the activities of these units have decreased considerably. These units are virtually ignored and referred to as "decorative scarecrows" by the population.

The Strength of the Soviet Armed Force

Together with the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries Soviet armed strength now amounts to 2,900,000 men. The member countries of the Warsaw Pact have Soviet rockets belonging to the encircling defences on their territories, but it is not known whether the satellite countries also possess rocket warheads. The Soviet Commander-in-Chief of the missile forces of strategic command, Marshall Krylov, has under him 180,000 men; at his disposal are 270 intercontinental missiles in a state of full preparedness. This is 40 per cent more than a year ago. Twenty-six divisions are stationed outside the USSR: 20 divisions in the Soviet Zone of Germany (ten of them tank divisions), 2 divisions in Poland, and four divisions in Hungary. All these divisions are up to fighting strength. According to Soviet plans "home divisions" can be advanced to theatres of combat at a rate of 60 miles a day. However, Western experts doubt whether the transport of reinforcements, provisions and munitions can take place at such a speed.

Death of KGB General

On 28th November 1965 *Izvestia* reported the death of the commander of KGB units in the Krasnodar Region, Major-General Naimushin, which took place during "the fulfilment of his duty". Such cases befall the KGB only in some catastrophe or other, mostly in the course of "terrorist" acts committed by "political enemies" of the regime. As is well known, there was a rebellion in Krasnodar in January 1961, which was bloodily suppressed by KGB troops. Is it not possible that the death of the Major-General was an act of revenge by a participant in the suppressed revolt?

Condemned to Death

Pravda no. 351/1965 reported a trial which took place in Krasnodar in mid-December 1965, in which a certain Myelnikov was condemned to death, because he had stood guard during the Hitler occupation over Komsomol activists imprisoned by the Nazis and had refused to provide them with tobacco and had allegedly taken part in the arrests. It is noteworthy that he had lived unmolested in Krasnodar for twenty years before he was "confronted" with his "misdeeds".

Over the Caucasus to Freedom

A thin, thirty-year-old Ukrainian has reported to us on his horrifying experiences in the USSR and his freedom bid, successfully made two years ago. He and his younger brother lived peacefully with their mother, a widow, who had to work hard to support them, so that she might be able to bring up both her sons as good Christians, righteous men, and good Ukrainians. When his brother was thirteen attempts were made to force him to join the Komsomol. His mother, however, opposed this. The boy was removed by force from the school and put into an orphanage, whose whereabouts were unknown to the mother. After a time she managed to find out the address. She kidnapped her own son from the home and took him under a false name to a school some hundreds of kilometres away. However, she was arrested by the KGB and after being horribly tortured was compelled to disclose the address of the boy. Again he was put into the orphanage. Both sons were compelled to testify against their mother (the elder through torture) and to say that she had taught them to pray and was against the godless Komsomol. When the elder of the boys saw his mother in the courtroom, changed beyond recognition by the torture, his own fear of torture disappeared and he began to defend his mother: he was immediately removed from the courtroom. He was not let into the room again until sentence was pronounced, when he had to listen as his mother was condemned to ten years hard labour. A court official whispered to him

that he should flee immediately, otherwise things would go badly for him. He did flee immediately, and although the KGB hunted frantically for him, he managed to flee over the Caucasus into Turkey. He is now living in Western Europe.

This refugee expressed the opinion that the Russian empire would already have collapsed, were it not artificially supported politically and economically by the Western powers because it suits certain circles in the West that this prison of peoples should continue to exist. Since the example of Hungary, the captive nations of the USSR expect no assistance from the West; they only trust their own strength and are fighting along the revolutionary path for their freedom, committing acts of sabotage, blowing up military trains, assassinating Russian leaders.

The Agricultural Situation in 1965

Last year there was a bad cereal harvest and a particularly bad potato harvest in many areas — Lviv, Mariupol, Dniprodzerzhinsk, Briyansk, Orlov, Byelgorod and others. These were caused on the one hand by drought and on the other by long periods of continual rain. The harvest in the virgin lands suffered especially badly, partly from damage done by the potato beetle. Cucumbers and tomatoes were abnormally small, and even the maize harvest went badly. In a few areas — Moldavia, Sumy, Zaporizhyya, Kursk — there was a fair, sometimes a good cereal harvest, and such areas also had quite good fruit and vegetable crops.

In several regions, and particularly in West Ukraine, the cattle were already dying of starvation in August. But the worst was yet to come: foot-and-mouth disease started to spread catastrophically in all directions. At first the authorities had all animals suspected of the disease slaughtered and their stalls burnt, but as the disease spread these emergency measures were dropped, as they would otherwise have resulted in whole regions, and especially Ukraine, being left entirely without cattle. Attempts are now being made to cure the animals, but there is a shortage of medical materials.

The main cause of the way the disease has spread is the cooping up together of the herds in state and collective farms.

State Farms and Collective Farms

On 9th October 1965 the Soviet newspaper *Selskaya Zhizn'* published new figures with regard to the *Sovkhozy* (state farms) and *Kollekhozy* (collective farms). According to these there are at present in the USSR 10,075 state farms and 73,600 collective farms. The state farms occupy one-third of all agricultural land. Only 1.4% of agricultural land is still in the possession of *kollehoz* peasants and workers.

According to another source, the life of the *kollehoz* peasants is very hard: they earn little for their work on the *kollehozy* and are forced to rely on what little they can produce on their tiny private plots. Prices in state shops are high, on the black market even higher. The peasants living on state and collective farms have only one means of making a living — by stealing. This they do — everywhere and without conscience. They don't call it stealing — "It belongs to me, so I'm taking it". They are of the opinion that the Bolshevik state has robbed them of everything necessary for life — their land, their cattle, their implements, their entire possessions. So they are only taking that which is in any case theirs. Students who go to the villages for harvesting recount that the authorities are sworn at and cursed even in the presence of officials on the collective farms.

In the Byelgorod region there is a "Work Camp for Idlers and Parasites". The inmates are treated like prisoners, but must in addition perform heavy work under the eyes of overseers: they are made to dig irrigation systems and canals, and their living conditions are comparable to those in a concentration camp.

Ten Days in Lviv

A Ukrainian from Edmonton, Canada, who recently visited his relations in West Ukraine, reports that his closest relations looked so ill that he was unable to recognize them. When his relations were crying in his room, a Russian hotel employee dashed into the room and told them to be quiet,

threatening to call the militia to quieten them down. In the city he saw endless queues of people waiting, for one has to queue in order to purchase the smallest bagatelle. He saw men and women together laying heavy water mains and sweeping the streets with birch brooms. He was not allowed to visit his native village.

Art Treasures Stolen

According to the journal *Culture and Life*, published in Kyiv, the archaeological expedition from the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad has finished its excavations of an ancient settlement near the village of Shelestove (Mukatchiv district, Carpathian Ukraine) and taken all the objects it has unearthed, Neandertal tools and in particular art treasures from the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. to the Hermitage Museum.

Although there are many trained Ukrainian archaeologists, it is Russian archaeologists who make the most valuable excavations in Ukraine and take Ukrainian art treasures back to Leningrad with them. The world-famous statue of Aphrodite, excavated at Taman', Crimea, on Ukrainian territory, and comparable to the Venus de Milo, was also removed to a museum in Moscow, instead of being sent to Kyiv. The same happened to Scythian archaeological treasures, discovered on the north coast of the Black Sea.

Recently paintings by such European artists as Veneziano, Caracci, Giordano, Salvatore Rosa, Maniasco, and the Renaissance masters were discovered in a museum in Zhytomyr, Ukraine. There is a well-founded rumour that these art treasures are being removed from Ukraine to museums in Russia.

Ukrainian Coal

On 6th January 1966, the Kyiv *Radyanska Ukraina* published an interview with the Soviet Ukrainian Minister for Coal, M. Khudovtsev, who happily stated that Ukrainian mine-workers had mined 54,427 tons more coal in the month preceding 3rd Jan. 1966 than in the corresponding period the previous year. Ukrainian coal-

mines produced a third of the USSR's coal, said the Minister and 56% of the USSR's coke. The target for coal production for Ukraine for 1966 is 200 million tons of coal, plus an additional load of 7.7 million tons. A number of industries are developing in the European USSR on the basis of Ukrainian coal — metallurgy, chemical industries, power, besides normal everyday requirements.

Atheists Attack More Strongly

At the end of December 1965 and the beginning of January 1966, the Bolshevik atheists intensified their activities amongst the population in order to hinder the celebration of Christmas. In Tchernyvtsi (Bukovina) an "All-republican theoretical Conference for Atheist Teachers" was held, at which the question of "how to educate an individual in Communist society who will be free of the relics of the past" was discussed. Members of the Atheist Hiking Club in Luboml travelled around Volynia giving talks on atheism in the villages. Such clubs have also been formed recently in other districts, in Horokhiv, Rozhyshche, Volodymyr Volynsky, and other places.

The Kyiv Convent

220 nuns live in the Pokrovsky Convent. Their singing in the convent church is first-class. Some of the nuns work in the nearby hospital, and it is probably for this reason that the authorities have not undertaken the closure of the convent, as they intend to close down Frolovsky Convent. Both establishments receive enthusiastic visits from tourists, who are most courteously received by the nuns. Blahovishchensky Convent has been turned into a botanical garden.

Religious poems on themes based on liturgical texts and prayers are passed from hand to hand amongst the population, and particularly amongst the intelligentsia, as well as poems in the form of prayers for steadfastness in days of persecution. One of the poems is in honour of the Abbot of the Uspensky Monastery in Odessa, Kuksha, who died at the end of 1964. Another of these poems runs, "We are seeking God, and God is seeking us . . ."

Russians Desecrate Ukrainian Churches

The systematic destruction of old cultural monuments in Ukraine has outraged even the editors of the Kyiv *Prawda Ukrainy*, for at around the end of 1965 they set on foot a campaign for the preservation of such monuments in Ukraine. Mainly concerned are two churches in Tchernyhiv (the Spas cathedral and the cathedral of Borysohlib). One of these churches was built between 1024 and 1123. Today it is used as a warehouse for raw material and the other church was converted to a store for building material. *Prawda Ukrainy* demands that these cultural monuments be preserved for the Ukrainian people.

Facts Revealing the Russification of Ukraine

Moscow is anxious at any price to speed up the Russification of Ukraine. This is clearly seen from the Soviet Russian reference work *The Press in the USSR in 1964*, in which one can read the number of books, periodicals and newspapers published in this year in Soviet Ukraine.

According to the details published in this reference work the number of publications and brochures printed in the Ukrainian SSR has experienced a repeated decline in comparison with the previous year. During 1962, 8,718 and during 1963 7,599 books and brochures were published, but in 1964 books published dwindled to 7,492 titles — thus in 1964 1,326 less books and brochures were published than in 1962.

This decline is expressed much more strikingly in the publishing of books in Ukrainian. Thus in 1964 altogether 3,169 Ukrainian books and brochures were published in the Ukrainian SSR, 655 less than in 1962. At the same time, and indeed regardless of the constantly declining number of books in Ukrainian, 3,398 publications in Russian were published in 1964 in the Ukrainian SSR, that is to say 229 more than in Ukrainian. In addition 250 books in other languages were published. If one compares these figures with those

of the previous year, a greater preponderance of books in Russian is to be observed: in 1961 4,829 Russian publications appeared, while in this time only 3,609 publications in Ukrainian were allowed. In 1962 there were 4,284 new Russian publications in the Soviet Ukraine, while only 3,824 books and brochures in Ukrainian were allowed to be printed. The details for 1963 are: 4,094 publications in Russian, as compared with 3,221 in Ukrainian books, 773 titles less.

Also noticeable in Soviet Ukraine is a constant increase in periodical editions of magazines and newspapers in Russian. Thus in 1959 there were in the Soviet Ukraine altogether 502 editions of magazines, of which 237 were in Ukrainian and 265 in Russian. In 1961 there were 159 Ukrainian and 189 Russian editions. In 1963 there were 254 publications, of which 130 appeared in Ukrainian and 124 in Russian. 1964 was marked by only 240 editions, of which merely 113 were in Ukrainian and 127 in Russian. The ratio is the same in the case of news-

papers: in 1961 159 appeared in Ukrainian and 189 in Russian. In 1963 there were altogether 254 editions, of which 130 were in Ukrainian and 124 in Russian. In 1964 only 240 editions appeared, of which merely 113 were in Ukrainian and 127 in Russian. A similar situation can be noticed in the publishing of newspapers: in 1961 355 newspapers were published in the Soviet Ukraine in Russian, as opposed to 807 in Ukrainian. In 1962 the ratio was as follows: 345 in Russian and 850 in Ukrainian (or rather Russian newspapers in Ukrainian). 1963 was marked by 365 Russian in comparison with 639 Ukrainian newspapers. In 1964 there were 318 Russian newspapers in the Ukrainian SSR, in comparison with only 607 Ukrainian newspapers. In addition 7 newspapers were published in other languages.

A comparison of the statistics given above points quite clearly to a constant Russification of Ukraine by the Communist Russian regime, which is being driven unrelentingly forward with greater speed.

A U. S. Senate Documentation

Murder International, Inc.

Murder and Kidnapping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy

This investigation was made and published by the Committee for Internal Security of the United States Senate under the leadership of Senator James O. Eastland, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Senator Everett Dirksen and others.

This book contains informative documentation, until now unpublished, of numerous crimes against humanity organized by the Soviet Government.

Much space is occupied in this documentation by the investigation of the crimes of Alexander Shelepin, whereby special attention is given to the proceedings and the grounds for sentence of the German Federal Court of Justice in the case of the murder of the freedom hero and leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, Stephan Bandera, organized by the Soviet Government and under the personal charge of Shelepin.

In the detailed foreword to the documentation Senator Thomas J. Dodd counts the Karlsruhe trial among the most important in world history, not only on account of the terrible human drama, but also on account of the historical and political significance of the verdict of the highest German court.

This documentation occupies 176 pages, and can be obtained from the ABN Press Bureau, 8 Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany.

Book Reviews

Refugees from Siberia

In number 6/65 of the periodical *Economic Questions*, Manevytch writes (in an article entitled "Work Resources of the Soviet Union") about a wave of escapes by people deported from Ukraine to Siberia.

The author remarks that for every 1000 people who have recently been deported from Ukraine to the Kuznetsk Basin in Siberia, from 130 to 170 have escaped to Ukraine. This indicates quite clearly that not only recently deported Ukrainians escape from Siberia, but that earlier deportees join them.

Other deportees from other countries in the Soviet Union also escape from Siberia. Manevytch remarks that these mass escapes are caused by bad living conditions: disorder in the towns, a big shortage of houses and of basic foodstuffs, as well as low wages. Manevytch therefore considers it would be unprofitable for the state to resettle people in Siberia, since it would not gain from it. In the period 1956—1960, according to the figures given by the author, "more than 700,000 people were deported to Siberia, in an organised manner". Even more went there as individuals. The state spent a lot of money, says the author, so that these people could return home, while to replace them new people had to be "recruited" as settlers.

Manevytch therefore suggests that better houses be built in Siberia, that distribution of food be improved, and that wages be raised, so that one can expect people to settle "willingly" in Siberia and not escape from there.

We believe that Manevytch has left out of consideration an important reason for these escapes. That is to say, the young Ukrainians long for their home and would to work for their native country. Of course in addition voluntary applications also to work in Siberia could follow, as is practised in various free

countries of Europe in the case of resettlement e. g. to Canada and Argentina. Under the Tsars many people also tried to get improved working conditions even in Siberia. But the continuous mass deportation (under the cover of "voluntary" participation) of young people to Siberia amounts to nothing more than a terrible example of genocide, which must also bring much harm with it even for Moscow.

A great disaster in the collective agricultural economic system in Siberia is also described by W. Zhulin in the periodical *Komsomolska Pravda* of 7 August last year. In this article he poses the question: How can the individual be made to work every day? The collective economic system stimulates no willingness at all to do work. This can be achieved neither through social nor through economic control and even less by the employment of terror.

Comments are being heard that private initiative and the reintroduction of private property in the agricultural system would be in order. Daily life itself condemned the inhuman and anti-national economic system of Russian Bolshevik colonialism to an inevitable decline.

José Manuel Martínez Bande: La Intervención Comunista en la Guerra de España (1936—1939)

Madrid, pp. 165.

This book is published as Number 4 of a series of historical documentation, and is very richly illustrated, which enhances all the more its value as a historical source work. The publication describes very objectively by means of extremely rich source material the provocative interference of the Soviet Russians in the historic events in Spain during the years 1936—1939. Without Russian interference and provocative propaganda by the Kremlin the bloody course of the Communist revolt could have been spared.

The book shows that in the ranks of the so-called Spanish People's Army Soviet Russian soldiers were also to be found. The Communist butcher Antonov-Ovsieyenko, who was notorious in Ukraine also was responsible for this, since as Russian consul-general in Barcelona he could play the role of a representative of the Comintern all the more easily, and strove to help the Communists at any price to seize power in Spain. On page 59 of this publication it can quite clearly be seen from a photograph how the Red Russian consular representative in Spain was shamelessly acting as the protector of the misguided Spanish.

On page 93 and on the following pages the fact is proved that the organisation of the International Brigades to combat the Spanish National Army was the work of Moscow.

The author describes exhaustively the origin of the International Brigades, their bases, organisation, welfare and observance of discipline within them. They found decisive backing in Moscow.

Despite the efforts of the Communists and the left-wing Socialists from various countries in the world, the healthy national opposition forces of Spain obtained victory over the Communists and thus saved Western Europe.

One reads this book with great interest, since it exposes with the greatest clarity the methods of militant Communism in the Civil War. We recommend most warmly this splendid, objectively represented publication to our friends and to those seeking the truth.

V. Kapotivsky

"Communism — Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow", published by the Verband der Freien Presse, 1965, Munich, 149 pp.

The book under consideration is writ-

ten exclusively by exile publicists and discusses in 12 articles problems which arise from Communism. All the authors are convinced that Communism had great success yesterday, that it is today still striving for world domination and that the growing resistance of the nations behind the Iron Curtain can perhaps have fatal effects for Communism tomorrow.

The authors are: Ignatz Blazevids, Latvia; Ján C. Bukovina, Slovakia; Dr. Ion V. Emilian, Rumania; Cristoff Greiner, Slovakia; Volodymyr Lenyk, Ukraine; Dr. Zoltan Makra, Hungary; Ratko Obradovic, Serbia; Ratko Parezanin, Serbia; Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Slovakia; Anton Radnoczy, Hungary; Oleh Selenetzky, Ukraine; Dr. Victor von Stankovich, Hungary; and Myroslav Styranka, Ukraine.

We are publishing in this issue of *ABN-Correspondence* an article on military problems by A. Radnoczy. (See p. 11).

Georgia

The academic periodical of Georgian studies *Bedi Kartlisa* (Kartvelology Review), No. 48/49, 232 pages, is published with contributions from English, French, German and Georgian scholars in English, French and German on the problems of the Georgian language, history etc. . . The address of the editorial office is 8 Rue Berlioz, Paris 16.

The second volume of the Publications of the Centre for Research into the Soviet Union and the Eastern Countries, in Strasbourg, has also been published. The director of this Centre was the Professor of International Law at the University of Strasbourg, M. Mousckheli, a Georgian, who died some time ago. These works were published by the publishing house "Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifiques", Paris.

The editors would like to call your attention to the fact that in the foregoing issue (January-February 1966), the letter which was printed on page 4 was addressed to the Council Fathers, and not to His Holiness.

Dear Reader,

We have been sending you for a long time our periodical "ABN Correspondence", which enjoys the highest reputation among freedom-loving people as an uncompromising defender of the complete freedom of the people and of the nations struggling against Communist tyranny.

ABN Correspondence has contributors in every continent and concerns itself not only with the subjugated nations but also combats Communist subversion in the free countries. Thus ABN Correspondence has become their mouthpiece.

ABN Correspondence receives no subsidy at all from any state or private circles in the Free World. Its publication is paid for from the financial resources of our emigrants.

We must therefore turn to you to contribute financially to the maintenance and development of our periodical.

We must therefore turn to you to contribute financially to the maintenance and development of our periodical.

Please inform us whether you and your circle of friends will continue to be interested in our publication.

Yours faithfully
ABN Press Office

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Symon Petlura — National Hero Of Ukraine

(May 23, 1879 - May 25, 1926)



President Of The Ukrainian National Republic
Murdered By Moscow

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

**Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67**

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.
Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

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Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to: Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account No. 30/26135.(A. B. N.).

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69.

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slawa Stetzko.

Erscheinungsort: München.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Erich Kirmair, München 12, Westendstraße 49.

Head Of State And Commander-In-Chief Symon Petlura

Symon Petlura was born into a simple, poor family in the time-honoured city of Poltava in 1879. At the age of twenty he joined the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party, and from this time on he played a significant role in the secret Ukrainian organizations. When he was still a pupil at the seminary for training priests in Poltava, he organized a Ukrainian youth movement whose object was the liberation of Ukraine. On account of this he was persecuted by the school authorities and finally compelled to leave the seminary.

While he was still young he formed the opinion that Ukraine could only acquire her national freedom and independence through a national uprising and the ousting of the Tsarist regime. He became an extremely active organizer. Petlura founded secret associations in the most remote parts of the large province of Poltava, and his name soon became known throughout Ukraine. When revolutionary uprisings threatened to bury Tsarist Russia and Russia lost her war against Japan, so that Russia's imperial might seemed on the brink of collapse, Petlura moved to Kyiv, which at this time was the headquarters of all the groups in the Ukrainian freedom movement. Here it was that he founded an ideological organ which was to become the main publication of the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party.

The first problem which Petlura had to face was the question of Ukraine's relations with the Social Democratic Party of Russia, which at that time (1904-1905) was divided into two camps. These two Russian parties, however, were in full agreement with regard to the Ukrainian problem. Like all the other Russian imperialists, they opposed the freedom aspirations of the Ukrainian people. Petlura remained decisively against the attitude of the Russian Socialists: "The social freedom of a nation can never be reached without its national liberation."

Between 1904 and 1906 Petlura was generally recognized as the legitimate spokesman of the Ukrainian freedom movement. He dedicated himself above all to the ideological education and training of the younger generation and the vast masses of the people — workers and peasants — for he was firmly convinced that the Ukrainian freedom movement must have a solid social and political base and that the strengthening of national consciousness amongst the workpeople and peasants was an indispensable prerequisite for the success of Ukraine's freedom struggle. However, when in 1910 the Russians' oppressive measures reached their climax under the regime of Stolypin, "strong man" of the Russian empire, Petlura was forced to leave his homeland in order to avoid imprisonment. He went to Moscow, where he obtained a lowly position in a co-operative organization. But here, too, he continued his political activities and founded amongst the fairly numerous Ukrainians resident in Moscow the "Kobzar" movement. When all Ukrainian publications were finally forbidden in Kyiv, Petlura started up a Ukrainian periodical in Moscow, published in Russian — *Ukrainskaya Zhizn*

(Ukrainian Life). In a series of excellent articles which appeared in this magazine, he stood up for Ukrainian independence and national freedom along with various other prominent Ukrainians.

During the first World War, too, Petlura continued his political activities. He worked ardently on those parts of the Russian front to which thousands of Ukrainian soldiers and officers had been sent in the hopeless struggle against the enemy powers by the Tsarist government.

The extent of Petlura's organizing faculties can only be truly appreciated when one realises that the Tsarist army contained no less than three million Ukrainian soldiers scattered over various sections of the Russian front line.

In February, 1917, on the eve of the great Revolution, Petlura succeeded in linking up all the groups of the Ukrainian freedom movement in the Russian army. He and his supporters were completely permeated with the vision of a free Ukraine, of an independent Ukrainian state, with the idea of the Ukrainian nation and her energies unfurling themselves in the spheres of national culture, politics, and economics. This unfurling was to take place in complete harmony with the historic national traditions of the country. But meanwhile the fateful crisis in the East was approaching with gigantic strides.

A convinced democrat and opponent of every form of violence, whose convictions and attitudes to everyday life and to the world at large were determined to some degree by the atmosphere of idealism which still reigned at the end of the nineteenth century, Petlura was a man who had already accumulated certain political experiences when the Revolution broke out at the end of February, 1917, and the Tsarist empire collapsed. He was thus able to estimate with objectivity and realism the situation which followed the downfall of the Russian empire. The new men who seized power in Russia, Prince Lvov, Milukov, Kerensky, Chernov, and later Lenin and Trotsky, who represented all the streams of Russian political thought, were determined to suppress the Ukrainian freedom movement by force. The only difference between them with regard to Ukraine was that they had their own individual conception of the problems of tactics which obtruded on them and gave different reasons for their hostile attitude towards Ukraine. It was Lenin who made use of his tactics, for they were more acceptable than Milukov's or Kerensky's.

In view of the united hostility of the Russians towards Ukraine, Petlura proclaimed the basis of the national consolidation of the Ukrainians, together with all that this involved. He dedicated himself utterly to the organization and formation of the first unit of the new Ukrainian military forces. Within two months of the February Revolution he became head of the so-called Ukrainian General Military Committee of the army, which performed the important functions of a general staff. With his *haidamaks* he stormed the Kyiv arsenal, which had been occupied by Russian Bolshevik troops, and suppressed the revolts which Lenin had triggered off in the city. Petlura's quick action, appropriate as it was in the circumstances, meant a decisive step forward in Ukraine's struggle against Russia, since it contributed considerably to the stabilization of the Ukrainian state.

Thanks to Petlura's untiring activities as leader of the Ukrainian National Army, the Ukrainian Central Council was in the position to proclaim on 22nd

January 1918, in Kyiv, the historically important resolution declaring the sovereignty and independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. The power which Petlura had at that time was amazing. It is no wonder that Lenin found himself forced to despatch strong units of the Soviet Russian Army from Moscow and Leningrad against the Ukrainian National Republic and to make a formal declaration of war, in spite of the fact that his government had recognized the independence of Ukraine in a previous proclamation. Lenin's original plan, that of kindling the flames of revolution in Ukraine, proved to be misconceived. And so the Russian Army, marching under the Red Flag, moved from the north against Ukraine, crossed the Ukrainian frontier, and began to set up Soviets in occupied Ukraine on the accustomed pattern.

It was in these troubled times that Petlura proved his extraordinary capability and skill as a statesman. He managed to overcome all difficulties, and to lead his fellow-countrymen to national freedom and sovereignty. In December, 1917, France and Great Britain gave *de facto* recognition to Ukraine's independent statehood. Italy and Rumania followed their example. In January 1918, Germany and Austria-Hungary, together with Turkey and Bulgaria, recognized independent Ukraine *de jure*. Thus the young Ukrainian National Republic became the subject of international politics. Here, too, Petlura proved that he was a far-seeing politician. He opposed the idea of a one-sided alliance between Ukraine and any one of the warring powers. But when Lenin created a new political situation by sending a Russian peace delegation to Berestye Lytovske (Brest-Litovsk), Petlura realized that if Ukraine signed a peace treaty with Germany and Austria-Hungary, she would be able to limit Soviet Russia's sphere of influence to the ethnographic Russian territories.

On the other hand he foresaw that this would cause impossible difficulties. For this reason he established links with the representatives of France and Great Britain, in order to avoid the dangers of a one-sided alliance. Further, he conducted negotiations with representatives of the non-Russian nations of the former Tsarist empire who hurried to Kyiv after the October Revolution in order to unite themselves with Ukraine, to build up a democratic and free alliance, and to organize effective resistance to Soviet Russian dictatorship. Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moslem Turkestan, White Ruthenia, the Tatars, and the Don Cossacks—all these peoples turned to Kyiv, and tried, together with Ukraine, to safeguard their rights and their future. Petlura regarded the realization of this idea as one of the most important tasks which the government of the new Ukrainian state had to perform. Later, too, during his bitter period of exile, he stuck to this idea as the effective basis of preparation for a united struggle against Soviet Russian imperialism.

After the manifesto of 29th April 1918, when General Groener supported the seizure of power by General Skoropadsky and his troops, Petlura withdrew from active politics. But his popularity was so great that the Congress of Communal and Local Administrations, which was then in session in Kyiv, elected him its President. Skoropadsky had Petlura arrested. However, under the pressure of public opinion he was released again after two months. But when Skoropadsky issued his proclamation declaring union with Russia in November 1918, Petlura marched into Kyiv at the head of his troops as the head of the Ukrainian Nation-

al Federation. In an appeal directed to the Ukrainian people, he declared Skoporadsky's proclamation invalid and admonished Ukrainians to continue the struggle for freedom and national independence.

The National Congress of Ukraine, convened in Kyiv in January 1919, ratified Petlura's complete authority as Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army (*Holovnyi Otaman*) and elected him a member of the Council of State of the Ukrainian National Republic. Shortly afterwards Petlura took up the position of President of the Council of State. At the same time the Congress proclaimed the union of West Ukraine (the Ukrainian territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire) with the Ukrainian National Republic (22nd January 1919). Through this union of West Ukraine with the Ukrainian mother-country all Ukrainian territories were combined as one state. The political task which Petlura had made his goal in his youth in Poltava was thus realized; Ukraine was free and independent; all sections of the Ukrainian people were united.

But a new danger menaced Ukraine from the north, from Russia. Soviet Russia once again took to warlike activity against Ukraine. Simultaneously those Polish divisions which had been well armed by France in order to fight the Soviet Russians began to attack and to occupy West Ukraine. The military position of the Ukrainian Army became all the more serious when the counter-revolutionary Russian General Denikin started an offensive from the south with the aim of re-establishing the Tsarist empire. The victorious powers, Great Britain and France, had failed to grasp the true state of affairs, and supported Denikin because they saw him as the future ruler of Russia.

And so there was an unequal struggle on three fronts: in the north with Lenin, in the west with the Poles, in the south with Denikin, and, on top of everything, with a typhoid epidemic. In view of this unfavourable state of affairs, Petlura decided to try and negotiate an armistice with the Polish Marshal Pilsudski. At the end of September 1919 he despatched a delegation to Warsaw, which after long negotiations signed an armistice with the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army. Seven months later, in April 1920, an alliance was formed between Poland and Ukraine. As a result of this alliance the united Ukrainian and Polish forces advanced to the Dnipro (Dnepr). But they were unable to withstand the counter-offensive organized by Marshal Tukhachevsky, and retreated towards Poland.

Only when Tukhachevsky had almost reached the gates of Warsaw could he, after a bitter struggle, be thrown back. The cause of the defeat of the Polish and Ukrainian Armies is to be sought in the fact that the Polish generals under Sikorski rejected Petlura's orders that every Ukrainian liable to military service should be mobilized, and refused to supply arms to these Ukrainian military units when mobilized. The Polish generals were afraid that the army under Petlura's command would exceed the Polish Army in strength and numbers if it were reinforced with fresh troops from Ukraine, and that this would have bad consequences with regard to Polish-occupied West Ukraine. Furthermore, Poland ended her alliance with Ukraine in 1921 by signing a separate peace with the Soviet Russian Government in Riga. The political clauses of the Warsaw Alliance of April 1920 thus became null and void.

During 1920 and 1921 Petlura tried to reform the numerous Ukrainian revolutionary groups and to bring them under central command. An expeditionary

force from West Ukraine belonging to his army broke through the Soviet Russian front and operated for a whole year under the command of General Omelanovych-Pavlenko in the territories of Central Ukraine. Some years later continual rebellions broke out in Ukraine and the Soviet Russian Government was compelled to concentrate large forces in Ukraine in order to bring about the incorporation of Ukraine into the Soviet Union by force. When Tukhachevsky reorganized the Red Army, there were thirty-four infantry regiments stationed in Ukraine. In this way Soviet Russian military potential was tied down in Ukraine and the expansion of the Soviet Union westwards was prevented. It must be pointed out that the Ukrainian Army under Petlura's command stopped Soviet Russia's conquering hordes from lending support to the Communist *coups* in Hungary (led by Béla Khun), Bavaria, Berlin, and Hamburg, which were already threatening to Bolshevize Central and Western Europe at that time.

After the West had yielded Ukraine and other nations which had gained their independence (Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, White Ruthenia, etc.) to Russian colonial imperialism, however, the Bolshevization of Central Europe came only during and after the second World War.

At the moment it looks as if, what with the West's present anti-liberation and capitulating policies, Russian imperialism is well on the way towards subjugating those parts of Europe which are still free.

Long after Petlura had gone into exile (finally to Paris), armed rebellions broke out in his name in Ukraine. In fact, even today his name is still a symbol of the struggle for freedom amongst the Ukrainian masses, a symbol of just reorganization in Eastern Europe and of the future rebirth of the 45-million-strong Ukrainian people in freedom and independence. When Petlura was murdered by the Soviet Russian agent Schwarzbard in Paris in May 1926, the Kremlin rulers were almost certain that his death would mean the end of the Ukrainian freedom movement. But they had overlooked the fact that a noble idea cannot be eradicated by killing its initiator and champion. Mikoyan, one of the Kremlin's ruling clique, had reason enough to speak of the dangers of "Petlurism" at the 20th Party Congress. For even today, after many years, the name of Symon Petlura is the symbol of a permanent revolution which is going to wipe out Soviet Russia's dictatorial power in Ukraine and lead to the re-establishment of the united and independent Ukrainian state.

Mr. Sourwine: On May 25, 1926, Gen. Simon Petlyura, then leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was assassinated in Paris.

Mr. Deriabin: I have heard it said in the Emigré Department of State Security that Petlyura was assassinated by Soviet State Security.

Mr. Sourwine: Col. Evhen Konovalts, killed by explosion of a parcel bomb in Rotterdam.

Mr. Deriabin: I heard that his killing was organized by State Security when he was

working with the Ukrainian nationalist movement. These Ukrainian nationalist leaders were a particular danger before World War II, and especially so right after World War II, which is why Soviet State Security kidnapped or killed such persons as Petlyura, Bandera and Rebet — because the nationalists, especially in the West Ukraine, were very active in 1946, 1947, 1948, and as late as 1949.

Murder International, Inc. - U.S.-Senate Documentation, 1965.

Arrest Of Two Ukrainian Writers

By W. Granger Blair

London, April 6 — Two more Soviet writers have been arrested, and one of them has been deported to Siberia for disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda, according to reports reaching London.

A source here who is generally well informed on the Soviet intelligentsia identified the writers as Ivan Svetlichny, and Ivan Dzyuba, both Ukrainian literary critics. They were said to be well known in the USSR for their spirited defense of young Ukrainian poets against attempts by the Soviet literary bureaucracy to impose conformity.

Their arrests were reported to have occurred several weeks ago after the trial and sentences to hard labor imposed on the writers Andrei D. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel on charges that they had maligned the Soviet Union in books published abroad.

The arrest and trial of Mr. Sinyavsky and Mr. Daniel brought strong international protests and renewed fears that the Soviet authorities were getting ready to deal firmly with writers who deviated from the official line.

Smuggled Out Diary

Mr. Svetlichny and Mr. Dzyuba were said to have been arrested in Kiev for having smuggled to the West Ukrainian nationalistic and anti-Soviet verses and a "bitter" diary of a young Ukrainian poet who died three years ago of natural causes.

The informant here said Mr. Svetlichny had been tried secretly and sentenced to hard labor in Siberia. The duration of the reported sentence was not made known here. Mr. Dzyuba was said to have been interrogated by the secret police and then released because he has incurable tuberculosis. However, he too, may have been tried and received a suspended sentence because of his health.

Among the poets defended by the two critics was Vasyl Symonenko, who published several volumes of verse in the Soviet Ukraine before his death in 1965.

He also left some "slightly nationalistic" verses that were unpublishable in the USSR because they criticized the condition of Ukrainian peasants, and a diary that attacked double-dealing, intrigue and political silencing of writers.

Mr. Symonenko was reported to have de-queather his verses and diary to Mr. Svetlichny and Mr. Dzyuba. They sent them to the West, and they were published in January, 1965, in Munich by a Ukrainian emigré magazine, *Suchasnist* (*Our Times*) and later elsewhere.

On March 17 a Kiev newspaper, *Pravda Ukrainy*, published a speech made to the Ukrainian Communist party congress by Alexander Korneichuk, a prominent official writer and a member of the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee.

He said that "some young talents among us" were "killing" their honor, and he warned them to "come to your senses, because otherwise we shall stand you up before the entire nation, and it may take away your Soviet passport."

The informant here said the speech was the first hint of the arrests, as well as a general warning to Ukrainian writers to behave themselves.

Mr. Dzyuba and Mr. Svetlichny emerged in the nineteen sixties as supporters, defenders and popularizers of a new group of young Ukrainian writers whose work was characterized by a humanistic and highly individualistic approach to the problem of man in relation to society.

Mr. Dzyuba was born in 1931 in a village of the Donetsk Oblast and attended the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. He was an editor of *Vitczyzna*, the official periodical of the writers' union.

Mr. Svetlichny, born in 1929 in the Lugansk Oblast of the eastern Ukraine, was graduated from Kharkiv University. He was on the staff of the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

New York Times, Thursday, April 7, 1966,

D. Donzow

The Death Struggle Of Muscovite Babylon

Although the “democratic” friends of the USSR are aware that Bolshevism is in a state of crisis, they are unable to perceive the inner reasons for this crisis. Instead, they attribute the causes to purely political and economic factors and scold at the top of their voice about the tattered caftan of their Yalta ally. What then is the cause, where is the lethal abscess in that gangrenous body of the USSR and the Communist Party?

The cause is the mental and moral disintegration of the Soviet ruling “elite”, a phenomenon strictly analogous to the decomposition of the tsarist “elite” in days gone by.

Here is an illustration of Soviet reality today: A student meeting in Moscow, at which some plan or other of the Central Committee of the CP is discussed. On such occasions it is usual for the ideological Party directives to be greeted with “enthusiasm” and applause and to be approved unanimously. In this particular case, however, something quite different happened. The speakers declared themselves quite openly against the Party directives. They criticized the “guiding” articles in the official press (there is no other) as “meaningless, boring and trite” to such a degree that one did not feel like reading the papers at all . . . The Party claqueurs were flabbergasted and the meeting was closed . . .

How on earth did this come about? What made the students dare stand up with such sharp criticism against the omnipotent and omniscient Party? Why were there no reprisals? Is the regime perhaps set on a new “liberal” course? Is it a question of “realist politics”, as some crackpots are trying to make emigrants believe? Or is it a matter of the regime’s evolution, a theory which over-clever “experts on Bolshevism” are attempting to palm off on people in the West? It is none of these things. Anyone who was an eye-witness to the decay of the tsarist “elite” before 1905 or 1917 can notice the parallels in the situation. I remember how before the outbreak of the 1905 revolution there were anti-government mass meetings in the very halls of Petersburg University, to which the authorities reacted not at all or, at the most, very weakly. Articles in the press which normally would have led to a ban on the papers concerned were for some inexplicable reason left unchallenged . . . Why?

There were two reasons. One was that the idealism of the loyal servants of the regime had faded away and their faith in the “justice” and invincibility of their cause was undermined. As a result of this process, their fervour and aggressiveness diminished and repressive action was less prompt. As the morale of the tsarist aristocracy deteriorated, “the punishing arm” of the regime became paralyzed. So much for one of the reasons. The other was that the broad mass of the people had lost their respect for the regime and no longer feared it. This then was the situation prior to the fall of tsarism, and today the situation is the same. A Soviet periodical complains that atheistic propaganda had become ineffective “because” as it says “the reasons we advance against militant obscurantism (as the belief in God is called—D.D.) are, though correct, not sufficiently argued, and also because our atheists have proved to be ignoramuses in respect of the particular tactics employed by contemporary theologians” . . . Here we have a clue to what is

happening. The Bolshevik shamans are at the end of their wits. Their arguments leave the people cold. The "obscurantism" of the believers defeats with its "militancy" the flagging efforts of the Red shamans. And all this in conditions where the believers are not allowed to put forward their counter arguments and where their faith is persecuted by every means of terror. But the leaders of the Party no longer carry in their hearts the fanatic conviction with which to win over the hearts of other men; they lack the force of argument which might appeal to the reasoning mind, and they have lost their impressive tactical ability.

This, then, is how the Red Muscovite "elite" has fallen into mental and moral decay.

Their faith in the justice of their devilish cause, their idealism and will-power have been eroded. There was once a powerful mystique, a strong belief in a mission. There were once tsarist hangmen, Muravyevs, and there were Bolshevik Muravyevs, "possessed by the spirit" — the spirit of the devil. The devil has his servants still, but they have weakened. The Stalin era now belongs to the past and even the days of Khrushchov are over, the man who once threatened the so-called United Nations with the heel of his shoe and promised to see to their funeral, while he kept the satellites of the USSR like watch-dogs on a leash. And now there also rules a gang of soul-killers, but they are no longer sure of their future and, as in 1941, look to the frightened "pacifist bourgeoisie" of America for support against the growing threat from China, the satellites, Ukraine and other subjugated countries in the USSR.

I knew a few Bolsheviks when they were still in the womb of the Russian Social Democrat Party. I knew the future commander-in-chief, Krylenko, when he was still a student at the university, and I knew Manuilsky. In 1907 I shared a prison cell in the Lukyanivka at Kyiv with Dovkhalevsky, later Soviet Ambassador in Paris, and I knew Boky. They all were "possessed" in the manner of Kalyayev, fanatics of their own diabolical dogmas like the "possessed" of the Bible, with the burning eyes of madmen, with their Party organ *Iskra* and its motto: "From the spark (*iskra*) rises the flame". In the years between 1920 and 1930 Liam O'Flaherty ("I went to Russia") still saw such Bolsheviks; he saw "those eyes, the eyes of fanatics, concentrated upon a powerful idea, which gave them an aspect of ferocity". To judge from reports and from the press, there are few of these types now left in the Communist Party, their spirit is dead. Stalin was like Caligula, who conversed with Zeus and transmitted his words to those around him. Like Caligula, Stalin punished the writers of whom the Party disapproved by forcing them to erase with their tongues what they had written and to make public confessions of repentance. Intent on destroying senators who displeased him, Caligula ordered his men to raise cries of protest against these "enemies of the people" whenever they came near the Senate, so that he could later murder them. Stalin did the same with his Party rivals. And finally, just like Caligula who made his horse Incitatus a senator, Stalin set about appointing two-legged asses to the Central Committee to make sure of absolute obedience to himself. But for the Party and the regime such tactics contained the seeds of destruction. The ranks of the Red "aristocracy" were filled with asses, or hornless devils of the Khrushchov type, or simply with careerists and profiteers of the regime.

When the Communist myth began to pale and lost its impetus the bewildered leaders went in search of something else, particularly since the phraseology of the CP had become dangerous to the Communists themselves. Ample proof of this are the "corrections" made in the text of the "International", whose appeal to "the hunted and hungry" to rise against their oppressors and exploiters might be understood by the modern Soviet serfs as an encouragement to shake off their Soviet shackles and rise against their Red "masters" — masters worse than any they had ever known . . .

Since the Communist myth thus faded and became ineffective, since the masses could not be kindled by a Communist "for", because that would only mean more slavery, nor by a Communist "against", because the masses saw no other exploiters than the Communists themselves, the leaders, making a last stand, felt constrained to invent a new myth, hoping for new fervour. They tried everything: the "greatness" of the tsarist empire (viz. the cults of Peter I, Suvorov, and Ivan the Terrible even); the mission of "the great Russian people", this "elder brother" of all other nations (who consisted only of subhumans); even the "Orthodox" church of the Muscovite shamans; while some Russian emigrants even stole our coat of arms, the Ukrainian trident, re-shaping it into the devil's fork (the "Possev" group); and many other things. Other Muscovite emigrants (the "anti-Communists" with Weinbaum and Margolin at their head) no longer believe in the possibility of a revolution in the USSR or in the "direct" negation of Communism because, they say, there is nothing constructive in expressing dissatisfaction with the Soviet regime, so that it will be necessary to rely on evolution . . . This implies, no doubt, that the empire is to remain intact.

Thus the "white" Russians are devoid of new ideas directed against the regime, while the Red ones skip from one subject to another in search of a new mystique that could revitalize the strength of the Muscovite hordes.

But when the very Party which had represented a Stalin, a Beria, a Molotov and a Khrushchov as traitors and villains now summons the people to march under its leadership, then even a misguided people loses faith. Then no new mystique will help, whatever it may be. Then even the Party activists begin to say that they are "fed up with Party meetings", that boredom and delinquency are rife among Komsomol members, that all they are interested in is "to commit themselves as little as possible and, with a bit of cunning, to wriggle through somehow" . . . Perplexity at the top and disillusion at the bottom are the result. The leaders, lacking any sense of purpose, resort to unimaginative patchwork and terrorism, all the while flirting with the multi-millionaires of the West. But the rank and file are no longer afraid. It is getting more and more difficult to deceive even the stupid, and the false promises of a "higher standard of living" no longer cut any ice. Worst of all, it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep "the contented people" in fear and trembling . . .

For us, however, the situation is complicated by the fact that the degenerate "democrats" of the West, and in particular the Mafia prominent among this "elite", frightened by the new forces of nationalism, are trying hard to bring about another Yalta, a new Roosevelt era and "co-operation" à la Morgenthau with the USSR which, like the Western Mafia, sees itself threatened by the forces

of anti-Communism. We are therefore faced with a war on two fronts. On the one front our opponent is "the great Russian nation", that horde which for centuries has been bent on the spiritual and physical destruction of Ukraine. On the other front we are up against the helpful and friendly attitude of the "progressive" Western Mafia towards that horde, which is trying to destroy Christianity in Europe and is filled with the ardent desire to transform the European countries into subordinate provinces under a "World Government". This Mafia, too, looks upon Ukraine with implacable hatred. No compromise with it is possible, just as a compromise with Moscow is out of the question. Any attempt in that direction is only of advantage to them; it does not help us, the subjugated non-Russian nations of the USSR.

This challenge to a war on two fronts in the name of the ancient chivalrous tradition of the West and its Crusaders must call into battle the whole of Europe. It will elicit the readiest response from those nations who know or who have for some time experienced the yoke of Moscow.

"I would like to reassert our position. Spain is perhaps the only country that has not acknowledged the situation created by the delivery into the hands of Russia of the peoples of Eastern Europe, and that proclaims, without any restriction, the necessity of giving back their liberty to the peoples captive today of the red tyranny. Consequently, we consider as absolutely insufficient the tactics of retreat and appeasement that make the Western peoples guilty of a moral crime to which we will have no part".

General Francisco FRANCO
(Speech to The Cortes, May, 1952)

"We must look for the weak place in Communism, its Achilles' heel, its neuralgic spot. We must start from the fact that the hate against the invaders grows every day in the occupied countries. They are masters only of the ground upon which they materially stand. The homes, the country live their own life, accumulating their rancours and impervious to Communist action . . . Here is the potential weapon that the West possesses. But in order to have it one must stay faithful to our Western ideals. We must not abandon the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, we must not betray them by shameful concessions to the aggressor . . . VICTORY MUST BE DESERVED".

General Francisco FRANCO
(Speech to the XXV-th Anniversary of the only decisive military defeat inflicted to Communism. October 3, 1961)

The Two Wars Of National Liberation

by

Honorable Michael A. Feighan, United States Representative

In recent months we have read and heard a great deal more about the so-called national liberation wars, as the Communists have labeled their war of aggression in Viet Nam, than we have about Moscow's alleged policy of peaceful co-existence.

Meanwhile, official spokesmen for the Kremlin continue to make pious claims of peaceful intentions toward the non-Communist world.

These two Communist policy lines supported officially by the Soviet Union, present a dangerous contradiction of international objectives.

By contrast, official United States policy is to defend human freedom where ever it is threatened by Communist aggression, and to seek peaceful solutions to the conflicts caused by Communist aggression.

We also seek to remove what have been labeled as the conditions of life which invite Communist wars of national liberation, through massive and costly economic assistance programs, and through political support for national independence movements throughout the free world.

On the other hand, we maintain a cautious detachment from the deep rooted struggles for freedom and national independence carried on by millions of people in two score nations made victims of Communist aggression over the past 47 years.

There is growing evidence to support the contention that this contradiction in United States foreign policy has emboldened Soviet Russia to step up and speed up support to her many local wars of national liberation.

My purpose in this article is to examine the meaning of Communist wars of national liberation, and to identify peaceful courses of action open to us, which hold promise of advancing the cause of human freedom.

Marxist theory holds that Capitalism is a means by which the few exploit the many, and that imperialism is a tool of Capitalism used to control the lives and destinies of smaller and weaker nations.

Communist theory envisioned the proletariat, or the exploited many, as eventually rising up and overthrowing Capitalism.

These are the basic theories of Marxism.

The theories of Marx had little effect upon affairs of nations until Lenin came along.

He added a system of political action to the theories of Marxism.

Lenin called for a dictatorship of the proletariat, by which he meant an elite class of revolutionaries who would seize control of the affairs of the oppressed proletariat to direct an all-out war against Capitalism and Imperialism.

Lenin believed that the proletariat was not sufficiently awakened to the evils of Capitalism, lacked class consciousness, was inhibited by the moral tenets of religious faith, and would not organize itself to carry out systematic warfare against the existing social order.

Hence the need for a tightly disciplined, ruthless elite class of materialistic

revolutionaries, to organize the masses, and to lead the struggle for world revolution.

Lenin established the first dictatorship of the proletariat on the ruins of the broken Russian Empire, and launched the first experiment with the economic, social and political theories of Communism.

He lived a short five years thereafter, but that was long enough for him to recognize the coming failure of Communist economic and social theory, and to despair over the further consequences of the new dictatorship which had replaced the old one.

Lenin's death-bed letter, made public in recent years, predicted that his dreams of a Communist Utopia would soon be drowned in the reactionary sea of Russian chauvinism, which defied and rebuffed his Communist experiment.

History supports Lenin's prediction.

Informed observers of the Soviet Union are aware that life there today is little different than the observant Frenchman, Marquis de Custine, found it to be in 1839 during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I, and which he described so vividly in his now famous journals.

The late Walter Bedell Smith, while serving as our ambassador to Moscow, read the original 4 journals of Custine and was so struck with the basic similarities of life under the Tsars and the commissars that he made this conclusion in his introduction to the English-language edition of Custine's journals:

"Custine vividly describes the resultant society as well as its physical framework.

I could have taken many pages verbatim from his journal and, after substituting present day names and dates for those of a century ago, have sent them to the State Department as my own official reports.

Washington would have found them in complete harmony with what I had to say about my experiences and observations.

It might only have wondered how I had acquired a more fluid and colorful style."

It took Lenin's successors nearly forty years to admit publicly that they had not achieved the dream of a Communist Utopia, but they added quickly that the Soviet people were well along on the road of Socialism, working joyously, and willingly making great sacrifices for the victory of Communism.

Khrushchov was the mouthpiece for this 1961 Kremlin confession in his only major theoretical work labeled "For new victories for the world Communist movement".

What Khrushchov had to say about another twenty years of hard labor and the sacrifice expected of the Soviet people, and his old hat description of the mystical rewards to follow, very likely launched him on his one way trip through the Kremlin exit.

Nevertheless, Lenin's prolific writings in the field of political warfare, the power of propaganda and Communist action tactics to promote world revolution, have served as directives in fashioning the most powerful weapons in the Russian arsenal.

The dictatorship of the proletariat remains a basic strategy for the preservation

of all Communist regimes and for the extension of Russian power on a global basis.

Wars of national liberation are the product of this basic strategy.

The first step in preparing a Communist war of national liberation is the development of an elite class of revolutionaries.

Candidates for this class are recruited from each target country, and sent to the Soviet Union for training in the theory of Communism, and to be disciplined in the tactics of subversion, terror propaganda and political warfare.

These trained agents return to their home countries and there form the nucleus of a new elite class of revolutionaries.

In turn they recruit additional agents from among their countrymen, and set up local clandestine schools for their training.

This process is repeated until sufficient agents have been trained to launch a systematic attack on the existing social-economic order and the government in power.

The next step is agitation among the masses to make the people class conscious, to convince them they are the victims of some form of exploitation.

Since there is no classless society in the world, and no existing social order is perfect, the grounds for this agitation are numerous.

When enough seeds of discontent have been planted among the people a propaganda program is launched to spread dissension and division at every level of society.

The tactics of agitation and propaganda will vary by country, depending on what conditions of life are most exploitable to foment distrust, dissension and disorder among the masses.

In Asia and Africa the issues of Colonialism and Imperialism have proved most productive for Communist manipulation.

In Latin America the Communists have found a combination of outdated social orders and charges of Yankee economic Imperialism most suitable for exploitation.

At every level of development of the Communist liberation front Soviet Russia directs the overall strategy and supports the activities of its elite agents.

This includes heavy financial support, arms, ammunition, explosives, political support through world-wide propaganda, and even missiles with nuclear warheads.

The present conflict in Viet Nam presents a good case study of the background and tactics of the national liberation front at the peak of its power.

Ho Chi Minh, the field marshall of that front, was one of the first Asians trained by Moscow.

He returned to Indo-China, then under French colonial rule, to serve as Comintern agent.

Before World War II he directed agitation programs against French colonial rule, and during that war organized the nucleus of a national liberation front.

Following World War II, French colonial rule was challenged by this Ho Chi Minh front, leading to the Indo-China war.

That war was stopped temporarily at the conference table, resulting in the

withdrawal of French colonial rule and the division of old Indo-China into 4 separate states.

There was an unnatural division of Viet Nam at the 17th parallel, Ho Chi Minh receiving control of the territory and people north of this parallel.

That was in 1954.

It was not long before Laos became the target of a renewed national liberation war launched and supported by Communist-occupied North Viet Nam.

That war also was halted temporarily at the conference table but, only after far-reaching concessions were made to Communist demands.

With the brutal assassination of Premier Diem the chaos which resulted in free Viet Nam opened the door for a full-scale offensive by Ho Chi Minh's liberation front, under the guise of the Viet Cong.

Soviet Russia is supplying the military equipment for this war of aggression.

This includes the guns and ammunition, mortars, and even ground to air missiles, which are shooting down our planes.

It is now clear that the purpose of this Communist war of aggression against free Viet Nam is to gain absolute control over the entire Indo-China area.

If free Viet Nam is conquered, Laos will be easy Communist prey, and Cambodia will be the next victim.

With all of old Indo-China under Communist control, Thailand to the west, which the Communists have announced is "ripe for liberation", and Malaysia to the south, which has long been a target of Communist subversion, would both soon be embroiled in full-scale Communist wars of liberation.

We are fighting in Viet Nam today to defend the freedom of those people and to protect them from the nightmare of Communist rule.

But we are also fighting for the freedom of all of Southeast Asia.

If the Communists win in Viet Nam it would not be long before we will be called upon to defend the people of the Philippines from a Communist war of liberation.

That is the meaning of our sacrifices in Viet Nam, and that is why we must destroy the capacity of Communists to launch new wars of aggression in Southeast Asia.

In the Western hemisphere, the Communist liberation front is at a different level of development.

It is not as old as the Ho Chi Minh front in Southeast Asia, but it is no less dangerous to freedom and peace.

Here we find an established base of operations in Cuba which now serves as the training center for Communist agents recruited from every Latin American republic.

These trained agents return to their home countries to carry out the Communist action programs which build the liberation front and prepare the way for national liberation wars.

Financial support, arms and ammunition are provided to these liberation fronts by Soviet Russia, generally through cut outs.

For example, Castro supplies arms and ammunition provided by the Soviet Union and certain satellites to front movements in the Caribbean Area, Central American and several South American countries.

(to be continued)

A New Phase Of Russification

For a long time now there has been a whole series of resolutions passed by Party conferences and by the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU which point, sometimes openly, sometimes in disguised form, in the direction of the use of new means to Russify Ukraine. The now frequent appeals for increased watchfulness in the struggle with Ukraine, whose desire for freedom is continually growing, testify to the fact that the anxiety of official Russifiers has taken on the character of a public smear-campaign and witch-hunt in the last few months in their battle against the elemental growth of Ukrainian national consciousness. The methods which the Party has for years deliberately used to weaken the national, intellectual and physical strength of the Ukrainian nation on a hidden level have recently started to leave Bolshevik Russifiers unsatisfied. The many de-nationalizing methods employed have included: continual deportation of young Ukrainians abroad in order to rid them of their national characteristics; limitations placed on their admission to institutes of higher education; introduction of Russian as the language of instruction at all institutes of higher education and technical colleges in Ukraine; continual colonization of Ukrainian cities, industrial areas, and the administrative apparatus by Russians and other foreign elements; and finally, compulsion of specialists in the field of Ukrainian culture to falsify their findings. These methods were planned in advance as part of a long term plan. But these matters are now beginning to make the Russians impatient. They are no longer in the mood to take the long view and continue with these methods, which have indeed been causing the slow Russification of Ukraine. It is now regarded as far more necessary to resort to methods which amount to open repression.

It must be mentioned that at the beginning of this new phase of Russification the theory of the international "friendship of nations" and the anti-nationalist concept of "Soviet patriotism" conjured up by Bolshevik Russifiers with thoughts of colonialism and designed to level out and merge all the non-Russian nations, have both been relaxed considerably and have become weaker. This is not only because they are unscientific, propagandist inventions; the methods have been shown up as base lies by the Party propagandists themselves. Each daily example of obvious Russification and consolidation of the Russians' position has been explained and is still explained as a praiseworthy advance of Soviet patriotism and internationalism. On the other hand, every contravention of Russification, even the most moderate criticism, is condemned as a deviation from the virtues of "patriotism" and internationalism, as "bourgeois" nationalism, as treason or behaviour disloyal to the "Fatherland of Socialism", as services rendered for some foreign agent, or as revisionism. But finally the public became sick of all this. The invention of "Soviet patriotism" and internationalism as disguises for Russification ceased to be effective in the light of the facts, and lost its capacity for blurring people's sight.

Far more powerful than these empty phrases of friendship are the acts undertaken daily and in the open with Party support, acts of Russification under Party protection, as well as the diminution of the Ukrainian population, as Ukrainians

are forced to colonize elsewhere. The continual curtailment of all opportunities to express one's opinions freely as a Ukrainian citizen, even in one's own country, where one always feels that one is one's own master, has naturally led to growing discontent and resistance to Russification. This resistance is now starting to appear in the form of tension between the regime and every class of Ukrainian society. This has alarmed the Bolsheviks so much that they now deem it necessary to re-employ the methods of persecution and agitation which they have more than once tried out in the past in completely undisguised form. For the present these threats, announced by Lviv Party Secretary Malanchuk in *Pravda*, are being directed formally only at West Ukraine, and there only in a limited area. But the fact that this article appeared in the central organ of the CPSU must be correctly appraised. As is its custom, the Kremlin has pushed a local Party official to the fore, so that it will look as if it is an initiative from below which is being supported. This provides a pretext for fighting resistance to Russification throughout Ukraine, as well as in the other non-Russian republics.

The new Party leadership has now had sufficient time to stabilize itself since it took power, and this fact can be most clearly seen in the profile of the personnel occupying key positions in internal politics. So far as its nature is concerned, the USSR has been a police state since its foundation. This characteristic of the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" has become only too clear since the one-time chief of political administration on the fourth Ukrainian front, Lieutenant-General L. Brezhnev, took over the much-relaxed Party grip from that lying chatterbox, Khrushchov. After he had consolidated his own position, he appointed in October 1965 A. Shelepin, former head of the KGB and organizer of political murders, to the key position in the Party leadership. Even without this position, Shelepin had at his disposal a far-reaching network of suitably selected colleagues throughout the Party and the Komsomol. The position which Shelepin left vacant, that of Chairman of the Committee for Party-State Order (now known as the Committee for Popular-Order), has been filled by his former deputy in this office, 58-year-old P. Konovalov. This means that the central positions in the Party are in the grip of a single police clique consisting entirely of convinced "Great Russians". This sets the tone of Party policies: the Russification of intransigent nations will be carried on with those police methods which have been developed through long years of evil practices. This situation compels us — the entire Ukrainian emigré population — and particularly those who are responsible for political activity — to think over the absolute necessity for counter-moves.

It would be utterly pointless to ignore this situation or to take it lightly and to say that one very large fact stands in the way of the Bolshevik Russifiers, namely, that there is a Ukrainian emigration which forms an indissoluble part of the Ukrainian national entity and which lives in countries to which the Russifiers have no access. In the sphere of political activity we can cause the Bolsheviks great difficulties in their manoeuvres to silence the masses of Western Europe, especially when it comes to their "humanism" and "love of peace." The echo of our diverse political activities abroad strengthens the national and political self-reliance of our fellow-citizens in Ukraine and takes the wind out of Bolshevik sails, when they obviously intend some repressive action or endeavour to hide some such action from the world with a commentary of lies. In order to weaken

the hope and trust which our fellow-countrymen have placed in the emigrés, the Bolsheviks are conducting a campaign of slander and libel about the corruption in the independent camp on the far side of the Iron Curtain. This propaganda is of course directed mainly against the nationalists, but it is also intended to discredit every free Ukrainian. The differences between one party and another, a natural sign of political maturity, the Communists attempt to depict in such a way to make it look as if we wanted to eat each other up, to destroy each other for reasons of material self-seeking. And it is these tendentious and deliberately exaggerated lies about our party differences which do more to discourage our compatriots in Ukraine than all the arbitrary slandering of our political emigration put together.

Our political emigration has often declared its readiness to form a single front in the struggle for the right of the Ukrainian people to a free existence, which the occupying powers have trodden underfoot, when there has been a need to protest against this or that act of repression. The present tense situation in the long drawn out struggle against Russification in Ukraine demands our unanimous and enduring participation in this conflict. Such participation and serious consideration are demanded from us, too, by the wraith of the recurring famines which menace many areas in Ukraine and which could be used by our enemies as a means of committing well-organized genocide.

Russia's Aim — World Domination

By Oskar Angelus, Ph. D.

In 1147, when Moscow was mentioned for the first time, it was a simple estate belonging to the then Prince of Vladimir, Yury Dolgoruky, set on a hill between the rivers Neglinnaya and Moskva (M. Pokrovski, *History of Russia*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 38). A hundred years later, in 1263, on the death of Alexander Nevsky, it was the centre of a principality with the same name, which according to V. Giterman, (*History of Russia*, Vol. I, Hamburg 1949, p. 120), already covered an area of about 10,000 sq. kms. In the 14th and 15th centuries this principality (since 1328 a Grand Duchy) became the central point of the "Gathering of the Russian Lands" and of the formation of a great empire, which in the middle of the 16th century, at the time of Ivan IV, as the Tsardom, possessed over 12,000,000 sq. kms.; by the death of Alexander I (1825), this had risen to over 20,000,000 sq. kms. and today, 800 years after its

rise from obscurity, it possesses about 22,400,000 sq. kms. of territory.

It is clearly obvious that this unparalleled expansion was possible only *through countless wars, conquests, and subjugations of foreign nations, and the history of Russia is a history of war.* When the Kremlin today speaks of the imperialism and militarism of the West, and not the least of the German Federal Republic, it is deliberately masking its own past. The Tsarina Catherine II was right when she said: "*War is a long accustomed trade for Russia, through which it has succeeded to ever greater prosperity.*"

An excellent example of the Russian imperialist way of thinking is supplied by General Kuropatkin, War Minister (1898—1904) and Commander-in-Chief in the war against Japan. He wrote that "Russia's chief task in the 18th and 19th centuries lay in the expansion of her frontiers, in the occupation of the banks

of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, and in the defence of the countries already acquired". (*Memoirs*, Berlin, 1909, p. 97). In particular he specified the tasks of Russia in the 18th century (p. 14 et seq.): "In the North-West the aim was to wrest the Baltic coast from Sweden, to push the frontiers on to the natural sea boundaries; in the West to continue the struggle of Tsar Aleksej Mikhailovitch; in the South to thrust the frontiers to the coast of the Black Sea, to unsettle Turkey and to prepare the land for a further advance; in the South-East to carry on the work of the Tsar Feodor Ivanovich and Boris Godunov, to change the Caspian Sea into an inland sea and to obtain a firm footing on the Caucasian mountains; in Asia to expand the region towards Central Asia and the Pacific." According to Kuropatkin, the military tasks of Russia in the 19th century were the continuation of what had been performed in the past: the occupation of the north Finnish and eastern Gulf of Bothnia (a paraphrase for Finland) or "after the disappearance of the Polish kingdom, to keep in subjection" the Poles, to protect the Western regions on the Prussian and Austrian frontier in order to safeguard the position already reached by Russia, or to confirm Russian power in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, and in the Far East and, in order to secure the Russian population in the frontier areas . . . , to take energetic offensives.

If anyone is not satisfied by these examples, or if anyone attributes foreign policy aims to the Bolsheviks different from the aims which were customary under the Tsars, their attention may be briefly drawn to the 'seizures' carried out by the Soviet Russians. These too were carried out on the principle that *the safety of the newly-conquered countries demanded the conquest of the countries which had become their new neighbours*. Stalin went back to this idea, when he, in order to press through his solution to the Polish question with Roosevelt and Churchill, observed that Russia had always been at-

tacked via Poland. (cf. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI, London, 1954, p. 323). That he had in this forgotten his pact with Hitler, by which at his own wish he had become a direct neighbour of Germany after the occupation of Poland, may perhaps have been occasioned less by his weakness of memory than by the firm assumption that his partners in the talks would agree to no longer remember the first chapter of the Second World War.

Soviet Russia waged the following wars: 1917—1920, against Finland; 1918—1920, against Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia; 1920—1921, against Poland and the Caucasian Republic; 1939, against Finland; 1941—1945, against Germany; 1945, against Japan. In addition Bolshevik Russia occupied the following countries: 1919 Byelorussia, 1919—1920 Ukraine, 1919 Georgia, 1940 Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 1940 Bessarabia and North Bukovina, 1944 Tuva (Tannu Tuva) in Asia, 1945 Carpathian Ukraine, 1945 parts of East Prussia, 1945 the Kuriles and South Sakhalin in Asia. Leaving aside the Soviet conquests which had taken place by 1939 (Byelorussia, Ukraine, Turkestan, the Caucasian countries), the Soviet Russians either conquered or annexed "East Poland" (West Ukrainian, White Ruthenian and Lithuanian areas) 1939 (200,000 sq. kms.), 1940 from Finland 46,000 sq. kms., 1940 Bessarabia and North Bukovina (44,400 sq. kms.), 1940 Estonia (47,500 sq. kms.), 1940 Latvia (65,900 sq. kms.), Lithuania (55,600 sq. kms.), 1945 from Finland (12,000 sq. kms.), 1945 Carpathian Ukraine (24,000 kms.), 1945 Carpathian Ukraine (24,000 sq. kms.), 1945 parts of East Prussia (16,000 sq. kms.), 1945 South Sakhalin and the Kuriles (36,000 sq. kms.). Since the beginning of the Second World War 700,000 sq. kms. have been gained altogether. The territory incorporated by the USSR since 1939 is almost three times larger than the German Federal Republic or Great Britain!

