

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Human Rights Anniversary 1948-1968

Ukrainian intellectuals suffering for these very rights in Russian concentration camps.



From left to right: 1) Panas Zalyvakha, painter and art critic, 5 years; 2) Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, poet and translator of Shakespeare and Byron, 25 years; 3) Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, lawyer, 25 years; 4) Bohdan Horyn, literary and art critic, 4 years, became almost blind while at camp; 5) Mykhailo Masiutko, poet, literary critic, teacher, 6 years, has undergone complicated heart surgery; 6) Eugenia Kuznetsova, scientist, 4 years, seriously ill.

CONTENTS:

Documents From Ukraine	3
“Education — USSR”, Buffalo, N.Y., December, 1967	22
<i>R. Mlynovetsky (USA)</i> Moscow's Genocidal Policies	25
<i>Dr. Ctibor Pokorny (Slovakia)</i> Triumph Of National Independence In Eastern Europe 50 Years Ago	29
<i>Petro Kizko (Ukraine)</i> Soviet Republics — Russian Colonies	30
<i>Hans Bruckner (Germany)</i> Against Colonialism — The Russian Too!	31
Anti-Communist Asia Consolidated (From WACL Resolutions)	33
New Arrests In The USSR	35
<i>Hon. A. M. Nazeer (Ceylon)</i> “For World Anti-Communist Youth Movement”	36
<i>A. Bedriy (USA)</i> Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin	37
News And Views	43
<i>G. Voloshyn (USA)</i> The New Breed	46
Ten Thousand Condemn Colonialism And Genocide	47

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Freiheit für Völkern! — Freiheit für Völkern!

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Here And There

The year 1968 promises an acceleration of the pace of liberation activities of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialists and Communists. An increasing number of reports on the internal decomposition processes in the imperial power structure is coming from Ukraine, Caucasus, Turkestan, Byelorussia, as well as from the "satellite" states in Central Europe. The colonial despots are unable to check the anti-imperial and anti-totalitarian trends. Nikita Khrushchov was ousted from the imperial throne mainly because of his inability to master these opposing trends. Successors of Stalin instituted the so-called de-Stalinization. Prominent activists of the non-Russian enslaved nations talk freely of the need to de-Brezhnevize and de-Khrushchovize. Ukrainian journalist and poet-translator S. J. Karavanskyi (serving a 25-year slave-prison term in the Mordovian ASSR), Ukrainian jurist Ivan O. Kandyba (serving a 15-year sentence in the Mordovian ASSR) or journalist V. Chornovil (sentenced in Lviv last November to 3 years in a slave labour camp) — indict the present colonial regime for the same criminal policies that have been perpetrated by Stalin. The time is drawing closer when de-Leninization will have to take place.

In the Free World two factors may serve notice of the quickening pace of activities directed against the Russian empire, namely, the establishment in 1967 of two international organizations — the European Freedom Council and the World Anti-Communist League. From Korea and Japan through Ceylon, Israel and Greece to Denmark and Canada people are becoming convinced that the main enemy of mankind is not Marxism or the "Soviet Union" but Russian imperialism as the real dynamic driving force behind the facade of Marxism, "Socialism", Communism and Sovietism. The trend to place Communist China as a number one enemy of mankind, noticed during the last few years, has been reversed and now a more realistic view is emerging: that all Communists, be they Russian, Maoist, Titoist or Castroist — are the enemies of national and personal freedoms.

In 1968 as in previous years the Russian imperialists will try to forestall the dissolution of the empire by terror, persecution, mass deportations, misinformation, nuclear blackmail and the overtures of peaceful co-existence.

One method of disarming the anti-Communists in the free nations is to let such persons as Svetlana Alelyeva "escape". They advocate the need to do away with some compromising injustices and brutalities in the Russian empire while urging the free people not to attack the source of all evil — Russian imperialism itself, for allegedly the Russian people are also enslaved and the free men should not combat the Russians — only "Communism". Thus, the Free World's eyes and hearts are turned to the problem of the "suffering and poor" Russians while forgetting the subjugated nations — the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire — and the need to assist their national anti-imperial liberation struggle.

Now more than ever the free peoples should influence the growing conflict within the Russian empire with the intention to enlarge this conflict between the Brezhnev-Shelepin-Rudenko tyrants on the one hand and the non-Russian intelligentsia, students, workers and peasant forces demanding national-social-

personal freedoms on the other hand. This can be accomplished by publishing the works of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Turkestanian, Georgian, Baltic and other writers, scholars and artists, whose works are prohibited or censored by the enslavers and by expanding liberation broadcasts into the captive nations. Furthermore, jurists, scholars, PEN-Clubs, journalists, artists, women, students, workers and farmers should conduct international campaigns in defence of their counterparts.

A broad informational and protest campaign should be conducted in the United Nations and affiliated organizations. This year the 20th anniversary of the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights is being observed. It should be pointed out that presently Russian chauvinism is the main enemy and obstacle to the human rights and liberties. It endeavours to destroy millions of people by Russification of their languages, discrimination on nationality grounds and glorification of the Russian culture and historical achievements and its mission to dominate and Russify the whole world.

The coming internal developments in the Russian empire are difficult to project. The Russians possess technical power by means of which they can physically crush the liberation forces, or they can resist the advance of the freedom forces by limited means. The first course is possible, but the second one is more probable. The decomposition of the empire has gone so far that the return to "war Communism" of Lenin's Chekist times or to Stalinism would generate such a reaction among many Communist parties and various Leftist groups, particularly the Russophile co-existentialist circles, that Moscow would probably not resort to direct extermination and genocide. The second course means resistance to the march of national liberation forces by sophisticated means. Therefore, we can predict that liberation nationalism will register advances and victories. Where, when and how it will happen is impossible to know. The ways of national liberation revolutions are rationally unpredictable; they are like waves of an onrushing flood: nobody can determine when and where they crush through the barriers. The rise of the revolutionary wave is evident from the increasing number of armed skirmishes between the revolutionaries and the occupation forces, from the growing number of people who are not afraid to criticise and expose the empire, from the political trials which are becoming more frequent, from stiffer sentences aimed at terrorizing the enslaved peoples and from many secret trials, indicating the fear of making martyrs.

The free people have an opportunity to strengthen the liberation processes behind the Russian Iron Curtain. The responsibility for this rests to a large extent with the World Anti-Communist League, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council. They should convince the information media not to propagate the co-existence with the Russian empire and not to incline to the Leftist pro-Russian views and not to discriminate against the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples. These anti-Communist organizations should bring the heroism, martyrdom, persecution and terrible living conditions of the freedom fighters to the attention of world public opinion. The weakening of the Leftists (read: pro-Russian elements) and co-existentialists in the Free World will strengthen the national freedom fighters by isolating Communism and Russian imperialism.

The ABN is turning from an organization comprised of the liberation movements of the enslaved nations into an organization which will include many anti-Communist organizations of free nations as well. The World Anti-Communist League began to propagate the concept of an uncompromising struggle against the Russian and all other Communist imperialists. The *WACL-Bulletin* should become the voice of the anti-Communist world crusade calling for the necessity to liquidate the Russian empire and to re-establish sovereign states of all the enslaved peoples upon its ruins. The WACL leadership should soon be organized in such a way that it would represent equally the freedom-fighters of the enslaved nations and combative anti-Communist forces of the free nations.

Let us start the new year with the strong belief in what one Ukrainian prisoner in the Russian slave camp wrote a few months ago: "We all believe that love of the fatherland is not a crime but a holy duty of each citizen. It gives strength and conviction in one's own rightness and faith that sooner or later the real criminals will be uncovered and justly punished." (*Panas Zalyvakha, mid-1967, Yavas-Mordovian ASSR-concentration camp.*) M.S-ch

Documents From Ukraine

The Russians try to preserve their colonial empire by all possible means. However, the enslaved peoples break through the colonial crust like a volcano even when most of the world approves of Russian genocide or peacefully co-operates with peoples' henchmen of Moscow. Below we are publishing four documents received from Ukraine which show the life and strivings of her people.

Ivan Dziuba, 36, a well-known Ukrainian publicist and literary critic from Kyiv, delivered a speech at the commemoration ceremonies in memory of the Jews murdered by Nazis at Babyn Yar. He calls on the Jews to become friends of the Ukrainians in a common struggle against Russian genocide.

Panas Zalyvakha, 42, a noted Ukrainian painter and engraver, presently serving a 5-year sentence in the slave labour camp at Yavas, Mordovian ASSR just for being a true Ukrainian patriot is a remarkable individual. He spent most of his life in exile in Siberia. Zalyvakha wrote a spirited plea in his own defence in which he stated that 7.5 million Ukrainians residing in the Soviet Union beyond the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR have no rights of a national minority at all and are exposed to cultural genocide.

Another publicistic and juristic jewel is the "Letter to the Attorney General of the Ukrainian SSR" written by Viacheslav Chornovil, 30, a journalist from Kyiv, who was recently sentenced to 3 years in a slave labour camp for writing this very letter. In it Chornovil revealed the lawlessness and the all-powerfulness of the Russian KGB in Ukraine, which is not only the organ of terror and despotism but primarily the organ of Russian colonial enslavement of Ukraine.

Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, 47, of Odessa, cooperated with a youth section of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1942. On February 7, 1945, a Russian occupational court sentenced him to 25 years' imprisonment. After 16 years and 5 months of slave labour he was released and returned to Odessa. On November 13, 1965, he was re-arrested. Upon the request of the KGB, without any trial, Karavanskyi was sent to the slave camp to complete his first sentence. Presently he is kept under severe conditions in camp No. 11, Yavas, Mordovian A.S.S.R.

Letter To The Attorney General Of The UKR.S.S.R.

(excerpts)

"After refusing to give evidence on April 16, at a closed trial in Lviv, I was informed that I will have to answer charges under article 172 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. (refusal to appear). The verdict is itself unjust because I refused to give evidence only at the unlawful closed trial. But even this verdict was not enough for the angry prosecutor Antonenko and judge Rudyk. They changed their own decision and on April 19 decided to try me under article 62 of the CC Ukr. S.S.R. They knew very well what this article 62 is . . .

"It is true that the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R. overruled this unlawful verdict on May 17 (1966), but only because a signal to imprison the next party of "anti-Soviet agitators and propagandists" had not yet come from "above" . . .

". . . We have only scanty information on the closed trials in Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk. I will therefore outline how lawlessness was carried to the extreme in Kyiv and in Lviv. The March 9-11 trial was conducted by the head of the Kyiv Oblast Court, Matsko, people's representatives — Yarko and Zahorodnyi, prosecutor — Komashchenko; (I had no time to write down the name of the attorney, but he played no part in any case.)

"Legality started with the fact that no one, not even the relatives, were notified about the trial . . ."

"The judges were afraid that the defendants would tell the truth in public (before an audience previously thoroughly checked), just as Moroz told it at Lutsk, that they would speak about the gross violations of Lenin's nationality policy, that they would tell that what interested them in those books and anonymous articles from abroad was not so much the ideas and conclusions of the authors but the factual material (especially on the horrible

years of the personality cult) which for some reason cannot be found on the pages of our papers, periodicals or books. The judges were afraid that the meagerness of the accusations, the shameful methods of investigation and the methods of psychological terror would see the light of day.

"Two attempts to conduct "public" trials of the defendants ended in full defeat of those who tried. Valentyn Moroz spoke about Russification, about unequal status of our "sovereign" republic and declared that he is no bourgeois nationalist, that he neither wants bourgeoisie nor nationalism but only wants Ukraine to have the same rights as her Socialist sisters — Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia. The students of the Lutsk pedagogical institute also spoke with admiration about their instructors. Suffering a defeat, the administrators of justice took refuge in such an ultra-legal and highly humane measure as a closed trial . . ."

"When somebody criticizes the present national policy for its deviation from Lenin's standards, (even if he is mistaken) he has every right to do so under the Constitution of the USSR. But according to the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. this individual can be sent to a severe labour camp, explaining the criticism as 'propaganda conducted with the aim to subvert or weaken the Soviet regime'."

". . . This can be extended to an unwary intellectual who showed his research notes to somebody, or to a man who 'because of idle curiosity' took a book from a tourist or a visiting relative from abroad . . . The anecdotes will also have to be touched upon. Many of them are 'slandorous inventions' of clear water which 'discredit the government and social order'. Prosecution for anecdotes, so popular among city dwellers, will radically help to solve the housing crisis in big cities. In its honest

application article 62 of the CC Ukr.S.S.R. gives an opportunity to increase the population of concentration camps to Stalin's heights, or even to outdo them . . ."

"Noticing that the interest in Ukrainian publications from abroad and anonymous manuscript literature is bound up with acute dissatisfaction with the present violations of Lenin's national policy with minor or major discriminatory efforts in relation to the native language, culture, etc. — the servants of Themis would inevitably have to question the party and state about the grounds which breed similar attitudes and result in action which the criminal code considers crimes . . ."

"In 1926 Stalin was not afraid that all who happen to read the book by V. Shulgin would become staunch monarchists and topple the Soviet regime. Ten years later he suspected treason and executed his closest friends, and 20 years later this was called personality cult. Decades have passed since then and suddenly old notes are discernible in the attitudes of some leaders.

"The vice-chairman of the Committee on State Security, at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.S.S.R., com. Shulzhenko was wittily telling the intellectuals at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R. about foreign intelligence until he reached 'ideological diversions'. According to his assertions all oppositional attitudes and actions inside our country are solely the result of the influence of bourgeois propaganda and bourgeois intelligence. In such a way as if with a wave of a magic wand, the bourgeois world would suddenly cease to exist, 'peace' would reign. In villages all would be pleased by the fate of the passportless serf for life in the kolkhoz. In the cities, Ukrainians would be proud that they have become renegades without kin and people.

"Nobody would blush for democracy while placing unread papers in the ballot box with names determined in Oblast Committees or County Committees. A well-known literary critic, I. Svitlychnyi, would not have been imprisoned for eight months; art critic B. Horyn and an artist

Zalyvakha would not have found themselves behind barbed wire, but, unpunished, would call Russification internationalism and would be peacefully pleased by the achievements of such 'internationalism' . . .

"One more revelation was put before the Kyiv intellectuals by the KGB. It seems that an individual with an unstable outlook should read a book with 'subtitles' in which the criticism of our regime is hidden when this person has anti-Soviet moods. From here it is not far to the conclusion: protect the people from a book causing trouble by all possible means, even by prison and severe labour camps. But what happens then to the Marxist thesis that social conditions (and not hostile books) determine consciousness?

"For ten years I have been taught in the Soviet school. In the last sentence of a composition I always tried to mention the Party and Stalin, even though it happened to be a composition on 'Slovo o polku Ihorevim' (12th Century poem on the campaign of Ihor). For five years I have diligently studied Marxism-Leninism at the university. All other courses were also firmly based on Marxist foundations. At last, recently I passed a candidate's examination for a Ph. D. in Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

"But suddenly I accidentally came across an Ukrainian book published abroad, and instantly I became a bourgeois nationalist (without bourgeoisie!). Later I read a Peking brochure on 'Opportunism of the CPSU' and I have changed into a Maoist. Still later I heard the Pope's speech on the radio — and became a Jesuit. Is it not to protect the Soviet citizens from such kaleidoscopic changes in outlook that article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. had been invented?

"Marxism-Leninism is without doubt stronger than bourgeois ideologies. Yet we are prosecuted for reading a book published in the West, but our books and newspapers with sharp criticism of capitalism, bourgeois nationalism, current policies of the capitalist states are not hard to obtain

(even by mail) in the USA, or Canada, or various other foreign countries.

"*Visti z Ukrainy* is a paper published in Kyiv especially for the emigrants, but for us here, in Ukraine it is impossible to read it because it contains specialized truth — only for export. Is it possible that non-Marxists have learned better than our own leaders the Marxist-Leninist thesis that revolution and social and economic changes cannot be exported, that an idea can only take root in the new soil when the social, economic and political pre-conditions are ripe for it, that to prohibit the spreading of ideas only gives them more strength and attraction?"

"Because of the latter, of course, both the instigators and the perpetrators of these arrests and trials which are rolling over Ukraine like an evil wave, are subject to prosecution under article 62 of CC Ukr. S.S.R. . . . What does article 62 of the Ukr.S.S.R. teach the citizens? It teaches — follow in the footsteps of the latest newspaper norms blindly and accurately; it teaches the beaurocratic morality of the lower middle class: be afraid and look back" . . .

"They asked for little publicity, a public trial for those arrested at Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil. A large group of over 70 persons — writers, scientists, civil servants, students and workers — turned to you with inquiries. They too asked for little: to be present at the trial of their friends, classmates, acquaintances and relatives. The militia was later even jostling them out from the corridors of the building, where quietly, far from human eyes, a Kyiv medical student was being tried . . . Many of them were surrounded by militia and soldiers in the Lviv Oblast Court and kept under arrest until the sentence was secretly proclaimed. For long months the mothers, wives, children yearned at least to see their sons, husbands and fathers who were languishing behind bars. The orgy of searches and investigations is still plaguing the Ukrainian intelligentsia, preventing many from doing creative work. You are indifferent to human drama,

to the demoralizing action of fear which as a cold snake is crawling into many a Ukrainian family . . ."

The Ukrainians who came to the court building and tried to enter the court room were being threatened by the KGB:

"You will all be there . . ."

In Kyiv the court guards were pointing to the "black crow" (paddy wagon) and declaring:

"We have plenty of cars like that. Enough for all of you".

"Do you think that creative organisations and offices of Kyiv, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk exhibited signs which said: Go to the trial; listen; convince yourselves of the righteousness of those who judge; do not make the same mistakes . . . Of course not, all the trials after Ozernyi's were made secret. In order to avoid unwelcome guests, even the closest relatives were not notified of the trials . . . Witnesses, as a rule, were invited on the second day of the trial; therefore, on the first day nobody disturbed the peace of the administrators of justice. It would seem that there is nobody to be afraid of when in the room there are only the judges, the guards and the defendants. Why, then, were not all witnesses registered? How is it possible to eliminate a witness who, according to the investigations of the KGB and the verdicts, was one of the two who supplied H. with 'anti-Soviet' literature. All the more, when Horska herself categorically denied this fact at the previous hearing . . ."

"Not only the 'crime', but also the very fact of political arrests is hidden from the public. The trial of H., March 9-11, was conducted by the head of the Kyiv Oblast Court Matsko, people's representatives Yarko and Zahorodnyi, prosecutor Komashchenko. Legality started with the fact that no one, not even the relatives were notified of the trial. Therefore on the first day Comrade Matsko had peace. On March 10th, witnesses were called, and thus a few found out about the trial. It would be wise to have a closed trial and even without witnesses. Then nobody would know!

"Friends and acquaintances of H., his classmates from the Medical School, getting hold of Matsko, began to ask him on what grounds H. was being tried behind closed doors. So that they would not hinder the administration of justice, the militia and plain clothes men threw out the over inquisitive citizens from the court corridors. Some were pulled by the sleeve, some by the shoulder . . . But the people did not disperse, but — disregarding even the plain clothes men began to talk about lawlessness without due reverence.

"In order to get rid of them, it was then announced that the sentence would be pronounced at 2:00 P.M. the following day (as is known, according to law, the verdict is always read publicly.) As might have been expected the high court lied: the sentence was pronounced around 11:00 A.M. 'Don't you know why this has been done' — wondered a "lawyer" at the naivete of the unhappy crowd.

"Comrade Matsko miscalculated a little: around the court building several scores of people had nevertheless gathered. And when after the trial three of those present pushed through the militia and the KGB to comrade Matsko, they asked him three questions:

1. According to which article of what code was the trial closed?
2. Why did the court deceive those present when it announced the time of the sentence?
3. Why were those who wanted to be present at the sentencing not admitted?

"The head of the Oblast Court could not or did not feel like answering two out of the three questions . . ."

A crowd of people who wanted to be admitted to the court room stood outside the court building. Only three persons managed to get inside, including two women: Lina Kostenko and Liubov Zashashta. Their notes on the trial were confiscated by the KGB.

"After sentencing, this same Lina Kostenko showered flowers on those convicted. The flowers, of course, were immediately "arrested". Lina Kostenko, herself was questioned "with passion" in the adjoining

room, but the triumphal ceremony of the conclusion of the closed trial of the "particularly dangerous state criminals" had been completely ruined. But the rumpled souls of comrades Matsko and Co. were further disturbed by those unconscious citizens, who after waiting for an hour for the "black crow", supported the convicts by calls and threw flowers under the wheels of the car" . . .

"But the Kyiv KGB staff and administrators of justice in comparison with their Lviv colleagues — are winged angels. The Kyiv judges at least respect the precepts of law . . . In Kyiv at least relatives and a few strangers were admitted to the sentencing. In Lviv they looked in a more matter-of-fact way at the case: when it is possible to violate article 20 of the Criminal Procedural Code of Ukr.S.S.R. in relation to the public court trials then why adhere to the conditions of this article in relation to public sentencing? Nobody had been admitted to the sentencing at the three Lviv trials.

"The Lviv KGB has also distinguished itself in the enforcing of 'order' at the trials. In Lviv the KGB and the militia conducted themselves as if on occupied territory and not on Soviet soil. For how else can open threats to the people gathered before the court be explained? What should one call the cynical behavior of the major (wearing plain clothes) who covered the mouth of Olha H. when she tried to show her two-year old daughter her father who had been led from the "black crow"? By what moral standards of our society can the cynical deceit which Lieut. Khersoniuk used in order to "clean up" the floor where the trial was held be explained? Chasing the people downstairs he gave his word that he would notify relatives about the sentence and let in those who wish to hear it read.

"When all came down to the first floor they realized that they had been trapped. The militia prevented them from going upstairs and armed soldiers would not let them out into the street. The people were kept under arrest until the sentence was

secretly read and those convicted led out by the black door, — the guardians of law were afraid that the history of previous days would repeat itself when Lviv residents showered one “black crow” with flowers and chanted “Slava” (Glory)! When those arrested were let out from the vestibule to the street they saw that the surrounding streets were covered with militia. The crowd then began to chant “shame” to the keepers of the law.

“Themselves causing the manifestation of protest the Lviv guardians of “state security” were forcing the people off the streets in front of the court by driving the cars into them or dispersing them with the help of water hoses (next it will probably be clubs and tear gas). When Lenin’s standards of law, which have been trampled in mud, were pronounced anew it seemed that all sorts of “triikas” (three men courts) and closed trials of individuals whose guilt is found only in the fact that their brains can think have become the thing of the past. Is it really true that we have been so wrong in our hopes?

“Failing to receive “confessions” experts have been called — men with academic degrees and lulled consciences, who for a handsome fee agreed to substantiate the authorship as suggested by the KGB. These men of science did not pretend to be glorified by their scientific discovery — they were offered good compensation and complete secrecy. But sooner or later secret becomes known . . .”

“Such false witnesses and “experts” who served the executioners of the Ukrainian people were the following scholars: Lviv university professor, Z. Matviichuk from the Institute of Social Sciences; Hrytsiutenko — Lviv University; Zdoroveha from the same university; Kybalchych — Lecturer in the Department of Journalism; Yashchuk — candidate for a Ph. D. in literature and language; Dr. Kobylanskyi, Z. Khukysh — Lviv; Babushkin — Dr. of philology from Kyiv. Of course, there were also those who conducted themselves properly and refused dishonest compensation:

I. Kovalyk — LDU; Shabliovskiy — Prof. of the Institute of Literature of Kyiv; Volynskiy — Kyiv Pedagogical Institute; Zozulia — Ukrainologist from Moscow; Shurat — The Institute of Social Sciences in Lviv.

Even to Drach whom the KGB at one time allowed to go abroad the major of the court corridors addressed these words: “Is it you, Drach? Why are you writing all sorts of trash instead of educating the people? And even defending the anti-Soviets? They all should be hanged, the dirty scum!”

“Who in Ukraine today is thrown behind bars? The young people, who grew up during the Soviet regime, who have been educated in the Soviet schools, in Soviet universities, in Comsomol, are being tried. They are tried as bourgeois nationalists, the people who do not remember the bourgeois regime, whose parents or grandparents were paupers in their rich native land. And nobody thought of searching for the causes deeper than the tedious nonsense about the influence of the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois nationalism. Who needs all this “bourgeois”, dear comrades, if not you, yourselves, for the standard formula which should change honest thinking and courageous search for the road to justice?

“The police prophylaxis of the brain is and will be helpless if the eyes continue to be closed to unsolved problems, especially the national problem. Again and again it will be necessary to put those who stubbornly refuse to call black white behind bars. It will be necessary to crumple the consciences of men instead of depending on men with a developed sense of dignity and consciousness. It will be necessary to cut the roots of a tree upon which new suckers should be cultivated, which we need so badly after the violent storms. Later on it will be necessary to rehabilitate these people anyhow and to acknowledge that truth for which they have sacrificed their youth was on their side. History always brings everything out into the open . . .”

Courageous Attitude Of Political Prisoner

Appeal From The Mordovian Concentration Camp

Every year progressive humanity commemorates the day when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed. Countries, members of UN, including Ukraine, signed this document "in order to cement faith in the basic human rights, in the dignity and worth of human individuality, in equal rights for men and women, in equal rights for large and small nations."

The signature has been affixed, but how to introduce the contents of the Declaration into real life?

Thus, at the end of 1965, a wave of arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia rolled over Ukraine with accusations, the terminology of which has changed little since after the times of B. Khmelnytsky: Mazepa movement, separatism, German agents, nationalism, bourgeois nationalism, anti-Soviet agitation. I was accused of "falling under the influence of hostile nationalistic propaganda", of reading books which have not yet been censored by Soviet censors, of expressing my thoughts, and so forth.

Great words on equality and freedom should have meaning, so that what happened in St. Lut's aphorism would not happen here: "There are great words hollow to a point that whole nations could be imprisoned in them." The Constitution of the USSR proclaims the equality of nations and independence of the sovereign republics of the USSR. I belonged to those 7.5 million Ukrainians who live outside the borders of Ukraine in the USSR. In the Russian federation where I lived earlier there were over 4 million Ukrainians who have no Ukrainian schools there and among whom no Ukrainian cultural or social activities are conducted. Lomonosov called the people who lost their native language — "the living corpses". There is no wonder, therefore that the former "living corpse" in my person felt himself to be a Ukrainian and became part of the cultural life in Ukraine without even demanding equality in Russia, when right away the attention of the

KGB organs has been turned on me. It is dangerous to be conscious of your nationality. But nations have a right to secure their own path of development without harm to others, on the basis of equality and not guardianship.

The KGB organs fabricated the accusations, twisted the laws and brutally trampled the standards of Union law and international responsibilities. The fabrication of accusations of the so-called "bourgeois nationalism" quite naturally forced the security organs to conduct closed court proceedings, so that truth and the "evidence" would not reach the people. I feel that these trials are a continuation of the scandalous repressions against the Ukrainian nation which were conducted in the 30's, 40's and 50's. The very method of secret trials, the fabrication of investigation, etc. testify to that. The Code of Laws, the Constitution of the USSR and the "Declaration of Human Rights" are criminally violated by the organs of the KGB.

I cannot and do not acknowledge the decisions of the court to be just when the court proceedings are conducted illegally. The fabrication of accusations is also attested to by the fact that the Lviv "scholarly" commission of experts called the poem "Dolia" (Fate) by T. H. Shevchenko found in my possession anti-Soviet, nationalistic, of unknown authorship. Is it not in this search for "manifestations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" that the long ears and wolf's snout of the super-power chauvinism reveal themselves so clearly?

For centuries the oppressors tried in vain to destroy the Ukrainian culture and language, but the people stood firm against this enemy assault and it was not frightened by any repressions, nor by burning of libraries, or the destruction of treasures of the Ukrainian culture.

Accusing me the KGB organs wrote: "...morally unstable person, falling under the influence ..." etc. etc. However, to be a Ukrainian, conscious of your national dignity, is not "harmful influence" but the

duty of an honest man. To renounce your nationality is belittling and immoral, and the workers of the KGB who are trying to force people into doing so are criminal state offenders worthy of the defendants' bench.

I consider myself innocent before my conscience, before my people and before the law. I demand an immediate reconsider-

Ivan Dziuba

Babyn Yar Continues

There are things, there are tragedies, whose immensity cannot be expressed in words and about which more can be said in silence — a great silence of thousands of people. Perhaps we should also refrain from talking and silently contemplate such a thing. However, silence says much only where everything which could have been said has already been said. When everything is far from having been said, when in fact nothing has been yet said — then silence becomes a partner of lies and slavery. Therefore we speak, we must speak wherever possible, taking advantage of all the opportunities which so often come our way.

I would like to say a few words — one thousandth part of what I am thinking today and what I would have liked to say here. I would like to turn to you as to human beings — as to my brothers in humanity. I would like to turn to you, Jews, as a Ukrainian, as a member of the Ukrainian nation to which I am proud to belong.

Babyn Yar is the tragedy of the whole of mankind, but it took place on Ukrainian soil. And therefore a Ukrainian has no more right to forget about it than a Jew. Babyn Yar is our mutual tragedy, a tragedy first of all of the Jewish and the Ukrainian people.

This tragedy was brought to our people by Fascism.

At the same time we must remember that Fascism did not start with Babyn Yar and does not end with it. Fascism begins with disrespect of the individual and ends with the destruction of the individual, with the destruction of peoples — but not neces-

sarily with the same type of destruction as in Babyn Yar . . .

April 5, 1967, Yavas

O. Zalyvakha

sarily with the same type of destruction as in Babyn Yar . . .

Anti-Semitism — is an “international” phenomenon. It has always existed and still exists in all societies. Unfortunately, our society is not free from it either. This should probably not seem strange — since anti-Semitism is the fruit and satellite of age-long slavery and lack of culture, the first and inevitable offspring of political despotism and it is not conquered in the framework of entire societies so easily and so quickly as one might suppose. But what surprises us is something else: that during the post-war decades no real struggle was undertaken against it. What is more — at times it was even artificially stimulated. It seems that Lenin's instructions on the struggle with anti-Semitism are being forgotten just as Lenin's instructions on the national development of Ukraine are being forgotten.

In Stalin's times open attempts were made to play on the mutual prejudices of a segment of the Ukrainian and the Jewish people, an attempt which looked like Jewish bourgeois nationalism, Zionism, etc. — to cut around Jewish national culture and, under the appearance of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, Ukrainian national culture. Those carefully thought out campaigns brought harm to both peoples and did not foster their friendship; they only added one more sad memory to the hard history of both peoples and to the complicated history of their relations . . .

We Ukrainians in our community should struggle against all manifestations of anti-Semitism or disrespect for Jews, all misunderstanding of the Jewish problem.

You Jews in your community should combat those who do not respect a Ukrainian, Ukrainian culture, or the Ukrainian language, who unjustly see a potential anti-Semite in every Ukrainian.

We should outlive all hatred toward any human beings, overcome all misunderstandings and with all our lives bring about true brotherhood.

It would seem that only those who should understand one another, and we in particular, should give an example to humanity of brotherly co-operation. The history of our people is similar in its tragedy to such a point that in the biblical motives of his "Moisei" Franko has recreated the road of the Ukrainian people in the robes of a Jewish legend, and Lesia Ukrainka began one of her greatest poems on Ukraine's tragedy with the words: "And you once fought, like Israel . . ."

Great sons of both peoples have bequeathed on us mutual understanding and friendship. The lives of three great Jewish writers — Sholom Aleikhem, Itskhok Perets and Mendel Moikher-Sforim — are closely knit with the Ukrainian land. They loved this land and taught that people should work well there. A brilliant Jewish journalist, Volodymyr Zhabotynsky, took the side of the Ukrainian people in their struggle with Russian Tsarism and called upon the Jewish intelligentsia to support the Ukrainian national liberation movement and Ukrainian culture.

One of the last public acts of Taras Shevchenko was a well-known statement against the anti-Semitic policy of the Tsarist government. Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, Borys Hrinchenko, Stepan Vasylchenko and other prominent Ukrainian writers knew well the greatness of Jewish history and the Jewish spirit and valued it greatly and wrote with great compassion about the sufferings of the Jewish poor.

In the past we have experienced not only blind enmity and tragic misunderstanding, even though there was plenty of this. In the past, we also have examples of heroic solidarity and mutual assistance in the struggle for the ideals of freedom and justice, for a better fate for our respective

nations.

We, the present generation, should continue this tradition and contrast it with the bad tradition of mistrust and misunderstanding.