On this subject Stalin declared at the 16th Party Congress (27 June 1930): "We desire no span of foreign countries." (Stalin, Works, Russian, Vol. 12, Moscow 1949, p. 261). He repeated the same thing in his declaration on 6 November 1941 on the 24th anniversary of the October Revolution: "We have no war aims, and can have no war aims, such as the conquest of foreign regions and the subjection of foreign nations." He was not speaking the truth, following the views on diplomacy which he had uttered in 1913: "Words are one thing, deeds are another. Good words are a camouflage for evil actions. Honest diplomacy is as impossible as dry water or wooden iron." (quoted by Wagner, *The Division of Europe*, 2nd Edition, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 60). Yet he understood how to get the best results from his Western allies. Talk was already about Poland. In Teheran he declared that the Russians would like the ice-free port of Koenigsberg, and stressed, to make this more palatable to the Americans and the English, "this would set Russia on the throat of Germany." (quoted by Churchill, *The Second World War*, Volume V, London, 1952, p. 357). Prudently he kept quiet about the excellent ice-free port of Liepaja on the Baltic, already acquired in the Second World War. He could naturally only dupe the credulous foreigners with the story of the need for an ice-free port, but not his

subjects who had certainly taken geography in school. For them another reason was brought into the world. In the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (volume 19, 2nd Edition, Moscow 1953, p. 426), one can read that the "Kaliningrad district", that is to say the land round Koenigsberg annexed by the Soviet Union, had been formed in the "old area which has belonged to the Baltic Slavs since time immemorial." About this "time immemorial", the American G. N. Crocker (*Roosevelt's Road to Russia*, Tuebingen 1960, p. 212): "It is no exaggeration to say that Koenigsberg and Breslau have been German cities almost as long as London has been English."

This survey may be rounded off with the words of a great author and of a great Marxist. Gogol's famous work, *The Dead Souls*, closes with the words: "Russia, where are you fleeing? . . . all other nations and kingdoms are stepping to the side and making room for you." Karl Marx wrote in *The Eastern Question*, a work which — significantly enough — is missing in the various Soviet collected editions of his works: "Russian policy is unchangeable, as the official historian, the Muscovite Karamsin, acknowledged. Her methods can change, her tactics, her manoeuvres; but the pole star of her policy — the domination of the world — is a fixed star" (quoted in *Weltwoche*, 22 May 1959).

"A people threatened with an unjust aggression, or already its victim may not remain passively indifferent if it would think and act as befits Christians. All the more does the solidarity of the family of nations forbid others to behave as mere spectators, in an attitude of apathetic neutrality. Who will ever measure the harm already caused in the past by such indifference to wars of aggression, which is quite alien to the Christian instinct? . . . Has it brought any advantage in recompense? On the contrary; it has only reassured and encouraged the authors and fomenters of aggression . . ."

Pius XII, 1948

Church And Religion Behind The Iron Curtain

by Jan C. Bukovina

The struggle against religion in the Communist-ruled countries has entered a new phase, a phase of intensified anti-religious campaigns. The starting signal for this was given by the chief ideologist of the Soviet Communist Party, Leonid Ilyitchev, who, writing in the Moscow Party periodical *Communist* at the beginning of 1964, pleaded for an intensification of atheist propaganda on a broad front. At the meeting held shortly afterwards of the ideological commission of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, it was decided to form specially chosen cadres of atheists to conduct the religious struggle. For this purpose all fields of culture — literature, the theatre, art — as well as the mass media — the cinema, radio, press and television — were placed at their disposal in an increased measure.

Further administrative measures contributed to this. "Since the beginning of the year for example", wrote Heinz Kornetzki in *Europäische Begegnung* ("European Encounter" — May 1964), "there have been more and more legal actions in the Soviet Union against parents who have brought up their children to believe in religion. These parents have been deprived by law of the care of their children, who have been sent to state homes, where their upbringing as atheists is assured. In Byelorussia there is already a law in force which forbids children to attend divine service. This law is to be introduced into the whole Soviet Union. Even the freedom of teachers has been curbed; it is now their duty to carry out the atheist instruction of their pupils. Priests too have been increasingly attacked. They have no right to spiritual charge but are only allowed to celebrate the liturgy. They are allowed no contact with young people. The churches, of which about 10,000 have been closed since 1958, according to reliable sources, are con-

stantly threatened by administrative persecution. When repairs are necessary finance is refused, so that there is nothing to stop an official closing, ostensibly on the grounds of danger to health. The fight against religion is being carried on with a scientific meticulousness, with enormous use of propaganda and drastic legislation. Modern methods are non-violent and above all psychologically refined. Also too naively anti-religious polemics are being avoided and an effort is made to bring out the positive contributions of atheism to life.

Renunciation of 'Religious Remnants'

Atheist propaganda, which refers to itself as the 'scientific enlightenment of the individual', takes as the starting point of its present activities the overriding necessity of weakening or even completely doing away with the religious consciousness of human beings, without at the same time publicly attacking the church as an institution. The goal has been laid down of creating a 'new man' who will no longer feel any desire for religion and religious life. This man must adopt the 'scientific', that is to say, materialistic view of the world, which will make him insensitive to religious feelings; he must therefore rid himself of all ties with 'religious remnants' or 'superstition', which are still frequently found in the nation.

This conquest of religion should begin in the house of the parents and then be carefully continued and consolidated at school. The family is for this reason subjected to atheist propaganda in its work, since it is the source of the child's first ideas, feelings and thoughts. It is in the family that the basis of the child's future character and consciousness is laid. The parents and the teachers — according to Communist ideas — should be the first to supply atheist propaganda to the children.

Clubs and Homes for Atheists.

The fight against religion is being directed by the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party. The organisational structure of atheist propaganda is in its main features almost the same in all Communist Parties, but it can be altered and adapted to the practical requirements of the work. At the moment the forms of atheist propaganda can be identified as follows:

1) Directives are worked out by the ideological section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and handed on to the Party organisation with practical advice; they are received by the atheist commissions, which exist in every Party committee and in every Party organisation. Atheist literature is also prepared and published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

2) Individual work among believers is preferred, as it gives the best hope of success.

3) Since those in charge of atheist propaganda are very concerned to represent atheism as the embodiment of all that is scientific and progressive, great attention is paid to lectures on science and atheism. These must be correctly differentiated, addressed and suited to the requirements of the audience. The main task of these lectures is to represent religion as 'unscientific' and 'reactionary', without making an attack on the believers.

4) An important role in atheist propaganda is played by the 'Atheist Clubs' and the 'Atheist Homes', which are to be found in nearly every community. The 'Atheist Clubs' usually contain four sections: 1. a section for lectures and methodical instructional work, 2. a section for religious organisations and sects, 3. a literary and artistic section, and 4. a section for religion, customs and research. The 'Atheist Homes' have other sections.

Long Range Objective: the Liquidation of Churches.

The 'Atheist Clubs' and 'Atheist Homes' organise 'Question-and-answer

evenings', when atheist propaganda is put forward in the form of answers to prepared questions. Clergy of every confession can attend these 'Question-and-answer evenings'. In such cases they are urged to take part in the discussions, in order to disparage or even make their arguments appear ridiculous in front of the audience. The 'Atheist Clubs' and 'Atheist Homes' have their own reading groups and prepare atheist exhibitions, which are normally mobile and are shown in various places.

So as to separate the believers from religious customs and traditions, and especially to win over the young people, atheist propaganda tries to cleanse popular customs of 'religious mysticism' on a systematic basis. New rites have been introduced for festive occasions in the citizen's life, such as christening, first communion, confirmation, weddings and wedding anniversaries, as well as for funerals, intended to replace those of the church. On these occasions everything is arranged free of charge by the state, so that this form of propaganda will appear more attractive.

Although the Communist regime theoretically protects in public the churches which it permits, it is trying through constantly increasing promotion of atheist propaganda to destroy the roots of religion and religious life. In this way the Communists wish to achieve as quickly as possible their long range aims — the complete liquidation of the influence of the church and thereby its destruction.

For this purpose the following measures are designed to help:

- 1) banning or at least hindering the religious education of children;
- 2) checking the recruitment of priests;
- 3) restricting religious literature;
- 4) rationing finance for the church.

Anything relating to the religious education of the young and all church work amongst young people between the age of six and eighteen is in the Soviet Union forbidden in principle. Religious instruction for both the parents in their

profession and their children in their professional further education brings with it great disadvantages and even serious consequences, and this is equally the case in the so-called satellite countries.

No more Priests in the Year 2000?

One of the most serious problems facing the church is the recruitment of priests, which through the admission of only a restricted number of theological students is being systematically stifled, so that it can already be forecast today when the church will be without priests, unless conditions change radically. In 1938, to illustrate this development with examples from Bohemia and Slovakia, 450 students attended the seven Czech priest seminaries and 570 the same number of Slovak seminaries. Yet in 1963 there were no more than 130 students at the two still existing theological faculties in Bratislava (Slovakia) and Litoměřice (Bohemia). Of these in seven years only about 30 became priests. The director of the Slovak Catholic Mission in the German Federal Republic, Professor Adalbert Bucko, at the 12th "Church in Need" Congress at Koenigstein, Taunus, stated: "The retention of the numerus clausus (closed number) for the recruitment of priests for the 3.8 million Slovaks, who are 82% Catholic, would lead in about 40 years to there being no more priests at all."

The varying attitudes of the Czechs and the Slovaks towards the priesthood are interesting; while the theological faculty at Bratislava receives annually over 300 applications, of which only about 20 are accepted, in Litoměřice the approved figure of 20 new applications is often not reached, so that there exists in Litoměřice the opportunity to study for some of those rejected in Bratislava.

Even the government-approved control of the church's publicity activities puts the Catholic Church at the greatest disadvantage and hinders its development. Periodicals and books are edited or at least have their contents censored by priests

friendly to the regime — or sometimes even laymen. Circulations and editions are not very high, as the allocation of paper is rationed.

In this respect things are no better with the Protestant Church in the Baltic. The Estonian Lutheran Church published in 1957 for the first time since 1944 its own church calendar and in Latvia it was possible only in 1960 to publish again editions of the Bible, and even then only the limited number of 1500 copies.

After all church property was confiscated in all Communist ruled countries, the state took over the financing of church requirements, above all the remuneration of priests, who count as state employees. Thus the church is controlled and supervised in all sectors of the state by the latter's own appointed representatives. The congregations themselves must pay for the restoration of all churches, except historically important buildings. This has often resulted in the decay and ultimately the closing of the church, in view of the reduction to poverty of large parts of the population.

Attitudes of the Individual Churches

After the establishment of Communist rule, a conflict with the church was unavoidable in every country. This struggle, however, was carried on with differing intensity and led to different results. Apart from the fact that Communism was affected by prior historical, social and religious factors in the individual countries, there is also no unified Christian church and also no uniform reaction by the church against Communist measures. If only the three most important Christian churches in the East — the Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox Churches — are taken into account, one comes after thorough examination to the conclusion that coexistence between Communism and Orthodoxy (under the Patriarch Alexy of Moscow) is possible, since their conflicts are limited to the field of ideology. On the other hand, 'the relation between Communism and Protestantism is marked by a certain elasticity, as Kurt Hut-

ten writes in his book *Christen hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang* (Christians behind the Iron Curtain): 'Situations of conflict must arise when the whole state completely takes possession of the individual, forces the Christian to violate God's commandments and tries to impose on him belief in dialectical materialism after the destruction of the freedom of belief and preaching.'

'For coexistence between Communism and Catholicism', continues Hutten, 'all requirements are lacking. In this case the contrasts are complete in every respect. Wherever Catholicism and Communism meet, the struggle is at its fiercest. This conflict is additionally aggravated by the fact that the Catholic Church is in reality dependent on a foreign authority, the Holy See, and obeys its directions. This connection cannot be tolerated by a totalitarian atheist state'.

The Communists pay Court to the Holy See

The firm belief and the sense of self-sacrifice of the population are the two main pillars on which the Church can rely in its resistance to atheism. Naturally it also depends on the depth of the religious consciousness of the bishops and priests, how far the limited opportunities for domestic evangelism under Communist rule are employed. In contrast to the Communist practice of the first years after the seizure of power, the present rulers in Moscow, Prague, Warsaw etc. take care not to act against the priests in general or to create martyrs through brutal cruelty. On the one hand developments have shown that the religious consciousness of the population cannot be destroyed by any physical persecution of the clergy and believers. On the other hand, individual Communist regimes are trying to conclude at least partial agreements with the Vatican. This they need above all to raise their authority with their own populations, and also of course in part from reasons of prestige in the eyes of the neutral world.

To make possible any kind of negotia-

tions at all, conditions were to some extent alleviated in Communist countries, especially for bishops and priests. Some of the dignitaries in prison were granted a pardon, and could go and live with their relatives. Their return to their original spheres of activity was however unthinkable. Yet even in these measures the advance was not everywhere equal. In some countries, above all in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, some prelates continued to be kept under surveillance, especially those who received exceptional veneration from the population. Typical of this is surely the fate of the unbroken Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty, who is not allowed to remain in freedom within the territory of Hungary by the Kadar regime, regarded in the West as liberal. They would rather see him sent abroad. The steadfastness of the Hungarian Cardinal is of course an enormous moral support for the believers in Hungary, who know that their fight for religious alleviation is not lost as long as they know that Mindszenty is among them.

No Improvement in the Position

If one looks into the position of the churches in the different countries today, one comes to the following conclusion: In the Soviet Union pressure has been increasing. Nevertheless religion is by no means dead. The promised paradise on earth, which has never become reality, has not destroyed the longing for God, the consciousness of transcendental values. Reliable sources report that the underground Church in the Soviet Union is stronger than ever.

This opportunity may be taken to mention the sad fate of the Uniate Catholic Church in Ukraine and in White Ruthenia as well as the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, which in the course of the great wave of persecution after the second World War were brutally liquidated and officially ceased to exist, but are very active as underground organisations. The

Ukrainian Archbishop Major, Metropolitan Confessor Cardinal Joseph Slipy, has plainly become a symbol of the present martyrdom of the Christian Church.

On the other hand in the Baltic states the Catholic Church was not completely liquidated but suffered reduction and had its prelates almost without exception removed from office. The Protestant Church is no better off, which is numerically stronger than the Catholic Church in Estonia and Latvia.

In Poland the Roman Catholic Church, (96%) thanks to the resolute bearing of the prelates, was able to maintain its position and influence in public life to a far wider extent than in other Communist-governed countries. Even there 'the will of the Church to assert itself and the Communist demand for total allegiance oppose each other with more and more tension and crises', as Professor Bernhard Stasiewski, speaking in 1965 in Munich, characterised the position of the Church in Poland.

In Czecho-Slovakia (Bohemian territories formerly 70% Catholic, Slovakia 82% Catholic) some bishops who had been released were again confined after a short stay with their relatives. Thus the Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Josef Beran, was taken into a Charity home in Radvanov, where he remained until his surprising journey to Rome, while the doyen of the Slovak college of bishops, Jan Vojtassak, despite his 86 years, was deported back to Bohemia (Senohraby) and there put into a Charity home.

The Uniate Catholic Church in this country (comprising in 1948 in Slovakia about 320,000 adherents) was completely liquidated like the Uniate Catholic Church in Ukraine and its members declared Orthodox by confession. The Lutheran Church in Slovakia is subject to less pressure, as are the Bohemian Brothers in Czech territory, whilst the 'Czechoslovak Church' collaborates more or less openly with the Communist regime.

In Hungary the position of the Catholic Church (65%) after temporary alle-

viation has again become worse. Several priests have again been arrested. Even the pressure against the Protestants has been stepped up.

In Rumania the Roman Catholic and the Uniate Churches have received more persecution than the Orthodox believers and Protestants. Lately, however, the position has become more equal than it was before.

In Bulgaria the Church is officially respected, but the fight against religion is carried on very intensively. The strongest attacks are made against Islam, since the Mohammedans cling to their faith with increasing tenacity.

In Albania the Roman Catholic Church was almost exterminated in the summer of 1951. Pressure from the regime caused the foundation of an Albanian Catholic Church separated from Rome. Orthodox believers and Mohammedans also work under difficult conditions. The Orthodox cathedral in Tirana has been converted into a hotel.

To judge simply from external appearances, in this field Yugoslavia seems to be a case apart. The official attitude of the regime towards religious bodies was regulated by the 'Law on the legal status of religious communities' of 27th May 1953; according to the latest reports, (*Politika*, Belgrade, Dec. 7, 1964), this is to be replaced by a new law. Of the individual religions only the Mohammedans appear to be more carefully treated, in view of the importance of the role played in Yugoslavia's foreign policy by the Arab countries.

As is obvious, there has been no improvement in the position of the Christian Church in any Communist-ruled country in the last years, and in some it has even deteriorated ominously. The 14th 'Church in Need' Congress, held in August 1964 in Koenigstein, Taunus, at which numerous scholars and experts took part, amongst them also some notable representatives of our enslaved peoples living in the West, also came to this clear conclusion.

The Key To Communist Semantics

One of the greatest assets the Communists have in today's conflict with the free world is our lack of understanding of their objective, strategy and tactics. And a prime reason for this lack of understanding is the Communists' "double-talk" vocabulary. Louis Budenz, the former top Red editor, says that the Reds developed this deceptive Aesopean language in order to confuse and mislead the non-Communist world. In the following columns we list a few of the most common terms in this Red Aesopean lexicon, together with their real meanings. — Editor

Peace — non-opposition to Communism.

Peace-Loving — supporting Communism.

Peaceful Co-existence — non-resistance to Communist policy and moves towards world conquest.

People — Communists (People's China, etc.)

People's Democracy — Communist slave state.

Democratic or *Progressive* — terms used by the Reds to describe persons, organizations or policies which further Communist aims.

Aggression — any firm action to prevent or defeat Communist expansion.

Colonialism — possessing territory that the Reds want.

Colony — a non-Communist territory associated with the Western Powers.

Anti-Colonialism — the Communists' program for gaining control of territories presently associated with the Free World.

Oppressed Peoples — those living in countries the Reds wish to seize.

Liberation — the Communist takeover of a free country.

Fascist State — any country which takes firm action against Communist infiltration, espionage and subversion.

Militarism — creation of non-Communist armed strength or alliance.

Discrimination — a smear term used

against people or actions which interfere with Communist plans and objectives.

Disrupter or *Stool Pigeon* — an anti-Communist worker or union man.

Traitor — a general term for anti-Communists.

Reactionary — a non-Communist.

Fascist — an anti-Communist.

Nazi or *Hitlerite* — an active anti-Communist.

Warmonger — anyone strongly opposed to giving in to Red demands.

Anti-Fascist — a Red or one who fights against anti-Communists.

McCarthyism — any action to expose Communist espionage and subversion within our borders.

Inquisition — any governmental or judicial inquiry into, or investigation of, Red infiltration or subversion in non-Communist states.

Religious Bigot — anyone who opposes Communism on religious grounds.

Anti-Semitism — a smear term used by Communists against those who effectively oppose and expose them. This technique of smearing their opposition as "anti-Semites" is an old and proven method of discrediting, isolating and destroying their opponents.

Hate Literature — any book, booklet or publication which identifies and exposes Communist and Red strategy and tactics. A current smear term used widely by Reds to discredit anti-Communist publications.

The importance of understanding this game of Red semantics becomes apparent, for instance, when examining current demands to "ban hate literature" and "introduce anti-hate legislation". Checking Red semantics, we find that this is really a crafty manoeuvre to censor or outlaw anti-Communist literature and activity!

That's how important it is for the informed people to understand Red semantics today.

Tortured To Death

It was 28 years ago:

14 condemned men were taken in 2 lorries on the night of 30 November 1938 from the prison in Ramnicul-Sarat to the Jilava penitentiary in Bukarest. During the journey a policeman was standing behind each prisoner, holding a rope in his hand.

The lorries stopped 32 kms. before Bukarest; a command sounded in the night: it was the order to each of the policemen to strangle the condemned man standing in front of him with the rope . . .

When everything was over, the journey to Bukarest was continued. The 14 lifeless bodies were thrown into a pit in the prison at Jilava, sprinkled with acid and covered over with a concrete slab.

Thus Corneliu Codreanu and with him 13 comrades-in-arms met their death.

Corneliu Codreanu had been arrested in April 1938 and condemned to ten years imprisonment for treason.

The order for his murder was given by King Carol II, and the execution of the order by the then Rumanian Minister President Armand Calinescu.

Corneliu Codreanu was the founder and leader of the "Legionary Movement". It was founded in 1927. After 10 years activity the Legionary Movement became the third strongest party in the country in the Parliamentary elections in 1937 and entered Parliament with over 60 seats.

The ideological roots of the Legionary Movement lay in Christian doctrine. "Even politics are subordinated to service of God", declared Codreanu.

This political creed, as stated by Codreanu and the Legionary Movement, held that only a politician who believed deeply in God, could find the suitable ways and means for the solution of the political, economic and cultural problems of his people and country. Only he could be in a position to make sacrifices and if necessary to sacrifice himself for the realisation of his tasks. He would never be capable of exploiting and treating others unjustly.

He would struggle for, and be ready to sacrifice himself for, the liberty of others, for the liberty of his people, for the liberty of other peoples, for the Church of Christ and the two thousand years of civilisation.

Firmly established in this belief, the Legionary Movement saw in Communism the implacable foe of the Free World. This enemy pursues the destruction of the Church of Christ, the extermination of Christian truth from the soul of man and the annihilation of the liberty of mankind. Communism turns the monastery into a museum, priests into party-officials and strives for the transformation of Christian civilisation into an atheist civilisation.

In a letter to King Carol II from Corneliu Codreanu in 1936 the question was asked:

"Your Majesty, who is to guarantee to us that Soviet troops, should they once march into our country, will not deliver us over to Satan?"

This prophesy of Codreanu has today become reality. The Communist regime in Bukarest has — in complete agreement with Moscow — destroyed the freedom

of the Rumanian people. It systematically pursues the extermination of Christian belief and the conversion by force of the population to the doctrine of proletarian internationalism.

Those who murdered Corneliu Codreanu 27 years ago, destroyed one of the most important sources in the Rumanian people of resistance to Communism. Six years after the murder of Codreanu the Soviet troops occupied Rumania and the neighbouring countries. The "Christ", who had been called to defend his country, was dead. Thousands of his followers also met with death: either shot by the police or from long years in prison, where they were tortured to death.

B. M.

Ion V. Emilian

The Communists And The Rumanian Peasants

Statistics is an art with which the Communists try to camouflage their failures. Regardless of the field, whether it is production or election results, the figures and percentages always exemplify the same deceit. All the same, it sometimes happens that a Communist specialist makes a mistake in his own figures and contributes to the clarification of the real position. It is because of this that we have been able to draw some interesting conclusions about the "concentration and specialization of agricultural production" in Rumania from a detailed report on it. Its author, incidentally, is a man who knows his subject thoroughly — *Dr. Ernest Ene*, who qualified in agricultural studies in Germany.

Dr. Ene wishes to convince us that the almost 700 state farms (*G.A.S.*), in other words, *sovkhozy*, in Rumania had tremendous production successes in the year 1964. He tells us that every one of these *almost 700* state farms has an average of over 7,400 acres of arable land and that they work altogether with 21,352 tractors and 11,403 combine harvesters. Then come the figures and percentages for production — on a national scale, of course. And they're wonderful! Even egg production is mentioned. And it was this that astonished us! The 700 state farms, with their (at least) 5,730,000 acres of arable land, registered an egg production of 2,456,000 for 1964. *Less than one egg for every two acres annually. In other words, all the state farms of the "Socialist Republic of Rumania" together are unable to meet the egg demand of a town with 200,000 inhabitants!* The egg supply has to be provided by the collective farms and the individual peasants, and how many eggs they can put on the market is unknown. The only known fact is that in certain towns of north and east Rumania an egg costs 12 *lei*. Twelve lei, no more, no less . . .

According to official figures wheat production has risen to 830 hundredweights per acre (imperial measure) and maize to 1050 hundredweights per acre. However, there is no bread to be found in Rumanian villages. The peasants can only buy bread *in the towns, which can be as much as twenty miles away from their villages*. These are the results of compulsory collectivization and the introduction of "scientific" methods, of planning and of flooding the villages with overseers and Party functionaries.

Everyone in Rumania, even the highest officer of the Party, knows that the peasants, who don't want to come to terms with collectivization and won't come to terms with it, no longer wish to work in the fields. On the collective farms, where control cannot be as tight as it is on the state farms, one works against one's will, with no enthusiasm and no interest, for no peasant has any wish to work for "others". On the other hand, no one bothers to wait for pay day in order to satisfy at least part of the family's food wants — stealing is natural on collective farms, almost a virtue . . .

If no one works and everyone steals, we can imagine just how illusory the fanfare-heralded "production successes" are!

The cattle-breeding situation is similar. According to official information, Rumania now has more cows, more sheep, and more pigs than she had in 1939 — but meat is becoming rarer and rarer. In thousands of Rumanian villages the sale of meat is allowed only once a week, although much slaughtering goes on due to the shortage of fodder. As in the USSR and other countries of the Eastern Bloc, Rumanian agricultural policies are a total failure.

On the other hand, the collectivization, the concentration and the partial mechanization of agriculture have brought monstrous increases in the percentage of unemployed amongst the rural population. In order to control rural unemployment the Communist rulers and their technocrats would have to create almost 400,000 places in industry per year. But they cannot manage this, since their planned investment in industry is capable of making only 150,000 places for industrial workers per year at the most. Hence the offers to Western firms to invest in Rumania, since the absorption in industry of the unemployed rural population without foreign aid is an unattainable goal.

At the moment the authorities are using all the methods at the disposal of a police state to prevent the unemployed peasants leaving their villages. It has been only partially possible to accomplish this object, since the militia and state security police is unable to occupy posts everywhere continually. Groups of peasants wandering through the country have formed, trying to find work and seldom succeeding, mostly only where new houses are being built or roads are under construction. This exodus takes place both on foot and by rail. The train conductors close both eyes tight, and there is plenty of room on the rooves . . .

In order to attain equilibrium, the Communists are employing yet another weapon in the country — abortions, reaching terrible proportions in some regions of Rumania. Further, the Communists want to convert villages into labour settlements by means of a systematization plan to be put in operation in twelve districts initially, among them Dragasani, Slatina, Calarasi, and Faurei.

If one takes all these things into account, one comes inevitably to the conclusion that talk of an improvement in conditions for Rumanian peasants is nonsense.

"For the safeguard of the inviolable rights of the human person, and to facilitate the fulfillment of his duties, should be the chief duty of every public authority.

"This means that, if any government does not acknowledge the rights of man or violates them, it not only fails in its duty, but its orders completely lack juridical force."

Pope John XXIII — Pacem in Terris (n. 60.61.)

Two Problems Of Czech Politics

When in the future, Czecho-Slovakia of today will get rid of the hated Communist regime, all men who might be called by the nation to put in order its internal and external affairs, will have to cope with two major problems, a condition *sine qua non* for the Czech nation's integration into the European cooperation. These problems are: the relations to the Slovaks and the normalization of living together with the Sudeten Germans. Shortly, the heart of Europe will have to be remodelled in accordance with the trends of the general evolution not only in Europe but in the world.

The Czech-Slovak Problem.

Thomas G. Masaryk, while outlining the platform of the interim Czecho-Slovak government in a declaration made in Washington, D. C. on October 19th, 1918, delivered himself in a statement that today — almost fifty years later — is as cogent as it was then and might well provide the main points in the program of those truly seeking an honest and equitable settlement of problems in the Danubian area. Masaryk said: "We believe that freedom is the main prerequisite for federalization and we are convinced that the free peoples of Central and Eastern Europe will find it easy to unite in a federation as soon as they recognize that form as necessary." This was obviously the answer to Emperor Charles I's manifesto of October 17th, 1918 in which that upright and impartial ruler hoped to ward off the impending tragedy that affected the entire Danubian area which had disintegrated as a result of poorly planned peace treaties and ultimately became absorbed by the dynamic and imperialistic Nazi regime, only to have the iron curtain of the Soviet imperium rung down upon it after another bloody conflict.

Inasmuch as the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe failed to accept the dramatic challenge of Emperor Charles as well as the solution proposed by the realistic Tho-

mas G. Masaryk, the life span of freedom, security and relative independence was limited to a mere 20 years. Twenty years in the life of peoples and states, how much different the situation would be today, how many human lives would have been spared the holocaust of war, incarceration in red and brown concentration camps, death on the gallows and in the gas chambers, if but one of the voices of these great Europeans had been heeded, voices which — albeit in opposite camps and with opposite aims — nonetheless perceived the command of the hour, grasped its import and looked into the future.

Of all the problems ushered in by the year 1918, the most important one was the Czecho-Slovak problem. Despite the promises contained in the Pittsburgh agreement of May 30th, 1918 and the official statements of Czech and Slovak politicians whose platform during the period between the two wars was Czechoslovakism, the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks was never completely straightened out and even today, with both our peoples silenced by the Communist regime and forced to serve Moscow against their will, the Czecho-Slovak relationship is still a matter for discussion both at home and among their respective representatives in exile. Since 1918 we have witnessed constant Slovak striving for independence that had been solemnly promised by Czech political leaders in exile during World War I. For it was only under those conditions that the Slovaks living in America were prepared to cooperate in creating a common state in which both peoples were to enjoy equal rights on an equal footing in every respect. It was under those very conditions that the American Slovaks offered such vast material aid, a fact that Prague never denied. But what was Prague's policy after 1918?

Instead of a policy of equitable and politically wise decentralization, the basis of

Prague's policy was centralism, which met with the opposition of the Slovak people who — with few exceptions — gave their support to Andreas Hlinka. They saw in him a capable leader; until his death, he never ceased to fight on parliamentary grounds for the fulfilment of the promises embodied in the Pittsburgh Agreement and in the declaration of Turcansky Sväty Martin of October 30th, 1918. In that declaration the representatives of the Slovak people declared that they would insist on the internationally recognized right of national self-determination with all that it implied.

Today there is no denying that the Czechs made many mistakes, particularly psychological ones, during the two decades of autonomous Czecho-Slovak statehood, and yet every Slovak attempt to assert national independence is criticized. Likewise under censure is the policy that led to the Sillescu agreements of October 6th, 1938 by which the democratic parliament of the CSR — after recognizing the principle of autonomy — introduced dualism into Czecho-Slovakia. A death sentence and execution were meted out to Msgr. Jozef Tiso who had been elected President of the first Slovak state by the Slovak diet in March 1939. Despite that fact, Slovak policy since the end of the First World War, both from a historical standpoint and in the light of Central European developments, has not been lacking in conciseness and magnitude.

Just as Slovak aspirations were betrayed in 1945 under the influence of the military-political situation, and the Slovaks again shared common frontiers with the Czechs, Prague was forced to make concessions, and Slovak efforts to achieve independence persisted and are still going on today under very trying circumstances. It is interesting to note that even the Slovak Communists are pressing on in every direction in their endeavor to secure Slovak autonomy.

Due to their national and religious traditions the Slovak people are out in front in the struggle against Communism. The sacrifices they are making for their convictions are proof that they are of strong and healthy stock. Further evidence of this is to

be found in the Slovak resistance to Soviet-friendly Edvard Benes, and in the resistance encountered by the Kosice National Front when it tried to promulgate anti-national principles in 1945. Demonstrations of Slovak leaders abroad clearly show what goal the Slovak people have for the future and whether the usurping Communist regime will disappear or remain in power.

There is no doubt that the Slovak people would unanimously announce their claim to complete independence, nor is there any doubt that once their just aims should be realized, they would decide in favor of a mutually advantageous and necessary form of cooperation with the Czech people as well as with the other peoples of our mutual, historic Danubian area.

At a time when the tribes of Zambia and Urundi are winning their national independence it is absurd indeed to withhold that same right from the Slovaks. The Slovak people are just as much an ethnic group as the Czechs are; there is no such people as the Czechoslovaks. For more than a thousand years the Czech and Slovak peoples have been living side by side, each with their own ethnic characteristics and national traditions. If in the course of the past 50 years of their common history they frequently died together on the field of battle, they died as Czechs and as Slovaks, not as Czechoslovaks.

I am convinced that when we Czechs recognize the legitimate right of the Slovak people to national individuality and sovereignty, it will not signify a parting of the ways, but with each the lord of his own domain, we shall meet on a higher plane, which is commensurate with the need of the times, and one that will form the basis of a Central European — later on a United European — form of cooperation. Taking into consideration the developments at home, we are convinced that we shall not be disavowed by all those in the fatherland who are only waiting for the opportunity to make a free decision.

The Czech-Sudeten German Problem.

For 1500 years the Germans have been our big neighbor and for more than 700

years we lived next to the Sudeten Germans within mutual frontiers. No one can change these two historical facts. If the day comes when the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia disappears, the most important country that will be able to help us is Germany. Not only is Germany the most highly developed country in Europe, but it will always be a fully qualified partner in unifying Europe. It seems clear therefore that the relationship between the Czechs and the Germans must needs be based on completely new principles and the standards used in treaties between the two wars will no longer apply. The twelve years of Adolf Hitler's Nazism and the nightmare they caused, will all become an insignificant episode in the course of history, and all that took place in Central Europe between the two World Wars and shortly thereafter, will be equally insignificant.

As is the case for the Slovaks, it is impossible nowadays to refuse the right of self-determination and especially the right to their homeland, to almost three million Sudeten Germans. Whether all of them will some day make use of those rights is another question. It is more of a moral than a political issue. It is also an issue that must be solved as soon as there is a change in the situation within Czechoslovakia. In 1950 two judicious political leaders, the Czech general Lev Prchala and the Sudeten German Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen signed the Wiesbaden Agreement, the purpose of which was to prepare the basis for sounder Czech-Sudeten German relations in the future. It stands to reason a priori that no one in exile has the right to commit his nation to any given program, as is stated in Section 2 of the afore mentioned agreement. Only the two nations themselves can decide in a free and sovereign way as to their mutual relationship at any given time. It is a task of our organisations to point out to both nations, and now, the best way to prepare a solution commensurate with the needs of the times, not any time but in the atomic age in which the earth can be demolished in a few brief hours.

The chances for a positive solution of the Czech-Sudeten German problem to

the satisfaction of those concerned is proved by countless studies of leading Czech and Sudeten historians, including Pekar and Krofta. Principles that are taken as a matter of course between neighbors in the human sense of the word hold good for the two nations as well. A good neighbor relationship embodies liabilities as well as duties, yet it can be a binding element and not always a divider. Good neighborliness leads to sociability. Both neighbors, however, must be aware of their rights as well as their obligations. It is apparent that both nations have legitimate rights and demands. Only in agreement, when all issues have been clarified, can both nations achieve happiness and thus contribute to a just solution of a wider concern; cooperation and good neighborliness in the entire Danubian area.

It is my opinion that the problem of Czech-Sudeten German relations not only can but must be solved within the area in which both nations lived since the 14th century. We understand the tactical necessity for recourse to historic international agreements since all available means are needed to combat Communist propaganda and Bolshevist provocation. Recourse of that kind is not always correctly understood, at times not even by those considered to be masters of political tactics. Nevertheless we are sure that a satisfactory solution will be found within the historical area of both nations. That is the first stage. The second one will see a decline in the importance of the various problems that relate to national borders. Developments on the European continent cannot be stopped and when unity is achieved all contemporary problems will no longer be difficult to solve.

What can we Czechs in exile do toward the solution of our problems? In what concrete way can we help to make the situation clear? What blows can we deal the Communist rulers in Prague? In addition to informing top European authorities and the European public at large, it is necessary to tell the Czechs on the home front what is happening in the free part of Europe and

do so by all possible means. The most important and effective medium is broadcasting, a fact the Communists know only too well. Daily, Czecho-Slovakia transmits to the West 36½ hours of propaganda in 13 different languages, five hours of which are broadcast in German, two hours in French. The overseas service of the Communist Czech radio operates 24 hours a day. One is a long-wave transmitter, 14 are middle-wave and 14 are short-wave broadcasts. What does the European West do to resist this venomous psychological warfare? Except for the completely free radio in Madrid, all other European broadcasting stations that transmit foreign language programs, limit themselves to the usual everyday newscasts. From the inception of the coexistence policy we note in Czecho-Slovakia a weakening in the impact of these broadcasts. This is borne out by the fact that the Communists no longer consider it necessary to jam the Western programs. In addition to that, Western radio correspondents are frequent guests of the Prague radio headquarters and are seen at night-clubs there in the gay company of local Agitprop agents. All this makes it very urgent that the situation be remedied. The German Federal Republic, being Czecho-Slovakia's closest neighbor, should set an example and initiate a Czech broadcasting service with a program that would concentrate on real political information. A program of that kind would not only inform our people back home in an objective manner as to the situation abroad

but would help prepare for a solution in the Bohemian area based on the idea of a united Europe.

German statesmen must realize that Germany's geographical situation has predestined her to play a leading part in the making of a free Central Europe. Regardless of international political opportunism they must divest themselves of all hesitation and deal with the Communist usurpers in the proper way, keeping their eyes directed on the future. These remarks should be applied on all other Western statesmen. They all have the moral duty to assist the nations behind the Iron Curtain. This can be done, however, only if in all their dealings with the Communist regime, the real interests of the nation will be taken into consideration, for they are diametrically opposite to those of the present Communist government. The Czech nation then will certainly avail itself of the first opportunity to contribute to a change in its destiny.

We, Czechs in exile, cooperating with the Sudeten Germans, must revise the old attitudes and seek new possibilities deriving from the modern age and as true Europeans prepare a new future order based on the principles of good neighborliness with respect for mutual rights.

Technological progress, awareness of a common millennial culture, political necessity and the interest of every one of us will help to achieve lasting harmony and a serene future for the entire continent of Europe.

“While Cain can still massacre Able without anyone’s noticing it; while entire nations are still held in slavery without anyone’s coming to the defense of the oppressed, while, three years after the Hungarian revolt, the bloodletting still continues with the condemnation to death of students, peasants and workers guilty of having loved freedom that was stamped out by foreign tanks, without the world’s showing any horror at so great a crime — while such things persist, it is impossible to speak of a true peace, but only of a consent to a massacre.”

Cardinal Ottaviani has observed (Venice; 1/7 60)

For National Independence, Personal Freedom And Human Dignity, For God And Fatherland!

To the friends and fighters for the freedom of man and the independence of nations in the free world and to all natives of the captive nations:

"We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed".
II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

Twenty years have passed during which ABN has been active in exile and has worked in the Free World for the freedom of those enslaved by Russian Communist might and for the national independence of each of the captive nations.

The battle organization which was founded at home on Ukrainian soil in 1943 by representatives of the peoples subjugated by the Russians and the Third Reich named itself ABN.

The first Congress of the national liberation organizations co-operating through ABN took place abroad in 1946; at this stage there joined in representatives of the national liberation organizations of those countries which had meanwhile succumbed to Communist rule and fallen into Russia's sphere of influence.

Thus ABN has become the largest international exile organization, within which the national liberation organizations of all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism are united. Since this time ABN has been the leading and driving force in the struggle for political independence conducted by the captive nations, the struggle for freedom and human dignity.

ABN has developed into a world movement for the renewal of national, political and social life on the basis of the eternal, intellectual and moral values of human existence. ABN has formed its world conception on that ethos that Man is created in the image of God, and it derives its inspiration from this ethos.

Since its foundation ABN has been persecuted and inexorably attacked not only by the Russians, their friends in the West, and the Communists, but also by those circles

undermining the Free World which are still strong enough to influence public opinion.

ABN has often been condemned to dissolution, *but in spite of everything ABN is still alive and fighting.* What is more, the organization has acquired for itself an international reputation and international recognition. It has established international connections and formed an alliance with the most important anti-Communist organizations of Europe, America, and Asia for the common struggle. ABN has been represented at all important international anti-Communist congresses and has carried through its proposals on behalf of the captive nations.

The law on the introduction of "Captive Nations Week" unanimously passed by the US Congress was brought into being on the political initiative and at the instigation of ABN by US Congressmen, the friends of the captive nations.

Through this law the world power America recognized the right of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism to the re-establishment of their own independent sovereign states.

The detailed reports on ABN and its activities, which constantly appear in the Soviet press and are broadcast by Soviet radio and the rabid attacks on ABN, are in fact the most striking proofs of ABN's significance.

The Moscow rulers know only too well that ABN corresponds to the national will and to the wishes of the captive nations, that the latter see ABN as their legitimate spokesman and representative in the Free World, and that ABN is a dangerous enemy.

The way is prepared. But before us, the natives of the captive nations, there still lie great tasks. And these demand a total response from all of us.

The policy of coexistence which at present rules the Western world is being carried out at the expense of our peoples, for they are being left to the Russians and the latter's possession of our territories is silently being recognized as a legal right.

This Cannot And Must Not Happen!

We must oppose and resist this until our historic and civilized nations attain the same right as has been granted to the peoples of Africa and Asia, who have long enjoyed life within their own independent states.

A violent battle against appearances of "local patriotism" and the "bourgeois remnants of nationalism" is being conducted in the non-Russian Republics of the USSR, against national traditions, values and ancient customs, against national consciousness. "International Communist thinking", in other words, the Russian manner of thinking and the Russian world outlook, is to be forcefully implanted into men.

The people are giving courageous resistance in all sectors of life in order to preserve their national characteristics and individuality. Dependent utterly upon themselves, they place their hope in us, their fellow-countrymen in the Free World. It rests with us, whether we are to prove ourselves to be worthy as their spokesmen and representatives.

Our activities, our effectiveness, and our struggle may not be allowed to weaken. We must do more, attain more!

Our peoples look to the forces of freedom in the Western world, to those freedom-loving Americans, Britons, Canadians, Australians, Frenchmen, etc., who are hos-

tile to every form of slavery. They should support our struggle, for Russian imperialism and Communism are a danger to the world. The struggle conducted by our peoples has held up the onslaught of Russian tyranny. We ask no one for anything; for he who helps us, is helping himself!

In order to be active, one must have financial backing. To publish, to travel and to be present all over the world so that our voice, the voice of our peoples can everywhere be heard, *we need financial resources.*

ABN is subsidized by no one, is dependent on no one; it is supported only by its compatriots and comrades-in-arms.

It is to these whom we now turn, and to the friends of our nations abroad, with the entreaty to collect donations.

ABN knows that it can rely on you. In the name of our suffering and heavily tested nations you are doing everything to enable us to fulfil our obligations in the service of our peoples and to freedom.

Long live the Freedom of Men!

Long live the Freedom of Nations!

Long live the independent and democratic states of all the captive nations on the ruins of the Russian empire and the Communist system!

Freedom-loving peoples and individuals of all the world, unite in the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism! Unite in the struggle for the independence of nations and the freedom of men!

The Central Committee of the ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

(ABN)

Munich, May 1966.

Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany.

Bank account: Deutsche Bank, Munich,
Neuhauser Str. 6, Account Nr. 30/26135
(ABN).

MURDER INTERNATIONAL, INC.

Murder and kidnapping as an instrument of Soviet policy

edited by United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary

Printed for the use of the Committee of the Judiciary

U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 1965, Hearing and other Documentation

Price 50 cts, 176 pages

Military Aspects Of The Liberation Problem

(Continuation)

Build up of Armaments

The numerical strength of armed forces, however, is in no way the decisive factor.

In our mechanised age, much more depends on armaments and equipment.

They determine the two main elements of combat effectiveness: fire power and mobility. Through lack of space, it is not

possible to give here a detailed survey of all weapons, or to analyse the divisions in detail. It would moreover only detract from the sharpness of our survey.

We content ourselves with the comparison of strategic weapons, the number of aircraft, naval units and divisions of land forces.

<i>Strategic Weapons</i>		<i>Numbers</i>	
Kind of weapon	Range in kms.	Atlantic Pact	Warsaw Pact
Intercontinental rockets (ICBM)	over 4000	934 Atlas Titan Minuteman	c. 200 T-3A
Polaris type from rocket submarines	2000—4000	416	c. 120
Intermediate and medium range rockets (IRBM and MRBM)	900—3000	—	c. 750 T-2, T-3. Aligned in fixed positions on strategic targets chiefly in West Europe.
Long range bombers with nuclear bombs	over 8000 up to 16000	630 B-52	c. 200 Bär and Bison
Medium range bombers with nuclear bombs	3200—6000	660 B-58, B-47, Victor, Vulcan, Mirage IV	c. 1400 Tu-16 Dachs

From this comparison, it comes out quite clearly that the USA, as the leading power in NATO, is obviously superior to the Soviet Union in strategic weapons — which can also be termed 'means of deterrence'. If, however, one looks more closely at the position on the continent of Europe, one needs no expert knowledge to discover considerable gaps in Western Europe's defences.

The predominant part of the 750 intermediate and medium range rockets are aligned on Western European targets, com-

prising above all the airfields in England, France, Western Germany etc., from which strategic bombers would start their retaliatory raids. Western European defence has no comparable IRBM and MRBM rockets, since a handful of Thor and Jupiter rockets were withdrawn (partly bartered against the Soviet withdrawal from Cuba). Even if they had been left, the Russians would be about eight-times superior in this kind of rocket.

Certainly the West boasts a superiority in ICBMs and in heavy bombers, and it

would be madness for the strategically inferior USSR to make a rocket attack on Western Europe. Yet this situation could occur, if, against all sense, for some reason a final resort had to be employed. Then Western Europe would be like a battle sector in a conventional war, in which the commander, without a single cannon, faced an enemy heavily supplied with artillery. What use is it to him, if he is assured by his superiors that bombers will be employed against the enemy artillery position? Today it is the American constructed ICBM rockets and part of the Polaris fleet on the open sea, that in such a case must be relied on.

Even if technology makes possible the launching of rockets from intercontinental distances, Western Europe would be finished before these long distance rockets were fired. Even with the best will in the world, one can scarcely appraise correctly the situation in Europe (and East Europe) in times of tension, from a distant continent and prepare the suitable counter measures in time. It is hard to understand why the European countries section of NATO should not be equipped with the same

weapons possessed by its potential enemy, and why control over continental weapons of deterrence cannot be transferred into its hands.

This fatal lack of medium range rockets in Europe should be made good immediately. It is a task and duty of the first rank for every politician, who was responsible for this delay.

Strategic bombers are no longer sufficient for this task. If it is no more desired to endanger the territory of Western Europe through such rocket bases, then they should be set upon the sea or on the sea bed (technology will soon make this possible). Only they must be aligned exactly on the rocket bases with which the enemy is threatening us. And they must not be inferior in number.

This solution will free the fighting resources on the American continent and make still clearer the superiority of the ICBM. Today the 1350 American long distant rockets must be installed in 'fixed' positions or on Polaris submarines, against the 200 intercontinental and 750 medium range rocket bases in the Soviet Union.

At first glance, it is obvious that the

OPERATIVE MILITARY FORCES

Kind	Atlantic Pact	Warsaw Pact
<i>Land forces</i> strength (men)	3,152,000	2,885,000
Number of divisions* (including 3 US Marine divisions)	112 (Europe: 60 NATO + 30 national divisions Oversees: 15 US + c. 7 European)	202 (Soviets: 140 satellites: 62)
Tactical airforce (fighter- and light- bombers, observation craft, helicopters, transports)	10—11,000 (5,500 in Europe c. 5,000 USA and bases)	c. 5,500 (Soviets: 4000 satellites: 1500)
Air defence (fighters) naval aircraft	over 5000	c. 7,500 (Soviets: 6000 satellites: 1500)

* 2 brigades are counted as 1 division.

<i>Sea forces</i>	Atlantic Pact	Warsaw Pact
Aircraft carriers	37	—
Cruisers	33	20
Destroyers		
Escort craft	54	30
Submarines with nuclear drive		
with conventional drive	181	415

Warsaw Pact, despite the balanced total strength of land forces, has more than twice as many divisions as the Atlantic Alliance. The main reason for this is to be found in the differing structures: merely a half of the Soviet divisions (140) show full strength (11,000 men in motorised and 9,000 in tank divisions). The other divisions must first be combined before they are ready for action. The 26 Soviet divisions in the satellite countries (20 in the Eastern Zone of Germany, 2 in Poland, and 4 in Hungary), are at full war strength, as are c. 32 out of the 75 divisions stationed in the European part of the USSR. The remainder of about 12 divisions, which are at full combat strength, are thought to be in the Far East.

Against this, nearly all the divisions assigned to NATO, with the exception of logistic (supply) units, are at full strength and even the authorized strength of Western divisions is significantly higher than that of their Eastern opponents. But it must be observed that the West has been lavish in preparing its forces, since, without increasing the number of men, it could raise almost 50% more combat-ready divisions.

Yet even with this important structural distinction, the number of combat-ready Communist divisions in Europe is not in substance as superior as was suspected two years ago. Against the 60 highly mechanised and efficient NATO divisions, stationed on the European continent and in Turkey, which could be reinforced by national units from the reserves of France, England, the Benelux countries, and Italy, are merely 26 comparable combat-ready Soviet divisions in the satellite belt, as support for the 62 divisions of the satellite states. It must also be always borne in mind that the efficiency

and morale of the Soviet and satellite armies is very questionable, since non-Russians are in the majority in the Soviet army, and the 'satellite' nations similar like Ukrainians, Georgians, Lithuanians are against Russian colonial rule. The above-mentioned 32 divisions (full strength and combat ready) could certainly be brought up from reserve from the European part of the USSR, but, however, they would not be sufficient for a decisive action against Western Europe. In such a case, the necessary concentration of troops could not go unnoticed.

Tactical air forces in Europe seem to be rather equal, but a certain superiority in the quality of the Western European forces is to be noticed.

If we take into account the US tactical airforce stationed in the Pacific area and in the USA, the superiority of the Atlantic Pact appears almost doubled. Europe can certainly count on a part of this force being used to strengthen her in an emergency.

Aerial defence needs a chapter to itself, and cannot be dealt with in detail here. It can be removed from the group of operational forces.

The naval forces of the Western alliance are and will remain in the foreseeable future, far superior to those of the Eastern enemy, since the securing, even the absolute control of the sea-ways is an absolute prerequisite for the separated and continent-enclosing alliance system, against which the purely continental shape of the enormous Communist-governed empire requires principally the build up of strategic land and air routes. A similar force build up of naval forces would impose unbearable burdens on the Communist economy. Moscow and

Peking must concentrate on the construction of submarines, to enable them to interrupt sea transport, troop movements, and NATO supplies.

In this context it is impossible to go into further details about the number and quality of tanks and other very necessary weapons, equipment, and means of transport. Yet we must mention two fields — rocket defence rockets and bio-chemical weapons. Both sides are working feverishly on these projects.

For a long time no dazzling success has been noted in the field of defence and destruction of homing missiles, although spokesmen in both military camps claim to have solved the problem. The Russians even displayed an example of this 'wonder weapon' in the military parade on the 7th November 1964. However, what we, and most Western experts, doubt is the accuracy of aim of these weapons. Even the general public in America and Europe were informed of the successful launching of forthcoming 'ballistic missiles' with Nike-Zeus defence rockets. The time is not yet so far, however, for this weapon to leave the research stage and become part of the arsenal of the armed forces. Technology will certainly be able to solve this problem,

but at the same time it will have to find the 'antidote'. For this reason, no absolute weapon can be manufactured.

This is also the position regarding bacteriological and chemical weapons. Troops on both sides of the Iron Curtain possess this means of warfare, but there are also measures for protection, should any power break at any time the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the resolution of the 1932 Disarmament Conference — which forbade the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Scientists claim that the effect of a bacteriological war would be the same as that of an atomic attack.

Asia

Asia should have a chapter to itself. In the present context we must confine ourselves to a comparison of the military potential of the alliance system of the Free World extended into the Pacific, with the Red Chinese bloc. This concerns on one side the Asian members of the CENTO Pact (Iran, Pakistan), the SEATO states, (Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand) and the states allied by bilateral treaties, Japan, South Korea, National China (Formosa), and South Vietnam, to the United States, and Malaysia to Great Britain: on the other side, Red China,

Forces (without the contribution of the Atlantic Pact states)

Kind	Alliances of free states		Red Chinese bloc	
Number of divisions (partly converted)	CENTO	20	Red China	115
	SEATO	7	N. Korea	19
	Japan	13	N. Vietnam	16
	S. Korea	28		
	Formosa	23	<i>103 against 150</i>	
	S. Vietnam	12		
	India	17	Indonesia	c. 10
Aircraft	CENTO	250	Red China	1000*
	SEATO	350	N. Korea	250
	Others	1200	N. Vietnam	250
	India	600	Indonesia	450
<i>Sea forces</i>				
Cruisers		3		2
Destroyers		37		8
Submarines		6		34

North Korea, and North Vietnam.

Indonesia** might also be counted as part of the Asian Communist military bloc, especially since the main aim of this island kingdom — namely the destruction of Malaysia, is only possible with the military help of the Communists. Certainly Indonesia, next to Vietnam, constitutes an extended danger of fire, engaging the fire-fighting forces of the Atlantic Pact. India on the other hand, by the build up of its forces — in spite of their defensive character — engages considerable forces of Red China.

Despite the unlimited human reserves of Red China, there are at the present stage limits to a rise in Red China's forces, through shortage of modern weapons — even conventional ones. The about 50³/₁₀ superiority in the number of its divisions is not sufficient for a sudden conquest of all Asia. (This without mentioning the considerable screening by US forces in this area.) Thus it is still in Peking's interests to stick to tactics of furtive conquests, through guerrilla warfare and subversive activity. The Asian nations living under free government seem to be capable of small resistance to this, despite all American support. To maintain face, the Pentagon sees itself forced to carry action the other side of the Bamboo Curtain, before China can develop its own deterrent.

Final conclusions

To summarise, then, we can state that two nightmares, which have tormented leading Western politicians for a long time, — namely the 175 Soviet divisions, ready to spring to the attack, and then the Soviet lead in intercontinental nuclear rockets — disappear in the light of reasonable analysis. Although the Kremlin has not succeeded in forcing important concessions from the West through this, yet it has managed to cripple its political nerve centre temporarily, at the time when our subju-

gated nations had begun their fight for existence. Through the passivity of the West, they were unable to tear themselves free, but only force certain concessions from Moscow.

But meanwhile the West has strengthened itself militarily and if it does not relax its efforts, could lead in permanent superiority. Appertaining to this is the recognition that even if the effect of the nuclear deterrent is no more than a bluff, (as some notable military experts go so far as to describe it, to try to increase the importance of the role of the hitherto neglected conventional sector), it should be regarded not only as the sole decisive weapon, but much more as an indispensable cover for 'conventional' — or, better expressed, operational forces.

The Free World is not faced with the dilemma: ruin in an atomic war, or gradual surrender. Beside atomic wars, there are many ways of armed aggression to be engaged in, from guerrilla warfare to local wars already in progress. If the West shows that it is up to this kind of war, and even strikes back, then it will strengthen the potential of its deterrent. With this in mind, its forces must be somewhat strengthened and thoroughly but rationally reshaped.

If the West shows this strength, it can, through clever policies, which must always accompany strategic planning, wrest for itself the initiative in the great political game. Here we are not thinking of war, but of resoluteness of the kind shown during the Cuba crisis. And in the given circumstances, even the breaking away of our peoples from the Communist system can be supported without catastrophic consequences.

In view of the threats from Peking, which will be the fifth atomic power, and which is currently aiming at the Pacific area, and in view of the strengthened Communist activity in Latin America, the United States

* *before the break with the Kremlin, the number of aircraft was estimated at 2650. Since then 60% of the aircraft must have been 'canibalised' because of the lack of spare parts, to keep the rest of the ma-*

chines airworthy. The natural wastage comes on top of this.

** *This contribution was made in 1965. — Editor.*

will soon have all its hands full. Therefore it is vital for Europe to be able to stand her ground herself, and to cover her operational forces with the necessary strategic weapons. (The framework for this joint effort is in the WEU — Western European Union — even already in existence for the military sector.) Only in this way is it

possible to keep the Kremlin in check and to make an effective end to its expansion in the Near East and in Africa.

The subjugated nations form the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire, and the support of national liberation revolutions is the key to victory.

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The Ideological Crisis Continues

After Khrushchov had been ousted, many changes were made in the staffing of the departments responsible for ideological leadership. Not until October 1965 were the ideological posts finally filled.

V. I. STEPANOV was appointed head of the Department for Propaganda and Agitation in August 1965;

S. P. TRAPESNIKOV was appointed head of the Department for Science and Educational Institutions in October 1965;

M. V. SIMYANIN was appointed Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda* in September 1965;

L. N. TOLKUNOV was appointed Editor-in-Chief of *Izvestia* in October 1965;

V. N. MALIN is now Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

N. N. MESYATSEV has been appointed Chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television with a seat in the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the editor-in-chief of the most important of the Party's theoretical organs, *Kommunist*, is V. P. Stepanov, who was appointed before Khrushchov's fall.

Most of the newly appointed functionaries in the ideological departments could be labelled "Brezhnevists" or "Shel'epinists". Thus the new head of the Central Committee's Department for Propaganda and Agitation, STEPANOV, is very much a Party *apparatchik*. In 1952 to 1953 he was deputy head of the Ministry for State Security's administration in the Moscow region. A number of Stalin's acts of despotism fall in this period, among them the well-known Doctors' Affair. *Pravda's* new editor-in-chief, SIMYANIN, like Stepanov, also has a past in the Stalin era to his "credit". From 1945 until 1963 he was Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia; he was regarded as Stalin's representative and was relieved of his post shortly after Stalin's death on the initiative of the Byelorussian Party leadership, just when relations between the Parties of the Republics and the central Party were briefly relaxed and particularly hated Party functionaries in other Republics were also removed on local initiative.

Izvestia's new editor-in-chief, TOLKUNOV, is also a functionary with a record.

From 1947 until 1951 he was one of the editors of the Cominform organ *For Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy*. Just during this period there took place the notorious trials of Communist leaders in Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This periodical not only approved of these murders but conducted another massive campaign against the Yugoslav Communists and TITO.

Among the personalities responsible for the ideological sector are two men who are former colleagues and personal friends of SHELEPIN, the editor-in-chief of *Kommunist*, STEPANOV, who attended the same college as SHELEPIN, the Moscow Institute for History, Philosophy and Literature, and the new chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television, N. MESYATSEV, who worked with SHELEPIN for years in the Komsomol. None of SUSLOV'S colleagues are among the new ideologists.

The ideological crisis is still continuing. *Voprosy filosofii* (Questions of Philosophy) for October 1965 published a somewhat belated report on a discussion which took place in February 1965 on a suggestion made by F. M. BURLATSKY that a new branch of scholarship, Politology, should be founded. The discussion was organized by the Soviet Association for Political Sciences, and attended by 160 philosophers, sociologists and economists. In January 1965, BURLATSKY had published an article in *Pravda* proposing that in the new changed conditions methods of rule should be made the object of a new branch of Social Science, Politology. In his address to the meeting he admitted that the problems which in his opinion should be the research materials of Politology were already being studied in the Soviet Union by jurists, philosophers and historians. All the same, he said, they should receive special attention and be examined by specific methods which would produce better research results. Nevertheless BURLATSKY had difficulty in drawing the dividing line between Politology and "Scientific Com-

munist". After the address there was a discussion in which a group of participants lent support to BURLATSKY'S suggestion. It was pointed out that the scientific treatment of many serious political problems hung far behind present practice and its requirements.

This group faced a numerically stronger group of opponents. Certain jurists were of the opinion that Burlatsky's suggestion was only a reaction to the present deficiencies in Soviet legal studies and that all the questions to be dealt with by Politology really belonged within the competence of jurists. Other opponents were of the opinion that "Scientific Communism" and Burlatsky's Politology were practically identical.

BURLATSKY seems to have been defeated at this gathering. On the other hand he stimulated discussion of the social sciences. This was confirmed by the above-mentioned report in *Voprosy Filosofii*.

The author of this commentary was the Soviet philosopher and sociologist, Y. V. TADEVOSYAN; his proposals, which are much more far-reaching than BURLATSKY'S, run as follows: Marxism-Leninism forms a complete and harmonious system of philosophical, economic and social views. But this does not mean that economic, social and political problems should or can be investigated only within the framework of Marxism-Leninism. A new branch of economic scholarship should be concerned with concrete economic questions, and "political sciences" (Politology) with concrete sociopolitical questions. Public discussion of BURLATSKY'S proposal is still continuing.

On the other hand, *Pravda* of 8th October 1965 published an article by the newly appointed departmental head, S. TRAPESNIKOV, entitled *Marxism-Leninism — unshakeable foundation of the Social Sciences*. TRAPESNIKOV proclaimed a hard policy towards the scholars. He criticized certain historians who had attempted to rewrite the history of the

CPSU in such a way that it was limited mainly to the "study of the last decade". Without mentioning the need to deal with Stalinism, TRAPESNIKOV writes:

"It may not be forgotten that the history of the CPSU is Marxism-Leninism in action, and that in the experiences of the CPSU theory and practice form a synthesis."

The attempts of certain scholars to examine STALIN'S compulsory collectivization in a critical light TRAPESNIKOV labels "one-sided and subjective".

It must be assumed that the new Party ideologists are going to follow a strict policy. At the same time contradictions between ideological functionaries and scholars and between sociologists and philosophers have come to light, which show that the new appointments in the ideological sector have not been benefi-

cial. The crisis is becoming more and more severe, for Communism is an ideology of evil which must be stamped out.

Change Of Position?

In the Soviet Union an extensive transfer of troops has taken place. Transferred principally were rocket bases as well as airforce ground bases, including modern stationary radar installations. Enormous airfields were laid out in prohibited areas, provided with underground hangars and munition stores up to 120 meters long. In charge of this action, which caused numerous rail routes to be blocked by the transport of the military material for up to six weeks, was Defense Minister Marshal Malinovski.

From Letters to the Editor

HUMAN RIGHTS IN HUNGARY

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, has accepted an invitation from the Polish government to attend, with the European members of the UN, a seminar next year on the realization of economic and social rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At the same time, the UN has released details of a seminar to be held in Budapest next June on participation in local administration as a means of promoting human rights, also for European countries.

The agenda of the Budapest seminar, prepared by the UN Secretariat in consultation with the Hungarian government, includes: "Point 4 — the local protection of human rights and safeguards against their violation."

We don't know whether we should be angry or laugh bitterly.

Mr. Thant, in the tenth year after the Hungarian Revolution, is going to hold a seminar organized with the Hungarian government on human rights — in a country where human rights do not exist, a country occupied by the Russian Army, and where the head of the Communist Party is the same Kadar who invited the Russians to return ten years ago and who has sent thousands of Hungarian patriots to the gallows and the firing squads.

Our Hungarian compatriots will think that the world has gone crazy and that in this crazy world the Americans are the barbarians and the Hungarian Communist government — which just arrested the released revolutionaries of 1956 and hundreds of workers and students because they demonstrated for "freedom, bread and land" — is the humanitarian.

ANDRAS POGANY

Chairman

Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters,
New York

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

4. Heritage of foreign policy

Tsarist Russian imperialism also stamped its tradition on Lenin and the Bolsheviks in their foreign policies. N. Berdyaev wrote:

Bolshevism, — how unparadoxical this statement seems, — is the third form of Muscovite imperialism, of the Muscovite great-stateness, of which the first and second forms were the Muscovite principedom and the empire of Peter I respectively. In this sense Bolshevism is the synthesis of Ivan Grozny and Marx. (60)

Lenin's foreign policy was under the spell of tsarist messianism: Accordingly, the Russians must lead and save mankind. Marx was the man who clothed Russian Christian messianism in materialistic terms: "Moscow — the Third Rome" became "Moscow — the center and salvation of the world proletariat." Lenin proclaimed the superiority of traditional Russian culture (in Marxist phraseology) over Western culture. Tsarist idolatry was preserved in the divination of the Bolshevik leaders as infallible beings with superhuman qualities.

Lenin usually spoke of Russia as the territory ruled by the tsars and not of Russia proper. To him Russians were all peoples conquered by the real Russians during the preceding centuries. He did not renounce Russian imperialism but always attacked a bad *regime*, or wanted to exploit the anti-imperial struggle of the nations subjugated by Russia as an instrument in his anti-regime struggle. He confessed that in the Russian empire "43 per cent of the population oppresses the majority of 'alien' nationalities." (61) Thus, to him *all* the Russians were holding whole nations in captivity. Lenin endeavoured to retain the empire of the tsars at all costs. But when some of the enslaved nations regained their independ-

ence he tried desperately to save the rest of the imperial realm.

How cleverly Lenin upheld Russian imperialism can be seen, for example, from the following quotation: "An enormous country, with a population of 150,000,000... counter-revolution has roused in millions and tens of millions of people a bitter hatred for the monarchy..." (62) The empire is in his opinion *one* country, one social unit, one people. And he wished that this population of 150 millions should show "bitter hatred" only for the monarchical regime, which should be changed, for the enslaved nations hated not only the monarchical regime but also Russian imperialism which was revealed in its true character. Lenin not only defended Russian imperialism, inasmuch as he failed to decry it as a structure which should be destroyed, but formulated his political theory in such a way that imperialists can in principle be only capitalists, meaning Western nations and the few *individual* Russian capitalists. He said:

It is not the landlords who created imperialism, although there are landlords in Russia, and although the landlords in Russia are more influential than in any other country. It is the capitalist class headed by the great financial magnates and the banks. (63)

Under the tsars Russian capitalism was still in its infancy. Therefore, to blame it completely for the centuries-old enslavement of whole nations was equal to fighting a phantom, thus making a mockery of the Russian oppression and imperialistic conquests.

The tsarist imperialistic heritage can be traced in various fields of Lenin's activities. The tsarist centralist principle in administration helped to dominate other nations from within, while formally the

Bolsheviks proclaimed them independent states, which then entered "voluntarily" into a union with the RSFSR. The monolithic absolutist principle in government was upheld by the Communist Party, which held legislative, executive, and judicial powers within the subjugated nations. Tsarist economic imperialism was preserved in Lenin's policy of ruthlessly plundering other nations, concentrating basic industries on Russian soil and exploiting to the maximum the labor force of the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Union. Tsarist social imperialism was preserved in the principle of dividing enslaved nations along class lines, favoring some of them while destroying others, and exterminating the élite of the conquered peoples.

Lenin accepted almost completely the imperialistic policies of the tsars with regard to new areas which had not yet been conquered. A correct perspective of the traditional Russian foreign policy inherited by Lenin is given by Dmytro Donzov, who in a comprehensive study substantiated the thesis that "Russia treated every stage of her expansion before 1917 (Slavophilism and neo-Slavism) and later (Bolshevism) from the aspect of her struggle against Europe as such . . ." (64) A student of Bolshevism in the Far East, Allen S. Whiting, wrote:

Thus economic, political, and strategic consequences flowed from the tsarist policy of establishing Russia as a Far Eastern power. History did not begin anew for the Bolsheviks; they entered upon it midstream with all three currents operative upon their course simultaneously. (65) Although this policy for a short time may seem to have differed from the policy of traditional attitudes, it took the upper hand:

Thus the wheel had come full circle, from tsars to commissars. Whatever good intentions may have prompted the revolutionary foreign policy of self-denial in 1917 and 1918, by 1923 Soviet Russia was looking at the Far East exactly as had Tsarist Russia. (66)

Whiting clearly saw the assertion of

traditional policy toward China and Mongolia:

In China, the conflict between a radical hands-off, anti-imperialist policy, and a traditional interventionist policy asserted itself almost from the very start. Re-emergence of the latter in conformity with Russia's historic policy can be traced consistently from the revision of the Karakhan Manifesto of July 25, 1919, to the Sino-Soviet treaty of May 31, 1924. (67)

The same author pointed out:

As in Manchuria, Soviet policy began by renouncing all Russian interests gained by Tsarist policy, but as in Manchuria, the course of events both inside and outside Russia ultimately reversed the course of Soviet policy. While the Narkomindel reference to "autonomous political existence" suggested a continuing recognition of Peking's traditional suzerainty over the area, Comintern fostering of a movement to "free" Mongolia would inevitably increase Russia's influence in Urga, should the movement succeed. (68)

Lenin was not only Russian in his way of thinking and acting, but also in many respects a traditionalist-conservative. In the political field he accepted the tsarist Russian heritage of despotism, absolutism, monolithic government, centralism, legality-of-force concept, sovereignty of government, imperialist messianism, anti-nationalism, anti-regime struggle, etc. In the cultural and economic spheres he was a traditionalist in regard to spiritual ideas, cultural values, anti-individualistic and anti-humanistic principles, impersonal morality, the methods of the law of force, collectivistic society, etc. From the military-police aspect Lenin inherited the notion of an all-powerful political police and a powerful standing mass-army. In addition, Lenin's foreign policy reveals characteristics of the traditional tsarist imperialism, destruction of conquered nations, decomposition of enslaved peoples into warring classes, extermination of national élite of the conquered peoples etc. etc. (to be continued)

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Students Form Vanguard in Freedom Struggle

At the end of 1965 a secret youth organization was exposed in Leningrad; it had about 250 members (mostly students in the Chemistry Faculty of Leningrad University and technicians from chemical institutes) and published an illegal newspaper, *Kolokol* (The Bell). The group also possessed a clandestine printing press on which illegal, anti-regime articles and poems by "free-thinking" writers were printed. These writings enjoyed great popularity in the country. Arrests occurred, and the young poets A. Mironov, L. Gubanov, V. Bukovsky and Yulia Vyshnevskaya were mentioned in connection with these. It is alleged that they have already received sentences ranging from ten to seven years imprisonment. According to other sources, Gubanov, Bukovsky, and Yulia Vyshnevskaya have been shut up in a Moscow mental hospital. The prisoners have also been accused of taking part in the big demonstrations on 5th December 1965 in Moscow for the freeing of the arrested writers Syniavsky and Daniel, who had been locked up for having their anti-government works published abroad.

About twenty students were originally arrested by the police during the demonstration on 5th December. Most of these were released shortly afterwards, but ten of them were expelled from the Gorky Literary Institute on account of this demonstration.

All this persecution is being conducted not so much because of the literary works of the writers and poets and their dissemination but rather on account of the activities evidenced by these students, their political character, and their protest against Communist slavery; for these young people are demanding more freedom.

Intellectual Ferment Amongst Students

According to a clandestine report sent from Moscow by a young student, the stu-

dents are united in an illegal organization known as "SMOG", which is conducting an open fight against the regime and is therefore exposed to a great deal of hostility from the official Komsomol.

In this connection it must be emphasized that the universities and colleges of Russia are attended by many students from the captive nations — this applies especially to Moscow and Leningrad. The students come from Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic, Caucasus, and other non-Russian lands, because they are not admitted to the universities of their homelands but obtain admission to purely Russian universities more easily because of the Russification policies. These non-Russian students may well play a decisive part in anti-governmental activities amongst the young.

Since 1959 there have been in the USSR many illegal, anti-regime journals — *Syntax*, *Boomerang*, *Phoenix*, *Siren*, *Almanac*, *Sphinx*, and others, particularly in Ukraine and Siberia. There are also illegal literary circles, with names such as "Brain", "Spectrum", "Blue Horse" (in Kharkiv). Practically all students belong to some circle or other, the circles consisting of five to ten members. The students often criticize the regime openly without being made to pay for this in any way by the authorities, since the university administrators are afraid of causing bigger incidents. The non-Russian students challenge in particular the Soviet nationality policy and the *kollehoz* system, as well as other social and economic phenomena of Soviet life.

A great many memoranda, essays and poems are passed from student to student, and the young people of the universities and colleges are undergoing a steadily growing process of fermentation. Tension is growing, and one has the impression that one day the system will fall apart and the rulers will no longer be able to maintain order. A similar process is also affecting the students of Czecho-Slovakia.

The young poet Bella Akhmadulina (born 1937) recently published in the journal *Literary Georgia* (which is unobtainable outside the USSR) a long poem entitled *The Rain*, which was heavily condemned by orthodox Communist critics, because it showed how the present elemental feeling of *Sturm und Drang* amongst young people is breaking in on the Communist bourgeoisie.

Komsomol Leadership Worried

There took place in Moscow on 27th and 28th December 1965 the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Leninist Communist Youth Federation of the All-Union Komsomol. The topic of debate was "The work of the Komsomol organizations of Byelorussia and the Ivanovo Region with regard to the education of young people in accordance with the revolutionary and worker's traditions of the Soviet people".

Komsomolskaya Pravda reported on 28th December in its leading article: "After the usual speeches about the hardening and tempering of Komsomol youth in accordance with the traditions delivered to them by convinced fighters for the cause of the Communist Party, the Secretary of the Moscow City Komsomol Committee, V. Trushyn, complained that 'the revolutionary tradition as expressed in works of literature broke off completely immediately after the War.' The present head of the Komsomol, Pavlov, expressed his indignation at 'imperialism's ideological diversions and the bourgeois propaganda which is attempting to reach the positive qualities of our young people, their passionate disposition towards what is new, their inclination towards bold reforms.' Pavlov expressed disgust at the liberal journals which admit critical opinions to their columns, particularly those which, he said, reveal the Stalinist past. 'Since the editors of *Novy Mir* have taken this matter so lightly, a great stream of so-called camp literature has poured from the columns of many periodicals. Attacks on Socialist Realism are becoming more and more frequent. Ambiguous statements about the truth of art are

published, and statements that only an artist can give an expert opinion on a work of art." With regard to the need to spread Party "traditions" Pavlov told the story of a museum in the village of Perebol, Mogilev Region, which was housed in the building where a secret Communist Party committee had its headquarters during the War and contained "of all the objects, all the weapons, all the goods and chattles which had belonged to the partisans, only one document, one spoon, and the curator."

Ukrainian Youth Fights On

In a letter from Ukraine to a Ukrainian living in the Free World, we read: "In 1962 the KGB uncovered twenty-two youth organizations in the Lviv area (Western Ukraine) which were organizing themselves with elemental energy, printing cartoons and distributing them, and duplicating Ukrainian national poems and revolutionary songs. Fourteen years after the end of the armed struggle the Ukrainian people are still singing the songs of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), and portraits of Stefan Bandera are still kept by people..."

There was a report in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of 4th February 1965 by one Yakovleva on the General Congress of Senior School Pupils at Mykolayiv (Eastern Ukraine). It was attended by more than 400 pupils, and a talk was given by the secretary of the local Komsomol organization on the necessity of learning well, "for our dear Party and the Soviet State care day in, day out, for every single pupil." However the children did not listen, but spoke to each other in loud voices, while others quietly left the hall, so that by the end of the talk the room was half empty. After the talk Yakovleva asked an 18-year-old schoolgirl why the young people did not want to listen and had gone outside. The girl replied that the talk was boring and uninteresting. It was, she said, the same thing as the children had heard and read a hundred times, and it simply wasn't true. In the factories, for example, she added, where the pupils have their practical lessons,

the managers are dishonest, although they have the Party book in their pockets. In the paper it says that the bread problem of the USSR has been solved and that the USSR is buying masses of grain abroad. But the collective farms have no grain for reserve corps, and since autumn there have been long queues in front of the shops waiting for a little bread. The newspapers write that Capitalism is decadent, "but why can one get everything in the Capitalist system and nothing here?" Yakovleva says that this kind of attitude and manner of thinking is characteristic of the majority of young people.

A young collective farm labourer from Tchernihiv, M. Kolos, wrote to the newspaper *Molod' Ukrainy* (Youth of Ukraine) that he is unable to believe statements made by the newspaper, since it wrote that fourteen graduates from a ten-year school had volunteered as collective farm workers. He himself had graduated from the ten-year school and knows how things are. One works for three days and the authorities simply forget about half of it. In the newspapers and on the radio everything is wonderful, but in reality it looks quite different.

In another journal there was a report that young people do not want to attend the so-called "Culture Crowd" clubs, as there was only boring chatter to be heard and there were only boring films about Bolshevik heroes to be seen; or else the Komsomol agitator talked some stupid drivel about religion. "Our parents teach us religion and we don't want to hear anti-religious talks and we don't understand Russian. We'd rather go out into the fields and sing Ukrainian songs."



Professor Liberman has strongly criticised the "economic councils" of Kharkiv and Lviv in *Pravda Ukrainy* of 15th September 1965. In the district of Lviv and Volhynia some experiments are being carried out which recall those made in the textile and shoe industries. Liberman writes that these experiments have not proceeded as

successfully as expected and that in some cases have even failed. Liberman makes the respective economic councils responsible. In Kharkiv bureaucracy has done everything to hinder the change over to new work methods. Even some Party officials have violently criticised the economic councils, and there seems to be a division of opinion over their "historic role" itself.

— • —

On the 20th anniversary of the victorious ending of the second World War, the Golden Star medal was awarded to the capital of West Ukraine, Lviv. On the occasion of the ceremonial investiture, on 23 October, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev, appeared in Kyiv and made a speech during the ceremony. In it he wooed the sympathies of the Party officials and of the intelligentsia. It is true that Brezhnev constantly stressed the "unshakeable friendship" of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, but in the main he tried to represent the Ukrainians as partners with equal rights and he refrained from the description of the Russian nation as "big brother", "big nation" etc..

Brezhnev went on to speak of the "extension of the economic rights of the Union republics". He mentioned in detail in this connection the greater responsibilities of the Union republics for consumer goods industries.

But he raised no illusions about a greater significance for the republic in the economic policies of the Soviet Union. He made no mention of the GOS plan for the republics, which now ostensibly is to give greater importance to the planning of the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev devoted the last section of his speech to foreign policy. Very violent attacks against the Federal Republic of Germany gave this speech a special note, in so far as it followed an exact description of the atrocities committed by the Germans in Ukraine in the time of Hitler.

After enumerating the mass-murders of "Soviet citizens" in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities, Brezhnev tried to prove the undemocratic character of the Federal Republic, and to represent it as the continuation of the Nazi state.

The press in the Eastern Zone of Germany and in the Ukrainian SSR attempted to give publicity to the visit of Ulbricht to Ukraine.

Radyanska Ukraina (of 25th September, 1965) and many other newspapers published on the day before Ulbricht arrived a portrait of the Communist leader and a short biography. The "DDR" delegation was cordially received at the Boryspol airport near Kyiv. The East Berlin guests paid a visit to the leaders of the Soviet Ukraine Party and to state leaders and saw a ballet in the evening at the Academic Shevchenko Theatre. On 26th September the German delegation, led by Ulbricht, laid a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Soldier and visited a collective farm near Kyiv. On the same day a ceremonial reception took place, at which the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Shelest, and Ulbricht made speeches. Ulbricht stressed among other things:

"Our visit to the Soviet Union serves not only to strengthen our friendship with the Soviet Union, but also the friendship of the DDR with Ukraine. Very strong mutual relations in the ideological, economic and cultural fields already exist between us. These contacts, in particular the exchange of experience between the concerns and institutes of the DDR and Ukraine, have already become a tradition. We are convinced that such co-operation will prove true also in the future."



Literaturna Ukraina of 3rd September 1965 reported that an exhibition of Japanese art had opened in Lviv. The 500 exhibits came from the Kyiv state museum and some private collections. The press and the radio in Lviv praised this exhibition as a great event in the cultural life of the city.

Literaturna Ukraina of 15th October 1965

gave a report on the visit of some Japanese writers and artists to the capital of Ukraine. They had shortly before taken part in a symposium in Moscow. The Japanese professor Touru Nakamura explained that although there are in Japan only very few experts for Ukrainian, works by the Ukrainian classic writers such as T. Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka, I. Franko and M. Kozyubynsky have been translated into Japanese. The Soviet literature expert, Hiroshi Kimura, supplemented this information by stating that about 30 Japanese writers had specialised in translations of Russian and Ukrainian works. In October the General Secretary of the Japanese Association for Scriptwriters and Film Critics, Isiro Tokada, also visited Ukraine.

On 7th September 1965 a further visit was made by a Japanese economic delegation, led by the vice-president of the Japanese Federation of Economic Organisation, Kogoro Uemura. (*Radyanska Ukraina*, 7th September). A trades union delegation of Japanese dockers spent three days in Kyiv. (*RU*, 10th Oct.)

Heavier Penalties

Khrushchov's decree, according to which persons sentenced to imprisonment whose conduct in prison or camp had been good could be released after serving three-quarters of their sentence, has been annulled by the Supreme Court of the USSR. The Supreme Court also decided that penalties for people convicted of "especially severe crimes" (i. e. political crimes) should be increased.

In this context we think it appropriate to point out that the decree *On Forced Labour Camps* originally appeared in 1919, when, during Lenin's lifetime, the *Sbornik Dekretov* (no. 12, p. 124) was published. The organization and administration of the camps was made subject to the Cheka, which also had the main powers of transportation. More detailed information is to be found in the *Sbornik Dekretov* itself. And the forced labour camps still exist.

A former UPA soldier was sentenced to death in the rayon headquarters of Kivertsy (Volhynia) on 2nd December 1965.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Prince Niko Nakashidze

Jan. 25, 1899 — May 22, 1966

SECRETARY-GENERAL OF ABN



Sacrificed His Life For ABN Ideas

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antiboldshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.
Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to: Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account No. 30/26135 (A. B. N.).

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antiboldschewistischen Blocs der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69.

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slawa Stetzko.

Erscheinungsort: München.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Erich Kirmair, München 12, Westendstraße 49.

A Lifetime For The Fatherland

On Friday, May 27, 1966, the funeral service for the deceased Georgian exile politician, Prince Niko Nakashidze, took place in the Consecration Hall of the *Nordfriedhof* in Munich. Many representatives of the national exile groups in Munich were present, as well as German comrades from the war-period and other friends of the deceased. Numerous wreathes testify to the deep sympathy which Prince Nakashidze enjoyed in his sphere of influence and among his acquaintances. The mass was celebrated according to the orthodox rite. Speeches on the life and activity of the well-known Georgian patriot were held by: Dr. Wepchwadse, in the name of the Georgian colony; the former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Jaroslav Stetsko, in the name of ABN; Dr. Hans Neuwirth, in the name of German expellees; the Croatian exile politician, Doshen, who was appointed to speak for the American Friends of the ABN in New York; and the Munich businessman, Mr. Koch, one of the German friends of the deceased. The body was conveyed to Paris, where it was interred in the Georgian cemetery on May 28, 1966.

The following is the speech delivered by President Jaroslav Stetsko:

One of Georgia's great sons, Prince Niko Nakashidze, an uncompromising pioneer in the fight for the freedom and independence of the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism and Communism, has been unexpectedly taken from our ranks.



With profound sorrow we convey to all our fellow-fighters and friends the sad news that on May 22nd the long standing Secretary-General of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

PRINCE NIKO NAKASHIDZE

President of the Georgian colony in the Federal Republic of Germany, died suddenly. He was his whole life an upright and unflinching fighter for the freedom and independence of the Georgian people and all the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism.

The funeral service took place on Friday, May 27, 1966, at 11:00 A. M. in the Consecration Hall of the *Nordfriedhof* in Munich.

His body was conveyed to Paris, where it will find its final resting place in the Georgian cemetery located there.

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

As Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), his thoughts and feelings, and above all, his beliefs and convictions were always of an outstanding nature. He has departed from us, but owing to his knightly character and his deeds, he will remain unforgettable — not only to the Georgian people. He constantly demonstrated firmness in his principles, notwithstanding the many opponents he encountered in his devoted fight, not only for the Georgian people and his fatherland, but for all the peoples subjugated in the Russian empire.

Prince Nakashidze's personality embodied both passion and a brilliant intellect.

With his broad knowledge and unswerving firmness in the defence of our ideas, he proved himself to be an irreplaceable fighter in our revolutionary period of transition, for it is not solely a matter of technique, but, much more, a matter of inner strength and conviction.

Prince Nakashidze had a firm belief in the ideals of nation and Christianity. He was deeply convinced that the national independence of the subjugated peoples could be achieved only by the subjugated peoples themselves, through a common front of coordinated national liberation revolutions. He was aware that support from abroad would come only upon the Free World's recognition of its common interest with the subjugated peoples.

Prince Nakashidze was a man of great personal and political courage. He did not shy away from speaking the truth to the face of the leaders of this world. He belonged to the great front-rank fighters against the Russian empire in any form whatsoever, and he openly declared himself for the dissolution of this empire. In everything he did, he was always motivated by national and human considerations — never by personal ones. The aim of his life was to liberate his people and all subjugated peoples from their foreign yoke.

Prince Nakashidze felt only contempt for everything petty; he constantly strove to realize his noble ideals. His writings, full of profound thoughts and ideas, offer guiding principles, of a strategic as well as of a political nature, not only for the common liberation fight, but also for the policy of the Free World towards the Russian imperium. Hence it can be easily understood that the Communist press of Georgia, as well as the Soviet press on the whole, broke out in sharp attacks against Prince Nakashidze's activity many times. Without a doubt, he was a thorn in the flesh to the Moscow leaders.

The Prince was a great tribune who knew how to carry his audience with him. His belief in noble and great ideals also radiated upon his countrymen and fellow-fighters.

Prince Niko Nakashidze is dead, but his work continues to live in us. To prove ourselves worthy of his remembrance, it lies upon us to stand up for his ideals, which are also our ideals, with the same force of character and devotedness as he.

The cause of his death has not yet been established with final certainty. He was found dead in his apartment. To all appearances he died of heart failure; but nonetheless a certain doubt remains whether a well-known enemy did not have its hand in it — an enemy which employs murder as a part of its system.

Be that as it may, ABN will continue to fight with the same vigor and determination until Bolshevism and Russian imperialism have been subdued for ever.

Long live free Georgia!

Long live the common front of all the subjugated peoples against the world foe, which in our time is embodied by Russian imperialism and Communism!

Honour to the heroes — Death to the tyrants!

MAY — THE FATAL MONTH

In the press reports on the sudden death of Prince Niko Nakashidze, it was stated that he too, like Bandera, was possibly the victim of a cunning murder by the Soviet Russian secret service. The results of the post-mortem examination and other external evidence do not lend weight to this assumption; nonetheless,

such a possibility cannot be excluded without any further ado, especially in view of the fact that it is well known that poison murder, which has been developed to perfection by the Soviet secret service, produces the obvious symptoms of a heart attack, without leaving any other detectable evidence behind. In addition, it must be kept in mind that as Secretary-General of ABN, Prince Nakashidze always took an uncompromising stand against Bolshevik tyranny in both word and writing. In any event, the fact that political murders planned and carried out by Moscow have several times fallen in the month of May cannot be overlooked. For instance, the murder of the Ukrainian President, Petlura, took place in Paris on May 25, 1926, and the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, colonel Konovalts, was murdered in Rotterdam on May 23, 1938, etc.

* * *

The following are short *biographical dates* concerning Prince Nakashidze: Born 1899, a descendant of a Georgian aristocratic family, which appears in the chronicles of this country as early as the 10th century. Following the completion of his education at the Petersburg military academy, he pursued the career of an officer. Upon Georgia's declaration of independence in 1918, he became politically active in the Georgian National Democratic Party. When Georgia fell under Russian rule again in 1921, Prince Nakashidze was arrested; in 1922 he was banished from the country. He found asylum in Germany and studied jurisprudence and political science at the University of Berlin. At the same time he strove to serve the cause of his native country by contributing to German and Georgian exile newspapers. During World War II he fought against Bolshevism on the East front as a lieutenant-colonel in a Georgian unit. Towards the end of the war he was taken prisoner by the English. Upon his release in 1949, he went to Germany and immediately joined ABN as a representative of Georgia. In this organization he filled the post of Secretary-General since 1954. At the same time he was the President of the Georgian colony in the Federal Republic of Germany.

How Is Russia Colonizing Lithuania

Moscow has been pursuing her imperialist ends since time immemorial. Almost the entire history of Russia consists of wars of conquest with her neighbours. These wars were started by Russian princes and tsars; they are being continued by these men's successors, Communist Russia. Among the many countries which have fallen victim to Russian Communism is Lithuania. Her peace-loving people were subjugated by the Soviet Union in the second World War and have been undergoing colonization by it ever since. (The word "Union" here is sheer fiction, for not one of its members entered the union voluntarily and not one of them may secede from that Union; they are all subject to the dictates of the Russian Com-

munist Party and the Kremlin Government).

Like her Tsarist predecessor, Communist Russia has done everything possible to see to it that as few Lithuanians as possible remain in their own country. The Lithuanian people does not belong to the Slav group and has nothing in common with Russia; Lithuanian is a quite distinct and very ancient language, related to Sanskrit; Lithuania has long had a highly developed culture, and has great political experience, for she began to play her part as a centralized state in international affairs as early as the thirteenth century. Both Tsarist and Communist Russia have indulged in the habit of transporting Lithuanians to Russia, and in particular to Siberia, as well

as wiping out Lithuanians on a massive scale, murdering them, shooting them, and so on. In fact Communist Russia has well and truly overtaken Tsarist Russia in the degree to which she has made use of these methods. In the process Lithuania has lost one-third of her people, while those who remain are continually subjected to Russification.

The practice of deportation lives on today and will, of course, continue. At present the educated young men and women of Lithuania are hit the hardest. They are compelled for various reasons invented by the Communists to leave their homeland at the rate of several thousands a year.

Red Moscow uses methods other than force to attract as many young Lithuanians to Russia as she can. The talented are enticed to so-called special schools in Russia, where at the end of their studies they find themselves subject to conditions which prevent their returning home. All sorts of attempts are made by Lithuania's Russian occupiers to shift as many of the inhabitants as possible to Russia.

Of those who were deported during the Stalinist era, almost eighty per cent have died because of their impossible living conditions — of hunger, climate, hard labour and other forms of cruelty.

A few of them survived Communist tyranny in exile and found themselves at liberty again with permission to return home. But when they returned, it was only to have to return to Siberia shortly afterwards: at home they found nowhere to live and therefore were not registered with the police, could not work or engage in any other activity. According to the "legal norms", those who return and wish to remain must be in possession of at least nineteen square yards of living space. However, the distribution of dwellings lies in the hands of the authorities, headed by men sent by Moscow and true to Russia, who stick fast to the rules when they are dealing with Lithuanians, so that these Lithuanians have no chance whatsoever of acquiring the necessary living quarters. Nor are they permitted to stay permanently with relatives or friends unless the prescribed living

space is there. In this way those who return are indirectly compelled to leave their homeland again and go back to Russia. Not back to forced labour, but nevertheless to an alien land and alien people.

If these people do not leave their homeland of their own accord, then they are sent back by the police. In any case, the main purpose of the living-space law created by Lithuania's Red occupiers is to ensure that those who return after deportation are kept out of their homeland.

The measures taken in Lithuania by Red Moscow serve not only to make room for colonization in the occupied country, but to limit national resistance to the occupation; the occupier knows only too well that he has no true friends amongst the population he is suppressing.

The places of the Lithuanians who are deported, murdered, liquidated, enticed away are taken by crowds of colonists from Russia. They come as "specialists", civil servants, clerks, labourers, etc. Their numbers are swollen, too, by the Red Army stationed all over Lithuania, whose members do not always return home after their period of service has come to an end, for to return to Russia is to return to a lower living standard than Lithuania's — although the Communist system has ruined this country, known to pre-war tourists as "Little America". These colonists acquire dwellings without any trouble and register with the police. The intake of foreign elements is especially high in the towns, and this intake is continually on the increase, most of it Russian. In 1942, according to official statistics, there were 85,303 Russians resident in Lithuania; by 1959 there were 231,000 — almost three times as many.

According to the same set of statistics there were also 18,000 Ukrainians in Lithuania in 1959; before Red Moscow subjugated the country, there was not a single one. Altogether about 10,000 new colonists arrive in Lithuania from Russia each year. And in exactly the same way Communist Russia is colonizing the other non-Communist lands of the so-called Soviet Union.

J. Kairys

Our Ideas On The Attack

CONFUSION IN THE KREMLIN

There is an unprecedented process of ideological, moral and political decay in the Russian empire — the present rulers are visibly disintegrating. In the past, the tsarist aristocracy failed through its own decadence and was replaced by a clique of Bolshevik leaders who at the time saved the Russian imperium through their vindictiveness and amorality, their mendacious Bolshevik ideology and ruthless aggressive practices. But this Bolshevik ruling class, which has held power until now, is in turn decaying and doomed to failure. Former ideals are fading, self-confidence is on the wane, imperial and messianistic ideologies are perilously shaking in their foundations. Elements of sybaritism and hedonism are becoming prevalent and the leaders behave like satiated tyrants. The men at the top today stake almost everything on one card, i. e. on the Russian people and — quite openly — their notorious, brutal Russian chauvinism, without taking into account the clear indications, perceptible in every sphere of social life, that their chances of success are poor indeed. The Russian idiosyncrasy complex is getting weak and is about to disappear. It has completely lost its power of attraction inside the Bolshevik paradise and survives only outside the Russian empire, in the free world, in the minds of snobs, misguided and deluded workers in the West. We may well be faced with the paradoxical situation that Russian Bolshevism and the Russian empire will be wiped out by internal, centrifugal, national forces and by theistic and Christian thinking, while a modified Bolshevism will continue to exist and even spread in our present free world. What makes the latter event possible is the fact that the free world has largely lost its sense of values, its faith in the eternal truths, in God and Fatherland, and that its main concern is with the petty, materialistic things and transient affairs of life. The West has turned away from spiritual values and overrates the importance of ephemeral matter, forgetting that this can perish miserably in a short time in the fires of revolution and war, which may also kill its own children.

But above this disorder voices can be heard from the concentration camps in the tundras and taigas of Siberia proclaiming the resurrection of everlasting ideals; the imprisoned Ukrainian insurgents have once more taken up the fight for Christ and Fatherland. The revolutionary liberation struggle has taken on new forms and entered a fresh phase in massive confrontations with the enemy. Clear proof of this are the events at Novo-Cherkask, Donbas and Dnipropetrovsk, where in street demonstrations Ukrainian crowds were in open collision with enemy forces. Below the surface rage and roar the waves of the Ukrainian revolution, and as the tempest increases there are here and there flashes of lightning and rolls of thunder.

Young Ukrainians are reverting to ancient ways of thinking and the ancient esteem for their country. They reject the alien and deceitful ideology and the strange mode of life which have been imposed by force upon the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian people are becoming aware that they are not leading a life

of their own, that they are not pursuing their own ends and are not putting into practice their own ideology, but are reduced by force to vegetate in the manner of the occupier and are made to swallow his lies. Unexpectedly and, it seemed, all of a sudden there rose, like the phoenix from the ashes, a new élite of poets, writers and critics who give expression to wholly non-Russian, in fact to Ukrainian ideas. How strong and powerful must the political world of ideas of the Ukrainian nationalist underground movement and that other hidden Ukraine really be in its entirety, if one small sector could bring forth so characteristic a phenomenon as the poet Vasyl Symonenko! And this is only a beginning. Ukrainian ideas and the Ukrainian revolutionary potential in every corner of the empire have by no means come fully into action so far. The new Hetman Khmelnytsky era is still to come. But the early signs of the rising storm can already be seen today.

In his book *Christians in the USSR* the French writer of Russian descent, Prof. N. Struve, points out that Ukraine must be regarded as the reservoir of the priesthood, and thus of Christianity in the USSR.

In the Swiss press and even in the reports of the usually anti-Ukrainian German press there are explicit statements to the effect that Ukrainian nationalism is on the increase and determines the direction not only of its own resistance movement, but even that of other nations. *Pravda* raises the alarm with an article by Malanchuk, and *Robotnycha Gazeta*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, devotes whole columns to the dangerous ideology and activity of ABN. The Swiss paper *Weltwoche* confirms that in Moscow restaurants national groups are coming into evidence, who dissociate themselves from their Russian environment and lay stress on their national distinctiveness and superiority. The ideological offensive of Ukrainian, Georgian, Turkestani, White Ruthenian and Lithuanian nationalists is gathering momentum.

In Siberia, too, the Ukrainian national liberation movement is active, and so it is wherever Ukrainians are living. Its ideology knows no frontiers; it is anti-imperialistic and opposed to the Soviet regime. More than that, its ideology is an important salutary factor in the process of the world's regeneration, since the ideas of nation and fatherland, the heroic conception of life, the respect for tradition, the view of man as a being created in God's image, embodying, as it does, the principle of social justice — since all this offers a mighty and triumphant alternative to the false doctrine of Marxism and Leninism. The latter is the teaching of the devil with which no compromise can possibly be made.

According to the Bolsheviks, a "return to Leninism" is now to be the salvation. But no honest man in Ukraine can be caught by that false dogma and no-one will ever be deceived by it again. Was not Lenin the creator of the Cheka, and his right hand in the mass murders the degenerate henchman and Cheka chief, Dzhierzhinski? The glorification of Cheka members is a glorification of genocide and criminal lawlessness, which were no different from those of Yezhov's and Stalin's GPU and NKVD murderers.

The younger Russian generation with the former KGB chief Shelepin at the top, Brezhnev, Kosygin and the lot, are all trying to save the Russian empire from ruin with the same old ideas, with the same principles and the

same terrorist system of government as before. They have completely lost their heads; they experiment this way and that, they are beset by dissensions and rivalries, they squabble amongst themselves and settle personal accounts, they make promises and break them — just as in the past. But there is this difference: never before were these gangsters with their predatory instincts, these rabid criminals with their diabolic designs and their lust after world power, in such a state of demoralization as they are today. Formerly, Stalin, in his frenzied attempts to force through the Russian way of life, had by his bloody purges seen to it that his gangster rivals were eliminated or at least brought to heel. But those days are over.

A new competitor has entered the arena of the USSR. A mighty resistance movement has sent forth its fighters for other ideals, for the noble aspirations of the subjugated peoples, and the influence of their ideals has spread wide and far in all directions. The war which the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) has waged for decades has conquered the paralysing fear. The peoples, freed from their dread of the devils incarnate, are marching into battle for Christ and Nation.

Ukraine has entered the arena to fight for the realization of the ideals and visions and the ancient principles of justice of the eternal metropolis of Kyiv; in all spheres of life Ukraine has taken up the fight to make her own conception of life come true.

The Kyiv of the underground, the national, Christian, traditional, eternal Kyiv has risen against Moscow!

From now on the battle cry is: *Kyiv against Moscow* in every field and in every respect!

The conflict is spreading in ever widening circles. The “white” Russians are well aware of this: they want to appropriate our Trident; they would even consent to Kyiv becoming the metropolis of the new empire (a federation). We remember the period before 1917, when everything seemed to be quiet at home and Simon Petlura published his paper *Ukrainian Life* in Moscow. But the Ukrainian Volhynian regiment took up the fight against tsarism at the centre, i. e. Petersburg, and brought it down. Reading now about student demonstrations in Moscow, historical analogies come to mind.

Many students from Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and other countries of the USSR, encountering difficulties with their studies at home, or for various other reasons, go to study at Moscow, the centre of the empire. To them must be ascribed the initiative in the different kinds of demonstrations there, which are joined by the dissatisfied elements among Russian students. The earlier revolutionaries Zhelyabov, Perovska, and the bomb expert Kibalchich, who had organized the assassination of Alexander II, were all Ukrainians by birth. Even if their national consciousness was undeveloped, they nevertheless demonstrated the spirit of freedom and human dignity.

This narrower view must also be taken of the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel at Moscow. We do not know Sinyavsky's nationality, he might be Ukrainian, and Daniel may possibly be of Jewish extraction. But we do know that somewhere Sinyavsky has called the Russians a nation of “drunkards and thieves” and therefore one of the charges against him is that of insulting the Russian people.

It is quite possible that one purpose of the trial was to strengthen Russian chauvinistic, if not anti-semitic, sentiments, apart from the general aim of terrorizing into silence intellectuals and writers who give expression to the rising ferment among the intellectual élite. Certain Western observers are sure to point out that there is no sign in Ukrainian lands of similar resistance and that a trial like this does not take place in Kyiv, in short that the centre of resistance is obviously in Moscow. But can it be proved that the Ukrainian poet Symonenko, for instance, was not murdered? A trial like that of Sinyavsky and Daniel at Moscow would not be held in Kyiv; there one deals with such cases by liquidating them, as in the past, with a shot in the neck. In Kyiv one does not show consideration for anything or anybody. In the capital of spiritual resistance, the head quarters of the ideological campaign with its mystic symbols, there reigns unabated the Shelepin terror as in the days of Maluta Skuratov. This kind of trials are unknown in Kyiv, not because there is no ideological and political resistance, but because accounts with courageous opponents are here settled in a different manner.

But let us examine the Moscow trial and the simultaneous departure of Tarsis for the West. Some people see it this way: In their confusion the Moscow tyrants decided on repressive action against the writers, but they had not reckoned with the reaction of the snobbish and leftist intellectual circles in the West, where there is growing disbelief in the genuineness of "de-Stalinization". The Italian Communist boss, Longo, is said even to have threatened Suslov with a public protest of the Italian Communist Party if the writers in Moscow were to be convicted. The granting of an exit permit to Tarsis was to smooth over and neutralize any unfavourable reaction in the West to the conviction of the other writers. The conviction itself was designed to intimidate writers all over the USSR and to put a stop to their ideological resistance, while Tarsis's journey to the West was to create the impression there that the other two writers had justly been brought to account for the actual crimes of insulting the people and treasonably undermining the Soviet state. This was made to look even more plausible by the fact that Tarsis before his departure had expressed disapproval of the defendants, either from a personal grudge against Sinyavsky and Daniel for not liking his work, or, perhaps, as recompense to the authorities for his own travel permit. At the same time, the Bolsheviks are trying to stamp Tarsis as a paranoiac and megalomaniac.

There can be no doubt that the tyrants have utterly lost control of the situation since they destroyed the Caligula-Stalin cult and rocked the "faith" in their dogmas. Brezhnev's star is fading, and now one prepares the way for Shelepin . . . It is questionable, however, whether the genuine Russians, who are truly Russian in soul and mind, are actually playing the leading role among the dissenters. We are not denying that in the political sense Tarsis is a Russian, but by descent he is Greek on the paternal side, a russified Greek, and his mother was a Ukrainian, whose maiden name was Prykhodko, a typically Ukrainian surname. If a comparison is permissible, one might say that Tarsis is in many respects a Hohol (Russian: Gogol) in miniature. In the political sense Hohol had also suffered sometimes from a Russian complex, but ideologically and culturally he was in essence a Ukrainian. As the Ukrainian writer E. Malaniuk quite rightly says,

Hohol had his revenge on the Russian empire by sowing through some of his works (as, for instance, *Dead Souls*) the seeds of destruction among the imperial intellectual élite.

The ideological basis of Tarsis's creative power, his philosophy and the values he affirms, are entirely un-Russian, especially in his book *Ward Seven*. He speaks out openly against the concept of human society as a herd and firmly stands up for the principle of individualism. He is an admirer of Nietzschean ideas and his cultural-political vision is anti-Russian. In *Ward-Seven*, for instance, he somewhere speaks of the absolute necessity of freedom for all nations . . . His tragedy lies in the fact that by the criteria of culture, ideology and philosophy he belongs to the Hellenistic-Ukrainian world of thought which is diametrically opposed to Russian thinking, while at the same time he considers himself a Russian in the political sense. This dichotomy makes for his personal dilemma and probably accounts for his ideological and political balancing acts. He might well, with Goethe, say of himself: "Two souls, alas, dwell in my breast!"

For the same reason the serious misconception may arise in the West that it is the Russians who are leading the protest movement and that the West must therefore put its main stake on the Russians as an anti-Bolshevist force, rather than on the subjugated nations. The Russophiles at any rate, those who support the idea of a single, undivided Russian empire, feel justified in making the misleading statement that Russian writers are the vanguard in the anti-Communist struggle. But Tarsis's ideological creative power shows no signs of a Russian mentality, just as Hohol's never did. Tarsis's ideas are strange to the Russian mind and therefore will not stir the Russian masses.

The only correct course of action is to back the peoples subjugated by Russia, i. e. to support their national-political aspirations which accord with the ideological and cultural anti-Russian way of thinking.

In the meantime one can only welcome the fact that ideas proper to a way of life other than the Russian, ideas which have for long been dominant in Ukraine, are beginning to storm the human fortresses of the nationally unconscious, causing or increasing internal conflicts, raising doubts, carrying confusion and dissension into the enemy lines. There is no doubt that our ideas are on the attack in various ways.

But a warning is necessary here: We must never accommodate ourselves to the style and strategy of those content with half-measures; we must not attempt to compromise and make common cause with them. We must, rather, deal uncompromisingly with every question and insist on the solution of all problems on national-political lines, the only basis on which cooperation is possible.

We can join hands only with those whose aims are the same as ours, i. e. the dismemberment of the Russian empire and the creation of national states. For the ultimate purpose of our struggle is and always will be: the dissolution of the empire and thereby the eradication of Bolshevism — not merely the abolition of Communism, with the empire remaining intact!

While we consider useful all ways and means which contribute to the disintegration and overthrow of the Soviet régime, we cannot join forces in action with anyone who is not at the same time for the destruction of the empire.

Ukraine is more than an opponent of the régime, she is in the van of the anti-imperialist and anti-Soviet revolutionary struggle for the liberation of suppressed nations!

Kyiv against Moscow! That battle-cry stands for national independence versus imperialism, and it implies another world of ideas, another way of life, and other values than Russia has to offer.

The truths of Kyiv are not the truths of Moscow! Our cathedral of St. Sophia is not a Kremlin.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State

ACT OF PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Evhen Konovalets during the past decades of blood-stained Russian Bolshevik subjugation carried on a stubborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law and order, multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Russian occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Stepan Bandera!

The City of Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 p.m.

Head of the National Assembly

Yaroslav Stetsko

“Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own.”

Benjamin Franklin

Hon. M. A. Feighan

The Two Wars Of National Liberation

(Continuation)

Agents of the Communist Party of Italy were recently caught smuggling a large sum of money into a South American country for use by the liberation front there.

The Dominican Republic crisis had all the earmarks of a carefully planned Communist action to seize control of the government there.

A so-called rebel group, thoroughly infiltrated by and likely directed by trained Communist agents, attempted to incite a revolt in that country.

There is mounting evidence that if President Johnson had not acted swiftly to intervene in this rebel attempt to seize control of the Dominican Government we would now be witnessing a repetition of the Cuba lesson in this hemisphere.

While a stable government has not yet been established in the Dominican Republic, and the so-called Rebel group remains as a threat, a Communist coup was defeated.

Elsewhere in Latin America, the Brazilian Parliament was required to take drastic action to head off a Communist seizure of power in that country.

In Venezuela acts of Communist violence are a regular occurrence.

In Columbia, large areas of that country are under what amounts to a state of armed siege by Communist guerillas, and thousands of innocent people have been murdered by them.

Competent observers of developments in Latin America have warned in recent months that Communist coups may be attempted in three other countries at any time.

In Africa, every newly independent nation on that continent is a target of the Communist liberation front.

The Congo served as a testing ground for the tactics most suitable for the success of Communist wars of national liberation in that area of the world.

While we have turned back that effort to impose the dictatorship of Communism on the people of the Congo, at least temporarily, we must be prepared for similar Communist wars of aggression elsewhere in Africa.

While our attention is directed at the Communist so-called national liberation wars, it is timely to ask what happened to the national liberation movements within the Communist empire that captured our attention during the 1950's.

Have they been defeated and broken beyond repair by the Dictatorship of Communism?

Let's look at the record.

When the East German workers rose up in revolt against their Russian oppressors in 1953, the Free World was shocked into inaction.

The Russians soon put down that revolt by the brutal use of armed force.

Reaction to these events in the Free West generally concluded that successful revolt against the tyranny of Communism was impossible.

In official American circles the opinion was voiced that there was a finality to Communist occupation of central East Europe, and that we must learn to live with the realities of Communist power.

This was followed by the Geneva summit conference of 1955, and Khrushchov's denunciation of Stalin.

By this device the new Russian ruling clique made Stalin the scapegoat for all the evils of Communism, and by inference, promised more freedom for the people under Communist domination.

What Khrushchov intended as a safety valve to release the pent up feelings of the exploited masses, was interpreted by the exploited as an invitation to seek more freedom.

The revolt of the Polish workers in Poznan during June of 1956 was the first response to this invitation.

While the Poznan revolt was put down by Russian armed force it led to widespread and open dissension throughout Poland.

Those developments reached a climax in early October when Poland hung on the edge of a full scale revolution.

Peaceful demonstrations by students at the University of Budapest, on October 23rd, to express sympathy and support for the struggle taking place in Poland, as well as to protest against misery of life in Hungary, triggered off total political revolution in that country.

Once again the Free West was shocked into inaction by this event, which was not supposed to happen.

On their own the aroused Hungarian people toppled the Communist regime imposed upon them, put the Russian occupation forces to rout, purged the Communist secret police and established a provisional revolutionary government.

That government then proclaimed Hungarian neutrality, announced withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and appealed to the West for recognition and help.

No help came and on November 4th the Red Army reinvaded Hungary and robbed the Hungarian freedom revolution of final victory.

From these events we can learn some valuable lessons.

The first is to understand the real meaning and dimensions of total political revolution.

This is a new power factor in international affairs.

It is a new revolution that involves the entire population of a country, from teen-agers to grandmothers.

It does not require advance organization by an elite class of revolutionaries, who make the masses class conscious and acutely aware of their exploitation by the privileged few.

Nor does it require trained revolutionaries to lead the masses in a struggle to overthrow the existing social-economic order.

It requires no more than the conditions of everyday life that the dictatorship of Communism imposes upon the masses.

Those conditions form an entire population into a national liberation movement.

The second lesson we must learn is that Communism by its nature is the most powerful stimulant of Nationalism.

Communism is alien to everything the occupied masses esteem and treasure; it denies the people their heritage and reduces them to a degrading state of servility.

The popular resentment that boils out of this process is a popular determina-

tion by the exploited masses to regain their national identity and to preserve their heritage.

This is the real driving force behind the resurgence of Nationalism in all the nations in Communist captivity.

The third lesson we must learn is that the national liberation movements in the captive nations have adopted tactics which constantly harass and overburden the dictatorship of Communism.

Noteworthy among these tactics are slow down in production and passive co-operation in carrying out elaborate state planning.

The result of these tactics is well demonstrated by the critical agricultural failures in the Soviet Union.

While the Kremlin propagandists blame this on an alleged prolonged drought, the facts are that the farm laborers will not cooperate with the plans of the huge Soviet State Farms.

By this method they deny the regime the required food production to maintain some degree of contentment among the city proletarians and workers.

And finally, we must accept the fact that there will be more revolts and full-scale freedom revolutions in the captive nations in the years ahead.

The nature of Communism assures us of this certainty.

Viewing the two wars of national liberation as I have briefly outlined them, it is pertinent to ask what can we do to slow down the Communist variety and lend support to the freedom variety.

These peaceful courses of action are now open to us.

1. We can declare a moratorium on any further wheat deals with the Soviet Union for a period of three years.

As is well known Soviet Russia has already bought up practically all the surplus grain in other free world countries, and is still short by millions of tons in meeting its minimum requirements of the winter ahead.

There is only one place left for her to go for help, and that is here.

The moral justification of this moratorium is that it will force the Russian Communists to cut down drastically on the manufacture of implements of war and to use its industrial capabilities for the manufacture of farm machinery and chemical fertilizers along with a huge manpower deployment to peaceful purposes.

This action will do more to weaken and thwart the Communist liberation wars than the billions of dollars we are spending on our foreign aid programs.

The serious agricultural crisis produced by the farm laborers in the Soviet Union is expected to become more serious during the next three years.

A moratorium by us on wheat or other grain deals during that period will deepen the crisis and force the Russian dictatorship to give up its arms race or face the penalties of wide-spread famine.

2. We can hold up any extension of trade with the Communist regimes of central Europe for a similar three year period at the same time we can base any continuation of the present volume of trade with those regimes on political conditions which force concessions for human freedom, and lend support to the national liberation movements, working to weaken and overthrow the dictatorship of Communism.

3. We can use the United Nations forum for a full-scale exposure of Com-

munist Imperialism and to demand free elections under United Nations supervision for every captive nation within the Russian and Red Chinese empires.

Red China is now demanding as one of her many conditions for accepting membership in the United Nations that "all imperial puppets be expelled", meaning any country that is non-Communist and resists all efforts of Communist domination.

4. If such demand has any logic we can demand expulsion from the United Nations of all Communist puppet regimes on the grounds that Marxist-Leninists never take a gloomy view of war.

"War can temper the people and push history forward; war is a great school."

This is a quote from a recent statement by the Red Chinese General Lin Piao, but it is a truthful summary of universal Communist belief on the issue of war and peace.

If the United Nations is to remain dedicated to the cause of peace it can hardly justify membership for regimes which glorify war as a means of progress.

5. We can make a renewed effort to bring the United States Information Agency back to the basic purposes which caused Congress to authorize its creation and upon which Congress authorizes the funds for its annual continuation.

Those basic purposes were twofold — to explain to the nations and peoples of the world the objectives of our foreign policy, mainly our hopes for a world in which freedom and peace would prevail, and to expose and counteract Communist propaganda on a world-wide basis.

Informed sources hold that the Voice of America, the major arm of the USA, has gradually been reduced to broadcasts which amount to little more than a cold rehash of ordinary news.

It is charged by informed sources that all subjects and issues which tend to provoke the Russians are ruled out of the Voice of America broadcasts.

Ideological warfare aimed at direct promotion of freedom's cause and the national independence movements within the Russian and Red Chinese empires is either an unknown art or a forbidden enterprise in the policy control mechanism of the Voice.

If a renewed effort to reform the practices of the Voice of America fails, an all-out effort should then be made to turn the responsibility for foreign news broadcasts over to private enterprise.

Our well-established news services could probably do it at much less cost and certainly more effectively than a government bureaucracy.

6. Finally, I urge the appointment of a special presidential task force, made up of citizens who have a practical working knowledge of the revolutionary tactics employed by the Communist liberation fronts and who have demonstrated dedication to the American concepts of freedom, self-government and unfettered national independence.

This presidential task force should be charged with the developing of the guidelines for an overall political action program capable of making our American concepts of freedom and national independence the dominant revolutionary force in the world.

The findings and recommendations of this task force should be the privileged information of the President to act on as he determines the security of our nation and that of freedom's cause warrants.

Russian Exploitation of Byelorussia

The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR, P. Kaslov, has pompously announced, "We are proud of our progress. Our land has made a mighty step forwards and left the most developed capitalist countries behind. There is nothing more important for the Party than the interests of our people." (*Golas Radsimij*, November 1965). We are now going to report how things look in reality.

Unfortunately the Western world is continually being affected by Soviet propaganda, which is considerably strengthened by such accompanying phenomena as, for example, the Sputniks. Reports by Western tourists and journalists sometimes appear in the Western press. The writers have travelled in the USSR and describe what they have seen there and experienced. It seems to escape them that they are only shown those things which the Soviets want them to see. They never find out what is going on backstage.

But even the Soviet press cannot hide the truth about the people's life. They lay the blame for the collapse of their plans on lower Party officials and often attribute this failure to the propaganda of Byelorussian anti-Communist organizations abroad.

Although the land of Byelorussia is rich in natural resources and minerals, Moscow does nothing to extend the use of these. Great areas of the country are covered by grassland, forests, and swamps. The soil itself is very fertile. It is known that Byelorussia is one of the main potato suppliers of the Soviet Union; about 1,250,000 acres are given over to potato growing. And it is here, in the agricultural sector, that a tireless struggle is being carried on by the peasants against the Communist rulers in Moscow.

The Minister of Education of the BSSR, M. Mynkovich, declared at the fourth session of the Supreme Soviet in Minsk on 21st October, 1965, that the workers of Byelorussia, together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, were contributing to

the building of Communism through their dedicated labour, and that great successes were already to be noted in the fields of industrial development and agriculture (*Swjusda*, (*Star*), Minsk, October 1965).

This same newspaper quoted on 21st October 1965 the words of the First Secretary of the Area Committee of Grodno, U. Mitskevitch, as saying that there was no factory and no undertaking in the Grodno area where the workers were not discussing how their work could be improved.

We are thus given the impression that Byelorussia is the happiest and richest land in the world. But let us look and see what the state of agriculture, industry, and education really is in Byelorussia.

At the session of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow deputy V. Labanka requested an extension of the grant for the electrification of the Byelorussian SSR "since the level of electrification of White Ruthenian agriculture is very low."

But V. Garbuzov, USSR Finance Minister, informed the deputy indignantly that the budget of the BSSR contained adequate insurance for her agriculture and education (*Star*, 8th and 9th December 1965).

The electrification of the countryside is empty Muscovite propaganda. Many collective and state farms are not electrified at all. There are, of course, many radio receivers, since the people must have the pleasure of listening to Communist propaganda. Entry to cinemas and theatres is free, since the collective farm workers, and in particular the young, do not attend propaganda meetings and the cinemas and theatres are therefore used for propaganda purposes. Here is an example of what the Houses of Culture, the rural clubs, look like:

"In the club in the village of Kaliadidzhi, there is nothing except wobbly chairs. The picture is the same in the village of Kutky. The Pagarny village club is undecorated and has no heating. When the attention of collective farm chairman Barabas was

drawn to this, he replied, 'But culture isn't bread'." (*Literature and Art*, no. 67, 1965).

No. 68 of the same journal reported that particularly alarming conditions prevailed in the Minsk and Borysov *rayon*; in the Mogilev area 93 clubs and 58 libraries had no electric light and 200 educational establishments still had no radios. Even more wretched are the clubs in Zhirkov, on the Gorodiche state farm, and on the "Progress" collective farm. *Literature and Art*, no. 74, reported that many of the clubs have broken windows, that the rain finds its way into the rooms, and that the snow melting from the roof runs through the ceilings into the rooms. In one club the walls and ceiling do indeed have paint on them, but the ceiling looks like a sieve.

The "House of Culture" on the Belitsa collective farm is half in ruins. The windows are smashed, dirt and dust is everywhere. *The Star* of 24th November 1965 reported the debates of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the BSSR in connection with Minister of Education M. Minkovich's speech. Deputy Smirnov, Chairman of the Permanent Committee for Culture and Education pointed out that the clubs and libraries in every area contained on the average 200 people who had had no secondary education whatsoever.

The position of the collective farm workers is terrible. Ancient serfdom has returned. The peasant is exploited, and there is no one to whom he can complain. The workers are bound to the soil of the collective farms by certain regulations. They cannot change their place of work without a pass and a special permit. *The Star* reported on 20th July 1965 that a passport was indispensable to every citizen. Immense complications could ensue without this document, as registration of a change of address had to be entered in the pass. However, as a labourer never receives permission to move, he cannot leave the farm.

99% of collective and state farm chairmen are Party members. And since the labourers are exploited by them, they carry out acts of silent sabotage. They cultivate the soil unwillingly, and at harvest time

they leave a large part of the harvest in the fields. *The Star* of 16th September 1965 describes the condition of agriculture as follows:

"A great many agricultural establishments in the Shkolovsk *rayon* are far behind with harvesting; the corn receives bad treatment on many collective farms; and full advantage is not taken of the equipment available in many places."

In an article published on 18th October 1965, the same paper reports that collective farm workers quite openly take an entirely indifferent attitude towards their work, and that it has become almost a habit to leave two or two-and-a-half hundredweight of potatoes lying in the fields for every acre harvested.

This phenomenon is recognisable every year. For example, in the leading article of *The Star* for 9th October 1963, we read that apart from a few successes, the potato harvest left much to be desired. Reports witness the fact that on many farms work is impossibly slow.

On 27th October 1965, the same newspaper sounded the alarm on the subject of the sugar beet harvest catastrophe, as frosty weather had already set in. On 25th October, 58% of the beet remained to be harvested. In the Slutsk *rayon* 7400 acres had been given over to sugar beet, and only 1270 acres were harvested.

On 5th November 1965, the collective farms were supposed to hand over 800,000 tons of sugar beet to the State. In fact only 112,000 tons were delivered, in other words, 15%. It is obvious that this passive attitude is intended as a boycott of Moscow.

It is also worthy of note that the labourers and peasants have every day to listen to appeals to work better and to get the harvest in on time — or be punished.

Labourers and peasants in the Free World do not know such appeals and warnings. And how ridiculous the declarations of the Minister of Education and of other functionaries seem in this light.

The question naturally arises as to how a collective farm worker can feed his family under these circumstances. His situa-

tion is bitterly hard. And he only tolerates this life because he hopes for better times, for the freedom and independence of his country. In order to spur collective farm labourers to work, every labourer is allowed a plot of three-quarters of an acre for himself. Here the family can grow potatoes and other vegetables. 98% of the labourers have a cow and a calf, one or two pigs, between 5 and 15 hens, 4 to 6 geese or ducks, and occasionally they can add to this through illegal labour. But it fairly often happens that a labourer's animals are requisitioned by the government, since every collective or state farm must possess a certain number of cattle laid down by plan. If these cattle are decimated by disease, then the farm turns to the cattle in the private possession of the peasants.

The workers and peasants are deliberately sabotaging Moscow's instructions, and trying with all their strength to preserve their own customs and traditions.

Thanks to technical development and mechanization, many factories have been built in the towns. But their produce is not used for the good of the Byelorussians but finds its way to Russia. To a certain extent life is better for the worker than for the farm labourer. He receives from 45 to 65 roubles per month, whilst the farm labourer must hand over the fruits of his work to the State. He himself is very often compelled to buy bread in the towns. From 1960 to 1964 it was very difficult to get flour on the open market, and in 1965 flour was only distributed at Easter at the rate of 2 lbs. per person. Groceries are very expensive on the open market. A kilogramme (2.2 lbs.) of potatoes costs 1.20 roubles, but only 15 kopeks in a State shop. A kilogramme of meat costs 1.90 roubles in a State shop, but 2.50 or 3 roubles on the open market. On the open market butter costs 5 or 6 roubles a kilogramme, a pair of shoes (made in Czechoslovakia), costs 40 roubles, and a woollen suit from 40 to 60 roubles.

It is more than understandable that under these circumstances the Byelorussian population regards its Muscovite rulers

with revulsion, especially since Moscow exploits the wealth of the Byelorussian countryside and oppresses the people nationally and culturally. It is thus not surprising that the failures of the Muscovite rulers are to be seen in every sphere of living.

At the fifteenth plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian SSR, the Second Secretary of the Grodno area committee, Mikulovich, described conditions as follows:

"The agricultural machinery and spare parts which have been delivered are of very bad quality. In nine months this year (1965), two-thirds of the spare parts delivered to our area had to be sent back to the manufacturer in Minsk as unusable." (*The Star*, 21st October 1965)

The situation was similarly reported by U. Mitskevich at the Grodno area Party workers' assembly: "The situation with regard to the introduction of new technical devices on the farms is very bad. 4,000 single parts, value 6,500,000 roubles, of equipment which has not been installed, lie unused. There is no use for industrial products. Stocks to the value of 2,500,000 roubles are lying unused in the shops." On top of this is the fact that on the average 3 to 6 tractors, 5 to 10 lorries, 6 to 8 mowers, 1 or 2 combine harvesters, a threshing machine, and 4 mechanical sieves on every State and collective farm have been left out in the open throughout the winter and lost up to 40% of their value. The government is now endeavouring to become master of the situation through strict industrial administration.

Articles appeared on Moscow's new measures in the Moscow *Pravda* on 4th October 1965 and in the Minsk *Star* on the following day: "How well the new system of administration will work, only the future can show. Everything is being done in hope." The satirical magazine *Woshyk* characterized these promises very aptly as "a waterfall of promises" in its issue no. 16, August 1965, and continued: "These waterfalls rage and roar all the year round. They even have no fear of the winter;

they do not freeze. They are very strange waterfalls." The Byelorussian people has known for years that these promises are only promises and empty words.

Let us now turn our attention to the battle that the Byelorussian people is conducting in the cultural field. Here the outstanding endeavours of the nation are those to preserve their ancient culture, their native language and their national traditions. Moscow knows that language is one of the most important aspects of the national soul, and it is for this reason that Moscow is trying with all the means at her disposal to drive the Byelorussian language out of the schools. Only very small numbers of text books are published in Byelorussian. But the nation is aware that it must above all preserve its national language if it is to save its individuality as a nation.

Above all books on Byelorussian literature are missing. *The Star* of 19th May 1965, reports the position of teachers at secondary schools in the Krup rayon of the Minsk region: "There are many obstacles in the way of teaching native literature and language to senior classes. It is impossible to teach literature, when only one or two copies of a literary text are available to 20 or 30 pupils. And very often, only the teacher has a text." A certain Mr. Gilevich also wrote about the textbook shortage in *Literature and Art* on 29th June 1965. He accused the Minister of Education of the Republic, Kizelev, of doing nothing against the command from Moscow that as few textbooks as possible should be published in Byelorussian.

The exile newspaper *Baratzba* published a series of articles about this situation in 1965.

Young people are being compelled to enter the Komsomol. They kick against this, although their membership could bring them many advantages. Byelorussian writers and scholars are trying as hard as they can to weaken this pressure. They publish poems and stories dedicated to their language or their homeland.

Poems by young poets occasionally appear in *Literature and Art* which ex-

emplify this passionate love for people, homeland, and native language.

The magazine *Red Generation* published on 15th August 1965, the declaration of a girl which is characteristic: "I should like to become a philologist, for I love my native language, and I love my land and people. I want to convey all my experiences to my pupils. I shall inject into them the love of their native language. It is my dream that all my pupils should become philologists just like me and love their native language just as I do."

Byelorussian soldiers in the Soviet Army, serving in various parts of the huge Soviet Union, have Byelorussian newspapers and books sent to them (*Literature and Art*, 3rd August 1965).

A statue of the great sixteenth-century Byelorussian humanist, Francisca Skarina, has been sculptured by Khmysnikov, a student. *Red Generation* of 18th July 1965 wrote, "Skarina is represented as a fighter, as the sower and carrier of the spirit and force of the people." Resistance against the Russians has found expression in the preservation of ancient Byelorussian cultural monuments. Moscow has already destroyed many artistic monuments, and continues to do so even now. The Cathedral of the Annunciation in Vitebsk was recently demolished; it dated from the twelfth century. The seventeenth-century cathedral in Mogilev and other historic monuments there have been torn down. The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Polotsk is now in a terrible condition. A voluntary society for the preservation of Byelorussian historic monuments has now been formed under the pressure of protest letters from working people, intellectuals, and artists. In one letter it was stated that the workers demand that "all that has to do with the history of our country must be treated with reverence."

"2300 historic monuments have now been found which witness to the centuries-old history of the Byelorussian people; 10,000 articles of archaeological interest have been unearthed which indicate new ways along which research into the past can

be conducted. These figures alone prove how great a history Byelorussia has had, a history which every Byelorussian can be proud of." (*Literatura i Mastaztwo* [*Literature and Art*]), 14th September 1965).

The nation is utterly convinced that one day Communism will be annihilated, that rule by Moscow will disappear, and that the democratic, independent republic proclaimed on 25th March 1918, and reaffirmed by the second Minsk congress of 1944, will once more come into being. Through their deep-rooted faith in God, and His justice and in the universally acknowledged right of all men and nations to freedom and independence the people draw the strength to view the future with confidence.

The nation knows that its strength lies in the cultivation and preservation of its

national culture and civilization, and is deliberately fighting Moscow's Communist methods in this field. But the nation also knows that its oppressors are considerably stronger than itself. Thus it is waiting for the moment and saving its energy for the day when the political situation abroad favours the Byelorussian people. And they will know how to take advantage when that day comes.

In vain does Moscow slander the representatives of Byelorussia in exile who act as spokesmen for their people in the Free World. For the people see in them their legal spokesmen defending their rights in the Free World. One day the Muscovite empire will also bend the knee: that is history's demand. And then Byelorussia will rise again. May God help us.

D. Kosmovich.

From the Foreword

General J. F. C. Fuller On "The Kremlin On A Volcano"

No man knows more about Soviet Communism than Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. As a Ukrainian he has faced Bolshevism at close quarters; he has travelled far and wide, and has seen its corrupting tactics at work in many lands, and he has contacts with every resistance movement within and without the U.S.S.R. No man can speak on Soviet Communism with greater authority than he, and this is his book.

Its gist is, that the Free Nations are faced with a world problem and that there can be no peace in the world until it is solved. The problem is not nuclear warfare, which is no more than its by-product; the problem is Soviet Russian Imperialism. It is not a normal political problem, such as those which in the past have separated nations and societies, it is an insidious, amoral disease, a cancer which threatens to creep over the whole world.

The strength of Soviet Russia does not lie in her military might, but in the ignorance of the Free Nations, and her weakness is that half the people of the U.S.S.R. are opposed to the Soviet régime, and yearn to be delivered from it. Actually, the Soviet Imperium rests on a gigantic social bomb, millions of times more deadly than all the H-bombs in the world.

When the Free Nations appreciate that Soviet Russia is not the most powerful but one of the weakest of countries, and thereby begin to dispel their ignorance, the road towards the solution of the problem will become clear, and those who would tread it will find no better guide than this small book, in which all aspects of the problem are logically discussed in a masterly way.

J. F. C. Fuller

Soviet Russian Show Of Power In Turkestan

(*Cheka Week*)

On the 25th November 1965 a film festival week opened in the five Soviet Republics of Turkestan, to the dismay of all Moslems there, put on by the "Committee for State Security" and dedicated to the notorious *Cheka* and its members (Chekists). The importance and purpose of this remarkable week were explained by the Deputy Chairman of the "Committee for State Security of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbekistan SSR", Major-General K. Rutsmetov, in an interview in Tashkent, where he said that the historical evolution and the deeds of the *Cheka* from its beginnings in 1917 until the present should be made known to the people, and especially to the young, both in the countryside and in the towns of Turkestan.

And so the activities of the *Cheka* and the Chekists from 1917 up to today, and especially their second World War role in Turkestan, in the Soviet Union, and abroad, have been presented since the beginning of December at meetings and in lectures and films. A special chapter is devoted to the fighting against the nationalists, the so-called counter-revolutionaries, in Turkestan, for it was the agents of the *Cheka* above all who helped to subdue the national rebellions. Now this is all being acted out again before the eyes of the population, and especially of the young.

Major-General Rutsmetov made it perfectly clear that Communist rule had been preserved in all the Communist territories, including Central Asia (in other words, Turkestan) through the active participation of the *Cheka*.

Why is it that a festival week has been put on, dedicated to the hated *Cheka*, just now? For the name of the *Cheka* and the Chekist terror still sends a shiver through every Moslem in Turkestan.

However, before we investigate this, let us take a short look at the development of this Russian secret police and its terror organizations, the changes of form and name which they have undergone, and their present form under the title of "Committee for State Security".

At Lenin's instigation the Council of People's Commissars decided on December 20th 1917 to bring into existence an "Organ of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for the protection of the State Security of the Soviet Republics". The result of this was the "Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle against Counter-revolution and Sabotage" — the *Cheka!*

Lenin established this terror organization in order to combat the internal decay of the Tsarist empire and the enemies of the Bolsheviks within and without — and especially the movements striving for separate independence from the Baltic to Turkestan. The *Cheka* was given absolute authority, and the Chekists themselves, as well as their secret agents and armed forces, were able to arrest and shoot people without a trial, send them into exile, search their houses, and confiscate their goods. No man was safe from the *Cheka* by day or night. Only a denunciation or a Chekist's conjecture was necessary in order for a Moslem in Turkestan to be arrested, regardless of who he was, rich or poor, a member of

the nationalist movement or of a religious group. Then a man's fate was sealed. The Chekists could destroy whole suburbs or villages, as they did in Tashkent and Dzhizak, as a retaliatory measure. Whomever they regarded as religious, a nationalist, or an intellectual, came under suspicion and was immediately arrested, whether peasant, worker, or intellectual; whole families were sentenced and publically shot.

Lenin had appointed Dzhierzhinski, a Communist from Poland, chief of this notorious secret police. He was hated so much that people shuddered at the very mention of his name.

Major-General Rutsmetov, today's deputy head of the Committee for State Security in Uzbekistan, and his opposite number in Tadzhikistan, have held up Dzhierzhinski and the Chekists as heroes of the Soviet people in their published articles. Rutsmetov points out that the Chekists played a prominent role in getting rid of the national government in Turkestan and in fighting the national liberation army, the *Basmachi*, and that great credit is due to them for overcoming and exposing the secret national organizations and liquidating their leaders.

In fact, according to a United Nations documentation, since the Communists came to power the *Cheka* has murdered more than 6 million Moslems in Turkestan.

The *Cheka* has undergone metamorphosis — but only on the surface. Its name has been changed frequently through the years, but its principles and its task have remained the same, although today it is harmlessly named the "Committee for State Security".

In 1922 the *Cheka* was renamed the GPU — State Political Administration — but its chief remained Dzhierzhinski. The GPU, which built up its apparatus in the individual Union Republics like a spider's web and continued the terror started by the *Cheka*, in 1935 received the name NKVD — Union-Republican People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. The GPU and the NKVD were the mainstays of Stalin's might and terror, with Beria as their chief until 1953. In 1946 the NKVD became a ministry — the MVD or Ministry of Internal Affairs. Since 1954 it has been known as the "Committee for State Security (KGB) of the Council of Ministers of the USSR".

Why, then, is the role of the *Cheka* and of the Chekists as "heroes" being held out for the Turkestan population to see just now? It is in December that the anniversary of Turkestan's independence in 1917 falls, and this is still celebrated in Turkestan as well as by the six million or so Turkestanians abroad as a day of commemoration. The Soviet Russian rulers choose this time to celebrate the *Cheka* in a demonstrative manner, since it played a decisive part in the overthrow of Kokand's and Alash Orda's national government and the defeat of the national army, as the Soviet newspapers emphasize (e.g. in *Sovyet Uzbekistan* and *Sobyet Tadzhikistani* of 14th and 25th November 1965). Why, then, is so much stress also placed on the role played by the Chekists during the second World War and in the struggle against the nationalist movement — the National Turkestanian Unity Committee? Major-General Rutsmetov emphasized in his Tashkent interview in November that a film is being made about this nationalist movement based on the novel *Phoenix*. This novel disparages national Turkestanian activity abroad and at home and seeks to degrade the national leaders.

In the days of Khrushchov Stalin's terror system was condemned (this included all the *Cheka's* successors — the GPU, the NKVD and the MVD), and today's Kremlin leaders have adhered to this line. They stress again and again, as the Soviet Press never ceases to report, that the Soviet Republics are ruled by democracy, freedom, and equality. But at the moment the *Cheka*, mention of which has up to now been publically avoided, is being popularized and its terrorism glorified and celebrated.