Unfortunately, there are a number of factors which do not assist in the establishment and expansion of this novel tradition of solidarity.

Among them — the absence of real publicity, publicity in national matters, as the result of which a conspiracy of silence surrounds the burning questions.

The road to true, not false, brotherhood — lies not in self-oblivion but in self-knowledge. We should not repudiate ourselves and adapt ourselves to others, but should be ourselves and respect others. Jews have a right to be Jews; Ukrainians have a right to be Ukrainians in the full and deep, not only in the formal sense of these words. Let the Jews know Jewish history, Jewish culture and language and let them be proud of them. Let the Ukrainians know Ukrainian history, Ukrainian culture and language and let them be proud of them. Let them know the history and culture of one another, the history and culture of other peoples; let them appreciate themselves and others — as their brothers.

It is hard to achieve this, but it is better to strive for it than to drop one's hand apathetically and to drift on the tide of assimilation and accommodation from which no benefit was ever derived but instead profanity, obsequiousness and hidden hatred of humanity.

With our whole being we should deny civilized hatred of humanity and social arrogance. Nothing more important than this presents itself today because otherwise all social ideals will lose their meaning.

This is our duty to the millions of victims of despotism; this is our duty before the better men of the Jewish and Ukrainian people who have called for mutual understanding and friendship; this is our duty before the Ukrainian soil on which we have to live together. This is our duty before humanity.

Voice Of Despair And Protest

Editor's note:

Ukrainian newspapers in Western Europe have published a letter from Ukrainian prisoners incarcerated in Camp No. 17 of the Dubravnoye regional administration of the slave labour camps of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The letter reached the free world in a clandestine manner.

Among the prisoners in the Mordovian camps there are some of the 70 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested and sentenced in Ukraine in 1966, as well as the two other writers Daniel and Siniavsky.

The letter proves once again that concentration camps continue to exist in the USSR and their inmates are often political prisoners serving long term sentences, people who were made invalids and cripples by long and hard imprisonment. Even if people serve short sentences, the conditions are so severe that they become physically broken after a comparatively short time. The letter proves the continuance of persecution of religion and its adherents. It also proves that the spirit of resistance among Ukrainian patriots remains unbroken.

Below is the full text of the letter.

Letter From Ukrainian Political Prisoners From A Soviet Russian Concentration Camp

"The No. 17 camp of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is situated in the village of Ozernoye in the Zubovaya Polyana district of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It is divided into two zones: in the first, the main one, there are about 700 women convicted for "ordinary" crimes, and in the other there are 276 male political prisoners. Captain Novikov is camp commandant; Captain Annenkov is commandant of the No. 17-A camp section, i. e. of the male zone; Senior-Lieutenant Zabaykin is head of the health department; Captain Ivan Romanovich Krut' is plenipotentiary of the State Security Committee (KGB) for No. 17 camp.

The majority of the male prisoners are invalids. There are 208 second category and 51 third category invalids. There are only two cold and overcrowded barracks in the male zone, with poor ventilation. Food is brought from the female zone and though a prisoner's ration is poor to start with, he does not even receive this meagre ration fully. Bread is sour, poorly baked, inedible even for a healthy person, not to speak of sick people who make up a majority of the camp inmates. Medical assistance is in fact absent, which can be seen from the following example: On January 7th, 1967, prisoner Mykhailo Soroka

who spent 31 years in Polish and Russian jails (24 of them in Soviet prisons) fell seriously ill. As became evident, he had a heart attack. In such cases qualified medical assistance is urgently necessary. However, a free medical assistant appeared only after 4 days had passed. Only on the seventh day the sick man was taken to the sick bay (until then he was in the barrack). All this time he (Soroka) was under the care of medical assistant Mykola Yevdokimov, a fellow prisoner, experienced but powerless in these circumstances when there are no medicaments or instruments.

In the sick bay there are only 7 beds (for 225 invalids, a majority of whom are aged and seriously ill). There are no medicines and the prisoners have no right to receive them from their relatives (even vitamins, though food is so miserably poor). A dentist is unheard of. Theoretically, those seriously ill should be sent to the central hospital of the Dubravnoye camp administration (No. 3 camp in the village of Barashevo). But this is not always possible, as in Soroka's case, when the sick person cannot be transported (particularly on the terrible roads).

Often, too, dispatch to the central hospital is useless. Thus there have been several cases when doctors sent a prisoner

to the central hospital having diagnosed a cancer disease, and doctors from the central hospital instead of freeing the prisoner on the grounds of ill-health (which they are entitled to do), sent him back to the camp with the diagnosis—acute gastritis. And only death and dissection of the body of the deceased confirmed the correctness of the former diagnosis. People are released only in such cases when death comes a few days after release. What better can be expected of people who do not make one step without the instructions of the KGB and the Operations Department.

Decisive voice in the No. 3 camp (central hospital) has the head of the regime, Captain Kitsayev, who discharged Dr. Horbovyi* from the hospital and sent him back to the camp, although his treatment was far from completed. Similar cases are not rare. The head of the health department Yermeyeva stated in No. 11 camp, during Karavanskyi's** hunger strike, that she knew about the hunger strike, but was unable to do anything because there had been no instructions from the Operations Department. The prisoner Ivan Maksym applied for medical treatment to the surgeon in No. 11 camp, but the latter refused even to talk to him, calling him a simulant. This resulted in the prisoner's death. Medical personnel from among the prisoners are not much better. Only people who are in the service of the KGB and Operations Department are taken there. Neither medical education nor knowledge play any role whatsoever. For example, the following medical students, prisoners Yaroslav Hevrych and Dmytro Verkholiak, were dismissed from work in the health department and transferred to general work in a workshop, although there is a shortage of medical workers. At the same time individuals who never had anything to do with medicine, as for example Malykhin and others who are in good books of the KGB and Management Department are working as medical orderlies. If there is an experienced and conscientious senior medical assistant in the No. 17 camp, this is so only because, while working at the central hospital, he

was disliked by some of those who have no relation to medicine, and they sent him here to the No. 17 camp.

Altogether No. 17 camp has been created as a punitive camp. Administration does not try to cover it up in conversations, although officially, it is not regarded as such. Apart from invalids, people who have not the slightest intention to submit to the so-called educational work among the prisoners and with their example can negatively influence the mass of the prisoners in this direction, have been gathered here. Therefore, a policy of reprisals with regard to the prisoners, is forcefully carried out here. Its aim is to undermine the health of the prisoners and to suppress the slightest symptom of the spirit of insubmission and protest. With this purpose in view the organised production (the sewing of gloves and construction) is based on a system of compulsion, arbitrary punishment and reprisals. Prisoners who work in construction have been issued with warm special clothing (felt boots and padded clothing). The average temperature in the shop usually stays within the limits between +5° and +9° centigrade. And on the floor the temperature is usually below the freezing point. Thus there cannot be any talk about normal work in conditions when one has to handle metallic parts of the machine. Nonetheless they demand fulfilment of work quotas from the prisoner, although these cannot be fulfilled even under normal conditions, not to speak of the present situation when equipment is broken, when the premises where the prisoners have to spend nine hours each day (given the 8-hour working day for the prisoners), are not heated.

One hour is allowed for the so-called lunch break and rest, but it is not only no rest, but additional punishment, because people are forced to spend an additional hour in a cold building. Lunch and supper are given in unsanitary conditions, on generally dirty premises, without tables, so that a prisoner is forced to eat at the place of work, i.e. by his machine. There are no facilities for washing one's hands, because one small wash-basin cannot

provide enough water for everyone, and there is no water in the work zone, neither are there any towels. Smoking in the workshop and in the passage is forbidden. And as there is no place provided where one could smoke, prisoners are compelled to smoke in a small corridor leading to the street, where doors are constantly opened and there is constant draught (with 30° centigrade of frost.)

The administration constantly threatens with reprisals against those who fail to fulfil the norms (and at present no one is able to fulfil the norm), and will carry out these threats as soon as the period of training ends (at the beginning of February 1967). As there is a shortage of manpower, because second category invalids are entitled to stay off work, the administration openly declares that it will set up a local medical committee with the purpose of taking away the rights of invalids from the disabled persons and forcing them to work. Camp commandant, Capt. Annenkov, has said it openly.

The point is that up to now this was a camp for women political prisoners (until 29th December, 1966, i.e. to the date of our arrival) most of whom were women sentenced for their religious convictions, that is people who less than anyone else had been able to put up resistance to the arbitrariness of the camp administration, or even to protest against the oppression. It must also be added that — in an overwhelming majority — these were elderly women. As the overlookers say, they were exhausted beings, clad in rags, who were forced to work in cold premises where temperature rarely rose to 2-3 degrees above the freezing point, and often fell below the freezing point even. As the system of oppression has become a tradition here, the administration has the intention to continue it in the future, too. No wonder that the overlookers are frankly saying that the more we complain against the infringement of our lawful rights by them, the more they are praised by their superiors and vice versa.

Have the prisoners tried to complain against these numerous infringements, re-

prisals and injustice? They have, and have done so many a time, but without any effect. The camp commandant, Capt. Annenkov, replied with shouts that things would remain as they were. Chief engineer stated to the complaint that we are compelled to consume our food in cold premises, in unhygienic conditions, that this was none of his concern and advised us to address similar questions to "Ivan the Wind". After many complaints a medical inspector come from the health department of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration, who, in the first place, did not believe that temperature in the shop was too low (he did not agree to its being measured on the spot), stating that "norms had always been fulfilled and overfulfilled here". After we mentioned that we had recently sent a number of complaints signed by the shift master (a free man), dealing with the temperature in the workshop, he merely enquired to whom these complaints were addressed, and was dissatisfied that they were addressed to the General Attorney's Office and not the Camp Administration.

As regards the complaint by the writer Daniel about the outrageous case of the sick man, M. Soroka, this medical inspector stated that this was no longer a topical question (the sick man did not die when he did not receive medical treatment) and tried to make Daniel recognise that everything in the camp was in order (which he needed for formally dismissing the matter), to which the latter did not agree. No wonder that when the prisoners demand what is due to them according to the law, representatives of the administration do not bother to do anything and simply reply: "You may complain", because they know that no one will pay the slightest attention to our complaints. To whom is one to complain if our former "educators" sit in the offices of higher authority? The following fact may bear witness to their standards of behaviour. For two or three years the former operations manager from camp No. 19 was acting as a doctor at the No. 7 camp. He was dismissed from his job in camp No. 19 for an attempt to violate a nurse. At present he is employed

as duty officer at the prison in the town of Ruzayevka in Mordovia. At present, Senior Lieutenant Nekrasov is in charge of the guard detachment at camp No. 1. Previously he was a medical assistant in the same camp. Supervision by attorneys is the same as that by doctors (attorneys very often change their seats from those of law officers to camp commandants, officials of the administration, and vice versa, as happened with our present deputy head of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration, Nekachan).

Mention was made already of correspondence and parcels. I wish to add that permission to receive packets with printed matter which we are lawfully permitted to receive — depends (just as letters) on the will of the KGB functionary (in the given case Capt. Krut'), which makes our right illusory.

Representatives of various nations of the Soviet Union are held in the camp. There are Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Russians. As could well have been expected, there are a great many Ukrainians.

Who are they?

(There follows a list of Ukrainian prisoners whom the author (or authors) of the letter segregate into the following groups: "participants in the national liberation struggle 1942-1954, as well as various clandestine groups of a similar character";

"those sentenced for their religious convictions (Catholics, Baptists, Jehova's Witnesses, etc.);"; "those sentenced for the so-called anti-Soviet agitation, for an attempt to cross the frontier and similar crimes"; "for crimes committed during the war". The list gives: the prisoner's surname and name, region, year of birth, when arrested, sentence in years. There are altogether 114 names. Obviously this list does not contain all the Ukrainian prisoners of No. 17-A camp, because at the end of some groups there is "and others".)

Although all the listed Ukrainians have been sentenced by the courts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, they are held (and have always been held) in the camps of Russia. This is another superfluous proof of the resignation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from its sovereignty — the carrying out of the sentence of its courts.

There are only 17 people of the working category, i.e. people able to work, in the camp.

The head of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is Colonel Gromov, notorious from his arbitrariness in the 40's and 50's in Kamyshlag (Kemerovo region) (West Siberia - Ed.).

The head of the KGB Department at the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is Lieut.-Col. Blinov.

* Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi — lawyer and prominent Ukrainian imprisoned by Soviet Russians since 1945.

** Sviatoslav Karavanskyi — journalist, poet and translator. Sentenced to 25 years of penal servitude in 1944, released in 1960 rearrested in 1965.

In the Land of Peace

The action takes place in Byelorussia. Two members of the Young Communist League (Komsomol) Marusia and Vania went into the forest, seated themselves under a bush and began to kiss. Suddenly, an old bearded man, wearing a jersey, with a submachine gun on his back came out of forest depths, saw the young kissing and said:

— Aren't you ashamed of yourselves? Our country is occupied by the enemy; he is destroying the fatherland, and you are kissing!

— Are you out of your mind, old man? 21 years have passed since the war.

— You don't say?! And I am still dynamiting trains and dynamiting!

Instead of Amnesty — More Severe Conditions for Prisoners

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Russian empire, many Ukrainian prisoners in the Russian death camps in Mordovian ASSR were transferred to the so-called BUR, that is lock-up. One of these prisoners is *Mykhailo Masiutko*.

He was born on November 18, 1918 in the Kherson oblast. He is a teacher of painting, drafting and Ukrainian language in a technical school. Married.

M. Masiutko finished the Workers' Faculty at the Kherson pedagogical institute. He also studied at the Language-Literature Faculty of the Zaporizhzhia pedagogical institute, but was unable to finish it because of financial difficulties. He taught Ukrainian language and literature in the Volodymyr-Volynskiy region of the Zhytomyr oblast. He was arrested in 1937 for "counter-revolutionary" propaganda and sentenced to 5 years in Kolyma. There he remained till 1940 where an accident saved his life: after the death of his father, his mother was able to obtain a reexamination of the case and Masiutko was released and rehabilitated. He remained in the Khabarovsk region where he taught German. From 1942 to 1945 Masiutko was in the Soviet army and found himself near Berlin at the war's end; he was awarded a medal. After the war Masiutko taught in the Crimea. In 1946 he was appointed principal of a railroad school in Drohobych. In 1948 he entered the Editorial-Publishing Faculty at the Lviv Polygraphic Institute. In 1956 he received his diploma from the Moscow Polygraphic Institute, and taught in the Kyiv region. In 1957 he joined his aging mother in Feodosia, Crimea, where he taught painting, drafting and the Ukrainian language in primary and technical school, and later retired. He was engaged in literary work, wrote articles, novels and short stories and worked as a polygraphist. His works were published in *Dnipro*, *Literaturna Ukraina* and in the regional press.

Masiutko was arrested on September 4, 1965 in Feodosia. He was sentenced on

March 25, 1966 at a closed hearing of the Lviv Oblast Court to 6 years in camps of the severe regime, being accused of anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda.

During a search in his house the organs of the KGB confiscated all his literary works: poems, stories, diary.

Masiutko is spending his sentence in the Mordovian camps where he is working as a loader even though he has undergone a complicated heart surgery while at camp. In December 1966 Masiutko was put into the camp's jail — supposedly for the preparation and distribution of documents calling for liberation.

While in the Lviv jail during the investigation Masiutko wrote the following letter to the Attorney General of the Ukr.S.S.R.

To: The Attorney General of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Copy to: Head of the UKDB, Lviv Oblast

From: Citizen Masiutko, M.S. who lives in the town of Feodosia, 20 Stepova Street, and is now under arrest in the city of Lviv, 1 Myr Street, in the investigation isolator of the UKDB

EXPLANATION

As directed by the Lviv prosecutor's office, on September 4, 1964 my apartment in the city of Feodosia where I am a permanent resident was searched by the workers of the UKDB*. A number of typewritten articles, which during the search were labelled "anti-Soviet nationalistic materials", my own as well as other typed and hand-written works, literary and art reviews and other such critical articles had been confiscated. Copies of little known poetical works of various pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary authors, copies of some folk songs, books printed before the Soviet regime and a typewriter have also been taken.

Among the confiscated so-called "anti-Soviet, nationalistic materials" were the following articles: "Noch smerty Stalina"

* *Secret police*

(The night of Stalin's death), "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhal'skyi", "Class and National Struggle in the Present Stage of Development of Humanity", "The Answer of V. Symonenko's Mother, Shcherban, H. F.", I. Dziuba — "Speech commemorating the 30th Birthday of V. Symonenko", M. Masiutko — "Literature and Pseudo-Literature in Ukraine", R. Rakhmannyi — "To the Writer Irene Vilde and Her Countrymen Who Are Not Afraid of the Truth", "Ukrainian Education in the Russian Chauvinistic Loop", "The Speech of Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Unveiling of T. Shevchenko's Monument in Washington, D.C.", "An Answer of the Ukrainian Cultural Workers of Canada and the USA to the Cultural Workers of the Ukr.S.S.R.", "Present-day Imperialism", M. Hryshko — "The Last Work of Mykola Khvylovyi", "From the Documents of Recent Ukrainian History, Burned in Kyiv", A. Malysenko — "Speech at the Funeral of V. Sosiura".

After the search I was detained by the workers of the Crimean UKDin, and later, upon the orders of the Lviv prosecutor's office, was sent to Lviv where I have been under arrest since September 7th.

At the time of the first inquiry in Feodosia, I explained to the investigating organs that all my literature had been taken away and I was being detained without any grounds: none of the confiscated literature falls into the category of anti-Soviet literature for the possession of which one can be brought to trial under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R.

Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR clearly states that anyone who conducts any kind of agitation directed at the downfall, weakening or embarrassment of the Soviet regime, or is in possession of literature of the said contents with the aim of agitation can be brought to trial. However, none of the so-called "anti-Soviet literature" confiscated from me even goes so far as to mention the word "Soviet regime" in a negative sense. On the contrary, the article by Rakhmannyi "To the Writer I. Vilde" speaks of strengthening and increasing the power of the existing Soviet regime in Ukraine; my

article, "Literature and Pseudo-Literature in Ukraine" states that the establishment of the Soviet government in Ukraine, till the appearance of lawlessness during the period of the personality cult of Stalin, had led to the blossoming of many-sided and original talents in literature, art and motion picture production.

I have explained to the investigating organs of the Crimean UKDB as well as to the Lviv UKDB that article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. gives the right to prosecute for agitation directed towards particular aims and not for any expressed idea which does not happen to appeal to some officials or particular institutions. I understand article 62 and I do not think that it can be understood in any other way than as an article which does not foresee prosecution for ideological stands, even if these stands were evaluated from the point of view of the Marxist-Leninist, Communist ideology as ideologically weak, or ideologically erroneous or even ideologically hostile.

That this is so is attested to by the facts of our social life after the period of the cult: the Criminal Code does not try church-goers who are spreading an ideology completely opposed to the Communist ideology. The Criminal Code did not bring to trial the anti-Party group of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich even though they were openly against the official course of the Party. The Criminal Code does not bring the publishers to court prosecution for printing the works of openly anti-Communist contents (for example "Devils" by F. Dostoevsky and "Communist Underground Activities" by Dixon and Helbrunn.)

I have been explaining to the investigating organs that identifying a stand which is ideologically unsuitable to Communist teachings with an anti-Soviet stand leads to the renewal of arbitrariness and lawlessness such as took place during the personality cult of Stalin and which has been condemned by the high tribunals of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU. However, the investigating organs do not want to understand this and are continuing

to demand that I admit the "anti-Soviet activities".

As I found out later, large groups of people were arrested in Kyiv, Lviv and many other cities of Ukraine for possession or distribution of the same materials which were taken from me during the search. In relation to this the investigating organs are putting the question in this way: we will prosecute you for illegal circulation of literature even if it is not anti-Soviet. But the Criminal Code does not foresee prosecution for the distribution of any type of literature, even if it might be ideologically inappropriate. The said literature should be anti-Soviet, literature with a call to a struggle against the Soviet government, with accusations of the Soviet regime, with the calls to sabotage Soviet government institutions. All this was absent from the literature on the basis of which I and many others will be arraigned by the investigating organs.

It is quite clear why the Criminal Code does not prosecute for views which are ideologically unwarranted or ideologically inappropriate from the point of view of the Communist ideology: for this there are other weapons in the arsenal of the Communist Party, not the court: press, radio, TV, cinema, the universities of Marxism-Leninism, a society for diffusion of political and scientific knowledge, departments of Marxism-Leninism at schools of higher learning, ideological education at schools and technical colleges, etc. Ideology is combated with ideology, not with prison. And when prison is used in the service of the ruling ideology, then, as historical facts testify, such a service turns into the greatest harm. Practice at the time of the cult of Stalin's personality showed that the covering-up of social ills by repressions results in the conception of antagonism between the government and the broad masses because behind each person illegally convicted stand not only tens of relatives and friends but also the social thought of the entire people. Furthermore, it is impossible to fight ideological views with jail because they very often reveal the basic faults in our social life and government leadership

which should be taken into consideration and not covered up by the acts of repression.

However, one question arises: where does one draw the line between an improper stand and an anti-Soviet stand? It should be clear to every jurist that if a stand is directed against the state government, when it calls to a struggle against this government, in this case against the government of the Soviet state, then it should be treated as an anti-state, in this case anti-Soviet stand. If this stand does not call to a struggle against the state, but is of a critical nature, if it criticizes particular acts of some institutions, even if they be state institutions, contrary to the existing ideology and brings out another ideology, but does not call to anti-state actions, then such a stand cannot be treated as anti-state (anti-Soviet).

Among the materials confiscated from me there are materials of philosophical nature, social, literary and social-economic. Can the investigating organs, or even the court, determine the degree of relationship of these materials to article 62 of the Criminal Code? Of course not. An investigator or a judge are only jurists. Here besides law training it is necessary to have professional education in philosophy, philology, sociology, political economy. Besides, I see from the proceedings of the inquiry that the investigating organs of the Lviv UKDB cannot be entirely objective, also because they fully accept the criticism of the organs of GPU, NKVD, MDB and repeat their mistakes. This takes place in the above mentioned materials as well as in my own works which have been confiscated during the search. This is why I propose to the investigating organs and at the same time demand on the basis of my rights guaranteed by article 197 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. to create a competent commission, composed of disinterested parties, which could carry out a judgement on the relationship of article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. to the materials which have been confiscated from me.

The investigating organs are denying this to me; they state that they themselves

have already established the relationship of these materials to article 62.

I understand that it is possible to accuse without going deeper into the case; it is even possible to convict without going into detailed analysis. But, I feel that it is also necessary to think of the influence it will have upon the social thought. The conclusion will undoubtedly be such: they are prosecuting for a word, for an expressed thought just as in the times of Yezhov or Beria; they are going back to the times of terror and repressions, lawlessness and arbitrariness. And then the wish to shelter the Soviet regime will turn to the opposite. It will turn out to be such anti-Soviet agitation as no enemy of the Soviet regime could ever invent.

I told the organs which are carrying on the investigation in my case and in the case of the Lviv group about this. I do not know whether they (these organs) do not want to understand me purposely, or whether they cannot understand? Since the investigating organs, this is my impression, are bound by some general rules in connection with the inquiry on similar groups in other cities, I am turning to you with this letter, as to the Attorney General of our republic, who can direct the inquiry of all groups to the right path.

October, 1965.

S. Yo. Karavanskyi

Prisoner Demands Trial Of Minister

*Petition To The Attorney General
Of The Ukr.S.S.R.*

Please prosecute Yuriy Mykolaiovych Dadenkov, the Minister of Secondary and Higher Education of the Ukr.S.S.R., according to the articles which relate to punishment for:

1. Violation of national and racial equality (Art. 66 CC Ukr.S.S.R.).
2. Counteraction in the renewal of Lenin's principles in the practice of establishment of higher education in the Ukr. S.S.R. (Art. 66, 167 CC Ukr.S.S.R.).
3. Failure to act upon the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU relating

to the liquidation of the achievements of the Ukrainian Socialist nation (Art. 66 CC Ukr.S.S.R.).

4. Preparation of unqualified staff and the disorganisation of the process of education in the higher and secondary school system (Art. 167 CC Ukr.S.S.R.).

I am basing my petition on the following facts:

1. During the time that Yu. M. Dadenkov spent in the position of Minister of Higher and Secondary Education in the Ukr.S.S.R., he has made serious mistakes in his work, as a result of which persons of Ukrainian nationality, whose native tongue is Ukrainian, do not have equal rights of admission to secondary and higher institutions of learning in comparison with individuals whose mother tongue is Russian. This condition occurred because, according to the rules of admission to higher and secondary special educational institutions, Russian language and literature are part of the competitive examination. It is completely understandable that the graduates of Russian schools are more successful in this examination and gain higher grades than the graduates of Ukrainian schools. Besides this, entrance examinations in special subjects are conducted in Russian and this also makes it harder for the graduates of Ukrainian schools to pass these special subjects. As a result of this the graduates of Ukrainian schools gain lower grades in competitive examinations. Those who obtain higher marks at competitive examinations are admitted to the educational institutions. As a result the graduates of Russian schools gain higher grades at competitive examinations required for admission to the educational institutions than do the graduates of Ukrainian schools. Under these conditions more graduates of Russian secondary and semi-secondary schools are admitted to higher and secondary schools of learning. Most institutes on the territory of the Ukr.S.S.R. require an examination in the Russian language and literature as a prerequisite for admission. Two extracts of advertisements for admission to the Kharkiv Agricultural Institute of Dokuchaev and to the Odessa Credit-

Economic Institute are attached to this petition.

As the result of this erroneous anti-Leninist attitude Ukrainians attending schools of higher learning constitute a much smaller percentage than do Ukrainians in the field of manufacturing of material goods on the territory of the Ukr.S.S.R. Thus, among those who were admitted to the Odessa Polytechnic Institute in 1964-65 Ukrainians constituted 43%. From 1,126 Ukrainians who submitted applications for admission 453 or 40% were admitted. From 1,042 Russians who applied for admission to the institute 477 were admitted, or 46%. This is the result of the admission system to the institutions of higher learning and secondary schools of the republic which makes it harder for Ukrainians to be admitted. This is an anti-Leninist practice and indirectly constitutes the curtailment of the rights of citizens on the basis of their nationality. Action in this line is punishable under article 66 of the CC Ukr.S.S.R.

"Article 66. Violation of national and racial equality."

"Propaganda or agitation with the aim of inciting racial or national enmity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of rights or the establishment of direct or indirect preferences among citizens according to their race or nationality is punishable by the loss of freedom for the period of six months to three years or banishment for the period of three to five years".

2. In the resolution of CC RCP* (b) on Soviet government in Ukraine on Nov. 29, 1919 Lenin wrote:

"4. Due to the fact that Ukrainian culture (language, school, etc.) has been stifled by Tsarism and the Russian exploiting classes for centuries, the CC RCP makes it a duty of all members of the party to assist in the removal of all obstacles to the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. If on the basis of centuries-long oppression among the backward segments of the Ukrainian masses nationalistic trends were noticeable, the members of RCP should treat them with great patience and caution, extending to

* *Communist Party*

them a word of friendly explanation of the identity of interests of the toiling masses of Ukraine and Russia. The members of RCP on Ukrainian territory should by their actions further extend the right of the toiling masses to learn their native language and to speak it in Soviet institutions to counteract all attempts at artificial relegation of the Ukrainian language to the secondary plane, desiring on the other hand to transform the Ukrainian language into a tool of the Communist education of the toiling masses. All attempts should be made immediately to employ an adequate number of people in Ukrainian institutions who speak Ukrainian and further that all employees should speak Ukrainian". (Lenin, *Sochyneniia*, v. 39, p. 334-337)

As an implementation of Lenin's orders higher and special secondary education had been Ukrainianized during the 20-30's. Instructions in the institutions of higher learning were conducted in Ukrainian. This paved the way for the education of the Ukrainian toiling masses and created the conditions for the normal development of the Ukrainian socialist nation.

During the period of the cult of the person of Stalin this rule about the establishment of higher education in Ukraine was abolished. Regardless of the fact that the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr.S.S.R. headed by Yu. M. Dadenkov, according to the appropriate party directives, had a chance to do away with the remains of the personality cult in the greater majority of higher and secondary special institutions of learning in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk and other cities, the instructions have not been given in Ukrainian. Thus the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education has accepted the fact that the Ukrainian language had been "relegated to the second plane" against which V. I. Lenin warned. Therefore, the Ministry, headed by Yu. M. Dadenkov, continues to tolerate the removal of Lenin's norms in the practice of the organization of higher education in the Ukr.S.S.R.

3. The normal condition for the development of any Socialist nation is the educa-

tion of national intelligentsia. During the period that Yu. M. Dadenkov has been Minister of Higher and Special Secondary Education the education of national intelligentsia in the Ukr.S.S.R. has not been renewed. Ukrainian intelligentsia is educated apart from its people, its culture and its language. The staff of instructors in the institutions of higher learning of the Ukr.S.S.R. "do not understand" the Ukrainian language. Thus, in the Odessa pedagogical institute of Ushynskiy, which is preparing teachers for secondary schools, instructions are not conducted in Ukrainian because of "lack of knowledge" of the Ukrainian language by the teachers. In the Odessa state university of Mechnykov even the Ukrainian section of the Philology Department, which prepares the majority of Ukrainian philologists, a good number of courses (history of the CPSU, foreign languages, logic, psychology, foreign literature, Marxist philosophy) are not given in Ukrainian. This is a direct result of the careless attitude of the Minister of Education of the Ukr.S.S.R. towards his duties: a) A whole series of textbooks, necessary for Ukrainian higher institutions are not being published: textbooks for foreign languages, textbooks for logic, textbooks of foreign literatures, readers in foreign literatures, etc. b) The contingents of national instructorial forces are not being trained. Of course, this state of higher

education in Ukraine is ruining the normal conditions for development of the Ukrainian Socialist nation.

4. As the result of the "relegation" of the Ukrainian language in the system of higher education to the second plane the graduates of universities and pedagogical institutes after the course of studies do not speak Ukrainian. When working in Ukrainian schools these instructors do not teach their subjects in Ukrainian. 50% of the graduates of the Odessa university and the Odessa pedagogical institute refuse to teach in Ukrainian schools, motivating it by the fact that they do not know the Ukrainian language. This situation impedes the normal process of education in Ukrainian schools.

Thus, the careless attitude of Minister Dadenkov to his duties which reveals itself in the fact that the renewal of Lenin's principles is not put into practice in the system of higher education, as evident in the preparation of new staff, leads to the disruption of normal work in the institutions of public education.

All the facts that I have put forward testify to the abnormal work of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr.S.S.R. headed by Yu. M. Dadenkov.

Please examine the above facts and decide upon the degree of offence of Yuri Mykolaiovych Dadenkov.

(Feb. 24, 1965)

Letters To ABN

"I am aware of the vital role the Ukrainian Insurgent Army played in the resistance movement. Their actions were vividly portrayed by personal hardships and sacrifices. Their bravery and honor were unexcelled in the struggle for freedom."

W. C. Westmoreland
General, United States Army
August 22, 1967

"I am aware that many of my co-religionists fought in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during World War II against Nazi German intruders in Ukraine, and I am aware that this supreme effort has been a glorious chapter in the world's struggle against tyranny and oppression."

Rabbi Myron Silverman, D. D.
The Suburban Temple, Cleveland, Ohio
September 12, 1967

“Education - USSR”

(Press-statement by Yaroslav Stetsko, Buffalo, N.Y., December, 1967)

“Education-USSR”- the traveling exhibit, now on tour in the U.S.A., must be scrutinized in the wider plan of the Russian strategy to expand Communist influence and domination.

To Soviet Russia in the thermonuclear and ideological age a new type of warfare which is attuned to technological progress became imperative. This became necessary also because of Russian strivings to conquer the world and because of the national independence movements and anti-Communist resistance within the Russian sphere of power.

When the Western empires dissolved, the concept of national statehood was realised as a new principle of world order.

Why then, should the greatest and most malignant empire of the world today — the Russian empire — be left intact? This empire holds in its tentacles, nations with a thousand years of tradition and culture, like the Ukrainian or Georgian nations, while the Western empires gradually disappeared.

The fact of creating new states in place of the Western empires has an important influence upon the mobilization of the anti-Russian front among nations subjugated by Russian imperialism. A Ukrainian child might ask: why is it that Ukraine, a highly civilized country, has Russian occupation forces when Ghana or India are free from occupation?