The reasons for these Chekist festival weeks are to be sought in the fact that certain circles amongst the intelligentsia, the rural population, and even in the Communist cadres are working against Moscow's Russification and "de-nationalization" policies. Moscow is afraid of the national tendencies and anti-Russian currents evidenced by these circles: official Party papers, such as *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, have accused Party officials of pursuing nationalistic tendencies, of mistrusting the Government's and Party's new agricultural policies, and of affording resistance to the immigration of Russians and to the smelting together of Russians and Turkestanians.

In order to deal a blow to these national currents, the hated *Cheka* and its successors are being held up as a threat through the presentation of this festival week. The populace is told that these have rendered tremendous services in the course of forty-eight years, that the *Cheka* is everywhere, and hears everything. It is on account of this faculty that the Chekists have allegedly apprehended many Western agents who have recently arrived in Turkestan under the guise of being tourists.

Soviet Russia's huge international propaganda network at home and abroad has done its best to let the peoples of Asia, Africa and Europe know that peace reigns in the countries occupied by Moscow, and that these nations have all dissolved together in the spirit of Communism and love for Russia. In reality the Russians are endeavouring to demonstrate their power with weapons and cannons — as they did on the occasion of the forty-eighth anniversary of the October Revolution in Ashkhabad, Tashkent, Dyushambe, and other places — or with warnings and threats from the secret police in order to intimidate the population and youth.

We fight, too, for all men of good will

Did not the angel say: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men of *good will*." Quite different from "peace to *all* men" as the anti-Christ's pervert it! Only men of *good will* shall enjoy *peace*! We who hope we qualify must "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness but rather *reprove* them." (Ephes 5:11.) "As our Lord said 'I came not to send peace, but a sword!'" (Matt. 10:34.)

"But those mine enemies, slay them before me." (Luke 19:27.)

"Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the *Devil*." (James 4:7.)

I. Thess. 5:3: "For when *they* shall say, *peace and safety*; then sudden destruction cometh upon *them* — and *they* shall not escape." The UN Charter says: "*Peace and security*" 32 times!!!

Ivan Dziuba — Young Literary Critic Sentenced In Kyiv

On 7th April 1966 the *New York Times* published a detailed report on the arrest of two Ukrainian literary critics, Ivan Svitlychny (42) and Ivan Dziuba (33). Svitlychny was already a well-known critic in the Stalinist era; he supported new ideological concepts and in particular young writers whose works contained thoughts and ideas which did not conform with official literary standards.

Ivan Dziuba's literary criticism represented a completely independent line. He was of the opinion that Ukrainian literature must free itself from the primitiveness of Stalinism and take up a position in relation to the great problems of the world's literature.

The alleged reason for the arrest of the two critics was that they had smuggled Symonenko's manuscripts to the West; the publication of these works in the Soviet Union is forbidden. At the same time twelve other intellectuals were arrested in Lviv together with a number of students from Lviv University. This was followed by a trial which was not mentioned in the Soviet Press. Svitlychny was sentenced to seven years hard labour and has already been sent to Siberia; Dziuba was set free after the trial on account of his incurable tuberculosis.

Among the papers which reported this news were the *New York Times*, the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (Zurich, Switzerland), the *Münchener Merkur* and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (both Munich, Germany).

Ivan Dziuba was born in 1933 in the village of Mykolayivka, near Stalinsk. He completed his studies at the Stalin Pedagogical Institute and attended the Shevchenko Literature Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. He then worked in the criticism department of the monthly *Vitchyzna* (Fatherland). At the time of the writers' purge in early 1963 he was given "leave" from his work, at the same time losing the right to engage in any literary activities. As a critic he had been at work on the publication of the first literary experiments of the so-called "Sixties".

His very first collection of critical articles, *An Ordinary Man or a Bourgeois*, published in Kyiv in 1959, evidenced the author's talents, for his temperament and his control of material were in complete harmony.

Dziuba was particularly outstanding in his criticism of those writers who acquiesce unthinkingly to the present social order and make strenuous efforts to express only the will of the Party. Dziuba's critical articles in this field are prominent for their polished finish and precise thinking.

He criticized, for example, the short story by P. Reznikov, *At the Mouth of the Dniipro*. He writes in his article:

"When one reads this story one has the impression of looking through a telescope turned the wrong way round. Everything is brought into this story — con-

flicts, work, ordinary working days, festivals, poverty and the death of a hero — but it is all diminished a thousand times, deformed beyond recognition, and made so primitive that the impression is given that the author thinks it is all a joke.

“Contradictions, difficulties, conflicts and their resolution, pathos, these are all described by the author. The backward woman Paraska is jealous of the swineherd Zhenia. Why? Simply because every schoolbook says that every work must have its conflict. But jealousy is a psychological category, and — we must admit — the writer is so tactful as to avoid involving himself in psychology. How is a writer to combine a psychological collision with social conflict and still stick to his subject? Here Metrophan Kluvka, the head of the farm, and Paraska’s father comes to the rescue. Paraska is condemned to being an underdeveloped human being. And apart from their low intelligence, such characters have one blessed advantage — even on the first few pages of the story they comprehend the uncomplicated role which has been worked out for them and act accordingly . . . ”

“. . . I am of the opinion that works which have no value in terms of their ideas but — and this is the worst thing about them —primitivize everything which is dear to us, must be most severely condemned.”

The thread running through Dziuba’s criticism reached a perfect climax in his article *The way they write here* (*Literaturna Gazeta*, 1961, nos. 98, 99, 100).

After Dziuba had criticized a whole series of contemporary literary works, he expressed the opinion that the literature of today was at the same stage as had been reached 125 years ago in the time of Kvitka-Osnovianenko, who was being slavishly copied not in his most expressive capacity as a satirist and folk poet but in his weakest as a moralist.

This criticism deserves especial recognition, regardless of the direction in which our literature does develop. For this reason this criticism will also remain a document of contemporary history. We are very probably right when we say that writers of future literary histories will turn to no writings other than those just mentioned of the young critic Ivan Dziuba in order to sum up the spirit of the age.

Of Dziuba’s essays an especially important one is that on the great Ukrainian philosopher Hryhory Skovoroda; it is remarkable for more than its form alone.

From Dziuba’s published works alone one can see that he possessed all the gifts and qualities to make him the greatest Ukrainian literary critic of the twentieth century. That he has now been silenced is a proof of the lowest national discrimination, for Dziuba was silenced not because he had committed a political offence but because Ukrainian national culture is to be stifled and every germ of individualism is to be destroyed.

It is not even true that Svitlychny and Dziuba smuggled Symonenko’s works to the West. This happened in quite a different way. But grounds had to be found for disposing of the two critics.

The “incurable tuberculosis” which Dziuba contracted in prison gives us certain cause to suspect the “modern” methods used by the KGB in the removal of its opponents.

I. K.

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

Chapter III. Lenin's Russian Imperialism in the Reconquest of the Vanished Tsarist Empire.

The primary objective of Lenin's foreign policy was to *save* as much as possible of the *Russian empire* of the tsars, because during 1917-18 it was destroyed by the nationalism of the peoples previously subjugated in it. This principle was differentiated into two programs, determined in each case by potentialities of success: the maximum program and the minimum program. The first aimed at full imperial integrity, while the second envisaged the retention of as much of the imperial patrimony as conditions would permit.

1. For change of regime within the existing empire

Lenin did not deny that the tsarist state was the empire of the Russian people enforced on many other nations. (1) But he became alarmed (before World War I) at the possible disintegration of it, unless radical reforms were introduced in its policy as soon as possible. In 1905 Lenin complained:

... The proletariat is better able than any other class to understand that, in the final analysis, great historical problems are solved only by force, that freedom cannot be won without the greatest sacrifices, that the armed resistance of tsarism must be broken and crushed with an armed hand. Otherwise we shall never achieve liberty, otherwise Russia will meet the fate of Turkey: protracted and painful downfall and decay, particularly painful for all the toiling and exploited masses of the people. (2)

As we have already seen, however, Lenin came to the conclusion that in order to save the empire the regime must be changed. Therefore, he pursued an anti-regime struggle. He argued that the future empire

must assume the form of a democratic republic: "... in Russia, in 1905, a popular uprising against the tsarist government commenced under the leadership of the proletariat with the aim of achieving a democratic republic..." (3) The new democratic republic must necessarily encompass the whole tsarist empire: "... we must raise political questions not from the "Cracow", but from the all-Russian point of view." (4) Lenin was not concerned with the interests of the nations enslaved by Russia, not with the proletarian class of these nations, but with the preservation of the empire. He was accordingly convinced that a new policy toward the enslaved nations would be imperative. Therefore, he planned to win over these nations to his side by means of a common anti-tsarist struggle. Stalin clearly stated:

The necessity of a strong and radical fight against tsarism was based on the reason that at that time tsarism was personified as "Russian gendarme", a symbol of nations' enslavement, which alienated these nations from Russia, that is to say it was undermining Russia. Thus the acute struggle of the Bolsheviks against tsarism had, besides the aim of taking over the government, the purpose of winning the friendship of these peoples toward the Bolshevik movement, (5)

that is to say, toward the new "nedielimoi" ("indivisible"): Lenin formulated the slogan: the Bolshevik leaders are as capable of governing the empire as were the tsarist rulers:

Russia after the 1905 Revolution was ruled by 130,000 landlords. They ruled by the aid of unremitting violence perpetrated on 150,000,000 people... And yet we are told that Russia cannot be governed by the 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party... (6)

From Lenin's program of the post-tsarist Russia it can plainly be seen that he had in mind not the national Russian state but the imperial state:

In Russia . . . the task of the Social Democracy is, as heretofore, to achieve the three fundamental conditions for consistent democratic reform, viz., a democratic republic (with complete equality and self-determination for all nationalities), confiscation of the lands of the landlords, and an eight-hour day. (7)

Leonard Shapiro stated in his latest work: "... it becomes clear that Lenin only envisaged the break-away of the national groups of the Empire as a 'transition stage' on the road to reintegration under socialism. (8) Moreover, Lenin, commenting on the progress of the political revolution in 1917, tried first of all to disparage the significance and to negate the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations, by stressing that only two factors were the cause of the tsarist downfall, namely, pressure of the major powers and activities of the anti-regime Leftist parties:

This transformation was started by the February-March Revolution of 1917, the first stage of which was first of all marked by a joint blow at tsarism delivered by two forces: on the one hand, by the whole of bourgeoisie and landlord Russia, with its unwitting hangers-on and its conscious leaders, the British and French ambassadors and capitalists and, on the other, by the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies. (9)

Since he regarded the tsarist empire as a sacred unit which must be preserved at all costs, he refused to accept the war between Russia and the nations struggling to liberate themselves from her domination as an international war but labelled it a civil war. For example, he did not consider the Ukrainians and the Don Cossacks as peoples distinct from Russia. He referred to the war with these peoples as "the civil war front in Russia . . ." (10)

In 1919 Lenin confessed that because some nations were enslaved by Russia for a long time "... the Soviet government has hith-

erto been successful only within the country, among the people who once formed part of the old Russian Empire . . ." (11)

Thus he proved once more that the Bolshevik movement was another Russian imperialistic movement. In a debate with the Polish Socialist Party Lenin also openly expressed his opposition to the program of this party because it was directed toward dismemberment of the Russian empire:

This is nothing more nor less than sacrificing the most vital interests of the proletariat for the bourgeois-democratic interpretation of national independence. The disintegration of Russia, which the P.P.S. desires, in contrast to our aim of overthrowing tsarism, is and will remain a hollow phrase as long as economic evolution continues to unite the different parts of a political whole more and more closely and as long as the bourgeoisie of all countries unites more and more against its common enemy, the proletariat, and in support of its common ally, the tsar. (12)

Piatakov, Lenin's chief lieutenant in Ukraine, in 1917, plainly stated the imperialistic anti-regime policy of the Bolsheviks:

On the whole we must not support the Ukrainians, because their movement is not convenient for the proletariat. Russia cannot exist without the Ukrainian sugar industry, and the same can be said in regard to coal (Donbas), cereals (the black-earth belt), etc., . . . We have before us two tasks; to protest against the measures of the government, and especially those of Kerensky on the one hand, and to fight against the chauvinistic strivings of the Ukrainians on the other. (13)

Lenin exploited socialist ideology as a propaganda tool against the conquered peoples in order to uphold the empire, or at least to diminish the losses by dividing them into warring classes. He argued:

Only such propaganda ensures the maximum chances of national peace in Russia, should it remain a heterogeneous national state; and such propaganda ensures the most peaceful (and for the proletarian struggle, harmless) division into the various national

states, should the question of such division arise. (14)

The Marxist ideology served the aim of preserving tsarist imperial patrimony. Referring to the character of the Soviet government, Lenin said: the apparatus that was called "ours" was in truth no more than the old imperial apparatus "annointed with a little Soviet holy oil." (15) From the ideological viewpoint the picture is aptly described by A. D. Low:

Lenin left little doubt that he considered any secessionist movement during the "proletarian" revolution hardly justified from the viewpoint of proletarian and socialist interests, though he was willing to uphold the right of the border nationalities to secede. (16)

To save the empire Lenin also used Russian patriotic phraseology for the mobilization of Russian man-power for the war against the other nations. As we have already seen, "the phase of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk" was "a phase of extreme departure from patriotism." (17) Whereas in that treaty national independent states of several peoples formerly languishing under tsarist slavery were recognized, Lenin called it unpatriotic, because by this treaty the tsarist prison of nations was dismembered. To destroy the Russian empire seemed to him the worst crime! Lenin turned all the generally accepted terminology upside-down. The peace of Brest-Litovsk was really a just peace; formerly enslaved nations regained state independence. But he called it "the violent exploiters' Brest Peace, a peace based upon violence and the oppression of peoples . . ." (18) The fate and the well-being of the nations enslaved by Russia was to Lenin a matter which merited little consideration:

. . . it is comparatively unimportant (for an internationalist the question of state boundaries is of second-rate, if not of tenth-rate, importance) . . . Whether Ukraine shall be a separate state or not is a question of far inferior importance. (19)

Lenin's Russian imperialism can be seen, in a very obvious form, from the following words, in which he accused other powers

and patriots of the enslaved nations of being "bandits": "Let us assume that there are fifteen million peasant households in Russia, taking Russia as she was before the bandits deprived her of Ukraine and other territories." (20) Here, as elsewhere, the former tsarist empire was to Lenin an organic indivisible economic unit, a unit which must be kept intact. How ruthlessly Lenin exploited every means to achieve this goal, can be seen from the "manifesto" to the peasant classes of the non-Russian nations, calling for their action to preserve the continuity of their own slavery:

The resolute utterance of all the peasants, the Instructions of all the peasants from the localities, can bring peace to the whole country, to all the nations of Russia, can stop the civil war, can guarantee not a sham, but a genuine Constituent Assembly . . . (21)

When during the 1920's it became apparent that Lenin had succeeded in saving parts of the tsarist empire, many Russian "anti-Communist" leaders in exile lauded him as the saviour of Russia. In 1922 some of these persons (among them were two former ministers under Admiral Kolchak, several professors, and lawyers) published a book in Prague entitled *Smienna viekh*. We should like to quote several of these "anti-Bolsheviks":

Russia should remain a great state. And because the revolutionary government — it alone is capable of restoring great-statehood and the international prestige of Russia — it is our duty in the name of Russian culture to recognize its political authority. (22)

Bobrshchev-Pushkin expressed his feelings thus: "From the moment when it became clear that the Soviet government had saved Russia — the Soviet government was justified in disregarding unfounded accusations advanced against it." (23) The same author also wrote:

It is unnecessary to show the old-established facts — the annexation by the Soviet government of the separate parts of Russia, beginning with Ukraine and ending with Georgia . . . The day when Warsaw

would be captured would be for most Russians a day of celebration — plainly, without reasoning, for a brilliant Russian victory will be achieved. (24)

He also argued:

Russia is peacefully fulfilling the age-old tasks of her policy without any imperialism . . . Turkey, Persia, Bokhara, Afghanistan — this is the road to India. Again — a non-imperialistic but peaceful conquest... relying on her own army, on the international masses of the lower classes and on Asia, Russia is beginning a new period of her history. (25)

C. Chekhotin stated in the same book:

He who should be in government presently is he who favors the process of gathering ("soberanyia") and strengthening Russia, he should receive support from the reasoning and patriotically-minded intelligentsia . . . History has compelled the "Communist" republic . . . to take upon itself the national matter of gathering together Russia which fell apart and thus restoring and strengthening the Russian international specific weight. (26)

Potekhin affirmed in this book:

The time is coming to an end when Russia served the aims of the Third-International; the Third International is becoming a powerful instrument in achieving Russian national goals... According to the fatal irony of destiny, but perhaps after the impartial and infallible judgment of history, the Russian national cause can presently be accomplished not in the ruined Russia of the "Third Rome", but in the Russia of the Third International. (27)

In 1923 there appeared in Berlin a book by a former minister of Kerensky's Provisional Government, Pieshekhonov, under the title *Pochemu ya ne yemyhruvav?* In it he wrote:

After killing the Russian statehood, which according to Bolshevik views was the organization of class domination by the bourgeoisie, they were forced to restore it immediately in the interests of the own state... the Russian statehood was recreated. During the past five years the Bolsheviks com-

pletely renewed the whole government and extended it over the whole vast territory from the Dniester to the Great Ocean, from the Arctic sea to the flaming Colchis. (28)

I. P. Trainin, a Bolshevik writer, concluded that Bolshevik policy in Asia was based on Russian imperialistic interests and was completely directed by the Russians. He wrote:

It is necessary to acknowledge the fact that not only the officialdom in the borderlands, which consists largely of officials of the old regime, but also the proletariat inhabiting those areas which actively supports the revolution, consists in its majority of persons of Russian nationality. In Turkestan, for example, Russian workers thought that once the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established, it should work only for their benefit, as workers, and that they could fully ignore the interests of the backward agricultural and nomadic population, which had not yet reached their "proletarian" level of consciousness. The same thing had occurred in Azerbaijan, Bashkiria, and elsewhere. This situation has caused the broad masses of the native population to think that, when you come right down to it, nothing has changed, and that the Russian official has been replaced by a Russian proletarian, who, although he talks of equality, in reality, like the previous Russian official, takes care only of himself, ignoring the interests of the local population. (29)

To sum up, it is evident that, firstly, Lenin definitely aimed at restoration of the Russian empire of the tsars in its widest boundaries and, secondly, that most Russians of various parties supported him in this endeavor. The best summary of Lenin's policy concerning the nations subjugated in the former empire is obtained from a Bolshevik source. In an excerpt of an article by Steklov, *Russia Is Coming Back*, we find the following passage:

As a result of the imperialistic and civil wars, Russia temporarily disappeared from the international horizon as a great Power. The new Russia born during the revolu-

tion was still too weak to have a say in international politics. But the Soviet Republic has been growing stronger every year and has taken advantage of existing dissensions among the European Powers, no less skillfully than the old Russia did. Aware of its ever-growing strength, Soviet

Russia can never be discouraged by temporary diplomatic failures, since the final victory is assured. Russia is returning to the international stage. Let us hope the day is near when this reappearance will be felt so strongly that no one will dare to contradict her voice. (30)

Chapter III

1. See "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", 1916, v. 5, pp. 73-74; also compare *supra*, pp. 25-27, 43
2. "Struggle of Proletariat and Servility of Bourgeoisie", 1905, v. 3, p. 406
3. "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", 1917, v. 3, p. 19
4. "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, v. 4, p. 290
5. Questions of Leninism, ch. IV, p. 51
6. "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" 1917, v. 6, p. 271
7. "War and Russian Social-Democracy", 1914, v. 5, p. 129
8. *op. cit.*, p. 149
9. "Letters From Afar", 1917, v. 6, p. 5
10. "Activities of the Council of People's Commissars", 1918, v. 7, p. 272
11. "Closing Speech at the 8th Party Congress", 1919, v. 8, p. 47
12. "National Question in Our Programme", 1903, v. 2, p. 329
13. K. P. (b) U., Institut Istorii Partii, Istorija K. P. (b) U., II, Kiev, 1933, p. 126
14. "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", Sochinenia, 2nd ed. XVII, p. 442
15. Lenin, Collected Works, fourth ed., v. XXXVII, p. 553
16. *op. cit.*, p. 94
17. *supra*, pp. 9-10
18. "4th Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow", 1918, v. 7, p. 397
19. "Elections to the Constituent Assembly and Proletarian Dictatorship", 1919, v. 6, p. 480
20. "Comrades Workers, Onward to the Last Decisive Fights!" 1918, v. 8, p. 130
21. "Draft of Manifesto to Peasantry from the Second All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies", 1917-Dec., v. 6, p. 436
22. *op. cit.*, Ustrialov, p. 57
23. *Ibidem*, p. 144
24. pp. 140-141, *ibidem*
25. pp. 13, 136, 144, *ibidem*
26. *Ibidem*, p. 156
27. *Ibidem*, pp. 177, 183
28. *Ibidem*, p. 54
29. "K postanovke natsionalnogo voprosa", Vlast Sovetov, no. 5, 1923, p. 29
30. Izvestia, Dec. 7, 1922
31. Pravda, May 18, 1920
32. From Lenin to Malenkov, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1953, p. 46
33. According to D. Shaldiy, "Destalinization of National Question?" in Vyzvolnyj Sblakh, v. III, January, 1957, p. 16
34. "Appeal to the Muscovite Proletariat", Pravda, 2/15, I, 1918
35. Izvestia C.I.K., v. 244, 19th December, 1917
36. *op. cit.*, p. 126
37. Izvestia V.C.I.K., v. 47, 14th March, 1918
38. *op. cit.*, p. 149
39. Vynnychenko represented Ukrainian government, "War and Peace"

From Letters to ABN:

Omaha, 14th March 1966

I have already mentioned this in a previous letter, but I should like to thank you again for the picture "Christ knocking at United Nations". We have made photocopies of this and distributed them with an appropriate text on the occasion of Captive Nations Week. At present we are continuing our work with the Ukrainian exhibition which we are showing at American High Schools and Universities. There our priest holds mass and explains at the same time our rite, our Churches in Ukraine closed by the hangmen, and that our people are not allowed to pray and that our culture and religion are being forcefully destroyed. The exhibition has already been visited by tens of thousands of American students and foreigners. We go to schools and universities with the exhibition and have already received letters of praise from school principals for our fine exhibits.

The picture on the title-page of your November-December 1965 edition is of Our Lady of Vyshhorod in Ukraine. We should ask you to send us the block or photograph of this, so that we can also use it for propaganda purposes. We should like to distribute it amongst Americans and others, especially because it is coloured. It would also be a good thing if we could have a historical explanation of the picture or a prayer for the Captive Nations or ABN.

Sincerely yours, Mykhailo Vorobets

D. G. Stewart-Smith, Editor EAST-WEST DIGEST
Petersham, Surrey, England.

Dear Sir,

Permit me to comment on the article in the July 1965 issue of the East-West Digest entitled: "NTS on the Future Constitution of Russia", in which Mr. Howard Langsbury and the members of NTS advocate a government "of elected territorial authorities with varying degrees of autonomy amounting, in some cases, to almost complete internal self-government."

It is quite obvious that NTS is trying to preserve the white Russian empire, after the fall of the red Communist empire, under the head of a hereditary monarch or an elected president, putting millions of non-Russian people under slavery again.

Ukraine is the largest non-Russian nation, not only in the Soviet Union, but also behind the European Iron Curtain. Its population of over forty million ranks with that of England, France and Italy. Economically, Ukraine is the second in the world in the mining of iron ore, third in pig iron smelting, fourth in coal mining and steel production.

Historically, the centuries-old struggle for freedom and independence on the part of the Ukrainian nation constitutes an impressive chapter in the annals of human history. Without a doubt Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Russian Communist imperialism. Its historic claim to national freedom and independence can hardly be ignored. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of a free Europe of tomorrow must be assured if the foundation of permanent peace and justice among freedom-loving nations is to be inviolable!

In writing articles about the future fate of the evil forces of Muscovite tyranny, Mr. Howard Langsbury should keep in mind that only by stopping Russian imperialism can the world attain peace and nations their full freedom.

Sincerely yours, Jaroslav Blyschak, San Francisco, USA

National Resistance In The Light Of The Party Congresses

Intensified national resistance in the non-Russian republics is undoubtedly one of the reasons why the Party has decided to restore Stalinism. The so-called ideological sections of the Party Congresses give plentiful evidence for this. The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia, D. H. Sturua, stressed most strongly the grounds for putting an end to de-Stalinization at the 23rd Party Congress of the Georgian Communist Party. He said, "Insufficient criticism, the personality cult, and the consequences of voluntarism and subjectivism have conjured up anew the residue of nihilism, cosmopolitanism, and nationalism, as well as the apolitical attitudes of many writers and their works and of many artists and their creations.

"Certain writers and *literati* have joined in merciless criticism and are busying themselves with it where they glorified before."

"In the works of these individuals the Party's struggle to collectivize and to build up Socialism throughout the economy is represented in a totally wrong manner. Pride of place is given not to the accomplishments of the Party and the people but to their deficiencies, their offences and their crimes against Socialist justice."

Recently, says Sturua, many works have appeared in Georgia which from the ideological standpoint are harmful to the people. Any commentary on these remarks is superfluous, as is also the case with the speech made by Pelshe, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, at the Twentieth Party Congress, who said, "We cannot acquiesce to the fact that many artists, particularly young artists, incline in their works to criticism of existing inadequacies and difficulties. They enjoy twisting our reality. They believe that they are thereby proving their courage and demagogically call this the responsibility of the artist to struggle for the truth." Pelshe emphasizes

the great inadequacy of the Latvian Press. "Poems are often published whose ideological content is vague and ambiguous. Even the official literary organ of the Communist Party, *Literatura un Maxla*, edited by the Russian V. Mikkailov, not infrequently published articles which can mislead the working public."

The situation is similar in neighbouring Byelorussia. There too the liberal era of de-Stalinization led to the strengthening of national resistance, about which the First Secretary of the Byelorussian Communist Party, P. Masherov, complained at the 16th Party Congress. He said, "It is impossible to remain silent about certain of our writers' works. Our ideology and our reality are being illuminated in a highly tendentious manner. Private experiences and the bad conditions of individuals are being generalized. In many works the reader is intentionally presented with a distorted picture of the War and post-War years. Clear Socialist boundaries between good and bad are lacking, and historical content is being twisted."

Here P. Masherov is referring in particular to the young Byelorussian writer Vaytl Bykov, whose work *The Dead Do Not Suffer* is now being printed in Russian translation in *Novy Mir*. But he is only one of a whole series of "stubborn" Byelorussian writers and poets. Masherov said that a large section of the younger generation in Byelorussia is being taken in by "bourgeois propaganda".

In Moldavia, too, national resistance is becoming more noticeable, developing rapidly under the influence of the emancipation of Rumania, which is affecting the entire intelligentsia and many young people. This fact received considerable attention at the 12th Party Congress. The First Secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party, I. Bodiul, accused writers of being too remote from Socialist reality. He complained

that they had lost their touch for living reality. "Their aversion to Soviet accomplishments and to heroic Soviet reality is incomprehensible to me." What is more, he said, the intelligentsia has fallen into the grasp of nationalism and is glorifying the accomplishments of Moldavia. "Many writers are committing grave errors in their representation of the history of the Moldavian people. Instead of praising the heroic past and the development of the building of Socialism, instead of creating great ideological works of Socialism, many writers are denying the class situation and idealizing dead tradition." Thus the young people of Moldavia have loosed themselves entirely

from the influence of the Party. According to Bodiul, Moldavian youth is attracted to "bourgeois propaganda" and has fallen under its influence. He emphasizes the eternal friendship between the Moldavian, Russian, and Ukrainian peoples, a phrase which masks Moscow's Russification policy.

The situation is similar in other republics, too, especially in Armenia. There young people have put on anti-Soviet demonstrations, and this has led to a purge within the Party. The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia, Kochnian stressed in his speech that Armenian writers are glorifying the past. Strong opposition trends are also to be seen in the Asian republics.

M. S.

Crusade For God And Dignity Of Man

VI CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF CHRISTIAN CIVILISATION

From 27th March to 1st April 1966 the sixth International Congress of the International Committee for the Defence of Christian Civilisation took place in Lisbon, Portugal. Delegates from 25 nations were present. Especially strongly represented were France, Germany, Spain, USA, Italy, Holland, Brazil, and, naturally with the strongest delegation Portugal.

The Honorary President of the organisation is the former Federal Chancellor *Dr Adenauer*, the President is *D. José Solís Ruiz*, Spanish Minister and the Secretary General *Dr Heinz Gehle*. Since former Federal Chancellor Adenauer was unable to come, he sent a message of greeting, which read: "It is of prime necessity that all nations belonging to the Free World — and principally those from Europe — should at last find ways of achieving a greater unity. Only thus will it be possible to arouse the hope of liberation in those men also, who are dominated or threatened by Communism."

The leading figures of the various delegations were:

Dr H. Piinder, the President of the German Chapter; *Dr Bruno Heck*, the German Federal Minister for Family and Youth Questions; former Federal Minister *Prof. Dr Th. Oberländer*; *Dr A. Ruppert*; *Dr H. G. von Witzleben* und *Rudolph Junges*, the German ambassador in Ivory Coast. The German delegation comprised in all 15 representatives.

The Portuguese representatives included among its 35 delegates the Minister for Corporations and Social Security, *Dr J. J. Goncalves de Proenca*; *General B. T. Mira Delgado*, various members of Parliament and professors.

The eleven strong French delegation included, among others, the former Prime Minister of France, *Antoine Pinay*; *Monsignore Dr G. Papin*; *Mrs Marie H. Cardot*, vice-President of the Senate and *Ch. Bailly*, the director of the news agency "Veritas".



From left to right: Papal Nuncio in Portugal; Mrs. Slava Stetsko; Mr. Nyzowyj, Philadelphia; Bishop Mancini, Vicar General of Cardinal Tisserant; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, Dr. Franco Nogueira

Among the representatives from Holland were *M. M. Shakel*, Member of Parliament, and *N. Van de Brugge*; England was represented by the *Rev. James McWhirter*, the Austrian delegation was led by *Dr Felix Hurdes*, Honorary President of the Austrian People's Party and former Minister, and the Belgian by *Prof. Henri Delandele*.

The Brazilian delegation consisted of three representatives — the writer and deputy *Dr P. Salgado*; the former deputy *Dr E. Cardoso de Meneses* and *Dr P. Tacla*, the founder of the Brazilian Luso-Academy.

Chile was represented by *Dr Pedro Felix de Aguirre*; China by *Mr Doemu Guan*. Among the members of the large Spanish delegation were President *D. José Solis Ruiz*; *Sr Luis Valero Bermejo*; *D. Clemente Cerdá Gímez*; *D. Jesus Fueyo Alvarez*; *D. Salvador Lissarrague Novoa* and *D. Antonio Gibello*.

The seven members comprising the American delegation were led by *Prof Dr Au-*

stin J. App. These members included *Dr William McBirnie* and *Mrs Robert Rutherford McCormick* as well as the Ukrainian from Philadelphia, *W. Nezowy*. The latter brought with him a message of greeting from the UCCA chairman, *Prof. L. Dobriansky*.

Seven delegates made up the Italian delegation, among them *H. E. Bishop Tito Mancini*, general vicar of Cardinal Tisserant; *Prof. Leo Magnino* and *Prof. D. G. Cortese*.

Representatives of the subjugated nations also took part in the conference, from Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Roumania, and Serbia.

Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and *Mrs Slava Stetsko*, represented Ukraine; *H. E. Bishop Dr Th. Ionesco* and *H. R. H. Princess Jeanne Hohenzollern* were the delegates for Roumania; for Estonia *Dr Elmar Reisenberg*, former ambassador, and for Lithuania *Dr P. Karvelis*, former Minister.

In addition there were observers from Australia, Afghanistan, Greece, Israel, Iraq, Ireland and Burma.

The delegates from the subjugated nations were on a completely equal footing with the Free Nations and their national flags were hung next to those of the Free World in the Galveias Palace, where the solemn opening ceremony of the Congress took place.

Present at the opening were the President of the Republic of Portugal, the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, the members of the Portuguese government and the diplomatic corps, as well as representatives of the press, the radio, and television. *Prof. Goncalves de Proenca* made the opening speech.

The President of the Republic *Americo Tomas* and *Prime Minister Salazar* gave a very cordial reception to the representatives of the various nations.

The Congress was concerned with the following subjects:

International co-operation, problems of means of information, action in international bodies, the Christian idea of socialization, freedom and moral values, Christian civilisation as a future order.

The President of the ABN, *Yaroslav Stetsko*, was invited to speak on Russian colonialism in Ukraine and the other subjugated countries, and on the struggle being carried on by these countries.

The American *Dr William McBirnie* said in his address:

"We cannot even allow that in our countries it should be believed that the Russian cancer is better than the Chinese tuberculosis, since both have as their objective our death."

Dr Plinio Salgado, the Brazilian author and Parliamentary deputy, mentioned, when dealing with Christian civilisation in our days, the "diseases" which should urgently be cured. He spoke about the antecedents of the Marxist-Leninist movement and of the class struggle, declared and fomented by Lenin.

"We must act efficiently to liberate the world from this frightful danger, which

destroys liberty and the human person's own dignity."

Prof. Austin J. App said:

"Since the whole impact of the U. N. has been on maintaining and enforcing peace, not on founding it on justice as the only valid basis for peace, Pope Paul's explicit ratification of the professed aim and purpose of the U. N. also implicitly suggests a critical divergence between the ideal and the reality. This divergence we want to study further, to discover to what extent the U. N. can be hoped to promote the sort of world order — peace founded on justice, and freedom founded on natural and divine law — which must be the aim of the International Committee for the Defence of Christian Culture."

"Had there been no U. N. some or all of these wars, especially the Katanga-Congo war, might not have occurred at all."

"When Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt met at Yalta in February, 1945, Alger Hiss was again Roosevelt's top specialist. The triumvirate incidentally reaffirmed the Atlantic Charter and cynically violated it in almost every point."

"Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and Molotov dominated the San Francisco Conference from which the U. N. as we know it emerged."

"In Practice, it is Soviet Russia that is the aggressive power, that keeps Germany and Berlin divided, that enslaves Ukraine and the Baltic nations, and therefore is able to paralyze every action of the U. N. directed against Communist designs. And for twenty years, in some 101 vetoes in the Security Council, she has done so. One of those vetoes defeated an American resolution supporting the brave Hungarian freedom fighters! U.S. News of August 31, 1965 declared: 'The Security Council, because of the veto that has been so freely used by Russia in the past, appears powerless to act against Communist interests.' Had Hitler in any professed 'united nations' reserved for himself such veto powers, everyone would easily have recognized the organization more of an instrument of power politics than of impartial justice!"



From Left To Right: German, Ukrainian, Italian, Roumanian, English And Portuguese Delegates.

"The Charter Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and Vyacheslav M. Molotov drafted, wrapped though it is in idealistic platitudes, is in reality a clever and sinister instrument for securing to Soviet Russia its World War II conquests, made in violation of the Atlantic Charter, and facilitating her eventual domination of all of Germany and most of Eastern and Southern Europe.

"This conviction grows when one discovers among the catalogue of human rights specified, the two most uncongenial to Soviet Russia, the right to private property and to one's homeland, are not recognized.

"From fear of offending this atheistic philosophy the name of God, from whom the American Founding Fathers in their Declaration of July 4, 1776, derived the 'certain inalienable rights,' does not once appear in the Charter. Nor, understandably but none the less regrettably, is there any allusion to God's Son. One cannot view with hope and confidence a concert of the nations of the world that is more fearful of offending atheists than ready to acknowledge God."

Bishop Mancini, General Vicar of Cardinal Tisserant emphasized in his speech that

"Portugal is the land of the apparitions of Fatima, whose 50th anniversary will be commemorated next year. But is was much more important to repeat that, on 13th July 1917, nobody would admit the famous October revolution and the development of Communism, with their consequences. Today the threat which broods over the world is not that of a nuclear war, but rather of atheism, precisely a war against God. We must state that war is already under full development and for this reason the words of the Virgin, studied throughout the years by the most severe critics, have become a historical reality."

In continuing, Bishop Mancini declared that, when contemplating the marvels of Fatima, he was well aware of all the good the Virgin is doing to the noble Portuguese nation and he had heard the echo of the inspired words of the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, who, some years ago, stated that Fatima had not yet told Portugal nor the World its secret. But it does not seem exaggerated to claim that what

Fatima revealed to Portugal is a sign and guarantee of what it reserves for the whole world.

He added:

"And what does the Virgin reserve for the world? She reserves a great promise: if you listen to my requests, Russia will convert itself and peace will be obtained. And what does the Virgin request? Our prayers and our effort in the defence of the values of the spirit. After having known the International Committee for the Defence of Christian Civilisation, I do not hesitate to declare that it was created precisely to comply with the Virgin's request: To pray and to defend."

In closing, he said:

"To me, Bishop, to us clergymen, to all the families and souls with a thirst for sanctity, this prayer is reserved. To you, men of the Government, of Science, of Economy, of Technology and of the most varied social professions, believers in God, full of Christian ideas, to you is reserved the defensive action. He, as Moses in the Mountain, will bless your fight, so that victory may be reached, You as a war-cry will exclaim: Quis ut Deus? and you will be able to transform your efforts of defence into a dominating offensive and victory shall be ours."

Mr. Joseau-Marigne, Senator and President of the Municipality of Agranches (France) referred particularly to the increasing clash between the division of ideologies between Peking and Moscow. Once again, the French Senator stressed the importance of drawing up concrete plans for an efficient action which may benefit from this manifest ideological division.

Henri Duprat, economist and expert in statistics, pointed out briefly but concisely, all the problematics of a simply passive faith. It is not sufficient only to believe, it is necessary to include this unshakeable belief in the fight for the formation of an opinion of Western civilisation. He concluded, pointing to Portugal's example, that this country is fighting for an authentic nationalism with a conscience which has nothing to be afraid of and which should

constitute a symbol for the formation of a new "Western front".

The Ukrainian contribution was very warmly received by all those present, proving that the ideas and the struggle of the subjugated nations had found considerable recognition and understanding from the members of the Conference. The Portuguese press wrote as follows on the Ukrainian contribution:

"In the name of her husband, Yaroslav Stetsko, former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Mrs. Stetsko reminded us that 'The United States finance the United Nations, so that the Soviet Union may use it for its own subversive activity. My country, which proclaims itself as a 'member of the United Nations', cannot decide freely on the sending of its delegates to the UN, since it is Moscow which appoints them'. She mentioned concrete and flagrant cases and concluded by stressing: 'Christ was crucified and buried, but He rose again. It now depends upon all of us that the word of the Redeemer, His message of peace and faith, should reappear on the other side of the Iron Curtain.'"

Dr Edelhard Rock M.P., member of the German delegation violently attacked the Soviet Union and spoke of the drama of all the Germans who had been expelled from their Mother Country by the Governments of Moscow and Warsaw.

The Argentine M. Joao Carlos Guyenche referred widely to the civilisation and to the culture which the American countries had received from Europe and to the fact that the rulers of the countries of the Western world had made a wrong judgement as far as Portuguese Africa and Gibraltar were concerned.

The Secretary General of the organization, Dr Heinz Gehle, declared that today the struggle against atheist Communism was more necessary than ever and that it was difficult to imagine what would happen to Europe, if Spain and Portugal were Communist. The International Committee is taking the struggle of the Free World against atheist Communism on itself. The undermining of Asia, Africa, and Latin

Ukrainian Delegate
Speaking.
From Right To Left:
Minister D. José Solís
Ruiz (Spain); Senator
Joseau-Marigne
(France); Prof. Austin
J. App (U.S.A.).



America, the events in Cuba and the Berlin Wall are results of the policy of "peaceful coexistence" and "relaxation of tension".

The former Minister of Lithuania, Dr Petras Karvelis, condemned Soviet Russian dictatorship and asked for the support of the free peoples to try and submit to the International Court the problem of the Baltic countries.

Particular stress should be given to the speech of the Portuguese Minister for Corporations and Social Security, Dr Joao José Gonçalves de Proenca. He said, inter alia,:

"Sorrow will only cease when technical progress is adjusted to human nature and put to the service of her ideals.

"This means that the new world, which man intends to construct, cannot be only a world of technology and material progress, it has to be, as well, a world where the spiritual values will run side by side with science. Only in this way can the victory of human intelligence be complete.

"Like the astronauts of today, our navigators were also heroes who ran risks, certainly even bigger, when lack of technology was only overcome by greatness of faith.

"Obviously, we do not intend to give an aggressive sense to our action but only a purpose of expansion, which is not to be defined as the mere defensive position of the Christian ideal. This expansive force is

part of Christianity itself, as the imperative for human salvation which has to be taken to all men.

"The urgent necessity to have available a way of penetration, through the radio, to reach the countries enslaved to international Communism, makes us repeat here the same appeal we made in Vienna: — for the capacity to resist and — who knows? — to acquire liberty, for those peoples, may depend, to a certain extent, on the stimulus that our words may give them, by showing them that they are not alone and that their hope and their faith are not vain!

"As in the XVI century, it is urgent to hunt out and expel the enemy from his own fortresses, and not to wait for the assault on our citadel. Defence is always a principle of defeat, when inserted in the dynamic context of a fight for expansion, as the defence of Christian Civilisation must be.

"On saying good-bye to you, I wish, in the name of the Portuguese delegation, to thank you for the great honour you gave us by coming and we hope that this Western shore of the whole of Europe, will be, once more, the departing point for a new and glorious crusade, whose motto will be: 'The defence of the eminent dignity of man.'"

On the suggestion of the Spanish delegate Dr Robert Reyes Morales a Committee of Christian Jurists was formed. It is to be

based on the principles of Christian Culture and to denounce anywhere any violations of these principles.

The Conference accepted a resolution and published an appeal entitled: "Appeal to all the Peoples of the World", in which inter alia was to be read:

"A large part of humankind runs the risk of being deceived by Communism. The terms "peaceful coexistence" and "relaxation of tension" have given rise to many misunderstandings, due to the fact that the intentions of those who used them were not properly analysed. "Relaxation of tension" only becomes possible after a previous elimination of the causes for tension.

"The fight between atheist Communism and non-Communist countries has not reduced in intensity. In Asia arms are being used. In Africa and Latin America, both Communist China and the Soviet Union are endeavouring to increase their influence.

"It was not the Free World who established Europe's present frontiers. They are the work of the Soviet Union who has thus created starting points for the conquest of this continent and thence of the whole world.

"As a Christian international organization we appeal to all believers and to monotheists of all religions to courageously oppose Communism and not to hesitate to accuse it whenever it should offend mankind, irrespective of the place where offence is made. Silence helps neither the oppressed nor the threatened. They are waiting for the liberating word and the decisive action."

The Portuguese Minister for Corporations and Social Security Goncalves De Proenca and the Lord Mayor of Lisbon General Franca Borges gave two receptions for the delegates, at which the members of the Government and the diplomatic corps were also present. The State Secretary of the Ministry for Tourism and Information gave a reception in the restaurant "Folklore", with a folklore setting of music and Portuguese folk-dances. On the last day of the Congress all the delegates made an

excursion to Cabo de Rocca, the Westernmost point of Europe. Some delegates then made another journey to Fatima, to give a worthy end to the Congress.

The good atmosphere of the Congress and the friendliness of the Portuguese hosts made it difficult for the delegates to leave Lisbon, with its splendid cultural monuments.

Protest of the Shevchenko Society in the USA

At its meeting on 8th April 1966 the presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA examined reports in the press and in the *New York Times* of 7th April 1966 on the recent arrests and sentences of writers and artists in Ukraine, and passed the following Declaration:

1) The presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA registers with indignation its protest against the ceaseless persecution of Ukrainian writers and artists and against the sentences passed on the literary critics I. Svitlychny and I. Dziuba. It does so in defence of the principles of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, regardless of whom this concerns.

2) At the same time the presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA protests in the strongest terms at the fact that trials of other arrested and persecuted writers have been held, not in public, but secretly, as in the times of the Tsars in Russia.

3) The presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA brands the campaign of agitation against and the present epoch, which again confirm that Ukraine is a victim of Russian colonialism and imperialism.

4) The presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA ardently supports the struggle of these Ukrainian writers and scholars for freedom of thought, word, and press, not only for Ukraine but for all nations subjugated by Russia.

5) The presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA resolves to submit this protest to the United States State Department, together with a request that America's representatives at the United Nations should take appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations for the purpose of ensuring the preservation of the principles of humanity, human rights, and human dignity everywhere, but especially in Soviet Ukraine.

News And Views

Sunday Telegraph, No. 270, April 10, 1966, London

Threat To Kremlin

The 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which ended on Friday, has revealed growing anxiety in the Soviet leadership about the new wave of "home rule" nationalism among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

The "breakaway from the Russians" movement has been one of the most significant, yet least published aspects of the discussions in Moscow.

The seriousness of the problem became apparent not only during the actual meeting of the Congress but also in the preparatory regional Party meetings.

It is now possible to establish that the new anti-Russian movement is mainly concentrated in Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic Republics and Azerbaijan.

Mr. Brezhnev, Soviet Communist Party leader, referred to the question in his main speech.

He emphasised that the 131 ethnic groups and nations which make up the Soviet Union were united in "brotherhood" and added the warning that "more than once our enemies have tried to undermine and shake this fortress of friendship by force of arms and by the poison of their bourgeois ideology".

The regional Party leaders were far more explicit during the eve-of-Congress meetings. Nearly all the leaders of the Republics mentioned above expressed anxiety about the growth of nationalism in their areas.

During the preparatory meeting in Ukraine the writer Andrei Korneychuk, who was trusted by Stalin, blamed the increase in Ukrainian nationalism on the "cunning and malicious" propaganda of Western radio stations.

Similar fears were expressed during the actual Congress by Mr. I. Bodyul, First Secretary of the Moldavian Republic. He attacked the insidious effects of Western "propaganda" and pleaded for increased Soviet counter-propaganda against nationalistic tendencies in the Soviet Union.

It does, in fact, look as if all the Moscow propaganda aimed at the Afro-Asian countries in favour of national independence is now boomeranging straight back at Moscow.

Leaflets From The West

Members of the Soviet Communist Party and the population of the Soviet Union have been urged to keep watch for "ideological sabotage". The paper containing the directives of the Central Committee, *Party Life*, states that foreigners very often leave anti-Soviet literature in public transport in the Soviet Union. Recently more than ever books, newspapers, magazines,

records and tapes have been left in rail compartments, aircraft, underground trains, cinemas, and other public places.

In 1964 on Leningrad Airport alone 300 examples of this kind of anti-Soviet literature were found. The Central Committee organ gives one to understand that a Western newspaper left lying at the airport in itself constitutes ideological sabotage. Ital-

ian sailors are said to have offered frontier officials at Odessa harbour a packet of leaflets with "hostile contents". "Similar attempts have also been made by sailors from other Capitalist countries, particularly by those from West Germany."

Also listed are the worries which beset the guardians of the Soviet Union's Western borders in the way of anti-Soviet literature. In 1965 24,943 examples of anti-Soviet literature were confiscated at frontier crossing points. An American tourist is said to have tried to smuggle 1087 books and 4529 leaflets with ideologically harmful contents in Ukrainian and Russian hidden in the walls of a minibus.

It has also happened that Soviet sailors visiting Western ports have been given, we are told, newspapers with anti-Soviet contents patterned exactly on *Izvestia* and *Pravda*. Soviet teaching establishments, libraries, and other institutions have had anti-Soviet material sent to them by international postal services. It is alleged that such material has also been found in packing cases containing imported machinery.

According to the Central Committee organ, Soviet citizens are exposed to special dangers when they travel in the West. These often amount to "provocation". Persons unknown are alleged to have put a cheque for a high sum of money into the drawer of the writing desk of a footballer visiting England. The Secret Service is said to have tried to plant large quantities of forged money on Soviet citizens at a concert rehearsal in London. We are informed that a visitor to a Soviet professor staying in an American hotel wanted to put into his possession a briefcase containing documents and sketches stamped "Secret".

According to this newspaper groups of Soviet travellers in the West must always reckon with the fact that interpreters, guides, waiters, travel agency representatives may be in the employ of the secret service. Even in the Soviet Union it often happens that careless individuals yield up military or state secrets in ordinary business or private letters.

The newspaper also recalls the anti-So-

viet activities of the recently sentenced writers Sinyavsky and Daniel. They, too, had shown their manuscripts to members of the Communist Party, who, however, had done nothing about the activities of the two writers. "Where was their Party conscience?" asks the report. It is, the paper says, the duty of every Party member to be politically on the watch and to decisively oppose all hostile rumours and ideas.

Loud and long applause rang through the great palace of the Kremlin when North Vietnam's envoy, Le Duan, the strongest man in Hanoi after Ho Chi Minh, walked to the microphone and announced, "For us there are two fatherlands — one is Vietnam, the other the Soviet Union." Le Duan had paid no heed to Peking's warning that whoever did not stay away from the Moscow Party Congress was supporting traitors. *Pravda* celebrated his appearance as a triumph.

Hungarian Party Secretary Kádár said in Moscow, "There is no such thing as anti-Soviet Communism, nor will there ever be." This faithfulness is the absurdity of yes-men. Blind words cannot alter the fact that Communism is divided and the authority of the Soviet Union has suffered a blow. Polish Party chief Gomulka and his Czechoslovak colleague Novotny have tried to create the impression that an "anti-imperialist front" stands beneath the Red Flag. But Rumanian Party Secretary Ceausescu's declaration of solidarity was certainly mere lip-service.

But contradictions reach deep into the ranks of the Soviet Communist Party itself. The Yugoslav magazine *Delo* states that Brezhnev avoided mention of the name of Stalin because it had been impossible to reach unity on the revaluation of the Stalin era within the Soviet Central Committee. The orthodox Moscow Party Secretary Nikolai Yegoridze stressed that many admirable things had been achieved in the time of Stalin too, "which fill us with pride." The partial revaluation of the dictator seemed above all to be a step to emphasize the continuity of the Party, to strengthen its consciousness of itself, and to

distance it from the "overhasty and precipitous" policies of Khrushchov. But several Stalinist items were brought back to light at the Party Congress, which suggests that the retrospective glances at the "epoch of the personality cult" form part of a tortuous struggle for power within the Party apparatus.

In his summing up Brezhnev demanded that the Presidium of the Central Committee become again the Politburo and that the Central Committee of the Russian Republic (RSFSR) be dismantled. Yegorichev then brought forward a proposal to revive the title of General Secretary of the Central Committee, a title which Stalin had kept for himself until every vestige of power was in his hands.

Stalin's Politburo was changed into the enlarged Presidium in 1952 on Khrushchov's initiative, and became for him the platform upon which he carried out his disputes with his rivals. The Central Committee of the RSFSR which he created in 1956 served to extend his power. By revising the Party statutes, Brezhnev obviously hopes to cut off his rivals, to rob the Central Committee of the power it enjoyed under Khrushchov, and to concentrate power in his own hands in a manner not unlike Stalin's. Like Khrushchov, Brezhnev came to power with the help of the Central Committee and the political bureau of the RSFSR. Now, it seems, he is trying to dispose of these instruments, so that he can remain in power.

Rheinischer Merkur No. 15, 1966

OBITUARY

Andriy Pavlyshyn died on 20th March 1966 in a London hospital. He was a lifelong member of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) and for a long time employed in its security service. In the last two years of his life, he worked in the administration of the ABN Press Office.

Andriy Pavlyshyn was born in the district of Kremjanets on 16th August 1921. He came to Great Britain in 1948, and at once began to take part in the social life of the Ukrainian emigration and the OUN there. He was an active member of SUM

(Union of Ukrainian Youth) and SUB (Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain). Throughout his time spent in the service of the OUN and in the social and cultural life of the Ukrainian emigrants, and during his time in the Press Office of ABN, Andriy Pavlyshyn distinguished himself through great discipline, self-sacrifice and industry. He was an idealistic, active member of the OUN and of the ABN, and a great patriot.



He was especially marked by modesty, kindness, and sincerity. He tried with all his strength to overcome his malignant disease and was not content to put up with it.

The funeral took place on 26th March in Nottingham, where he had last been resident.

A memorial service was held for the deceased in Munich on 26th March.

Ferdinand Hoffmann Died

On 22nd January 1966 in Buenos Aires the prominent Slovak theatre artist Ferdinand Hoffmann died at the age of 58.

Ferdinand Hoffmann was one of the leading artists in the Slovak theatre, for which he achieved much. In Slovakia he founded and edited a theatrical journal. During Slovakia's independence he was director of the National Theatre in Bratislava.

Early in 1945, as the Soviet Russian Army was marching on Bratislava, Ferdinand Hoffmann left Slovakia, together with many other Slovak artists, writers, journalists, and politicians, in order to fight for the liberation of the Slovak nation and state from his exile.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Little Success in Subduing Georgian Minds

From a discourse, delivered at the XXIII Party Congress of the GCP by Mr. W. Mshavanadze, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, on March 2nd, 1966.

"The Central Committee of the GCP has given much attention to the education of our working class and to our youth in an international spirit; yet it must be admitted that in respect of the ideological education of our people not every object has yet been achieved, nor every problem been solved. National narrow-mindedness is still existent, and there is a sporadic appearance of nationalistic tendencies.

We Communists cannot tolerate these trends, even though they only represent the attitude of a small minority. We have to resist nationalism and every form of narrow local patriotism to the utmost; we always have to bear in mind that such a political attitude is harmful and dangerous and contrary to the principles of our great cause."

Mr. M. continued: "We are certainly able to record impressive developments in literature and the arts, but at the same time we must draw attention to what is in our opinion a harmful tendency, which has been apparent for some years now in the creative work of some writers, playwrights, and theatrical and film producers.

Artists who concentrate on depicting in their work the deficiencies, defects and inaccuracies, such as may occur in the building of the socialist state, and who generalize and represent them as typical, intentionally or unintentionally give a distorted picture of our reality.

The high interest the capitalist world professes in this kind of book cannot be considered merely accidental.

We have every reason to emphasize that we cannot remain indifferent to such "literary productions", which not only do not promote the ideological training of our people, their education in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, but on the contrary exercise a negative influence. We must fight against everything which disturbs the development of our socialist society and the building of Communism."

It is quite evident that these manifestations of "nationalism" and "local patriotism" are not isolated occurrences or it would be superfluous to expose them to criticism and to fight them.

Even among the members of the Communist Party not everything is as it should be. The highly individualistic Georgian cannot resign himself to becoming an obedient subordinate to the Communist System. In his discourse Mr. M. continued: "I regret to have to point out that not all Communists observe the Party precepts, and the Party organisations will have to do a great deal of work in this respect. Strict Party discipline will have to be introduced.

Communists, who neglect their duties, who offend against Party and state discipline, do not deserve to be members of our Party. There is no room for them in our ranks."

N. Imeri

From: *Kommunisti*, periodical of the Central Committee of the GCP, March 3, 1966, No. 51.

"The Battle does not Slacken"

In the September issue of the periodical *Dnipro* a certain Serhiyenko warned Soviet citizens about Ukrainian nationalist agents, who secretly find their way into the USSR and carry on their activities by making use of old contacts from the period of the Bandera underground movement.

Science in the Service of Russian Imperialism

There are characteristic traits in the structure and organization of the USSR's Academies of Science which testify to the fact that the sciences and the leading scientific institutions of the USSR have been harnessed in the service of Russian imperialism.

According to *Narodnoye Khozyaistvo 1963* (National Economy 1963) the USSR has fifteen Academies of Science in the various republics; their years of foundation and the number of their members is as follows: Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1725 (536 members), Ukraine, 1633 (reopened 1918, 214 members), Byelorussia, 1928 (92 members), Georgia, 1914 (97 members), Lithuania, 1941 (34 members) Uzbekistan, 1943 (75 members), Armenia, 1943 (65 members), Estonia, 1946 (45 members), Tadzhikistan, 1941 (34 members), Turkmenistan, 1951 (36 members), Kirgizia, 1954 (44 members), Moldavia, 1961 (24 members) — a total of 1499 members, or "academicians".

Nominally, the Academy of Sciences of a Union Republic is subject to the Council of Ministers of that Republic. In practice they are component parts of the imperial system, at the apex of which is the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which is identical with the above-mentioned Academy of Sciences of the RSFSR, located in Moscow. Practically speaking, the entire scientific system of the USSR is headed by the Scientific Secretariat of the Presidium, with the Scientific Secretary General at the very top.

Since December 1933 the Academy of Sciences of the USSR has been under the Council of People's Commissars. It is controlled by the Communist Party and is responsible for the planning of research in all areas of the sciences. In 1941 the President of the Academy declared that all these central scientific academies were directed in their activities towards the building of Socialism and that they had been formed into a scientific centre for the entire USSR.

Finally we note that higher education in Eastern Europe developed first in Ukraine

and Byelorussia and only later spread to Russia, as the following table shows:

- 1) Greek-Slavonic Academy in Volhynia at Ostroh, 1570
- 2) Lviv Brotherhood Institute, 1590
- 3) Kyiv Mohylanska Academy, 1633
- 4) Scientific centre at the court of Prince George Slutsky, Byelorussia, end of the 16th century. Transferred to Russia later.
- 5) Maritime Academy in St. Petersburg, 1715
- 6) Moscow University, 1755

The Regime in Difficulties

The First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, Pavlov, has attacked the Komsomol publication *Yunist* as follows:

"We cannot help being disturbed because the places of the true heroes — people capable of active work, of combat, of heroic deeds — are being usurped more and more by those who shut themselves up in the shell of their own individual experiences and even flaunt their bourgeois passiveness towards the community. The journal *Yunist* is enthusiastically raising just such 'heroes'. In a seminar for young writers held recently in China it became crystal clear that subjects connected with the Komsomol are not being dealt with at all in the works of young writers."

On the other hand, news has come from Moscow that work is in progress on a new edition on Stalin's *The Questions of Leninism* and *Marxism and the National Question*. This indicates that Stalin is again to be counted amongst the classic writers of Marxism-Leninism.

The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party is endeavouring to force liberal writers to silence. The organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party *Život Strany* has sharply attacked the journal *Literaturne Noviny* on account of an article which represented "a well paid advertisement for the Western way of life." *Život Strany* demanded that the printing of this hostile propaganda be stopped.

Church and Religion

The Russian Orthodox Metropolitan in Leningrad, Nikodim, who is the next highest church dignitary to the Russian Patriarch himself, has announced to TASS reporters that the Russian Orthodox Church does not recognize the Annulment of Anathema issued by the Catholic Church and the Patriarch Athanagoras of Constantinople on 7th December 1965 because the Annulment was pronounced only by a local church and not by all Eastern Orthodoxy. The Metropolitan also objected to the fact that the Vatican Council had made no statement on the question of peace and war.

An atheists' club has been founded in Lviv, West Ukraine, with the intention of holding atheistic mass meetings for believers.

Atheist detachments have been formed in the Odessa military district from soldiers and officers specially trained for the purpose; they are to be used in connection with atheist propaganda at atheistic meetings and entertainments.

A number of people have been arrested in Moscow after they had been found with prayer books and religious works intended for believers in Ukraine.

Memories of a Communications Commandant

In its August, 1965, edition, the Russian periodical *Noviy Mir* published the very interesting war memoirs of Major-General Antypenko, who was the Red Army's lines of communication commandant during the second World War. He mentions that the order from Moscow to evacuate all weapons and ammunition from Lviv and its environs came too late, namely on the evening of 25th June 1941. "By this time the Ukrainian nationalists had become so bold that they sniped at us from the rooves in broad daylight. It was already too late for an evacuation, and I had to give the order that all our military resources should be burnt. And so our soldiers marched through the streets of Lviv in worn out shoes and denims, whilst mountains of good shoes and uniforms burned nearby."

General Antypenko goes on to recount

that in the second half of 1943, when Soviet troops reached the Dnipro, the magazines on the front were empty and many divisions had enough food for only one or two days. When Mikoyan visited Antypenko and the latter complained about the lack of bread, Mikoyan said, "We will give you the regions of Sumy, Chernyhiv, and Homel for your troops, and you can do the harvesting yourselves." Thirty thousand soldiers were immediately assigned to help with the harvest, as well as all who were capable of work amongst the local population. From the harvest 60,000 pounds were sent on the very first day to the north, to Russia. At the beginning of February 1944, 13,607 pounds were at the disposal of the troops on the front. When, after the reconquest of Ukraine, what was left of the cattle was driven back from the east, 75,000 cattle were immediately requisitioned for the Army, but some of these, too, were diverted northwards.

As is well known, this was followed by a terrible famine in Ukraine from 1944 to 1946, and from Khrushchov's speech to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party it is known that Stalin had planned to wipe out the Ukrainian people after the War.

Among Antypenko's duties was combatting Ukrainian Insurgents along the lines of communication. To this purpose the whole territory was swept by a regular, closed net of sentinels, one of whom was responsible for every ten houses. "The NKVD troops dealt a decisive blow to the nationalist groups of Bandera's troops and the OUN. But communications troops often had to take part in battles or fend off enemy raids."

"Also very capable were 15- and 16-year-old boys who had been taken by the Germans and trained in spy schools. These boys were usually equipped with metal "three-pronged hedgehogs", with which they punctured the tyres of motor vehicles."

News in Brief from Ukraine

In the September number of the magazine *Dnipro* the art critic V. Andriyenko discusses the well-known picture by the Ukrainian painter Ilya Repin "The Zapor-

izhian Cossacks write to the Sultan". In his article he calls the Ukrainian people "a people of bold men. No one in the world is so sensitive to liberty, equality, and fraternity as they. Repin's picture is the nation's aesthetic discovery of this bold fellow, with his organic philosophy of brotherhood and his steady outlook on life as an unending struggle and as quiet heroism."

One of Ukraine's best actors and producers, Hnat Yura, died in Kyiv in the middle of January of this year. He was 79. He was a professor at the Kyiv Institute of Dramatic Art.

A monument to the founder of Ukrainian classical music and a famous composer, Mykola Lysenko, was unveiled in Kyiv on 29th December 1965 in the presence of government and Party heads. The monument, the work of the sculptor O. Kovaliv and the architect V. Hnesdilov, stands in front of the Kyiv State Opera.

In Lutsk (Volhynia) and its environs valuable religious paintings and an altar by the well-known Ukrainian painter Yov Kondselevych have been discovered in old churches. These works of art date from the end of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century.

Radyanska Ukraina reported on 7th January 1966 that Ukrainian scientists at the Institute for Materials Studies of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv had discovered a new metal-ceramic material with immense heat-resisting properties and electrical conductivity. It is said to be a carbide-niobium composition, which can be used in high-temperature electric vacuum ovens.

Radyanska Ukraina reported on 30th December 1965 that the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR had awarded 208 partisans and underground fighters medals on behalf of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for "proven boldness and courage in the War of the Fatherland against the German Fascist occupation." Twenty years later?

Trud reports that on 19th January 1966 the seismographic station at Kishinev, Moldavia, recorded an earthquake of force 4 with an epicentre in the Carpathians. The

earthquake could be felt over distances of up to 60 miles from the epicentre. No damage was reported.

Pravda no. 14 accused the USA of an act of provocation in the Black Sea, since the USA had dispatched two missile warships, *Yarnol* and *Forrest Royal* to the Black Sea, where the ships were "acting suspiciously and carrying out spy activities." *Pravda* demanded that an end should be put to this dangerous provocation, since the Black Sea should be "a zone of peace and quiet."

However, *Pravda* omits to mention that Soviet warships often lay claim to the "freedom of the high seas" and sail in the territorial waters of other countries.

"Enemies of the People Without and Within"

Reports appeared in the newspapers *Molod' Ukrainy* (Youth of Ukraine) and *Radyanska Ukraina* (Soviet Ukraine) on 15th and 16th January 1966 respectively on the conference of sugar beet experts held in Kyiv in mid-January 1966 and attended by top Party and government officials. Most interesting was the speech made by P. Y. Shelest, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who criticized the mismanagement of agriculture on the collective farms which had resulted in many farms not reaching their production targets.

Mr. Shelest finished by giving vent to his feelings in a tirade against "various unbidden champions of the Ukrainian peasants who twist the truth both at home and abroad, slander the collective farms, and shout about the alleged decay of Ukrainian culture. We shall never forget that our soil is saturated with the blood of our fighters who opposed foreign, thieving conquerors, and fought against the counter-revolution and the worst enemies of our people, the bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists. Scattered beyond the borders of our native land, these hirelings serve the American imperialists and West German revanchists; but they strive in vain. The workers of Ukraine will always deal a fatal blow to all hostile phenomena and all attacks on the Soviet order."

"A Worker and Peasant State"

Conditions behind the Iron Curtain are very well characterized by the following three letters, sent from there to relatives in the Free World, and two letters published as letters to the editor in *Radyanska Ukraina* on 18th December 1965. We quote them here in a somewhat shortened form but without alteration of their sense:

a) a letter from the Kyiv area:

"When Stalin was still Tsar, then it was just about all right; we had our own potatoes and cabbage, a cow, a pig, and a few hens. But when Khrushchov arrived, they took it all away from us and put it all on the collective farms. You daren' grumble, otherwise they put you in solitary confinement, no light, nothing to eat, nothing to drink. After a few days, when you're lying unconscious on the floor, the *narodniki* come and beat the victim until he's half dead, and a lot of them actually do die. *Narodniki* are youngsters who've been specially trained, and are allowed to rape every attractive girl or woman for their pains. They "work" in groups of at least twenty-five and have even more rights than the militia — the militia is often quite frightened of them. There are over five million *narodniki* in the USSR, making a sort of second army."

b) a letter from the Uman' district:

"They put electric lighting into our house and we got just one light bulb, but it burnt out after a month, and since then we've used oil, as we did before, because there isn't a new light bulb to be had.

"My wife fell very ill, and was sent to a hospital in Kyiv. For six months I've been asking the head of the *kollehoz* for leave from work and fares so that I can visit my wife. But he's frightened to give me this, because he would be sent to prison if the militia or somebody caught me on the way. Just carry on working as you have done, and when your wife's better, she'll come walking home, he always says."

c) a letter from the Zhytomyr area:

"Dear cousin,

Don't send us any more, because the Russians take it all away. At one time we always had to give something out of the

parcels from abroad to the postmaster. But now, the postmaster, a true Russian, examines the contents of the package under the receiver's nose, and keeps whatever is not mentioned in the list of permitted goods for himself. And you can't say anything. Now the Russian thieves just take whatever they like. They get more than the receiver."

d) letter to the editor:

A garage mechanic from Cherkasy writes complaining that building labourers have to live in parked wagons and barracks. At night, he writes, there is nothing to drink on the job, not even plain water. And before work starts in the morning at 8 o'clock, it is impossible to have any breakfast, as the buffet does not open until half-past eight.

e) letter to the editor:

Workers at the petrol refinery used to be taken to work by bus. But now the buses have been done away with and the workers have to walk for hours to the workers' train and then from the train to work.

From these and other letters from the USSR it is quite clear that the conditions of life in the cities are somewhat better than in the country, but the standard of living throughout the USSR is everywhere far below that of the satellite countries, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc. The people suffer from heartlessness, lack of interest in the fate of mankind, complete indifference to the needs of human society, coercion, and the indiscriminate use of force by the bureaucratic Party apparatus.

Letters written under Duress

A number of emigré Ukrainians, especially in France, used often to receive letters from their relatives back home which reported, sometimes openly, more often in veiled form, on the misery and wretchedness of their lives and the continual reign of terror and rule by force to which their Russian occupiers subject them. Recently the very same people have been writing that they have "suddenly become happier", "that everything is obtainable in abundance in Ukraine, that the shops are full, and that everything can be bought." One writer also states that he is "always listening to

Ukrainian broadcasts from foreign stations." But at the end, the "happy" writer nevertheless requests a small parcel. He writes several times in the letter, "I am compelled to write by no one. I write all this of my own free will." The most peculiar thing is the confession of the "crime of listening to foreign broadcasts", which is heavily punished in the USSR.

On the other hand, those who have been in Ukraine recently report that wretchedness rules the land, and that even when there is something to buy here and there the *kolkhoz* employees have no money to buy it with. These visitors, however, request that these facts should not be passed any further, as they fear persecution for their relatives back home. These visitors also recount that they were asked again and again in secret if there is "anything happening on the Western front", how the emigrants live, and whether they are doing anything to protect Ukraine's interests. Everyone in Ukraine cherishes the hope that great changes will take place, that their hellish life in the Bolshevik "paradise" will soon come to an end.

★ ★ ★

Dear friend,

Wherever I go, wherever I am, I remember your words when you spoke against my returning to our native land. There is a saying: If you are not interested in my advice, then I cannot help you. Meanwhile 40 years have passed since we said goodbye on the free earth of Washington. You have been fortunate and I have become a beggar in my own country — and as well an old man of 80. There were also beggars under Austrian rule and under "noble" Poland here, but these beggars were allowed to beg. If one went through a village, one received at each house at least one egg or a bowl of flour, and if there were 200 houses in the village, then one received 200 eggs or 200 bowls of flour. But today no one gives anything because no one has anything. Young people can at least obtain something for themselves at night, but I am old, starv-

ing and can scarcely move my legs. If anyone has a hen, he must give up the eggs. If he doesn't give the eggs to the shop, then he cannot buy anything. Our shop bosses have an obligation to hand over 20,000 eggs, in return for bread, salt, yeast, etc. You cannot get milk either, because you have to give 66 gallons of milk to the dairy for each cow. Anyone not delivering this milk will have his cow chased off the pasture. Teachers are sent into the cow-sheds to check whether a cow has had a calf. As soon as the calf has been born, you must start delivering milk again to the dairy. No one is interested in what you have for yourself.

In 1963 Khrushchov screamed as loud as he could that old people would now get a pension: it was even stated that it would be 8 rubels per person, per month. The head of the collective farm decides who gets a pension. As there is no official authority to decide this, there is no right of appeal. The local authority is the strongest: what it does is holy.

I was granted no pension, because I had been deported to Siberia and had spent 10 years there. Meanwhile all my possessions had been taken. As you know, I have no children who took part in the partisan movement, and so I was accused of having helped the "bandits". As a result my property was completely confiscated. They do the robbing and I am a bandit. When we were taken to Siberia, everyone had to sign that he wanted to stay there for the rest of his life. If anyone refused, he was beaten until he gave in. When we were "freed" in 1957, we had to sign that we would not return to our homes and also would not ask for our possessions back.

Anyone who returned to his home, was expelled again, and had to return "voluntarily" to Siberia, because he never received official permission to settle. It was impossible to live anywhere without this permission. I am old and I haven't got this permission. They have tried to deport me but I won't budge from the place where I should be. The NKVD advised me, "Buy yourself a rope and hang yourself." This is what our freedom is like. I have slaved

away all my life, and today as an old man I have nowhere to lay my head.

I am writing quite openly. Perhaps this letter will be read and intercepted and I will be put into prison once more, if it doesn't go to a humane type. It is all the same to me; I don't want to live, but I won't lay a hand on myself. If this letter gets into the hands of a decent man, and he sends it on (God grant him a long life,

for this) you can at least learn how things are here. Another 20 families from our village have been deported to Siberia. Those who returned from America have all died in Siberia. I am the only one who has to experience this misery. I will end now, with my warmest greetings to you. May God grant you and your family a long life. Remember me to all my friends.

P. K.

Jaroslav Stetsko in Canada and USA



Following the memorial speech and a prayer US-Congressmen Michael A. Feighan, Barat O'Hara, Rev. Prof. M. Wojnar and Jaroslav Stetsko lay the wreath at the foot of the Taras Shevchenko Memorial in Washington, D. C.

During the first three months of this year the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko, went on a tour through the United States and Canada. During his stay in Ottawa Mr. Stetsko called on the Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr. Paul Martin, and handed over to him, in the name of the ABN and its associate National Liberation Movements, a memorandum in which the necessity of a formally composed condemnation of Russian colonialism in the United Nations was underlined. In the talks President Stetsko informed the Foreign Minister on the main principles of ABN policy and on current problems connected with the fight for the liberation of the countries under Russian subjugation, as well as on the World Congress of the National Anti-Communist Organisations. Mr. Stetsko also visited the Leader of the Canadian Conservative Party, Mr. John Diefenbaker, and expressed his thanks to him in the name of the ABN and the National Liberation Movements for his constant support of the efforts of nations under Russian subjugation. Mr. Stetsko also had a lengthy talk with the former Canadian Minister of Labour, Mr. Michael Star, and was a guest of the National Chinese Ambassador, Dr. Shusi-Hsu.

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Yours faithfully

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Hungarian Oktober 1956



The Kossuth coat of arms, instead of the Soviet star, once again decorates the Hungarian national flag, which is waved by freedom fighters, standing on a conquered Russian tank.

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Cover: Photo by Keystone

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.
Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to: Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account No. 30/26135 (A. B. N.).

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69.

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slawa Stetzko.

Erscheinungsort: München.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Erich Kirmair, München 12, Westendstraße 49.

Freedom For Hungary

It is known to all that the so-called independence of the countries subjugated by Russian imperialism — both within the USSR and in the Warsaw Pact — is a deception.

I do not wish to repeat in full what was said by Russian soldiers during the siege of Budapest in 1945. Only some characteristic statements will be repeated here.

When the Russian soldiers saw my books in foreign languages, they said to me threateningly: "You speak all languages of the world but you don't speak Russian!" To which I replied: "You have closed the frontiers, I can't go to Russia, so how should I learn your language?" "But now you are already Russian subjects, now you should learn Russian too."

When the Russians occupied Budapest, a Russian general, whose name I can no longer remember, said in a speech at a ceremonial gathering: "Since Hungary is a Russian province..." The Hungarians raised objections to this description, whereupon the general gave the threadbare explanation that the word 'province' in Russian has a different meaning from that in Hungarian.

In the first election of deputies in 1945, Voroshilov threatened the leaders of the Peasant Party with deportation to Siberia, if they refused to go on one list in the elections jointly with the Communists. "Either joint lists or Siberia!" Voroshilov is supposed to have gone on to say that Russia had sacrificed blood for Hungary and that for this reason Hungary had not become free. Stalin himself had considered the Hungarian question as only a question of means of transport.

According to the Peace Treaty with Hungary, Russia was to withdraw the Russian troops from Hungary, 90 days after the signing of the treaty with Austria. Some days before the expiration of this date, the Russians completed the treaty of Warsaw and have since then stationed their troops in Hungary, by reason of this treaty. It was an open secret in Hungary that it was Stefan Frisch, who had been sent from Moscow to Hungary and who was in direct telephonic communication with Moscow, who was the man who decided the subjects of ministerial meetings, which he altered so often during the course of the meetings.

One can reply to these claims that they are only the talk of irresponsible utterances of some unreliable soldiers.

The October Revolution in 1956 also gave proof of the nonexistence of the independence of Hungary. In the following lines I will quote some passages from the book *National Communism and Popular Revolt in Eastern Europe*, A Selection of Documents on Events in Poland and Hungary. February-November 1956. By Paul E. Zinner:

On 11 November 1956, before a meeting of League members in Pula, Tito made a speech "... When we were in Moscow, there also was talk of Poland

and Hungary and other countries. We said that Rákosi's regime and Rákosi himself had no qualification whatever to lead the Hungarian state and to bring about inner unity, but that, on the contrary, their actions could only bring about grave consequences. Unfortunately, the Soviet comrades did not believe us. They said that Rákosi was an old revolutionary, honest, and so on . . . we were not insistent enough with the Soviet leaders to have such a team as Rákosi and Gerö eliminated. When increasingly strong dissatisfaction began to rise to the surface in the ranks of the Hungarian Communists themselves, and when they demanded that Rákosi should go, the Soviet leaders realised, that it was impossible to continue in this way and agreed that he should be removed. But they committed a mistake by not also allowing the removal of Gerö and other Rákosi followers, who had compromised themselves in the eyes of the people. They made it a condition that Rákosi only would go. Gerö remained and this was a mistake, because Gerö differed in no way from Rákosi. He pursued the same policy and was to blame as much as Rákosi was." These are very significant sentences. The supreme head of a foreign state demands the removal by the Russians of the government of Hungary. He even supposedly made it a prerequisite for the resumption of friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

On July 18 the Central Committee of the HWP convened to effect important personal changes in its leadership and map out future policy. The meeting was attended by A. I. Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the CPSU and Deputy Premier of the Soviet government. "Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, July 18, 1956."

"The Central Committee . . . relieves him (Rákosi) at his own request of his membership in the Politbureau and of the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee."

After the resolution, Mikoyan travelled to Belgrade, to tell Tito that his request, to dismiss Rákosi, had been fulfilled.

On 14 October 1956 Zoltan Horvath wrote in *Népszava* . . . "that on July 18, 1956, Mátyás Rákosi did not resign from the post of First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, but was called upon by the supreme body of the Party to give up his post." The presence of Mikoyan at the meeting lets one conclude that "the supreme body of the Party" had dismissed Rákosi on the demand of Mikoyan. Thus neither the Party, nor the Hungarian government were independent.

"When the Hungarian delegation headed by Gerö returned (from Yugoslavia) to their country, Gerö, finding himself in a difficult situation again, showed his former face. He called the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators a mob and insulted nearly the whole nation. This was enough to ignite the powder keg and to bring about the explosion. Thus the conflict began . . . the justified revolt and uprising against a clique turned into an uprising of the whole nation against socialism and against the Soviet Union."

" . . . just look, how a barehanded and poorly armed people offers fierce resistance when it has a goal — to free itself and to be independent. It is no longer interested in the kind of independence it will gain, but only that it should be nationally independent." Thus Tito, a real Communist, states that not only the "reactionaries and land-owners" but also the whole nation rose to

attain national independence. The eyes of the Soviet Union have now been opened and they realise that not only the Horthyites are fighting but also workers in factories and mines, that the whole nation is fighting . . . I can now say . . . the intervention of Soviet troops was also bad, but if it leads to the preservation of socialism in that country, that is, to the future building up of socialism in that country, and to peace in the world, then one day this will become a positive thing, provided that the Soviet troops withdraw the moment the situation in that country is settled and quiet. We said this to the Soviet comrades. We concealed nothing. The Soviet comrades stated that then their troops would leave.

It is our tragedy — the tragedy of all of us — that socialism has been dealt such a terrible blow. It has been compromised . . . Before I deal with the second intervention of Soviet troops, I must say that the situation in Hungary assumed such proportions — and you have read a great deal about it — that it was clear that there would be a terrible massacre, a terrible civil war, in which socialism could be completely buried and in which a third world war could break out, because the Soviet government could not tolerate the return to the power of the Horthyites and old reactionaries.”

The intervention of the Soviet Union for the preservation of socialism in Hungary against the will “not only of the Horthyites but also of the workers in factories and mines”, against the will of the whole nation, was thus necessary, because without this intervention, socialism would have been completely buried in Hungary. It was an open confession of the Hungarian nation that it was anti-Communist. But Soviet Russia does not recognise the right to self-determination of nations if they do not ally themselves with Communism. The Russians demand the right to self-determination for all African nations, but they withhold this right from nations with thousand year histories, such as Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Georgia, etc.

Summary: a) Rákosi was removed from the Central Committee on the order of Khrushchov in the presence of Mikoyan, Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, at the demand of Tito.

b) The Soviet Union cannot tolerate that a nation should recreate the bourgeois system in its country. Such an attempt must be hindered, even if it should mean the third world war. Self-determination is only allowed for Communism.

On 4 November 1956, on the day of the second Russian intervention, I was in the city of Szolnok, in central Hungary. The main units of the Russian army were stationed in this strategically important town. About ten o'clock in the morning, the rumour spread that the Russians had brought Kadar to the city. He was strongly guarded, and could take no step without the accompaniment of armed Russian soldiers.

About eleven o'clock the Russians released leaflets, according to which, a counter government had been formed. The city radio had also broadcast this news. The Russians had attacked Budapest on the same day at 4 o'clock in the morning and Kadar had formed his counter government seven hours later at ten o'clock and had asked for Russian intervention. Was the Russian government so befogged that it hadn't noticed the absurdity of this action, or was it so cynical that it did not even want to give a reason for its treacherous attack?

On the second day of the revolution, on 24 October, Imre Nagy was appointed Prime Minister by the Central Committee. At the moment of the Russian attack he was, in the Communist view, the lawful head of government of Hungary.

Tito said in his speech in Pula the following on this subject: "The second mistake consisted in the fact that the men responsible, instead of waiting for the second intervention, did not do at once what they did later on, when the second Soviet intervention took place, that is, form a new government and issue a declaration. Had they first created a new government and issued such a declaration, the worker and Communist elements would probably have separated themselves from the reactionary elements and it would have been easier to find a way out of this critical situation."

Janos Kadar was put into office by the Russians seven hours after the expulsion of the legal Hungarian government. What moved him to change his opinion so quickly? This is today not yet clear, for two days before he had said in the presence of the Russian ambassador Andropov, that he (Kadar) would go into the streets and fight against the Russian tanks with his bare hands, if they should dare to return to the city again.

Since November 4, 1956, there has been even in the Communist view no more legal government in Hungary, because a government without consulting constitutional factors, and having been put into power only by the action of a foreign army, cannot be a legal government. It is a scandal for the great powers and the United Nations, that this government, quite openly placed in power against the will of the nation by a foreign power, has been recognised.

The Russian government not only promised Tito that they would withdraw their troops after the establishment of order in Hungary, but had also publically declared this. Is order in Hungary not yet re-established? Or do the Russians know that without the presence of the Russian army, the Hungarian nation would make an end in even shorter time than in 1956 to the Communist regime?

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian revolution, we demand the withdrawal of Russian troops and that the Hungarian nation be able to elect a government through a plebiscite under UNO supervision.

Freedom for Hungary!

In Retrospect

Fifty years ago, on 9th May 1916, the League of Foreign Nations in Russia in Stockholm sent President Wilson of the United States a telegramme, asking him to preserve Finns, Estonians, Letts Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, Georgians, Moslems, and Jews living in Russia "from extermination". The League accused the Russian Government of inciting a "spirit of hatred and hostility against aliens", breaking promises of autonomy, preventing school attendance and religious practices, oppressing national life, and carrying out persecution and abuse. "We protest", said the telegramme, "at the imprisonment, deportation, and driving into hunger, poverty, and wretchedness of our peoples . . . Russia outrages us, her own subjects. Russia herself is thrusting us away! And so we cry: Help us! Protect us from annihilation!"

Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9th May 1966, no. 110, p. 5

Islam And Atheism

On the occasion of the recent visit of President Ayub Khan to Tashkent the Soviet Press reported to Moslems in Turkestan and the Caucasus and also in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan, that he had paid an official visit to the leader of Moslems in Turkestan, Mufti Ziyaviddin Babahanov and had friendly conversations with him (*Sovyet Uzbekistani*, 8th January 1966). The same Soviet newspaper also reported that President Ayub Khan and his entourage had attended a service in the Tilla Sheikh Mosque on the Friday. The purpose of this was to document and prove that Moslems in the Soviet Union have freedom of belief and that Turkestan has a religious leader and religious administration.

It is indeed true that Ayub Khan did visit the Mosque in Tashkent on 7th January, as well as a collective farm, where he received a warm welcome from the Moslem peasants and, as a present, the Turkestanian national costume. A picture of him in this costume was published in all Soviet newspapers.

Afghanistan's Prime Minister Maywandwal received a similar Turkestanian costume on 7th February 1966 while on a visit to Dyushambe, capital of Tadzhikistan, with a government delegation. In fact he received the costume not from Turkestanian peasants but when he paid an official visit to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Tadzhikistan. However, the presentation of these gifts is a matter of protocol planned by Moscow. Moscow wished only to give the foreign guests the impression that the Soviet Republics in Turkestan are sovereign and that the beliefs, customs and usages of the land enjoy the freedom they deserve. But in reality the situation is totally different.

At the same time as these statesmen from Pakistan, India and Afghanistan were in Tashkent and Dyushambe, that is, in January and February of this year, intensified anti-Islamic activity was beginning throughout Turkestan. On 5th January, for example, *Uzbekistan Madaniyati*, organ of the Uzbek Ministry of Education and Writers' Association, started publishing a series of articles against Islam, with such titles as "Islam, Representative of the Reactionary Class", "Islam and its Lies", "Centre for Anti-Islamic Propaganda", "History begins to Speak", "The Museums, Witnesses to the Lies of Islam and Religion", and "The Universe and Islam". (*Sovyet Turkmenistani*, 11th January 1966).

These articles demand the complete eradication of the Islamic faith, and of national customs and traditions; God, the Prophet, and Islamic figures are insulted in a veiled manner. On 19th January *Uzbekistan Madaniyati* demanded the wiping out of religious ceremonies, traditions and prayers. It was reported that atheist schools and seminars are again being set up in institutions of public education for the purpose of spreading scientific atheism. Since the clergy still has considerable influence over the population and even over the intelligentsia, anti-Islamic education is to be pushed forward particularly in the home, as this

is the source of children's instruction; once thinking has been poisoned by the clergy, it is very difficult to draw off this "poison" from the young. The Communist Press emphasizes all the time that there can be no compromise between Islam and Communism, and so Islam and Islamic influences must be eradicated. As Central Asia — in other words, Turkestan — is to be a model for the entire Orient, it is here that Islam must be most fiercely fought (*Sovyet Uzbekistani*, Dyushambe, 6th January 1966).

In an article "The Universe and Religion" in *Sovyet Turkmenistani* of 11th January Islam's teachings and history were represented, together with the assumption into Heaven of the Prophet Mohammed, as lies, inventions, and fantasies. As these newspapers are all official Government and Party organs, these are approved articles representing official opinion.

When at the beginning of January and February Ayub Khan, Shastri and Maywandwal visited Turkestan, Moscow had long articles published about the historical connections between Turkestan and Pakistan, Turkestan and India, Turkestan and Afghanistan, and Turkestan and Iran; the importance of Turkestan to these peoples from the ninth century to the present was presented chronologically, with the remark that today there was a basis for friendship between these nations and the Soviet Union.

But at the same time the local native-language Soviet press was attacking Turkestan's national culture, traditions, customs, moral code, and the teachings and religion of Islam. The role played by the museums received especial mention, since they are said to be particularly important in the campaign to liquidate religion and religious belief and to provide a Communist education, being very much suited to ideological education and combatting the past.

On 5th January 1966 *Uzbekistan Madaniyati* published a report entitled "The Centre of Atheist Propaganda", in which it was stated that the well known religious college and mosque of Hodzha Bahaveddin had been converted into an atheist museum. The reason given for this was that this establishment had for six hundred years been the centre from which Islam had been spread and the seat of Sheikhs and wandering teachers who had poisoned the workers' minds right up to the present. Now anti-Islamic writings and atheist documentations have been put on exhibition there. The latest is that the Soviet Press and Soviet propaganda are making much of Luna 9, since the moon landing has allegedly proved that the heavens are subject to the Soviets and that God does not exist.

This two-facedness of Moscow's Islam policies could be demonstrated with thousands of examples. On the one hand Moscow is doing its best to establish close relationships with the free Islamic nations and to show them how free Islam is in Turkestan; and on the other, Islam is being opposed not only in Turkestan, but in all the Moslem lands of the Soviet Union. Russia assumes that important guests from abroad will not read the local press and not know the language. Thus it may well be, as we can gather from the Soviet Press in Turkestan, that many Asian and African guests *are* full of praise for Turkestan and that their real opinions are being presented to the Turkestanian people.

And in the face of all these Communist activities against Islam in Turkestan neither Mufti Ziyaviddin Babahanov — known to Turkestanians as the Red

Mufti — nor his religious administration has raised the slightest protest against all these Communist goings-on. On the contrary! He shows support for Communist home policies on his numerous journeys abroad. He and his administration put themselves at the service of Soviet Russian foreign politics years ago. This is proved conclusively by the Mufti's speeches at the Islamic World Congress in Djakarta in 1965 and in Baghdad, and by his appeals, brochures, and speeches on Moscow and Tashkent Radio.

Islam and the Moslems in the Soviet Union are simply being used by Moscow to further her expansionist policies in the Orient. As we can see from Soviet publications, Turkestanian Islam's cultural and historical connections with the Orient are being emphasized whenever there is an opportunity; high official guests from abroad are presented with the Turkestanian national costume; whilst at home the past is being wiped out, and Turkestan's earlier role is being condemned as reactionary and as Islamic imperialism. The Soviet Press continues to write that the religious hierarchy of Turkestan maintains close contact with Islamic leaders abroad who are opposed to Communism and serve Western imperialism.

As the Soviet Press points out, there can be no connections between Islam and Communism — and Communism has declared war on Islam. Thus it is impossible for the Soviet Union to be the friend of any Islamic country. No, Moscow wants to use Turkestan to bring non-Communist revolutionaries into its sphere of influence.

Gerd Hansen

Popular Fronts In View

The new Kremlin rulers, more skilled, more sober, more versed in tactics than the choleric and boastful Khrushchov, who has now disappeared from the scene, have quietly fetched out from the Bolshevik armoury the trusty methods of the popular front to help make important bastions of the West more easily assailable. With her shrill appeals to love of peace, readiness to negotiate, and desire for compromise, Moscow still achieves her greatest successes amongst Reds of all shades and groupings throughout the world. In this a certain group of more or less well-educated individuals, nowadays designated "left-wing intellectuals", continues to perform important services for her. The Anglo-Saxons call them "appeasers".

They have never heard of Lenin's dogma, binding on all Communists, "Bolshevism will send the bourgeoisie to sleep with peace campaigns, take away their protective belts, and smash them." If one undertakes to attempt the impossible and to explain to them that this maxim re-

presents an immense and perpetual threat they either call one a warmonger and liar or laugh their heads off as if the whole thing were an immense joke.

Normal life would be possible, but for the fact that this wretched century, stamped with the mark of Karl Marx and Lenin, so often sees the appeasers and grovellers not only in the corridors, but frequently in the driver's seat of power in the non-Communist countries. We need only mention President Roosevelt and the Morgenthau Boys, who introduced that million-fold murderer Stalin to the world as good Uncle Joe who had nothing wicked up his sleeve and must therefore be trusted implicitly.

Khrushchov used this dogma of Lenin's of "peaceful coexistence" in exactly the same sense as the meanwhile proscribed Stalin. At the twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956 he assured his audience, "Lenin's principle of the peaceful co-

existence of states with differing social orders was and will remain in the future the general line of our country's foreign policies."

This was conscious deception, intended to send the West to sleep. For Lenin never spoke of the coexistence of *states*; he had proclaimed as early as 1920, "... peaceful coexistence with *peoples*, with *workers* and *peasants*..." And in volume 31, page 427, of his *Collected Works* we read, "For the present two systems remain in the world, Capitalism and Socialism; but the two cannot live together in peace." At another point (volume 24, page 122) Lenin declares as a Communist dogma of irrefutable validity, "We do not live in a state but in a system of states, and *the existence of the Soviet Republic alongside the imperialist states for a long period is unthinkable. In the end either one system or the other will emerge victorious.* But until this end comes, a series of the most terrible collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is unavoidable."

Whilst the appeasers and others who cherish illusions in the West continue to believe that the "peaceful coexistence" of Communism and Capitalism is a permanent condition, the Soviet leaders have made no secret of the fact that *coexistence is merely a means to break the West's power to resist.* Thus Khrushchov declared on 17th September 1955, "... If anyone thinks that we have given up our objectives (= world revolution), then he is making a big mistake. We can assure those who are waiting for this that they will have to wait until Easter and Whitsun fall on the same day."

The well-known Soviet Party theorist Ponomaryov was even more explicit in August 1960: "*The coexistence policy undermines Western social order, leads to the maximal consolidation of the Socialist camp, and opens up the way to Socialism for the working class of the West.*"

"*Actively Considered Strategy*"

Whereas Khrushchov knew how to send his Western "class enemy" to sleep with

coexistence slogans, his successors, Brezhnev and Kosygin, have gone a step further — to the "popular front". They seized on the "thaw" and "peace" euphoria created by Khrushchov in left-wing circles in the Western world and computed further successes for themselves. And they were quite right, as should be seen soon.

The ground had long been prepared for Moscow's emissaries in Italy, shaken up by economic and political crises. Since the death of that outstanding statesman, de Gasperi, the Apennine peninsular has been going steadily downhill. The peace encyclicals of the late Catholic Pope John XXIII, in which he not only gave his blessing to the centre-left government, but even found words of understanding for the Communists, cost the Christian Democrats hundreds of thousands of votes in the early elections of 1963. The visit of Adzhubei, Khrushchov's son-in-law, to the Pope in 1964 brought in about a million new votes for the Italian Communist Party.

The state visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to Italy and his audience with Pope Paul VI will pull even more masses of voters over to the Communist Party. The Kremlin can already calculate how soon there will be a popular front government in Rome. The Communist Party organ *Unità* has already rejoiced in the fact that Italy will have to subject her policies to "a far-reaching revision". As a visitor's present the Kremlin has offered the Italian Government the chance to build a Fiat factory near Moscow to produce 600,000 cars a year. The Soviet Minister for the Motor Industry, Tarasov, took the trouble to go to Turin in person in this connection.

In France the Communists are trying with considerable success to reach agreements with the Socialists and the left-wing liberals in all elections and to put up a common list of candidates with them. In Austria the Communist Party is giving its full official support to the Socialists, which brought the latter a devastating defeat. Many publications stated that this defeat meant that the Austrian Communists would also have to swallow defeat.

But the opposite is the case. Damaging electoral help for other parties, such as the Austrian Socialist Party, from the Communists is consciously reckoned with by Moscow, acting on Lenin's instructions. The Communist Party headquarters regards it as an advantage when the "fraternal" Socialists come out of an election weakened. It is all the more certain then that at a later date they will have to accept the "selfless" help of the Communists, which will make the formation of a popular front come all the sooner. The Socialist appeasers and grovellers of the West know Lenin's trusted recipe only too well, but they scarcely ever act on this knowledge, or act only when it is already too late.

Thus the old-guard Communist and Soviet "Europe" expert Ernst Henri was able with the approval of the new Communist Party leadership to confirm happily in an article on fundamentals not long ago

that a "growing tendency towards co-existence" could be detected amongst the nations of Europe. It was, he said, an unmistakable fact that "left-wing tendencies are increasing" in England, France, Spain, Italy, and Greece, behind which the "contours of future popular fronts" could already be recognized.

But, he added, Capitalism does not decay of its own accord, as Lenin pointed out, and therefore it is necessary to undertake "every step on the basis of an actively considered strategy."

This "actively considered strategy" of the Moscow headquarters is in top gear and is functioning, as we have already seen, to the full satisfaction of its Communist initiators in other European countries. On 7th March of this year Ulbricht set in motion on Moscow's behalf a popular front offensive against the up to now unshakable Federal Republic of Germany.

The Strength Of Idea Cannot Be Defeated

*(Speech delivered on 30 June 1966 to
banquet in Statler-Hilton Hotel,
Washington, D.C.)*

On behalf of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, I am most happy to extend greetings to this joyous commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence.

If Goethe was correct when he said, "Only he earns his freedom and existence who daily conquers them anew", then Ukrainians certainly deserve freedom and existence. They deserve freedom because they have conquered it anew each day. They deserve freedom because they have been willing to fight for freedom.

The great Ukrainian names, like the great American names, are those of persons who fought for freedom, who were willing to give the last full measure of devotion to that ideal.



*Prof. Dr. Walter Darnell Jacobs,
AF ABN President, Washington Chapter*

Khmelnysky, Mazeppa, Shevchenko, Petlura, Konovalets, Chuprynka, Bandera, Stetsko — these are names of men who not only talked about freedom but who actively fought to attain that goal for the Ukrainian people.

To fight, to risk all, to offer life for the love of one's brother is the price demanded by a cruel providence if freedom is to be awarded to the temporarily unfortunate Ukrainian people.

As a result of the efforts of Western historians, politicians, and journalists, we are all well aware of the heroic efforts for freedom on the part of many peoples of the world. We all admire the so-called new nations of the world and others who fight for their national independence. In fact, much American and Western blood and treasure is invested in just such struggles for national independence in places such as Korea and Vietnam.

Unfortunately, however, the glorious record of the Ukrainian struggle for national independence and dignity is not so well known, though it is no less admirable. It is not well known because the Russian Bolsheviks have been somewhat successful in concealing this struggle in Ukraine, and on the part of the Ukrainian people, from our eyes.

The struggle, nevertheless, has existed and continues nobly and magnificently to exist.

The 1941 Ukrainian declaration of independence was roughly contemporaneous with the birth of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA, *Ukrainska Povstancha Armia*.

Under leaders such as Bandera, Chuprynka, and Stetsko, the UPA fought both against bestial Naziism and the horrors of Stalinist Communism. Bandera and Stetsko were arrested by the Gestapo and spent almost four years in the Nazi concentration camp at Sachsenhausen. The UPA fought on, almost without hope. But they did fight on, for independence from Russian and from German domination — for Ukraine.

By the spring of 1944, the size of the UPA in the field was estimated by German military intelligence at, at least, 200,000. Then, with the successes of the Red Army against Hitler, the chief enemy of the UPA became the Red Army itself and Stalin was directing major military efforts against Chuprynka and his irregulars.

After the end of the war, the UPA continued to fight against Stalinist terror. The UPA not only fought but also conducted schools for the children, church services for all, and civic action for the population. The best efforts of the Red Army, the secret police, and Stalin's lieutenant in Ukraine, Khrushchov, could not prevail.

The UPA continued to fight in Ukraine, in Poland, and in Slovakia. While Stalin was consolidating the East European states as satellites of his new Empire, the West watched — and ignored the activities for freedom of Chuprynka and the UPA.

By 1950, TASS was able to claim that "the armed opposition in the Western Ukraine has been liquidated." The announcement was premature, but it was portentous in that it was based on Soviet knowledge that Taras Chuprynka was dead, killed in a battle with KGB troops.

With such a blow, the Ukrainian resistance might well have collapsed. But it did not. Lovers of freedom in Ukraine fought on inspired by the efforts of Jaroslav Stetsko in the emmigration and of Stepan Bandera in leading and equipping the remnants of Chuprynka's irregulars inside Ukraine.

The fact of the Ukrainian resistance is well documented from Soviet sources. Those who have any doubts about its existence need only to look at the Soviet press. (See, also, *Ukrainian Review*, III, 1965, and *Military Review*, US Army Command and Staff College, November, 1960.)

After Chuprynka's death, Bandera attempted to gain some support in the West for his anti-Communist activities. He journeyed to Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere in search for support. In Munich, he was assisted ably by Stetsko and the ABN.

Clearly, both Stetsko and Bandera were irritants to the Soviet regime — to the post-Stalin "mellowed" Communist regime. So irritating were they, in fact, that a Communist agent was sent to Germany with the mission of eliminating Bandera. This man did his work well, killing Bandera in a Munich apartment with a James Bond type weapon supplied to him by Shelepin's secret police. Bandera's death might have gone undiscovered as an assassination, or marked down as a heart attack, had not the killer, one Stashynsky, later defected to the West and confessed all.

Stetsko lives on, today, and fights for Ukrainian independence, but is surely marked for Soviet assassination as were Bandera, Rebet, and others who are now in their graves.

Stetsko lives and leads the political fight. There are others who are fighting in their way. That is, they are fighting with any means available to them. They are irregulars in the field against Soviet professional soldiers and security police. Their means of fighting are those which have proved so successful when employed by the Communists in China, Cuba, Vietnam, and elsewhere. They are the methods of the guerilla.

Some of us may suppose that these patriots have little chance of success. Perhaps not. Perhaps they will not live to see an independent Ukraine. But they will most certainly have contributed to its existence by the sacrifice they have made and are making. They will contribute to the end of Soviet tyranny against nationalities on a wide range, not only Ukrainian. They will contribute to the preservation of mankind's noblest sentiments — freedom and dignity.

The Ukrainian insurgents, living and dead, those who have passed into history and those who have not yet taken the field, deserve our highest praise and honor.

The strength of the idea for which the Ukrainian insurgents have fought and for which they fight cannot be defeated. They know, as all Americans know, that there can be no freedom anywhere so long as slavery and oppression exist anywhere. The fight in the hills and plains of Ukraine is not only their fight; it is ours as well.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný

Resistance To Mental Coercion

The nations subjugated by Moscow continue to offer resolute resistance to Russian imperialism and Communism, notwithstanding long years of oppression and exploitation. The peoples pining under Moscow rule — both within and outside the Soviet Union — refuse to reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom and national independence. Depending upon the given circumstances of the individual nations, firm resistance is offered to Russian foreign rule and to the inhuman Russian-Bolshevik social and economic system.

On their part the Moscow Communist rulers and their satraps in the satellite countries are using every means at their disposal to break the resistance of the subjugated nations.

Communist ideology, no matter how cunningly inculcated, has no power to attract the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. Hence the Communist rulers fear the free discussion of ideas which contradict this ideology. They are well aware that a system can be maintained by brutal violence for a long time, but they also know that unless the people have an inherent faith in the ideology of the system, it must surely collapse.

Hence, in the Soviet Union as well as in the satellite countries, the Communist rulers must use every means at their disposal to prevent and suppress free mental activity. However, not to destroy the illusion of a “liberalization”, the means are employed more subtly than under Stalin’s dictatorship.

To be sure, even under Khrushchov, a certain degree of “freedom of expression” was allowed, but let there be no illusions about this freedom: it was granted solely to those writers and journalists who supported Communism and the political, economic and social practices of the Soviet-Russian rulers. Neither Communist ideology nor Moscow’s supremacy could be brought into question.

Apparently, however, even these modest concessions are regarded as too dangerous by the present rulers in Moscow. As a matter of fact, many writers and publicists in various countries of the Soviet-Russian empire did not hesitate to make full use of the slight freedom which they were granted.

Deeply troubled by the fate of their peoples, some brave writers, artists, critics and other intellectuals did not shrink from drawing attention — in a more or less disguised, but sometimes even open, manner — to the hopeless position of their peoples and the complete misery of the “socialist” order.

Taking advantage of the momentary lapse, the intellectual elite of the subjugated nations quickly became the intellectual leadership of resistance.

Moscow’s response to this unexpected development was not slow.

Perhaps, it will be sufficient to mention only a few significant cases to give some understanding of the extent of mental coercion in the Soviet-Russian sphere of influence.

The Svitlychny case is a particularly striking example of mental coercion in the Soviet-Russian colonial empire. According to *The New York Times* of April 7, 1966, Ivan Svitlychny, a Ukrainian writer and literary critic, was condemned to seven years imprisonment in a concentration camp by a secret court in Kyiv. He was condemned because he allegedly had sent literary works by the

Ukrainian poet, Symonenko, to the Free World, where they had been published. He was transported to Siberia after his condemnation. Also accused with him was his friend, Ivan Dziuba, who was also a Ukrainian writer and literary critic. Dziuba was described as an accomplice of Svitlychny. He too was condemned, but in consideration of the fact that he was suffering from acute tuberculosis, his sentence was commuted.

A show trial was held in Tiflis in April, 1965. The young Georgians Alexander Oboladse, Omar Lortkipsnidse and Givi Avaliani were accused of having been the authors of anti-Communist and anti-Russian writings. According to official reports, they confessed "to actions against the good name of the common fatherland and harming the reputation of the Soviet Union." In connection with this trial, the Russian-Communist newspaper *Sarya Vostoka* became indignant because the mother of one of the accused sat in the courtroom during the trial "as proud as if her son was a hero".

The Byelorussian poet, Yazep Rushcha, died in 1964 in Siberia, where he had spent 25 years. In 1963, the Byelorussian writer, Andrey Alexandrovich died in a Soviet concentration camp, where he had spent ten years. Vladimir Dubouka, another Byelorussian writer, spent 18 years in various Soviet concentration camps in the Far East and in Krasnoyarsky Kray. The persecution of another Byelorussian writer, Vasil Bykov, is pending.

In the Baltic States, all writings from the period before the war whose contents contradict Communist ideology, are inaccessible to the public.

In 1958, the Rumanian writer, Alexandru Jar, was expelled from the Association of Rumanian Writers and Artists for his open criticism of Communist cultural policy. He was sentenced to forced labour for several years. In 1959, the Rumanian composer, Mihai Andricu was expelled from the Association of Rumanian Writers and Artists because he told foreign diplomats that the Rumanian People's Republic was a nation of slaves. All distinctions and civil rights were taken away from him. He was also roughly handled.

Publicists, writers and poets in all countries subjugated by the Soviet-Russians are forbidden to mention the national independence of their peoples. They are not allowed to mention that their nations were once free of Moscow. They must follow the example of official Communist historians. Thus, for instance, one cannot mention that Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were independent states before they were forced to enter the Soviet Union, or that Slovakia was an independent state before the Russian Red Army occupied that country and robbed the Slovak people of their national independence.

Writers must hold their tongues on this subject or make only deprecatory reference to the memory of the independence of these states. In the same way one is allowed to write about the conditions which prevailed in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary or Poland when these countries were free and independent, only in an unfavourable light. If a writer infringes upon these injunctions, he must reckon with the reprisals of the Communist rulers, despite all talk of "liberalisation!"

Especially vexing to the people of the subjugated nations is the fact that the official Communist literary critics try to reinterpret almost all former poets,

writers and publicists in the Communist spirit and, retrospectively, to pass them off as unconscious ideological precursors of Communism. This is done by extracting sentences out of context and bringing them into line with one or another of the principles of Communist ideology. This sentence is then held up as proof that the poet or writer in question had views similar to those of Communism, even if he was not a Marxist. Naturally, the deceased writer or poet cannot protest against this deceit. In this way the literature of the oppressed peoples is being systematically falsified.

But the oppressed peoples are defending themselves against mental coercion and against this falsification of their literature, their culture and their traditions.

Was France Russia's Friend?

"Ten centuries of French-Russian alliance," declared the Gaullist paper *La Nation* in October, 1965. Evidently, Russian and French hearts beat in unison for the first time 1000 years ago — and since then, uninterruptedly — when King Henry I married the daughter of the Grand Duke, Jaroslav I, of Kyiv (1044). (Which is a lie, for Jaroslav the Wise was Ukraine's King and not Russia's, which did not even exist then. At that time wolves were roaming where Moscow now stands!)

During their 1000 years brotherhood there were especially dramatic clashes between the Russians and the French, when one takes into account the fact that a good 1000 kilometers of Germany and Poland lie between them.

Napoleon won his most brilliant battle, that of Austerlitz (1805), against the Russians (and Austrians).

At Borodino (1812), the bloodiest battle of Napoleon's time, 45,000 Russians and 30,000 French were killed.

In the Crimean War (1854/56) France, with 40,000 men, offered the largest contingent against Russia (England 20,000 men). Even today the French Army lives on the glory of having conquered the strongest bastion of the Sevastopol fortress, the Malakov.

In 1920, French, Ukrainian and Polish troops, under the commands of General Weygand, Marshal Pilsudski and Symon Petlura, beat the Russians on the Vistula, and saved Western Europe from the Red Army. One of the officers in this cam-

paign: Major Charles de Gaulle.

In both World Wars, Russian-French brotherhood in arms was actually restricted to symbolic actions.

Russian units, among them the remnants of the Russian expedition corps from the miscarried Dardanelles campaign, gave battle in France in World War I.

A French flyer squadrum, shipped to Moscow by de Gaulle, constituted the regiment "Normandy-Niemen" in World War II. It was equipped with Russian ground personnel.

For de Gaulle in 1944, Europe was still boundaried by the countries "which reach to the Rhine, Alps and Pyrenees". By degrees this Europe was extended to the areas

"between Oslo and Athens"

"from Minsk to Bordeaux"

"from the Atlantic to the Urals."

Even Napoleon had warned the East-journeing Gaul Nation: "Of all the powers, Russia is to be feared most."

Dresden On The Vistula

An inquiry made by the newspaper *Bonner Rundschau* brought hair-raising results. It concerned the knowledge of Bonn students about Eastern Germany. Most of those interviewed had no idea of geographical data about the Oder-Neisse Line, and scarcely anyone knew where the line runs. Almost all were unaware that there are two rivers called Neisse. Dresden was situated on the Vistula, Danzig was named as the easternmost German city, and the Spree Forest was named as an East German province.

Oppositional Currents Of Turkestanian Writers

In the West as well as in the Orient, Moscow and the Communist dictators of the five Soviet Republics in Turkestan have constantly maintained that, thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party over a period of 45 years, the Moslems in Turkestan — especially the youth and the intellectuals — have been educated in the spirit of internationalism and Communism, are devoted solely to Communism and are speaking up on behalf of the promulgation of this idea. They maintain, moreover, that the people in Turkestan, in the heart of Asia, are pioneers of the new epoch, that is to say, of Communism, and that they are models, not only for the Orient, but for Africa and Latin America as well. It is furthermore maintained that they have rid themselves of national, narrow-minded cultural concepts, nationalism, tradition and religion, and have adopted the Communist rite and are championing the amalgamation of nations and peoples into a single Soviet nation, a single Soviet people and a single Soviet culture. This was also collaborated by the First Party Secretaries of Uzbekistan, Rashid; of Tadzhidistan, Rasul; of Kazakhstan, Kunai; of Turkmenistan, Oves; of Kirgizia, Usubali; at the Republican Party Congresses which were held from February 25 to March 12, 1966.

That the facts, however, are other than what has been described is proven precisely by the youth and intellectuals who are living in Turkestan and the position of the poets and writers, which has become embarrassing to the Soviets and can no longer be held secret by the Communist Party leadership. The Communist Party leadership has felt itself compelled to comment on the strong opposition of the poets and writers which has been swelling during the last months and to issue a warning against them. This took place at the Writers' Congresses held in the Soviet Republics of Turkestan in April and May of this year. At these Congresses, the Communist Party leadership, the Secretaries of these national Writers' Associations, and, over and above these, A. B. Tshakovsky, the Secretary of the Writers' Association of the Soviet Union who had been sent from Moscow, castigated the writers, poets and artists of the music world, pilloried their "Party-degrading" aspirations and attacked their works. At these Congresses the writers and their works which have appeared during the last seven years were carefully examined, analysed, condemned and dismissed as empty phrases. (*Sowjet Tadschikistani*, April 21—24, 1966. *Sowjet Turkmenistani*, May 11—13, 1966. *Sozialistik Kasachstan*, May 18 and 19, 1966.)

All the members of the presidium, secretaries and members of the bureaux of the Central Committees, members of the governments of the respective Republics, as well as official delegates from the other 14 Soviet Republics of the Soviet Union, scientists, cultural elites, military leaders, youth organisation leaders and journalists were represented at the Writers' Congresses held in the Tadzhik Socialist Soviet Republic on the 21 of April, the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic on May 11, 1966, and the Kazakh Socialist Soviet Republic on May 18, 1966. Representatives from the Writers' Associations of the Baltic States over Ukraine and the Caucasus to Turkestan were present. A gathering of this size, which had seldom been the case in the past, attests to the importance of this event, and to the fact that what was spoken here was meant for

everybody.

In Turkestan, one was especially anxious to see what would happen at these Writers' Congresses, for Party press organs had been constantly featuring articles on the tasks of the writers and what the Party expected of them.

At the V Congress of the Writers' Association of the Tadzhik Socialist Soviet Republic on April 21, 1966, the oppositional currents of the writers were brought out with especial clarity. In the presence of the above-named Communist Party and government dignitaries, Mirza Tursun-Zada, the Chairman of this Writers' Association and also Chairman of the Solidarity Committee for the Peoples of Asia and Africa, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan, national poet, receiver of the Lenin prize and well-proven old Communist, gave a talk in which he severely attacked and deprecated the works of Tadzhikistanian writers and poets, especially those of the younger generation.

In the course of his lengthy presentation, he said that Tadzhikistanian writers and poets claim that they don't have any themes for their novels, short stories and dramas. This was not the case, however. They merely did not want to treat contemporary themes, because such themes were quickly out-dated. He went on to say:

"The depiction of our times in literature is an inseparable part of Soviet literature. This is a firmly established law, and we desire works written in this spirit. We must never forget this circumstance... We want works which will impel millions of people to battle and to work..."

He reproached the Tadzhikistanian writers for not writing contemporary literature in the spirit of Communism. It has been proven again and again that the literati prefer historical themes. They simply did not want to deal with Soviet themes and did not want to produce Communist heroes. To this Mirza Tursun-Zada stated:

"Some are of the opinion that heroes should not appear in the works of contemporary literature. What is most important — these critics contend — is to expose our weaknesses and shortcomings and leave it up to the reader to decide which model is most desirable. Such views, however, cannot be tolerated, for otherwise who is to write about our heroes of the past and present?"

Concerning the younger generation, Tursun-Zada stated:

"Our young writers do not as yet know life and have no connection to it. Usually one is happy about their first published work, but already the second book is shallow and the third usually very bad. Such writers think only of their own personal gain and forget the meaning of literature. Some writers even take it as an insult when they are requested to discuss their works with older writers of the Writers' Association. In this way they want to escape the collective responsibility of creativity."

Continuing he complained about the subjectivism of the Tadzhikistanian writers, who contradicted the Communist Party line, and he criticised Western influence in literature and ideology in the following words:

"The undermining activity of the reactionary foreign press is not to be regarded as accidental... By employing every means at its disposal it seeks to prevent the creation of characteristic Soviet literature and Soviet heroes."

Those "who seek their inspiration from without", have to be controlled, and all writers must feel a collective responsibility for the work of each individual writer. Tursun-Zada was moreover vexed about the fact that Tadzhikistanian writers did not seek to establish a closer contact to Moscow's young talented writers. (*Sowjet Tadschikistani*, April 24, 1966)

At the Writers' Congress held in the Kazakh Socialist Soviet Republic in Alma-Ata on May 18, 1966, the works of young Kazakhstanians were also criticised as being hollow and superficial. "Not everything that shines is gold." (*Sozialistik Kasachstan*, May 19, 1966). At the XI Comsomol Congress which was held in Alma-Ata in April, the young Kazakhstanians were also severely criticised for their attitude. It was said that the ideological work would have to be intensified, for the young generation had not been schooled by the great revolutionary fight and, for this reason, was now the victim of bourgeois ideology; whereby the belief in Communist ideals was endangered. (*Sozialistik Kasachstan*, April 21 and 22, 1966).

Indicative of the attitude of young Tadzhikistanian writers is the reproach by A. B. Tshakovsky, Secretary of the Writers' Association of the Soviet Union. At the Tadzhikistanian Writers' Congress, he stated:

"It has been stated here that some of the young Tadzhikistanian writers seek to derive inspiration from the modern literature of Iran and Afghanistan. Naturally we treat the culture of all peoples of the world with the greatest respect. But doesn't it seem strange that the writers of a country, whose science, philosophy and literature served as the guiding light of mankind in former times, and whose present-day social system and culture, together with the cultures of the other Central Asiatic Soviet Republics (i. e. Turkestan), are the torch and hope of the peoples of the Orient — doesn't it seem strange that in their search for values, these writers should turn to the cultures of countries, which are thousands of miles behind us on the socialist road." (*Sowjet Tadschikistani*, April 24, 1966)

It is clearly to be noted from this statement that many young persons and intellectuals of Turkestan refuse to fall into line solely with Moscow. Instead, they seek inspiration from the neighbouring peoples to whom they feel related. By so doing they are continuing a development, which the Soviet-Russians declared to be dead long ago. For, during and after the October Revolution, there was a reform movement in Turkestan which rejected Russian influence and sought connections to the Orient and Europe. A purely independent national literature was developed, which has continued throughout Communist rule. But in 1937/38, Moscow liquidated Turkestan's entire cultural elite in the belief that this terror measure would kill this movement once and for all.

Now, in 1966, the young Turkestanian writers are reproached with the same deviations as that time: refusal to line themselves up with Moscow and seeking their inspiration in the Orient. This is clear proof that the young men and women and the intellectuals of Turkestan have not simply been absorbed into the amalgamation process of the Communists, as the Communist Party functionaries maintain, but that they continue to pursue an independent line. This is the spirit in all Turkestan.

Ukrainian Struggle For Independence

There are moments in the life of everyone which are so bright and full of radiant hope that they are treasured and remembered long after many other events are forgotten. Similarly, in the life of a nation there are events so unforgettable that even long after they are past, millions upon millions of people look back to them for inspiration and guidance.

One such great event in the life of the Ukrainian people occurred 25 years ago, on June 30, 1941, at the height of the Second World War, soon after the outbreak of the Russian-German campaign. On that day, the nation-wide Ukrainian underground brotherhood of freedom-fighters, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, made a heroic attempt, against overwhelming odds, to win back Ukraine's independence.

It must be remembered that this was the time that the soil of Ukraine was trampled by two huge enemy armies — that of Nazi Germany and that of Communist Russia, that the air was rent by the explosions and the horizon was darkened by the smoke of burning villages and crops. Two giants, both hostile to Ukraine's aspirations to freedom and national independence, were locked in mortal battle.

What were the Ukrainians to do in such circumstances? Were they to defend Communist-Russian imperialism and Stalin's tyranny, which had brought death and suffering to untold millions of victims and had drained rivers of blood from Ukraine? Or were they to submit meekly to the as yet unknown Nazi invaders, who were entering Ukraine as conquerors, full of confidence in victory? As for the Western allies, they were not interested in Ukraine. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists rejected both possibilities and chose the only correct course of action: namely, to utilize the unsettled war situation to strengthen the position of the Ukrainian

liberation movement and to try to establish Ukraine as an independent state.

This was a great and daring aim which fired the imagination of young Ukrainian patriots, as well as the great masses of the Ukrainian people, but it involved great risks and the chances of its success were minimal.

On June 30th, 1941, the fighters of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists seized key points in the capital city of Western Ukraine, Lviv, and called an assembly of leading representatives of the Ukrainian political, cultural and religious life. This assembly adopted the decision to proclaim the restoration of Ukraine's independence and appointed a Provisional Government headed by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko. The Provisional Government was to exercise its functions until such time as the capital of Ukraine Kyiv had been liberated and a National Government of Ukraine had been formed there.

The announcement of the restoration of Ukraine's independence over the Lviv broadcasting station captured by the Ukrainian underground fighters called forth great enthusiasm among the Ukrainian people. A spontaneous plebiscite — meetings, rallies and demonstrations in support of the Provisional Ukrainian Government — took place in all villages and towns of Ukraine abandoned by Soviet-Russian occupation troops. Ukrainian administration sprang up spontaneously into existence, units of Ukrainian volunteers began to be formed.

The German army command in Ukraine was not prepared for this development and was at a loss to decide what to do. However, after a brief period of indecision the Nazi German Government issued an ultimatum to the Ukrainian Provisional Government to withdraw the Proclamation of Independence and to disband itself. Premier Yaroslav Stetsko, on behalf of the Ukrainian Provisional Gov-

ernment, and Stepan Bandera, on behalf of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, refused to comply with the terms of Hitler's ultimatum and were, therefore, arrested and imprisoned in the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen in Germany, and so were many other members of the Government and leading Ukrainian personalities. Numerous Ukrainian underground fighters were arrested, tortured and brutally murdered by the Gestapo. Hitler's Germany refused to respect the will of the Ukrainian people to live as an independent nation; it wished to transform Ukraine into a German colony, and Ukrainians into slave labourers. A wave of Gestapo terror and reprisals swept Ukraine.

However, the brutal and senseless policy of Nazi Germany in Ukraine failed to suppress the striving of the Ukrainian people to national liberty. The resistance fight against the German occupation and policy in Ukraine grew in strength from day to day until in 1942 the famous Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the UPA) was formed in the forests and mountains of West Ukraine. Under the leadership of General Taras Chuprynka it carried on a heroic partisan struggle behind the German front lines, interrupting German communications and thus contributing to the final defeat of Hitler's Reich.

After the renewed occupation of Ukraine by the Soviet Russian army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army turned its weapons against the Stalinist Russian imperialistic regime which aimed to keep Ukraine as a colony of Russia. Inspired by the great ideals of the Ukrainian struggle for national independence and individual freedom, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army carried on a bitter fight against Moscow for many years after the guns were silenced in the rest of Europe.

In July 1944, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council was formed which became the political leadership of the Ukrainian fight for independence.

At the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, a conference of representatives of subjugated nations of Eastern Europe formed an alliance of lib-

eration movements — the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (the ABN), which is led at present by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko.

And although in March, 1950, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, General Taras Chuprynka, was killed in a battle with Communist Russian security troops near the West Ukrainian capital city of Lviv, the resistance of the Ukrainian nation was not broken. Even today the Ukrainians have not reconciled themselves with the alien Russian occupation of Ukraine and are combatting by every means and method at their disposal the attempts of Moscow to break the spirit of the Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian liberation movement enjoys wide support in Ukraine and is gaining ever wider recognition and sympathy in the West, in particular in England. More and more people begin to understand the danger of Russian Communist aggression and expansionism, and begin to value the role of Ukraine in the worldwide struggle to halt the advance of Bolshevism and bring about its final downfall. More and more people realise that Ukraine is a great European nation, which though subjugated and oppressed, has kept her dignity and spirit of resistance to the enemy of God and humanity, has not abandoned its aspirations to liberty and independence, and will never abandon them. No fair-minded person in Britain or the West can deny the right of Ukraine to set up its own independent national State, the more so as similar rights have been granted to many younger nations in various parts of the world, since the end of World War II.

The Ukrainian Nation does not lose hope that better times will come, that the present dreary period of oppression will pass, that a national popular revolution will sweep the entire immense Communist Russian "prison of nations" and Ukraine will rise as a phoenix from the ashes in the full majesty of its ancient glory as a free and equal member of the European and world community of independent nations.

In Memory Of ABN Secretary-General

The unexpected decease of our friend, co-worker and co-fighter, Prince Niko Nakashidze, has deeply affected all of us.

We always prized Prince Niko Nakashidze as an ardent Georgian patriot, a non-compromising fighter for the freedom and independence of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, and as a noble man who possessed uncommon human qualities, intelligence and character. He was not only a politician of stature, but a man of outstanding personality. We are proud to be able to rank him as one of our most faithful friends, most devoted co-workers and most courageous co-fighters.

Prince Niko Nakashidze dedicated his life to his Georgian people and ABN ideas. His whole life he fought, struggled and made sacrifices to achieve noble goals and high ideals.

Prince Niko Nakashidze was descended from an old and noble aristocratic family, which was important in Georgian history as early as the 10th century. He was born on the 25th of January, 1899 in the Georgian province of Goria.

After graduation from the humanistic gymnasium in Kutalasi, he attended the cadet academy in Petersburg. He became an officer in the Georgian army. In the independent Georgian state, he was a member of the National Democratic Party. Unfortunately, he enjoyed the freedom of his country for a short period only. After a bloody fight the Russian Red Army occupied Georgia in 1921 and re-annexed it to Russia. The loss of the national independence and the national freedom of his fatherland was a terrible blow for Prince Niko Nakashidze, as it was for the Georgian people as a whole. He was never willing to reconcile himself to Russian foreign rule and the Bolshevik dictatorship over his fatherland, nor was he willing to renounce the freedom and independence of his people.

Following the occupation of Georgia, Prince Niko Nakashidze was arrested, and in 1922, together with other political prisoners, he was banished from the country. In exile, he settled in Berlin, where he studied international law and political economy.

In emigration Prince Niko Nakashidze constantly fought for the freedom and independence, not only of his fatherland, but of all the other peoples subjugated and exploited by Russia and Communism. He was a passionate and irreconcilable opponent of Communism and Russian imperialism. He was always on the side of freedom and justice, national self-determination and human dignity. Communism and Russian imperialism in every form, he regarded as the greatest evil of our times.

As a journalist Prince Nakashidze wrote brilliant articles for Georgian and German periodicals, and he was a steady contributor to *ABN Correspondence* and other ABN publications. His position towards contemporary problems and happenings in world politics was based on a highly moral and historically-rooted philosophy of life. He firmly defended high moral values. As a journalist and publicist he was keenly conscious of his high responsibility and was inspired by a high professional ethos.

He took an active part in World War II, fighting on the East front against the

Russians. At the end of the war he was taken prisoner by the British in Italy. He was released from prison in 1949.

In 1950, Prince Nakashidze returned to Germany and continued his publicist activities. To make his fight for the dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire and the liberation of the subjugated peoples more effective, he put the full force of his personality at ABN's disposal. In ABN he was the Chairman of the Georgian delegation. At the same time he was Chairman of the Georgian colony in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In March of 1954, Prince Nakashidze was elected Secretary-General of the Central Committee of ABN by the ABN Congress. He fulfilled the duties of this office with dignity and success. At all times he represented ABN with honour; at all times he successfully defended our common political conception; at all times he fought courageously for the rights of our subjugated peoples, also as a member of the ABN delegation in Sweden on the occasion of Khrushchov's visit to that country.

To refute malicious and stupid slanders against ABN, he also wrote a book entitled *The Truth About ABN*. He also defended the ABN conception in numerous newspaper articles, critiques, commentaries, lectures and speeches.

His life was a shining example for all of us.

We believe that we can best honour his memory by following his example and by continuing our just fight in his spirit till victory is finally achieved!

*The Peoples' Council and the Central Committee
of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)*



*Ukrainian Group Participating in AF ABN Captive Nations Week Demonstration
in Chicago, July 1966*

Ukrainian Women Fight For Freedom

The glory and grandeur of the ancient Ukrainian principedom of Kyiv and Ruš faded away after a quarter of a millennium and left to its heirs centuries of hard national existence under many a foreign occupation. The Ukrainian princes were no longer to be called "fathers-in-law of Europe" (as in the case of the grand prince of Kyiv, Yaroslav the Wise in the twelfth century), neither would Ukrainian princesses again become queens of foreign countries (as was the destiny of Yaroslav's daughter, prudent, dedicated, and beautiful Anna Yaroslavna, wife and mother of the French kings).

Long before the final political disintegration of the once mighty empire set in, caused mainly by Tartar invasions and unceasing struggles for power between inter-related princes of the ruling house and between these rulers and the boyars (country magnates), the tragic fate of a Ukrainian woman overshadowed the future mishaps of the country (Nastasya Chahrivna, victim of the internal contest of power).

Times came when the women of Ukraine had to share the fateful lot of their fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons in their staunch defence of what was still left of their inherited liberties. They distinguished themselves as matrons steadfast in their faith and generous patriots who founded monasteries, financed and patronized activities aimed at the spiritual rebirth of their captive homeland (e. g. Halshka Hulevydivna, Rayena Mohylanka in the seventeenth century); fearless defenders of their country, which became a fortress (such as the captain's wife Zavysna who blew up the fortress Bush and herself inside it rather than let it fall into the hands of Polish besiegers); brave and dignified wives of Cossack colonels (Pavluk, Sulyma) who desperately sought relief for their fatherland on the grave eve of the eighteenth century; stoic mothers who raised their sons to national greatness (Magdalena Koledynska, mother of the Hetman of Ukraine, Ivan Mazepa, the man who challenged the Russian claim to Ukraine in the eighteenth century); ener-

getic and determined women of statesmanship who helped their husbands in past and present to shape the politics of the afflicted country (Nastya Skoropadska in the eighteenth century); loyal daughters and sisters who took over the cause of constitutional monarchy after their kin died (Maria and Elizabeth Skoropadsky are recent examples).

It is significant to note that, in spite of all the hardships and negative inferences caused by centuries-long foreign domination, particularly that of Poland and Russia, the principal features of the personality and character of a typical Ukrainian woman have remained intact. They stand out till present time as the embodiment of feminine virtues, nobleness, chastity, incorruptibility. Instances when Ukrainian women under force of circumstances betrayed their creed or country, even though deeply repenting and endeavouring to rehabilitate themselves, are but rare. An instance typifying these is Marusia Bohuslavka, a personage of the Ukrainian Cossack epic; she, an attractive girl, became the spouse of a Turkish commander and as such used to help her imprisoned compatriots; another example is found in a historical chronicle, where the Ukrainian beauty Roksolana became a sultan's wife, but she never became indifferent to her native country's lot.

Machiavellian moral standards, according to which "the end justifies the means", applied frequently as a strong female weapon by the so called "Mata Hari" type of women, have been rejected by Ukrainian women in principle. Members of the German and Russian occupation forces in Ukraine during the last World War kept stressing the outstanding qualities of moral behaviour of Ukrainian women in general, those of the underground in particular. Says Olena Teliha, the noted Ukrainian poetess and member of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization: "No enemy has ever received my greeting . . ." This attitude was in sharp contrast for instance to the shrewd

measures taken by many a female citizen of war-time Poland who would deliberately not restrain from using any available means if a political or material objective was to be attained. Under such circumstances an average Ukrainian woman would prefer death to dishonour.

A deeply rooted Christian faith, and the imprints left by a national tradition which rigidly opposed the lower standards of moral conduct introduced by Ukraine's historic enemies — such are the main factors responsible for the proverbial high morality of Ukrainian women. "The sacred cause of freedom requires clean hands" — this was the predominant belief among Ukrainians, also shared by the women who participated actively in the political struggle for the liberation of their country from Polish, Russian, and German subjugation alike. This nationwide resistance movement was particularly intensified in the period during the first World War, between the wars and thereafter.

Because of their elevated mentality and devotion to the ideals of humanity and the cause of their oppressed nation, some Ukrainian women have been generally considered national heroines, exemplified in the person of the greatest Ukrainian poetess and playwright, Lesya Ukrainka (1871-1913). This lady, frail in body although unbreakable in spirit, was something of a spiritual Joan of Arc for her countrymen. Ivan Franko, Ukraine's second greatest poet after Taras Shevchenko, made a point when he referred to her virile qualities that stood out as an example to be followed by the so many effeminate individuals Ukraine produced in those days. "This woman is nearly the only man in our contemporary letters", was his characteristic utterance. Her inspiring verse, compared with the "spirit of flame", proved to be her best weapon; it exposed forcefully cruel Russian imperialism (in her dramatic play *Orgy* Lesya Ukrainka pictured poetically Ukraine suffering under and fighting against spiritual and physical Russian oppression), woke up her peaceful countrymen from their colonial slumber and called them to

free themselves ultimately from an annihilating foreign bondage. Although the poetess thought of her role as of that similar to the ancient Cassandra, incapable of deeds that would match her words or having a voice loud enough to stir her people to deeds, she in fact left a message dynamic enough to invigorate the meek and to raise the hesitant. Her fiery words resounded right on the eve of the first World War. By the time it broke out the masses of Ukrainian people, enslaved for centuries and kept under the yoke by powers that did everything to erase their national consciousness, rose again. The so far subservient and harmless "Little Russians" (the insulting Russian nickname for the Ukrainians) found themselves remoulded almost overnight into a nation keenly aware of its significant origins as well as of its destiny. Lesya Ukrainka, the national visionary, had her share in the strengthening of her compatriots' background.

Does anybody know what it really means to be deprived century after century of freedom, moreover, of national identity? To be persecuted on account of one's religion, conscience, ethnic adherence, traditional bent of mind, loyal affection to his fatherland, use of native language? To be persistently denationalized, expropriated, degraded? No one can possibly realize the misery of living under foreign rule who has not himself experienced the bitter calamity of a people robbed of its own country. Ukrainians became "people without a country". Could there be imagined a more tragic plight for a nation of over forty million people?

The hovering awareness of the wrong that had been done by enemies to a captive fatherland and its disinherited children now mobilized the thus reborn nation and threw it into the fight for national survival and independence. Even women, many scores of them, became militant and went to war for the sacred cause — erecting their national sanctuary. There were Sophia Hal-echko, Olena Stepaniv, Hanna Dmyterko, to name a few of the brilliant female soldiers who participated in the nation's

campaign against Russia in the years 1914-1918 and later. There are countless cases of feminine heroism to be found in the unequal fight with various occupiers that followed, for example, the deeds of the partisan combatant Marusia Sokolowska, or Vira Babenko, a simple village girl who became the trusted messenger of the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Army, Symon Petlura in the years 1920—21.

Olha Bassarab, a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization, attained the stature of a national symbol of resistance against the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine after the first World War and grew into a warrior and martyr for the national cause. She was tortured to death in prison and hanged by Polish executioners. This sparked off a further political struggle which turned the country into a revolutionary camp.

The resistance movement increased considerably during the last World War, reaching the proportions of national insurgency. The heroism of Ukrainian women taking an active part as ideological writers or political leaders in the underground movement can be testified to by numerous executions undertaken by Russian or German occupation forces alike. Among the countless unknown female soldiers who fell at their revolutionary posts was one of the new generation of Ukrainian intelligentsia and political emigrants, poetess Olena Teliha, who was executed together with her husband by the Gestapo in 1942 at Babiy Yar, in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv. All sections of the Ukrainian population were engaged in national insurrection against both German and Russian occupation forces, men and women together in closed ranks. This kind of all-embracing female involvement in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their country included both educated and uneducated elements, female students (such as Halyna Stolar, tortured and shot by the Gestapo) along with members of the working classes (as in the case of the Soviet trial and execution of female members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Irena

Shavaluk and her comrades in 1940); in a word, a cross-section of the population at large was involved, with countless village girls entering the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The high mark of the heroic struggle of the famous Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) falls within the years 1943-47 when finally an alliance of the three Communist states, USSR, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, was necessary to crush the anti-Soviet revolution. Ukrainian women wrote glorious pages in this memorable national uprising.

When the second World War was over, the Ukrainian territory, against the will of its population yet according to the sentence of Jalta, became part of the Soviet Union. Ukrainians fell again into the worst kind of slavery so far in existence, that of Russian Communism. No wonder that the best daughters of Ukraine together with their brave brethren dedicated their lives to the same, ever noble cause of regaining freedom and national statehood. There are hundreds and thousands of nameless freedom fighters in Ukraine, among them uncountable women, who have given their lives in post-war "peace-time", in the prisons and concentration camps of the monster prison house of nations, the so-called USSR, for the ideal of liberty, including the 500 Ukrainian women who were tramped down on one single day by Russian tanks in 1954 at the infamous Kingir concentration camp.

The struggle for freedom or death continues. Many an unknown Ukrainian soldier, an unknown Orysia, lives and dies constantly in service of her country and for the survival of Christian civilization.