The subjugated nations in her midst, including 50 million Ukrainians, are the Achilles' heel of the Russian-Communist empire. The decrepitude of the system was well demonstrated during the Hungarian uprising in 1956, which would have been victorious had it not been for the West aiding Russia politically. The insurrection of Ukrainian, Baltic and other inmates of concentration camps have proven this same point.

The idea of national independence of the enslaved peoples and national liberation revolutions are the road to *freeing* human-

ity from the fear of thermo-nuclear war as well as from Communism and Russian imperialism.

The Idea Of Freedom Is Stronger Than The Atomic Bomb!

The modern type of warfare in which we find ourselves and which is conducted by Russia and not the U.S. includes the following elements:

1) Ideological and political offensive of Communism from within each country, coupled with the depreciation of all human values, traditions, patriotism, religion, morals, by introducing the relativism of all truths, corruption of spirit and morals of the nation, attempts to create a complex of inferiority by artfully showing the so-called achievements of Communism with the “superiority” of the Russian race, and her “genius”;

2) By peripheral wars of “national liberation” and civil wars, by engaging the American manpower but not committing their own, they endeavor to extend the frontiers of the Russian Communist empire. Since the question of ascertaining the *casus belli* (the cause of war) for the democratic world is very labile, Cuba and Vietnam came after Korea;

3) Being in a state of permanent war against the West and against the peoples subjugated by her; Russia creates fronts inside the free nations in particular. She (Russia) invents methods and paths to seize power from within. If for instance in the USA and in West Germany the workers are immune to Communism, Moscow places its bet on the intellectual elite, upon the students, upon infiltration of the mass media. Thus Russia hopes to influence large masses of people, so that — having brought the cultural elite under her control — she may conquer the United States from within. Any other method may bring destruction to Moscow, and Moscow realises this.

*This Plan Fits In
With The Exhibition "Education-USSR"*

As we so well know, "the best" is always what originates in Moscow. Moscow also discovered America. Americans must never forget that they are neighbours of the Russian empire by the Bering Strait. With the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent states, America could free herself from this dangerous neighbour. It would be interesting to know what the Russians were looking for in Alaska? Communism was non-existent then, but there surely existed the unchanging Russian imperialism. When we mention "Education-USSR", it is evident that we talk about the education of an aggressive atheist, Russian Communist imperialist! Is this educational ideal acceptable to those Catholic circles that recommend "peaceful coexistence" with Moscow? Uninterrupted ideological Christian militancy against aggressive atheism and oppression of man — created in the image of God — is an obligation of a good Christian. Furthermore: if the Russian educational system is superior to the Western, then:

a) Why is there no freedom of creativity in the USSR? The substance depends not on the perfect technical organization of upbringing, but in the IDEALS that guide that educational system;

b) Why are jails, concentration camps and mental institutions filled with authors of cultural values, particularly in Ukraine and other enslaved countries? Why are countless secret trials conducted against those whose sole aim is to be able to create freely in Ukraine and other subjugated countries?

c) Why are the patriotic Ukrainian educators silenced and many of them are now in Siberia; why do the Russians play a dominant part in the humanistic and pedagogical sciences!? Ukrainian population numbers about 50 million!

Our further suggestions:

1) Let the Government of the United States of America, and the State Department in particular which is the sponsor of the said exhibition, assert themselves in

achieving the following: to free from jails, concentration camps, from mental institutions the SCIENTISTS AND EDUCATORS OF UKRAINE and other enslaved nations so that they can tell the West the TRUTH about "Education-USSR".

Let those who are jailed and suffering for the truth tell us what the real truth is.

2) Let the State Department, or for that matter, the Council on World Affairs, with the objective to tell the truth to the American public, the intellectual and student elite in particular, initiate an exhibition on "Education-Ukraine" and other oppressed peoples in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. The organizers of such can be: The Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in New York, Scientific Association of Taras Shevchenko (Washington-Toronto), Association of Ukrainian Cultural Workers (Washington-Toronto). Instead of indoctrination by Moscow's propaganda, I urge Americans to learn the truth directly from those who chose freedom so highly valued by the American people. Let the American public learn about the IDEAS that our young generation adheres to, the true situation of Ukrainian science, literature, art, education; about their fight for a Ukrainian set of ideals against enforced Russian system of ideas.

I, as a former inmate of Nazi concentration camps, sincerely urge the public opinion of America, in particular the mass media, and those who influence and educate in daily living, to show — besides Nazi crimes against humanity — on TV, films, illustrated magazines, radio, press, and journals, the following:

a) the epic stories of martyrdom and heroic struggle of UPA (Ukrainian Freedom Army) against both — Russia and Nazi Germany.

b) The Bolshevik concentration camps, camps for forced labour, mental institutions where Russians incarcerate the spokesman of the intellectual elite of Ukraine, as described by the writer Tarsis in his book "WARD 7"; secret trials against fighters

for freedom of creativity, for the freedom of nations and men;

c) the artificially organized (by Moscow) famines in 1932-33, and 1945-46, in the granary of Europe—Ukraine, as the result of which millions died;

d) the Christian catacombs of the XX-th century, underground Churches, the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Churches, whose hierarchy, priests, and thousands of faithful were liquidated by atheistic Moscow;

e) the systematic extermination of the UPA fighters and of those who supported them in 1945-50, by chemical and bacteriological means; the raid of detachments of UPA into the West, crossing the "satellite" countries during 1948-49;

f) the uprisings of Ukrainian political prisoners in the concentration camps in 1953-59 and their liquidation by the Chekists; the mauling by using tanks of five hundred Ukrainian women, who died with patriotic and religious songs on their lips as they tried to shield with their bodies other prisoners —, this happened in Kingiri (Kazakhstan) 1956. The West has living witnesses: Americans (such as the Jesuit Father Cizek), British, Belgian, French, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, German, etc., former prisoners and POWs.

g) strikes and disturbances of Ukrainian workers and youth, in 1959-67, in Ukrainian cities and towns, against foreign occupation and exploitation, Russification and oppression; their fight for the rights of the individual and the nation . . . This also applies to all other nations under the heel of Russia: Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Turkestan, Hungary, Georgia, Byelorussia, and all the others sharing this dire fate.

Will this be told by those at "Education-USSR"?

Finally, we appeal in the name of the sacred rights of the individual and nations:

1) To the public opinion of the United States of America to condemn and stand up in defence and protest against the persecution of poets, artists, writers, scientists of Ukraine, and other captive nations.

We appeal to the young cultural workers of the USA, especially those of the "Sixties" group, to defend those of the "Sixties" in Ukraine, and other captive nations, who with manly strength renewed the battle for the highest ideals — rights for men and nations; to help to free from jails, concentration camps and mental institutions all freedom fighters; to liquidate all concentration and forced labour camps; we appeal to your Nobel prize winners to stand up in defence of those who with their suffering and struggle defend their right to live free, those who with their sacrifice shield the Free World from the deluge of Communism,

2) To urge the American youth, and the students in particular, to lend their support to our students who are forcibly indoctrinated in Russian culture and are denied the right to study their own history and culture in their native tongue and spirit.

3) To mobilize the workers and trade unions to take steps in the defence of our workers who lack the right to strike, the right to decent living, the right to free national progress. The Soviet trade unions are mere functionaries of the Moscow dictatorship. The biggest cog in the trade union movement is now Shelepin, the former chief of the KGB, who gave orders to organize and carry out the murder of Stepan Bandera, who was the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

4) To demand the withdrawal of the Russian occupational military forces, as well as all means of aggression and oppression from Ukraine, and other enslaved nations! When all empires are in ruins today, why does the Free World help to maintain the last tyrannical one? Let the tyrants fall! It is standing in the path of human progress as a large, dangerous log.

IN THE PLAN OF A WIDE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE, we ask: Why the USA does not support the national-independence movements of the enslaved nations in order to disintegrate the Russian prison of nations from within, by way of national revolutions, bringing about the downfall of the Communist system, and thus avoid the danger of an atomic war?

Moscow's Genocidal Policies

In the struggle between a seeing-person and a blind man, the seeing-person will always be the victor, for the simple reason that he can see the enemy and hit his target. The peoples subjugated by Russia must have a clear-cut answer to the question, who is their enemy, Communism or the Russian people? A clear and uncontradictory answer is provided by an analysis of pertinent facts, both past and present. It must be ascertained what a relation with the Russian people, (regardless of the form of its government) will bring to the subjugated peoples in the future.

The correct, precise and accurate answer can be provided by statistical data, by figures and only figures. To be sure, we do not have objective and reliable statistical data, because we have to use the sources provided by the Russians, which many times are far from the truth. More likely than not, the real situation is far worse than what the figures indicate, for it goes without saying that the Russians manipulate them to suit their own purposes.

In order to understand correctly what these figures prove, we have to recall Lenin's words written in 1913 ("On the National Question" written by Lenin for H. Petrovsky's appearance in Duma (Parliament): "In Russia the Great Russians constitute only 43 %"). He learned this fact while preparing this article, which forced him to think hard on this subject. He makes reference to this fact several times. Later he added: "This means less than half of the population".

From the above fact both Lenin and every Russian drew the logical conclusion: if this condition remains unchanged, the Russians would not be able to keep the empire in their hands; they would lose the chance to exploit its economic wealth. They would lose their position in the world, and in the future the ghost of poverty would haunt them. The tsarist regime also knew this, but it could not

destroy the subjugated nations with such haste, but where it could it did, for example, in Asia.

The Bolshevik regime, as is shown by the data quoted below, created conditions favourable to the Russian people. These conditions are not, of course, such as are presented by Russian propaganda, which assures us that they are equally good for all nations. This is an outright lie. But the figures show that under the normal rate of growth, which prevailed during the tsarist regime (1.5%) there should have been 96 million Russians in 1962. Nevertheless, in 1959, there were already 114,113,579 Russians.

With respect to the Russians, the following is true:

1897 —	48,000,000
1926 —	74,000,000
1939 —	90,000,000
1959 —	114,000,000

And now let us look at the real "growth" of the Ukrainians.

According to Prof. Rudnytsky, in 1914, there were 37,500,000 Ukrainians within Ukraine's ethnographic boundaries and 1,787,000 abroad. Based upon these figures, in 1920 there should have been 40,524,000 in Eurasia. The work of H. Naulko "The Ethnical Composition of the Population of the Ukr.S.S.R." (published in 1965) indicated that in 1965 there were 32,158,000 Ukrainians in the Ukr.S.S.R. and 5,095,400 outside the borders (e. g. in Kuban and other Ukrainian territories). Also, the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia shows that in 1959 there were 37,252,930 Ukrainians within the Soviet Union. Thus, even in comparison with 1914, the number of Ukrainians not only did not increase, but decreased!

On the basis of natural growth rates (averages based on the tsarist statistics) there should have been 100,000,000 Ukrainians by 1962. As was mentioned above, based on the *same calculations* for the year 1962, there should have been 96,000,000

Russians. In reality there were 22,000,000 more Russians than predicted, and 60,000,000 fewer Ukrainians!

Some may think that this is caused by regarding some Ukrainians as Russians. But, the fact this is not so is proved by the following figures: according to the Bolshevik statistics, the population of Ukrainian territory numbered 35,200,000 in 1914, and 41,900,000 in 1959. Thus, in 45 years, (with the increased percentage of the Russians) the entire population of this territory increased only by 6,700,000. If the foreign element were removed, then the growth would have been much smaller. This would be convincing proof that the decrease in the Ukrainian population did not come as a result of an incorrect census. What is more, the work of H. Naulko gives the figures within the present borders of the Ukr.S.S.R.; that is to say, including such territories which were not under Moscow's domination. Without them the picture would be even more grave.

The aforementioned facts force us to look for other causes for this phenomenon than an incorrect census. The reason will become clear when we notice that in 1913 there were 44.1 births for every 1,000 people, and in 1964 only 16.5 births. Thus we have to deal with a catastrophic birth-decrease of Ukrainians. It is to be regretted that there are no available figures on the number of births per 1,000 Russians, since the above-mentioned author only cites the number of births for the USSR. On the other hand, we know that the Russians constitute only 54% of the population of the USSR. The rest of the population consists of peoples, which even on the basis of Bolshevik statistics are growing at the same rate as the Ukrainians. Therefore, the number of births per 1,000 in the USSR, given by the Russian author as 19.6, would increase to 27-28 persons, taking Russians only. It should be mentioned here that even in France there are 18.1 births per 1,000, or more than in Ukraine.

The above figures convincingly prove that the reason for the catastrophic decrease in the number of Ukrainians is to be found in the *poor living conditions*

which are artificially created to decimate the non-Russian peoples. With fear and alarm Lenin wrote that in 1913 the Russians constituted only 43% of the entire population. On the basis of Bolshevik policy, they now constitute 54.1% of the population. From this it is to be seen that "Communism" is not detrimental to the Russians. On the other hand it is more than detrimental to the Ukrainians. This is understandable, in view of the fact that Communism is only a weapon employed by the Russian people to promote its own national interests.

However, this thesis would not be valid if only the Ukrainian people were dying out, and not the other subjugated peoples. Therefore, we must have a look at the statistical data pertaining to them.

The picture is very much the same. To illustrate we will give statistical data on the Asian peoples which have the misfortune to be included in the boundaries of the Russian empire.

In 1911, the population of Central Asia was 12,054,000; in 1939, this figure had decreased to 10,500,000!

Here are the facts about the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic:

In 1926, the Russians constituted a mere 15.6%, while in 1959, the Russians already made up 21% of the entire population.

In 1926, there were 6,282,400 Uzbeks living in the Uzbek S.S.R. By 1959, this figure has fallen to 5,058,000. (In both cases the number of Uzbeks living outside the Uzbek S.S.R. was not taken into consideration, which in 1959 constituted less than a million. In the entire USSR in 1939 — 4,845,100).

Here it will be useful to show the composition of the "Uzbek" Communist Party in terms of nationality.

Year	Members	Percent of Uzbeks
1927	26,642	40%
1940	39,600	32%
1963	263,000	?

Even though the percentage for Uzbeks was not given in the material available to us, we have every reason to believe that with the decrease in the number of Uzbeks in the Republic and the increase in the

number of Russians, it is less than 25%; yet the Party is called "Uzbek" and supposedly "governs" the Republic.

In the Turkmen S.S.R. in 1926, 9.5% of the population were Russians, while in 1959, 18% were Russians.

In Tadjik S.S.R. in 1926, 7% of the population were Russians; by 1959, they had increased to 16%.

In the Kirghiz S.S.R. in 1926, 11% were Russians; in 1959 they constituted 25% of the total population.

In the Kazakh S.S.R. in 1926, 24% were Russians; in 1959, 45%!

As early as 1939, the prominent Communist, Tobolin, an "expert" in these matters stated: "For us, as Marxists, it is evident that Kazakhs, economically weaker, have to die out."

These carelessly spoken words reflect the thinking not only of the Party leaders, but of the Russians as a whole. For instance, the merciless figures to which we return again indicate a similar process among the Kirghis:

1887	—	1,350,000
1926	—	762,736
1959	—	837,000
1966	—	968,659

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that in the same period the number of Russians increased by 70%, while the number of Kirghis decreased by almost 29%.

If anybody could collect objective statistical data they would be even more horrible and would testify to the *dying out* of *all* peoples subjugated by the Russians. Everything that has been said clearly indicates that the main enemy against which all the peoples enslaved by Russia must carry on a fierce, merciless struggle is the Russian people. Liberation from the Russian yoke is the question of life and death.

The decrease in the Ukrainian growth-rate is achieved by various methods: two artificial famines in 1921 and 1933; decrease in the number of births as a result of starvation, execution and deportation; and in recent years, the forceful resettlement of the healthiest elements in the "virgin lands", where the Ukrainians are

not only lost for the Ukrainian people, but must also help to strengthen their enemies — Russians, helping them to establish themselves in foreign lands. The Russians are colonizing primarily the territories rich in natural resources. For instance, there are twice as many Russian workers in the Donbas in Ukraine as there are Ukrainian workers.

It goes without saying that the Russians exhaust all the resources of the subjugated territories and thus enrich themselves and their culture.

The Russian capital, Moscow, which in 1918 had a population of 1,850,000, in 1938 had 4,000,000, and in 1962, 6,296,000 inhabitants.

And here are the figures which show the rate of growth of the population of Kyiv: 1915 — 626,000, 1926 — 518,000, 1939 — 847,000, 1959 — 1,104,000!

This proves that the population of Kyiv, during the time that the population of Moscow multiplied itself by 3.5 times, did not even double, while the number of Russians in it increased.

Communism or Bolshevism (whatever the name) is the basis of social-economic development in Russia as well as in her colonies, the so-called "Sovereign Republics", but only the Russian people benefits. Only the Russian capital is growing at such a speed, as well as its literature, art and science; the Russian people is getting stronger every day, while the gap between it and the subjugated peoples widens at a catastrophic rate. This impressive growth and development takes place, to a great extent, at the expense of the subjugated peoples.

It is true that in the colonies ruled by the Russians, as in all colonies, changes are taking place. Industry is growing; new educational institutions spring up, etc., etc. But as in every colony it is not the local population that profits but the colonizers. Thus, in the Soviet "Republics" this growth is not at all contradictory to the policy of "extinction" adopted by the Russians.

The Russians, just as the rulers of other colonies, have the easiest time with less

developed peoples. It is much easier to slip in Russian books (both literary and scientific) to the less numerous intelligentsia of these peoples under the pretext that this is only a “temporary” occurrence necessitated by the fact that such books are “as yet” unavailable in the native languages. The Russians also exploit the lack of educated personnel to take over all the supervisory positions. With all this comes complete Russification.

It is easy to employ this policy against the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians; it is much harder to use it against the Finns or the Rumanians. This does not involve Slavic language only. It is easy to make “The Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh S.S.R.” a centre of Russification which culminates what is done by the 29 schools of higher learning in the Kazakh S.S.R.;

moreover, it can easily be proven that the language of instruction is Russian, textbooks for universities — Russian, etc. Only the names of these institutions have remained Kazakh. What’s more! In all the “ministries” and offices having “all-union” importance — the Russian language as well as a Russian staff of workers is dominant.

But what was done in the “Union Republics”, could not be done either in Bucharest or in Warsaw. The prerequisite to a successful employment of such a policy is the poisoning of the consciousness of these peoples, and especially its intelligentsia. The subjugated peoples must realize that their most fierce enemy is the Russian people; they must realize that they have but one alternative: either to be victorious over the enemy or to perish.

ABN Demonstrates Against Russian Bolshevik Propaganda Exhibition



Thousands of ABN leaflets exposing the Russian colonial rule in the subjugated countries were distributed throughout the city. (Munich, January, 1968)

Triumph Of National Independence In Eastern Europe 50 Years Ago

This year we are commemorating with honour the 50th anniversary of a great victory of national self-determination in Eastern Europe.

50 years ago the peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire made full use of their right to self-determination. They proclaimed their independence and re-established their national states. They liberated themselves from the Russian imperial state and with much enthusiasm began to rebuild their nations.

Still in 1917 the oppressed peoples of the Russian empire saw a chance to liberate themselves when the tsarist regime was overthrown. But the short-lived Kerensky regime managed to retain a dominating position over these nations. However, with the coming of the Bolshevik counter-revolution another opportunity presented itself to the subjugated nations, most of whom soon proclaimed complete independence from Russia. Therefore, the year 1918 became a year of great triumph of national self-determination in Eastern Europe.

Already on 22 January 1918 Ukraine proclaimed her independence and sovereignty, on 18 February — Lithuania, on 24 February — Estonia, on 25 February — Byelorussia, on 11 May — North Caucasus, on 26 May — Georgia, on 27 May — Azerbaijan, on 28 May — Armenia, on 11 November — Poland, and on 18 November — Latvia. On 2 August 1918 Siberia proclaimed its independence, while on 6 December Finland followed it and on 10 December — Turkestan. Don Cossacks proclaimed independence on 5 May 1918. Thus all peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire readily used this historical event to manifest their willingness to enjoy free sovereign national life. These events were a natural development, the victory march of freedom and self-determination in Eastern Europe and in part of Asia. In this no new states were formed, for states which existed in the past were re-established.

Soviet Russia recognized the majority of these states de jure, as for example — the Ukrainian National Republic on 9 February 1918, Estonia — on 2 February 1920, Georgia — on 7 May 1920, Lithuania — on 17 July 1920, Latvia — on 11 August 1920. Nevertheless, as soon as Bolshevik Russia felt strong enough, she invaded these nations with the aim of enslaving them. These aggressive wars were conducted under various pretexts, as if giving assistance to fictitious local Soviet forces and fighting “bourgeois capitalists.”

The wars dragged on for many years until the various peoples were militarily weakened and overpowered by superior forces. By the end of 1922 most of these peoples fell prey to Russian aggression, namely, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Don, North Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and Siberia. By various tricks these countries were proclaimed so-called “Soviet republics” and incorporated into the Soviet Union. Later in 1940 Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were occupied and annexed against their will into the Soviet Union. As a result of the Second World War, the Russian Red Army overran and brought the following countries under Communist dictatorship: Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Czechia and large parts of Germany and Finland. Soviet Russia thereby broke the right of all these peoples to self-determination. In addition, Slovakia, Croatia and Slovenia were incorporated with Russian assistance into the artificial states of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, although Slovakia proclaimed her independence on March 14, 1939 — recognized by Russia de jure on September 16, 1939 and Croatia proclaimed it on April 10, 1941.

Facts speak frankly! During the last 50 years the Bolshevik-Russian colonial empire proved to be the most reactionary power in the world and the worst enemy of freedom, self-determination and national independence!

Soviet Republics — Russian Colonies

The experience of 50 years of Bolshevik rule in the former tsarist empire, shows that Ukraine has been and is ruled by the Russians. In the twenties, Ukrainians had a sort of freedom. Then Moscow at least allowed Ukraine to foster Ukrainian national-Communism. Chubar, Skrypnyk, Petrovsky, Shumsky and other government and Party leaders of the newly created Soviet Ukrainian Republic thought of the creation of a separate state, independent of Moscow, even though Communist, along the lines of today's Yugoslavia. Of course, Moscow permitted such "freedoms" to the Ukrainian leaders because the existing conditions demanded it. At that time Ukraine was immersed in the waves of armed uprisings against the new Red Russian invaders.

However, mass terrorist activities in Ukraine in the years 1930-34 and later, execution of the leading Ukrainian intelligentsia, including the aforementioned national-Communists, put an end to Moscow's "indulgence" towards Ukraine. Positions in Ukraine were filled by the Russians. The greatest manifestation of this happened in the 30's when 30,000 Russians were sent to Ukraine to fill the most responsible positions in the branches of social-cultural, national-political life: the principals of schools, the editors of newspapers, the heads of collective and state farms, the directors of MTS (Machine-Tractor-Station), the regional secretaries, and the high officials in the Party and industry. The so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR was also filled with Party gendarmes sent from Russia.

From that time on the Russian influx to Ukraine and the Russification policy in the Ukrainian regions began to assume tremendous dimensions. A brilliant characterization of Russian coercion in Ukraine was provided by the Ukrainian insurgent publicist Hornovy in his publication entitled: "The Chauvinistic Intoxication and Russification Fever of the Bolshevik Imperial-

ists", which was published in the Ukrainian revolutionary underground organ *Idea and Action*, no. 10, 1946. Hornovy wrote: "The Russians make up the base of the governing Bolshevik Party . . . The Russians are the nucleus of the Red Army, which is a typically Russian army, as the tsarist was, though all nations have to serve in it . . . In all administrative posts, not only in the RSFSR, but in all Union Republics, the Russians constitute a high percentage of employees. Here, (Ukraine) they mostly hold managerial posts".

Somebody might say that this happened under Stalin's ruthless dictatorship, that now, however, everything has changed. But, no. Nothing has changed; indeed, it may be worse. Examples? There are plenty of them: the Minister of the coal mining industry is a Russian, Khudovtsev; the Minister of social security — a Russian, Fiodorov; the Minister of chemical industry — a Russian, Vilesov; the Secretary of the Donbas district Party Committee — a Russian, Degtiarov; etc., etc. These names were picked at random from Ukrainian Soviet newspapers. But how many of those Fiodorovs and Degtiarovs now occupy high positions in Ukraine?

Thus, for example, *Radianska Ukraina* of March 30, 1967 published the list of representatives to the Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, and there we find such non-Ukrainian names as: Anufrieva, Vlasov, Avilov, Nepochatov, Trutnev, Begnaiagin, Dykin, Neizbechnyj, etc. — a total of about a hundred. And these hundred Russian representatives in the government of the Ukrainian SSR probably outweigh a thousand Ukrainian representatives.

To the above may be added that in Ukrainian cities, especially in Ukraine's capital, Kyiv, no conference, convention, meeting or any other function can take place without the presence of Moscow's henchmen, for the supervision of the political, economic or cultural work of the so-called "little Russians". Thus, at the

fourth Republican Conference of DTSAAF (Paramilitary Association) in Kyiv in March-April, 1967 a Russia overseer was present — Vice President of DTSAAF, major-general Skvortsov; at the meeting of the workers of public education of the Ukrainian SSR on March 29th, the Minister of education of the USSR, Prokofev, the Director of education and educational institution sector of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union, Vorozhejkin, the Vice President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Zubov, were present. Even such an innocent enterprise as Red Cross is not entrusted to the “younger brothers” Ukrainians, by the Russian “older brothers”. Because how can the fact be explained that such Russians as Myterev, the Chairman of the Russian Red Cross, Dorofeev,

a “reliable” employee of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union (that is, member of the KGB), and others from Moscow seated themselves behind the presidium table at the 10th convention of the organization of Red Cross.

We did not invent these news items. They were taken from the reports of the Soviet papers: *Silski Visti*, March 23, 1967, *Literaturna Ukraina*, March 31st. And this news again confirms that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is not a Ukrainian state at all. What’s more, it is not a sovereign state, a republic. It is a Russian colony, and far worse than the English colonies ever were, let us say in Africa, because the English colonists did not fill their colonies with Englishmen as the Russian are doing now in Ukraine.

Against Colonialism — The Russian Too!

By Hans Bruckner

Unlike the misled students in Munich, Berlin, Bonn etc., whose activism is exploited by “humanist” wire-pullers to produce anti-national activities, an avant-garde of young intellectuals from the Communist ruled states of Eastern Europe is engaged in a bitter struggle for the freedom of man and nation. The ideals and ideas of their fathers have lost none of their illuminating power and moral validity for a majority of the students in Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia, and Ukraine. Their fathers were nationalists! Against any form of colonialism, — whether economic, ideological, or military — and against the oppression by state-capitalism of the Marxist variety.

The idea of social-revolutionary nationalism has found enthusiastic supporters among the young generation. No sacrifice is too high for the attainment of this aim — profession, study, personal security and family life are given up, if this serves the achievement of this idea.

Thousands of students from the USSR find themselves in the 22 concentration

camp of the Mordovskaya ASSR west from the Urals. Mordovia is a main centre of the concentration camp area. — According to the reports of freed and escaped prisoners the majority of internees are young underground political fighters, partisans and students. The solidarity of those inside is said to be unequalled. The partisans and political fighters, reportedly, keep together like bands of iron. A Ukrainian student from Kyiv was brought from the notorious penitentiary of Vladimir, where he had been imprisoned for three years. He had been condemned three times by a Soviet court, his punishments together totaled 27 years. Another student, also from Kyiv, 26 years old, served a sentence of 16 years. The number of prisoners condemned for their connection with the Ukrainian nationalist underground must be very large. Hunger is the brother of the prisoner. The daily ration of food consists of 700 grams of wet bread, a dish of “Schtschi” (Russian sauerkraut mash without potatoes or meat), “Kascha” (millet porridge) and some fish. Only after the end of half of the sentence can food-parcels

be received, and then only two a year. The maximum weight is 10 kg. Even the number of letters which can be received is rationed to two a month.

Soviet Writers as Betrayers of the People.

The bulk of political prisoners in the 22 concentration camps of Mordovia is composed of Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and Russians. Even behind the barbed-wire the resistance struggle is continued, with Ukrainian national students at the head.

The persecution of Ukrainian students began 15 years ago, when in 1952 33 students were executed because of their membership of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) and in connection with the assassination of the Communist writer, propagandist and GPU informer, Yaroslav Halan. Previously in the late autumn of 1951 more than 800 students had been arrested.

Yaroslav Halan, also called "Ilya Ehrenburg No. 2" by his Ukrainian compatriots, was shot on 24 October 1949 in his home by Ukrainian underground fighters. This Communist writer was condemned to death by OUN for his close personal co-operation with the Russian secret police. Yaroslav Halan had even handed over his nationally-minded friends from his home village Beresiv-Dolishny to the secret police. The death of this traitor to his nation caused satisfaction in the population and passive resistance began to strengthen.

Infamous Police Coup

Halan's shooting gave Stalin's secret police a lasting shock. Security forces were soon able to arrest the man who carried out the assassination, Michail Staruch, and his helpers, the students Ilari Lukashevych and Roman Shepansky. Their families also arrived in the cellars of the prisons where the examination was taking place. This happened on 16th October 1951. From the hearing, the following picture came out for the GPU: students were in leading positions in the wide-spread network of the nationalists!

In order to get on the track of the leading core of young nationalists, Stalin's

secret police devised the following devilish plan: the Lviv branch of the MGB enrolled one of their officers at the university there and ordered him to pay court to a girl known to be a fanatical nationalist. It was assumed that she had direct connections with the student underground leadership. On the other hand the security service knew only too well that it would not help much to arrest this one student, since every member of the underground front carried poison capsules with them, to escape from the red torturers if they were arrested. The MGB's task was to expose the entire organization!

The young MGB officer was successful. He attended the lectures keenly and became friendly with the student. Since he allowed his sympathy for the organization of Ukrainian nationalists to be seen, and was also very good-looking, he won the confidence of the student. They were quickly married. The disguised Marxist even allowed himself — at the wish of the girl — to be married in church. The young girl bore a son. The young couple entered into the nationalist circles of Lviv. After two years the MGB agent had learnt enough. Stalin's secret police made a surprise attack. In the secret trial, the MGB officer, now in the uniform of the dreaded organization, gave evidence against his wife. The court condemned her to death. Before the trial the marriage was dissolved and the child handed over to a Communist children's home.

33 Ukrainian students were condemned to death, while others went to concentration camps and penitentiaries for many years.

A Jew Reports

The memory of the 33 students remains alive among the academic youth of Ukraine. This is also to be seen in the statements of Dr. Alexander Rathaus, a former member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of Jewish nationality. He lives today in Israel. He describes in a French newspaper his flight from the USSR, and mentions also his attendance at the Kyiv university in May 1961, where he was held

by secret police, while the whole building of the university was being searched. After he had been released, Dr. Rathaus learnt from a dean of the university that underground fighters had painted the number "33" on the walls of the corridors of the

buildings. Dr. Rathaus watched the secret police search the hands of the students for traces of paint. Dr. Rathaus confirmed that there is a national student underground organization, which is called, in memory of the 33 shot fellow-students, "33".

Anti-Communist Asia Consolidated

From Resolutions Passed At WACL And APACL Conferences

(Taipei, 1967)

Calling To Break off Relations With Communist China

This 13th Annual Conference of APACL hereby RESOLVES that the general waves of discontent amongst the people of free Asian and African countries have made it a matter of immediate importance for those Governments of Asia and Africa to give careful thought immediately and urgently to the question of continuing their diplomatic relations with Communist China. This Conference is of the opinion that it is no longer in the interest of the Governments of Asia and Africa to continue their diplomatic relations with Communist China; it is a well-known fact that the primary purpose of the Peiping regime is to infiltrate the democratic way of life and democratic system of respective governments and to destroy them from within.

This Conference is, therefore, making this urgent request to the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of all the Asian and African countries, who are maintaining diplomatic relations with Communist China that, in the larger interest of unity of Asia and Africa, they should sever all their relations with the Peiping regime.

On Trade And Technical Cooperation

The First General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League,

Realizing the threat of economic infiltration by Communism, and hence the need to strengthen economic co-operation among the nations represented in the League through the exchange of resources and the interflow of talents for the improvement of living standards in the member nations.

Hereby resolves that:

1. Efforts shall be made to promote the interflow of goods and materials among nations represented in the League to increase multi-lateral trade relations, and the eventual establishment of regional com-

mon markets for their common interest.

2. To attain the aforementioned goals, the members of the League shall advocate to their respective governments the removal of trade barriers and the exchange of trade missions and trade information.

3. Assistance shall be offered particularly to the developing nations so as to raise the living standard of their people and increase thereby their resistance against the evil influence of Communism.

4. Members of the League shall endeavor to help obtain financial assistance from international financial institutions for the developing nations.

Strengthening The Functions Of The Asian-Pacific Council

In order to make the Asian-Pacific Council organized in 1966 become the most effective and consolidated organization in the Asian-Pacific area so that it will be able to fulfil the responsibility of maintaining the common security, freedom and prosperity of this area, the 13th Plenary Session of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League hereby resolves that:

1. The League call upon all the member nations of the Asian-Pacific Council to deepen their faith in the noble and great purposes of the Council and continue to strengthen its functions so as to enable it to fulfil the responsibility of maintaining the freedom and security of the Asian-Pacific area.

2. The League call upon all the member nations of the Asian-Pacific Council to definitely affirm the Council as a political organization and the discussion of the area's political problems as its main task.

3. The League call upon the Asian-Pacific Council to establish various special topic sub-committees, in addition to the existing permanent organization and regular meetings, in order to exchange views regularly and strengthen the contacts among the member nations.

4. The League call upon the Asian-Pacific Council to agree that in addition to holding the routine annual council meeting, the Council will, at the suggestion of more than two members, call a provisional council meeting in order to discuss any accidental events that affect the peace and freedom of the Asian-Pacific area.

Promotion Of Regional Security Organizations

Whereas world peace and the freedom of mankind have been seriously threatened by Communist infiltration, riots and subversive activities in Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, North America, and Europe since the end of World II;

And whereas the safeguarding of world peace and security is a common responsibil-

ity of all the free nations whose solidarity and concerted action being the effective way of defeating Communist designs;

And whereas individual and collective self-defense, set forth in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, are of great importance to the maintenance of world peace and security;

The First General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League hereby resolves:

1. To call upon the governments of the free countries in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America to take active steps to form respective regional security organizations, particularly of Asian nations under the direct threat of Communist aggression, who stand in urgent need of an Anti-Communist Alliance.

2. To appeal to all the existing regional security organizations to admit as many anti-Communist nations as possible to strengthen co-operation between the member nations so as to defeat Communist aggression by concerted action.

3. To call upon the peoples and governments of all the free nations, particularly the United States Government, to support strongly efforts made for the broadening and strengthening of the existing regional security organizations.

On Support For The Chinese People In Accelerating The Downfall Of The Communist Regime

Whereas the so-called "Cultural Revolution", the "Red Guard" rampages and the "power struggles" launched by the Chinese Communists on the mainland during the past year have resulted in unprecedented chaos and worsening armed clashes all over the mainland, testifying to the fact that the Communist regime on the mainland has been abandoned by not only the Chinese people but also the cadre and members and the Communist Youth Corps, the Chinese Communist Party who oppose "Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts" and his policy line;

And whereas Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao's faction are stepping up the bloodshedding "power struggles", export of "Red

Guard" activities to fan up armed rebellions by Communist parties all over the world, and redoubling their efforts in nuclear bomb tests as a threat to the whole free world;

The first general assembly of the World Anti-Communist League has hereby resolved:

1. To asseverate that since the despotic rule of the Peiping regime on the mainland for the last 18 years has brought it to the brink of collapse, any appeasement toward and collaboration with this regime will therefore constitute a violation of human justice and righteousness.

2. To appeal to the peoples of the free countries of the world to promote the establishment of an international anti-Communist alliance and to support the anti-Communist struggles of the Chinese people on the mainland in every way to expedite the termination of the Communist rule.

3. To appeal to the governments of the free world to actively support every anti-Communist measure adopted by the government of the Republic of China under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek to liberate the Chinese people on the mainland.

4. To appeal to all the free countries to continue the embargo against the Chinese Communists, to reduce trade with them, and to restrict the supply of strategic materials to them so as to reduce their strength for slaughtering the Chinese people and aggression against the outside.

5. To appeal to the free Asian countries to borrow the experience of the people who fought the Communist riots in Hongkong and to make full use of the strength of the overseas Chinese people by supporting their organizations so that they may contribute to the anti-Communist activities in their resident countries.

New Arrests In The USSR

On December 9, 1967 reports came from the Soviet Union that in Leningrad four men have been put on trial for armed underground activities conducted with the intention to liquidate the Soviet Union and to re-establish independent non-Communist states of each subjugated people. These reports indicate that the Russian secret police found caches of weapons, including machine guns and grenades. An officer of the Soviet army was suspected of supplying the weapons from army magazines. The organisation was strongest in Ukraine but had branches in Sverdlovsk in the Ural Mountains and in Leningrad where large concentrations of non-Russians are found. Two days later, on December 11th, four other persons went on trial in Moscow accused of spreading anti-Russian liberation propaganda.

The reports have been distributed by the major news services — Reuter, Associated Press and United Press International and appeared in many British, American, German and other papers throughout the world.

The British press in particular has recently turned its attention to these and similar questions dealing with the present-day situation in the USSR and called the attention of its readers to the misinformation and decomposition tactics employed by the KGB toward the West. Articles in this vein appeared in the *Times*, the *Observer*, the *Sunday Express* and the *Sunday Telegraph*.

Ceylon Representative On ABN Activity

A. M. Nazeer, J. P., M. M. C., who is a senior member of the Colombo Municipal Council, is the Secretary General of the Anti-Marxist Muslim United Front, Ceylon. He is also a Vice President of the Ceylon Muslim League, and has also held the office of President of the All Ceylon Young Men's Muslim Association. He has participated in several international conferences abroad.

Recently Mr. Nazeer participated in the International Seminar on Youth Policy organized by the World Assembly of Youth held at Arnhem, Netherlands. On his return he visited the ABN Bureau. He was highly impressed by the work done by the ABN and wished it every success in its efforts to free and liberate the peoples under Russian Communist domination.

Interview With Mr. A. M. Nazeer

1. *Of what importance is the establishment of a world anti-Communist movement in the fight against Russian and Communist imperialism?*

"It is important for the preservation of democracy and the establishment of freedom in all parts of the world, in all countries under Russian or Communist domination."

2. *Do you consider the coordination of anti-Communist activities between Ceylonese people and the liberation movements of peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism important?*

"ABN should organize branches and chapters in all countries both in the free nations and in those subjugated in order to coordinate activities and conduct worldwide information."

3. *How do you evaluate the efforts of ABN on behalf of the liberation struggle of peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism?*

"The activities by ABN in Eastern Europe and the countries under Russian domination have to be intensified and integrated to achieve the result of its efforts."

4. *What might be the significance of ABN's activities in Ceylon?*

"The good will and cooperation of all countries in the Free World is essential to create public opinion for the achievement of the freedom of the subjugated nations under Soviet-Russian colonial power."

5. *What is the role of ABN in the creation of a world anti-Communist movement?*

"To create public opinion to educate the masses on the evils of both Russian and Chinese Communism and to warn them against Communism, which robs democracy and freedom from the free peoples. ABN should also found an anti-Communist world youth movement."

6. *What is the best way of destroying Communist and Russian colonialism?*

"By organized efforts to fight this colonialism simultaneously in all countries and by a planned liberation programme with the help of the free peoples and of democratic countries."

7. *Of what importance to the world will be the establishment of independent nations upon the ruins of the destroyed Russian and Communist empire?*

"Freedom and independence, peace and prosperity of all nations will ultimately end the colonialism and will preserve national freedom of religious worship."

M. Gorkey

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

Russian Imperialism

In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

3. Principles of Lenin's strategy

Lenin approved the use of all means which could in any way be instrumental in the fulfilment of his ideas. All actions were good which furthered the growth of the Russian empire, and, vice versa, all activities were bad which restrained, halted, or diminished its expansion. Means must suit aims. Lenin's aim was the absolute total conquest of the world; the means must be such that they would bring about this conquest. Lenin propagated the attitude of taking into consideration every method and technique ever used or potentially usable. For that reason Lenin's strategy must be called *total strategy* or *total warfare*. He described his strategy theory in the following words:

Everyone will agree that an army which does not train itself to wield all arms, all means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses or may possess, is behaving in an unwise or even in a criminal manner. This applies to politics to a greater degree, than it does to war. In politics it is harder to forecast what methods of warfare will be applied and be considered useful for us under certain future conditions. Unless we are able to master all methods of warfare we stand the risk of suffering great and sometimes decisive defeats if the changes in the position of the other classes which we cannot determine, will bring to the fore forms of activity in which we are particularly weak . . . But revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very bad revolutionaries. (86)

Lenin's grand strategy was expressed very aptly by President Chiang Kai-shek who formulated it into four principles:

First, a final decisive battle in an unlimited war which is at once an absolute war or a war of annihilation.

Second, a strategy of detours in a total war

in which political and military forces are coordinated.

Third, a people's war by the "Revolutionary People's Army", which is of a class war character.

Fourth, a "World Revolution" as the ultimate objective. (87)

The two fundamental modes of international relations are "peace" and "war". The term "peace" is a mode of relation between two social entities, whereby one does not act against the other in such a way as intending to liquidate the other's independence by force. "War" is a relation between two nations, whereby at least one partner is determined to change the state of existence of the other by forceful radical means. Thus, "war" is the more aggressive and the more extreme policy than "peace". But Lenin's policy toward the non-Russian nations aimed at the total destructions and absolute subjugation of any opposing or independent societies. Therefore, Lenin favored, in unqualified terms, the principle of "war".

In Lenin's opinion the supreme relation between men is "war" of extinction: *only one class, either proletarian or capitalist, will in the end dominate all humanity.* He endeavored to see the Russian nation as the final victor over the world. (He identified the proletarian class with the whole Russian nation.) Bearing in mind the fact that to Lenin the Communist movement meant the Russian imperialist movement, let us quote T.A. Taracouzio for the explanation of the meaning of "war":

War is thus an integral part of Marxian state politics, which ex principio are not interrupted by it. Politics to a Communist are focused upon class differentiation, which in its turn is the genesis of the struggle between the classes. And this struggle is the state itself. Hence war becomes nothing but

an extension of the domestic policies of the dominant class. (88)

For the Bolsheviks *war exists permanently* until their complete conquest of the whole earth. Lenin thoroughly expounded his theory of war in the *Military program of the proletarian revolution*:

Socialism, which won in one country, does not by any means exclude all wars. On the contrary, it foresees them . . . Only after we overthrow, finally overcome, and expropriate the bourgeoisie in the whole world, and not only in one country, will wars become impossible. From the scientific point of view it will be completely wrong and completely unrevolutionary for us to omit or conceal precisely the most important thing: suppression of the bourgeoisie's resistance, — the most difficult thing during the transition to socialism. "Social clergymen and opportunists are willing to dream about the future peaceful socialism but they do exactly differ on that point from revolutionary social democrats, namely that they are unwilling to think and ponder the deep-rooted class struggle and class war needed for the actualization of this wonderful future. In theory it will be very wrong to forget that any war is only a continuation of politics by other means . . . Therefore, revolutionary national uprisings and wars, wars and uprisings of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the joining of both kinds of revolutionary wars are unavoidable. (89)

All means which contribute to the final victory must be used. Therefore, such a war should be labelled "*total war*". The totality of Bolshevik warfare can be seen from the following words of Lenin: "War and revolution are two events which almost always occur in pairs. Either war causes revolution, or revolution culminates in war." (90) For Lenin total warfare was synonymous with "world socialist revolution". Taracouzio said: "to Lenin . . . there were only three types of wars possible in his day: imperialistic, national, and proletarian-revolutionary wars." (91) "Imperialistic" wars were wars waged by Western powers, "national" — by nationalist liberation movements,

and "proletarian-revolutionary" — by Russian-Communist imperialists for the destruction of all states and all other systems. Lenin clearly expressed what he meant by "peace" and "revolutionary war". (92) Peace can be established only after the complete destruction of all non-Russian powers. Otherwise, peace should be interpreted as the requirement of all non-Russian nations to surrender unconditionally to Russian rule. But Lenin was conscious that no nation will voluntarily resign its own independence and power. Thus, war will prevail as the normal state of relations.

Many specialized forms of relations exist in accordance with various specialized human interests, needs, forms of life, and expression. The main forms of relations are: military, ideological-cultural, economic, governmental-diplomatic, social, administrative-legal, etc. Lenin intended to exploit every channel and every form in the interests of spreading Russian domination. To some extent the totality of Bolshevik means is described accurately by Allen S. Whiting, who wrote of Comintern and Narkomindel activities:

One was organized for conducting international revolutions; one was organized for conducting international relations. The Comintern was not an official representative of the Soviet government, yet its headquarters were in Moscow, its personnel were Russian-directed, and its agents often operated through accredited Soviet embassies abroad. (93)

Let us now consider some of the means of diplomatic warfare conducted by Lenin against the adversaries of Russian imperialism. "Peace" was the often-used means of Bolshevik diplomacy intended to weaken the morale of the opponents, gain propaganda superiority, extort concessions, confuse non-Bolshevik diplomats, and so forth. Its usefulness for the Bolsheviks consists in the absolute Marxist interpretation that only the universal socialist peace is possible. This view is in opposition to other ideologies which consider peace in the co-existential sense. One such example is furnished by Lenin himself:

The Soviet government must immediately make proposals to all the belligerent nations for the conclusion without delay of a general peace on democratic conditions, and an immediate armistice (at least for three months). (94)

A second diplomatic tool was the brutal exploitation of differences among the great powers for the purpose of inciting conflicts and hostilities among them. (95) Thirdly, small nations have to be utilized as instruments of weakening great powers. Lenin thought that

The dialectics of history is such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real power against imperialism to come to the fore, namely the socialist proletariat. (96)

The concept of national independent states formed in consequence of their secession from bigger states was to be, according to Lenin, an instrument of conquering the bigger states. He lectured his subordinates:

The demand for an answer "yes" or "no" to the question of the separation of each nation seems to be a very "practical" demand. In reality it is absurd . . . For the proletariat these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle . . . the proletariat confines itself, so to say, to the negative demand of recognizing the right to self-determination, without guaranteeing anything to any nation, without undertaking to give anything at the expense of another nation. (97)

"Secession" and "independence" were to be favored only when they favored the interests of Russian imperialism and would hasten the decline of the West. The concept of self-determination was to be used by Bolshevik diplomats with the aim of gaining control over other nations and forestalling the growth of nationalistic forces therein. Alfred D. Low stated:

The program of self-determination, one of the demands of political democracy, is to cement the alliance of the proletariat with the mass of the oppressed nationalities. The

primary value of democracy is to Lenin clearly tactical, instrumental. (98)

Richard Pipes concluded similarly: Lenin "looked upon the national movement mainly as a force suitable for *exploitation* in the struggle for power." (99) That Lenin followed principles which suited Russian imperialistic aims rather than Marxist aims was established by Peter S. H. Tang: "Lenin, with his determination to exploit the revolutionary potentialities of China and other backward countries, completely abandoned Marx' classical view of a static Oriental society." (100)

Finally, the method of supporting the formation of a rival government to the legal national government in a foreign nation was advised by Lenin and widely practised by the Bolsheviks (in Ukraine, Finland, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Central Asia, Mongolia, and China). As an example we quote Allen S. Whiting's account of Bolshevik diplomacy toward China:

The importance of Borodin's appointment not as a Comintern or Communist Party agent but as a "representative of the Government" lies in its verification of the two-pronged policy of Karakhan and the Narkomindel at this time. While negotiating a treaty of recognition in the North, Soviet Russia officially strengthened a rival regime in the South. (101)

All these methods are summarized very aptly by President Chiang Kai-shek in his study of Russian imperialism toward China:

The chief purpose of the Russian Communists' political and psychological tactics is to change the balance of power between themselves and their enemy, and to delay the decisive battle until the enemy's material and spiritual superiority has been turned into inferiority and their own material and spiritual inferiority turned into superiority. This is the crux of the Russian Communists' resort to "peaceful coexistence" as a tactic. (102)

3. Policy toward the Western nations

Lenin's ideas and policies toward the

Western world were definitely of a Russian imperialistic nature. Already in 1905, he wanted to make the Russian Communist movement so strong that it "will lead . . . to the complete overthrow of those powers . . . then the revolutionary conflagration will spread all over Europe." (103) He viewed the reconquest of the former tsarist empire by the Bolsheviks as a step in the direction of dominating Europe: "the Russian revolution . . . was the prologue to the coming European revolution." (104) In 1915 Lenin openly proclaimed his intention of extending the Russian empire over the whole of Europe: "The task of the proletariat of Russia is to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in order to kindle the socialist revolution in Europe." (105) In 1919 he boasted about Russian successes in Western countries:

Not only have we seen the triumph of our revolution, not only have we seen how it consolidated itself amidst unprecedented difficulties, created new forms of power and won the sympathy of the whole world, but we are also seeing the seed sown by the Russian revolution springing up in Europe. (106)

Hugh Seton-Watson came to the conclusion that Bolshevik activities in Europe assumed the form of Russian imperialism: "The crisis of 1921 in Russia still further increased the desire of the Bolshevik leaders for the spread of revolution to Europe." (107) In Germany "Levi was expelled from the KPD. An important step had been taken in subjecting that party to Moscow." (108)

On what grounds can we objectively maintain that Lenin endeavored to destroy the Western world and to include it in the Russian empire? Firstly, on the grounds that he openly proclaimed the desire to destroy the West. Secondly, he asked Western imperial powers to renounce their imperial possessions. Thirdly, he opposed the concept of sovereign nation-states: ". . . it is to the interests of this class struggle that we must subordinate the demand for national self-determination." (109) He said:

The Social Democrat will always and

everywhere ruthlessly expose this bourgeois illusion, whether it finds expression in an abstract idealist philosophy, or in the unqualified demand for national independence. (110)

Lenin's aim was not only the destruction of the Western empires but also of the Western states and nations. Lenin also opposed any annexations by the return of indemnities to the Western nations:

By a just, or democratic peace, for which the vast majority of the working and toiling classes of all belligerent countries, exhausted, tormented and racked by the war, are craving, a peace that has been most definitely and insistently demanded by the Russian workers and peasants ever since the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy — by such a peace the government means an immediate peace without annexations (i. e., the seizure of foreign lands, or the forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and indemnities. (111)

On the diplomatic front Lenin stressed as a main weapon against the Western powers "the proletarian revolution" or "civil war". In 1915, still hopeful about his predictions, he declared:

Life is marching, through the defeat of Russia, to a revolution in Russia, and through that revolution, and in connection with it, to civil war in Europe. Life has taken this direction. And the party of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, drawing new strength from these lessons of life . . . (112)

He then suggested that "true" Socialism should begin a militant offensive against the Western governments and societies:

Socialism in Europe has passed the comparatively peaceful stage that was confined within the narrow boundaries of nationality. During the war of 1914/1915 it entered the stage of revolutionary action, and a complete rupture with opportunism, the expulsion of opportunism from the labour parties, has become an imperative necessity. (113)

The final demand to organize civil wars in the Western nations was issued by Lenin in 1917:

. . . the duty of revolutionary Marxism is to take the utmost possible advantage of the present revolutionary situation in Europe in order to preach revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeois governments, the conquest of power by the armed proletariat openly . . . (114)

The civil wars in Europe were to be based on Marxist ideas of the proletarian class struggle: the proletariat should rebel against their own governments and against their own nations with the intent of destroying them: "Undoubtedly, this coming revolution can only be a proletarian revolution . . . it will show . . . that only stern battles, only civil wars, can free humanity from the yoke of capital . . ." (115) Lenin expounded the same line of decomposing Western societies again in 1919:

That the "Berne" International is captive to bourgeois ideology is most of all revealed by the fact that having failed to understand the imperialist character of the war of 1914—18, it failed to understand the inevitability of its transformation into civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in all the advanced countries. (116)

In 1920 he confessed that the internal conflicts in the Western nations were the work of the Bolsheviks, whose intention it was to destroy those nations:

Having published and repudiated the secret treaties of the imperialists, this party proposed peace to all countries, and yielded to the violence of the Brest-Litovsk robbers only after the Anglo-French imperialists had prevented peace, and after the Bolsheviks had done everything humanly possible to hasten the revolution in Germany and other countries. (117)

Lenin had specific policies for each of the individual major Western nations. The United States should be antagonized against the European powers and Japan and should also be weakened by an internal civil war. Against England the prime policy should consist of the anti-imperialist principle: England must be pressed to renounce her own colonialism, and the nations under English domination should be encouraged to rebel against England. In England class

warfare must be fomented, while outside England other European nations including the U.S.A. should be set against her. Lenin wrote:

Say: "No peace with the German capitalists and a complete break with the Anglo-French capitalists! Let the British get out of Turkey, and let them not fight for Bagdad! Let them get out of India and Egypt! We do not want to fight to preserve plundered loot, nor will we expend one atom of our energy to help the German brigands preserve their loot!" (118)

Before the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed Lenin's policy was not only to halt the eastward advance of the Germans but also to save as much of the former tsarist empire as possible by disassociating Russia from the Entente powers. In *War and Peace* he defended his policy: ". . . we said: 'We will accept peace at Brest — you will not get a better one — in order to prepare for a revolutionary war'." (119) He tried to prevent the loss of former Russian colonies, which Germany wanted to detach from the Russian empire, and was saddened that ". . . the German proletariat betrayed the Russian (and international) revolution, when it strangled Finland, Ukraine, Latvia, and Estonia." (120) It is obvious that Lenin wanted the German proletariat to uphold the integrity of the Russian empire. When the Versailles Treaty was signed, Lenin foresaw opportunities for Russia by exploiting either of the two possibilities: gain through the support of the treaty by keeping Germany weak, or through the support of the German anti-Versailles policy against the other Western powers. He wrote:

. . . we are not in the least obliged to repudiate the Versailles Peace, and certainly not immediately. The possibility of repudiating it successfully will depend not only on the German but also on the international successes of the Soviet movement. (121)

Which groups among the Germans Lenin wanted to make his friends, can be seen from the following statement:

The most outstanding representative of this tendency in Germany is the Spartacus

Group or the Group of the International, to which Karl Liebknecht belongs. Karl Liebknecht is one of the most celebrated representatives of this tendency, and of the new, and genuine, proletarian International. Karl Liebknecht called upon the workers and soldiers of Germany to turn their guns against their own government. (122)

The Liebknechts were German traitors and above all they were anti-national elements who wished to liquidate German statehood by incorporating Germany into the Russian empire. On the imperialist policy toward Germany, France, and Italy, Lenin wrote:

Although Germany has been defeated, it can nevertheless be of use to us. Through their positive resistance against the fulfilment of the Versailles treaty, they keep Europe in an unstable and undecided situation, which furnishes the best atmosphere for spreading Bolshevik doctrine. France is our worst and bitterest enemy, because it does everything it can to stabilize the European situation. In Italy we should be able to cause a revolution any time we feel like doing so, but even there we ought to act in concert with Germany, because Germany is trying to get Italian industry under its control. Everything tells us to look upon Germany as our most reliable ally. Germany wants revenge, and we want revolution. For the moment our aims are the same, but when our ways part, they will be our most ferocious and greatest enemies. Time will tell whether a German hegemony or a Communist federation is to arise out of the ruins of Europe. (123)

86. 'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder, International Publishers, New York, 1934, pp. 75—6

87. Soviet Russia in China, op. cit., p. 312

88. Soviet Union and International Law, op. cit., p. 314

89. Marx, Engels, Marxism, Kyiv, 1947, pp. 309—310

90. According to R. Strausz-Hupe and I. T. Possony, International Relations, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York-Toronto-London, 1954, p. 448

91. War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1940, p. 29

92. See supra, pp. 89—90

93. Soviet Policies in China, op. cit., p. 110

94. "Aims of the Revolution", 1917, v. 6, p. 243

95. See supra, pp. 90—91

96. "Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", 1916, v. 5, p. 305

97. "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, v. 4, p. 264

98. Lenin on the Question of Nationality, op. cit., p. 41

99. Formation of the Soviet Union, op. cit., p. 36

100. Communist China Today, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1957, p. 9

101. op. cit., p. 245

102. Soviet Russia in China, op. cit., p. 311

103. See supra, p. 90

104. See supra, p. 89

105. "A Few Theses", 1915, v. 5, p. 156

106. "Closing Speech at the 8th Party Congress", 1919, v. 8, p. 48

107. From Lenin to Malenkov, op. cit., p. 99

108. Ibidem, p. 100

109. "The National Question in Our Programme", 1903, v. 2, p. 324

110. loc. cit.

111. "Report on Decree on Peace", 1917, v. 6, p. 401

112. "Defeat of Russia and the Revolutionary Crisis", 1915, v. 5, p. 153

113. "Collapse of the Second International", 1915, v. 5, p. 211

114. "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism", v. 5, p. 264

115. See supra, p. 89

116. "Tasks of the Third International", v. 10, pp. 47—8

117. "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder", v. 10, p. 77

118. "Speech on the War", 1917, v. 6, p. 161

119. 1918, v. 7, p. 306

120. "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky", 1918, v. 7, p. 181

121. "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder", 1920, v. 10, p. 118

122. "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", 1917, v. 6, p. 66

123. According to Ost-Information, Berlin, No. 81, Dec. 4, 1920

News And Views

Membership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

a) according to social categories:	
Workers	37.8 ⁰ / ₀
Peasants (collective farm labourers)	16.2 ⁰ / ₀
White-collar workers and others	46.0 ⁰ / ₀
b) according to years of Party membership:	
up to 10 years	47.1 ⁰ / ₀
from 10 to 30 years	47.3 ⁰ / ₀
over 30 years	5.6 ⁰ / ₀
c) according to age:	
up to 25 years old	6.2 ⁰ / ₀
26—40	46.8 ⁰ / ₀
41—50	24.9 ⁰ / ₀
over 50 years old	22.1 ⁰ / ₀
d) according to education:	
University study (past and present)	18.2 ⁰ / ₀
Senior school (completed)	30.9 ⁰ / ₀

Deceptive Maneuvres of Russian Foreign Policy Periods of Co-Existence

1920-22

Lenin — Chicherin

German-Russian Rapallo-Pact —

Result: basic foreign policy creed with respect to the right of self-determination.

1925-27

Stalin — Chicherin — Litvinov

Efforts to achieve the recognition of the Soviet Union — rejection of the practice of insurrection in view of the capitalist West's increase of power. (Stalin) — Eduard Herriot's left-wing majority. Kremlin is for disarmament.

1934-39

Stalin — Pact Laval-Stalin. — The Soviet Union reenters the League of Nations. Comintern Congress in August 1935. Ovation for Stalin. "Bulwark against war."

1942-47

Stalin is Uncle Joe to his Western Allies throughout the War. Yalta. Two-tracked Kremlin propaganda to confuse Roosevelt.

1953-56

Malenkov — Bulganin — Khrushchov. XX Party Congress: Co-existence policy continues to be the Kremlin's general policy! "Spirit of Geneva" in Khrushchov's speech on December 30, 1955. — De-Stalinization. "Thaw-weather" directed from above.

1958-59

Khrushchov at the XXI Party Congress: "Revolutions cannot be exported." Distraction of attention from difficulties in Eastern Europe by polemicising against Peking. "Spirit of Camp David". Tactical consumers' policies. Imitation of prosperity democracy.

1960-61

Khrushchov's meeting with Kennedy in Vienna. First promises towards an atomic test ban.

1963-65

Khrushchov's renewed interest in the atomic test ban. Acts of friendship in the developing countries.

Peking is accused of being an enemy of peace. — Khrushchov's fall, allegedly a signal for a coexistence policy free of disturbances.

1967

Nuclear treaty — USA — Soviet Union.

Periods of Anti-Coexistence

1923-25

Chicherin. Erection of the Iron Curtain — Russification of the Communist International. Subjugation of the "liberated".

1927-33

Stalin — Litvinov. "Class against class". On August 1, 1927, Stalin demands the putting into action of all internationalists for the Soviet Union in the event of war. Promotion of the strike wave. Acts of sabotage. Conflict with England. Hitler and the Communist Party. — Show trials.

1939-41

Hitler-Stalin Pact on the distribution of the war spoils. — Annexation of West Ukraine etc. — War Hitler — Stalin. — Terror trials in the Soviet Union. Annexation of the Baltics, etc.

1947-53

Generalissimo Stalin. Greatest expansion of the Russian empire. Enslavement of still more peoples. *Coup d'état* in Prague. Berlin blockade. Korea.

1956-58

Khrushchov. Blood bath in Budapest. Crushing of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Ukrainian insurgents are put into concentration camps. Berlin ultimatum. Attacks in the Near East. Quemoy, Matsu.

1959-60

Quarrel with Belgrade. Declaration of the 81 Communist Parties in Moscow: Aggressive declaration of coexistence, which favoured the class struggle and the "national liberation movements". Khrushchov's shoe-beating speech in the United Nations.

1961-63

Khrushchov's megaton bombs. Aggressive experiment on Cuba. The Wall of Shame in Berlin at Moscow's initiative.

1966-67

Stepping up of the armament race. Incitement of the differences in the Near East. Arms to North Vietnam. Aggressive emphasis of the Moldavian manoeuvre. Power — political demonstration of the 50th anniversary of the Revolution.

Moscow and her satellites will continue to try to incorporate the developing countries into their "peoples' fight for peace", that is to say, in the Communist Party's front against the West. The internal equivalent of "peaceful coexistence", the policies of the people's front of the Communist Parties in the West, will be the main task of its propaganda and diplomacy. Furthermore, the European "East bloc" — with internal tactical differences — will continue to propagandise the Red-Chinese question until a possible new basis is created for the Communist Party's International with respect to Peking.

Prof. Kapytzja in England

The famous atomic physicist and President of the Institute for Technological Research in the USSR, *Prof. Petro Kapytzja* (in Russian, *Kapitza*), who is a native Ukrainian, visited England after an absence of 32 years. From 1921-34, he was a leading atomic physicist in England; in 1934, however, he visited his mother in the USSR and was prevented from returning by the Bolsheviks. *Prof. Kapytzja* is a member of the British Royal Scientific Society, and in this capacity he held a talk before a session of this Society.

In his speech he spoke up on behalf of a close cooperation of the Soviet scientists with English and American scientists. He pointed out that in some fields Soviet science is behind that of the United States, and he said that he was sorry that numerous important scientists emigrated to the USA. This would be impossible in the USSR, for Soviet scientists are not permitted to travel abroad.

Religious Transmissions

The Protestant church in the United States has transmitted religious programmes into Ukraine, and according to "The Protestant Morning," Ukrainian Baptists in North America are also going to transmit Protestant sermons into Ukraine over a strong transmitter in Europe.

Ukrainian Exhibition In Jugoslavia

Recently, an exhibition of Ukrainian Fine Arts was opened in *Priyavor*, Yugoslavia. A number of Ukrainian plays, Ukrainian courses, etc., were also presented.

Russians Afraid Of Losing Siberia

M. Podgorny, President of the Supreme Soviet paid a visit to *Khabarovsk* in the Far East (50 kilometres from the Chinese border). At a mass-demonstration he called upon the people "to defend, expertly and heroically, the border of the fatherland, in the event it should prove necessary." He went on to say that until 1970, 250,000 young men and women from Far Eastern cities would be called to the Far East, Siberia and other areas, to help in a large project of great national importance. Du-

ring this same time, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union *Brezhnev* was in *Vladivostok*; at a mass-demonstration, he declared that "the Soviet army and fleet were carefully protecting the border of Siberia."

Nationalist Feeling In Ukraine

L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, and other speakers at the Party's 23rd Congress last year admitted the growth of nationalist feeling in Ukraine and other non-Russian republics.

With a population of more than 45 millions, Ukraine is by far the largest of the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union.

Russification In Baltic States

Neue Zürcher Zeitung printed a factual article: "Russifizierung in den baltischen Ländern", showing how the Russian language, deportations, Russian mass immigration, educational Russification, etc. are

used to destroy the enslaved peoples, not only the Baltic peoples, but the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Caucasian and Turkestanian peoples as well.

Ukrainians in Czecho-Slovakia

As long ago as 1960 the Slovak Educational Publishing House started up a department for Ukrainian literature to encourage the development of Ukrainian culture in Czecho-Slovakia. The Safarik University in Košice has a professorial chair of Ukrainian.

At the various institutes of higher education in Prague, Bratislava, Košice, and Prešov a numerous group of scholars of Ukrainian language and art are at work, among them about thirty Ukrainian writers.