The liberation struggle goes on at home and is even carried abroad by freedom fighters, so that the world will know and beware of the imminent danger of Communism. It will continue until the day comes when, "for all the blood, and wounds, and ruins God will grant freedom to Ukraine" (Olha Bassarab's lines, written in blood on the wall of her torture-chamber) so that this afflicted country can contribute to the freedom and peace

of the whole world. There is an immensely high price for national liberty, yet Ukrainian men and women are determined to pay it. It is hoped that the Free World will gain understanding for their ideals and render them moral as well as material sup-

port. This would considerably strengthen their power of resistance to the evil forces of oppression and give them confidence that they have not been altogether abandoned and left alone to fight and die on the forefront of our civilization.

Banquet in Washington Marks Independence Anniversary

The Ukrainian Freedom Day Committee and the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front sponsored a banquet observing the 25th Anniversary of the June 30th Declaration of Ukrainian Independence, at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington on Thursday June 30th.



*Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski
Member of the U.S. Congress*

The banquet was opened with the American National Anthem. Invocation was given by the Rev. Theodore J. Danusiar of Holy Family Ukrainian Catholic Church, Washington D. C.

Dr. Zenon Wynnytsky, master of ceremonies, welcomed more than 250 guests on the occasion of the Ukrainian Freedom Day.

Dr. Walter D. Jacobs, professor of political science, Maryland University, and chairman of the AF-ABN in Washington D.C., presented an excellent, review of the Ukrainian people's struggle for freedom while the Western powers watched it and eventually ignored their plight. Another after dinner speech was delivered by Dr. Chow Shu-kai, Ambassador of the Republic of China.

The Ambassador of the Republic of Viet Nam, Dr. Vu Van Thai, who attended the banquet with his wife, told of the sufferings of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against Communist aggression. Also addressing the audience was Mr. Osyp Tiushka, a guest from Europe, and Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of Ukrainian Congress Committee in America (UCCA).

The Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski, Member of U.S. Congress, was the principal speaker of the evening. Dr. Nestor Procyk presented the concluding remarks. Other guests of honor receiving public recognition were the Hon. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio, the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois, Mr. K. H. Chang, first secretary of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea, Dr. Arnold Spekke, diplomatic representative of the Republic of Latvia in Washington, Dr. S. A. Backis, representative of Lithuanian Legation in Washington, Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, Col. Philip J. Corso and Mr. David Burger. All of them were cordially welcomed by Mr. Wolodymyr J. Majewsky, secretary of the United Committee of the Washington Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front.

Messages were read from Archbishop-Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn, Jaroslaw Stetsko, Prime Minister of Ukraine in 1941, Senator Everett Dirksen, and several other members of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives.

Who Will Accuse?

In July 1965 the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations passed a unanimous resolution calling upon all member states to punish those who have committed crimes against humanity. The reaction of the press in Communist states? The resolution was presented in such a way that it appeared to constitute a demand for the prosecution only of National Socialist wartime outrages! In fact the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations demanded the punishment of all crimes against humanity — in other words, they included as well the crimes committed on the soil of the Soviet Union during the second World War and after it — massacres of millions of people, from many nations: Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, Jews, Latvians, Estonians, Tatars, emigré Germans, Kalmyks, Kabardinians, etc.

This consciously one-sided and false interpretation of the UN resolution has a simple cause: the majority of and the most brutal crimes against humanity were committed both before and after 1945 by the Soviet Russian rulers and their satellite governments in Eastern Europe.

The most inhuman extermination measures were taken by the rulers of Red Russia. Campaigns of annihilation were undertaken in particular against the intellectuals and the peasantry of the subjugated non-Russian nations. The number of those killed and the way in which they were murdered is beyond the capacity of human understanding. We are speaking here not of one Auschwitz, but of hundreds. The report of the United States special investigation committee for Communist aggression, also known as the Kersten Commission (1954), puts the figure at about 4,800,000 Ukrainians who died in the famine organized by Moscow in 1932-33, although, as the report puts it "many recognized experts put the figure at between five and eight millions . . ."

The American Geoffrey Baily reported on his return from a trip to Russia that

Stalin had told him in a private conversation that "over ten million victims" had died in the organized famine.

These terrible, unexpiable figures must be known best of all to the inhabitants of the USSR, not only to us. The "Workers' and Peasants' Paradise", Lenin's empire, Stalin's empire, the homeland of Sholokhov and Shostakovich, rests not only on the corpse of Marxism but to a far greater extent on the steppes, tundras and forests of over *seventy* million murdered slaves and freedom fighters from many peoples and races from all over Eastern Europe and Central Asia — and this figure comes not from "warmongers and revanchists", but from the ex-Communist Arthur Koestler's shattering book *The Yogi and The Commissar*, written seventeen years ago.

Do these seventy million (and this is the population of today's divided Germany) not merit our *calling* their murderers *murderers*?

The names of their murderers are known (which cannot always be said for the victims . . .). We are now going to describe four "cases" of Soviet Russian terrorism, cases of terrible, unatoned massacre, well documented, which must be set down because they are still virtually unknown in the Western world — which often calls itself "Free" — or have already been forgotten. We will let the facts, the historical truth, speak for itself.

The Lviv Case

"Berlin, 7th July 1941: A number of neutral journalists returned this evening from a journey to Lviv. Without exception they had been shaken by what they had seen there. Seven thousand men and women were cooped up in the police headquarters, the Kasimirowska Street prison and the GPU barracks, having been arrested at the outbreak of war with Germany. When last Saturday the military situation in Lviv became untenable for the

Soviets, the GPU/NKVD, before retreating, created a bloodbath which ranks amongst the most terrible which neutral eye-witnesses have ever seen anywhere in the world. In the police headquarters, human beings were herded twenty at a time into small cells and mowed down with pistol and machine-gun fire through the locked doors . . . ”

This is the beginning of a report in the Zürich newspaper *Die Tat* of 8th July 1941. The report made history, and it corresponds exactly with statements taken from other, non-German, neutral newspaper correspondents who were in Lviv at the time, such as Alvin J. Steinkopf of Associated Press, New York, and a Swedish correspondent of *Stockholmer Tidningen*. The eye-witness reports of neutral press correspondents served as documentary evidence in the work of the “International Investigation Commission Lviv 1941”, which was composed of four prominent representatives of the former anti-Fascist resistance front in Western Europe and met in The Hague. The result of the investigation was released to the international press in the Dutch capital in March 1960. On the evidence of 232 eye-witness reports the commission had reached the conclusion that during the days and weeks before the entry of German troops into Ukrainian villages and towns in 1941 at least 80,000 or 100,000 people were murdered by the special commandos of the Soviet Russian secret police. But the greatest sensation of all was that the commission named the man responsible for the massacre as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Ukraine. His name was Nikita Sergejevich *Khrushchov*. The communiqué issued by the investigation commission reads: “As early as 14th June 1941 NKVD commandants in Ukraine received from Khrushchov in person an order conveyed by radio to liquidate political prisoners.”

Khrushchov has not yet been made to answer for this. The Lviv case has not yet been consigned to the files. The sin of Lviv 1941 still remains. Who will accuse?

The Norilsk-Vorkuta-Kingir-Vyatka Case

It is unfortunately not yet possible to publish in full a report on the crimes and criminals involved in the unsuccessful rebellions and strikes by completely unarmed prisoners and labourers in the USSR in 1953-54. Many of the eye-witnesses are dead, many more are still in concentration camps, and prisons. Many massacres have taken place in those remote regions of Siberia to which only the murderers of the MVD and their accomplices may travel. Up to now no Western delegation has been allowed to visit the sites of these terrible crimes or to collect eye-witness reports. Only when the armoured safes of the KGB in Moscow can be opened will every secret be cleared up and the names and ranks of the criminals and their victims be known. All that is known up to now about the bloody suppression of the prisoners' heroic revolts originates from Japanese, German, and Austrian prisoners who have been released.

About fifteen hundred are known to have been killed or severely wounded in the prisoners' revolt in the concentration camp region of Norilsk in Northern Siberia in May and August 1953. The names of MVD officers who are known to have taken part in the massacre are: Lieutenant *Shirayev*, political head of Camp no. 1, Norilsk; MVD Major-General *Semyonov*, commandant of the Norilsk camp area; MVD Major *Povstennyoy*, commandant of Camp no. 3. The special committee in Moscow which decided in consultation with Semyonov to shoot at the unarmed strikers consisted of: *Kiselyov*, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU; *Vavilov*, deputy Prosecutor General of the USSR; MVD Colonel *Kuznyetsov*, head of prison administration in Norilsk; MVD Lieutenant-General *Sirotkin*, guard commander in Norilsk; and Colonel *Mikhailov* of counter-espionage.

During the general strike in Vorkuta from July to September 1953 about six

hundred prisoners were killed. Those responsible were: MVD General Roman *Rudenko*, Prosecutor General of the USSR who gave the order to shoot; MVD General *Maslennikov*, Commander-in-Chief of police forces; MVD Major-General *Derevyanko*, commandant of the Vorkuta camps; MVD Captain *Golikov*, commandant of liquidation camp no. 29; MVD Major *Tunalkin*, senior police officer in camp no. 29.

In January 1954 a general strike broke out amongst the prisoners of the north Russian concentration camp region of Vyatka. Three hundred prisoners were murdered. The principal murderers: MVD General *Lunyov*, deputy Minister of the Interior of the USSR; Colonel *Ogorodnikov*, commandant of Vyat camp.

In the unspeakably brutal suppression of the prisoners' revolt in Kingir on 27th June 1954 six hundred prisoners lost their lives, five hundred of whom were women and children. The order to kill came from: Soviet Russian Minister of the Interior and successor to Beria, Sergei N. *Kruglov*; MVD General Roman *Rudenko*, Prosecutor-General of the USSR; MVD Colonel *Chechev*, commandant of the Kingir camps; MVD General *Dolgich*, Rudenko's deputy; MVD General *Bichkov*, deputy head of all labour camps in the USSR.

Wounded prisoners, men and women and even children, who had sought shelter in the almost completely destroyed barracks of the striking camp were shot in the neck after the "pacification" by: MVD Lieutenant *Shulga*, political officer; MVD Lieutenant *Byelayev*, political officer; jurist *Nikologorsky*, assistant to the public prosecutor; jurist *Koyebekov*, also assistant to the public prosecutor.

The Temir-Tau Case

Early in October 1959 several thousand deportees, young labourers mostly from Ukraine and Byelorussia, began a general strike at Temir-Tau, Kazakhstan, which soon developed into a real revolt throughout this central Asian industrial region.

The young men and women were indignant about their inhuman working and living conditions. The rebels succeeded in occupying the town and in defending it for days against the attacks of police and militia units. Army units from Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, had to be called in order to drown the revolt in blood, in the process shooting an estimated fifteen hundred. All this took place under the aegis of Khrushchov and the then KGB chief, Alexander *Shelepin*, who now occupies a high Party position. The murderers of Temir-Tau have yet to be tried.

The Donets Basin Case

On the morning of 2nd June 1962 hundreds of thousands of unarmed workers in the Ukrainian heavy industry centres of Kramatorsk and Donetsk joined a completely spontaneous strike directed against the rigorous price increases decreed on the previous day (meat prices had risen 30%, butter 25%). These added to the difficulties caused by the food shortage. The accumulated fury of the people burst out in an uprising in the most important industrial area of Ukraine. The workers categorically refused to go to their work in the mines. The rebellion spread in forty-eight hours to the rest of the Donets Basin. Protest meetings were held before the mine entrances. The striking workers fought the militia with stones and fists. The revolt was finally suppressed by special units of the secret police, armed to the teeth, under the command of *Shelepin*, after street battles lasting several days, during which unarmed workers were shot regardless. Those responsible for the murders from 3rd to 5th June 1962 have not been brought before any court. Instead they have been promoted and decorated.

These mass murders are only a *fraction* of the total of brutal, unexpiated acts of terror which have taken place on Soviet territory since 1941 alone. The extent of this state-managed terrorism is unequalled in modern history. It is quite unthinkable that these crimes against humanity should remain unrequited. But who will accuse?

New Stalinism Without Stalin

Is there any truth in the picture of the twenty-third Soviet Party Congress which Moscow information sources have drawn for household use and for those abroad? If there is, then it must have been a Congress poor in ideological and theoretical events, a session to suggest to the Russian people how respected they are, how the world is more and more orienting itself in accordance with their deeds, and how all the Communists in the world — apart from the Chinese — are marching in step with the Soviet Union.

And how does the Soviet Union under Brezhnev want to be seen, want to be weighed up politically by those abroad, from the point of view of the information about the Congress which has been issued? As a world power with the greatest political and military potential, which knew how to take advantage of its share of victory in 1945 and to hold with hands of steel and to multiply its political booty. As a power with a right to participation and bargaining in all international questions which is automatic and can be denied by no one.

A country which wishes to be regarded in this way considers it her due to be able to intimidate other, weaker countries, paralyse their political wills, permeate their governments with the thought that it is pointless to oppose the Kremlin, but sensible and profitable to yield to its wishes. The speeches made by Brezhnev, Marshal Malinovsky, and Foreign Minister Gromyko support this impression of the main thesis of Soviet policies. The Chinese Communists term this attitude of Moscow's towards the outside world "great power chauvinism". On this point they can scarcely be contradicted.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union nevertheless claims to be seen as preparing the way for peace, for co-existence, as the champion of national self-determination, of the liberation of all na-

tions from every form of oppression. What, then, are we to think of the declarations of the Party Congress?

On its own admission Moscow is using the policy of coexistence in preparation for the class struggle on a world scale. The coexistence period is intended to strengthen the Communist movement, to undermine the bourgeois-democratic states from within, and to allow revolutionary processes to mature. So it was under Stalin and Khrushchov, and so it remains under Brezhnev.

The Kremlin gives the right to self-determination as always a significance within the context of the class struggle which shows nothing but contempt for international law. The Russian Communists' assertion that they have always opposed the oppression of weaker nations by stronger ones and that they remain true to this policy is contradicted by a glance at the map of Eastern Europe or "Soviet" Asia.

The Vietnam policy, which was approved amidst jubilation by the twenty-third Party Congress simply continues *ad absurdum* the Soviet Russians' claim to be regarded as champions of peace. All American peace proposals, all mediation attempts by neutrals, were set at naught. Instead of using its influence to end the war in Vietnam, the twenty-third Party Congress identified itself with the Vietnamese Communists and encouraged them not to enter into negotiations.

This is Stalinism without Stalin. About thirty-eight years before the twenty-third Party Congress, American sources suggested that Russia should cease to support the "liberation struggle of the working class in other countries" in order to ease the balance between Washington and Moscow; Stalin made light of this proposal with the cynical question, "Well, comrades, are we to agree to such a re-

quest?" The transcription of this assembly notes, "General cry: No!"

Brezhnev, who has just been elected General Secretary of the Party, stands in relation to the question of the international class struggle where Stalin stood forty years ago. This party answers the question as to whether the twenty-third Party Congress has returned to elements of Stalin's policies. It may be objected that Moscow could not have acted otherwise on the Vietnam question, taking China into account. Was it in this respect a Party Congress of opportunism? There should be

no talk of "could" if a world power really wants to achieve peace. The truth is that the Vietnam question was used at the Congress in order to drown the inter-Communist quarrel with a loud but unpersuasive demonstration of unity.

The hope of politically unstable individuals in the West for a far-reaching liberalization of the Soviet system receives no support from the directives of the Party Congress. It was an icy wind which blew from this Congress.

Die Welt, Hamburg

Mao In Brezhnev's Tracks

Neue Zürcher Zeitung, No. 158, 1966

A new movement, which is called the "Socialist Culture Revolution", has begun by prosecuting intellectuals, writers, editors, film directors and professors who were to some extent known in the Western world and who have already for some years protested against the restraining of the intellect and the increase in mental shallowness.

Their skill in expressing things in a concealed or symbolic manner has prevented them for a long time from being made victims of the "equalising machine". When the hunt against them began, representatives of an "intelligentsia following the party line", who write "commentaries of condemnation" on behalf of the higher authorities, were mobilized.

Today the "culture revolution" has seized everything which cannot be defined as "worker-peasant-soldier". Every intellectual who is a Party member has received the order to compose a new personal record, to list exactly the "mental confusions" of the last years, and to read through systematically again all the works of Mao. The complete cadre class studies the documents of the movement early in the morning and then swarms out to see that they are carried out. Chinese with relatives abroad are forbidden to continue to correspond with them. Letters from abroad are collected by the Post Office as "evidence" or burnt. The motto of the Culture Revolution is "Noth-

ing evil is to escape."

The case of Kuo Mo-jo shows how everything is possible within the "culture revolution." At a meeting of the standing committee of the Chinese People's Congress on 14 April, Kuo, as is known, began to speak as the deputy chairman of this committee, after a very long speech of accusation by the Vice-Minister for Cultural Affairs, and accused himself. His speech hardly lasted ten minutes: it has become known in the whole world as the declaration of guilt of an important personality.

Meanwhile a Japanese delegation under the leadership of the Liberal-democrat Matsumara had the opportunity to talk to Kuo about this "confession". This made it clear that Kuo Mo-jo has made no self-accusation and no confession, but tried by a wicked delusion to attract the true critics and doubters of the intelligentsia out of the wood. Kuo Mo-jo continues to live in the merciful sun of the regime: all his positions have been taken away from him.

Of what are high-ranking intellectuals such as Hsia Yen, Tien Han, Li Tschi, Wu Han, Liao Mo-sha and Teng To accused? None of them are 'revisionists'. On the Soviet pattern, on the contrary, they have ventured, *as Chinese*, to pay too little attention to the doctrines of Mao Tse-tung. They declare themselves *cultivated nationalists*. Their mental equipment is descended from the Chinese cultural area and is borrowed neither from Moscow nor anywhere else. They connect the depths of Chinese history

— perhaps this is their main crime — with the present and thus look back to times before the ‘liberation’ which, according to the Party doctrine of recent years which has been growing more and more shallow, were nothing other than stages of Chinese misery and degradation.

It is a question of a protest against the rampant *stultification* in the realm of the centre and against the new superstition created by the Party, that the ‘thoughts of Mao Tse-tung’ are not merely the highest form of Chinese thought, but are also a panacea for all the difficulties of Chinese society. Wu Han, Teng To, and the others refuse to write in a primitive manner. They *stigmatize the pressure towards primitiveness* as a highly unworthy spectacle for a nation of culture with many thousands of years of history. They accuse the leadership of the Party of promoting ideas contrary to the use of the intellect, which has led to wretched injustices, to economic chaos, to reverses in policy, in particular in foreign policy, and to the general loss of Chinese prestige. Wu Han chose the method of the *historical allegory*. In the play *The Dismissal of Hai Jui and Hsieh Yao-huan* high officials of the imperial house or of the provincial government champion the rights of the people. They place themselves against the “government” and deplore in

angry agitation the miserable fate of the farmer, who dies like an animal on the land which does not belong to him. Both authors were reproached by keen-eared critics of the Party years ago that their texts were ambiguous. Hai Jui and Hsieh Yao-huan had indeed championed the people, but had also continued to serve the feudal aristocracy. Wu Han knew how to defend himself — until the moment that the Party recognised that for a long time it was not a question of a literary problem any more, but of an intellectual revolt. Teng To, until 1957 the chief editor and later president of the *People’s Newspaper*, had a preference for satire. The extracts which the organ of the army recently printed — a representative selection of Teng To’s work from 1961 — make every reader pose the question: why was he able to survive for so long? Who would have thought that anyone in China could have lashed at the nonsense of the ‘great leap forward’, the stupidity of the administration, the tyranny of the small Party officials, in such eloquent words?

The ‘socialist culture revolution’ will dispose of these prophets and admonishers, among whom is to be found the poet of the National Anthem. But it is also a proof of the fact that the *idea of freedom* springs up again in each generation.

The SPD-SED Debate

At the beginning of February Ulbricht had an open letter published in which he suggested to the SPD (West German Social Democratic Party) a “reconciliatory peace” and all-German discussions by the two “brother parties”; on the basis of the recognition of “two German states and social orders” the SED (East German Socialist Unity Party) and the SPD should negotiate with each other, he wrote.

The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich, Switzerland) has summed up the facts very well:

“There can be not doubt that Ulbricht, who prepared the policy of the ‘opening’ for Social Democracy more than a year

ago, is operating *on the basis of discussions with the Soviet leaders and in close collaboration with Moscow*. He is now in the habit of making appearances in a beaming mood and implying that he thinks the realization of an old dream is coming nearer; that of entering a partnership with an established party in the Federal Republic and thereby being able to have a say in developments in West Germany, in a manner analogous to the situation in West Berlin, where he acquired an instrument with which he could influence politics in the form of the pass agreement.”

The new rulers in Moscow have declared more than once in a manner which cannot be misunderstood that they are not the

slightest bit interested in the reunification of Germany at the present time. And in Ulbricht's open letter to the SPD it does not receive a single mention. He is concerned, on Moscow's behalf, with the rapprochement of the two German "workers' parties" and *with the popular front*. If a side-effect of this should be the international recognition of his regime, then all the better.

The SED apparatus today is, like the Communist Party apparatus thirty or forty years ago, no more nor less than a powerless tool, a receiver of orders of the Moscow headquarters, whether the gentlemen in the Kremlin are called Lenin, Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchov, Kosygin, or Brezhnev.

Since 1945 not the slightest or most meaningless event in the Soviet Occupation Zone has taken place against the will of the occupiers. Whoever has been found guilty of the slightest deviation from the

Party line amongst the leading figures of the SED has been liquidated or has disappeared from the scene and become a "production worker". No, the distribution of tasks in the states of the Eastern bloc controlled by Moscow is still functioning exactly as in the days of Stalin: Gomulka in Poland is advancing against the rebellious bishops on Moscow's behalf; and Walter Ulbricht is offering his West German "comrades" the togetherness of the working class "in both German states." The Social Democrats have for the first time since the foundation of the so-called German Democratic Republic been courted in the SED's 1st May slogans. Slogan no. 12 of the May slogans says, "Members and friends of the Social Democratic Party, take our brotherly hand, so that the working class can decide its own future!"

As Lenin once said, with disarming frankness, "Promises, like pie crust, are only there to be broken."



Presidium Of The VI Congress Of The International Committee For The Defence Of Christian Civilisation (Lisbon, March 27, 1966)

From left to right: Dr. Heinz Gehle, Secretary General; Dr. Dr. h. c. H. Pünder, President of the German Chapter; Minister José Solis Ruiz, Spain, President of the Committee; Americo Tomas, President of the Republic of Portugal; Dr. J. José Gonçalves de Proença, Minister for Corporations and Social Security of Portugal, President of the Portuguese Chapter; Madame Marie H. Cardot; Dr. Antonio Lino Netto, Secretary General of the Portuguese Chapter.

The 10th Congress Of The Bulgarian National Front

(From Resolution)

I

The Bulgarian National Front wishes to express and declare herewith its solidarity with the considerable military efforts of the United States of America and their loyal allies in their attempts to prevent further Communist aggression in South East Asia. However, we must contemporaneously voice our fears that the ever increasing American military involvement in Vietnam, could result in an underestimation of the universal Communist menace, and, more particularly, an evaluation of the real intentions of the Soviet Union. We believe, and there is unquestionable evidence in this regard, that Soviet Russia continues to represent the greatest danger to world peace and to the very existence of all truly democratic nations.

For instance, we would point out to the unceasing demoralising activities of certain well known American intellectual quarters, who under the influence of cheap leftist demagoguery or at best presumed peaceful intentions, devote all their energy to weaken the fighting spirit and desire of American youth, thus offering concrete assistance to the Communist aggression in South East Asia.

The Bulgarian National Front is convinced, that notwithstanding the reciprocal accusations of the Soviet Union and Red China, these great Communist powers will in the near future endeavour to reconcile their differences on the basis of mutual compromise, in order to pursue more successfully their policy of aggression. We must therefore stress the fact that in a deciding moment, the rulers of all Communist nations will act in unison and complete solidarity. Only the very ardent desire for freedom of the enslaved peoples, correctly interpreted and appropriately assisted, could in such an inevitable moment become the deciding factor in favour of the Free World.

The economic crisis, which is an inevitable result of attempts to apply Marxist principles, continues to exist in all Communist countries. Without further expansion of commercial relations between the Iron Curtain countries and the Free World, and assuming, of course, without the egoistic tendencies of certain Western governments or business circles, the crisis could bring about, even today, very favourable conditions conducive to the liquidation and elimination of the dictatorial regimes in the enslaved nations. A study in depth of the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, reflects numerous compromises intended to improve their relations with Red China, in a clear effort to line up all existing Communist regimes along the "Stalin" lines of conduct. We expect that this new trend will become apparent very soon by means of the strengthening of the personal authority of the respective Communist leaders, increased persecution of religious activities, and a far more rigid control of all cultural and intellectual aspects of life.

II. Internal Conditions In Bulgaria

It should be noted that the political situation in Bulgaria has not been subject to any changes. The unsuccessful attempt of April 1965, to overthrow the government is an interesting manifestation of dissatisfaction in the highest ranks of the Communist elite. All social strata of the Bulgarian society are completely impregnated with extreme anti-Soviet feelings. However, open expression of dissatisfaction can not be effected, since the Russians have full control over all segments of Bulgarian life, including the armed forces.

We should point out that Bulgaria, by virtue of her fertile soil and immeasurable natural resources, is potentially one of the richest nations in Europe. The Bulgarian people, however, are forced to live in desperate privation and poverty and are unable to enjoy their country's riches, since the entire economy is dominated by Soviet Russia, who exploits it mercilessly to her own benefit and advantage. The new trade agreement, signed by Bulgaria and the Soviet Union towards the end of 1965, proposes a substantial increase in the Bulgarian exports to Russia, thus engaging the whole Bulgarian economy in a super-human effort over the next five years. Without dwelling on any details we will only point out the fact that this trade agreement will result in an annual loss to Bulgaria of 500 to 600 million dollars based strictly on the difference between product values as established on the international market versus the unrealistic, low prices paid by the Soviet Union; this is without taking into consideration the extremely high prices exacted by the Soviet Union for their exports to Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian people, more and more, are attesting fearlessly and openly their deep-rooted religious feelings. The overcrowded churches and the faithful observance, in the old established tradition, of all religious holidays, can be interpreted as being a unanimous protest of the people against the Communist tyranny. Exempting the very few prelates, who for one reason or another are supporting the Red regime, we express our undying allegiance to the Holy Bulgarian Orthodox Church, as a national institution, and, our deepest gratitude to the thousands of Bulgarian church servants, who in spite of many moral and physical obstacles, execute faithfully and diligently their priestly duties and obligations.

As an unmistakable indication of the failure of the Communist Regime, we point to the fact that all attempts to convert the Bulgarian youth to Communism have been completely unsuccessful. The resistance to Communism by the new generation of Bulgarians, who grew up and were educated in their enslaved country, is our best assurance and fervent hope for the future of a free and democratic Bulgaria.

M. Bakunin:

"We want the complete destruction, the total annihilation of the Russian Empire, of the empire which serves as an eternal danger to the freedom of the world, as a prison for all nations and for the nations beneath its yoke, and which is a violent negation of all which is considered to be law, justice, and humanity."

Protest Against The Latest Events in Ukraine

by the Association of Active Supporters of Ukrainian Culture in North America

A wave of persecutions and arrests of those actively working for Ukrainian culture has fallen over Ukraine, carried out by the occupation regime, including the conviction of the Ukrainian literary critic and poet Ivan Svitlychny and of the critic Ivan Dziuba and of ten to twelve other writers, whose names we do not yet know, as well as the arrest of students in Kyiv and Lviv. These events have caused us once again to make the following statement:

- 1) Moscow is destroying Ukrainian culture, literature and art, by liquidating by various methods the Ukrainian intelligentsia, such as by "Marxist criticism", by agitation against "bourgeois nationalism", and division of culture into "bourgeois" and "proletarian".
- 2) Moscow is liquidating the whole of Ukrainian culture, national according to its forms and original according to its character, as being "bourgeois".
- 3) Moscow is getting rid of all achievements of Ukrainian culture as "passed away" traditions and is introducing elements of Russian culture, disguised as "newer traditions" and "proletarian culture".
- 4) Moscow is destroying works and monuments of Ukrainian culture through the destruction of archives, the arson of libraries, and the pulling down of valuable examples of architecture.
- 5) Moscow is liquidating the creators of Ukrainian culture — through imprisonment, exile, internment in mental hospitals and shootings.
- 6) Moscow is exterminating with hidden methods and by direct laws the Ukrainian language.
- 7) Under the Russian yoke, there exists no freedom, neither for individuals nor for national development of people. Moscow destroys all who refuse to give up independent thought as human beings, or who, in keeping with the truth of their people, wish to be active for and to champion this truth.
- 8) Moscow is systematically and consistently carrying on this programme of forceful liquidation of the independence and authenticity of Ukrainian culture and is striving to minimize the existence of all that is Ukrainian, as a separate culturally creative force. Moscow thus wishes to absorb completely everything Ukrainian and to subordinate it to the interests and demands of the ruling Russian culture of conquest, imperialism and colonialism.

The Association of Active Supporters of Ukrainian Culture in North America discloses these efforts with indignation and brands them, also addressing to separate, important, culturally creative personalities in the Free World a request, with corresponding explanations, to support our action in the international forum, and to bring their own protests against the annihilation of the Ukrainian people and its culture before their own governments.

The Association of Active Supporters of Ukrainian Culture in North America sends to those Ukrainian cultural workers in Ukraine, who, regardless of the raging terror and persecution by the occupation forces, are heroically and unwaveringly struggling for the independence of thought and creative activity of the Ukrainian people, words of admiration and appreciation, and at the same time also gives the assurance that members of the Association will develop and deepen here in emigration the direction of this struggle in our homeland.

The Association of Active Supporters of Ukrainian Culture in North America urges all those emigrants active in the cause of Ukrainian culture, in reply to the accelerated efforts of the occupying power to destroy Ukrainian culture — to which Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba and others have become victims — to quicken on their side their activities concerning the creation of Ukrainian cultural values and through daily action to support the battle front for an independent, sovereign Ukrainian culture as an expression of national self-defence.

For the Association of Active Supporters of Ukrainian Culture in North America
Dr Mychajlo Kushnir, Chairman. Dr Stepan Halamaj, Secretary.



On May 28, 1966 thousands of Ukrainians demonstrate in Ottawa against the persecution of Ukrainian writers.

Canadians In Symphaty With The Demonstration

The Canadian attitude towards the Ukrainian demonstration in Ottawa was reflected in Mr. Sharp's speech who indicated that he could understand the feelings of the demonstrators, stating that "this is an appropriate place for you to be, because it is here that the freedoms we value as Canadians are enshrined".

The demonstration received broad and sympathetic coverage by the Canadian press, radio and television. In all cases the aims of the demonstration were objectively presented and reported which helped to acquaint Canadians throughout the country with the issue.

GLOBE AND MAIL

"Nearly 4,000 Ukrainian Canadians massed on Parliament Hill Saturday in protest against reported arrest by Soviet authorities of two Ukrainian writers. The demonstrators later marched quietly past the Soviet embassy, with placards".

OTTAWA CITIZEN

"The demonstrators, from Ontario and Quebec, gathered first on the Hill where a delegation presented a brief to Finance Minister Sharp, who was representing Prime Minister Pearson. The demonstration was sparked by news that two literary critics, Ivan Svitlychny, 42, and Ivan Dziuba, 31, both of Kyiv, had been arrested."

TORONTO TELEGRAM

"A delegation from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, organizers of the demonstration, presented Finance Minister Sharp with a brief asking the Government to place... (the matter of the)... young Ukrainian literary critics before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights."

OTTAWA JOURNAL

"Placard and flag-bearing demonstrators marched through the Capital along with a marching band. The Ukrainians also protested other homeland injustices."

"Other demands were the launching of a 'strong protest against the use of moral, physical and political persecution and blackmail of Ukrainians and others in Canada and the West', and use of 'extreme care' in cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union so that these are not used as 'propaganda instruments against the subjugated nations and the ethnic groups in Canada'."

Against Persecution Of Ukrainian Writers

On May 28, 1966 a brief of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was submitted to the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada and the Government. Accepting the brief on behalf of the Government was the Hon. Mitchell Sharp, Minister of Finance. The following is the verbatim copy of that brief:

At the beginning of April, 1966, Western news agencies and newspapers carried reports on the arrest of two young Ukrainian literary critics. Reuters, United Press International, The Associated Press, as well as *The New York Times*, *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Figaro* reported that Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba, both of Kyiv, had been arrested. It was alleged they had smuggled Ukrainian nationalistic and anti-Soviet verses to the Western World along with a diary of a young Ukrainian poet Vasyly Symonenko,

who died in 1963.

The *New York Times* (April 7, 1966) published the following report:

"Two more Soviet writers have been arrested, and one of them has been deported to Siberia for disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda, according to reports reaching London. A source here who is generally well informed on the Soviet intelligentsia identified the writers as Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba, both Ukrainian literary critics. They were said to be well known in Russia for their spirited defence of young Ukrainian poets against attempts by the Soviet literary bureaucracy to impose conformism."

In reaction to this news, protests began to pour in from all sides of the Free World. In fact, even the Communist parties in the West joined the initial protest against this suppression of creative and intellectual freedom in the Soviet Union.

As conscientious Canadians, who cherish freedom and the dignity of the individual, we feel that it is our duty to exercise our liberties in Canada and to speak out on behalf of those who are denied the freedom to speak.

Therefore, today's protest meeting has considered the above and related facts and has come to the following consensus:

WHEREAS, the aforementioned information carried by the world news media was reliable, and,

WHEREAS, this information was further supported through other sources, including the Soviet press itself, and,

WHEREAS, this news was not retracted, amended or denied by official Soviet sources until yesterday, two months after its appearance and only following the news of today's protest gathering, and,

WHEREAS, Soviet Russian policy on the matter of literary freedom was again reflected in the resolutions of the XXIII Congress of the CPSU and the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and,

WHEREAS, the suppression of literary and intellectual freedom has begun to spread to other Republics of the Soviet Union,

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, with the support of the Hungarian, Slovak, Croat, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian and other ethnic organizations in Canada, submits the following requests and resolutions to the Government of Canada:

THAT, it place this matter before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and,

THAT, it intervene through proper channels to end the persecution of intellectuals, writers and poets in the Soviet Union and that it demand the release of those already sentenced or arrested, and,

THAT, further, it do the utmost possible, through the good name of the Government of Canada, to ensure the restoration of religious, political and individual freedom for Ukraine and other nations of the Soviet Union, and, to stop the forced Russification of these nations, and,

THAT, it launch a strong protest against the use of moral, physical and political

persecution and blackmail of Ukrainians and others *in Canada* and the West, and, THAT, in the event of further cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, extreme care be taken so that these exchanges are not used as propaganda instruments both against the subjugated nations and against the ethnic groups in Canada. In particular, it must be ensured that the privileges of cultural exchange granted to visiting Soviet groups should also be accorded to Canadians visiting the USSR.

In conclusion, we wish to re-emphasize that, as loyal and freedom-loving Canadian citizens, we will continue to oppose all forms of totalitarianism or suppression of freedom. In effect, our efforts in this respect cannot cease until Ukraine and other enslaved nations enjoy the kind of freedom possessed by Canada.

We believe and trust the Government of Canada will consider and act upon these requests of our loyal Canadian citizens.

Respectfully submitted by

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN
COMMITTEE



Ukrainians in London demonstrating in front of Soviet Embassy in protest against the persecution of Ukrainian writers, on July 3, 1966.

British Asked For Support

(From the speech by Yaroslav Stetsko at the Cocktail Party in Caxton Hall, London, July 26, 1966)

Surely it would be welcome if the British delegation to the United Nations took more seriously the task of parrying the lying Soviet Russian accusations levelled against the long abandoned British imperialism, by raising more boldly the question of Russian colonialism, in particular in Ukraine, Turk-estan, in the Caucasus, the Baltic States and in Hungary — in view of the 10th anniversary of the uprising of the courageous Hungarian people. In this respect there are several famous precedents, in particular the speech of the then Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker at the United Nations General Assembly forum in 1960, when he raised his voice in defence of Ukraine and other countries and branded Russian colonialism for what it really is.

It would be of great help if British official and private bodies voiced their support of the complaint submitted on behalf of Ukrainians to the UN Committee on Colonialism by Yaroslav Stetsko against the Government of the USSR, accusing it of having organised the murder of Stepan Bandera, anti-colonialist leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, with particular accusation against Alexander Shelepin as the immediate organiser of the crime, as has been incontestably proven by the Supreme Court of the German Federal Republic and the investigations of the US Internal Security Subcommittee of the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

It would be appropriate to raise the problem of Russian colonialism in the countries subjugated by it and in the satellite states during foreign policy debates in the British Houses of Parliament whose opinion is respected throughout the world.

To keep the existence of Russian colonialism and the sufferings of the enslaved peoples in the awareness of the British public it would be desirable to consider the proclamation of a Day of Freedom for all the nations oppressed by Russian colonialism and Communism, to be marked each

year. It would be perhaps advisable to chose a date which would coincide with some anniversary from the history of the British People, appropriate to the occasion, such as for instance the anniversary of the Magna Carta.

A Psychological Warfare Committee might be set up in the framework of NATO, with a panel of advisers consisting of exile national leaders from the countries subjugated in the USSR and satellite states.

It would be desirable if the British organisations and individuals supported the idea of convening a World International Anti-Communist Congress for Liberation, Freedom and Independence, with the aim of setting up a World Anti-Communist International Centre, a kind of anti-Communist United Nations.

It would be of great assistance to the liberation struggle if the British people in general and individual organisations spoke up more often in defence of the freedom of speech, thought and religion in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, voicing their protest against the persecution of writers, artists and intellectuals, against the imprisonment of students, against Russification drive in the oppressed countries — in particular in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, the Baltic States etc., against the forthcoming deportation of 1,500,000 young people to the wild regions of Siberia. Press, radio and television could be of inestimable help if they threw more light on the problem of the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Communist Russian imperialism, if they informed the British public about the facts of the resistance and the heroism of the freedom fighters and the reality of the threat of Bolshevism to the free world. In particular a note of criticism has to be made with regard to the B.B.C. which largely ignores the nations enslaved in the USSR. Its broadcasts beyond the Iron Curtain are inadequate. They should be improved and widened. Broadcasts in the more

Pogrom Against Writers

Fear of national Ukrainian literature.

Deutsche Wochenzeitung, No. 25/66.

Young writers and critics are rebelling against the chains of Marxist party doctrine in Ukraine too. In Kyiv recently two literary critics stood before a secret tribunal: the 42 year old Ivan Svitlychny and his colleague, 31 year old Ivan Dziuba. The sentence on Svitlychny was for seven years forced labour. He is to be banished to Siberia. His fellow-accused Dziuba was released from his sentence on account of incurable tuberculosis. Both were accused of having smuggled out of the country revolutionary poems and diary entries of the poet Vasyl Symonenko.

This charge, however, is not true: Symonenko's work, critical of the regime, were brought to the West about two years ago in another way, which surely must be also known to the KGB. Svitlychny was already in the time of Stalin a well-known critic, popular among nationally-minded Ukrainians. He supported above all the younger generation of poets, who sought new stylistic and ideological paths in their works. Ivan Dziuba demanded in his criticisms the complete elimination of Stalinism in the artistic field, and that present-day Ukrainian literature should once more concern itself with the ideas and problems of world literature.

important languages of the USSR, especially the Ukrainian, spoken by over 40 million people, should be introduced.

We should like also to suggest the formation of an organisation of friends of the A.B.N. in Britain which would point out the common interests of the free world with the aspirations of the enslaved peoples and would help to mobilise public opinion for an active moral and material support of the liberation struggle.

Both critics championed the idea of an independent Ukrainian national literature; this may have also been the main reason for their arrest.

The incurable tuberculosis contracted by Ivan Dziuba while he was imprisoned and undergoing interrogation, can be seen as a proof of the inhuman conditions of imprisonment: obviously little has altered in the present Soviet prisons since Stalin's death.

Also condemned was the 37 year old Ukrainian literary critic Igor Galamtschuk. The trial took place in Moscow. Galamtschuk was condemned solely for his human decency and civil courage. As the judge stated, Galamtschuk refused to make a statement as a witness of the prosecution against his colleagues Daniel and Sinyavsky; furthermore, Galamtschuk is alleged to have written several letters after the end of the writers' trial in Moscow to the Supreme Soviet and to Bolshevik newspapers, protesting against the scandalous verdict. Galamtschuk received for this a six months' prison sentence.

C.U.C. DENOUNCES TERROR IN UKRAINE

During its meeting on the 22nd April, 1966 the Presidency of the Committee of the Ukrainians of Canada denounced sharply the Bolshevik terror in Ukraine, particularly the trial of the Ukrainian authors Svitlychny and Dziuba, the arrest of over a dozen other writers and moreover the burning of the library of the Ukrainian Academy in Kyiv by the Russians, along with other terrorist methods and actions of the Russian imperialist chauvinists, and indeed their murderous colonial regime in Ukraine as a whole. The Presidency will submit the entire affair to the Canadian government and will see to it that public opinion be given the most exact information on these infamous actions against the creators of intellectual culture in Ukraine. The Presidency requests the local C.U.C. sub-divisions to stage public protest demonstrations within the near future.

New Leader For The Bulgarian Catholic Faith Abroad



On the 25th of May, His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, elevated the Bulgarian Catholic ecclesiastic, Dr. Georgi Eldaroff, to the rank of archimandrite, and also appointed him as the visitator and delegate of the Eastern congregation for all Bulgarian Catholics abroad.

On the 19th of June, the new archimandrite was consecrated into his new dignity in the Roman Basilica, St. Climent of Ochrid, the patron saint of the University of Sofia, by His Eminence, the Ukrainian Cardinal Joseph Slipy. Well-known friends of Bulgaria in the Vatican, such as Monsignore Spina, Monsignore Galloni and Monsignore Manzorati, as well as representatives of the great orders of the Catholic Church were present at the ceremony.

Following the consecration ceremony, a formal reception was held at the residence of the new Bulgarian archimandrite Dr. G. Eldaroff. Among others, the Ukrainian Cardinal Josyph Slipy, and Cardinal Cicognani were present at the reception. The Cardinals Testa, Tralia and Agadshanjan extended their personal compliments to the Bulgarian archimandrite.

Archimandrite Dr. G. Aldaroff was born in 1926 in a village of the south Bulgarian district of Jampol. From 1938 he studied in Assisi where he graduated from the classical lyceum and the philosophical course of the Franciscan novitiates. Following this, he completed his theological education at the University in Rome and was ordained there in 1951. In the meantime he has received a Ph. D. in theology. In addition he graduated summa cum laude at the Eastern pontifical institute. Since 1955 he has been a member of the theological faculty at St. Buonaventura. Prior to his appointment to archimandrite he was known by his numerous publications and lectures in several European countries as well as overseas.

He took part in the II Vatican Council as a counselor in various committees.

The consecration of the Bulgarian archimandrite by the leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Josyph Slipy, serves as an encouraging symbol to the long-standing, deeply-rooted relations between the Ukrainian and Bulgarian peoples since the Christianisation of these two countries.

Byelorussian Independence Day

On March 25th 1966 the 48th anniversary of Byelorussian independence was celebrated. The Byelorussian Liberation Front with its Headquarters in New York has started a great action to remind the world of the tragic fate of the Byelorussian people and their struggle for freedom and national independence.

In the informative historical material, issued by the Byelorussian Liberation Front, it says: "For all 48 years of Soviet Russian domination the Byelorussians have been subjected to a ruthless national persecution, economic exploitation and social oppression. This rule is marked by mass terror, deportations, imprisonments and shootings. The end result is that Byelorussia has lost about six million of her population. The Byelorussian people in the homeland as well as the Byelorussian refugees, and Americans of Byelorussian descent want to see Byelorussia free and independent, liberated from the horrors enacted upon them by Communist Russia."

The United States Senate issued a Statement On Byelorussian Independence Day signed by Hon. Thomas J. Dodd in which he joins in the name of freedom-loving Americans in celebrating the Byelorussian Independence Day.

James A. Rhodes, Governor of the State of Ohio, designated in a proclamation March 27, 1966 as Byelorussian Independence Day. The Governor of the State of New York, Nelson A. Rockefeller proclaimed March 25th 1966 as Byelorussian Independence Day. In the Proclamation he said: "Byelorussia can proudly boast of its long and glorious history. The love of freedom and aspirations to independence still live in the hearts of these brave people. Today they are enslaved by Communist dictators, but some day, we hope and trust, the freedom which they so strongly desire will be theirs once again."

The Mayor of the City of Cleveland, Hon. Ralph S. Locher, also declared March 27th 1966 as Byelorussian Independence Day. The Cuban National Headquarters of the *Il Frente Alpha 66* in Florida issued a declaration affirming full solidarity with the people of Byelorussia, as with all captive nations, suffering under Communist tyranny.

The Headquarters of the Byelorussian Liberation Front received many complimentary greetings from Governors, US Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, as well as from mayors, leading personalities of anti-Communist organizations as, e. g., from H. E. Ku Cheng-kang, President of APACL, Republic of China.

FROM LETTERS TO ABN:

Dr. A. Mertens
Boulevard Reine Elisabeth 5
Brugge (Belgium)

Brugge, April 6, 1966

Dear Mrs. Stetsko!

I have been living in Belgium since 1960, and at the present time I am employed as an adviser on the editorial staff of the largest newspaper De Standard. In the meantime I have remained an avid reader of ABN Correspondence. I always make good use of your periodical and endeavour to include news items from Ukraine via ABN in my newspaper (300,000 copies per day).

To assist me in the preparation of a new series of articles, I would like to ask you to send me a copy of the documentation "Murder International, Inc."

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Ukrainian Youth Fights On

In a letter from Ukraine to a Ukrainian living in the Free World, we read: "In 1962 the KGB uncovered twenty-two youth organizations in the Lviv area (Western Ukraine) which were organizing themselves with elemental energy, printing cartoons and distributing them, and duplicating Ukrainian national poems and revolutionary songs. Fourteen years after the end of the armed struggle the Ukrainian people are still singing the songs of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), and portraits of Stefan Bandera are still kept by people."

There was a report in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of 4th February 1965 by Yakovleva on the General Congress of Senior School Pupils at Mykolayiv (Eastern Ukraine). It was attended by more than 400 pupils, and a talk was given by the secretary of the local Komsomol organization on the necessity of learning well, "for our dear Party and the Soviet State care day in, day out, for every single pupil". However the children did not listen, but spoke to each other in loud voices, while others quietly left the hall, so that by the end of the talk the room was half empty. After the talk Yakovleva asked an 18-year-old schoolgirl why the young people did not want to listen and had gone outside. The girl replied that the talk was boring and uninteresting. It was, she said, the same thing as the children had heard and read a hundred times, and it simply wasn't true. In the factories, for example, she added, where the pupils have their practical lessons, the managers are dishonest, although they have the Party book in their pockets. In the paper it says that the bread problem of the USSR has been solved and that the USSR is buying masses of grain abroad. But the collective farms have no grain for reserve crops, and since autumn there have been long queues in front of the shops waiting

for a little bread. The newspapers write that Capitalism is decadent, "but why can one get everything in the Capitalist system and nothing here?" Yakovleva says that this kind of attitude and manner of thinking is characteristic of the majority of young people.

A young collective farm labourer from Tchernihiv, M. Kolos, wrote to the newspaper *Molod Ukrainy* (Youth of Ukraine) that he is unable to believe statements made by the newspaper, since it wrote that fourteen graduates from a ten-year school had volunteered as collective farm workers. He himself had graduated from the ten-year school and knows how things are. One works for three days and the authorities simply forget about half of it. In the newspapers and on the radio everything is wonderful, but in reality it looks quite different.

In another journal there was a report that young people do not want to attend the so-called "Culture Crowd" clubs, as there was only boring chatter to be heard and there were only boring films about Bolshevik heroes to be seen; or else the Komsomol agitator talked some stupid drivel about religion. "Our parents teach us religion and we don't want to hear anti-religious talks and we don't understand Russian. We'd rather go out into the fields and sing Ukrainian songs."

New Compulsory Resettlements In The USSR.

The lack of manpower was an urgent topic of concern at the XVth Congress of the Soviet Youth Organization, *Komsomol*, which was held in Moscow. The Far Eastern Asiatic territories are hard hit by a catastrophic lack of skilled labour, but there is also a noticeable shortage of unskilled labourers, who will be necessary for the highly publicized cultivation projects in the extensive fallow areas. According to the reports of competent Moscow

political economists, more than one and an half million workers are lacking for this project alone. Another miscalculation was the intended construction of industrial and housing centres in this part of the Red imperium.

In connection with measures shortly to be taken, it was mentioned in a statement of the Moscow report, that the youth do not feel the proper interest for this pioneer work and that they "would have to be much better educated" in this direction.

Under "better education" one understands measures which mean an essential tightening up of the regulations regarding the use of man-power, for it has been noted, that the compulsory resettled man-power, consisting chiefly of young workers, have been striving to return to their native regions in groups. Since volunteers cannot be reckoned with, in the coming months the state will have to concern itself, through its channels of command, to fill in the debit in the labour quota. This means that hundreds of thousands of young people will be compulsorily resettled. With these compulsory workers, "better educational methods" will be employed to hold them in their new living area as long as possible, but, in addition, to step up the construction in this vast human wilderness with considerable severity. The blessings which this workers' paradise has to offer its citizens today, are not in the least different, as we can see, from those which Stalin had to offer.

J. Kairys

Lithuania's Martyrdom

Many in the West still believe that freedom of religion, not to mention freedom of expression, exist in the Soviet Union and the Soviet sphere of influence. Hence the following facts may be of interest.

Archbishop Teofilus *Matulionis* died in Lithuania upon his release from many years of forced labour in Siberia.

After his arrest and trial, Archbishop

Mechislovas *Reinys* died in the Vladimir prison in Russia.

Bishop Vincentas *Borisevichius* was arrested and condemned to death. The sentence has already been enacted.

Bishop Prancishkus *Ramanauskas* died in Lithuania after ten years forced labour in Siberia.

... the publishing houses in present-day Lithuania are state-controlled, and none of them, allows non-Communist books to be published. Hence the writers must either be Communist or write pro-Communist, or pursue a different profession.

Most of the writers from the pre-war period who remained behind in Moscow-possessed Lithuania, were arrested, deported to forced labour in Siberia, etc. Among these are: Boruta, Drazdauskas, Dovydatis, Greichiunas, Gričius, Inchiura, Keliuotis, who was arrested twice, Lukauskaite, Mishkinis, Prancus. Those who survived the punishment that was imposed upon them and were allowed to return to Lithuania, or, at least, did return, are so mentally and physically exhausted, that they no longer have enough energy to write. Quite apart from this, however, so-called Socialist realism is foreign to them.

Some of the writers who were not entirely unfriendly towards the occupiers, or were, at least, pro-Communist inclined: for example, Korsakas, Venclova and others, were required to confess before the Party and to do penitence for their error.

All pre-war writings which were not communistically orientated have been made inaccessible to the public.

National art, monuments, for example, if the Russians could not give them a Communist or Russian interpretation, were either demolished on the spot or transported to Russia.

"Be proud to be called a patriot, or nationalist, or what you will, if it means that you love your Country above all else and will place your life, if need be, at the service of your Flag." —

General Douglas MacArthur

Book Reviews

Dr. Hans Findeisen:

The present Struggle of the Uzbeks for Cultural and Political Independence.

Dr. Findeisen, ethnologist and head of the Institute for Anthropology and Human Studies, corresponding member of the Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and of the Finno-Ugrian Society, has hitherto devoted his special attention to the ethnographic and cultural problems of the Soviet Union with special regard to the peoples of North and Central Asia. It is the special merit of this author that he has ventured to enter an area of research which up to now has been treated in the West as a "step-child".

The first work deals with Soviet colonialism and Russification in Uzbekistan; the strength of Uzbek national characteristics and anti-Soviet and anti-Russian tendencies in Uzbekistan, and the conclusions from Rashidov's *Pravda* article. The author tries in this section to point out the tendencies of Soviet Russian policy, taking the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan as an example, and to isolate national-cultural and political strivings in this part of Turkestan. He has taken the article by Rashidov in *Pravda* of 23 May 1963 ("Our Strength and Happiness lies in Friendship") as an occasion for a thorough investigation into how Moscow attempts, with the help of some Turkestanians, to justify Russia's hegemony in Turkestan. He reached the conclusion that "*the struggle in Turkestan continues... It is however not only a question of the maintenance of Uzbek nationality and of Uzbek national culture, but recently of the political independence of Turkestan*".

In the second work, the author opposes the views of the ethnographer and Bashkirian researcher, Sergei Ivanovich Rudenko. Rudenko had tried to accentuate the in-

dependent culture of the Bashkirians in association with the whole of Turkish culture. Soviet Russian ideology has for a long time condemned Rudenko's views. The author subdivides his work as follows: (a) the first attacks of the Bolshevik Party on ethnography and the fall of Rudenko; (b) Rudenko's interpretation of the old national culture of the Bashkirians; (c) features of Bashkirian existence in 1952 (Rudenko's last report on the Bashkirians); and (d) assessment of Rudenko's works on the Bashkirians etc., with documentary appendices, to elucidate his own thoughts on the Bashkirian Turks. In this way the bitter struggle between the Russians and the Bashkirians is brought into the foreground. The author points out that "*with 88 different anti-Russian popular uprisings in two hundred years, the Bashkirians are surely at the head of all the nations in the Russian Christian, as well as Russian atheist prison states, who defend their own lives.*" Then the author states that the existence of this nation is threatened, remarking in his foreword:

"This work is to be regarded also therefore at the same time as a protest against the Russian national chauvinist policy of violence in Bashkiria". He is on the side of the powerless and writes: "*Crimes however remain crimes, quite apart from by whom and on behalf of whose ideas or power they are and continue to be carried out.*"

In his third work, Dr. Findeisen investigates the problems of the culture and the history of the Samoyeds or Niyents (= man), who have maintained their own way of life for a long time. In particular the way of life of this people (hunting and fishing, reindeer breeding, tents, clothing, family, tribe religion and religious cults etc.), and its history (origin, subjugation by the Russians, administration, break-up of the economy of the Samoyeds, emigration, conversion to Christianity and Sovietisation) are depicted. The word "Samoyed" is not identical with the Russian word "self-eater". This expression may have come from the word *samoy* with the suffixes *id* or *ed* etc. The Russians subjugated these ancient

Asian ethnic groups, but they are never finished with their problems. The policy of making them Christian is not being followed through. The Samoyeds resisted Tsarist Russian policies, but they were subjugated by the Soviet Russians. Then began Sovietisation. Even under this process they were able to preserve their own way of life. In 1959 more than 84% of the Samoyeds claimed that they spoke Samoyedic.

Dr. Findeisen intended his writing as an appendix to an essay of the Russian Soviet historian, S. V. Bakhrushin, *The Samoyeds in the Seventeenth Century*, in order to set forth the tendencies of Russian historians on the subject of this ethnic group, despite "Bakhrushin's great-Russian nationalist narrow-minded outlook", as the author himself puts it. The second appendix, *A Russian report from 1874 on the Mesen-Samoyeds* closes the treatise.

The works discussed above by Dr. Findeisen are richly provided with maps and pictures of the cultural life of the peoples concerned and the Russian writings (appendix) are rightly provided with critical notes by the author.

Hayit.

ANALYSE DES SIEGES ("Analysis of Victory") by Konstantin KATSAROV (A & G de May, Düsseldorf, 1964, 515 pp., DM 18.60).

The well-known Bulgarian scholar Konstantin Katsarov, one-time Professor of International Law at the University of Sofia and since 1956 at Geneva University, has risen through the recent publication of his work "Analysis of the Victory" into the ranks of the most brilliant writers of modern history. We shall let the voices of the foreign press speak for themselves about the significance of this sensational book:

"The 66-year-old Bulgarian jurist and university teacher from Geneva, whom one might call a Bulgarian Madariaga, has really gathered together some astonishing material.

If it is not refuted, this material will shake to the roots the "surprise attack" theory, which has been carefully fostered since the

beginning of the Cold War.

He writes factually and with the discipline proper to an absorbed scholar. In this way he succeeds in casting light on scarcely visible shadows of Western policy" (Handelsblatt, 27/28th November, 1964).

"The author analyses the supposed victory of the West with unsparing frankness and reveals the true victor of the Second World War — Soviet Russia.

Facts over which most historical investigations draw a veil of forgetfulness are discussed in this work with proper thoroughness.

Many opinions which had been established as correct are thrown overboard. But the author does not lack evidence for his assertions." (Burgenländisches Volksblatt, 24th October, 1964).

"Professor Katsarov does far more than display certain details and build these into a convincing picture.

With scholarly exactness he describes the historical circumstances which have led to the utterly unsatisfactory political situation of the world today.

He does not swim with the stream of opportunism, but verifies his assertions and theses with stimulating arguments" (Allgemeine Zeitung, 24/25th October 1964).

"This book is one of the sharpest which has been written, settling accounts with the Western Powers, to whose policies the states of Eastern and South-eastern Europe were sacrificed. Thus the Western Powers handed over victory to the Soviet Union.

One can scarcely make any amendments to this analysis" (Die Bücher-Kommentare, 15th November, 1964).

V. Luzhansky

Chimera of a Russian Chauvinist
Gregory P. Tchobotarioff: *Russia my Native Land*

Foreword by George F. Kennan
McGraw Hill Book Company, New York
- London - Toronto 1964, 384 pp.

The author of this book seems to be

running amuck, blinded by an intractable Russian chauvinism. One does not really know whether one should take the author — even a professor at an American University — seriously or not. For Mr. Tchebotarioff the old Tsarist Russia still exists in all its grandeur, as one can see from the numerous photographs in the book. The blindness of the author even goes as far as to defend the present-day Russia which is known by the name of the USSR against the charges of dismembering the enslaved nations, even denying to these enslaved nations of the so-called USSR the right to secede from Moscow. Mr. Tchebotarioff, who is a naturalised American, and feels at ease there, even threatens his host country with retaliation from Russia, if it were to supply help to the non-Russian nations in their demands for national freedom.

The author reproaches the Ukrainians with wanting to found a new Cossack nation, since a professor at the Ukrainian university at Prague had worked on a draft for a “constitution for the Cossacks”. He forgets that a strong independence movement was always to be observed among the Doncossacks, leading to the founding of their own state, after the 1917 Russian Revolution.

The author, who dared to make a journey to the Soviet Union, from where he escaped as a refugee to America, wishes to persuade his readers that conditions are quite good in the USSR for the Ukrainians, since the “Ukrainianisation” of the country has assumed undreamed-of proportions. Ostensibly even under the Ukrainian Hetman Skoropadsky such ‘freedom’ was not given to the Ukrainians (page 206). The names of the streets in Kyiv were left in Ukrainian, the junior, secondary schools and in part the universities are Ukrainian, most newspapers are printed in Ukrainian. According to the author the Red Russian occupants of Ukraine seem even to encourage further steps to “Ukrainianise” the country. All this does not in the least correspond to the truth, since e.g. the Ukrainian language is being unmercifully assimilated into Russian, by the ceaseless and forcible introduction

into Ukrainian of Russian words and idioms.

On page 352 Tchebotarioff observes that there was no genocide in Ukraine, although two generations of Ukrainian intelligentsia were put to death by Moscow, and in the thirties about 6 million Ukrainian peasants were killed by a famine artificially manufactured by Moscow. The author is infuriated by the erection of the memorial to the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko (1814—1961) in Washington, since this amounts to a hostile attitude on the part of the USA towards Russia. Apparently the Shevchenko memorial is to remind the Americans that the Ukrainians were forced by the Russians into colonial subjection.

Through lack of space, we cannot discuss all the nonsense that Tchebotarioff has put in his book.

V.O.

Morgenthau Era Letters, by Austin J. App, Ph. D. Boniface Press, 1966, 111 pages, leatheright, \$2.00.

This book is a collection of 119 letters, with introduction, index, biographical notes, written by Dr. A. J. App to news publishers and newsmakers in the tragic decade 1941-1951 — during which America won the War and lost the peace. A few later ones are included. They were written in anguish and frustration — *against* intervention, unconditional surrender, and Morgenthauism, and *for* a negotiated peace, and an Atlantic Charter peace. *They failed*. Because they and others like them failed America is today in a hot military action in Vietnam — and in a Cold War everywhere — and an Iron Curtain tortures Europe, and a WALL signalizes the lost peace in Berlin!

But these letters are still valid: they say not only what should have been done but what still must be done.

Plinio Correa De Oliveira: *La Liberté de l'Eglise dans l'Etat Communiste, L'Eglise, Le Decalogue et le Droit de Propriété*, Rua Martim Francisco 699, Sao Paulo 3, Brazil, 1964.

This short publication by the Catholic community in Brazil in French and English, which has already had several impressions, succeeds in its aim of depicting the true nature of world Communism led by the Russians. Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira is a recognized authority on contemporary history in the Catholic University of Sao Paulo.

The free world — at least in certain circles — may be only imperfectly informed about so-called “freedom” in the States ruled by the Communists and therefore it draws false conclusions from the inadequately known facts about the situation behind the Iron Curtain. This ought to be prevented at all costs, and this brochure is published to this aim. Extensive sources serve as the proof of facts given in the book which remind us of the great care for the so-called freedom of the Church and of Christian conscience in the territories occupied by the Communist rulers.

There is no private property, no freedoms of Western civilization in the Communist countries. Everything that is preached there in this respect is merely a cynical fraud.

The author demands that the Church should fight for property rights, for otherwise it will lose the fight against poverty and hunger which is very closely associated with the idea of freedom.

Co-existence of the Church with a Communist state would then only be possible when all owners renounced their rights, which must be considered as an absurdity.

The views of the famous Brazilian scholar on the nature of Communism and the co-existence of the Christian Church with the Communist regime appear very informative and for this reason the book enjoys a very wide popularity.

W. Iwoniewskij

Donations for the ABN-Fund:

Australia

Hungarian Organizations of N.S.W. Sydney 5 £; G. Korshniak 2 £; M. Kutsyk, I. Aramaniuk, C. Mishchuk, S. Lisowytz, B. Uniatyckyj, B. Kuzyk, M. Malanchyn, I. Chuchman each 1 £ and I. Bodnar and Mr. Yurkiw each 10 h.

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Supreme Cossack Ataman Bilyi 25 \$; W. Zhuk 20 \$; J. Blyshak, E. Perehatst and Dr. St. Halamay each 10 \$; W. Lahoshniak, I. Havriliv, Osadtsiv, S. Tchabaniuk, M. Lavriv, M. Hevko each 5 \$; I. Stadnyk, Y. Rybalt 2 \$; P. Migelych, M. Shokaliuk, M. Stasyshyn, O. Vovk, I. Karasaba, I. Ivashkevych, M. Ivashkevych, H. Tataryn, O. Dubchak, I. Latsuga and M. Chukhray each 1 \$.

Argentina

Dr. St. Hefer, Croatian Liberation Movement 100 \$.

Canada

Ukrainian National Fund 100 \$; M. Andrukhiw 90 \$; O. Polityka 85 \$; M. Martkiw 70 \$; Women Association of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine and SUM and League for the Liberation of Ukraine each 50 \$; M. Korda and M. Andrukhiw each 30 \$; A. Dankovysh, Students Organization of “Michnowsky”, M. Koshyk, M. Koryn and M. Hlymbitsky each 10 \$; D. Janush 8 \$; St. Orenchuk 6 \$; H. Leshchyshyn 2 and M. Dronyk 1 \$.

England

Donations by Ukrainians 139.2.0 £; L. Dymchuk 26.0.0 £; At the wedding of M. and Sophie Paniwiak the guests collected 5.15.0 £; Mr. Pidlynsnyj 3.06.0 £; Porohovskij 0.10.0 £; M. Sinejko 1.0.0 £; S. Krylyshyn 0.5.0 £ and Ukrainians in Felixtown 6 £.

Germany

Mr. Koslow and Dr. B. Senyshyn each DM 50.—.

Resolution On US Policy In Vietnam

This Resolution, unanimously adopted at the Washington, D. C. Dinner-Banquet and at the Buffalo Ukrainian Freedom Day Rally was forwarded to the U. S. President through the courtesy of Congressman T. J. Dulski and acknowledged by Henry H. Wilson, Jr., U.S. Forces in South Vietnam General William C. Westmoreland; was handed to the Ambassador of the Republic of Vietnam — His Excellency Vu Van Thai in Washington, D. C.

We, the undersigned representatives of the Ukrainian Community throughout the U.S.A., gathered this 30th day of June 1966 in Washington, D.C., on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence of June 30th, 1941, in Lviv, Ukraine, take this opportunity to manifest our firm support of President Johnson's and our Government's Viet Nam policy as a clear example of our basic objective to guarantee to all peoples, the Ukrainian people included, the right for self-determination on their God-given territory and the right to be masters of their destiny.

We are fully cognizant that this policy requires considerable sacrifices on the part of the American people and, in particular, on the part of our gallant servicemen, who risk and sacrifice their lives. But — there can be no greatest glory for free men than to extend the blessing of their own freedom to their fellowmen, for the price of their own well-being or even life.

We stand up in admiration for all those who in the rice paddies of Viet Nam are fearlessly carrying the banners of freedom; we bow our heads before the spirit of those who have paid the highest price; and we are justly proud that in the fields of Viet Nam there are many of our Ukrainian kin and some of them have laid there their lives.

Finally, we wish to give expression to our firm belief that the real enemy of the cause of freedom is not in Viet Nam, but in Moscow. The struggle in Viet Nam is but one important battle in our total struggle for freedom and justice in the world. Our victory in Viet Nam, however, will gain grounds for further escalation of freedom and peace throughout the world. That gain will not be limited to Viet Nam or America alone but will strengthen the cause of world freedom which we identify with the destinies of America and of humanity, the destinies of all nations and men.

Signed in Washington, D. C., on June 30th, 1966

(The signatures followed.)



*On the
walls of
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Russians
Get Out!*

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

12th Conference Of The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League



The Delegates Honour The Dead Heroes Of The Anti-Communist Struggle, Seoul, Korea

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Publisher: Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)
Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67

Editorial Staff: Board of Editors.
Editor-in-Chief: Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A.

Articles signed with name or pseudonym do not necessarily reflect the Editor's opinion, but that of the author. Manuscripts sent in unrequested cannot be returned in case of non-publication unless postage is enclosed.

It is not our practice to pay for contributions.

Reproduction permitted but only with indication of source (A.B.N.-Corr.).

Annual subscription DM 12.— in Germany, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries. Remittances to: Deutsche Bank, Munich, Filiale Depositenkasse, Neuhauser Str. 6, Account No. 30/26135 (A. B. N.).

Herausgeber: Presse-Büro des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen (ABN), München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0, Telefon 44 10 69.

Schriftleitung: Redaktionskollegium.

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Frau Slawa Stetsko.

Erscheinungsort: München.

Druck: Buchdruckerei Erich Kirmair, München 12 Westendstraße 49.