These Ukrainian scholars look after the publication of Ukrainian literature, Ukrainian children's books, and illustrated magazines although they are obliged to include the Communist regime's propaganda.

STATISTICAL DATA ON THE POPULATION

The Central Office of Statistics in the Soviet Socialist Republics of Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan and Kirgizistan have given various data on their population and employment.

On July 1, 1966, the Uzbekistanian SSR had a population of 10,770,000. This is an increase of 189,000 since January 1, 1966. On July 7, 1966, 2,159,000 workers were employed in the national economy, 186,000 more than in 1965.

In the Tadzhikistanian SSR on July 1, 1966, the population numbered 2,625,000. To this date 469,000 workers were employed in the national economy, an increase of 34,000 as compared to 1965. (STa, July 27, 1966)

The Kazakhstanian SSR had a population of 12.3 million on July 1, 1966. The employment figure amounted to 4,065,000, an increase of 176,000 over 1965. (SQ July 29, 1966)

On July 1, 1966 the Kirgizistanian SSR recorded 2,697,000 inhabitants, an increase of 45,000 as compared to the census on January 1, 1966. 640,000 workers were employed in the national economy, an increase of 40,000 as compared to 1965.

As concerns the Turkmenistanian SSR, we hear only that the number of employees had increased by 20,000 in 1966. (STu, July 29, 1966)

There is a lot of talk lately about our younger generation and its disinterest in the Ukrainian liberation movement. The pessimists among us should have been present at the Expo on Saturday, July 29 for an eye-opening spectacle of a young, vibrant, powerful Ukraine impetuously demanding its national and civil rights. There was no compromise, no whining, no uncertainty.

The demonstrations at the Soviet Pavilion didn't really seem like much to an outsider. They were relatively quiet, orderly, and of a short duration. But to one who had an opportunity to see it from the inside — like myself — the message came through loud and clear. It started spontaneously — a column of SUM* youth almost instinctively headed for the Soviet Pavilion after the "Ukrainian Day" festivities. Large crowds of sight-seers were already lined up in front of the building, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (the unmounted ones) were strategically patrolling the area. One of the columns — about 50 youths — headed for the small circular enclosure formed by the flags of the 15 Soviet "republics" and topped by the all-Union red banner. Without really deciding what they were going to do, they began to march around the enclosure in a long, orderly column. Very shortly additional SUM and Plast youth joined them while the police formed a tight cordon around the flags (there had already been incidents of SUM youth attempting to rip down the Soviet Ukrainian flag). And finally members of TUSM* came along with about a half-dozen yellow and blue arm-bands to lend direction and force to the movement. The surrounding Expo visitors stood by silently, puzzled at the sight of uniformed youth with arm-bands calling out for Ukrainian independence. Some of the youth broke into song, while others chanted liberation slogans. When a Hong Kong correspondent somehow managed to be sucked into the marching column, he was immediately surrounded by a dozen

burly youths, each trying to outshout the other in explaining that they were there to "tell the world that the Russians must get out; it's either Ukrainians or Russians — not both!"

By now the RCMP's had time to contact headquarters about the disturbances. They began to call up reinforcements and paddy wagons, while trying to isolate those who seemed like the ring-leaders. (They found it hard to believe that the demonstration was spontaneous) One by one the older youths and those wearing arm-bands were led away by police to waiting paddy wagons — although this was done with extreme caution so as to preclude any riotous intervention by the marchers. Even while being led away, they continued urging on the marchers, and shouting slogans of Ukrainian independence. As the wagons were being driven to the police headquarters, Ukrainian girls in uniform hurled kisses at those inside.

All in all, between 15-20 youths were arrested, including a father and his 10 year old son. Most of the RCMP's were sympathetic with the demonstration, but had to follow orders. Of those arrested, only two — one U.S. citizen, and one Canadian — were retained in jail for trial proceedings on Monday morning. However, even these two were not deserted by their young compatriots. Late that night, after spending 7 hours in jail, bail was posted by members of SUM, and they were given their freedom. The marchers at the Pavilion, in the meantime, had been surrounded by a large number of RCMP's and prodded across a bridge away from the Soviet showcase. Here too they proved themselves to be as courageously stubborn as generations of Ukrainian ancestors by taking tiny steps, to frustrate their impatient wardens.

One thing we can learn from the demonstrations. This was the genuine, spontaneous voice of the younger generation — a voice as proud and loud and defiant as any that had sounded at Kruty** fifty years ago.

* SUM and TUSM — Ukrainian youth associations

** 300 Ukrainian students died fighting the Russians

Manifestation Of Solidarity With Fighting Compatriots

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted on November 18, 1967 by over ten thousand participants of the Rally for Freedom of Ukraine at Madison Square Garden in New York, N.Y., held in conjunction with the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

We, the participants of the Rally for Freedom of Ukraine, held in conjunction with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, at Madison Square Garden in New York, November 18, 1967, in order to manifest before the whole Free World our steadfast will to continue the Ukrainian people's struggle for full renewal of its independent, sovereign, and united state assert and declare that:

1. 1967 is the year when Ukrainians in the Free World and in Ukraine are observing the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution — as contrasted with the anniversary of the Bolshevik imperialist counter-revolution.

2. Ukrainian national liberation revolution, which broke out spontaneously in March 1917 had as its primary aim the establishment of a sovereign Ukrainian state. It was toward this end that the revolutionary activity of the broadest Ukrainian masses was leading. Disregarding the hostile attempts on the part of imperialist Russia, Ukrainian people yearned and fought for its own independent state. This culminated in the proclamation of full sovereignty and independence of the Ukrainian National Republic on January 22, 1918.

3. The entire revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people to this very day is conducted in the name of the ideal of the independent and united Ukraine, as reflected in the Acts of January 22, 1918, and January 22, 1919.¹ This struggle is nourished on the moral resources of the war of independence. Proof of the living ideals of independent and united Ukraine are, among other things, this year's celebrations by the Ukrainian people in the Free World of the 50th anniversary since the outbreak of the Ukrainian National Revolution, the 50th anniversary since the rebirth of the Ukrainian armed

forces and the 25th anniversary since the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

4. We, Ukrainians in the Free World, who enjoy the freedom of speech, have gathered at this Freedom Rally in Madison Square Garden, in order to unmask and expose before the whole Free World the fraudulent trappings with which the Russian rulers of Ukraine are trying to embellish the historic truth, because in actual fact the October Revolution was a counter-revolution, a reaction of the Russian imperialism to the national revolutions of the peoples enslaved by Russia.

5. We hereby state that after the victory of the so-called October Revolution the Bolshevik imperialists, using false revolutionary slogans, enslaved virtually all the non-Russian peoples of the former Tsarist Empire, who had begun to establish their own national independent states after the dissolution of the Empire. The establishment of the Soviet Union in 1922 was but a further strengthening of the Russian Empire. Moreover, it deprived the so-called union republics of all their autonomous rights and led to their complete subjugation by the Russian imperialist centre.

6. We hereby state that:

a) Today's so-called union republics are nothing but simple Soviet-Russian provinces, headed by governors in the persons of party secretaries. Neither the Supreme Soviets nor the Governments of the union republics enjoy any independent action; they merely act on orders from Moscow.

b) In the economic field, the non-Russian republics are mere colonies of the Russian-Bolshevik centre;

c) The ruling nation in the USSR is the Russian nation, and the non-Russian peoples of the USSR live in the state of enslavement, oppression, and exploitation.

7. The new wave of persecutions in

Ukraine, namely the arrests of those who came to the defence of the Ukrainian language in the so-called Ukrainian SSR, arrests of the cultural leaders by the ruling regime, moves us to state and protest once more before the Free World:

a) Moscow, which liquidated the Ukrainian independent state, which several times physically decimated the Ukrainian population (though mass executions and constant terror, famine, concentration camps, deportations into Siberia and Kazakhstan), which through collectivization and liquidation of private property economically and physically subjugated the Ukrainian people, which liquidated the Ukrainian churches and is persecuting the clergy and the faithful by arrests, deportations, executions, — is now forcefully destroying Ukrainian scholarship, literature, and art;

b) Moscow is liquidating the Ukrainian culture. All the achievements of the Ukrainian culture are now considered "obsolete" by Moscow, yet at the same time it introduces elements of Russian culture under the guise of "new traditions" and "proletarian culture". It destroys the monuments of Ukrainian culture by liquidating the archives, burning the libraries, razing important architectural structures. Finally, it liquidates the creators of Ukrainian culture by arrests, deportations, confinement to insane asylums, and executions.

c) Moscow is destroying the Ukrainian language by hidden measures and by direct laws. On the one hand, by means of the education laws Moscow denies the Ukrainian language an official status; on the other hand, by the "will of the parents"² clause and by limiting the Ukrainian-language editions of publications Moscow reduces Ukrainian to the status of a dead language, or at best a language for "home use". In radio, television, motion pictures, theatre, universities and scientific institutions, Russian language prevails. It is officially recognized as the "language of international communication" and the "second native language" of all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

d) Moscow is destroying those who fight for freedom. It practises the forceful re-

settlement of the peoples of the USSR. Moscow sends Ukrainian youth, under various pretexts of developing the economically backward areas of the Soviet Union, into Asia and northeastern Europe, while at the same time it brings in millions of Russians and other non-Ukrainians, with the aim of liquidating once and for all the Ukrainian nation by means of the "fusion of nations".

8. We participants at this Rally for Freedom of Ukraine, make public and condemn these attempts of Moscow. Perturbed about the fate of Ukraine, we turn to the governments of all freedom loving countries, we turn to the United Nations, to eminent political, civic, and cultural leaders of all organizations of the Free World with the plea to support us and our demands. We ask the United Nations to establish a separate commission to study the mass arrests of Ukrainian cultural leaders in the Ukrainian SSR, to look into the banning of Ukrainian churches, the mass destruction of the Ukrainian youth and to the confinement in concentration camps of those who had fought for the rights of man and the rights of nations. These are glaring examples of violations of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights passed by the General Assembly of the U.N. We ask also for the condemnation of Russian imperialism and colonialism in Ukraine and in other captive nations.

9. Communist Moscow, having seized Ukraine and other freedom loving countries, transformed them into its colonies and throughout the period of its occupation practises the most cruel methods of spiritual and physical genocide and colonial exploitation. The participants of the Rally condemn openly, before the eyes of the whole world, this policy of genocide and this flagrant violation of all rights of man. We urge the government of the United States to speed up the ratification of the convention against genocide and the conventions on human rights.

10. Today the people of South Viet Nam are defending, in a war not of their own making, freedom and independence against

this same aggressive Communism whose first victim fifty years ago was Ukraine. The participants of the Rally express their wholehearted support for the political and military actions of the United States, whose aim is to offer aid to the Vietnamese people in this prolonged war for freedom and independence. We firmly believe that the guarantee for the final victory lies in the isolation of the world centre of aggression, which is Moscow. We also believe that this can be done through an active support of the struggle for national liberation of Ukraine and other captive nations. The participants of the Rally assert that among those who fight and give their lives in this struggle against the Communist aggressor on the battlefields of Viet Nam are also the sons of the Ukrainian people, fighting in the ranks of the American army.

11. At the same time, the participants of the Rally for the Freedom of Ukraine, express their admiration for the captive, but not vanquished, Ukrainian nation, especially those Ukrainian civic and cultural leaders in Ukraine, who, undaunted by the terror and the persecutions of the occupying power, courageously and steadfastly defend free Ukrainian thought and the creativity of the Ukrainian nation, those dauntless fighters for the sovereign rights of the Ukrainian nation and for its Christian faith. We assure them that the Ukrainians in the Free World, in full solidarity, support their struggle.

¹ 1918 — *Proclamation of Independence*; 1919 — *Proclamation of the Union of Eastern and Western Ukraine*.

² The clause stipulates that the parents are to decide in which language their children are to be taught. This frequently favors schools with Russian as the language of instruction.

In Prison

THE TIMES, January 17, 1968

From Mr. Ole Bjorn Kraft

Sir, — My executive board, meeting in Milan this weekend, congratulates *The Times* on the coverage of the writers' trial in Moscow, on your leading article and on publishing the appeal to world opinion in today's issue.

Your concern for what has happened in Moscow is commendable. May we ask you and your readers to extend this concern to the many Ukrainian poets, writers, scientists, and artists, and the many intellectuals of other countries enslaved in the U.S.S.R., who without trial and without publicity, have been deprived of their basic human rights in recent months.

Severe punishment after secret trials, deportations, the deprivation of human rights and all kinds of persecution should be the concern of all of us. In this "Human Rights Year" we call upon all liberal-minded people to study the evidence of recent months and to recognize the latent policy of genocide and anti-semitism which underlies most of these persecutions.

Here are a few examples from Ukraine: writer and translator Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, imprisoned since 1945 and recently

sentenced to a further eight years; writer and journalist *Viacheslav Chornovil*, sentenced a few weeks ago to three years; *Ivan Hel*, a student of philosophy, three years; the almost blind scientist *Bohdan Horyn*, four years; *Dmytro Ivashchenko*, writer and member of the Academy of Science, two years; *Mrs. Eugenia Kuznetsova*, scientist, four years; *Mykhailo Ozernyi*, teacher, six years; *Anatol Shevchuk*, writer, five years; *Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi*, lawyer, without trial in concentration camp since 1945; *Mykhailo Soroka*, 24 years in a Russian camp; *Mrs. Katria Zarytska*, of the Ukrainian Red Cross, 18 years in a Russian prison without trial; *Yurii Shukhevych*, the son of General Shukhevych, 15 years in a concentration camp because he refused to denounce his father.

Most of the above are in the concentration camp in Mordovian A.S.S.R.

There are many other camps and many other victims about whom we have no precise details.

Yours faithfully,

Ole Bjorn Kraft, President,
European Freedom Council,
Birkerød, Denmark, Jan. 13.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Break-up Of The Old Russian Empire

Restoration Of National Independence Of The Non-Russian Peoples

1917/1918



1



2



3



4



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13

National emblems of: 1) Finland, 2) Estonia, 3) Latvia, 4) Lithuania, 5) Byelorussia, 6) Poland, 7) Ukraine, 8) Don Cossack State, 9) North Caucasus, 10) Georgia 11) Armenia, 12) Azerbaijan, 13) Turkestan. (Not in the picture: national emblems of Idel-Ural and Siberia).

CONTENTS:

Prof. F. Durcansky (Slovakia)
**We Should All Work For The Realisation
Of Human Rights 4**

**The Voice Of Martyrs From A Russian Concentration
Camp In Mordovian A.S.S.R. 7**

An Open Letter From The Journalists Of Kyiv (Ukraine) 23

Ukrainian Prisoners Of Conscience In USSR 30

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny (Slovakia)
Moscow's Appeasement Tactics Towards Slovakia . . 37

The Stormy Year Of 1967 38

Soviet Government's Protest Note Against Our Action 40

A. Bedriy (USA)
**Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies
Of Lenin 42**

News And Views 46

**ABN Protests Against Russian Propaganda Exhibition
In Munich 49**

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ABN Condemns Coexistence With Tyrannies

The present world political situation is characterised by moral weakness on the part of the Free World in relation to world Communism and Russian imperialism.

The major political circles of the Free World consider Communism and Russian imperialism from the view-point of the dangerous illusions they hold. Although the Russian Bolshevik dictatorship celebrated the 50th anniversary of its existence last year, the leading politicians in the Free World are still not able to grasp its essence and to contemplate it realistically.

In particular the connexion between Russian Bolshevik party interests with those of Russian nationalism and imperialism, the forcible nature of the Russian empire and the resistance of the subjugated nations to the Communist dictatorship and Russian domination are important facts which the leading political circles in the Free World do not want to see. They are all the less ready to draw the practical consequences from them in their own interests!

A policy, however, which is built on illusions and ignorance of facts can only lead to failure and catastrophe. The last 50 years of Russian Bolshevik dictatorship and the present world political situation are a sorry confirmation of this realisation.

Soviet Russia rules and exploits the overwhelming majority of Europe and a large part of Asia as well. The Russian Bolshevik empire (the Soviet Union with the so-called satellite countries), which has come into existence and is kept together only by brutal force, is the largest colonial power in the world. This colonial empire is so strong that it threatens the freedom of the whole world.

The Soviet Russian rulers in their efforts to expand can draw on the support not only of the economic potential of the subjugated nations and countries, but in most cases also can count on the help of other Communist dictatorships.

Even if at the moment various examples of tension and quarrels between the Russian and Chinese Communists — mainly on account of imperial antagonism — exist, Red China is in many respects in conformity with Soviet Russia against the Free World. The Chinese Communist rulers often give instinctive help to the Soviet Russian party and state, to whom they owe their seizure of power on the Chinese mainland.

Even in the present rivalry between Moscow and Peking for the leadership of the Communist world movement, most Communist parties in the world are more-over orientated towards Moscow, from where they receive their directives.

The Communist parties directed from Moscow are the fifth column of Russian imperialism. Through them Soviet Russia has the chance to interfere constantly in the domestic affairs of other states and to influence their policies. The most important tasks of these parties are: to strive to bring about a trend in foreign policy friendly to the Soviet Union, to promote social tension, to disturb the economy, to destroy the traditional moral and social order, to propagate Russian Bolshevik ideology and constantly to provoke unrest, so that the conditions necessary for a take over of power by the Communists are created. Even if they do not reach these goals, they perform the cause of Russian imperialism a valuable service.

Soviet Russia is in constant attack against the Free World. Everywhere it is causing unrest, everywhere exploiting political and social tension. Although it is always invoking the principle of non-intervention, it intervenes everywhere, complicates the position, and diverts the attention of world public opinion onto minor questions.

The Russian Bolshevik dictatorship promotes, together with other Communist dictatorships, Communist subversive actions and guerilla warfare in the countries of Latin America, provokes race-riots in the USA through its agents, as well as demonstrations against the USA in various Western European countries. In Asia and Africa it agitates against the former colonial powers, although it is itself the greatest colonial power in the world.

Leading politicians and public writers, political experts and commentators in the the Free World are inclined to regard all these phenomena as internal affairs of the countries concerned and thus to ignore the Russian Bolshevik initiative in them! Nothing which might disturb the illusion of 'peaceful coexistence' with the Russian Bolshevik imperialists, aggressors and mass-murderers, does this circle want to become aware of nor does it want to allow public opinion to become aware of! Otherwise they would have to admit the unreality of their own 'realistic' policy and uncover their lack of ability, if not their dishonesty, and leave the stage. And this they do not want to do.

The Russian Bolshevik 'coexistence' swindle has become an axiom of world politics! It is completely clear that a swindle can only serve those who thought it up and not those who believe it to be true. A swindle can only profit those who employ it systematically and not those against whom it is employed.

Authoritative political circles in the Free World have already sunk so low that they not only recognise and respect all previous conquests of Soviet Russia in silence, that they not only leave every initiative in world politics to Moscow, but they also view the Soviet Russian colonial empire as it is described in Russia's lying propaganda!

The Russian Bolshevik dictatorship could be satisfied with its conquests up to now and with its foreign policy. Unfortunately it is not. It is constantly striving to conquer more and more new countries, to rule over more and more new nations, to extend its influence over more and more new areas. Even the assumption, that the Russian Bolshevik rulers would at least refrain from a 'hot' war, in consideration of their 'coexistence' propaganda, has shown itself to be an illusion.

Soviet Russia has for years been waging an aggressive war against the Free World, without bearing the international responsibility for it and thus the risk connected with it! The native Communists in Vietnam would not have been by themselves without the help of the Soviet Russian empire in a position to fight against the military strength of the USA. They are supported, not as one might expect from the geographical position by Red China, but above all by Soviet Russia. But the USA does not consider it necessary to break off diplomatic relations with Moscow, although it is fighting a war against them in Vietnam!

The role too of Soviet Russia in the present Near East crisis should be no secret to any politically clear-thinking person. Moscow is stirring the Arabs up against Israel, is delivering them arms and promising them help in case of war. But when at last it came to a war between the Arab states and Israel, Moscow limited itself

to only diplomatic and propaganda help. This did not allow Russia to avoid Arab defeat, but nevertheless Russia was able to increase its influence in some Arab states considerably.

The Russian Bolshevik rulers succeeded in doing what the Russian Tsars had failed in: penetrating with the Russian navy into the Mediterranean and drawing wide areas of the Near East into the Russian sphere of influence. The consequences of this development are still unforeseeable.

Soviet Russia continues its policy of expansion without a break. In comparison the Free World limits itself at the most to defence measures. Their leading political representatives are anxious to appease the Russian Bolshevik oligarchs with further concessions, to 'assure peace'!

Soviet Russia is at the moment striving, through an international atomic non-proliferation treaty — despite the principles of sovereignty and equality of nations and states — to create for itself a privileged position in the world! Only the Russian Bolshevik empire and the USA may have thermonuclear weapons — in accordance with the wishes of the Soviet Russian rulers. They are also demanding the privilege of inspecting the atomic industries of other countries. Such a right to inspection would give them the chance to carry on economic espionage through their agents in countries outside their own sphere of power, and to hinder the development of local nuclear industries.

The Russian Bolshevik rulers are already appearing as impudent as if they alone, together with the representatives of the USA, were entitled to force their will on all nations and states in the world, and to make decisions on the fate of the whole world!

Naturally they are prepared to recognise the USA as their partner in world politics, but only as long as they cannot realise their own plans for world conquest.

Only cooperation between the nations of the Free World and the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia and Communism can save the world from the danger of a Russian Bolshevik aggression for all time.

The danger of Russian Bolshevik aggression will always exist as long as the Russian Bolshevik colonial empire exists. This empire can, if an atomic war is to be avoided, only be destroyed with the help of the peoples subjugated and exploited there.

The constant resistance of the subjugated nations against the foreign rule of the Russian Communist dictatorship and colonial exploitation is a reality in world politics. Some nations have only this circumstance to thank for the fact that they are still free. The resistance of the subjugated nations hinders the expansion of Soviet Russia and forces the Bolshevik rulers to make concessions in their sphere of power.

The Free World must make no further concessions to the Russian Bolshevik rulers and their vassals, above all in its own interests it must not recognise their conquests, render them neither political, diplomatic, economic nor any other help and refuse any form of cooperation with them. In addition the governments of the Free World should declare their solidarity with the efforts of the subjugated nations and support politically their efforts in their fight for the re-establishment of the freedom and the independence of their national states. In this the govern-

ments of the Free World could invoke the principles and resolutions of the United Nations, also recognised by Russia, and demand their observance.

The revolutionary resistance of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism shows the nations of the Free World the way towards the rescue of freedom and the assurance of progress.

Central Committee, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

F. Durcansky

We Should All Work For The Realisation Of Human Rights

The General Assembly of the United Nations has unanimously resolved that 1968 should be remembered in the whole world as the International Year of Human Rights. The United Nations wanted thereby to remind mankind of the fact that on 10 December 1948, that is, 20 years ago, a General Declaration on Human Rights was accepted by its General Assembly.

The General Declaration on Human Rights without doubt represents a milestone in the development of mankind. This, it is hoped, will incite world opinion to take action for the consistent realisation of human rights. It is certainly a favourable opportunity to put both political and psychological pressure on tyrants, autocrats and dictators, and thus to force them to cease abusing their power and to call a halt to placing obstacles in the way of making constitutionality a real fact.

If we draw up a balance sheet on the realisation of human rights on the international level in the last twenty years, we can state with satisfaction that, since the announcement of the General Declaration on Human Rights, the members of the United Nations have concluded several agreements seeking to assure human rights. Some of them, by reason of their ratification by the signatory states, have acquired legal force. For example, the agreement against genocide, as well as agreements on the abolition of slavery, forced labour, the elimination of discrimination, etc.

In theory, however, the decisive advance is represented by the two world pacts accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 16 December 1966;

these were on economic, social and cultural rights, and on civil and political rights, with an optional protocol. These two world pacts could mean an important advance in the promotion of human rights, if all freedom-loving people were to work seriously for the realisation of their provisions. It is true that up to now only a small number of states have signed them and none of them have yet given their ratification. This means that neither of these two world pacts have yet entered into force. Since however the provisions of these pacts can be regarded only as a more precise formulation of human rights and basic freedoms, which were contained in the General Declaration of Human Rights and which are pointed to in Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, and since these world pacts were unanimously accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, it would be possible to consider these provisions as politically and morally binding for the members of the United Nations.

If in addition we look more closely at the constitutions of the existing states, we can see that there are hardly any states whose constitutions do not find an important place for the human rights and basic freedoms of their citizens.

If, however, we draw up the balance-sheet of the actual position, we must state with regret that it is more dispiriting than encouraging. The hand on the clock of development seems to prove exactly the opposite of the General Declaration of Human Rights, the two world pacts mentioned and the fine constitutional provisions.

Certainly in most of the states of Western Europe, in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and in some Latin American republics, respect for human rights has become more important than before. Doubtless about 67 new independent states have come into existence since 1945. Their populations were thus given the chance to realize their right to self-determination. Unfortunately this was carried out in too automatic a fashion and the former colonies were simply proclaimed independent states, without the wishes of the population concerned being considered. If there had been more understanding for the fate of the coloured peoples, some of the independent states would have been joined together with others, whilst on the other hand the division of some unities in accordance with their ethnic factors would not have been hindered. In this way much of the sufferings of the coloured peoples, for example in the Congo, Nigeria, Sudan etc. could have been avoided.

At the same time the area in which freedom does not exist has been considerably extended in the world. The countries ruled by the Russian and Communist tyrants now extend to over 25% of the world's surface and comprise more than 36% of the whole of mankind. Whether this system will be extended to the whole of South-East Asia is being decided in the present armed conflict in Vietnam. In addition at the moment active subversive movements are in progress in some African countries and in Latin America, as well as accelerated preparations for war in the Near East. Thus the general world situation, as well as the prospects for peace, are not in accordance with the promising provisions of the world pact.

It is not only a question of the Communist system depriving great masses of people of almost all human rights and basic freedoms, and reducing these people to modern slaves, but even more of the thoroughness and ruthlessness with which the Russian and other Communist tyrants ignore these rights. If, for example, the majority of coloured people were forced to live in colonies until the end of the

Second World War, the colonial powers have nevertheless in most cases respected the majority of human rights and basic freedoms of the local population. If in some few areas of the world colonial conditions exist even today, and the right of self-determination of the local population has been till the present refused *it is impossible to compare conditions there with those in Communist ruled countries*. A complete constitutionality is often only a question of the next development, without thinking revolutionary measures necessary. There are regimes which do not seek to extend their systems abroad, which thus threaten neither the independence of other nations nor the stability of international relations.

All leading Communist ideologists make no secret of the fact that they are determined to acknowledge no human rights to the opponents of this unnatural system.

Since not only the introduction but even the existence of the Communist system is to be equated with a permanent state of war, it is natural that in the countries under Communist rule, not only in theory but in practice, there can be no place for human rights. It is true that the constitutions of the Communist ruled countries list a long catalogue of human rights, which however are only intended to deceive the public. The Communist tyrants cannot allow themselves to tolerate the realisation of human rights, since such a thing would lead at once to the elimination of the system by the overwhelming majority of the population especially in the subjugated countries where Communism was forcibly introduced by Moscow.

The Communists take into account neither civil, political nor economic, social or cultural rights. They pay no heed either to the rights of individuals, their religious, economic, social and other groupings, or to the rights of the conquered nations. They cannot respect these rights, since otherwise they could not construct the totalitarian imperial state, for which they are striving with every means. This must lead to the conclusion that any hopes are groundless that human rights would be in time re-

spected by the development of the Communist tyrants.

Besides the intensity of terror, brutality and ruthlessness with which the Communists treat all their potential opponents, they go beyond everything which humanity has experienced for centuries. This can be seen in the methods with which Stalin and his collaborators in different countries subjugated by Moscow, as well as their successors, had even the leading Communist officials liquidated.

The Russian and other Communist tyrants have succeeded through the boundless terror which they have exercised ruthlessly for decades in creating in all sections of the population such psychosis of fear that the people living there have lost the courage even to think freely.

It is necessary in this International Year of Human Rights for everyone who originated in the Communist-ruled countries, for everyone who feels threatened by the expansionary force and subversive activities of the Communist professional revolutionaries, for everyone who is for any reason at all interested in the humanisation of conditions in the world, to join in the world campaign for the realisation of human rights. For progress in this direction can only be to the profit of everyone, indeed, of all mankind.

Everyone should take action, not only for a theoretical advance, but also for an actual realisation of human rights. *Mankind should work in the first place for the realisation of political and national rights, since the realisation of the other human rights is a logical consequence of this.*

Since the existence of the Communist system is in principle incompatible with the realisation of human rights, and since the Communists are consistently working for the enslavement of all mankind, it is necessary for world public opinion to become conscious in this International Year of Human Rights of the necessity for the Communist system to be eliminated and to work without equivocation for it.

Since the expansion of Communism is occurring today from two centres of power, Moscow and Peking, everyone actually

concerned with the realisation of human rights and basic freedoms should work for the realisation of the right to self-determination of all the 30 countries ruled by the Communists in accordance with Article I of the world pact. This should not be a new act of deception of public opinion through the repeated proclamation of the right to self-determination of these nations, but a real independence of all these countries enslaved by the Russian and other Communist tyrants. Only in this way can the necessary conditions of world politics be created, for the liberation once more of many hundreds of millions of people from fear into a state worthy of a human and thus for the creation of the bases of freedom, justice and longed-for peace.

Recapitulating, we state the following:

The basic conditions necessary before human rights can be assured are the national independence of the people in question and the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism in any form, above all the Russian form, and of Communism, which serves as the cover for this. Human rights are in the main abused by imperialists, by foreign rule, and only in the second place by dictatorial regimes in their own nation. For example, the Slovaks in the one time Czecho-Slovakia of Masaryk and Benes (1918-38) suffered not inconsiderably, since their nation was also then without national independence. Therefore the primary demand is for national independence, which is more able to ensure the observation of human rights than a 'democratic' empire or a violent artificial state-formation, such as, for example, Czecho-Slovakia, where national oppression ruled and rules still.

The best guarantee of human rights would be the dissolution of the Russian empire, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia into the sovereign national states of all the nations living there, and the introduction of democracy into all these states. The destruction of Communism would alone not mean the assurance of human rights. The empires must be dissolved and democracy introduced into independent states.

“We Appeal To The Progressive Public Of Our Planet”

**The Voice Of Martyrs From A Russian Concentration Camp In Mordovian A.S.S.R.
From 1967!**

We are publishing a document the copies of which are circulating through Ukraine. It is a letter-complaint written by one of the defendants who was among the group of jurists secretly tried by a closed court in Lviv in 1961 for demanding that the state-legal status of the Ukr.SSR be examined. In Ukraine it was generally known that these jurists were arrested and convicted. But the government of the USSR, the organs of the KGB and the Soviet press were silent about their whereabouts. It was not until 1967 that their fate became known in Ukraine through their letters-complaints which the prisoners write and which are passed from hand to hand.

To the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine
Shelest, Petro Yukhymovych

Sentence

In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On the 20th day of May, 1961 the Court Board on Criminal Matters of the Lviv Oblast Court consisting of:

Head — Rudyk, S. I.

People's Representatives — Liuborets, P. M.; Hershunenکو, K. M.

Secretary — Liubashchenko, V. H.

Prosecuting Attorney — Nebiamenko, I. I.

And Lawyers — Ohranovych, S. M.; Koval, Ya. T.; Bardiakov, B. A.; Tkachenko, H. N.; Honcharov, V. V.; Yurko, A. F.; Sapovych, T. A. has examined the case of the accusations in the secret court session: (p. 1 of the sentence — copy).

1) *Lukianenko*, Lev Hryhorovych, born in 1927 in the village of Khrypivka, Horodnianske region, Chernihiv oblast, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, from the peasants, member of CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with higher juridical education, in 1957 graduated in the Law Faculty of the Moscow State University n/o Lomonosov, after which he worked as a staff propagandist in the Radekhiv and Hlynianskyi regional committees of the Party; as of February 1, 196..... became a lawyer in the Hlynians-

kyi juridical consultation in the Lviv oblast;

2) *Kandyba*, Ivan Oleksiovych, born in 1930, in the village of Stulno, Volodavskyi county (Pidliashhia — today in Poland), Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, from the peasants, without party affiliations, single, with higher juridical education — in 1953 graduated in the Law Faculty of the Lviv State University n/o Iv. Franko, after which he worked in the organs of justice of the city of Lviv and the Lviv oblast — notary in the Shevchenko region of Lviv, lawyer of the Hlynianske, and on the day of arrest as lawyer of the Peremyshl juridical consultations of the Lviv oblast; residing in Lviv, Dekabryst Street, 57/37;

3) *Virun*, Stepan, Martynovych, born in 1932, in the village of Stremilne of the Lopatynskyi (today Brodivskyi) region of the Lviv oblast, Ukrainian, from the peasants, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with unfinished higher education — in 1955 he finished a higher Party school in Lviv after which he did Comsomol and Party work in the Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Comsomol, in the Lviv oblast committee of the Comsomol, and on the day of arrest was a staff propagandist of the Radekhiv regional committee of the Party;

4) *Libovych*, Oleksander, Semenovych, born in 1935, in the village of Hludno, Berezivsk county (Lemkivshchyna, in Poland), Ukrainian, from the peasants, citizen of the USSR, without party affiliations, married, with higher education, in 1958 finished Lviv Agricultural Institute, worked as an engineer-land measurer in the Lviv oblast department of agriculture;

5) *Lutskiv*, Vasyl, Stepanovych, born in 1935, in the village of Pavliv, Radekhiv region, Lviv oblast, from the peasants, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), single, 9th grade education, working till arrested as a manager of a club in the village of Pavliv —

the above enumerated persons are accused under Articles 56, No. 1, 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R.

6) *Borovnytskyi*, Yosyp, Yulianovych, born in 1932, in the town of Sianik (Lemkivshchyna, in Poland), from the workers, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with higher juridical education, in 1956 he graduated in the Law Faculty of the Lviv State University n/o Ivan Franko, working till the arrest as an investigator in the prosecutor's office of the Peremyshliany region of the Lviv oblast, and

7) *Kipysh*, Ivan, Zakharovych, born in 1923, in the village of Hludno, Berezivsk county (Lemkivshchyna, in Poland), Ukrainian, from the peasants, citizen of the USSR, without party affiliations, married, with 8th grade education, working till arrest in the organs of the militia in the city of Lviv — both accused under Articles 19, 56, No. 1, of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R.

All of us were informed of the accusation in the following: (an accurate copy of the protocol is given below)

"The defendant, Lukianenko, L. H., having hostile anti-Soviet attitudes, had since 1957 been bringing out the idea of the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR, undermining the authority

of the CPSU, making up lies about the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Being aware of the defeat of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and particularly of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Western oblasts of Ukraine after the Great War for the Fatherland and hoping to have favourable environment for his hostile activity, Lukianenko, L. H. obtained an appointment to work in the Lviv oblast. While working in the Radekhiv region, Lukianenko, L. H. made criminal contact with the defendant Virun, S. M. holding the same anti-Soviet views, with whom, in February, 1959, he agreed to establish a nationalistic organization — *Ukrainska robotnycho-selianska spilka* (URSS) (Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union).

The programme of the URSS was later formulated by Lukianenko, L. H. As is evident from the programme, the URSS had as its aims: the struggle against the Soviet state and social order, against the CPSU and the Soviet government, the separation of the Ukr.S.S.R. from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called "Independent Ukraine"; the programme falsified the history of Ukraine, made excuses for the former nationalistic underground; the programme indicated the deep conspiracy regarding all activities of the URSS.

Defendants Lukianenko, L. H. and Virun, S. M. agreed among themselves on the text of the programme of the URSS. Lukianenko, L. H. typed the text of the programme on a type-writer and together with Virun, S. M. started organizational work to expand the URSS, drawing defendants Kandyba, I. O., Lutskiv, V. S. and Libovych, O. S. into its ranks.

Being members of the URSS and sharing its programme, defendants Lukianenko, Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv, Libovych discussed anti-Soviet themes among themselves, canvassed among the unstable people and former members of the OUN for membership in the URSS, explained the programme of the URSS and the ways of its realization.

For the purpose of developing forms

and methods of struggle against the Soviet regime, and activating hostile, anti-Soviet nationalistic activity, a gathering of the leading members of URSS took place on November 6, 1960 in Lviv in the apartment of the defendant Kandyba, which was attended by Lukianenko, L.H., Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S.

At the gathering the programme of the URSS and the tasks and methods of struggle of the organization were discussed.

Speaking at the gathering Lukianenko, Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv agreed that the object of the URSS was to wrench the Ukr.S.S.R. from the USSR; at the gathering slanderous remarks were made in relation to the theory of Marxism-Leninism; at the said stage the participants of the gathering paid especially close attention to the organizational question, the expansion of the organization and the creation of cells in businesses, institutions, regions and oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR; defendant Lutskiv called for the strengthening of activity in the army and called to an armed struggle against the Soviet regime.

The second meeting of the members of URSS was set for January 22, 1961, but did not take place because of the arrest of its leaders. Thus, Lukianenko, L.H., Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S., Libovych, O.S. are traitors of the Fatherland — the USSR, have created an enemy organization the URSS, placed as their aim the struggle against the Soviet state regime, the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist theory, the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called "Independent Ukraine".

The defendants Kipysh and Borovnytskyi received the texts of the programme of the URSS, knowing in advance about its anti-Soviet contents and one which is directed against the Soviet state and the CPSU, read the programme and concealed it as a weapon and means of committing a crime directed toward high treason to the Fatherland — the USSR, the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called "Independent Ukraine".

The sentence ends thus (p. 2-3 of the sentence):

"In selecting the measures of punishment the Court Board takes into consideration the fact that the defendant Lukianenko, while organizing the URSS, was a staff propagandist of the Radekhiv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, his leading and organizational role in the URSS, and the complete cynicism with which he carried on his struggle against the Soviet regime and the CPSU.

In selecting the degrees of punishment for Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv, Libovych, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi the Court Board takes into consideration the personality of the defendants, the degree of their fault and the dangerousness of the crimes committed.

Guided by Articles 324, 333, 334, 335 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukrainian SSR the Court Board of the Lviv Oblast Court SENTENCED:

Lukianenko, Lev Hryhorovych on the basis of Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to death — execution, with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 of the CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 15 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the total crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, of the CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to death — execution, with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiovych on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, of CC Ukrainian SSR, to 15 years' imprisonment in corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 12 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the aggregate crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, No. 1 CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to 15 (fifteen) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

Virun, Stepan Martynovych on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 11 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, with the confiscation of all

the property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 CC Ukr.S.S.R. to ten years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the aggregate crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to 11 (eleven) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him.

Lutskiv, Vasyl Stepanovych according to Articles 56, No. 1 and 64 of CC Ukr. S.S.R. on each count separately to 10 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him and for the aggregate crimes committed to consider him sentenced to 10 (ten) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

Libovych, Oleksander Semenovych according to Articles 56, No. 1, and 64 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. on each count separately to 10 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him, but for the aggregate crimes committed to consider him sentenced to 10 (ten) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

The term to begin serving the sentence should be counted for Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S., from January 20, 1961; for Libovych, O.S. from January 25, 1961; for Kipysh, I.Z. from March 23, 1961; for Borovnytskyi, Yo. Yu. from March 24, 1961.

To deduct from the property of the convicted Lukianenko, L.H., and the convicted Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S., Kipysh, I.Z., Borovnytskyi, Yo. Yu. 50 (fifty) rubles for court expenses as income to the state.

As a preventative measure all those sentenced should be kept under guard as previously.

The sentence can be appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR within 7 days of the delivery of the copy of the above sentence.

Head — Rudyk
People's Representatives - Liuborets,
Hershunenko
Certified by: The Head of the
Lviv Oblast Court
Signature (S. Rudyk)
(p. 7-8 of the sentence)"

As is evident from the aforementioned, we were presented with extremely serious charges and in connection with this very severe punishments were prescribed for us. But such charges do not correspond to the actual circumstances of our case because our activities were such that they cannot be called treason to the Fatherland or crimes at all.

I do not deny the fact that a brochure under the tentative heading "Draft of the Programme of the URSS", the author of which is Lukianenko, was available to us; we read it and gave it to many others to read, but its contents was not so grave as had been determined in the sentence.

In the brochure, "Draft of the Programme of the URSS", the present regime was reviewed from Marxist-Leninist positions. From these very positions it sharply criticized the policies of the Party and the government during the years of famine in Ukraine, 1933-34, the mass repressions of the 30s in the eastern oblasts of Ukraine — the period which has been delicately called "personality cult". The appraisal of this period differed very little from the official appraisal by the leaders of the Party and the government at the 20th Congress of CPSU and later.

The shortcomings of the post-cult period were criticized: the bureaucratic methods in the management of the national economy, the centralized method of planning in industry and agriculture has been condemned, the limited rights of labour unions were pointed out, the leaders of which have become the right hand of the directors in the violation of the socialist law, the policy towards the peasants who are suffering social, political and cultural persecution, whose position is no different from that of serfs in the 17-19th centuries, has been sharply criticized.

The national policy in Ukraine during

the entire period of the existence of the Soviet regime had been especially carefully examined; the mass accusation of millions of Ukrainians of being nationalists and their physical destruction including thousands of political, scientific and cultural workers of Ukraine; the ban on hundreds of Ukrainian poets and writers, historians, and those active in arts and culture.

The restriction of Ukraine in her political and economic rights has been pointed out; that she is denied sovereignty, denied the right to have relations with other states of our planet in the political and economic respect. The Ukrainian language did not become a state language; it has been removed from the organs of state government, from the educational institutions, from the institutions of higher and secondary learning, from the sphere of industrial enterprises, from the social and cultural life of a nation. Ukraine constitutes an appendage of Russia; two-thirds of her wealth is removed beyond the borders of Ukraine; the policy of super-power Russian chauvinism hangs over Ukraine in all the branches of her economy.

Therefore, on the basis of these conditions in Ukraine, a conclusion had been reached that Ukraine as part of the USSR has no chance to develop normally, in a political as well as in the economic and cultural sense, that in some cases her position is far worse than it was during the Tsarist regime and, that in reality, she is a colony of Moscow, at best a cultural autonomy.

Under such conditions the author came to the conclusion that for the normal development of the Ukrainian nation and her statehood, Ukraine should secede from the USSR in accordance with Articles 14 and 17 of Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR respectively and become an absolutely sovereign and independent state.

Pointing out that in order to achieve such an act it is inevitable to create an organization, under a temporary name of URSS, which would legally, according to the Constitution, conduct agitation and propaganda among the Ukrainian people for the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from

the USSR, by placing this question before the highest organs of government for realization.

It was also pointed out that if the majority of the Ukrainian people would not support such initiative then the organization is subject to self-dissolution.

In case of realization of such an act, the political order in the sovereign Ukraine should be Soviet, and economic order — socialist.

Ukraine, as an independent Socialist state, should remain in friendship with other Socialist states.

"Draft of the Programme of the URSS" has been attached to the case in volume 10.

Here are some excerpts from it:

"We are fighting for such an independent Ukraine which while completely guaranteeing the material and spiritual needs of her citizens on the grounds of Socialistic economy would develop in the direction toward Communism; secondly, a Ukraine in which all the citizens would really have political freedoms and would determine the direction of the economic and political development of Ukraine — this is the decisive struggle of our "party".

(p. 3 of the "Programme")

"The means of our struggle, the struggle for our said ideal, is the independence of Ukraine with a highly developed Socialist form of government.

"The matter of the creation of an Independent Ukraine will in the end be decided not only by the party but by the entire Ukrainian people.

"Thus the aim of this first stage of our struggle is to be found in the winning of democratic freedoms, necessary for the organization of the entire Ukrainian people in the struggle for the establishment of a sovereign national state. The methods for achieving these aims are peaceful, constitutional".

(p. 3, "Draft of the Programme of URSS")

The court in its sentence has falsified "The Draft of the Programme of the URSS", calling it the programme of the URSS. From the court decision it follows that:

1) the organization under the name of URSS was already existing;

2) the organization under the name of URSS had its programme and the members of URSS were conducting practical work for its realization.

But all this is not true to fact. Such ideological precision and organizational conclusion were created by the investigating organs of the KDB (KGB) of the Lviv oblast in their offices, and the court finally formulated this in the so-called deliberation room during sentencing, but prior to the arrest no such thing existed.

We were several persons who saw many various infamies — mass violation of the Socialist law and the political rights of citizens, national oppression, raging super-power Russian chauvinism, cruel treatment of peasants, and a great many other abnormalities.

Thus no organization or programme existed; nobody swore allegiance of any kind; nobody paid membership fees; there was no appropriately established discipline; there was no leadership; everyone considered himself free in every respect.

In order to establish an organization 5 men came together on Nov. 6, 1960. Besides the 4 mentioned in the sentence there was also Mykola Vashchuk, who at that time had been studying in the higher party school, from the former Novo-Mylyatynsk (now Kamianko-Buzk) region of the Lviv oblast. It was he who denounced us to the organs of the KDB, thus providing the reason for our arrests and the said case. At this meeting, and not at the "gathering" as the court calls it, we discussed the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS" and resolved to deviate from it in certain respects, and to draw up a new draft programme which would portray the basic conditions of struggle for Ukrainization and for the unlimited political rights for democratization as such and other questions. The question of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR should not have entered the new draft programme. It was decided to meet again when the new draft programme had been drawn up, to discuss it and to accept it, after which it (the draft) would

become a programme document. Then the organization would have been established, and its members would have been bound by its conditions and required to transform them into practical life in order to achieve the appropriate aim. Only then would there have been an organization and its programme.

We gave proof of this at the preliminary hearing as well as at the court trial; besides, the evidence includes such a document as the "Notes" by Lukianenko, which he wrote after our meeting of Nov. 6, 1960 and before the arrest; these fully depict the progress of our meeting and which questions were discussed and what resolutions accepted.

Nevertheless, neither the investigating organs nor the court took any of this into consideration and ignored it completely both in the charges and in the sentence. This is because such evidence was not to their liking for otherwise there would be no grounds for criminal prosecution and even if one or two were prosecuted there could not even have been any talk about such a qualification as treason to the Fatherland. At most they could have qualified such acts as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

Therefore, the investigating organs and the court, in order to try us, found it useful to base their accusations on the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS". But, as stated above, even under these conditions, there can be no talk of our actions qualifying as betrayal of the Fatherland, even with this complete falsification of the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS".

Thus, in its sentence the court calls the criticism of the Party and Soviet organs and their leadership, presented in the "Draft": the struggle against the Soviet government and social order, and the struggle against the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist theory. Furthermore, the question of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR according to Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR respectively has been changed by the word "break-off" to give it for all practical purposes of realization of this question a

violent character in which it (the court) sees the so-called treason to the Fatherland which is stipulated in Article 56, No. 1, of CC Ukr.SSR; in particular we were given to understand not only in conversations but also by the prosecutor in his accusatory speech that our betrayal of the Fatherland is to be found in the fact that we supposedly "conspired with the aim to usurp power", that is, the last point of the disposition of Article 56, No. 1 of CC; but nowhere do they write specifically what this treason consists of. This is not to be found in the sentence either, and our constant complaints to various court prosecutors and party institutions that we should be shown where this betrayal of the Fatherland lies meet with completely evasive answers from all concerned. They write back in general phrases, as for example: "the qualification by the court of your criminal acts is correct; therefore, there is no basis for changing the verdict"; and thus we constantly receive such replies. Even the court-prosecutor's high, higher and highest official-bureaucrats arrive at such quick answer, as for example: "the qualification of the crime is correct; the measure of punishment has been selected by considering all mitigating (!?) circumstances" — it seems that they have even done us a favour, for which humanitarianism we should be very grateful.

In the "Scholarly Commentary on the Application of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR" published by an all-union institute which studies the causes and steps taken preceding the crime, edited by Prof. V.S. Nykyforov, LLD, published in 1964, in the chapter "Particularly Dangerous Crimes Against the State" it is stated in paragraph 9 that: "conspiracy with the intention to usurp power is considered as a conspiracy of two or more persons to overthrow the Soviet regime and to establish a different government and social order in the USSR". Thus, the achievement of some aim, in this case the secession of Ukraine from the USSR, by the way of a conspiracy should follow a violent path.

But here, where is "a conspiracy with the aim of usurping power, etc." in our

actions, when the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS" intended to present the question on the secession of Ukr.SSR from the USSR in a peaceful way, by the way of a popular referendum in perfect agreement with Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR respectively? Where is the betrayal of the Fatherland to be found?

From paragraph 2 of the chapter "Particularly Dangerous Crimes Against the State" of the said commentary it seems that "betrayal of the Fatherland" is to be found in actions or inactions, purposely done by the citizens of the USSR to bring harm to state independence, territorial integrity or military power of the Soviet state and ends in the performance of one or several definite actions enumerated in Article 64 CC RSFSR (Article 56, No. 1 CC Ukr.SSR) which stipulates the betrayal of the Fatherland as follows:

- 1) to go over to the side of the enemy (we are not charged with that);
- 2) to conduct activities of espionage (we are not charged with that either);
- 3) to pass state or military secrets to foreign countries (we are not charged with that either);
- 4) to flee abroad or to refuse to return from abroad (also not charged);
- 5) to give aid to a foreign power in conducting hostile activities against the USSR (we are not charged with that);
- 6) to conspire with the aim of usurping power (that we have not committed any such crime has been explained above).

Time and again the question arises: what constitutes the so-called "betrayal of the Fatherland"?

But in order to betray it (Fatherland — ed.), it is necessary to have it, but we do not have it, since for centuries while it has been groaning under a semi-servile yoke, we have been deprived of a fatherland; but it is clear to us why we are traitors of the Fatherland. It is only because we have brought up the question of its liberation from the yoke. But this is another side of the story.

In order to make it clearer why we have been made traitors of the Fatherland, it is

necessary to state briefly who these people are and with what methods they conducted the preliminary hearing as well as court investigation. Thus, the assistant prosecutor for the Lviv oblast who is supervising the investigating organs of the Lviv KDB Starikov — a Russian chauvinist; our investigator from the Lviv branch of the KDB Sergadeev — also 100% Russified chauvinist; the senior investigator of the Lviv KDB Denisov, investigator Volodin, as well as Russified Ukrainians, investigators Klymenko, Chorny and others are in no way inferior to the two aforementioned. They have lived in Ukraine for a number of decades but have not learned Ukrainian, not because it was hard for them to do so, but because they are completely ignoring it. Therefore, the investigation was conducted in the Russian language which violated Article 90 of the Ukr.SSR Constitution and Article 19 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR, because they did not want to “spoil the Russian matter with a canine dialect”.

Prosecutor Starikov even went so far as to openly brag before Borovnytskyi that he did not know the Ukrainian language, that the Ukrainian language is not worthy to be a state language, that the Ukrainian nation is not capable of having its own state and therefore B. Khmelnytskyi surrendered Ukraine to the Russian state, and therefore in 1922 Ukraine became part of the USSR. There is absolutely no difference between them and the head of the Lviv KDB Shevchenko*.

All of them called us bandits, head-choppers, renegades, and pinned a number of other labels upon us such as staunch nationalists, etc.

And when it came to the question of Ukraine's secession from the USSR according to Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR, then all the above-mentioned men declared to us that we were educated people and should not pretend to be naive simpletons, for the said articles of the Constitution are not included there for practical use;

* A famous Ukrainian name adopted by a Russian — Ed.

they exist more for the world, that the Ukrainian people supposedly once and for all decided the fate of Ukraine as early as 1922 in being united with the USSR and it did not authorize us to do so, because secession is not to the advantage of the Ukrainian people and is not necessary, etc., you renegades.

Prosecutor Starikov, supervisor of the investigation department Sergadeev and senior investigator Denisov declared to Lukianenko and Virun that even if it came about that the majority of the Ukrainian people expressed its desire to secede from the USSR, the Soviet government would not hesitate to use military force to keep Ukraine as part of the USSR.

Furthermore, for the duration of the entire preliminary investigation Article 22 of the CPC Ukr.SSR, which forbids the obtaining of evidence from the defendant by the investigating organs through violence, threats and other unlawful means, was violated.

Thus, Shevchenko declared to Lukianenko that he could resist, that the law gave them two months to conduct an inquiry but if it should be necessary they would hold him 5, 6, 8 months, but would make sure that he and others would sign what was necessary for them. The same was stated to us by investigators Denisov, Klymenko and others.

With each of us there was an agent confined to the same cell. Thus with Lukianenko a secret agent from the Lviv KDB was put in the same cell, with Kandyba — agents Khomiak Stepan and Sokyрко Mykola, with Kipysh — Olesk. Tarasovych. He had already been with Virun under the name Vakhula. All of them posed as Ukrainian nationalists, supposedly arrested for this or that invented crime. All the time they tried to provoke us into talking on various anti-Soviet topics, told us about various horrors which could be carried out by the organs of the KDB toward the arrested, that the only way to avoid various tortures was to confess our crimes and to repent, and other provocative measures.

By the way of threats and promises the supervisor of the investigating department, Sergadeev, and the senior investigator Denisov obtained evidence from Lutskiv which has been advantageous to them and harmful to our case, for which they promised to release him before the trial.

Thus, during the entire investigation Lutskiv declared that Lukianenko was supposedly influencing him to prepare for an armed struggle against the Soviet government because in a peaceful way it was impossible to achieve Ukraine's secession from the USSR, that at the meeting on Nov. 6, 1960 Lukianenko, Kandyba and Virun supposedly spoke of the necessity of preparing as soon as possible for an armed struggle, to send their own people to the army, to recruit officers, etc.

But Lutskiv had been deceived and sentenced together with the others as a traitor of the Fatherland. Afterwards he was told that such a thing had been necessary and that he would be released after two years if he continued to cooperate with them at camp. However, 5 years have elapsed but Lutskiv, as well as the others, is still at camp. At the beginning of 1964 he began to write complaints to various court-prosecuting and party organs with demands to release him from camp to freedom, in which he discloses all those men who recruited him and says that he gave false evidence in relation to all of us. The proper authorities did not like this and therefore they decided to confine Lutskiv to a mental asylum where he is spending his second year in the central hospital of the Mordovian camps — P.O. Box 385-3. The above is clearly proved by two copies of his statements, which are enclosed.

Therefore a question arises, can such people — staunch superpower Russian chauvinists and their underlings, Russified Ukrainians, proceed objectively with the investigation of the case of the people who fell into their hands only because they chose the path of defence of their native tongue, the defence of their rights, their nation and its statehood from similar characters? Of course not. They approached the investigation of the case clearly one-

sidedly, from the angle of violence, falsification, hatred and revenge towards us, making us appear as fierce enemies of the people in the shape of the so-called traitors of the Fatherland.

No better attitude had been assumed towards us during the court investigation of the case. Thus, instead of conducting a hearing in the oblast court building, or in a club or some other place which could be freely accessible to the public, the case was heard on the premises of the isolator of the KDB where we were held during the preliminary investigation. This was done with the aim of conducting the court investigation (hearing of the case) in complete isolation from the public and the nation as a whole, disregarding the fact that according to Article 91 of the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR and Article 111 of the Constitution of the USSR "Hearings in all the USSR courts are public, if exceptions have not been stipulated by law". But what is Constitutional (basic) law for such people when the criminal law is higher than the supreme law, where they are apt to find "loopholes"? Thus, according to Article 20 CPC Ukr. SSR (public trials) it is said that "Hearings of all cases in all the courts are open, with the exception of cases where it is contrary to the interests of state secrecy". Therefore, the court reached the conclusion that our case constitutes something that "is against the interests of safeguarding state secrets", and resolved to isolate it even more completely from the outside world by deciding to try the case in the isolator as well as behind closed doors. And thus, for five days (May 16-20) the court hearing was conducted in the presence of three judges only (in fact only one, Rudyk, head of the Oblast Court, because the so-called people's representatives are only a formality for propaganda), secretary, prosecuting attorney, seven of us defendants and a whole troop of guards (soldiers) with carbines and set bayonets. Under such conditions where nobody supported us even morally, not only in this cage behind bars, but also outside, for almost no one apart from our relatives knew that we had fallen into such

hands and that we were being tried, not a trial but a mock trial, our protests had absolutely no significance. Under such conditions they did with us what they pleased and we were powerless to counter-act it.

Every day of our trial our closest relatives gathered near this horrible building, somewhere behind the tenth set of doors because they were not permitted to come any closer.

During the reading of the sentence not only strangers but even our relatives were refused admittance to this room with barred windows, even though in the aforementioned Article 20 of the CPC Ukr.SSR "court sentences in all cases are pronounced publicly", and in the practical commentary "To the principles of civil court procedures in the USSR and the Union Republics" published in 1960, on p. 12 it is said: "The principles state that the verdict is pronounced publicly in all cases . . . The public always has the right to know the verdict of the case in question and should have an opportunity to form an opinion on the correctness of the decision reached regardless of the type of trial — public or closed — in which the investigation had been conducted." Thus, there is a clear violation of the publicity of the trial, since according to paragraph 9 Article 370 CPC Ukr.SSR such verdicts are unlawful and are subject to change. But will they be changed? In spite of our numerous complaints and the complaints of our relatives a clearly unlawful sentence is now hanging over all of us for the sixth straight year, and in spite of the fact that we are living in the most democratic of all the democratic states of our planet in which the legal system is the most stable and the most just of all the existing legal systems an unlawful sentence has created conditions which insure "a free and good life in Russia".

It is clear from the above what the attitude had been during the preliminary hearing as well as the court inquiry. Therefore there can be no talk of any objectivity during the hearing of the case. All the people who had any relation to

our case are staunch super-power Russian chauvinists, etc.

Disagreeing with the result — the verdict against us, each of us filed appeals with the Supreme Court for the retrial of the case in the appellatory fashion, but we were told by the chief of the investigating section of the KDB, Sergadeev, and senior investigator Denisov that our appeals would not help at all since the sentence had been fully verified with the party organs and therefore nobody was going to change it. But we submitted appeals all the same.

In the Supreme Court our case was scheduled to be heard on June 27, 1961. We found out later from reliable sources that in the process of the preparation of the case the judges were of the opinion that the verdict against us was definitely unlawful for reasons of erroneous qualification of our acts and therefore it should be changed. Our actions should be reclassified from Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR to Article 62, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR. In other words the charges of treason to the Fatherland should be dropped and our acts classified as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. This should have only applied to Lukianenko, Kandyba and Virun and the others were to have been set free entirely.

But this did not occur. At that time the organs of the Lviv KDB exposed another underground Ukrainian organization under the name of "*Ukrainian National Committee*" (UNK) — numbering 20 persons. As a result the Lviv KDB organs were even more interested in leaving the verdict against us as it stood since it had been their "work", their "merit", their authority and therefore they jealously watched the process of the preparation of the case for a hearing. When they heard that the judges were inclined to change the verdict, the chief of the Lviv KDB, Col. Shevchenko appeared before the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine with a protest, since, as he stated, the anti-Soviet organizations were growing and the weakening of the punishment policy would negatively reflect upon the conduct of inquiry in their new case and would further

activate anti-Soviet activity of other underground organizations.

As is evident, such intervention brought about a sharp turn in relation to our case. The time of the re-trial had been postponed from June 27th to July 26th, 1961, that is, a month later. On July 26th the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR partly changed the verdict of the Lviv court.

As regards Lukianenko the death sentence — execution — had been changed to 15 years' imprisonment; as regards Kipysh and Borovnytskyi, the qualification, e.g. betrayal of the Fatherland (Article 56, No. 1 CC Ukr.SSR) had been changed to anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (Article 62, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR) and Article 187, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR for failing to inform the government organs that they knew about the organization, and lowered the penalty of each from 10 years to 7 years; as regards the others the verdict remained unchanged.

An excerpt from the Decision of the Supreme Court:

"Case No. 36k61. Secret. (It seems to be secret all around, but who is there to hide from? Since the policy of the Party and the government is supported by the entire Soviet people in all respects? — I. K.) The verdict has been reached under the chairmanship of Comrade Rudyk.* Reporter, Zahorodniuk.**

DECISION

In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On the 26th day of July, 1961 the Court board on criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR composed of:

Chairman — Comrade Zahorodniuk, V.M.
Members of the court — Comrades Lednikova, O. V. and Evdokimova, V.S.
With the participation of the Assistant Attorney General of the Ukr.SSR, Comrade Pohorilyi, V. P.

and defence attorneys, Comrades Koval, Ya. T. and Bardiakov, V. A. had considered in a closed court hearing the case . . . The Court board HAS RESOLVED:

. . . Kandyba like other members of the established nationalist organization URSS,

not only discussed anti-Soviet topics. They, in this number Kandyba as one of the most active members of the URSS, recruited individuals from among the unstable people and former members of the OUN for membership in the URSS. Kandyba, in particular, brought the convicted Borovnytskyi and Kozyk into this hostile organization giving them the programme to familiarize them with it.

At the court hearing Kandyba admitted that he was holding nationalistic attitudes and became the member of the URSS because he was of the same opinion as Lukianenko and agreed with the programme. Kandyba also admitted that he told Borovnytskyi that in his opinion it was necessary to separate Ukr.SSR from the USSR and to establish an "Independent Ukraine".

This hostile idea had been supported by Kandyba during the discussion of the programme of the URSS at the gathering which took place at his apartment.

Such actions of Kandyba, as well as the actions of the convicted Lukianenko, Virun, Lutskiv and Libovych had been correctly qualified by the Lviv Oblast Court as falling under Articles 56, No. 1, and 64 of the CC Ukr.SSR.

In selecting the penalty for the convicted Kandyba, Virun, Lutskiv, and Libovych the court worked on the premise of the dangerousness of the acts committed by them and the person of the accused.

The Court board feels that the convicted Kandyba, Virun, Lutskiv, and Libovych set out consciously on the road of high treason and had conducted dangerous and hostile activities. Basing its opinion on such conditions the Court board does not see any reasons to mitigate the penalty of the convicted." (p. 6 of the decision).

And further "DECIDED

. . . The appeals of the convicted Kandyba, I. O., Virun, S.M., Lutskiv, V.S., Libovych, O.S. and his attorney should be dismissed, and the sentence of the Lviv Oblast Court of May 20, 1961 regarding them as well as regarding Lukianenko, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi should be left unchanged.

Head of the court: signature; members of the court: signatures.

Concurring: members of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR signature: (Zahorodniuk)

12 ex. Aug. 1, 1961 V.K.”.

As it seems from the above, even in the Supreme Court itself these Lednikovs and Evdokimovs, Zahorodniuks and Pohorilovs did not differ a bit in their approach to our case from such people as Starikov, Sergadeev, Denisov, Rudyk, Netymenko and others. They not only have confirmed the falsification of our activities by the Lviv court organs but themselves used falsification in their decision. How could Kandyba bring Borovnytskyi into the organization when in their decision they acknowledged that Borovnytskyi did not belong to the organization? As far as Kozyk is concerned he was in no way connected with our case and had not even been a witness, without speaking about membership in the organization. He harboured nationalist feelings but only against the super-power Russian chauvinists — those officials who hold complete power in their hands and who conduct themselves in Ukraine as full masters, as invaders, and are doing everything advantageous to themselves and harmful to the Ukrainian nation and statehood.

Also, it is not true to fact that we selected former members of the OUN for membership in the organization. This never happened and is pure fiction. But it does not mean that they are bad men; on the contrary — they are true Ukrainian patriots. We have found this out while being together with them in the same concentration camp. But where in our activity is the betrayal of the Fatherland to be found? Is it possibly to be found in the thought on the necessity of Ukraine's secession from the USSR? But then, for whom and for what are Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions supposed to be? The Supreme Court has not only confirmed the verdict of the oblast court but it also has given it the so-called lawful, but in reality unlawful power!

There were many cases similar to ours.

Thus, for instance, the Stanislaviv (Ivano-Frankivsk) case. In December, 1958 many *young students and workers*, who organized an association under the name of “*United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine*” (OPVU) whose purpose was the national liberation and the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukraine, were arrested. In particular, such members of this organization have been arrested and convicted by the Stanislaviv (today Ivano-Frankivsk) Oblast Court behind closed doors on March 4-10, 1959:

1) *Harmatiuk*, Bohdan, born in 1939, with specialized secondary education — construction technician; 2) *Tkachuk*, Yarema Stepanovych, born in 1933, with secondary education — turner; 3) *Tymkiiv*, Bohdan Ivanovych, born in 1935, student of the second course of the Lviv forestry institute; 4) *Ploshchak*, Myron, born in 1932, worker; 5) *Strutynskyi*, Ivan Vas., born in 1937, with secondary education, conductor of the factory glee club — with respect to these persons the prosecutor demanded the death sentence, but the court sentenced each one to 10 years' imprisonment; 6) *Yurchyk*, Mykola, born in 1933, worker, and 7) *Konevych*, Ivan, 1930, worker — both sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment — all had been charged under Articles 54^{1-a}, 54¹¹ of the CC Ukr. SSR (old) — as traitors of the Fatherland, which corresponds to Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR of the new code; also 8) *Ploshchak*, Vasyl, convicted in this case for 2 years of imprisonment for failure to denounce his own brother Myron to the organs of the KDB for his participation in the said organization. Today, three of the latter have already been released after completion of the terms of the penalty, and the five former are still here in the Mordovian concentration camps.