Twelfth APACL Conference In Seoul

Declaration of the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

The timing of the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League was highly significant. The Conference was assembled as the war in Vietnam was becoming more and more fierce, as Mao Tse-tung was carrying on a so-called "Cultural Revolution" with his Red Guard movement on the Chinese mainland thereby seriously threatening the freedom and security of Asia and the entire world.

Delegates from Asian, African, and Australian member organizations, youth representatives, and observers from other parts of the world met in Seoul, Korea, November 3 through November 8, 1966, to exchange views on world problems and to agree on ways to strengthen the anti-Communist movement and to expedite ultimate victory over Communism. Conference participants were welcomed by the people of the Republic of Korea and by the Korean Chapter of the APACL. They express their admiration for President Park Chung Hee's leadership of the Korean people in resisting Communist aggression, and for the heroism of Korean troops taking part in the fight against the Communists in Vietnam.

We highly commend the spirit of unity displayed at the seven-nation summit conference in Manila, and we support its joint communique and its declarations on the "Goals of Freedom" and on "peace and progress" in Asia and the Pacific. These statements are aimed at ending the Vietnam war and achieving an honorable and lasting peace.

We adamantly oppose any peace negotiations before Communist forces are pulled out of South Vietnam. We reject the conception of peace at any price. Our position on peace is that we hope and pray for it, but that peace cannot be purchased at the cost of the independence and freedom of Vietnam. These are the objectives for which the Free World has fought in Viet-

nam and they must never be abandoned. Any peace that sacrifices these objectives would be one of defeat and injustice and would surely lead to further aggression by the Communists. We, therefore, call upon the Free World, and especially upon the United States as the Free World's leader, to stand firmly behind the policy of assisting South Vietnam, and to take positive and energetic steps to destroy the aggressive North Vietnamese regime. This is the only way the Vietnam war can be won quickly, and genuine and lasting peace be assured for the Vietnamese nation and people.

The Conference made a detailed review of the swift changes that have occurred in the international situation during the past fourteen months. It is our conviction that the Communist bloc is declining in power and solidarity. Evidence of this can be found in the intensification of the conflict between Moscow and Peking, the more independent policies of East European satellites, in the recent defeats suffered by the Communists in certain African countries, in the suppression of Communism in Indonesia, in the growing awareness of the Communist threat in Latin America and in the dependence by Soviet Russia upon the introduction of the notions of cost price and productivity which violates the basic tenets of Communism.

There is growing evidence that Communism is losing its hold on the masses behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. As examples we cite Red China, whose leaders have been forced to initiate the so-called "Cultural Revolution" and to organize "Red Guards," composed, in part, of adolescents, to suppress dissatisfaction with the Red regime by the use of brutal terrorism directed against peasants, workers, civil officials, the intelligentsia, and even the Red armed forces. In Europe, only the walls, barbed wire barriers, and mine fields

backed by hordes of armed guards with "shoot-to-kill" orders, prevent entire populations from emigrating en masse to free countries.

Yet, despite these facts which indicate the decline of Communist power and solidarity, this is a time of grave danger to the Free World, since Communism, like a wounded dragon, may lash out in any direction in rage, fear, and frustration. The utmost vigilance is required of all free peoples who wish to remain free in the present world situation.

We wholeheartedly support the Asian solidarity resolutions and declaration of the Asian and Pacific Ministerial Conference. We urge the governments of the Conference to go one vital step further and to establish a permanent organization, a League of Anti-Communist Asian and Pacific Nations. Thus the freedom and security of these regions can be preserved through the collective strength of the Asian and Pacific countries.

We reiterate our adamant opposition to the admission of the Peking regime to the United Nations and our strong support of the Republic of China's legitimate and rightful position in the world organization. We also strongly endorse the UN membership applications of the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam, and we resolutely oppose Secretary-General U Thant's recommendation of UN universality as being a contravention of the Charter and of the organization's dedication to human rights, justice, and the cause of peace.

We should take advantage of the growing schisms within the Communist bloc to encourage divided or enslaved countries to attain unification, independence and freedom. Especially, we want to capitalize on the critical situation wrought by the "cultural revolution" on the Chinese mainland and expose the Red Guard movement as a part of the Chinese Communist aggressive intrigue to communize the world. The Free World should abandon all illusions about

the Chinese Communists and impose economic sanctions direct and indirect, to prevent the Peking regime from increasing its aggressive strength and its prestige through commercial relations. We must give full assistance to the anti-Communist, anti-Mao Tse-tung struggle of the Chinese people on the Mainland, and encourage them in their campaign to destroy the Peking regime from within. We must also actively support the Republics of China, Korea, and Vietnam in their efforts to recover their national territories, to liberate their enslaved compatriots, and to destroy Asian Communism, once and for all.

We, the delegates to the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, meeting in Seoul, Korea, declare that the real or assumed monolithic character of the international Communist conspiracy can only be successfully combated by equal solidarity of purpose among the free peoples of the world. We further declare our intention to expand this organization into a world-wide movement, and we cordially invite all free or captive peoples, and/or all organizations representing free or captive peoples, to join us in a new, world-wide organization, dedicated to the establishment of permanent peace, justice, freedom, and economic well-being for all the people on this earth.

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League was formed in Korea in 1954, and its first meeting was attended by eight nations. In the twelve years that have elapsed since that time the League has expanded rapidly, and its work has been increasingly effective. Today, the League comprises 28 member-organizations and 40 observers, representing a total of 68 nations, localities, and organizations.

Therefore, we, the delegates and observers assembled here, declare that our inflexible purpose is to oppose Communism in all its forms and disguises, wherever it may exist, and to expose the falsity of Communist doctrine to the people of the world, and thereby to generate a wave of repulsion

which will sweep Communism and all its workers from the face of the earth in a vast tidal wave of opposition.

We express our deepest sympathy with the hundreds of millions of decent human beings who are now suffering under Communist domination. We strongly urge them to keep alive in their hearts the love and hope of freedom. We encourage them in their efforts to regain lost liberties by opposing their Communist oppressors from within. We ask them to share our confident belief that their oppressors will be overthrown and that liberty will again hold sway over their homelands.

To achieve these ends, we declare, therefore, that the expansion of our Anti-Communist organization into a world-wide movement is absolutely essential and that the character and purpose of the new organization must be such as will meet the organizational and ideological needs of an effective world-wide movement to be called

the "World-Anti-Communist League." With these views in mind, we proudly present, in confident expectation of approval and support of the Free World, the Charter for the newly created World Anti-Communist League.

In forming this new worldwide league, we call for the enthusiastic support of all anti-Communist governments, organizations and individuals from every part of the world. The moral and ethical rightness of our anti-Communist stand is beyond dispute.

United, the free world possesses overwhelming physical power; morally, it is armed with the unconquerable sword of righteousness. We again appeal for support of our movement to create unity out of diversity in order to hasten the day when freedom, national independence, peace, justice and economic security shall prevail to the farthest corner of the earth.

We are publishing in this number the addresses delivered at the 12th APACL Conference by Hon. O. B. Kraft, Prof. J. Kitaoka and Prof. Th. Oberlaender.



Delegates at the reception given by His Excellency President of the Korean Republic, Park Chung Hee (standing in the centre)

Russian Empire Is Opposed To The Progress Of Mankind

Resolution Adopted At The 12th APACL Conference

Whereas, the national independence of all peoples of the world is an integral part of the progress of mankind, and

Whereas the emancipation of peoples in Western dependencies into nation-states, done often with assistance from their former colonial masters, makes the spontaneous realization of the idea of nation-states more evident, and

Whereas, the independent nation-state decidedly furthers the development of original national cultures, thus enriching a cultural diversity of mankind, and

Whereas, regardless of their size, wealth, race or religion, the nation-states, as equal and sovereign, are the best safeguard of peace, justice and international security; because, unlike the multinational empire, they have no means by which to exploit the material and technical resources as well as manpower of other subjugated peoples for the purpose of perfecting and stockpiling their armaments and furthering their expansion, and

WHEREAS, the exercise of human rights, unlimited creative expression, freedom of religion, social justice, self-determination of social and political systems, and the fostering of traditional cultural values, is possible only in an independent democratic nation-state within its ethnographic boundaries, and

WHEREAS, the Russian empire — regardless of its ideological basis — is opposed to the progress of mankind and the integral realization of human rights of nations and individuals and it represents a most dangerous threat to freedom-loving mankind, because the possession of the resources of an empire allows it to accumulate massive means of destruction, and

WHEREAS, the idea of national liberation and struggle for human rights is the Achilles' heel of the Russian Communist empire:

Now, therefore, THE 12th CONFERENCE of the APACL, in the spirit of resolutions approved at previous Conferences of the APACL, resolves:

1. (a) to support the dissolution of the Soviet Russian colonial empire into independent democratic nation-states, whose territories would be determined by ethnographic boundaries, and the destruction of the Communist system in all its forms;

(b) to advocate the dissolution of all forcibly constructed state organisms in Europe into nation-states;

(c) to support the reunification into free nation-states of all forcibly divided nations in Europe and Asia;

2. to support the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples in the Russian Communist empire as a means to its liquidation and as a possible alternative to a nuclear war, and to call upon the governments of the Free World to give wholehearted active support to such an action;

3. to convince the Free World of the necessity to concentrate its attention on the principal enemies — Moscow and Peking — as a precondition of victory in the civil and peripheral wars instigated by these two powers and as the eventual

means of preventing such wars in the future;

4. to advocate the concept of a united front of the Free World with the subjugated nations, directed *simultaneously* against *both* tyrannies — Moscow and Peking —, and to oppose any alliance with one tyranny against the other, because similar practices in the past led to the victory of the tyranny;

5. to condemn Russian colonialism and imperialism in countries subjugated by Moscow and to call upon the UN, to take the strongest measures in accordance with the de-colonization resolution, No. 1514 (XV), against the USSR and its satellites because of the continuous violation of human rights of individuals and nations; to condemn the extermination practices of Moscow in all subjugated countries; to condemn Russification, persecutions, imprisonments and sentencing of cultural workers — authors, scientists, artists and students, for their desire of creative freedom; to protest against and condemn the plan already under way of forced deportation and resettlement in Siberia and Kazakhstan of one and a half million young adults from the subjugated countries in order to weaken the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated peoples against their oppressors in their native lands.

6. The 12th APACL Conference expresses its solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Hungarian people who ten years ago rose in arms against their Russian oppressors; it condemns the Soviet Russian aggression against the freedom-loving Hungarian nation and all other subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia; it calls upon the Free World to support the liberation struggle of all subjugated peoples in their striving for freedom and independence.

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Hon. Ole Bjorn Kraft, Former Foreign Minister of Denmark

Expansion By Limited Wars

I was Foreign Minister of my country when the war broke out in Korea and was happy to advise my government to support the Korean people. One of the visible manifestations of our effort was the hospital ship JUTLANDIA.

I am back now at a time when another Asian country is threatened by aggression, supported by Red China as well as the Soviet Union. I am speaking of Vietnam. Now that the existence of nuclear arms in both camps has produced a kind of balance of terror nuclear stalemate, the Chinese Communists as well as the Russian imperialists are trying to pursue their policy of expansion and annexations by limited wars, using guerrillas, fifth columns, internal aggression and so forth.

It is of capital importance, therefore, that the people of South Vietnam and their allies continue to stand up in defence of Vietnam against the aggressors. If they acted otherwise, new wars would be instigated throughout Asia and other parts of the world. Hence, by defending their own country, they are fighting for freedom everywhere.

If the people of South Vietnam were to be abandoned by the Free World, this would be the same as the abandoning of the Czech people in 1938. The negotiators thought they had won "peace in our time". We got a war instead. A new appeasement would mean that another Munich would open the road to a new war.

We should certainly not forget, therefore, that the Communists, whether they are Russian or Chinese, employ all means and make any effort to alienate the Free World from the cause of Vietnam. They especially try to drive a wedge in between the nations of Europe and the United States, the greatest allies of Vietnam. We must be on the alert to prevent any alienation to take place between the United States and Western Europe over the question of Vietnam, because a defeat in Vietnam will mean the greatest danger for Western Europe and the free Asian nations.

Another aspect of the problem is that in the same way, the Russian Communists might try to obtain a kind of partnership with the West to resist politically, at least, the policy of Red China. However, in the same way that we may declare our sympathies and feeling of solidarity with Vietnam and their American allies, we should not let ourselves be lured into believing that Russia has ceased to be a menace towards Europe and the Free World.

Not only is Russia the very state that gives the Communist aggressors in Vietnam their strongest backing, but at the same time, she keeps a great part of Europe under domination and coercion. I am talking here not only of the so-called Satellite nations, including the Soviet zone of Germany and others, but also of many ancient nations inside the Soviet Union itself, like Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and many others. None of these nations will ever reconcile itself with Russian imperialism. We forget so easily. Let us remember that it was only ten

years ago that the uprising in Hungary was crashed by Soviet tanks.

Now, again turning to China, I have a few remarks.

Red China is about to build nuclear arms. This will take quite some time. It will take a still longer time to build up means of transporting these arms, like missiles, rockets, etc.

At present, therefore, China is in a transitional stage. While preparing to become a world power in terms of nuclear arms, Red China is very vulnerable.

This is why, at this moment, Mainland China has no interest in causing any major war, nonetheless it banks on the results, Russia and Red China expect to derive from their joint aggression in Vietnam, and prepares for similar warfare against other independent nations.

But I am convinced that if Vietnam and its allies remain steadfast, the Communists will be compelled to give up aggression.

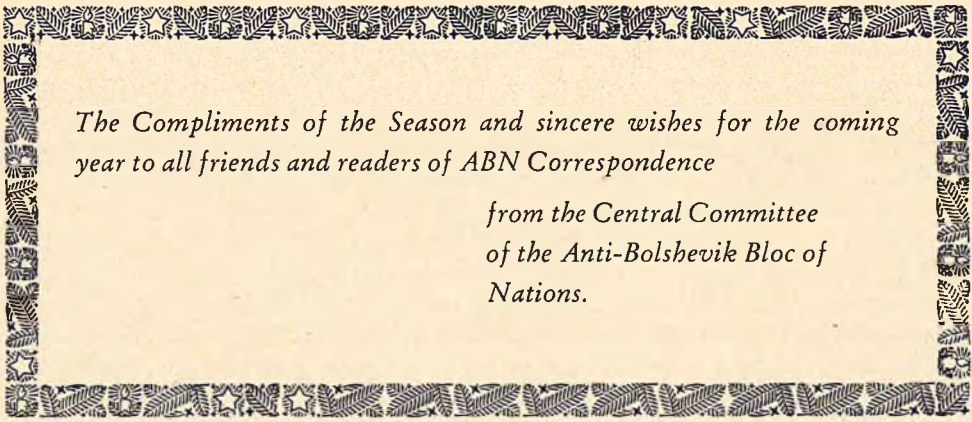
It is my sincere hope and my conviction that this is possible. Therefore, we must remain united in our fight for freedom and for peace. We must create a spiritual world force for freedom and self-determination against Communism.

We must never forget that in this work, we are endeavouring to obtain something not for ourselves, but for the peoples, whom we have the honour to represent. Let us never forget that we have been given an opportunity by fate to serve and care for our peoples, to spread the light of Freedom, democracy and justice.

In fighting Communism we are fighting oppression, injustice, fear and inequality before the law.

But above all, we are fighting to give the nations of Asia a hope for a better future.

Before concluding, I have a question very much on my mind. In the United Nations the future of Free China is being discussed. It must never happen that Free China is thrown out of the United Nations. It would be the greatest victory for Red China and Communism. We must appeal to all free nations of the world to defend the right of Free China to remain a member of the United Nations. The world is looking to the free nations of Asia. For better or worse, you are in the centre of world policy. The future of the world depends on your unity and your determination to defend your Freedom.



The Compliments of the Season and sincere wishes for the coming year to all friends and readers of ABN Correspondence

*from the Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of
Nations.*

Prof. J. Kitaoka (Japan)

Prevention Better Than Cure

First, with regard to the world-wide anti-Communist organization, I think that such an organization is absolutely necessary, for the simple reason that Communism itself is world-wide in its hostile influence. It is not, however, easy to realize this task. It is my hope that the United States will assume leadership in this anti-Communist propaganda work, just as it has assumed the leadership to defend freedom by force. I think that the US has finally realized just how difficult it is to drive out Communists, once they have wedged themselves into a territory. Prevention is always better than cure. It is my opinion that a world-wide anti-Communist organization must have an executive committee which would meet more than once a year; and the financial burden of the country acting as host must not be too heavy. Under the present practice the financial expense of the country acting as host is too heavy for those chapters which do not receive any financial assistance from their governments. And every member-country should contribute towards the expense of publishing periodicals.

Second, to give moral support to the captive nations may not necessarily be helpful to them, but it is certainly helpful to us, the free countries which are constantly threatened and disturbed by treacherous Communist propaganda. And the captive nations must not only include member-countries of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, but also the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany, Tibet, which was conquered by Red China, Ukraine and all other nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. All these countries have been conquered by force. If the Soviet army would withdraw from the Soviet zone of Germany, the Communist government there will be immediately overthrown, and a free and democratic government will rule Germany. There can be no doubt about this. If the Soviet army would collapse, all the nations presently under its yoke will have free and democratic governments. In Europe the fundamental cause of Communist evils is the armed force of the Russians. And to our great regret, we are not in a position to drive out Russian force from the Captive Nations.

But in the free countries in Asia, like Japan, for instance, there is no actual oppression by force. One is inclined to ask why Communism has succeeded in prevailing? The mystery must be ascribed to its well-organized propaganda system. Even a people as highly educated as the Japanese, who are daily bombarded with propaganda describing the USA as aggressive and imperialistic and holding up the Communists as champions of peace and independence and defenders of democracy, are gradually deceived and eventually believe what they hear preached every day, just as the Japanese were once deluded into thinking that they could defeat the United States, Communist propaganda is resourceful and well-organized: it aims first at seducing ambitious intellectuals, then teachers' unions and other trade unions; newspapers become their prey, until they are in a position to deceive a whole nation. It is our task to crush this treacherous propaganda. We must be as ruthless as the Soviets were and are in their own sphere.

First and foremost, we must lend assistance to the work of West Germany, ABN and ACEN. We do not deceive ourselves into believing that we can liberate any of the subjugated countries by our help, but we do believe that by helping them we help ourselves. We contribute to the fight against treacherous Communist propaganda. In this sense we are going to welcome Mr. Stetsko of ABN and Mr. Sidzikauskas of ACEN in Tokyo, and to listen to their appeal. Even if the audience may not be big, their speeches will be circulated to the whole country in print.



ABN delegates with the Chairman of the 12th APACL Conference, General Chung Yul Kim (Korea)

APACL Resolution On Raising Funds

WHEREAS the effective activities of the APACL depend to a large extent on the availability of financial support, and

WHEREAS the lack of the said financial funds at present restricts the activities of the anti-Communist organizations in the Free World and plays a detrimental role in the over-all results of the said anti-Communist activities, and

WHEREAS in some of the countries of the Free World very important and respected organizations and causes are being run and/or supported wholly or partly by the income of the specially designated

Lotteries, and

WHEREAS the cause of Freedom is of an overriding importance,

THEREFORE be it resolved that the member nations of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, or whatever name the future world-wide Anti-Communist Organization will be known under, will take immediate steps to establish a "Freedom Lottery" in their respective countries, or a "Regional Freedom Lottery," run jointly by two or more countries, in order to provide a permanent financial basis for future anti-Communist activities.

The Fallacy Of Containment

Austin J. App, Ph. D., chairman of Captive Nations Committee of Greater Philadelphia; associate professor of English LaSalle College; honorary president, Federation of American Citizens of German Descent

Since World War I, largely under the impact of American public opinion and moral and diplomatic pressure, Western colonialism in Africa and Asia has almost disappeared. This Western Colonialism was often benevolent; it certainly never needed a barbed wire entanglement and a Berlin-type wall to reduce its colonies to virtual concentration camps.

But a monstrous colonialism, which tragic U.S. policies at Yalta and Potsdam and for a decade thereafter like Frankenstein helped to expand, if not to create, is the totalitarian Soviet-Russian colonialism. It stretches from the middle of Europe to the ends of Asia. It inflicts an atheistic barbarism on one billion people. And it subjects to colonialism 115,000,000 once independent Christian people in such captive satellite nations as the Baltic, Poland, Hungary, Eastern Germany, and it cruelly deprives of freedom and self-determination another 133,000,000 peoples of captive nations inside the USSR: Ukrainians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians and others. Soviet Russia also plotted and accomplished the Red enslavement of Yugoslavia, China, North Korea, Cuba, and North Vietnam.

Finally in 1950 Washington checked the extension of this Red colonialism to South Korea with 37,133 American lives; it is now belatedly but rightly doing so in South Vietnam. But these tragic wars fought in what is left of the Free World merely demonstrate the fallacy of containment. It is both immoral and inexpedient. It is wrong to consign unchallenged to Soviet Russian slavery the 250,000,000 captive people. It is inexpedient and foolish to keep Soviet Russia secure behind its Iron Curtain from where it plots and directs aggression against alternating parts of the Free World costing the lives of our soldiers to stalemate.

The defeatist policy of appeasement and containment must be converted to one of conscious and determined liberation of the Captive Nations. Just as all other colonialisms were finally ended, the Soviet Russian one must end, too. A policy of liberation is not the way to a world war: it is rather the most likely, perhaps only way to prevent it. Only a Russia reduced to its proper size, with its captive peoples free and independent, will no longer be a threat to world peace or to American security. The dissolution of the Soviet Russian colonialism is the wave of the future, the obligation of progress and civilization. If the benevolent colonialism of Africa and Southeast Asia had to go, then a hundred times more urgently must the totalitarian colonialism of Soviet Russia in Europe and Asia go.

The way to destroy this brutal colonialism without a world war is for the Free World to support the yearnings of the captive peoples with all possible moral, diplomatic, and economic means. The governments of the Free World, the press, and the religious leaders must realize the following and act accordingly:

FIRST, The Soviet Russian empire is not a force for law and order in Europe and Asia but a totalitarian tyranny within and an agent of subversion and aggression without.

SECOND, It is the most ruthless in history, the only one that ever needed an Iron Curtain and a wall around it, and the most godless, the only one confessedly atheistic, dedicated to the systematic eradication of religion and God.

THIRDLY, Its puppet regimes do not represent the people of the Captive Nations; the people pine for liberation and with the right encouragement would heroically fight for their independence.

FOURTHLY, America has a responsibility to them — one in *justice* to all those who were betrayed into Russian colonialism at Yalta, and in *charity* and *humanity* to all the others for whom America failed to secure the rights pledged in the Atlantic Charter.

FIFTHLY, The first and over-riding thing America — the President, the Congress, the press — must do is to say and keep repeating unequivocally that Soviet Russian colonialism is an anachronism and a barbarism, that it must be dissolved, that the captive peoples have every right to expect their complete liberation and independence.

FINALLY, America and the Free World must repeatedly assure the captive peoples that their aspirations have our support, that they should feel encouraged to display ingenuity and heroism in working for their independence, and that in the future any uprising such as that of East Berlin and of Hungary will be given all the material, moral, and diplomatic support possible under international law.

AND let us stop saying and thinking that the only way the Captive Nations can be liberated is by a world war. The Roman, the British, the French empires were all dissolved without world wars. Let us not think or say that the Soviet Russian empire cannot in the same manner be disintegrated *before* we have tried it! Let us instead courageously demand its dissolution — and throw the full spotlight of publicity on its brutality, and mobilize the moral sense and conscience of the world against its inhumanity. That is the way — without a world war — to free the Captive Nations and achieve a peace that deserves to be called peace!

How To Train Anti-Communist Leaders

a. Hold annual seminars on the history and methods of Communist-Russian colonialism, giving information on the long experience of the liberation movements of the nations enslaved by this colonialism.

b. The Freedom Center should invite prominent leaders of the liberation movements of nations enslaved by Russian Communism as guest-instructors. These people possess a wealth of experience and knowledge on objectives and means of anti-Communist warfare, which till now has been neglected by other anti-Communist movements and the free nations.

c. The Freedom Center should arrange with the ABN to send one able student of anti-Communist work for one month's training to the Headquarters of ABN. These trainees would return with a deeper knowledge of problems and solutions to the anti-Communist liberation struggle.

d. Set up a separate section on the liberation struggle of nations enslaved by Russian Communist colonialism at its Freedom Center Library.

(Resolution adopted at 12th APACL Conference)

Prof. Dr. T. Oberländer, former German Federal Minister

The German Problem

The German problem — that means the reestablishment of German unity in freedom — is also a European problem. An European problem of such gravity — be it political or economic — is also a world problem. Beginning with the division of Germany into two or three parts, then fostering of Communist rule upon all of Germany, the Communist dictators aim at expansion of their power over all of Europe. A Communist Europe is the basic starting point for Communist world domination.

There will be no peace in Europe and, consequently, in the world as long as Europe remains split through the division of Germany. The creation of an artificial structure, the Soviet Zone of occupation, and the imposition of arbitrary frontiers constitute a permanent source of alarm in central Europe.

A permanent and ominous source of trouble in Europe is the completely absurd division of the city of Berlin. At least 150 people have lost their lives at the "Wall of Shame" and at the demarcation line of the Federal Republic, when they wanted to go from one part of their homeland to the other.

However, approximately 50% of the Germans have relatives and good friends in the other part of their fatherland. No nation can tolerate such a situation any longer.

The Soviet Zone of occupation is making all possible efforts to obtain international recognition. In doing so it uses specifically the defamation of the Federal Republic and, unfortunately, in this respect has achieved some results within the Free World. The Zone constantly fights against the exclusive right of representation, which was granted to the Federal Republic of Germany by 52 nations at the beginning of the fifties. The Zone bases its hopes,

among other things, on international sport activities. It shows its flag at various sport events while its "national anthem" is being played. The application by the Soviet Zone of occupation for admittance to the United Nations was the last and culminating point of these efforts. Any nation voting for the admission of the Soviet Zone would be responsible for the prolongation of the division of Germany in the very centre of Europe and for the toleration of a factor of instability in the world.

The German problem can only be solved by the recognition of the right to self-determination. The Germans must have the possibility to decide through free elections in both parts of their country which way they want to go.

The decision by the people will be in favour of freedom. To a great extent it will depend on the Free World and her own political efforts, whether such an opportunity will be given to this nation. A Germany, united in freedom, will be an asset to the Free World.

The divided nations believe that only the use of the right of self-determination for all nations, can overcome the imperialistic dictatorship, the new colonialism and the partition of countries. Only in that way we can secure the peace of the world.

One month ago we entered into the final third of this century. The remaining 33 years will be decisive for the question: Freedom or slavery? A resolution of freedom will prevail and will reunite our 4 countries if everyone is prepared to do his duty.

M. Gorkey:

"The cruelty of the Revolution is explained by the extraordinary cruelty of the Russian people."

Resolution Concerning Admittance of The So-Called “German Democratic Republic” To The United Nations

CONSIDERING that the Soviet-occupied Zone of Germany the so-called “German Democratic Republic” has applied twice for admittance to the United Nations through the mediation of other Communist states (the last time in September 1966);

CONSIDERING that neither by the standards of International Law nor by the principles of the United Nations does this German territory, occupied by 22 Soviet divisions, represent a state;

CONSIDERING that the regime of the so-called “German Democratic Republic” is

a) neither “German” because it constitutes a part of the Soviet empire and is headed by Walter Ulbricht, a Soviet citizen and an officer in the Soviet army;

b) nor “democratic” because it prohibits free elections, established criminal justice governed by political considerations, maintains concentration camps and political prisons, and rules by coercive means on the dictatorship pattern,

c) nor a “republic” because it fails to

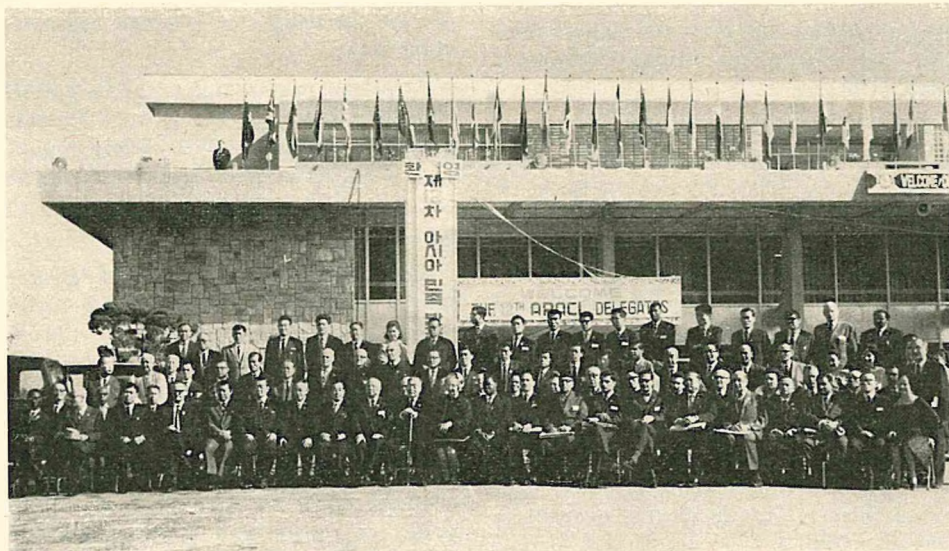
introduce the separation of powers, incessantly violates the principles governing the rights of man, fails to observe its own constitution containing articles of a deceptive humanitarian character, and prevents the realization of individual rights as well as the self-determination of the nation (reunification of Germany);

CONSIDERING that along the “death strip” invented by the Communists, alongside of the boundaries set up within Germany without any lawful justification, and along the “Wall of Shame” — which, running through the heart of Berlin, is condemned by the entire Free World — people are shot to death day by day, or unlawfully arrested and severely punished; the Asian Peoples’ Anti-Communist League resolves:

1) to protest against admittance of the so-called “German Democratic Republic” as a member of the United Nations;

2) to bring this resolution to the knowledge of all governments represented in the United Nations.

(Adopted at the 12th APACL Conference)



The delegates to the 12th APACL Conference

The Free World Too Long On The Defensive

Speech by Mr. A. Olechnik, Representative of Byelorussian Liberation Front at the 12th APACL Conference in Seoul, Korea

We again have gathered here in the Capital of the freedom-loving Republic of Korea, at a time of world tension, of crisis; a time of a desperate and mortal struggle between the forces of tyrannical Communism and the forces of freedom. In every part of the world the struggle is going on, from active and open war in the Republic of Vietnam to behind the scenes struggles in practically every part of the world today.

And what is the position of the Free World today? What is the attitude of the Free World to the Communist threat? I regret to say, that it is far from being satisfactory, for while some of the nations are fighting for their survival against the onslaught of Communist criminals, there are far too many in the Free World who still pretend that the fight does not concern them; there are still too many complacent and naive people who are trying to close their eyes and pretend that they do not see the real brutal situation; there are still too many who are trying not to hear the agonies of pain and pleas for help of those who are victims of brutal Communist aggression.

There can no longer be any question of appeasement, inactivity or complacency; there can no longer be any question of neutrality either, because Communist criminals are not bound by any accepted respectability or agreement. We must finally realize that the sole and only purpose and goal of Communism is to *destroy every semblance of freedom completely*, by any means at its disposal. Knowing that, may we ask ourselves. — What choice do we have?

We have no choice whatever but to fight for our survival, for the survival of the freedom of mankind.

We all know now that the past policy of

appeasement was a tragic one for us; because of that tragic policy from the beginning the Free World has constantly retreated, with the result that the Communists enslave at present a large part of the world and use its resources to wage an-all-out war against the Free World.

We cannot retreat any more; we must finally take a stand and fight, and not only fight to contain Communism, but to destroy the Communists in their own backyards, because as long as Communism is permitted to exist, whether in Asia, America, Africa or Europe, we will never experience real peace and security. It no longer serves any purpose to contain Communism, for it is constantly expanding. The Free World fought a bloody battle in defending the Republic of Korea and, yes, it is true that we have managed to repel the aggressor, but we have left the northern part of the Republic of Korea under Communist slavery, and by this we have allowed the source of aggression to remain intact and thus perpetuate the danger of renewed aggression in the area.

At present we are fighting a very determined battle for the Republic of Vietnam, so let us not be content with merely stopping aggression; let us go on and free the northern part of the Republic of Vietnam, the source of the aggression.

The Free World has been on the defensive for far too long; because of that defensive policy we have lost large parts of Europe; we have allowed Communists to take over Mainland China, the northern part of Korea, the northern part of Vietnam, and we even managed to lose Cuba. Can we retreat any more? No, we definitely can not! Because if we continue to pursue the policy of retreat and appeasement, then we are wasting our time in discussion right at this very moment.

The Communist tyrants from the time they seized power in the Russian Empire, under one pretext or another, have enslaved numerous countries; at first in Europe then in Asia, and finally installed Communism in Cuba. Are we to give no further thought to the millions and millions of people who are enslaved and deprived of their individual and/or national freedom? Are we to write them off as expendable? Are they to be condemned to perpetual slavery? I sincerely hope not, because if we do forget them, if we do write them off, then there

is no hope for us either — sooner or later, we will share their fate of slavery.

It is urgently necessary for the Free World to take immediate steps towards restoration of individual and national freedom to those who are enslaved, by moral support and any other appropriate measures, to ensure that they will enjoy their freedom; and the sooner we do so, the sooner we take initiative in the fight for freedom, the sooner the light of freedom will shine in the dark areas of slavery of today.

Resolution On Extending Immediate Help To The Nations Enslaved By Russian Colonialism

WHEREAS the Free World believes in the principle of self-determination and independence for all nations and is engaged in a mortal struggle against Communist tyrants in order to uphold and defend the said principle of freedom, and

WHEREAS, contrary to the International agreements and resolutions on Colonialism, Russia maintains its Empire under the guise of the Soviet Union and enslaves many nations both in Europe and Asia, such as Latvia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia and others, and

WHEREAS the Russians maintain their propaganda that the said nations are “free and independent”, and

WHEREAS in reality these nations are nothing more than colonies of Russia, and are being systematically destroyed by the oppressors, and the process of national destruction and Russification is continuing unabated at present, and

WHEREAS Byelorussia alone lost more than 2½ million of its population during less than 20 years of Russian occupation, and many other enslaved nations, Latvia, Ukraine, Lithuania, etc. lost large percentages of their population due to deportations, etc., and

WHEREAS no country or nation can indefinitely endure such a methodical and

systematic destruction of its national life as practised by the Russian colonialists, and

WHEREAS due to the said genocide the very existence and survival of the subjugated nations is in danger,

THEREFORE, The 12th Conference of APACL, being an organization composed of many nations which themselves in the past have experienced national persecution and oppression, fully appreciate the very grave position of enslaved nations by Russia, and in pursuance of the accepted international principles of freedom, resolves to adopt the following measures:

1. Make a concentrated diplomatic offensive by member-nations at all levels, particularly at the international conferences, condemning the practised genocide and, using United Nations' resolution on Colonialism as well as other Charters of Freedom as a basis, demand:

a. Immediate halt of the national persecution and Russification in the subjugated countries.

b. The right to send an international commission to check and verify the true position on the spot.

c. The right to hold free elections under international supervision with a view of early liberation of the enslaved nations.

(Adopted at the 12th APACL Conference)

He Had No Time To Waste

Vasyl Symonenko was born in the village of Biyivka, in the Poltava *oblast'* to an Ukrainian peasant family in 1935¹. He was a young poet, having a bold personality, who wrote courageous, fiery verses. He died young, at the age of twenty-nine, an angry rebel with a cause, defeated by cancer — at least that's the Russian version.

Another young poet, Mykola Som, a contemporary² of Symonenko, wrote in the foreword to the posthumous volume of Symonenko's poetry *Zemne tyazhinnya*: "After making his debut in literature, Vasyl Symonenko, gifted with generous talent and incorruptible intellect, started to sing his hearty song loud and clear."³ Not for long. Grasping the true and revealing nature of Symonenko's poetry, Soviet censorship applied its usual measures of suppression: either refusing to accept Symonenko's works for publication, or severely mutilating those which it did accept. This fact is well documented by the poet himself in his diary, which was smuggled abroad⁴. His followers, however, saw to it that his poetry was copied, mostly by hand, and circulated illegally throughout Ukraine⁵. Some critics defend a hypothesis that Symonenko's poetry circulated throughout Ukraine in hand-written manuscripts even before the publication of his first volume of poetry *Tysba i brim*⁶, in 1962.

Symonenko died before reaching his prime. He died on 14 December, 1963⁷, and this is why "his hearty song" was cut short before it had a chance to develop. Death became an ally of the Soviet censor; but they were grossly deceived in thinking that Symonenko's death was the end of him. The Soviet regime miscalculated the potential strength of Symonenko's poetry, of his frank diary, which is now the property of the freedom-loving world⁸.

There seems to be something in common between the disease that killed Symonenko and the Soviet regime. Both are malignant, both are subjected to constant search for cure by the world's foremost specialists. The young poet, who's works are the subject of this essay, fought against such malignancy with every fibre of his body — in his poetry. We already know that he lost his fight against cancer. Only time will give Symonenko's poetry its victory, when Ukraine is a free and independent country.

A complete collection of Symonenko's works is far from being available today. A detailed monograph of his life and works is yet to be written. Only one attempt, that of I. Koshelivec' *U khoroshyi Shevchenkiiv slid stupayuchy*⁹ . . ., is available, but it creates the impression of being written in a careless manner and, moreover, is far from being complete. Koshelivec', who in his two recent books on Ukrainian Soviet Literature of the sixties¹⁰, does not dedicate as much as a single line to V. Symonenko, makes a rather awkward showing in his sudden discovery of Symonenko's works. His direct comparison of Symonenko with the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, appears far-fetched, at least at this point.

However, in art it is a custom to accept objectively valid norms, deduced from ages of experience, and to establish innovations by observation of facts and/or extensive deductive processes. Such an approach establishes Symonenko as a sound, sane and traditional poet, without any trace of abstract pettifoggery of "art for art's sake." Of course, any statement about an author's *creative process* can be *valid*, but at the same time, it can be only *relative*, especially in the case of a contemporary artist, for it is based on limited evidence. With time, new discoveries of Symonenko's hand-circulated poems may warrant a different appraisal.

It was announced in Soviet Ukraine that a volume of unpublished works was to appear soon¹¹. It is to be expected, however, that if it does appear, it will show evident "adjustments."

Tentatively, the poetry of Symonenko can be divided into four categories. I would name them respectively: a) Poetry of angry realism; b) Psychological, deductive poetry; c) Connotative lyrics; and d) Satire and aphorisms. One must keep in mind, however, that these divisions are not meant to be rigid: some of Symonenko's poems contain more than one or all of the above-mentioned characteristics. Let us now take a closer look at these tentative divisions.

The Soviet Russian critic, V. Chalmayev, pointed out the existing difference between the Russian and Ukrainian young poets of the sixties in the following manner:

... Neither I. Drach nor M. Vinhranovsky nor V. Symonenko can be considered a Ukrainian variant of Yevtushenko or A. Voznesensky. They are much more people-minded in language and in the meaning of their works in poetry. They are all inspired by a sincere, perhaps sometimes naive inclination towards a generalising view in respect to the people, the working Ukraine; they have very little interest in the trivial¹².

Coming from a Russian, these words are relevant inasmuch as they admit a significant difference between the Russian and Ukrainian young generation of poets. The most courageous poet of this group, most courageous, perhaps, because he knew that his end was near and there was therefore not much to be lost — gave a clear reason for his anger in a poem entitled "The Prophecy of 1917¹³."

* * *

The obelisks of granite, like medusas,
They crawled, and crawled — until worn out of strength.
On mournful graveyards of squad-fired illusions
There is no further space for graves of any length.

The millions of faiths — plowed deep into black soil,
The millions of fortunes — all blown out into dust . . .
My soul is all on fire, my angry mind just pain-boils,
My hate explodes in laughter that swirls with wily gusts.

If only all, once duped, their sight again recovered,
If only all the slaughtered could be revived somehow,
The sky itself, condemned — by curse — to dark-gray color
Would certainly, from shame and fierce disgrace, crack down.

Tremble all you assassins! Think well blood-thirsty dastards.
For, life doesn't fit at all upon your hoofs so narrow.
You understand? Take look: upon illusions' graveyards
There's no more space now left for any tombs nor barrows.

My nation now — one wound that's mighty soar, but — solid,
Our soil, from bloodshed, has become like beast of prey,
For each and every tyrant — do you know it? —
Waiting already, is — well twisted — iron brace!

Those hunted down, those killed and torn to pieces
Are getting up. They march to bring the trial day.
Their maledictions sad, their damned and frenzied speeches
Shall fall upon the well-fed, mouldy species,
And on the branches of a sturdy tree — these
Apostles of the crime and of deceit shall sway¹⁴.

To this poem the following two lines were added posthumously in the book *Zemne tyazhinnya*, as mentioned in the footnote (13):

And truth will rise, and love upon the world,
To guard the truth — the labour will arise¹⁵.

It would be hard to believe that a poet, critical in most of this poetry about the contemporary "labour" situation in Ukraine, would suddenly turn around and "prophecy" the victory of "labour", taking for a starting point a time 18 years prior to his own birth.

Symonenko's approach to reality as an angry young man can be substantiated by another example:

Out of love for you I sow pearls in man's soul.
Out of love for you do I think and create,
America and Russia must be silent,
When I speak with you, Ukraine!
Ukraine, you are my prayer,
My eternal desperation¹⁶.

This is a striking example of anger. This is a protest against the use of Ukraine as a pawn by two major powers — a protest born of love and devotion. These are the fearless words of a true patriot.

With anger and contempt directed towards the "executioners with bloody swords"¹⁷ — Symonenko demonstrates his art of deductive psychology with strength that will prevail long after his premature death. His concept of psychology is individual and is in direct contradiction to the teachings of so-called "socialist realism". In his poem *Ya* (I) Symonenko deliberates: "We — is not a multiplicity of standard I's, but a multiplicity of diverse universes . . . Only those are respected by millions, who respect the million of I's."¹⁸

An article in the *Rheinischer Merkur* (No. 20 of 14 May, 1965) states: "The Symonenko case could indicate a genuine phenomenon in the intellectual development of the post-1945 generation of Soviet poets."¹⁹

Needless to say, the psychological and deductive qualities of Symonenko's poetry, along with his devout national sense of belonging, enjoyed wide-spread popularity. When one of Symonenko's hand-written manuscripts found its way abroad and excerpts were published in the January, 1965 issue of *Suchasnist'*, 1 (49), on pp 3—18 — reaction in Soviet Ukraine was prompt and strong. A statement by Symonenko's mother and other voices of indignation appeared in the Soviet press. To illustrate this we will quote the following excerpts:

" . . . Our class enemies are capable of anything; they can engage in the dirtiest kind of provocation in order to besmirch our sacred cause even for a short while. They can quote a few lines out of context and explain and comment on them in such a way that everything is upside down — just to create an impression that this or another writer was breaking with the people, and that he was allegedly almost "with them". They pluck an unfinished lines and shout themselves hoarse that this is "the leading trend of the author", just to blacken his name. They invent the lowliest lie, just to promote the idea that "not all is well within our ranks". Yes, we know what our accursed enemies are capable of."²⁰

" . . . It is painful to read in the letter of Vasyl Symonenko's mother that self-appointed guardians²¹ took the poet's diary from her, promising to deliver it to the Association of Writers²², but appropriated it instead. The poet's diary found its way abroad in some mysterious manner²³ and now some Western radio stations are broadcasting tendentiously selected excerpts from the diary which they embellish with anti-Soviet comments.

"We know the worth of these commentaries and of their authors. We also know that if Vasyl Symonenko were alive, he would be deeply indignant of the provocative tricks of our enemies, who so deceitfully falsify his sincere thoughts, ready to ridicule his pain, hopes and joys. But even dead, he repulses them. His *poems* (my italics — I.S.) are the voice of a true patriot, son of his people, and Communist.

"No, the gentlemen of the West German publishing and radio companies will not succeed in discrediting the honest name of Vasyl Symonenko! He is ours, his works belong to our own Soviet people and to nobody else."²⁴

To a serious student of Symonenko's works it becomes obvious that, generally speaking, only *Ukrainian* (my italics — I.S.) people and not Soviet people can claim Symonenko's devotion and love.

This is further illustrated by Symonenko's "connotative lyrics", which seem to be in connection with and support of the poet's observations and repudiation of the living conditions in Soviet Ukraine. In his diary, which has caused so much worry and concern to the Soviet regime, Symonenko gives us an insight into his psychological processes and doubts, in an entry on 6 July, 1963:

"... Often doubts destroy confidence in my own courage. I do not know how I will endure real tests coming upon my head. Will I remain a human being, or will I be blinded, not only visually, but intellectually? Loss of courage is loss of human dignity, which I value above all else; even more than life itself. How many people — intelligent and talented — secured their lives, but lost dignity, and thereby changed life into a vegetative existence. This is most awful."²⁵

Symonenko has his doubts but his contempt for those with "lost dignity", those who: "changed life into a vegetative existence" is without question a document of the situation in Ukraine.

And when Symonenko looked for nostalgic refuge in his by-gone childhood, even then, his lyrics are "connotative", deep love for his native Ukraine felt in every line:

* * *

Carry me, my happy feelings, on your speedy wings
Where a sunny rill is beaming by the hills and things.
Where the houses stand in dresses, white and newly clad,
Native houses, clean and white, that hops by windows had.
Where young girls, daydreaming happy, walk to cooling wells,
Where, like silk, green pastures flourish, by a corn-field swell.
Where myself, a pinkish wonder, with a twig in hand —
Grabs a mad and hollow gander, grabs me where I stand.
Bless me, here, my good old fortune, stubborn, squeamish-louder —
On this land my life to squander, and to die around here.²⁶

Further observation is offered by a German article in *Rheinischer Merkur*, No. 20 of 15 May, 1965:

„Ein leidenschaftlicher, ja geradezu revolutionärer Haß flammt aus jenen Gedichten Symonenkos, in denen er die Ausbeutung und Erniedrigung durch das bolschewistische Regime mit Spott und Fluch geißelt.“

This statement is supported by a German translation of one of Symonenko's poems:²⁷

Wo sind sie,
die fetten und grauen, beutegierigen Demagogen und Lügner,
die der Väter Glauben abgewürgt haben
und nun thronen — gleich Drohnen — in Ämtern und Funktionen? Wo?!
Sie, sie allein gehören hinter das Zuchthausgitter.
Vor's Tribunal — sie!
In den Karzer — sie!
Für Ausbeutung und Blutsaugerei.
Was, der Beweise seien zu wenig? Beweise gibt's.
Die Trümmer, die Fetzen gestohlenen Glaubens, gestohlener Hoffnung —
Sie sollten unsere Beweise sein . . .!

It is through his connotative lyrics that we first experience Symonenko's innovations and style. He sounds like a drummer of a new and fearless era when he bluntly declares:

Swindle or lie — result's just the same,
 All the brutes should be taught:
 One can shoot down the brain
 That gave birth to the thought,
 But the thought will survive.²⁸

Most of Symonenko's satirical verses appear as aphorisms and are written in the form of epitaphs for an imaginary graveyard. Some have a religious colour but there is no hatred or anger directed against religion. Symonenko merely observes and describes funny situations in his reflections about god, saints and priests. Though Symonenko was born in 1935 and his formative years were marked by the constant struggle of Communism against religion, he has this to say in an entry in his diary on 8 October, 1962:

"...Pyanov and I argued about *Roses of Mourning*. It seems to be a mistake to confuse the Madonna of the artists with the truly religious Mother of God. Hypocrites in the garb of the excellent Jesus and His Mother have changed them into violators of the human flesh and spirit. When a legend of transcendent beauty (and I consider Jesus and Virgin Mary uniquely that) becomes a means of spiritual oppression, then I cannot judge the "dramatis personae", no matter what the infidel hiding behind their names does. No exaltedly noble or humane precepts of any teaching can serve progress when they become fixed dogma . . .

Besides, in *Roses of Mourning*, I had not the slightest intention of "overthrowing the gods". I was opposing the new religion, opposing the hypocrites who, not without success, are trying to turn Marxism into a religion and Procrustean bed for science, art and love."²⁹

Again Symonenko's anger and hate are turned against the existing situation in Ukraine, he has "not the slightest intention of overthrowing the gods".

Symonenko's satirical verses appeared in his posthumous book *Zemne tyazhinnya*. There are not many of them, only nineteen pages (pp. 99—117).

All of Symonenko's poetry falls into a system of constant struggle against the Russian regime. He had no time to waste. Knowing that his life was to run out soon, he also refused to run away from life. By his constant, fearless revelations, he wanted, above all, to make life a little easier for his fellow-countrymen.

¹ *Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky, bio-bibliografichni slovnyk*, tom V, vyd-vo "Dnipro" (Kiev 1965), p. 432.

² *Ibid.*, p. 503.

³ Vasyl Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod" (Kiev 1964), p. 3.

⁴ Editorial, "Ukrainian Poet and Rebel: Vasyl Symonenko", *The Ukrainian Bulletin* (Nos. 19-20, New York, 1965), p. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ see the foreword to the posthumous book: Vasyl Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog, Inc." (Munich 1965), pp. 7—60.

⁷ *Ukrayins'ki pys'mennyky, bio-bibliografichni slovnyk*, tom V, vyd-vo "Dnipro" (Kyiv, 1965), p. 432

⁸ It is apparent that Symonenko's diary reached Ukrainian political emigree's sometime in 1964, through the efforts of Ukrainian patriotes in the USSR. According to the Ukrainian periodical *Suchasnist'*, a monthly published in Munich, Germany, by Prolog Inc., — the handwritten diary of V. Symonenko along with some hand-written poetry and unsigned sup-

porting articles arrived through the efforts of an unknown benefactor from the USSR by mail for publication abroad. Some of this material was first published in *Suchasnist'*, issue for January, 1965, accompanied by an editorial comment, that unless a complete, unmutilated volume of Symonenko's works appeared in the USSR, then such a volume would be published abroad through the efforts of Prolog, Inc.

Soviet reaction to this challenge was prompt and violent. An article by Mykola Nehoda entitled *Everest pidlosti* appeared in *Radiyans'ka Ukrayina* for 15 April, 1965, and was followed by a "statement" by Symonenko's mother — both denouncing the "bourgeois-nationalist" revelations of *Suchasnist'*. The statement of Symonenko's mother also directly accused the young Ukrainian critics Ivan Svitlychny and Anatolyi Perepadya for having "misappropriated" Symonenko's diary under false pretences, posing as his friends, and forwarding it abroad. The Soviet regime could not deny the authenticity of the above-mentioned diary and poems,

since they had been widely circulated in hand-written form long before, eventually finding their way abroad. Since then, Symonenko's diary and some samples of his poetry have been translated into other languages and have appeared in Swiss, German, English and even African publications. Recently, the *New York Times* announced in a front-page article that Ivan Svitlychny and others were tried in secret late in 1965 for their part in this affair, in a trial similar to that of Synyavsky and Daniel.

⁹ Vasyl Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo Prolog, Inc., (Munich 1965), pp. 7—60

¹⁰ This statement refers to: I. Koshelivec', *Panorama naynovishoyi literatury v URSR*, vyd-vo Prolog, Inc., (Munich 1963); and I. Koshelivec', *Suchasna literatura v URSR*, vyd-vo Prolog, Inc., (Munich 1964).

¹¹ In a catalogue released by "Myezhdunarodnaya kniga" under the title *Novi knyhy Ukrayiny No. 1a, 1966 rik* — the following was announced on page 162: Symonenko, V., *Poezii*. (306). "Molod". 5 ark. 8000 prym. 35 ko. This volume is described as "the first most complete book of works by the deceased poet" and is scheduled to be released sometime in 1966.

¹² V. Chalmayev, "The Most Vital Concerns", *Druzhba narodov*, 1962, No. 9, p. 261.

¹³ According to I. Koshelivec' this poem arrived in hand-written manuscript carrying no title whatsoever. The obvious conclusion therefore must be, that the title was added in the posthumous book of Symonenko *Zemne tyazhinnya* (pp. 15—16) by Soviet censorship to create a false impression. I. Koshelivec' also claims that the poem arrived without the last two lines present in Soviet editions and translated here separately.

¹⁴ This poem was translated into English by

Nestor D. Procyk and appeared in *ABN Correspondence*, 1965, No. 4, p. 48.

¹⁵ V. Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod'", 1964, p. 16.

¹⁶ Editorial, Ukrainian Poet and Rebel: Vasyl Symonenko", *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, Nos. 19-20 (415-416), (1965), p. 87.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Anatole W. Bedriy, "Troubadour of Ukraine's Freedom," *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XVII, 1, Jan.-Feb., 1966, p. 6.

¹⁹ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, 4, Winter 1965, p. 36.

²⁰ *Literaturna Ukraina*, 27 April 1965, p. 2.

²¹ This refers to I. Svitlychny and others who according to recent headlines were convicted for that "crime" or are to be convicted.

²² *Spilka Pys'mennykiiv Ukrainy*.

²³ I. Svitlychny and others were openly accused for that later.

²⁵ Translation of this passage of Symonenko's diary is taken from an article by Anatole W. Bedriy "Troubadour of Ukraine's Freedom", *ABN Correspondence*, 1966, No. 1, p. 6.

²⁶ V. Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog, Inc." (Munich 1965), p. 163.; Translated and published for the first time by I. Shankovsky.

²⁷ Both the statement and the German translation of Symonenko's poem are taken as quoted from *Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 32/1965 12. Jahrgang, p. 107.

²⁸ Vasyl Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod'" (Kiev 1964), p. 34; Translated and published for the first time by I. Shankovsky.

²⁹ "From Vasyl Symonenko's Diary", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, 1, Spring 1966, pp. 49-50.

Synyavsky: "The Russians are a nation of thieves and drinkers."

In the Moscow trial of the two writers Synyavsky and Daniel on the grounds of "anti-Soviet propaganda" the prosecution demanded for Synyavsky the maximum penalty prescribed for such crimes by Soviet law, namely 7 years labour camp and an ensuing five-years residence prohibition for Moscow. Daniel was sentenced to five years labour camp and three years exile.

In his speech the prosecutor Temushkin accused the two artists again of having pursued "anti-Soviet propaganda" by means of publications smuggled to the West and appearing there under pseudonyms, of having appealed for the overthrow of the "Soviet powers", and condemned them as "enemies of the nation". In proof of this Mr Temushkin quoted a sentence from a book of Synyavsky's: "The Russians are a nation of thieves and drinkers, unable to build own culture".

Longing And Determination Of Modern Ukrainian Youth

Address by Mr. Iryney Mykyta, observer from the Ukrainian Youth Association at the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, held in Seoul, Korea, November 3—8, 1966.

It is a great pleasure and honour for me to represent the Ukrainian Youth Association at the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. I bring greetings and best wishes to the Conference not only from the Ukrainian youth in the Free World, but from all Ukrainian youth, most of whom are unable to send a representative to a forum of free nations where they may freely express their thoughts and desires. They, as we, have but one desire — the liberation of Soviet Russian-dominated Ukraine.

Throughout its occupation of Ukraine, Soviet Russia has been relentlessly carrying out a process of de-nationalization and Russification. She has imposed the Russian language not only as the official language of intra-union communication, but also as the main language of instruction in schools and universities. The regime ensures an increasing use of the Russian language by publishing more and more in Russian and consistently less in Ukrainian. It is also at this time deporting one and a half million young men and women to the virgin lands of Siberia and Kazakhstan, as a means of reducing the Ukrainian revolutionary potential.

In the light of all this it is heartening to know that the Ukrainian youth of today, even after so many years of Communist domination and relentless imposition of a foreign culture, have still maintained a very strong national consciousness and are firm in their desire for free expression of their national aspirations. The fight for the preservation of national identity is being carried on by all young men and women, but especially by young intellectuals. In subjugated Ukraine there are appearances of religious revival and a renewal of interest in purely Ukrainian culture.

There have been repeated strikes in the Donbas basin. Teachers and students have protested against the use of the Russian language in the universities and have been arrested and prosecuted for it. The young Ukrainian poet Vasyl Symonenko, who died in 1963, at the age of 29, wrote poetry full of lyrically expressed love for Ukraine. And when he said:

When I speak with you Ukraine!

Ukraine you are my prayer,
My eternal desperation . . .

For your holy name I am ready

To pour forth my last drop of blood!
This not only reflected a longing of modern Ukrainian youth, but also showed a determination to fight for this ideal. And the popularity of Symonenko's work in Ukraine and abroad testifies to the universality of his feelings. Other writers, like the recently convicted critics Svitlychny and the 24 year-old Dziuba, also had the courage to write outside the prescribed Party line and suffer for it. All of this is an indication that the Ukrainian youth remains strongly nationalist, and is not prepared to accept the empty, foreign and godless precepts of Russian culture. Ukraine is fighting for her beliefs.

The Ukrainian youth in the Free World, as organized in the Ukrainian Youth Association, with branches in Western Europe, both Americas, and Australia, seeks to develop young people who will be culturally aware and who will be dedicated to the ideals of God and country, since religion and nationalism are the greatest enemies of Communism and the best countermeasures to it. Unfortunately, we also have to fight the ignorance of the Free World about Ukraine, an ignorance brought about by 300 years of insidious Russian propaganda. Even informed people today know very

little about Ukraine other than what is propagated by biased Russian sources. Our Association does not confine its activities to theories, however — we have organized mass demonstrations in the United States and Canada, expressing our solidarity with the striking Ukrainian workers. We have also organized demonstrations against the persecution and prosecution of writers, professors, and students in Ukraine, who were convicted and imprisoned merely because

of their desire for free expression of a national ideal.

In conclusion I want to say that we firmly support the Asian peoples who are fighting against Communism, and we feel a special kinship with all those people fighting to free their countries from imperialist Communist oppression. We hope that our common desires of national self-determination and independence may soon be realized.

On Russian Policy Of De-nationalization Of The Young Generation

CONSIDERING THAT: the Soviet Russian regime in Ukraine and in other captive nations is carrying out a policy of intensified de-nationalization and Russification of Ukrainian youth, utilizing for this purpose the entire educational network of kindergartens, schools, universities, and youth organizations; that no efforts and methods are spared by Russian rulers to indoctrinate the youth of the captive nations with ideas of materialism and godlessness in order to turn them into a tool of Russian imperialism, which destroys all moral and humanitarian values; that in spite of all efforts and terror, young Ukrainians and others who grew up under the most difficult conditions of Soviet Russian occupation find courage and ways to combat the Russian practice of colonial exploitation and oppression in captive countries, displaying in a dignified manner a high degree of national consciousness; that there is a community of interests in the efforts of both the captive nations and the countries of the Free World to preserve their cultural identity and national sovereignty, especially in the light of the destruction brought about by the recent "cultural revolution" in Communist China and Communist aggression in Vietnam;

We, the Twelfth Conference of the APACL do hereby

RESOLVE: 1. to support the aspirations of all captive nations to re-establish their independence and sovereignty as the only way to insure a free development of their religious and cultural life as well as economic and political potentialities;

2. to urge the nations of the Free World to adopt the policy of liberation wars designed to bring about dismemberment of the Soviet Russian empire into separate, sovereign and independent national states, and the downfall of other Communist regimes without resort to nuclear warfare and direct involvement of major powers;

3. to appeal to the nations of the Free World to join us in protest against recent arrests, trials, and convictions of seventy Ukrainian writers, students, and intellectuals by the Soviet Russians in Ukraine for their expression and spirited defence of Ukrainian aspirations to cultural and political independence and for uncovering the colonial status of Ukraine;

4. to urge people of goodwill everywhere to use every means available to them to end persecution in Ukraine and other captive nations and to demand the release of those already arrested or sentenced.

How To Support Captive Nations In Their Struggle To Regain Independence And Freedom

a. On the 50th anniversary of the birth of the greatest contemporary slave-empire, to publish a "White book" on the nature,

goals, and methods of the Russian-Communist colonial empire, which keeps scores of nations imprisoned, and on the contin-

uous struggle of these imprisoned nations to regain independence and freedom.

b. In 1967, each member-nation of APACL should dedicate "*a week in honour of 50 years of liberation struggle*" of the nations enslaved within the Soviet Union, in its capital and in other major cities. An exhibition on this liberation struggle, lectures by prominent Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Turkestanian, Georgian, and other freedom-fighters, seminars, rallies by members of APACL in support of their liberation struggle, press and radio interviews with prominent leaders of the liberation movements, etc., should be a part of this week. The ABN should be asked to organize a travelling group on behalf of the peoples subjugated by Russian Communists for 50 years.

c. On the occasion of such a week, APACL members should be requested to establish "an international liberation fund" for the nations held captive by Communist Russian imperialists for 50 years.

d. Hold a seminar in each member-country (at universities and special institutes) on the history of Communist-Russian subjugation of nations in the Soviet Union and on the struggle of these nations to reestablish national independent states.

e. In March, 1967, in the national press of each member-country of APACL, publish articles on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the downfall of the Tsarist Russian empire and the outbreak of national revolutions of the enslaved peoples. In October-November, 1967, appropriate articles should appear on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the rise of the new Russian-Communist slave-empire.

f. Translate and publish in various Asian languages the works of Vasyl Symonenko, who died in 1963, having been persecuted by Russian colonialists, and who is probably the greatest contemporary poet of Ukraine, and of the other non-Russian enslaved nations; he pictured perfectly the whole slave system in all its phases existing now in the Soviet Union.

How To Urge Various International Anti-Communist Organizations To Establish An Effective World-Wide Centre To Combat Communism?

a. to publish a special booklet, illustrated and technically well prepared, explaining the aims of and reasons necessitating the establishment of a world-wide centre to combat Communism and Russian and Chinese Communist colonialism, showing that after 50 years Communism conquered one-third of the world, because it is a centralized world-wide movement based on the power of Russian and Chinese Communist imperialism, and therefore all the freedom-loving nations should organize a centre to coordinate their forces on a similar world-wide scale to be effective against the aggressor.

b. to prepare a series of articles expounding the goals and needs of such a world-wide movement and publish them with the assistance of friends in the press of all friendly countries, urging simultaneously

members and friends in every country to write articles on this subject for their own national press.

c. to hold on each continent a week-long seminar on the problem of establishing this world-wide movement, in which representatives of various political-social segments of every friendly country of the continent in question should participate. In this way the idea of a world-wide movement of freedom-loving nations for combating Communists and Russian and Chinese Communist imperialism will be widely diffused and popularized, as a step towards the convening of a world congress.

d. to initiate and hold panel discussions on television and in academic forums in every country in which there are Chapters or Friends of APACL, expounding the need of a world-wide anti-Communist centre.

BULGARIA — TWENTY-TWO YEARS UNDER COMMUNIST OPPRESSION



Twenty-two years ago, on September 9, 1944, the Russian Red Army occupied Bulgaria, and using force, against the wishes of the Bulgarian people, installed a Communist government at Sofia. Traditionally, the Bulgarian People have always rejected Communism, and therefore, the new Communist Government found no support of any kind among these people. In order to maintain themselves in their position of power, the Communist government has used fear and terror from the very first day. Tens of thousands of Bulgarian citizens of all classes and professions were sent to prison, concentration camps, or were murdered. Today, in Bulgaria, under Communist rule, every right and freedom of the people has been taken away. The Church is under Communist Control, and therefore there is no freedom of religion. All political parties have been abolished, and therefore there is no freedom of political opinion nor freedom of choice in the democratic electoral process. All farm lands have been expropriated from the ownership of the peasants, and these peasants are nothing more than slaves toiling for the State on government-owned farmlands. All factories and plants and business enterprises have also

been expropriated from the ownership of private citizens, and the workers, which are now classified as a Russianized proletariat, are forced to toil in the manner and place assigned by the government's Commissar, at a daily wage which is lower than the lowest hourly wage in America.

In spite of the Communist Government propaganda proclaiming economic success, the gross national production of Bulgaria today is far behind the production of the days before the Communist takeover, and the Bulgarian people are living in poverty and misery.

From the very first day of government under Communism, until today, the Bulgarian people have made endless sacrifices in their determination to regain their national freedom and sovereignty. Thousands have given up their lives in this fight against Communist tyranny.

Today, we are gathered here to pay our highest respect to these people, our heroes, who have made the ultimate and final sacrifice for the Bulgarian people and their freedom.

And, at the same time, we are here to declare that as Bulgarian emigrants in the Western world, we will continue to exert our best efforts and energies in support of our brothers and sisters in our homeland in their battle for liberation from Communist oppression.

It is the belief of all of us here that justice and truth will finally triumph, and that Bulgaria will, once again, become a free and democratic and independent country.

Statement made by Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of The Bulgarian National Front at the Memorial Service held in New York City on September 11, 1966, on the Anniversary of the Capture of Bulgaria by Russian invaders.

Prominent Intellectuals On Persecution Of Svitlychny And Dziuba

In the Free World the number of prominent individuals who are becoming concerned with the Soviet-Russian persecution of literary figures in Ukraine is rising. More and more, they speak out personally in condemnation of such totalitarian persecutions and the colonialist policies of the Russian Communist nation.

Both personally and in his capacity as President of the American association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the well-known American scholar of Ukrainian and East European history, John A. Armstrong, expressed his desire to be informed fully on the persecution of Dziuba and Svitlychny, in order to be in a position to take the proper action to increase the intellectual freedom and personal rights of Ukrainian artists.

The prominent Swedish personality, Prof. Dr. Birger Nerman, personally associated himself with the proposal to organise a mass campaign to collect signatures for a petition on behalf of defending Dziuba and Svitlychny. This petition would then be submitted to international institutions concerned with human and national rights.

It is reported from Denmark that a special article prepared by Jens Nielsen has been submitted to all Danish dailies, as well as to some Norwegian newspapers. The Danish PEN Club and the Danish Writers' Union are considering ways of protesting against persecution in Ukraine by the occupation regime. Press items and articles about the demonstration at the Shevchenko monument in Kyiv, which was called "demonstration of Ukrainian nationalism," appeared in various Danish newspapers.

From England it is reported that the noted historian, H. Seton-Watson, gladly associated himself with expressions of protest against the persecution of the artistic and literary activities of the subjugated Ukrainian people. In addition, Prof. Seton-Watson

personally assisted in initiating an international protest movement to this effect. Prof. Seton-Watson is of the opinion that Russian oppression of Ukrainian intellectuals should be given wide publicity in the West.

From Asia it is reported that the Republic of China condemned the persecution of Ukrainian literary critics. A strong protest was published in the periodical *Asian Outlook*, and the Chinese Chapter of the well known APACL expressed its deepest sympathy for the oppressed Ukrainians.

In Italy, indignation against the persecution of Dziuba and Svitlychny was expressed by such prominent persons as Minister Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Prof. Leo Magnino of the International Institute of Studies of Ethnic and Minority Problems (Rome). Prof. Leo Magnino made it clear that Russian imperialism was responsible for the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals.

In Sweden, the circles friendly to the Ukrainian anti-Russian liberation struggle are strong and popular. While mobilising public support for the persecuted Ukrainian literary critics, a campaign to revive historical memories of glorious Ukrainian-Swedish alliances has been initiated.