On December 16-23, 1961 an analogous mock trial was held in Lviv for 20 persons for establishing an organization “*Ukrainian National Committee*” (UNK), the aim of which was also to demand the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR. They were basically *workers* from Lviv factories, as follows:

1) *Koval*, Ivan Teodorovych; 2) *Hryt-syna*, Bohdan — both received the death sentence and *they were shot by a firing squad; both were very young boys, workers*; 3) *Hnot*, Volodymyr, locksmith at the polytechnic institute and 4) *Huryonii*, Roman born in 1939, worked at a factory with a P.O. Box 47 — *both condemned to death* but the sentence was changed to 15 years' imprisonment each; 5) Brothers *Zelymash*, Hryh. and Oleksii — *kolkoz workers*, convicted to 15 and 12 years respectively; 6) *Melykh* — philologist, graduated from the Lviv State University — sentenced to 15 years; 8) *Kindrat*, Vasyl — *young boy sentenced to 13 years, after which he became insane*; 9) *Kyrylo* — sentenced to 12 years; 10) *Mashtaler*, Mykola — to 10 years; 11) *Soroka*, Stepan — to 15 years; 12) *Pokora* — to 12 years; 13) *Iovchyk* — 15 years; 14) *Kaspryshyn* — to 5 years (already released); 15) *Mynko* — 10 years; 16) *Tehyvets* — to 12 years; 17) *Melnychuk*, Mykola — to 10 years; 18) *Khomiakevych* — to 12 years, and two more — altogether 20 (twenty) men.

During the preliminary hearing and the trial the same attitude was employed towards them as towards us because the same people were involved with their case as with ours and the sentence of the Lviv court regarding them (with the exception of Hnot and Huryonii) was fully confirmed and legalized; or more precisely — an unlawful charge had been legalized. Something similar also happened to the group involved in the Stanislaviv case.

There are many similar but smaller cases, and individual cases are to be found by the hundreds in various oblasts of Ukraine.

At the 21st Congress of the CPSU, in the speech entitled: "On the Control Figures in the Development of National Economy, 1959-65" Khrushchov said:

"At present in the Soviet Union there are no cases of prosecution for political crimes. This, of course, is a great accomplishment. It speaks about the unprecedented unity of political convictions of our entire people, about its rallying around the Communist Party and the

Soviet government" (*Pravda*, Jan. 28, 1959).

Yes, this is true, since even in our code of 1961 one cannot find the words "political criminals", but in place of the former criminal code which was in effect till December, 1958, instead of the chapter "Counter-Revolutionary Crimes" in the new code a chapter entitled "Especially Dangerous State Crimes" appeared. But even though the name has been changed their substance remains the same. And although the records of these *prisoners who are constantly being sent to camp in groups from all the republics of the USSR*, including Moscow and Leningrad, *but most of all from Ukraine*, show that they are particularly dangerous state criminals, each of them considers himself *only a political prisoner*. I feel that the change of a name did not improve the unity of political convictions; nor did the rallying around the Communist Party and the Soviet government grow stronger because of it.

The Tsarist government also convicted such a great personality as M. Chernyshevsky, as a state criminal but in the eyes of the progressive public he did not cease to be a politician and a political prisoner because of it. But is it possible to compare such a great politician as Chernyshevsky with us simple mortals? In the eyes of the Tsarist regime he was no more than a state criminal and was sentenced to no more than 7 years of hard labour, but in the eyes of the Soviet regime we are not only state criminals, but also dangerous state criminals, and not only dangerous, but also unusually dangerous state criminals, and we are punished not by 7 years of hard labour, but by ten to fifteen years of hard labour (till 1959 - 25 years) and very often by death — execution; thus we are two stories higher than Chernyshevsky and our punishments are two to three times higher than his. And such "luck" comes to us only thanks to the Soviet humanitarianism, as a "humanitarianism of a higher degree".

But somehow this question lacks logic. Thus, individuals who were convicted as political criminals in the 40s and the 50s

began to be called unusually dangerous criminals in 1959 — suddenly they stopped being political criminals, and there are plenty of them. Besides, according to the new law it is stipulated that the highest penalty should be 10 years, and 15 years or death as an exception. In the Soviet law there is such a rule that a law has retroactive power when it mitigates the sentence. But in practice it is not so. The new law became effective on December, 1958 but till this day the conviction of 25 years still hangs over many people.

Thus, for example, a well-known Ukrainian lawyer, *Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi*, born in 1899, a citizen of the Czechoslovak republic, *condemned without a trial* according to the so-called OSO (osoboe soveshchanie — three-men tribunal) to 25 years only because in 1935 he defended Stepan Bandera at a Warsaw trial, who was accused of assassinating the internal affairs minister of Poland, and has been imprisoned with a sentence of 25 years to this day, *now for more than 20 years*.

2) *Zarytska* (Soroka) Kateryna Myronivna, born in 1914, sentenced in 1947 to 25 years' imprisonment for organizing Red Cross for the UPA (Ukrainian Freedom Army — Ed.) and has for more than 18 years been imprisoned in the Volodymyr prison, and her husband, *Soroka*, Mykhailo, born in 1919, has been confined to the Soviet prisons and camps since 1940 almost continuously to this day. Only in 1948 was he released after spending eight years in prison but after 8 months was again banished. In 1952 he was again arrested and condemned to death in 1953, but later his sentence was changed to 25 years' imprisonment only because he protested against the arbitrariness in the concentration camps as has been partly described by Solzhenitsyn, Halytskyi, Gorbатов, Diakov, Aldan-Semionov and others. In 1957 he was rehabilitated for the first so-called crime, which consisted of his alleged attempt to organize an anti-Soviet uprising in 1940, but these eight years are not deductible from the present prison term — which means he served them for nothing. Their son, Bohdan, born in 1940 in the Lviv

prison where his mother was jailed at the time has been brought up and educated without his parents.

In the same cell with Zarytska, Kateryna, are such women as Didyk, Halyna, born in 1912, arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 25 years for her participation in the organization of Red Cross for the UPA; also Husiak, Daria, born in 1924, also arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for participation in OUN (messenger at the headquarters) and many other men and women of various nationalities are imprisoned hopelessly for 15-20 years and longer only because the Soviet government is so generous and this generosity is found in the fact that the Soviet law has retroactive power in the event that the sentence is mitigated. But actions show otherwise. This is particularly clear in the case of the above women who have been hopelessly languishing in the prison cell for more than 16-18 years.

Besides the aforementioned, Krushchov declared several times later, I believe in 1962 or 1963, that in 1965 he would have himself photographed with the last criminal. It is true, that now it is said that Khrushchov is a windbag, but he was also a faithful Leninist. Not only have the prisoners not vanished, but they are increasing more and more.

The Tsarist regime had sent its political prisoners to serve their sentences in the far eastern regions of the empire — Siberia, the Far East, the North; the Soviet regime is acting the same way. But during the Tsarist regime the national minorities were nationally oppressed and did not have their national independence, but now, under the Soviet regime, every nation, including Ukraine, has its state independence. Why then, under such conditions, are we even deprived of the right to serve our sentence in our native soil and to be "re-educated" by Ukrainians, and not by foreigners a thousand miles from our native land and our dear ones. We are permitted to see our relatives only once a year. Permission is granted individually up to three days, but it really only amounts to three nights, or sometimes two or even one, since during

the day we have to work and only evenings and nights remain for such meetings. How many nights are given depends on the camp commandant and one is considered fortunate when he is given three nights, for very often only two or one nights are given. Thus, in 1965 I was allowed only one night on December 6-7 to see my father but was not permitted to receive even a one gram parcel of food or anything else. It happens very often that these poor parents have to travel and to suffer for thousands of miles in order to see their dear children and to help them materially, but they have to take the food back with them. And thus, they — miserable, full of grief, tired — return home thousands of miles.

Under the new regime, since 1952, no one is entitled to receive either food parcels or other packages, and only after half the sentence is served might 3 parcels per year of 5 kg. each be allowed, as an exception to those prisoners only who have repented for their so-called crimes and have entered the "road to adjustment".

And thus, we are deprived of every material assistance from our relatives. *This was not the case even during the Tsarist regime because then the prisoners had the right to receive unlimited material assistance*; on the other hand the generous Soviet government deprives us of it.

Food parcels up to 10 kgs. are given out only to such prisoners who receive them from relatives, friends or even strangers from abroad. They have to be addressed, not to the prisoner's place of confinement, but to the following address: Moscow, P. O. Box 5110/1 Zh Kh (then the name of the prisoner) and Moscow forwards it there. Such packages are never returned, but delivered for fear of being discredited before the world. They are received by the Germans, Lithuanians and others; none of us receives any. It is also worthy to note that it is possible to receive even several parcels from abroad in a month.

The greater majority of the prisoners receive semi-starvation rations. We are given food which is supposed to consist of 2300-2400 calories, but it would be some-

thing if there were 1500 calories, for the products are of the lowest quality, especially in the spring and summer before the new crop. Herrings are spoiled and smelly; dried potatoes, macaroni, cereals and meat are swarming with worms. Here is the daily dose: bread — 700 g. (black and always sour), cereal — 110 g., wheat flour, class 2 — 20 g., macaroni — 10 g., meat — 50 g., fish — 85 g., oil — 15 g., shortening — 0.4 g., potatoes — 400 g., fruit — 250 g. All this equals to 2300-2400 calories.

Prison rations: 1937 calories, and the so-called severe — 1324 calories, as follows: bread — 450 g., wheat flour — 10 g., cereal — 50 g., fish — 60 g., oil — 6 g., potatoes 250 g. and fruit — 200 g. These rations are given to those who refuse to work.

We are forced to perform our norm 100% and the jobs that we perform require 3500-4000 calories (*Health*, No. 9, 1966, p. 26-27). Try to live that way.

Under such conditions many suffer from T. B., heart disease and other illnesses. Medical assistance is very poor; there is a shortage or complete lack of indispensable drugs and their receipt from relatives by parcel post is prohibited. They are returned as had been the case with me on Sept. 27th or such medicines are destroyed on the spot. On the other hand signs are hanging everywhere, for example:

- 1) Production workers strive for the increase of productivity!
 - 2) Production workers work diligently every minute of every hour!
 - 3) Production workers appreciate every minute of free time!
 - 4) Production workers avoid leaving work early!
 - 5) Production workers it is your task to produce only high quality goods!
 - 6) Production workers do not waste working hours. Work diligently all 480 minutes of every working shift!
- and tens of similar ones.

A working day — 8 hours daily. There are no shorter work days before the day of rest or a holiday.

We are forbidden to wear our own

clothes; all wear uniforms woven from cotton and paper.

We have no right to subscribe to such periodicals as *UNESCO Courier*, *America*, *England* and others. We are forbidden to subscribe to newspapers and magazines from people's democratic states. This way, we are almost completely isolated from the world; deprived of almost all rights, but instead we have a right to slave labour and to semi-starvation existence in complete captivity, in complete isolation from the outside world.

Ukraine is our Fatherland, and if we have betrayed her then why are we kept outside Ukraine and are not trained and retrained by the Ukrainian people? Is it perhaps because the Soviet Ukraine is not Ukraine; and the rights which have been given to the citizens of Soviet Ukraine according to her Constitution are not real rights and there is no possibility of their practical application, and if someone dares to use such a right, as for example the right of Ukrainian SSR's secession from the USSR, then such an intention will come out of his side, for labels such as traitor of the Fatherland are pinned on him for long-long years.

But perhaps we are not traitors of the Fatherland at all?

It is well-known that in such Ukrainian cities as Kyiv, Lviv, Lutsk, Ivano-Frankivsk arrests took place in September of last year of many members of the intelligentsia for alleged anti-Soviet activities, and in March and April of this year trials were held as the result of which they were convicted under Article 62, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR for terms of one to six years, their crimes classified as anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. These persons are together with us.

In May of this year, KDB representatives from western oblasts of Ukraine came here and wanted to talk with imprisoned Ukrainians. At one such talk, the representative of the Ivano-Frankivsk KDB, Kozakov, declared to prisoner Ploshchak, Myron, who had been sentenced with the Stanislaviv group (8 men) in 1959 to 10 years as a traitor of the Fatherland that if they were tried now they would not

have been sentenced as traitors to the Fatherland, but they would have been charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced to not more than 3 to 5 years. I was told the same thing by the representative of the Ukr.SSR KDB, Capt. Harashchenko on May 16, that is, that now we would not be tried as traitors of the Fatherland but for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced to the term of 5 years at most. Upon my question why our case and similar other cases are not reconsidered he answered that no one would undertake such a mission since we were convicted during the leadership of Khrushchov. But if Khrushchov could correct some infamies done by Stalin, including the case of political prisoners, why cannot the present leadership correct these or other infamies which occurred when Khrushchov was at the helm? Similar things have been told by the KDB representatives to other prisoners as well. But we do not feel any better because of it.

In 1964, the representative of the Lviv KDB, Marusenko, came here and bragged that many of his god-children are to be found here, that is prisoners whom he rounded up and arrested, such as Bohdan Skira and others. He came here in the first days of April of this year. He called me out with other prisoners. In our talk he declared to me that on the basis of our many complaints the CC CP of Ukraine demanded that the representative of the Lviv KDB submit our case to the Central Committee so that it could decide if we were convicted justly or unjustly.

Marusenko went himself to present our case to the CC. He told me that from the official evidence included in the case there were really no grounds on which to try us as traitors of the Fatherland. This opinion was shared by him as well as by other representatives of the KDB, prosecutor's office, court and representatives of the Central Committee of Ukraine. But here he also declared to me that when he presented all unofficial evidence to the CC such as recordings (containing our discussions at the meeting of Nov. 6, 1960, as it had been determined, Vashchuk had been

an agent of the KDB present at the meeting of Nov. 6 and before that date and had a recording device in his wallet), in our apartments and prison cells and other unofficial agency data, but which cannot be officially added to the case because such is not permitted by law, he convinced the workers of the CC CP of Ukraine that we are justly charged as traitors of the Fatherland. This is how our fate and the fate of others like us had been decided.

It is possible that this man-catcher of the 20th century entered my apartment on December 30, 1960, but this secret agent was burnt, for upon entering my apartment he saw my niece there who had come to visit me, but whom he did not expect and therefore he was forced to flee from the fourth floor and run as far as the alley where he hid himself. Such methods are employed by similar fellows around all persons whom they suspect and for them there are many suspects filling the black lists. This is the way case after case has been fabricated.

Here only some questions and moments

from them have been briefly described. In order to present our whole case to this day, it would be necessary to fill thousands of pages.

Since the investigating organs of the KDB, and the workers at the prosecutor's office and the courts are telling us that in relation to our case all the questions have been coordinated with the Party organs, from now on as regards our case we will turn only to the CC CP Ukr.SSR with the demands to re-examine our case and to return us to our Fatherland — Ukraine from a foreign land.

If our case is not re-examined in the near future, and the brand of traitors of the Fatherland is not removed from us and we are not returned to Ukraine, we will be forced to turn for help in the future in the said questions to the progressive public of Ukraine and the progressive public of our entire planet.

Signature: I. O. Kandyba

*Rudyk — Head of the Lviv Oblast Court
**Zahorodniuk — Chairmann of the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR (Kyiv)

Reawakening Is Not To Be Stopped By Repressions

An Open Letter From The Journalists Of Kyiv

We were overwhelmed with burning shame for our profaned profession, for our fellow-journalists, when we came across the article entitled: "On Mr. Stetsko and the Little Martyred Frog" while leafing through *Perets* (No. 17) in the library of a remote mountain village.

If the cover of the periodical had not indicated "September, 1966", and if the article had not mentioned the name of Ivan Mykhailovych Dziuba, a literary critic popular among young writers, one might have thought that some evil magician had transported us back to the horrible 30's, when a few months or weeks before the shots were heard in the NKVD torture chambers or in the suicide room the people were executed in newspaper and magazine columns. When, without worrying too much about evidence, the most horrible

tags were pinned on scientists, writers, cultural workers — "Fascist", "zoological nationalist", "terrorist". When the nationally beloved Ostap Vyshnia, whose pupils you consider yourselves, upon opening a new periodical in the morning, would find there an article by the still living O. Poltoratskyi and to discover from it that he, Vyshnia, was a kulak ideologist. And shortly thereafter a NKVD agent was telling the writer, how he was planning to assassinate Postyshev . . .

In making this analogy, we don't want to lack proof as much as does the author of the article "On Mr. Stetsko . . ." who has concealed himself under the pseudonym of Vasyl Osadchyi (because in the press we have sometimes seen the name of Mykhailo Osadchyi, an instructor at the Lviv Oblast Committee of the CPU and later a lecturer

at the Lviv University, who for several months now has been making furniture at the Mordovian correction camps.)

It has been known for a long time that anger and accusations are the most convincing evidence, regardless of whether an old woman Paraska, or a highly placed Jupiter are doing the yelling and screaming. Therefore, we leave to the journalistic conscience of "Vasyl Osadchyi" and the *Perets'* staff the sick far-fetched allegories, accusations and the calling of I. M. Dziuba "little frog", "feeble minded" (according to a popular principle: call your neighbour an idiot so that they won't see how stupid you are). Such "high style" only testifies to the fact that a more apt journalist could not be found who would agree to do Judas' work, or that lies and talent do not go hand in hand.

Let us turn to the facts which gave the right to pour such dirt on an individual (if such a right exists at all). But anyway, on the entire *Perets'* page "dedicated" to I. M. Dziuba we did not find any real basis for these accusations and insults.

I. M. Dziuba is accused of the fact that he "does not like the methods of socialist realism", that "he is against the Soviet people, Leninist ideas, Communist outlook", that he "is unhappy with our Soviet way of life". All this is stated categorically, but without any proof, without any argumentation.

We have read everything or nearly everything which has been written by I. M. Dziuba. We read his early works, and the book, "A Common Man or a Bourgeois" and the articles of recent years, and the "recommendations" (by the latter "Osadchyi" means the work which I. M. Dziuba sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Internationalism or Russification?", which he wrote in connection with the arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia). But nowhere did we find him taking a stand against socialist realism, if, of course, the carefully scrounged, unnoticeable springs of talent and witty criticism of the crumbling fruitlessness,

greyness and artistic and moral helplessness, are not considered as such. If you call this a stand against socialist realism then what do you mean precisely by socialist realism? Furthermore, should the question of the creative methods of literature and art be decided upon the pages of a satirical magazine rather than in creative discussions?

Nowhere in I. M. Dziuba did we find an article against the Soviet regime or Leninism. On the contrary, his work "Internationalism or Russification?" is a painful cry of the soul in defence of the drowned principles of Lenin's national policy, for humanism and justice. I. M. Dziuba thoroughly analysed Marxist literature on the national question, and the party discussions (which lasted until the "leader of nations" rashly solved the complicated problem by dressing the Soviet republics in the standard uniforms in Stalin's line) — and come to the conclusion that the present status and relations among nations in the USSR are a far cry from those about which Lenin wrote.

I. M. Dziuba is not the only person today who has realized that the legal status of Ukraine as a Union Republic is incompatible with her actual status in the USSR. Tomorrow, there will be more people who think the same way, if, of course, a reawakening from the forced 30 year lethargic sleep is not stopped by repressions (for are they the answer). Then maybe you will call all of them frogs and morons, or maybe you are going to label the entire Ukrainian people — feeble-minded.

Is it really true that you, satirists and humorists, do not really see and feel upon yourselves the merciless roll of centralization and denationalization, which for decades has stifled the national dignity in Ukraine and the fresh blossoming of national thought?

Have you not from issue to issue, from year to year, been chewing the theme of flatterers and pulling wool over people's eyes by writing about the holes in the road and about fallen bridges and have not seen the broken souls and the dented hearts

which have resulted from the merciless machine of denationalization?

But why didn't you poke fun in *Perets* at the respected Hlazyrins who are calling Ukrainian language "banderivska" for which they are later sent to represent Ukraine at international congresses? Or to reprimand the supervisors of college students of the Telnova type, who in their militant chauvinism did not hesitate to desecrate a monument to the Kobzar (T. Shevchenko). Or to make fun of those who at all costs are mutilating their native language, orientating themselves to the administration, which always and everywhere ignores the "state" language of a "sovereign" republic. Or to angrily warn those who for "opposite" views leave the people without a slice of bread, or even throw them out of their apartment, as was the case with one of the authors of this letter. Or to poke fun at the "scholars" who in their loyal dedication have thought up "the theory of two native tongues" . . .

And what a beautiful column could be written about this year's Franko anniversary in Kyiv when "Russia, My Homeland" and "How Did You Dare to Disbelieve" were heard in the conservatoire hall in honour of the Kameniar, but on the street and by the monument students and young poets were seized and thrown into prison for two weeks for reading Franko's and their own poetry, without being accused of anything wiser than "attempt upon life of militiamen".

This is where *Perets*' talents should reign. But no . . . You would rather throw mud upon an individual who had enough courage to speak about these and similar facts and what stands behind them, who dared to doubt whether all this is compatible with Lenin's principles of national policy. I. M. Dziuba waited for nine months for an answer to a letter which he sent to the CC CP but you have carried and given birth to a proper answer.

We know the technique of some journalists who write according to the principle of "whatever you want", to tell half-truths, so as not to lie and not to tell the

Lopushne, where we are separated from all newspapers because we have joined the Carpathian expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R. and are forced to study the weather, can be indignant: "Do you see, for several years I did not receive a single penny for a day's work. I am working as during feudalism for ten lots of hay and three lots of potatoes and so that they would not take away the 30 hundreds of the stony plot, in order to feed my family I have to go voluntarily to the Arkhangelsk region for 7-8 months to cut wood, — and this Dziuba is refreshing himself at the sanatoria without paying a cent". But the man from Lopushne wouldn't say that if "Osadchyi" did not keep silent about the fact that I. M. Dziuba is suffering from tuberculosis and that he was sent to the sanatorium by the doctors . . .

In fact, if *Perets* is organizing a campaign against free medical care for TB patients, then maybe at the same time you will start a crusade against the supervisors' "liksanupry" (medical, sanitary special stores) and the state-supported datchas. You can be sure that you will have countless supporters in this crusade.

"Osadchyi" paints such an idyllic picture for himself, how Dziuba, dressed "according to the latest fashion", long-haired and completely ungrateful, every morning marches beneath the Kyiv horse-chestnuts to the Academy of Sciences. The "satirist" however did not ascertain what I. M. Dziuba is doing in this Academy. Is he studying classical or contemporary literature? Well, there it is. He is not going to the Institute of Literature, nor the Institute of Philosophy or Psychology. The literary critic, a member of the Writers' Association of Ukraine is hurrying every morning to the Institute of Bio-chemistry where he was able to find a job after his last dismissal from work, as a literary worker in an informative journal. A worthy utilization of unusual talent and diligence.

Among other things, if the *Perets* staff were interested in how many more scholars, journalists, teachers and writers are either unemployed or are working at occasional

jobs or are working outside their profession only because someone did not like their convictions, expressions or even undesirable friendship — a large list could be supplied, for further exposé articles on the “Tuniat tribe”

Finally, there remains the only really true fact with “Osadchyi”, through which as the Russians say (or rather as it is said in the other native language) “sir bor zagorelsia” (sir, forest was set afire) the voices were heard from abroad in defence of the supposedly arrested I. M. Dziuba (and I. Svitlychnyi — we shall add for truth’s sake). Thus I. Dziuba’s crime is revealed. Nobody had arrested him yet, and some CUCs (Committee of Ukrainians in Canada), “Associations of Ukrainians”, “yellow nationalistic publications” and “various small nationalistic groups” have already demanded his release.

But did you give it a thought, why the “scratching nationalistic newspapers” did not bring out this version two or three years ago, but at a time when a wave of political arrests and trials rolled over Ukraine, when scholars, lecturers, artists and students found themselves in the “isolators” of the KGB, and then mostly in the camps of the severe regime, when I. Dziuba together with others “unrestrained and irreconcilable” as you properly write, protested with all available means against the arrests and unlawful secret trials? These arrests and trials were hidden from the public behind a curtain of cowardly silence; therefore it is understandable that not only abroad, but even here the people heard rumours, often fantastic ones (we ourselves heard in the Spring of 1965 from low-ranking party officials about “the arms found among the nationalists”). They should be included in *Perets* for that.

Therefore, dear comrades, the bell has rung, and those protests from abroad are only an echo. So, don’t be insulted “by the year in the concentration camp”, with which Dziuba was rewarded by the foreign press. But another critic, Ivan Svitlychnyi, whose name was placed by those “yellow papers” besides Dziuba’s, spent eight months in prison. (This you have omitted

for discretion’s sake). Today these “years of concentration camp” (call them “camps of severe regime”) are allotted for reading “prohibited” books (it seems that such exists too) and anonymous articles — an artists, a journalist, a teacher, an art critic, a scholar, an engineer, a university lecturer, a student, — tomorrow a literary critic’s or a writer’s turn might come.

According to the iron logic of “Osadchyi” it is I. M. Dziuba’s fault that “he is held up as an icon of a kind”, that he “is praised by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations”, that he “is warmly applauded by the Committee of Ukrainians in Canada” and so forth. And the sentence: “The name of I. M. Dziuba is often prayerfully pronounced and advertised besides the names of Petlura, Bandera, Melnyk”, — this is a malicious allegation. For it is unnecessary to be too ceremonious with Petluras and Banderas . . .

Let’s be consistent, Comrade Osadchyi, or whatever you call yourself. Let’s throw Marx’s ideas on a rubbish heap, because they were used and sometimes are still being used for the defence of West-European social-democracy. Let’s dethrone Marx and Lenin for being “held up as an icon of a kind” by the Maoists who are creating something far removed from Marxism and very close to Stalinism. Let’s throw out of the libraries the works of the Ukrainian poets murdered in the 30’s: M. Kulish, O. Slisarenko, M. Zerov and others because they previously appeared in the West with intentional forewords and commentaries. Let’s at last make definite return to the Stalinist norms of social life because the discovery of the cult of personality was used and is still being used by the bourgeois propaganda. And how it is used! What conclusions it arrives at! Dziuba and his literary-critical articles are a far cry from that.

Common sense says that the creativity of a writer, the criticism of a publicist, should be judged by its objective contents, and not by who takes it as a weapon with a conjectural motive. For really: I. M. Dziuba, if we are to believe “Osadchyi” (we are not allowed to read it for ourselves, for

that — jail) is praised and help up by the emigre CUCs and associations. At the same time (this we know ourselves) I. M. Dziuba is very popular and respected among young Ukrainian writers educated in Soviet schools and universities whom it seems to be sinful to place on the same level with the “gathering of scorpions”, “former head butchers”, etc. Why, then, is the former held against Dziuba and the latter is taken off the scale? Because you were told to do so? Is that right, Comrade “Osadchyi”?

We are not attempting to defend the emigre CUCs, blocs and committees. As a matter of fact, we really don't know what they are. We learned of their existence only from *Perets* and *Literaturna Ukraina*. But we are ashamed of the style and the tone in which you are criticizing them. If two crones arguing about a furrow ran out of expression, they can easily enrich their vocabulary by subscribing to *Perets* or *Literaturna Ukraina*.

Here are not even all the pearls from your article on “Mr. Stetsko . . .”, “nasty little frog”, “feeble-minded”, “bad black-mouthed frogs”, “son of a bitch”, “scratching nationalist ‘newspapers’ that are writing smelly articles and columns on waste paper”, “hush, hush, dumb snouts”, “yellow nationalistic reptiles (papers)”, “head butchers”, “the gathering of scorpions”, “traitors”, “nationalistic frog-spawn”, “remnants”, “creaking, almost exploding, the black-mouthed frogs in stale mud”, “he started to put on airs” (this is about Dziuba), etc. A person who does not know CUCs can get the impression that you are trying to compensate for lack of arguments with insults.

We are used to copying the “elder Brother” with blind consistency in economics, in culture, in education, so why not learn here? Will you find something similar in *Krokodyl* or in Russia papers? They do not even call the Russian emigrants “the black traitors of the Russian people”, let alone “scorpions, bandits, head butchers, chauvinistic frog-spawn” (and there are plenty of “edynonedelimsti” among them). Of course not. If at times an article appears

where the Russian emigre organizations are mentioned, it is kept in the spirit of an argumentative exposé and not as market place insults. What's more, the Russian press has even given a forum to the white-guard Shulgin for articles with a pronounced chauvinistic flavour.

And the Russian political emigration is not second to the Ukrainian in either number or activity. There is the emigration from the times of the Civil War which has brought up a second and a third generation and the emigration from the last war — members of the Vlasov army (Russians who fought on the side of Hitler), the Russian militiamen, mayors, the fugitives for moral reasons, prisoners of war who did not wish to return home, and so forth. But the Russian press, it seems, feels that it would not do itself honour to quarrel with those people deprived of their homeland, that insults and emphasis on the very fact of their existence will not raise the prestige of the Russian people. The Russians, not as an example to us, do not want to be linked to well-known N.C.O.'s widow who whipped herself.

Furthermore, have you thought about the fact that the Ukrainian emigrants, even the so-called non-progressive ones are not very monolithic and that by calling the people who did not slaughter or kill anyone “head butchers” and “bandits” you are at the same time closing the road to an understanding with them? Did you even consider why there are so few of our supporters among the Ukrainian emigrants and so many of the lesser or greater opponents? However, Yu. Kosach, himself a progressive emigrant, wrote in a letter to his old acquaintance in Ukraine that we are overrating the strength of the progressive organizations (that is that sympathize with us), that they, in the number of their members, unfortunately in relation to the unprogressive, are in the ratio of 1:1,000. Why is it so? Why do CUCs have followers not only among the political but also among the labour emigrants? Is the reason to be found only in dollars and in bourgeois propaganda (even though we do not exclude the influence of dollars and pro-

paganda)? Or is it also because, now and then finding his way to the fatherland as a tourist, a transoceanic Ukrainian will blink his eyes in disbelief upon not hearing the "state" language in Ukraine's capital (either on the street, or in a store, or in a public office or in a university) and only rarely hearing it in Lviv, where till 1939, according to a census, only 12 odd Russians lived, and now — 40% of the inhabitants.

And he will not believe the hollow words about mutual help when he meets a janitor or a tram-driver, who after returning from Siberia found out that his relatives had been forced to move from the densely populated Halychyna to Southern Ukraine or to emigrate to Russia, where without native schools, cultural organizations and printed word they will be exposed to inevitable Russification.

Therefore, is not the best way to change this unpleassant relationship to the opposite — 1,000:1 (that one will be the bandit, the head butcher and the scorpion), and to renew Lenin's standards of national life which were being introduced here in the 20's and which were later burned out with "red-hot iron" by the "leader of nations"? It was this very renewal of Leninist norms that I. M. Dziuba supported in his work which was submitted to the CC CPU and CC CPSU, and whom you have equated with head butchers and scorpions.

"Osadchy" reproaches Dziuba for not disproving the rumours about his arrest which have been spread by the Western press. One might ask where was he supposed to find out about these slanderous rumours when here nobody reads those "reptiles" (apart from especially cleared people) and should someone happen to get them somewhere and read them, for this brothers Horyn, Moroz, Osadchy (not Vasy), Zalyvakha and many others were tried this year.

But let us suppose that I. M. Dziuba had been called to the KGB or some other organization and after signing a statement about not making it public, was shown these "reptiles". We are not sure that I. M. Dziuba would wish to answer the "scor-

pions" knowing that they would read his reply (because there they can receive our newspaper) but their word-answer would be heard neither by Dziuba nor his countrymen. Is this an argument on parity grounds?

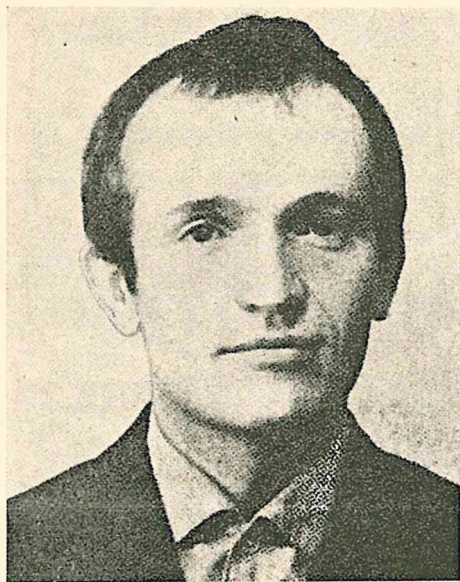
Well, let's assume that such ethical questions do not bother I. M. Dziuba and he agrees to write to the "head butchers". Could he, without forgetting about the human conscience, deny the fact of his arrest, and not mention even by one word the imprisonment of I. O. Svitlychnyi, whose name stood beside Dziuba's in these "reptiles"? Could he not even hiccup about the arrest of 26 persons and the subsequent arrest of 21! It is for these very protests against these arrests that he, I. M. Dziuba, was forced to "stroll under the Kyiv horsechestnuts going to work in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R." — to correct orthographical errors in the manuscripts of the biochemists and to translate them into Ukrainian.

We feel that such a refutation by Dziuba would not satisfy those who told "Osadchy" to demand Dziuba's reply to the "reptiles". Otherwise an honest man (and we consider I. M. Dziuba to be such, contrary to the most brutal insults of "Osadchyis") would not agree. And such a reply would not be printed in *Literaturna Ukraina* and they wouldn't reprint it in *Literaturna Hazeta* . . .

Noticing that the *Perets* staff likes allegories and uses several of them in each article, we will try it ourselves, borrowing the plot from "Osadchy".

"And thus a river was flowing, wide in appearance and seemingly deep. A beautiful motor boat, painted with bright colours and brave slogans was floating on it. Brave captains stood at the helm. The river population was calling to them alarmingly: the tenches, and the perches, and the frogs (because they need water too) and even the careful sheatfish, looking around, quietly murmured, "Be careful. The river is getting shallower, not by days but by hours. Look around — the woods are being cut, the river spring is drying up . . .".

"But these screams did not reach the ears



Viacheslav M. Chornovil

of the captains; they were not used to hearing sounds which came from the bottom . . . Their eyes were seeking far off ports on the horizon. They did not see the sandbanks and chimerical bends on the hard path. And the motor boat is more frequently scratching the sand with its botton, which is thickly settled by turtles, — and in a short time it will stop for ever. Then this motor boat will be converted into a museum of antiquity, and the unsuccessful captains, as they are now useless, will be put ashore. And the ex-captains will recall the river delta, the prophetic warnings of the tench and the sheatfish and that fish, whom they without

examination, in their arrogance and their highhandedness; called a nasty little frog . . .”

And in conclusion — a few more words to the author of the article and all *Perets* members.

If one would strictly adhere to the letter and spirit of Soviet laws, the author of the slanderous article could be prosecuted for a criminal act: for unfounded accusations of taking a stand against the Soviet regime and Leninist ideas (very serious accusations, indeed), for abusive insults, for degrading human dignity. But we are not so naive as to expect anybody to prosecute the slanderer. He did not write with his own hand. But there is another court — a court of conscience; there is a more severe punishment than any possible sentence — human scorn.

We know many *Perets* staff members to be able journalists and writers. And we do not believe that this type of thing could have been written by Oleh Chornohuz or Yurii Kruhliak, Yurii Yakeikin or Dmytro Moliakkevych. We do not know how *Perets* staff — old and young — faced the directive to print the diatribe on I. M. Dziuba, how they reacted or will yet react) upon the appearance of such a scandalous article in their periodical. In their place we personally would be ashamed to say upon an introduction: “I work for *Perets* . . .

September 27, 1966

Lopushna, Transcarpathia

V. Skochok
V. Chornovil
L. Sheremeteva



ABN demonstration in Canberra, Australia against 50 years of Russian Communist rule over the subjugated countries, November 5, 1967.

Ukrainian Prisoners Of Conscience In USSR

The following are brief data on a number of Ukrainian political prisoners presently incarcerated in the Soviet Union. This information is based on letters and documents smuggled out of the U.S.S.R. recently, above all on a manuscript collection of various materials about the prisoners, compiled by a Ukrainian journalist, Viacheslav Chornovil, himself arrested as a result and sentenced to 3 years hard labour in November, 1967. His White Book has recently been published in Ukrainian under the title "Lykho z rozumu" ("Woe from Wit").

All the prisoners were condemned on the grounds of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR which states:

"Any agitation or propaganda with the intent to undermine or subvert the Soviet regime, participation in certain specific and particularly dangerous crimes against the State, dissemination with the same intent of slanderous inventions against the Soviet State and its social system, as well as distribution, preparation or possession with the above aim of literature with such content are punishable by the deprivation of freedom for terms from six months to seven years or banishment for terms from two to five years. The above actions, if committed by persons previously convicted for serious crimes against the State or for crimes committed in time of war, are punishable by imprisonment for terms from three to ten years."

Some of these prisoners have been mentioned in the Western press. Most of them are students, writers, lecturers and Ukrainian cultural leaders, who have been tried by the regime for "anti-Soviet activities", such as the reading and distributing of books and magazines published in the Western countries, the addresses of the late Pope John XXIII, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington in 1964, and demanding recognition of Ukrainian language and culture in Ukraine, true equality for the Ukrainian

nation in international relations, real sovereignty and independence of Ukraine.

I. Recent Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience in USSR

Viacheslav M. Chornovil

Born in the village of Yerky in Cherkasy region, Ukraine, on December 24, 1937, journalist, literary critic and associate of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In 1960 he graduated with honours from the University of Kyiv with a degree in journalism. He is the author of many articles and scientific works. He also wrote two major books concerned with the imprisonment of fellow writers in Ukraine: "Recidivism of Terrorism or Justice" and "Woe from Wit" ("Lykho z rozumu"). The latter book was smuggled out of Ukraine and published by the "La Parole Ukrainienne" Publishing House in Paris. Having refused to act as a witness for the state at the closed trials of fellow writers, he defended them by writing letters and tracts on their behalf to the Soviet government. On August 3rd, 1967, the Secret Police made a search of Chornovil's apartment taking away several old books, personal letters and notes. On August 5th, he was arrested by KGB and has since been kept in isolation. In late November, 1967, V. Chornovil was sentenced at a closed trial to 3 years of hard labour.

Viacheslav Chornovil is married and has a three year old son, Taras. His wife, Olena, practises medicine.

II. Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience condemned in 1966

1. Yaroslav B. Hevrych

Born in the village of Ostapye, Ternopol region, Ukraine, on November 28, 1937, student at Kyiv Medical Institute. He was arrested in August 1965, tried and sentenced on March 11, 1966, at a closed trial in Kyiv, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation". His sentence was reduced to 3 years after he appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. He is present-

ly serving his sentence in Camp 17-a, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

2. *Ivan A. Hel*

Born in the village of Klitsko, Lviv region, Ukraine, locksmith and a student at the Evening School of the University of Lviv. He is married and has a 4 year old daughter. He was arrested on August 24, 1965, and sentenced at a closed trial on March 25, 1966, in Lviv, to 3 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

3. *Bohdan M. Horyn'*

Born in the village of Kniseli, Lviv region, Ukraine, on February 10, 1936, literary and art critic. In 1959, he graduated in Philology from the University of Lviv. He worked as a research associate of the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art and wrote many articles on art and literature. He was arrested on August 26, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 4 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR, where he contracted an illness of the eyes threatening the loss of his sight.

4. *Mykhailo M. Horyn'*

Born in the village of Kniseli, Lviv region, Ukraine, on June 20, 1930, psychologist, brother of Bohdan Horyn'. He graduated from the University of Lviv and worked as a psychologist in a laboratory of industrial psychology. He is the author of many works on psychology and literature and a participant in professional conferences. He is married and has a three year old daughter. He was arrested on August 26, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to six years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 1 and 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In December, 1966, he was imprisoned in the camp jail for "writing and distributing anti-Soviet literature and speeches", and in 1967 all visiting privileges were denied him.

5. *Dmytro P. Ivashchenko*

Member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, lecturer of Ukrainian literature, candidate of philological science. He worked as a lecturer of Ukrainian literature at the Lutsk Pedagogic Institute (Volynia, West Ukraine). He is married and has several children. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced in January 1966, by Volynia Region Court to 2 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR, where he is suffering from rheumatism.

6. *Sviatoslav J. Karavanskyi*

Born in Odessa, Ukraine, on December 24, 1920, poet, linguist, journalist and translator. During World War II, he served in the Red Army. After his unit was encircled and routed by the Germans he escaped to Odessa. There he cooperated illegally with the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and was persecuted by the Rumanian security police. After the recapture of Odessa by the Soviet Russian army he was arrested and tried on February 7, 1944, by a Soviet military court and sentenced to 25 years of hard labour for "connections with the Ukrainian underground". Upon being freed from the Soviet concentration camp in December 1960, he returned to Odessa where he worked on translation of various books from English into Ukrainian. He translated the well-known novel "Jane Eyre" by Charlotte Bronte. On March 4, 1965, Karavanskyi's apartment was searched. He protested against this invasion of privacy and also against the various arrests of fellow writers. He presented a memorandum to the Polish and Czecho-Slovak Consuls in Kyiv in which he protested against the Soviet nationality policy in Ukraine and arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. On November 13, 1965, Karavanskyi was re-arrested in Odessa and sentenced by the Prosecutor-General of the USSR, M. Rudenko, without any trial, to 8 years and 7 months of hard labour, that is to serve the rest of the previous 25 year sentence. He was incarcerated, on two occasions, in soli-

tary confinement for periods up to ten days, for writing letters from the concentration camp to various Soviet authorities protesting against his arrest and imprisonment without trial. On October 8, 1966, he was imprisoned in the camp jail for a period of 6 months. During his imprisonment, Karavanskyi went on hunger strike 5 times, each time up to 10 days duration. In 1967, all visiting privileges were denied him. He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

7. *Eugenia F. Kuznetsova*

Born in Shostka, Sumy region, Ukraine, on November 28, 1913, chemist. She was a research worker in the chemical laboratory of the University of Kyiv. She was arrested on August 25, 1965, and sentenced on March 25, 1966, at a closed trial in Kyiv, to 4 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". She is married and has children. She is presently severely ill serving her sentence in Camp 6, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

8. *Olexander E. Martynenko*

Born in Nova Horlivka, Donetsk region, Ukraine, engineer. He worked at Kyiv Geological Institute. He was arrested on August 28, 1965, and sentenced on March 25, 1966, at a closed trial in Kyiv, to 3 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

9. *Mykhailo S. Masiutko*

Born in Chaplyntsi, Kherson region, Ukraine, on November 18, 1918, poet, literary critic, teacher. In 1937, at the age of nineteen, he was arrested and sentenced to 5 years of hard labour for "counter-revolutionary activities". In 1940, he was released and vindicated. He served in the Soviet Army during World War II and was awarded a medal. He is married and had to support his 73 year old mother. He was arrested on September 4, 1965, in Feodosia, Crimea, Ukraine, and sentenced on March 23, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 6 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". In camp he has been severely ill and operated. Forced to work immedi-

tely after the operation, his sutures came apart. In December 1966, Masiutko was put into the camp jail for a period of 6 months for "writing and distributing anti-Soviet articles" in the camp. He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

10. *Valentyn Y. Moroz*

Born in Kholoniv, Volynia region, Ukraine, on April 15, 1936, historian. He was a lecturer of modern history at Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv) Pedagogic Institute (West Ukraine). He is married and has a 5 year old son. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced in January, 1966, in the Volynia Region Court, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In December 1966, he was put into the camp jail for a period of six months.

11. *Mykhailo D. Ozernyi*

Born in Verkhnie Synievydne (Synyvids'ko Vyzhnie), Lviv region, Ukraine, in 1929, teacher, translator. He was teacher of German language and Ukrainian language and literature in Ripyansk, Ivano-Frankivsk region. He is married and has two small children. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced on February 7, 1966, in Ivano-Frankivsk, to 6 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". His sentence was reduced to 3 years by the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. He was serving his sentence in the early part of 1967 in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. At present his whereabouts are unknown.

12. *Mykhailo H. Osadchyi*

Born in Kurmany, Sumy region, Ukraine, on March 22, 1936, journalist, poet, literary critic, lecturer and translator. He was a member of the Communist Party since January 1962, also a member of the Journalists' Union of Ukraine. He worked as Associate Professor in Journalism at the University of Lviv and was an editor of the University paper. He is married and has one son. He was arrested on August 28, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 2 years of hard

labour for "anti-Soviet agitation". A collection of M. Osadchyi's poetry entitled "Moon Fields" was published in 1965, but was confiscated and destroyed by the KGB. M. Osadchyi is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In camp, authorities removed a collection of poetry that he was translating into Ukrainian — poems of Garcia Lorca and Baltic poets.

13. *Anatol O. Shevchuk*

Born in Zhytomyr, Ukraine, on February 6, 1937, writer. He worked as a linotypist in Zhytomyr. He is married and has a 6 year old daughter. He suffers from a heart ailment and acute rheumatism. He was arrested on May 23, 1966, and sentenced on September 7, 1966, at a closed trial, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

14. *Opanas E. Zalyvakeha*

Born in Husyntsi, Kharkiv region, Ukraine, on November 26, 1925, artist. In 1960, he graduated from Leningrad Art Institute. He was arrested in August 1965, in Ivano-Frankivsk and sentenced in March 1966, at a closed trial, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. The camp authorities have confiscated his paints and have refused him the right to paint in his free time.

III. *Ukrainian Political Prisoners sentenced during 1944—1963*

1. *Kateryna Zarytska*

Born in 1914, wife of M. Soroka. An organiser and worker of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II. She was sentenced in 1947 to 25 years of imprisonment. Presently she is detained in the Vladimir prison (east of Moscow).

2. *Odarka Husiak*

Born in 1924, arrested in 1950 for membership in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (acting as courier). She was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years of imprison-

ment. Presently she is detained in the Vladimir prison.

3. *Halyna Didyk*

Born in 1912. An organiser and worker of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II. She was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years of imprisonment. She is presently serving her sentence in the Vladimir prison.

4. *Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi*

A Ukrainian lawyer, citizen of Czechoslovakia, was sentenced in 1947 without a trial of any kind and imprisoned merely on "special order" of the Soviet Russian secret police. The main accusation levelled against Dr. Horbovyi was his activity as a defence lawyer prior to World War II in former Poland. He defended before Polish courts Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, and others.

A few years ago, while in No. 5 concentration camp, in Lepley, Mordovian ASSR, Dr. Horbovyi wrote a letter to Khrushchov, pointing out that the USSR is violating UN Declaration on Human Rights in imprisoning him without a trial. Dr. Horbovyi also censured the USSR's breach of the United Nations Charter and of other international standards. He defended the rights of Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. However, he received no answer either from Khrushchov or his successors, Brezhnev and Kosygin. The KGB sent him several times to Kyiv and Moscow to be interrogated by KGB chiefs. There he was promised his freedom and life in comfort if he would renounce his Ukrainian patriotic views, but he preferred imprisonment in honour. The KGB went even so far as to compel his wife to publish a letter denouncing her husband and the ideas he stood for. Dr. Horbovyi is serving now his 20th year of incarceration and hard labour in the camps of the Dubravno Camp Administration in the Mordovian ASSR.

5. *Yuriy Shukhevych*

Son of Lieut.-General Taras Chuprynka (*nom-de-guerre* of Roman Shukhevych), Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought both against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia

during the last war, and carried on a guerilla warfare against the renewed occupation of Ukraine by Communist Russia for several years after the World War II ended. Yuriy Shukhevych was born in 1933, arrested in 1948, at the age of 15, and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for "connections with Ukrainian underground". In the spring of 1956, he was released. In the autumn of the same year Y. Shukhevych was again arrested and at the request of the Prosecutor General of the USSR M. Rudenko, he was sentenced to 2 years in prison. On the day of release from prison in 1958, he was re-arrested for "anti-Soviet propaganda" in prison cells and sentenced to additional 10 years of hard labour. He is serving his sentence in the camps of the Dubravno Concentration Camps Administration in the Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

6. *Mykhailo Soroka*

He was arrested in 1940, and sentenced to 8 years in prison. After his release in 1949, Soroka returned to Lviv where he was arrested and exiled to Krasnoyarsk region in Siberia for the same "crime". Upon return to Lviv in 1951, he was vindicated for the 1940 sentence. In 1952, M. Soroka was arrested again on grounds of belonging to subversive organisations which allegedly existed in the forced labour camps and again sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Altogether this Ukrainian patriot spent 7 years in Polish and 24 years in Soviet Russian prisons.

7. *V. Duzhynskyi*

An artist, sentenced in 1957, to 10 years for hanging the flag of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks, who fought for Ukrainian independence in the XVI — XVIII century, in the Lviv theatre. He is presently serving his sentence in Dubravno system of camps in the Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

8. *S. Virun*

Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR, for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv, which tried to formulate a programme for more political

and social freedom for Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. He was sentenced in 1961 to 11 years of hard labour. Born in 1932 in Lviv region, Communist Party propagandist.

9. *L. Lukyanenko*

Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR, for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. He was sentenced in 1961, to 15 years of hard labour. Born in 1927 in the village of Khrypivka, Chernihiv region, in Ukraine, graduate of the Faculty of Laws of Moscow University, Communist party propagandist, expelled from the CPSU in connection with this case.

10. *Ivan O. Kandyba*

Born in 1930, in the village of Stolno, Volodava district, Pidliashia region of West Ukraine, resently in Poland, graduate of the Faculty of Laws of the Lviv University, a lawyer. Sentenced in 1961, to 15 years of hard labour for attempting to organise the Ukrainian Worker's and Peasants' Union in Lviv, which tried to formulate a programme for more political and social freedom for Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR.

11. *Oleksandr S. Libovych*

Born in 1935 in Hlidno, Bereziv district, Lemky region (presently Poland), Ukrainian agriculturist, graduate of Lviv Agricultural Institute, sentenced in 1961 to 10 years of hard labour for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. Present whereabouts unknown.

12. *Vasyl S. Lutskiv*

Born in 1935, in the village of Pavliv, Radekhiv district, Lviv region, Ukraine, manager of the village club of Pavliv. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 years hard labour for organising Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. Present whereabouts unknown.

13. *Yosyp Y. Borovynskyi*

Born in 1932, in Sianik (Sanok), Lemky region (presently in Poland), graduate of the Faculty of Laws of the University of Lviv, member of the CPSU (expelled from

the Party in connection with this case), prosecution investigator in Peremysliany district, Lviv region, Ukraine. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 (later reduced to 7) years of hard labour for participation in the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union which had as its final aim the achievement of Ukrainian independence by legal means. Presently incarcerated in Mordovian ASSR forced labour camps.

14. *Ivan Z. Kipysh*

Born in 1923, in the village of Hludno, Bereziv district, Lemky region (at present in Poland), Ukrainian, militiaman from Lviv. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 (later reduced to 7) years of hard labour for participation in Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

15. *Bohdan Harmatiuk*

Born in 1939, construction engineer. Sentenced in March 1959 to 10 years of imprisonment for participation in the "United Party for Liberation of Ukraine" in Stanyславiv, West Ukraine. Presently Mordovian camps.

16. *Yarema S. Tkachuk*

Born in 1933, turner. Case as above.

17. *Bohdan I. Tymkiv*

Born in 1935, student of Lviv Forestry Institute. Case as above.

18. *Myron Ploshchak*

Born in 1932, worker. Case as above.

19. *Ivan V. Strutynskyi*

Born in 1937, secondary education, conductor of a factory's amateur chorus. Case as above. Recently released.

20. *Mykola Yurchyk*

Born in 1933, worker. Sentenced in March 1959 to 7 years hard labour in the same case as the above prisoners. Recently released.

21. *Ivan Konevych*

Born in 1930, worker. Case as above. Recently released.

22. *Ivan Teodorovych Koval* — young worker from Lviv. Sentenced in December 1961 to be shot for the formation of the organisation under the name of "Ukrainian National Committee" (UNK), whose aim

was independence of Ukraine. The sentence was carried out.

23. *Bohdan Hrytsyna* — young worker from Lviv. Sentenced in December 1961 to be shot, together with I. Koval, in the case of the "Ukrainian National Committee". The sentence was carried out.

24. *Volodymyr Hnot* — locksmith from Lviv. Sentenced to be shot in December 1961. The sentence was later commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps (sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case).

25. *Roman Hurynii* — born in 1939, worker at the secret factory in Lviv, P. O. Box 47, sentenced in December 1961 to be shot (the case of the "Ukrainian National Committee"). The sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

26. *Hryhoriy Zelymash* — collective farmer from Lviv region, sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961 to 15 years of imprisonment. At present in Mordovian camps.

27. *Oleksiy Zelymash* — collective farmer, brother of Hryhoriy, sentenced in "Ukrainian National Committee" case in Lviv in 1961 to 12 years of imprisonment. At present in Mordovian camps.

28. *Melykh* — a philologist from Lviv, graduate of Lviv University, sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case to 15 years of imprisonment. Serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

29. *Vasyl Kindrat* — young boy, sentenced in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in Lviv to 13 years of imprisonment, after which he lost his mind.

30. *Kyrylo* — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

31. *Mykola Mashtaler* — Sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

32. *Stepan Soroka* — worker, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in 1961 in



Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the Commander-in-Chief of UPA General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych, sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment at the age of 15.

the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

33. *Pokora* — worker, sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

34. *Iovchuk* — sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961.

35. *Myn'ko* — sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

36. *Tehyvets'* — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

37. *Mykola Melnychuk* — sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961 in Lviv.

38. *Khomiakievych* — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961.

39. *Bohdan Skira* — from Lviv region, serving his sentence in the Mordovian concentration camps. Details unknown.

40. *Dmytro Verkholiak* — medical student. Imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps.

41. *V. Levkovych* — imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps. Some time ago he was released but immediately afterwards arrested again on KGB request.

42. *A. Hubysh* — imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps.

44. *Y. Dolishnyi* — presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps of the Mordovian ASSR. He was sentenced for demanding, together with other Ukrainian intellectuals from Karaganda, Kazakhstan, a Ukrainian school for their children. His colleagues were also sentenced along with him.

45. *M. P. Lytskyk* — sentenced at a closed trial of Lviv region court on 12th April 1961, and presently serving sentence in the Mordovian camps.

46. *O. V. Volodyniuk* — sentenced at a closed trial of Lviv region court on 12th April, 1961, and presently serving his sentence in the Mordovian camps.

47. *Yu. Sachuk* — sentenced at a closed trial of Volynia region court in Lutsk on 10. 9. 1963, and presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

Note: The above list is by far not comprehensive, as names of hundreds and thousands of other Ukrainian political prisoners are not known at present. Thus, the assertions of Soviet Russian leaders that "in the Soviet Union at present there are no facts of trails for political offences" (see Khrushchov's speech at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, *Pravda* 28. 1. 1959) do not correspond with the truth.

Letters and parcels (up to 22 lbs. in weight) with food articles may be sent to the prisoners in the Mordovian camps from abroad at the following address:

USSR, Moscow, p/ya. 5110/1 Zh Kh, (followed by the prisoner's name).

Moscow's Appeasement Tactics Towards Slovakia

For some days at the beginning of this year, the attention of the world press was concentrated on Slovakia. The reason for this was the election of the Slovak renegade Alexander Dubcek as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia.

The circumstance that Dubcek had made such a career caused several erroneous commentaries and aroused illusions in world public opinion over the present position of Slovakia in the Czecho-Slovak state-formation and in the Soviet Russian sphere of power.

The Slovak nation is dissatisfied with the present position of Slovakia. This position is the result of the solution applied by force in the spring of 1945 by the Russian Red Army. At that time the Russian Red Army deprived Slovakia of its independence, drew this country into the Russian sphere of power and re-established the artificial Czecho-Slovak state-formation against the will of the Slovak nation. The overwhelming majority of the Slovak people was and is not ready to be satisfied with this solution. Within the scope of what is possible they showed and show resistance to Red Czech foreign rule, to the Soviet Russian over-lords and Communist dictatorship. The Slovak nation is striving for the re-establishment of the autonomy and independence of Slovakia.

It is very significant of the political conditions in Slovakia that not only the anti-Communist majority of the Slovak people, but also many Slovak Communists are for the autonomy of Slovakia. They reject the tutelage of their Czech 'comrades' and often complain of it to the Russians.

The Russian Bolshevik rulers perform the role of referee in the quarrels between Slovak and Czech Communists. They are anxious to eliminate this difference of

opinion through compromises.

The Russian Bolshevik rulers employ the tactics of appeasement, not only to the Slovak Communists but also to the Slovak nation. From time to time they attempt to reduce the resistance of the Slovak nation through pseudo-solutions. This is how Dubcek's new role is to be seen.

Dubcek's choice as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia does not alter anything in the position of Slovakia within the Russian sphere of power. Even within the Czecho-Slovak state formation the position of Slovakia remains unchanged.

No basic change to the benefit of Slovakia can be expected, since Dubcek is not a nationally-minded Slovak but a renegade of Slovak descent and an agent of Moscow. His parents had emigrated from Slovakia into Soviet Russia as convinced Communists and took him with them as a small child. He grew up in Soviet Russia. There he was brought up in the spirit of Russian Bolshevism. During the national independence of Slovakia Dubcek was smuggled in there as a young man to organise Communist underground activities in the Slovak republic, in accordance with the orders and directives of Moscow. After the subjugation of Slovakia and the re-establishment by force of the artificial Czecho-Slovak state the rise of this reliable agent of Moscow began.

Dubcek was always a mere receiver of orders from Moscow. Therefore it cannot be expected that he will do anything in his new office except faithfully carry out the orders of the Russian Bolshevik rulers.
C.P.

Correction to No. 1

p. 29, col. 1, line 9 should read 1917 instead of 1918

There are no beds in Poland because the Party is on guard, the enemy is awake, the patriots are behind bars and the workers are sleeping on roses.

The Stormy Year Of 1967

Today it is difficult to repeat the unvarying truths which at all times were obligatory for all revolutionary liberation movements. Only elements of a similar, homogeneous, spiritual, ethical, ideological and political nature are capable of reviving the world, transforming the life of nations and freeing peoples. Disunited, heterogeneous elements can never be victorious, since they have no dynamism, no unshakable faith and nobody of the same character with the same fanatical attitudes. Only revolutionaries of the same kind can be victorious. For the same reason a revolutionary organisation should never set itself the aim of unity at any price, if this involves unity with opportunist elements, which would betray the revolution in a difficult situation.

The ABN has just experienced a stormy year in its activity. It has succeeded in bringing about the unanimous decision to adopt the concept of the destruction of the Russian empire, of whatever colour, and to agree to action against Russian imperialism, of whatever type, by the speakers of 72 nations and 14 international anti-Communist organisations.

The World Anti-Communist Conference in Taipei, in September of last year, accepted as their own these concepts of ABN in their resolutions passed there. In the declaration of the First World Conference, it was expressly stated that all subjugated nations must be freed and that the national state independence of all peoples enslaved by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism should be re-established. The World League (WACL) is working for this. In addition, the resolutions gave more precise expression in every detail to this part of the declaration, and laid down expressly and clearly the anti-Russian position of WACL for the destruction of the Russian prison of nations and its division into individual, national, sovereign states, according to their ethnographic boundaries. The WACL appeals to the world to

support the national liberation revolutions of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, denounces the persecution of the intellectual circles in Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, urges governments and international organisations of the type of the United Nations to work for the protection of those being persecuted, and demands that the USSR and all Communist states be excluded from the United Nations, and that the national liberation centres and organisations be recognised as their spokesmen.

The official WACL Bulletin of December 1967 contains extensive material on the revolutionary, national liberation struggle and publishes a summary of the essential points of the uncompromising attitude, together with a precise formulation of the concept of the dissolution of the Russian empire, set forth in the speech given by Yaroslav Stetsko in Taipei, and thus the WACL Bulletin identifies itself with our political position. An official motion by the Presidium of APACL called for the acceptance unanimously of the ABN resolution on the dissolution of the Russian empire. This was no insignificant forum, but a forum with parliamentary deputies, senators, ministers, statesmen and politicians from various lands and continents.

On 30 June 1967 the European Freedom Council (EFC) came into being, which adopted in its statutes the ABN concept. The representative of the Ukrainian nation and other subjugated nations was elected co-chairman of the EFC and accorded the same rights as the speakers of the free nations. ABN's working plan was accepted and actions taken in the spirit of ABN's concept . . . This is a step forward in the direction of mobilising anti-Russian and anti-Communist forces in the world, in particular those of Europe.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the October counter-revolution and of the 50th Jubilee of the armed and political struggle set in motion against the Russian

empire, as well as the 25 anniversary of the UPA, ABN and the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement staged full-scale actions in Canada (Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton) and in the USA in front of the Bolshevik embassies in New York and Washington, as well as in England (London, Leicester, Bradford, Oldham), in Australia and other countries.

The Russian government attacked the revolutionary liberation front and the ABN President directly, in an official note of protest directed to the Canadian government, which was published in nearly all the newspapers of the USSR. The revolutionary liberation front is mobilising through its own dynamism, under the employment of ABN's uncompromising solutions, the outside world as well. Our cause attains topicality again and again.

Press, radio and television report our activities in Canada, the USA and Great Britain. The protests of the Bolshevik ambassadors are a reminder of the force which is threatening them. For these hundreds and thousands of demonstrators who are burning Russian flags, form an enormous, terrible danger for the Russian empire, for they are the speakers of millions and they are mobilising the anti-Russian, anti-Communist forces in the Free World, as the analogous expression of the broad front of subjugated nations. For these thousands of people and *spokesmen for hundreds of millions* in particular are the spokesmen of liberating nationalism, and for this reason Moscow is afraid of them.

When the ABN demonstrators burnt the Bolshevik state flag or the Communist manifesto in Buffalo and were imitated the following day by American Vietnam veterans, the proof was supplied that our time has come, the time for the mobilisation of a powerful, anti-Russian and anti-Communist front of forces in the Free World, sharing our ideas, both political, spiritual and moral. In October 1967 an international ABN conference took place in Montreal, in which were included American, Canadian and Chinese anti-Russian and anti-Communist forces. The

response it found in the press, radio and television was not trivial. The patriotic elements in various countries of the world are already enthusiastic for the ideas of ABN.

Moscow knows what a threat is signified by the concept, the activity and organisation of ABN. For this reason sharp attacks were made on ABN and its President.

The first open attack on the President of ABN was made in Stockholm in 1964 in a speech made by the Head of State of the USSR, the dictator of the empire, Khrushchov. This speech was published in all the newspapers of the USSR; the official organ of the government, 'Izvestia', devoted two leading articles to this affair. The note of protest in 1967 from the government of the USSR, directed to the Canadian government, attacked the President of ABN and made the ABN action one of international importance. This is a proof of the fact that the enemy is afraid of the ideas carried and realised by ABN.

ABN will continue its revolutionary activities unalterably and unshakably, as an echo of the impressive struggle being carried on in the subjugated countries. Only under the banner of ABN can the subjugated nations and the threatened world be saved from destruction.

ABN-Correspondence — my favourite magazine

The ABN-Correspondence gives me all the information about the work, activities and thinking of the ABN leaders and provides true information about all those unfortunate millions groaning under the unjust laws of the Communist empire. I appreciate the bravery of the ABN-correspondents and reporters for their striving to collect and provide the correct and up-to-date information to the Free World about the scene and conditions prevailing beyond the Iron Curtain.

*Sugan Singh Deora,
Jodhpur (Raj.), India*

Frightened Moscow Attacks

Soviet Government's Protest Note Against Our Action

On November 16, 1967 the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR., S.P. Kozyrev delivered a note with the following text to the Canadian Ambassador in Moscow R.A.D. Ford:

"On November 7th, the day on which the Soviet people celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a demonstration hostile to the Soviet Union was organised in front of the Embassy of the USSR in Ottawa. Its organisers were the members of the Bandera and other anti-Soviet groups, which co-operated with Hitler during World War II and today have found refuge in Canada".

Hundreds of young people, born in Canada after the end of World War II — according to the Government of the USSR — are collaborators of Hitler, since it was mostly young people who took part in the Ottawa demonstration.

"For this purpose, the chieftain of the Bandera movement and a war criminal, Y. Stetsko, had been imported from West Germany