It is a noble act of sympathy with the enslaved but freedom-fighting Ukrainian nation. There are definite indications that in the Scandinavian countries the periodic expressions of good-will towards the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism may soon lead to the establishment of a permanent organisation to supply information, and offer supporting activities.

It must be noted that a pro-Ukrainian group is being created in Portugal. Interest in the Soviet Russian persecution of intellectuals, churches and arts in Ukraine is growing in Portugal, and is receiving widespread support. An article by Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of

Ukraine, entitled "Principles of rebirth of humanity", will soon be published in Lisbon. Such personalities as the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Goncalves de Praensa, Dr. Lino Netto, a prominent in-

tellectual, and others have become interested in the Ukrainian liberation struggle. Slowly but surely, the Ukrainian national liberation struggle is receiving a favourable hearing in the Free World. A.W.B.

AF-ABN CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK IN NEW YORK

According to Public Law, the third week in July of each year is designated as Captive Nations Week in the United States of America.

This year, the AF-ABN took the initiative, and established a Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of the Executive Board of AF-ABN, to organize the events of the Week.

For the first time, native-born Americans joined us in our efforts. They established a Special Citizens' Committee, under the

A solemn High Mass was held in St. Patrick's Cathedral at 10:00 AM, at which Rev. Morton A. Hill, S. J., delivered a sermon in behalf of all the Captive Nations including both the satellites and the nations within the U.S.S.R., mentioning all of these nations separately by name, for the first time.

On July 22, at the Hotel Commodore, one of the largest first-class hotels in New York City, the AF-ABN held an official Reception and Mass Meeting in the Windsor Ballroom.

The Ballroom was decorated with the national flags of all participating nations, and every one of these nations was represented on the Speakers' Platform.

The meeting was opened by Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of the AF-ABN. The National Anthem of the United States was performed by the Estonian professor of music, Miss F. Tanner, who accompanied the soloist, Miss Evelyn Graham Miller.

The Master of Ceremonies was Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Secretary-General of the AF-ABN.

Mrs. Stephanie Myshchychyn (Ukraine) read the two Proclamations by President Lyndon Johnson and Governor Nelson Rockefeller, issued especially in recognition of Captive Nations Week.

The Guest Speakers for the occasion included former Congressman Hamilton Fish, Congressman Hugh L. Carey, Honorable Judge Matthew J. Troy, and Professor Dr. S. Halamaj.

A special Resolution was read by Mr. Theodore P. Jennings, and adopted by acclamation. The Resolution requested the President of the United States to take special action in the direction of freeing all the Captive Nations under enslavement of World Communism.

chairmanship of Honorable Judge Matthew J. Troy and his Secretary, Theodore P. Jennings, President of the Christian Youth Corps.

On Sunday, July 17, a Grand Parade on Fifth Avenue in New York City was organized which took place between St. Patrick's Cathedral and the United Nations.

Heading the Parade, for the first time, was a contingent of American Legionnaires in uniform and bearing their flags.

Representative groups of all the nationalities represented in the membership of the AF-ABN with their flags and banners were also present.



South Vietnam Fighting For Peace

At a time when the whole world is anxiously watching the situation in Vietnam, where the Vietnamese people, at the cost of so much suffering and self-sacrifice are fighting relentlessly in defence of their freedom and independence, it is vital that one should fully understand the truth about the current hostilities and the present situation in Vietnam. To do this it is necessary to go back to the 1954 Geneva Agreement, the 12th anniversary of which fell this month, and study the events that have taken place since.

But what exactly was this Agreement? It was simply a military accord called Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam. It was signed on July 21st against the will of the Vietnamese people by the representatives of the Commanders-in-Chief of the French Armed Forces in Indo-China and the People's Army of Vietnam (North Vietnam's Communist Army). The Government of Vietnam was neither a party to the Agreement nor did it join in the Final Declaration.

Its main provisions, which divided Vietnam into two zones at the 17th Parallel of latitude, obliged the authorities in each zone to effect within a specified period the complete withdrawal of their armed forces, their trained agents, their arms and munitions. At the same time, one zone was forbidden from initiating any hostile act against the other or from becoming involved in its internal affairs.

Those undertakings have never been fulfilled by the Communist Authorities of North Vietnam. Instead of re-grouping their forces north of the 17th Parallel, they retained armed elements, trained agents, arms caches and munitions in the South. Moreover, during the re-grouping period, they carried thousands of young South Vietnamese by force to North Vietnam. These were to be trained and schooled

in the art of guerilla tactics and subversive propaganda and later sent back to their home villages.

The Communist agents remaining in South Vietnam resumed their hostile activities against the legal government from the very moment the re-grouping period finished, some three months after the Geneva Agreement was signed. The year 1959 saw the start of the new phase of armed subversion. By the end 1959, the authorities in Hanoi had completed their preparations for subversive and military action in the South on a vastly increased scale.

On September 4, 1960 the Communist LAO DONG Party passed a resolution during its Third Congress to "liberate" the South by overthrowing the legally constituted authorities in that zone by any means and to install there a regime similar to the one already in power in the North. The "Front for the Liberation of the South" was set up on December 22, 1960 to give the appearance of an indigenous uprising against the regime and for freedom from foreign (i.e. American) domination. In fact, there were at that time only a few hundred American advisers in South Vietnam.

Day after day, growing quantities of arms and munitions and increasingly important armed elements and trained agents pour across South Vietnam's frontiers by land and by sea. Communist military operations have evolved progressively from the guerilla-type to open warfare with the appearance on the battlefield of entire North Vietnamese Regular Army Units, equipped with considerable fire power and abundant modern arms of all kinds including anti-aircraft and heavy artillery.

The Communist aggression against the Republic of Vietnam is a known and demonstrated fact. One needs only to recall here the severe verdict of the Inter-

national Control Commission in this respect.

In its Special Report, dated June 2, 1962, to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, the Legal Committee of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam stated:

“Armed and unarmed personnel, arms, munitions and other supplies have been sent from the Zone in the North to the Zone in the South with the object of supporting, organising and carrying out hostile activities, including armed attacks, directed against the South. These acts are in violation of Articles 10, 19, 24 and 27 of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam.”

“. . . There is evidence to show that the PAVN has allowed the Zone in the North to be used for inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in the Zone in the South, aimed at the overthrow of the Administration in the South. The use of the Zone in the North for such activities is in violation of Articles 19, 24, and 27 of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam.”

As for the so-called “Front for Liberation of the South,” the Legal Committee concluded:

“The aim and function of the Front for Liberation of the South, and the Forces for Liberation of the South and the People’s Self-Defence Armed Forces are to organise and to carry out *under the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party*, (Communist Party of North Vietnam) hostile activities against the Armed Forces and the Administration of the South by violent means aimed at the overthrow of the Administration of the South.”

Thus it has been established beyond question that the Communist regime in Hanoi must bear the entire responsibility for the resumption of hostilities and the present state of war in Vietnam. It has also been clearly established that the so-called “Front of Liberation of the South”

is nothing but an instrument of aggression entirely in the hands of the Communist Party in North Vietnam. The objective report of the International Control Commission was not to the Communists’ liking. In March 1965 therefore, the Hanoi regime requested the International Control Commission to withdraw all its teams from North Vietnam. Thus the North Vietnamese Government removed the last independent observer from their territory with contemptuous disregard for the Agreement which they themselves had signed. However, some people of either good or bad faith ignore these glaring truths.

They denounce “American aggression,” protest against the bombing of North Vietnam and demand the withdrawal of the friendly troops who have come to the rescue of South Vietnam.

But the infiltration of war material and Regular Communist Armed forces from North to South Vietnam, the countless crimes committed by the terrorists against the civilian population of the South, and the servile obedience of the so-called “Front of Liberation of the South” to the Communist Party of Hanoi are discreetly veiled or deliberately ignored.

The people of South Vietnam are fighting to defend themselves, so that others will not have to suffer a similar fate in the future. They are fighting to discourage the aggressor, to save the world from even further aggression. They are fighting for peace. It is only for peace and future peace, that South Vietnam withstands the war.

The patience and concern of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam to avoid extending the conflict is well illustrated by the fact that the war was waged solely on South Vietnamese soil until early in 1965, even though it is North Vietnam which organises, directs, and foments the subversion and armed attacks against the South. The National Army was restricted to a purely defensive role.

The Government of the Republic of

Vietnam having on several occasions, turned in vain to the Governments of every country in the world as well as to the United Nations, to exert their influence on North Vietnam to stop its aggression, then felt obliged to request special help from the United States of America in order to ensure its own defence. It was in answer to this request that the United States decided in 1961, to supply arms to equip the National Vietnamese Army and to add to the number of military advisers.

Despite the assistance which South Vietnam was receiving from other countries of the free world, the situation in South Vietnam became more serious daily. The passive defence measures which had been applied for five years no longer sufficed to halt the aggression and South Vietnam was approaching the brink of disaster.

For that reason, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam finally decided in February, 1965, i. e. after five years of war, to request military support from the United States of America and other friendly countries, and for the bombing of North Vietnamese territory, which had hitherto remained untouched. These bombing raids are not, however, to be attributed to a desire on the part of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam to extend the conflict.

The bombing of military targets in North Vietnam aims to prepare the way for a peaceful solution to the conflict and not for extending the war. It is clearly justified, necessary and indeed strategically inevitable. How can South Vietnam be denied its right of self-defence and be expected to abide by the Geneva Agreement to which it was not a signatory, limiting its reactions to the provisions of that Agreement, while North Vietnam deliberately violates those provisions, carries the war to South Vietnam, and for twelve years now has directed and sustained it without interruption?

If, by its inaction, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam were to permit the Communist imperialists to take away the lives, liberty and independence of a

peaceful people, and still go unpunished, it would be failing in its duty towards the people in the South (among them a million refugees who abandoned their homes in the North to seek freedom in the South) and towards the community of free peoples.

The most eloquent proof of South Vietnam's sincere desire for peace is illustrated by the policy of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam which, whilst making unbelievable sacrifices in carrying out the struggle against Communist aggression, still tries to build for the population a regime of freedom and democracy and a better life worthy of a civilised people.

On the military level, the National Army has completely crushed the mad hope of the Communists to conquer the South by force of arms.

On the social level, nearly 4,000 new life hamlets have been built and strengthened and their surrounding areas pacified, thus giving protection and security to nearly 6 million people in the countryside. The pacification and rural reconstruction campaign is being carried out at an encouraging pace.

On the political level, the Military Directorate has been enlarged to include ten civilian members representing all the nationalist trends and the Council of the People and the Armed Forces have been set up to assist the Head of Government. A free and democratic election for a Constituent Assembly of 108 deputies will be held on September 11, 1966 to meet the aspirations of the people. The United Nations have been invited to supervise the election.

All these efforts and achievements are aimed towards peace.

It is now twelve years since the signing of the Geneva Agreement yet hostilities have never ceased in South Vietnam. Thousands of men died and thousands more are suffering as a result of this atrocious war which has been imposed on the people of South Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are peaceful at heart. They love peace and earnestly desire peace but

more than anything they jealously guard their independence and liberty.

The Communists of North Vietnam, who hypocritically proclaim their love of peace, have never wanted peace. They systematically and impertinently refuse to answer the most moving appeals and sincere attempts to bring about peace whether from non-aligned countries or from His Holiness The Pope. It therefore lies with the Communists to bring an end to the war and restore peace.

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam has outlined four points for achieving a just and lasting settlement: end of aggression by North Vietnam; self-

determination for South Vietnam; recourse to friendly assistance in case of renewed aggression; effective guarantee for the independence and freedom of the people of South Vietnam.

But, in order to discuss peace proposals there must be both sides. If, on their side the Communists of North Vietnam share a real desire for peace, they should answer world appeals for peace and stop aggression against the Republic of Vietnam, so that the whole population may devote itself to the rebuilding of the country both in the North as well as in the South. Then peace, a real peace, will return, much to the happiness not only of the Vietnamese people but also of the whole world.

Message To U.S. President

The 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League:

Recognizing that a few appeasement advocates in the United States are carrying on campaigns against aid to South Vietnam and calling for increased contacts with the Chinese Communist regime, thus jeopardizing President Lyndon B. Johnson's firm policies toward Vietnam and China;

Considering that although the Vietnam situation is taking a turn for the better, the war will drag on indefinitely if the United States fails to take more positive action, and that the fanatical "great cultural revolution" and "Red Guard" movement on the Chinese Mainland and the war preparations of the Red Chinese are directed against the United States;

Confident that the Chinese Communist regime's external and internal crises are becoming more and more serious, and its foundations weaker and weaker, and that this is the opportune moment for the United States to support Asian anti-Communist countries in dealing blows to Peking in order to eliminate the root of calamities in Asia and the world;

Resolves:

To send the following message to U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson urging him to

adopt a more positive and resolute Asian policy:

"The chief delegates of all member units of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the chief observers attending the 12th APACL Conference in Seoul have unanimously resolved to send Your Excellency this cable.

"On behalf of the peoples of Asia and other areas, we express to you our highest respect and firm support for your firm Vietnam policy. We praise and commend your efforts for an honorable peace in Vietnam expressed in your attendance at the Manila Conference which was successfully concluded after declaring the goals of Freedom and the Principles for Peace and Progress in the Asian and Pacific Region. We also call your attention to the fact that our peoples are resisting Communist aggression in order to safeguard world peace and Asia's security.

"The Chinese Communists are instigating the Viet Cong to reject peace negotiations. At the same time, they are launching the so-called 'great cultural revolution' and the 'Red Guard' movement on the Chinese mainland so as to prepare for external expansion and war against the United States. They have sought to aggravate race riots in the United States and thereby to create

turmoil and paralyze your government. These actions have endangered the freedom and security of Asia and posed a direct threat to American security. In the light of these facts, we earnestly urge that as the leader of the free world, you will soon adopt a more positive and resolute policy toward Asia, win early victory in Vietnam, and bring about the establishment of an Asian anti-Communist alliance that can combat Communist aggression with the strong support of your government.

"We are completely in accord with your sagacious statement that 'a peaceful China is central to peace in Asia'. However, as

Asians and understanding the minds of Asians, we are of the view that as long as the Chinese Communist regime continues to exist on the mainland, there is no possibility of a peaceful Vietnam, a peaceful China, a peaceful Asia or a peaceful world. To prevent further catastrophes to mankind and restore lasting peace to Asia and the world, we urge the United States to take advantage of the turmoil on the Chinese mainland and the internal and external crises of the Peking regime, to support the Asian anti-Communist countries fully, and to adopt new and firmer policies and actions toward the Chinese Red regime.



ABN delegates to the 12th APACL Conference from left to right; I. Mykyta, Ukrainian Youth Association, Australia; Slava Stetsko, Europe; Rama Swarup, India; Yaroslav Stetsko; A. Olechnik, Byelorussian Liberation Front, Australia.

Pius XII, Christmas, 1954: "Now it is clear that simple coexistence does not deserve the name of peace to which Christian tradition, formed in the school of the lofty intellects of Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, has come to apply the definition 'tranquility of order.' . . . It has about it nothing of true 'order', which presupposes a series of relationships converging towards a common purpose that is right and just."

Communism Must Be Fought Not Merely Contained

by Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, Chairman Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, Chairman Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade

The Vietnam war, the apparent (or not) Sino-Russian rift, and recent trends and attitudes developing in certain quarters in the United States relating both to that war or to that rift, undoubtedly call for earnest appraisal and deserve careful analysis. This because the international Communist situation is likely to worsen quite a lot if an exact evaluation — in keeping with reason, logic and fact — of the three above mentioned aspects does not lead to prompt and fitting measures.

The Vietnam guerillas, badly conducted by the United States, are casting ominous reflexes over the people of that great American Democracy.

Repercussions felt there from the South-east Asian disquieting events are shaking, to a certain extent, basic elementary tenets such as temper, determination and even patriotism; are acting in a double-way fashion, *on the one hand* pushing cowards and weakminded persons to lean towards *ap-peasement*, or even *capitulation*, and, *on the other hand*, undermining the strong ones, weakening their stamina and will-power . . . In other words, demoralization is permeating the national ambitions. It is well known that fatigue and discouragement of the good-ones breed conditions favourable to the success and victory of the bad-ones, whenever the bad-ones are stubborn and persistent, as are the scoundrels belonging to the fanatic and ruthless Communist hordes.

In its turn, and from another angle, the rift (real or merely apparent) between Russia and Communist China is spreading confusion, purposely or not, on the Free World, meaning the World not ravaged by Communism; and those two countries are drawing advantages from that state of affairs, with the result that the anti-Communist struggle that should be waged by all

freedom-loving nations, led by the United States, is being jeopardised and is lacking in efficiency.

In what concerns the two main focal areas of International Communism, Russia and Mainland China, one hears lately in most responsible quarters either of “ap-peasement” or, at most, of “containing” (simply containing . . .) the bastards in their global onslaught aiming at dominating the Earth.

It seems to me that the Democracies are being fooled outright!

How could I think otherwise? Ever since I started fighting Communism, way back in 1935, on the occasion of a subversive “*putsch*” in my own country, I have tried very hard to convince people that only by using drastic, forceful and violent methods, we may succeed in subduing and conquering Communism.

Steadfastly have I disapproved of unrealistic recommendations, and fanciful ideas, proposed and discussed at various anti-Communist Conferences and Congresses I have had the honour to attend, such as those held in Europe (Frankfurt, Munich, Rome and Malta), in Latin-America (Mexico, Brazil, Perú and Guatemala), and in Asia (Taipei and Tokyo).

To my mind, all Drafts and Resolutions so far advanced at the anti-Communist parleys just mentioned fall in the category of “wishful thinking”, suiting neither the urgency of the case, nor the nature of the threat confronting us. I have always contended that *sheer force* is the sole language Marxists understand, and that *sheer force* should be applied whenever and wherever the impact of the cruel and enslaving Communist plague is felt.

Let me remind, as a single example of my consistent belief in the bed-rock ideas just put forth, the *Joint Statement* drawn

up and issued by the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" and the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" (of which I have been the Chairman since its inception), where it is plainly written: — "The main objective is to stamp out Communism, to rid the world of the Marxist plague. That implies — 1st, to liberate the peoples enslaved by Communists wherever that may be, in Europe and Asia; 2nd, to preserve the free peoples from being in the future enslaved by Communists".

That occurred in October 1957. Well, I still think the same way, even more so! Let us do our best to stamp out Communism, and not continue blundering on "coexisting" with it and "appeasing" it.

We should use quick, fast, resolute and drastic methods in dealing with the Soviet-Russians and with their Red-Chinese criminals.

In spite of the proven (but not generally acknowledged . . .) fact that Communism is a cruel and tyrannical regime of servitude and oppression, that it is an unacceptable and foul, hideous, *philosophy of life*; the truth is, nonetheless, that its formidable inroad and encroachment all over the World is based on the assumption that it may cure all the ills of mankind . . .

That ills exist, there is no denying, such as wide-spread suffering, hard-living conditions in many free nations, economic stresses and hardships, social injustices, and so forth. It isn't by any means easy to correct or wipe out these adverse predicaments, but Democracies have the power to do it, Communism has not. I am firmly convinced that the Free World must fight sooner or later for its own sake. As Abraham Lincoln once said: — "a house divided against itself cannot stand; it cannot endure half slave and half free".

So, the sooner that fight comes the better, so that it may be easier to win. Let us put an end to the policy of "appeasement", weakness and surrender. Let us abandon the defensive attitude towards Russian and Chinese Communists.

Let us quit the shameful and lenient mood which has served the Reds so well, right along, and which has brought to us such dire disasters.

Let us quit "co-existing" with the rascals!

Notwithstanding, to my utter dismay, I notice leniency and lack of determination brewing mostly everywhere, among Governments, leaders and responsible politicians. Mr. Spaak, of Belgium, dared to say: — "We are forced to accept the offer of pacific co-existence, and even with a certain satisfaction. Pacific co-existence is better than any war, whatever it may be." (sic)

Poor Lord Bertrand Russell, who has shown lately a very unbalanced mind, went even further and coined the despicable and nauseous phrase: — "Better Red than dead!" In France, President De Gaulle is bent on delivering telling blows to the Democracies' fight against Communism. Forgetting entirely that his country owes her liberation from the Nazi yoke mostly to the Americans, some twenty odd-years ago. Now he wants all American armed-forces expelled from France, and that in a hurry. . . He also tries to damage NATO, recognizes Communist China, closes Free China's Embassy and Consulate in Paris, assails Britain and makes all kinds of friendly gestures towards Bolshevik Russia! Wildly fancying that he may bring France back to the 154 years' old glorious Napoleonic days.

And what about the United States? In the great bastion of Democracy, virulent ideas of "appeasement" and "containment" are rampant . . .

Ever since 1963 a demoralising campaign has been on the increase. The "American Bar Association" published, in June of that year, a certain *Syllabus* of 260 pages, destined to be a guide-book for training high-school teachers in the basic contrasts between Democracy and Communism; — inaccurate, controversial, and giving a very misleading picture of Communism.

The *Syllabus* endorses the tenets of the Rostov Report, especially the following three: — “that victory of America over Communism should not be sought; that no encouragement to the captive peoples to revolt against their oppressors should be given; and that we should look forward to a gradual convergence of the United States and Soviet systems”.

But there is much more in the *Syllabus*, believe it or not . . . It approves of Mr. George Kennan’s three fallacies: — containment, acceptance of the Communist threat as a permanent condition, and the advocacy of a “realist” instead of a “moral” foreign policy!!

Subversive doctrinal proselytism favorable to Communism is even carried out in religious orders. Father Cronin, for instance, in a 80 pages pamphlet entitled “Communism”, gives false, captious and misleading information concerning the danger Marxism represents to the nation.

He says that no such danger exists . . . Be it said that not only in the United States, but in many other countries, priests and religious people freely indulge in Communist propaganda, especially, in Latin-American nations: the so-called “progressive Catholics”.

Is it surprising, may I ask, according to what stands above, that so many people in the United States are against military intervention destined to maintain Vietnam’s independence and to keep that country from falling into Marxist hands?

Let me consider, now, more specifically, the Vietnam war and the reactions against it in certain American quarters.

It has been dragging on for a few years and is getting worse and worse. I was in Saigon in October 1962, and the situation seemed bad to me; it is far worse now. Curiously enough, *Cold War* as carried on by International Communism frequently gets *Hot*, sometimes *Very Hot*. Vietnam is an instance; Korea in 1950 another. South Vietnam has been steadily attacked by Red North Vietnam, the latter receiving plentiful moral, material and finan-

cial help from Communist China and Russia. American Foreign Policy, always lacking insight, cleverness and strength in its dealings with International Communism, wanting really strong leadership, and, moreover, pervaded throughout by “appeasement” and “co-existence”, was responsible for engaging the nation in a *limited war* (with all the drawbacks of a limited war), with the consequence that considerable restraint was put on all warlike operations, strategic and tactical, of the Navy, Army and Air Force. The Pentagon, or more precisely the Secretary for Defence, blundered a lot . . . Forced by the circumstances the United States is pouring more and more troops into Southeast Asia, on a wasteful and wearing war of attrition.

Demoralising, in particular, has been the warlike actions undertaken by the Air Force, because the average American does not understand how is it possible that 200, 250, 330 sorties a day, representing the dropping of hundreds of tons of bombs on Vietnam soil, do not bring about substantial results!

In fact, the same occurred in the Korean War, where, in spite of complete air control, attacks from the air didn’t avail to much, nor bring tangible dividends, making it finally necessary for the Navy to land “marines” in Inchon to cut the enemy’s rear. Both in Korea and in Vietnam special “sanctuaries” were afforded the enemy! Hanoi, fanatic Ho-Chi-Minh’s headquarters in North Vietnam was one of them, Mainland China’s border was another; Laos and Cambodia’s likewise. But besides *sanctuaries* hampering military operations in Vietnam, there are others, elsewhere, of a different character, though equally dangerous for the Democracies. Restricting myself to the United States, here are a few others: — the Soviet Embassy in Washington, used by the Reds as the headquarters of subversion, espionage and propaganda; the United Nations Organisation, with headquarters in New York, which really is the sounding board for disseminating Moscow’s messages and

propaganda; the Soviet Consulates, in the biggest cities; and the College and University campus platforms, over one hundred in number, where Communist leaders enjoy the privilege to attack anti-Communists.

In what concerns the UNO, it should not be forgotten that the *number two* position in it, the office of Secretary of Political and Security Council Affairs, has always been held by a Communist, numbering *seven* up to now! Here are their names: — Kiselev, Sobolev, Zinchenko, Ilya, Protitch, Dobrynin and Petrovitch. A secret agreement signed by Stetinius (advised by the traitor Alger Hiss) and Molotov was responsible for that.

The real fact is that appeasement, co-existence, propaganda, wrong policies, and so forth, lead the Free World to stagger at the following picture: — “the strongest military Power on Earth is bogged down in an endless guerrilla warfare developing through jungles, marshes, swamps and monsoons . . . Americans are dying by the thousands, being traded for slave-driven Communist puppets.”

The adverse conditions prevailing in Vietnam serve perfectly well the purposes of the Communist propaganda in the United States, aiming at lowering the peoples morale and at abating and lessening their will to win the guerrilla war!

Students, as always, are the chosen targets, as they are easily snared by the clever Marxist agents. “End the dirty war in Vietnam” is the theme, the watchword, the rallying cry. “Peace marches” are arranged everywhere. Student marches have been held at Harvard, Yale, Rutgers, Brandeis, Michigan, Minnesota, Oberlin, Portland and San Francisco.

Delegations are organised and sent to Washington to present the “voice of the people” to President Johnson and to the Pentagon. Literature condemning “American Aggression” in Vietnam is being distributed to schools, universities, churches, business places, and factories. Photographs of alleged “American atrocities” are also being circulated by the Communist press.

The Du Bois Clubs of America, the well-known dangerous youth front, are extremely active. A year ago, 2000 students of the University of California’s Berkeley campus staged two wild “get-out-of-Vietnam” demonstrations in San Francisco, after listening to Communist agents belonging to the Du Bois Clubs.

Communist students sit down at the factory gates with posters saying: — “Refuse to work in military industries”; others tear up conscription certificates. Pamphlets entitled “The national teach-in on the Vietnam War” are issued to guide and inspire anti-Vietnam agitators.

Hence the undercurrent of “appeasement” in the United States, is extremely dangerous, as it might confuse public opinion on that important issue and lead the Government to change its policy and withdraw from Vietnam, thus opening the whole of Southeast Asia to Communist invasion; which would mean jeopardising the security of Asia and, for that matter, the safety of the Free World. The war in Vietnam must be won, at whatever price, through positive and effective measures, including telling blows to the Peking regime, which is the main source of all trouble in Asia.

Now let me tackle, though only on its very broad lines, the so-called Sino-Russian feud. Is it real, is it fake, or does the truth lie midway between? In my judgement the truth is found midway between, but the conflict never will impel Chinese and Russian Communists into abandoning their objective of world domination. The truth partakes of both *ideological* and *factual* contingencies. In other words, it stands between the right to win the leadership of the International Communist Movement, on the one hand, and the necessity to expand territorially, on the other.

Let us take a look at the *Ideological* aspect. — Peking is striving to advance towards orthodox Communism at a much quicker pace than Russia. Heeding to Marx’s advice, viz. that it would be necessary to go step by step in order to reach Communism, Russia believed that feudal-

ism, capitalism, socialism and finally the "classless society" called Communism should be followed in succession; even though Lenin in fact acted otherwise, jumping from Czarist feudalism to socialism in 1917. But Mao Tse-tung was much bolder and tried a "big-leap-forward" from feudalism into Communism! That "big-leap" was a failure, due to the utter collapse of the "popular communes"; but, nevertheless, the fanatic Chinese keep on believing that they outdid the Russians to a great extent . . .

But there is more to be said concerning ideology and doctrine.

The internal situation in Communist China is very bad, specially in what concerns feeding the hungry masses, maladministration, diplomatic isolation and the loss of Russian military and economic aid. Disputes on conflicting ideologies, dogmatism and revisionism erupted even within the Chinese Communist Party. On one side the philosophy of combining "two into one" is being advocated, and on the other, Mao's philosophy of "dividing one into two".

Pressed on all sides, Mao's regime, in desperation, appeals to an all-out-war of the Communist Bloc against the Democratic World. Atomic devastation does not worry the Chinese, as they say: — if one half of the 700 million Chinese are killed, the other half will survive to begin again the building of Communism, and spread the doctrine everywhere. Theirs is the policy of violent revolution. Moscow thinks differently and plans to win world domination using less violent means. *Cold war* and *co-existence* are paying the Kremlin high dividends — why then change the procedure?

Now let us consider the *Expansionist* aspect. — Red China has 700 million people and expects to have 1 billion by 1980. How to feed that huge crowd? — Only expanding towards the Siberian fertile lands. China doesn't want to abide by the treaties signed with Czarist Russia in 1858 and 1860, and claims the right to own vast regions in Siberia, including

Vladivostok. On the other hand, Russia is trying hard to sever from China the uranium-rich Province of Sinkiang. Moscow does its best, too, to separate Outer Mongolia from Red China.

Regardless of what has been said, we should not rejoice about any Sino-Russian split. Communism is only *one*, the *oneness* of Marxism is a proven fact.

Moscow may "mellow" for a while, and Peking may "harden" as it does now, but both have one single goal: — to communize the World!

Suffice it to say what the Peking Review published recently: — "The temporary difficulties between China and the Soviet Union and between the two Parties are, after all, only a historical episode and can be gradually resolved. Let us unite still more closely under the banner of the October Revolution!" Also what was printed in the World Marxist Review: — "There is no doubt that the differences in the Communist movement will be overcome and that, as always, it will emerge from the struggle stronger than before".

No doubt the existing conflict, though controversial as I tried to explain, gives the Free World opportunity not only to fan up the flames of discontent among Chinese and Russians, but to draw very substantial advantages from it. Wrong appraisal of the situation has so far prevented the short-sighted Democracies, specially the United States, from adopting a decisive policy. They hesitate between two silly procedures: — either making friends with Russia to check Communist China, or making friends with Communist China to thwart Russia!! All the while, mistaken policies are affording Chinese and Russian Communists ways and means for expanding their spheres of interest. I repeat what I said in the beginning: "The Democracies are being fooled outright". *Communism must be fought, not appeased or merely contained!!*

The Russian Empire of every color must be disintegrated into the national democratic independent states of all the subjugated nations!

Patriae Inserviendo Consumor

(In memoriam — Niko Prince Nakashidze)



On the death of a beloved person, we seem to find some consolation in the belief that the pain over our loss must diminish with time. Even if it appears incomprehensible to us at the moment, we know that later — after months and years — we will no longer think of the death of the Prince, of the fact that he is no longer among us, with the same intensity of sorrow. All feelings which are rooted in the past, fade like flowers — sooner or later.

Nonetheless, to all who have known, respected and loved Prince Nakashidze, one feeling will ever remain — his memory. It is for us to preserve and appraise the meaning of this memory. — It is always a privilege to be able to live and work with great men, and at the same time, it is a duty, like all great privileges.

Today, a few months after his death, it seems to us inconceivable that the Prince will not come through the door like every other day: his tall, upright figure, which had so much that was aristocratic in attitude and gesture. His dark, bold, hawk-like eyes will never again smile, sparkle or gaze seriously at us. His thrilling laughter, his delightful cheerfulness will never please us again.

What wonderful stories the Prince could tell! The happy years of his childhood and youth in Georgia with all their serious and amusing episodes: in the circle of the great families of the Georgian nobles, the beauty of Georgia with its vinefields, its tea and citrous plantations and the Georgian people — all this he depicted so vividly and graphically that one saw it before one's eyes. In addition to a native talent for narration, the Prince had a talent for acting and a wide range of expressions which gave just the right life to his narratives.

In all his words could be heard the overflowing love of his people and fatherland and also a great sorrow that those happy days, and with them his beloved people, were lost, never to be brought back.

But the Prince was not one to give way to resignation. He was never unfaithful to the goal of his life, the dream of his existence — the liberation of Georgia from the foreign yoke. Since his earliest youth, he had fought for this aim, recklessly and passionately, at first in his own land and later, for more than forty years, in exile. He always regarded his life as a task to be carried out, and he was later able to perform this task at all times. He never experienced the freedom of his people, of his native land, and yet all his struggles have not been in vain. His life was not easy, but nevertheless it was not a life of forlorn

hope. He was acquainted with hours of despondency, of hopelessness, when he would wonder — why?, for what reason? In the last years of his life he knew with certainty that he would never see Georgia again. Over this inner strife, this conflict, in which he well recognised the aim of his life, but had to admit to himself that he had not come visibly nearer to this goal in over sixty years, — over these struggles he always emerged victor. "Control over the minute is control over life".

Prince Nakashidze felt that he had obligations not only to his people, but also in equal measure to the long line of ancestors in his family, who had brought him forth. Only a family which prizes tried traditions has a claim to respect within the nobility: it could claim the leadership of the people, if it were willing and able to serve the general interest. "I consumed myself in the service of the fatherland" — this motto, which Prince Bismarck wrote over his life, is also true of the life of Prince Nakashidze.

He was firmly convinced that one day — perhaps a very far distant day — the sun of freedom would rise for his people and fatherland. He possessed great confidence in the goodness of human beings and in his own personal fate, never worrying much about the future, which often appeared very dark before him. Confidence is courage — faith is strength, and only those who exercise goodness believe in it.

Prince Niko was one of the most human of men ever met with in life and for this reason, lovable. He had his virtues and weaknesses, his beliefs and his memories, his dreams and hopes, disappointments and pain. He knew love and hate, anger and sorrow, laughter and tears. Nothing that was human was foreign to him — everything human was to be found in him.

His absolute incorruptibility, his honourableness, and purity of mind made him a yardstick for these values. He had a sharply marked sense of justice and a large heart. If he heard that anyone was suffering from a wrong, he could boil with rage and was no less affected by the misfortunes of others than by his own unhappy fate. He was completely free from any falseness, from dissimulation, and also free from hypocritical amiability. He never went to much trouble — he told everyone the truth straight to his face, a characteristic which not everyone valued. What he said he meant, and this gave everyone the feeling of safety in his company. He was never diplomatic — much more a knight with his visor open.

He, generosity and liberality itself, detested everything small and petty. There was nothing more repulsive to him, than mercenariness, faint-heartedness and empty casuistry. He could be extremely proud and at the same time almost movingly modest. Any help or support hesitantly offered, behind which he could perhaps detect sympathy, was brusquely refused. If you wanted to give him pleasure, you had always to outwit him somehow or other and move so skilfully that it seemed as if he was in this way giving you the pleasure — and so it was in fact always.

Everything which makes up real kindness was possessed by Prince Niko to a high degree — great warmth of heart, easy manners, wit, respect for what was serious and understanding for what was amusing.

His brilliant intelligence, his enormous knowledge, above all his what might be called almost universal historical and political knowledge, fascinated again and again even people who had known him for a long time. He never made any claims which he could not scientifically prove beyond dispute.

Prince Nakashidze is dead. We have lost a friend, who cannot be replaced. A German poet wrote: "Our life is only as rich as the well-used opportunities we have taken to be near excellent people". The Prince was one of these people, who have enriched our lives. We thank him for this. The Prince's life is over — the work of this great and gallant life is incomplete. The noble object, to which Prince Nakashidze devoted his life, will continue in us.

*"His belief was belief in divine right,
His sacrifice gave light to generation upon generation,
His work is completed — in God's name — ,
His death remains holy in eternity. Amen."*

From Letters To ABN:

Upon the request of Professor A. Vööbus, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, Member of *l'Académie Internationale Libre des Sciences et des Lettres*, we are publishing excerpts of his memorandum to His Holiness Pope Paul VI.

"Unutterable is my grief over the fact that, having the opportunity to address the UN, you (His Holiness — Editor) did not raise the most natural question that comes from a Christian heart: why have so many nations been left in enslavement and why are they not represented at the UN? Why has the voice of all these victims been ignored?

"There is something else which causes me unutterable pain. On this side of the Atlantic there is no scarcity of those who shout 'peace, peace', 'no more war'. Who among decent human beings would not prefer peace? But the situation is not that simple. In the first place, the bloodiest aggressors want peace too, to keep their victims in submission and grab new ones, as they are doing in Vietnam and elsewhere, until finally the rest of the free world, having become morally confused and irresolute, falls into their hands. This is why the Communist *Worker* (No. 67, Oct. 10, 1965) greeted your message with jubilation. This state of affairs must be a serious concern for Christians. Furthermore it is alarming that in the West there are so many who want peace for themselves at the expense of

the sufferings and sacrifices of others. Our so-called peace is paid for at the expense of the sufferings and sacrifices of others. Our so-called peace is paid for by the anguish, torture and blood of millions of innocent human beings. This, too, must be a serious concern for Christians. This attitude is immoral. It is the very source of the catastrophes which have befallen us.

"What is desperately needed is an awakening and strengthening of the moral forces in the world, particularly at a time when we are faced by an unparalleled loss of ethical concern and an incredible callousness towards the enslaved, suffering and tortured. It is appalling to see how compassion, the distinguishing mark between human beings and animals, is being eroded away, and to observe how free men in ecclesiastical, educational and academic circles have let themselves be used in the service of the blood-stained Red Empire. What is desperately needed in this catastrophic situation is a Christian stand which is worthy of men who believe in God, and musters the courage to strike the very conscience of free men with the rebuke: 'Cain, where is your brother?'"

"Such a message would have been appropriate in a land which is now in difficult circumstances, as it is making very costly efforts to help the victims of Red attacks in Vietnam".

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

2. War against nations formerly subjugated by the tsars

Immediately after seizing power in Russia, the Bolsheviks were ordered by Lenin to take action against the nations which were previously under tsarist oppression. This war was a true international war between the Russians on one side and all the nations which had regained their independence on the other. Zinoviev, a close associate of Lenin aptly described the national character of this war:

The war is becoming national. Not only the advanced sections of the peasant population but even the wealthy peasants are hostile to the advance of the Polish land owners . . . We Communists must be at the head of this national movement, which will gain the support of the entire population and which daily grows stronger. (31)

The war, in the sense of big military operations, lasted many years. When in the 1920's the situation became somewhat stabilized, the Bolsheviks were successful on some fronts but were beaten on others. Hugh Seton-Watson has summarized this situation very fittingly:

Those nationalities of old Russia which were favourably placed by geography, established independent states, and their governments were not Communist. This was the case with Poland, Finland, and the Baltic states, while the Transcaucasian republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia were able to survive for more than two years. Those whose geographical situation was unfavourable were subject to Bolshevik rule. This was the case with Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Tatars of Volga and Ural, and the peoples of Central Asia. The Bolshevik victory over the nationalist movements of these nations was won by force. (32)

The war commenced when Lenin ordered his troops to invade Ukraine. In a mani-

festro to the troops he exhorted them: your victory over the yellow-blue (national flag of Ukraine — A. B.) rabble means bread for your starving women and children. Get it with your bayonets!" (33) He was seconded by Karl Radek, who incited the Russians: "If you want to eat, cry: 'death to the (Ukrainian Central) Rada?!'" (34) The Soviet of People's Commissars of Russia sent an ultimatum to the Ukrainian Government in which it demanded a virtual subordination. The demands put by the Bolsheviks to the Central Rada were: a/ not to disorganize the general anti-German front, b/ without the approval of the chief commander of the Red Army the Ukrainians should not allow any troops to pass through Ukraine on their way to the Don, Ural, and other places, c/ should stop the disarming of Soviet forces in Ukraine, d/ should return arms immediately to those Soviet soldiers, who had been disarmed by the Ukrainians. The Russians clearly stated that unless these conditions were fulfilled within 48 hours they would declare war. (35) On December 24 th-25 th, the Bolsheviks illegally organized a puppet government for Ukraine in Kharkiv, which then "accepted" the Russian ultimatum completely and denounced the defensive war of Ukraine. This "Kharkiv government" asked Russia for help; the Russian troops were, however, already advancing, and on December 25 th Ukraine was invaded by a 25,000 strong Bolshevik army led by Antonov-Ovsienko. Richard Pipes commented on the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine:

The Bolshevik government established in Ukraine in January 1918 was a failure. First of all, it was a regime founded on sheer military force without the active support or even the sympathy of the Ukrainian people. Muraviev, in his dispatch to Le-

nin reporting the capture of Kiev, frankly referred to the regime as one 'established by means of bayonets'. (36)

On 14th March, 1918, Stalin wrote:

... There does not exist the slightest need to prove to the Russian nation that the national war started by us in Ukraine has every prospect of support from Soviet Russia. The war in Ukraine may grow into a war by Russia against the West. Therefore, it is obvious, that there, in Ukraine, the main knot of the whole present international existence is being tied — the knot of the workers' revolution, started by Russia, and the knot of imperialistic counter-revolution moving from the West. (37)

It is obvious that as Richard Pipes said, "The main protagonists in this struggle for power were the Ukrainian nationalists and the Russian Communists." (38) Stalin was in turn seconded by Lenin, who wrote: "When Comrade Trotsky puts forward a new demand: 'Promise not to conclude peace with Vinnichenko', I say: under no circumstances will I give such a pledge." (39)

Lenin admitted that he would never agree to the existence of a Ukrainian national state but would use all possible means in order to subjugate it to Russian domination. The "Kharkiv government", which proved to be an agency of the Russian imperialists, proclaimed a manifesto in which it stated:

The formation of a workers'-peasants' government in Ukraine put an end to the danger of the bloody struggle, which the previous General Secretariat (Ukrainian national government — A.B.) had desired to foment between the Ukrainian and Russian democracies, because, firstly the U.V. K. considered it to be its duty to declare to the Soviet of the People's Commissars (of Russia-A.B.) that war between Ukraine and Russia should not exist, that this war was desired by the Central Rada, but not by the working masses . . . (40)

The above-mentioned manifesto means in other words that Ukraine must capitulate in the face of a Russian invasion. Late in 1918, the Bolsheviks nullified the Brest-

Litovsk treaty in which they had recognized the independence of Ukraine. They regarded this nullification as the beginning of a new russification and extermination of the Ukrainian nation. The most striking proof in this respect is the Decree of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR of 24th December, 1918, by which the Ukrainians were to be considered citizens of the RSFSR because "by virtue of the nullification of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, Ukraine is no longer recognized by the Soviet Government of the Russian Republic . . ." (41)

The war continued, however, and Lenin consoled his comrades thus: . . . we experienced the organization of the rule of the Ukrainian Kerenskys . . . but anyone . . . will realise that the bourgeois elements of the Ukrainian Rada are living their last days. There cannot be the slightest doubt about the victory of the Soviet Government, of the Ukrainian People's Republic, over the Ukrainian bourgeois Rada. (42)

On the 28th of May, 1919, Lenin sent to the chief of his forces in Ukraine a telegram worded as follows:

We are forced to use the most radical means in the struggle against the counter-revolution in Ukraine and are therefore sending large masses of students of the command courses from Petrograd, Moscow, and other cities of Russia . . . C.C. of RKP resolved: any withholding of military aid to the Southern front (against Ukraine — A.B.) will be treated as a crime, for which full responsibility rests on Antonov and Podvoysky. Concentrate all forces in the Donbas, transfer all possible military forces from the Western front, reduce activities on the Western front to the minimum, send representatives to Kharkiv and Katerynoslav for a total mobilization of workers for the Southern front. (43)

On the following day Lenin panic-stricken telegraphed the representative of the Soviet army in Ukraine:

... Downfall of our revolution is unavoidable unless the Donbas receives military support, thus preventing Ukraine from acting in a revolutionary way. All other

matters should be neglected except the matter of the Donbas and the Southern front. Place 3 soldiers to one rifle, but achieve victory in Ukraine . . . (44)

A prominent Bolshevik leader, according to Richard Pipes, agreed completely with the argument that Bolshevism in Ukraine was Russian imperialism: "In an article published in the Chernyiv Communist press at that time (1919 — A.B.), he (Manuilskii — A.B.) compared the Communist regime in Ukraine to a typical colonial administration . . ." (45) In 1920 Stalin wrote in his article *K voiennomu polozeniu na Yubie* (About the military situation in the South):

It is well-founded for the Soviet government in Russia to announce the need of aid to the front, for Russia is sending to the war a large number of regiments and divisions . . . Reinforcements of our Southern front in Ukraine by workers and Communists from Petrograd, Moscow, Tver, Ivano-Voznesensk have entirely reorganized military formations in Ukraine . . . (46)

Ukraine was the first country which Lenin conquered for Russia. And he never renounced Russian imperialism toward that country: "Ukraine was separated from Russia by exceptional circumstances, and the national movement did not take deep root there." (47) The last sentence was an obvious lie. One of the prime tasks of his policy was an economic predatory imperialism. In 1919 Lenin wrote to the Russian Commissar Shlikhter: "Send us (from Ukraine - A.B.) 50 million puds of grain by the first of May, not later than the first of June; if you do not send it, we shall all die." (48) When Ukraine became independent Lenin expressed his desire to subjugate it and simultaneously revealed his piratic nature: "We left Ukraine to her (Germany — A.B.), from which you can get as much grain and coal as you like . . ." (49) After the conquest of Ukraine Lenin explained that he was primarily interested in Ukraine as an object of economic exploitation. He thus admitted his desire to make it a colonial province of his empire:

. . . Donets Basin. You know that this is

the centre, the real basis of the whole of our economy. There can be no thought of restoring large-scale industry in Russia . . . unless we restore the Donets Basin and raise it to the proper level. . . Ukraine is an independent republic.

The Central Committee unanimously demanded: 'Allow this group to remain; bring all conflicts, even minor ones, before the Central Committee, for the Donets Basin is not a casual district, it is a district without which Socialist construction will simply remain a pious wish.' (50)

From Ukraine the Bolsheviks turned their attention to the conquest of the Don Cossacks who had organized their own state. Ivan Bezuhlov gives an account of this war in his article "Donske Kozatstvo" (51) On April 6, 1918, there "a regular war started between the Don Cossacks and the Russians." During the early months of 1918 the Bolsheviks shot about 5000 Cossack officers and organized a Soviet Don republic. The Don Cossacks, however, captured the forces of this "republic" and shot all of them as traitors to their own people. "The war lasted for two years, and the Cossacks would surely have won if they had not been treacherously attacked from the rear by the so-called anti-Communist Russians, whose main interest concided with that of the Bolsheviks: to save 'iedinaia y niedelimaia Rossya'" (52) When the Bolsheviks finally triumphed, they intended to exterminate the Don Cossacks as a national entity. Mr. Bezuhlov wrote:

. . . the Soviet Government, after the occupation of the Cossack lands, first of all announced the liquidation of the Don Soviet Republic, because they regarded all Cossacks as enemies and did not trust them. Cossack officers were shot en masse, and the rest were sent to Solovets, while tens of thousands of Cossacks were deported to concentration camps, where most of them perished . . . The Cossacks became leaderless; this was precisely what the Bolsheviks had desired. Later, for many years, the Soviets picked out the most socially active persons from among Cossack society and

after terrible tortures deported them or shot them. (53)

Lenin tried desperately to retain Finland in the new empire. Although on January 6th, 1918, he officially recognized Finland's independence, his troops stationed there started a movement for the suppression of its independence. At a party meeting Stalin, the Russian Soviet Commissar of Nationalities, announced that if the Finns "should require our help, we shall give it to them." (54) In line with this statement, "16,000 Russian soldiers reappeared in Finland as the Red Guards" during December 1917. (55) Stalin cleverly formulated the imperialistic policy by arguing that although the Soviet authorities had recently recognized the independence of Finland, however they had done so, "not to the people, not to the representatives of the proletariat of Finland, but to the Finnish bourgeoisie." (56) An insignificant group of Finnish Communists were punished by the Finnish nation as traitors (57) and a real war now began. Very soon the situation became such that "Finland was cut in two, the north guarded by the new national army, while the south was occupied by Russian troops." (58) But in the end the Finns were victorious. Marshal Mannerheim observed on that occasion:

If we had not risen up in revolt in 1918 Finland would at best have become merely an autonomous district within the Soviet Union, without individual freedom, with no real existence as a State, and with no place in the society of free nations. (59)

Lenin did not conceal his intention of capturing Finland for the new Russian empire. When in November 1918 the Soviet Government nullified the Brest-Litovsk treaty, it proclaimed that all the nations whose independence had been officially recognized should again be incorporated into Russia:

Working masses of Russia, Livland, Estonia, Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Finland, Crimea, and Caucasus, freed by the German revolution from the rapacious treaty (Brest-Litovsk treaty - A.B.) dictated by German militarism, are now called

upon to determine their own destinies. (60)

Shamelessly the Soviets called the renunciation of national independence by these nations "freedom to determine their own destinies". Lenin openly admitted his desire to invade and to enslave the non-Russian peoples:

... it was only this situation in international political and economic relations that enabled our revolution to take advantage of the situation and march in this brilliant triumphal procession in European Russia, so spread to Finland and begin the conquest of the Caucasus and Rumania. (61)

To him enslavement of the non-Russian nations and liquidation of their national independence meant giving them help: "By retaining possession of the main railway lines we are helping Ukraine and Finland. We are taking advantage of the respite by manoeuvring and retreating." (62)

Just as they had done in the case of Ukraine, the Cossacks, and Finland, the Bolsheviks now endeavored to proceed with the incorporation of the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) into their empire. George W. Keaton in his book *Russia and Her Western Neighbours* (63) stated: "Following the defeat of Germany by the Allies, the Red Army re-entered the Baltic states."

On February 25, 1918, the Estonian Republic was proclaimed. But the Russian Soviet Government refused to recognize the secession of Estonia. (64) Later on, the Russians reserved their formal stand and recognized Estonia's independence at the end of August 1918. However, "this did not prevent a prompt campaign of Soviet conquest which began immediately the Armistice had been signed." (65) Finally, the Soviet Government again recognized Estonian independence on December 31, 1919, when the Bolsheviks were expelled from the country. Nevertheless, Lenin persisted in his brutal imperialistic attitude and once more demanded the overthrow of the Estonian national state:

But we do not wish to shed the blood of workers and Red Army soldiers for the sake of a bit of territory, particularly since

the concession is not made for eternity. Estonia is passing through its Kerensky period and the workers are beginning to recognize the baseness of their Constituent Assembly leaders, who have broken up trade unions and killed 20 Communists. The workers will soon overthrow this authority and will create a Soviet Estonia, which will conclude a new peace with us. (66)

The Bolshevik invasion of Latvia was preceded by a declaration by Latvian traitors and Russian agents called the Latvian Socialist Soviet:

The proletariat of Latvia belonging in its overwhelming majority to the international revolutionary Social-Democracy, strives to destroy . . . the frontiers between all countries. It cannot, therefore, desire nor demand the fencing off of its narrow, little country as an independent state. (67)

The Latvian independent state was however proclaimed on November 18, 1918, and was promptly followed by a Bolshevik invasion. Although the Russian troops were later repulsed and the Soviet Government concluded a peace treaty with the independent Latvia, Bolshevik activities to destroy the new state never ceased. According to Alfred L. P. Dennis, the Latvian Minister to Moscow stated:

The facts quoted above plainly show that on Russian territory, right in the capital, an organization is existing, pursuing the aim not only of overthrowing the existing Latvian Government, but also of destroying Latvia itself and its present form of government. (68)

The Bolshevik policy toward Lithuania was similarly based on the imperialistic idea, but this small nation was able to defend her independence. The Russians also invaded Byelorussia, and were victorious over the national Byelorussian forces. Consequently Byelorussia became incorporated into the Russian empire again. When the Rumanians occupied Bessarabia in 1918, the Bolsheviks considered this act as hostile toward Russia, because they regarded Bessarabia as a lawful part of the tsarist empire, which should also remain part of the new empire.

Russian Bolshevik imperialism was directed with the same intensive energy against the peoples of Central Asia and of the Caucasus. Hugh Seton-Watson emphasized the fact that "the nationalist movement of the Volga and Ural peoples was crushed first by Kolchak and then by the Bolsheviks; Crimea and Azerbaijan were conquered by the Red Army." (69)

On December 21, 1917, the National Committee of the Peoples of the North Caucasus severed all relations with Petersburg, and on May 11, 1918, proclaimed the country an independent state. In February 1920 the Bolsheviks invaded the North Caucasus and formed a Soviet Republic in Dagestan. But in February 1921 a rebellion against Bolshevik rule broke out there. In 1922 Kabarda, Karachay, and Cherkisses were sovietized. On June 7, 1924, the Bolsheviks proclaimed the "autonomous" Checheno-Ingush Republic.

On November 12, 1917, the National Assembly of the Turko-Tatars and Finno-Ugrians proclaimed the Idel-Ural Democratic Republic and elected Prof. Sadri-Maksudi as its first president. On April 12, 1918, this Idel-Ural Republic was occupied by Bolshevik troops. On March 23, 1919, the Bolsheviks set up the Bashkir and on May 27, 1920, the Tatar republics, in place of the Idel-Ural. Kazan was conquered by a detachment of Red sailors who had arrived there from Moscow. (70) Similarly, a war developed between the natives and the Russians in Bashkiria. R. Pipes wrote:

The Russian peasants and workers, mobilized into deal with the rebels, eagerly flocked into punitive detachments to revenge themselves on the Bashkirs and to seize the land and cattle which they had long coveted. Under the pretext that they were suppressing a counterrevolutionary uprising, the Russians began a veritable reign of terror, accompanied by the indiscriminate looting and murder of the Bashkir population . . . Neither the new Obkom nor the new Bashrevkom, which was appointed to replace the old one, included even a token number of Bashkirs. Moreover, the First Congress of Soviets of Bash-

kiria, assembled in the fall of 1920 for the purpose of electing a new government, did not include natives, because all the Bashkir delegates had been arrested as "nationalists" . . . Thus the Bashkir Republic, formally organized in late 1920, had no natives in its government. (71)

In the Kirghiz-Kazakh area a similar Russian colonial policy was applied by the Bolsheviks. It culminated in the artificial famine of 1921 during which about one million Kirghiz people died.

Bolshevik imperialism toward Azerbaijan was marked by a brutal genocide. Already in 1918, forces under Bolshevik command massacred in Baku alone (from March 20th to 23rd) 3000 Azerbaijanians. In April 1918, the Bolsheviks organized a Soviet government in Baku declaring as its goal to be most intimately connected with the All-Russian central government and to execute, in accordance with local conditions, all decrees and directives of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia. (72)

On June 25 (July 8), 1918, Stalin declared:

Our general policy in the Transcaucasian question is to compel the Germans to acknowledge officially that the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani questions are internal Russian questions, in the solution of which they should not participate. (73)

Stalin was realizing a strictly Russian imperialistic policy.

Soviet Russian forces again advanced into Azerbaijan in April 1920. In Baku a Soviet puppet government was set up which at once informed Moscow of its intention "to enter into fraternal alliance" with Soviet Russia "for the purpose of a joint struggle against world-imperialism." According to *Izvestia*: "thus Baku oil will not fall into the hands of foreign capitalists!" (But into those of Russian imperialists!) Moscow replied to the said declaration by giving "complete and energetic assistance to . . . this new member of the growing World Soviet Revolution." (74) The Russian conquest of Azerbaijan is aptly described by A. Izmail, a leading Azerbaijani nationalist:

In April 1920, they had several units of the Red Army simply invade our country, and thus after hardly two years of independence, Azerbaijan once more came under the Russian yoke! This time it was accompanied by the well-known cruelty and unscrupulous, sanguinary terrorism. Our independent, national republic was overthrown and liquidated, our national elite destroyed and our cultural life, which was just beginning to blossom was crushed. What followed was the establishment of the usual Soviet terrorism in Azerbaijan, carried out by the notorious "Cheka", led by that hangman Ponkratjev . . . Victims of the boundless terrorist methods included: the Prime-Minister of our national Government, Fatali Chan Choj, with a whole series of leading men in public life, well-known professors, authors of world-wide repute, poets and dramatists, such as Hues-sijn Dshawid, Jussif Tshemensemenli, Kafur Kantamira, S. W. Gani-Sada, Seid Huessejn, Ahmed Dshad. Some 2000 mosques were turned into kolkhoz stables. 3000 clergy were liquidated, among them Sheik Gani, Kasi Mustafa Efendi, Sheik Achunda, Habib Efendi and others. More than half a million Azerbaijanians were shot, exiled, and deported for no fault of their own. (75)

The Bolsheviks also conquered Armenia and proclaimed a Soviet republic there on December 2, 1920. "There all the decrees and fundamental ordinances of the Moscow government were put into effect." (76) Georgia shared a similar fate. The Russian invasion there

was made possible by the systematic underground work of Communist agents who at Tiflis and elsewhere had prepared the way. The result was the proclamation of a Soviet Republic in Georgia in March 1921 . . . It also became apparent very quickly that the new state of affairs in the Caucasus aimed to promote the dependence of the peoples of the Near East on Russia. The Red Army was not withdrawn from Georgia. Lenin declared that the Caucasus would be a chief area for the struggle of Soviet Russia against the imperialistic Allies. (77)

In Turkestan, the provisional govern-

ment was promulgated on May 3, 1920, but the independence of the country under the name of the Islamic Turkish Independent Republic was proclaimed in April 1920. On May 12, 1922, this government handed to the Soviet Russian representatives in Tashkent the following note:

... *The Soviet Government is to evacuate the whole of Turkestan within the next two months. Only after the Russian army and the Russian officials have left Turkestan will the Turkestanian government be ready to enter into diplomatic relations with Moscow. A state of war will be continued up to that day between Russia and Turkestan, or to the final victory of freedom. In the latter case, Russia alone will be responsible for the blood shed. The government of Turkestan draws the Russian Government's attention to the fact that the people are determined to fight to the last man, unless the evacuation is carried out.* (78)

The Russians did not however recognize Turkestan's independence, but invaded the country. The opposing forces were: on the one side — 60,000 armed and 225,000 unarmed Turkestanians, on the other side — 106,000 former tsarist soldiers incorporated in the Red Army, 90,000 German and Austrian ex-prisoners, 75,000 Russian colonists in Turkestan armed and set up as rifle brigades by the Bolsheviks, a special Red Army sent from Orenburg region, and others. In that memorable struggle Russia lost a total of about 395,000 and Turkestan no fewer than 700,000 men. After 1926, about 270,000 Turkestanians were arrested. 120 villages were razed to the ground during the hostilities. According to the Memorandum of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee to the African-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955: "Owing to Soviet terrorism, more than 6 million Turkestanians have died: a) in 1918—1920 — 1,5 million Turkestanians were killed by the terrorism of the Red Army and died in consequence of the economic policy . . ." (79)

The hostility of the Russian Communists toward Turkestan is only too obvious

from the resolution of the Fourth Regional Congress of Soviets (January 1916) in Tashkent:

We subordinate entirely the principle of national self-determination to socialism, recognizing the fact that only in the struggle with the counter-revolution is the revolution being shaped — the revolution which will sweep out of its way all obstacles such as the autonomous government of Kokand. (80)

The Russians ruthlessly liquidated the Kokand nationalist government. They reduced the city to ashes and killed thousands of its population. The eyewitness, B. Ol'ginskii, wrote on February 11, 1918: "Kokand is now a city of the dead, it resembles a mortuary, from which emanate odors of mold and carrion." (81)

31. *Pravda*, May 18, 1920

32. *From Lenin to Malenkov*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1953, p. 46

33. According to D. Shaldiy, "Destalinization of National Question?" in *Vyzvolnyj Sblakh*, v. 111, January, 1957, p. 16

34. "Appeal to the Muscovite Proletariat", *Pravda*, 2/15, 1, 1918

35. *Izvestia C.I.K.*, v. 244, 19th December, 1917,

36. *op. cit.*, p. 126

37. *Izvestia VCIK*, v. 47, 14th March, 1918

38. *op. cit.*, p. 149

39. Vynnychenko represented Ukrainian government, "War and Peace", 1918, v. 7, p. 308

40. *Izvestia*, of Ukraine, no. 1

41. *Izvestia*, December 24, 1918

42. "Activities of the Council of People's Commissars", 1918, v. 7, p. 272

43. *Leninist Collection*, No. 34, p. 153

44. *Ibidem*, p. 155

45. *Formation of the Soviet Union*, *op. cit.*, p. 145; G. Lapchinskii, "Gomel'skoe soveshchanie", *Letopis revoliutsii*, no. 6/21, 1926, pp. 40-41

46. *Lenin i Stalin pro zakhyst socialistychnoi batkivshchyny*, OHIZ, 1945, pp. 143-4

47. "Reply to a Discussion on Party Program", 1919, v. 8, p. 365

48. According to *Visnyk*, v. 137, March 1960, p. 20

49. "Speech to the Moscow Nuclei Secretaries", 1920, v. 8, p. 280

50. "Political Report of the Central Committee to the 11th Congress", 1922, v. 9, pp. 358, 360

51. *Visnyk*, v. 128—9, June-July 1959

52. *Ibidem*, v. 129, p. 14
 53. *Ibidem*, p. 16
 54. *Pravda*, Nov. 20, 29, Dec. 27 - evening ed., 1917
 55. *Finland* (Handbook prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 47), London, 1920, p. 57
 56. *Izvestia*, Jan. 1, 1918; *Gazetta*, Jan. 10, 1918
 57. See proclamation of the Finnish Senate of January 28th, 1918
 58. *Marshal Mannerheim, Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim*, E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1954, p. 145 (translated by E. Levenhaupt)
 59. *Ibidem*, p. 183
 60. *Sobr. Ukaz. i Rasp. R.S.F.S.R.*, p. 600
 61. "War and Peace", 1918, v. 7, p. 289
 62. *Ibidem*, p. 311

AGAINST DISCRIMINATION OF THE SLOVAK PEOPLE

The Slovakian patriot, Thomas J. Veteska, presently residing in the US, has the following to say against the bias of some American circles, which are opposed to the state independence of Slovakia:

"When the Slovaks in the United States agreed to a united political state consisting of the Slovaks and Czechs, they were promised that there would be an equal national status for both Czechs and Slovaks. The Czechs absolutely disregarded this, and changed their policy towards Slovakia to one of colonial exploiter. That was the main reason that on March 14, 1939 the Slovak Parliament, whose members were elected according to the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution, proclaimed the Independence of Slovakia. Since that day, the Slovak Republic exists by *de jure*.

Personally, I would be most happy if Slovakia had a similar status in the United States as Puerto Rico, because half of the Slovak nation lives in the United States of America. The Slovaks fought and shed their blood not only in Washington's Army during the war of Independence, but during the Civil and other U.S. wars. Count Benovsky and Count Polerecky were two, among others, famous Slovak offi-

cers in Washington's Army. General Stachel, a personal friend of President Lincoln, was honored with the Congressional Medal. In each war that the United States fought, Slovaks fought as a part of U.S. troops. Michael Strank, the marine who was killed while raising the U.S. Flag in Ivo Jima, was a Slovak, born in Slovakia.

The Slovaks have the smallest Communist Party membership percentage behind the Iron Curtain. Slovakia was the first from the satellite nations to rebel against the Communist regime, in 1949. During the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Slovak partisans helped the anti-Communist revolutionaries.

During and after World War II, the All-Slovak Catholic organizations and the Slovak League of America were opposed to the so-called American Slav Congress, which has been designated by the Congressional Committee as a Communist tool.

In 1963, the Slovakian intellectuals expressed the entire will of the Slovak nation where they stand on Communism, when they rebelled against the Red-Czech occupants of Slovakia."

Thomas J. Veteska
 Brooklyn, N.Y. USA

Arrests And Trials Of Intellectuals In Ukraine

Some 70 persons, mostly intellectuals and student leaders, were arrested, tried and convicted last year in several major cities of Ukraine.

The news of mass arrests was reported earlier this year, but at that time only the names of *Ivan Svitlychny* and *Ivan Dziuba* were reliably ascertained.

The arrests — which began in July, 1965 — took place throughout Ukraine: in Kyiv, Odessa, Lutsk, Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk. At least 70 persons, the majority of them intellectuals, were arrested or detained. Most of those arrested were immediately transported outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR for questioning. The trials started in January, 1966 in Lutsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, *Ternopil*, and towards the end of April — in Lviv.

The Lviv trial was a closed one, and not even the immediate relatives of the accused were permitted into the courtroom. Only after insistent demands by a group of young Ukrainian writers from Kyiv, three of the writers were admitted to the courtroom for the sentencing on April 28.

Sentences

The sentences ranged from 8 months to 6 years. Following, in alphabetical order are the names of some of the accused and their prison terms: *Chubaty*, first name unknown, a teacher from Ternopil, 4 years; *Hereta*, a scholar from Ternopil, 4 years; *Yaroslav Hevrych*, a student from Kyiv, 5 years; *Bohdan Horyn*, art and literary critic from Lviv, 6 years; *Mykhaylo Horyn*, a scholar from Lviv, 6 years; *Hryn*, an associate of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, from Kyiv, 3 years; *Ivashchenko*, a newspaperman from Lutsk, 2 years; *Sviatoslav Karavansky*, a journalist, poet and translator from Odessa. He had been sentenced in 1944 to 25 years, released after serving half of his term, and now returned to prison in the Mordovskaya ASSR; *Y. Kuznetsova*, a scholar from Kyiv, 4 years; *Martynenko*, an engineer from Kyiv, 3 years; *Mykhaylo Masyutko*, a retired person from Lviv, 6 years; *Valentyn Moroz*, a historian from Lutsk, 4 years; *Mykhaylo Osadchy*, a lecturer at Lviv University, 4 years; *Ozerny*, a scholar from Ivano-Frankivsk, 6 years; *Rusyn*, a scholar from Kyiv, 3 years; *Atanas Zavaykha*, an artist from Ivano-Frankivsk, 5 years; *Zvarychevska*, a scholar from Lviv, 8 months.

Reasons For Arrests

Those accused were charged with writing, copying and spreading articles dealing with the present state of Ukrainian literature, language and culture under the Soviet system. They were also charged with spreading pre-1917 works in Ukrainian by authors who are currently prohibited in the Soviet Union, as well as other books, published abroad, dealing with the colonial status of the formally sovereign Soviet Ukraine, as well as such things as the text of the speech delivered by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko statue in Washington and a speech by Pope John XXIII.

At the trials the defendants insisted that they do not consider themselves enemies of the Soviet state, and that they merely fought for equal rights for the Ukrainian people. In particular, they demanded recognition of the Ukrainian language as the official language of the Ukrainian SSR and for a free development of the Ukrainian culture.

At the Lviv trial the defendants objected to being addressed in Russian. The judges and the prosecuting attorney relented, and the trial was continued in Ukrainian.

Reaction in Ukraine

News of the arrests and trials were deplored throughout Ukraine. In Lviv, a mass of people who gathered outside the courthouse was so large and unruly, that firemen were called to disperse the people with water hoses.

Most of those tried have been removed from the Ukrainian territory and sent to prisons and concentration camps for political prisoners. Some were kept in Ukraine, and their investigation continues.

Special tactics have been employed against those who have been released or those who are suspected of sympathies towards the accused. They have lost their jobs and are prevented from securing other employment.

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Murder and kidnapping as an instrument of Soviet policy
edited by United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary
Printed for the use of the Committee of the Judiciary

U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 1965, Hearing and other Documentation
Available through the Press Office of ABN, 8 Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany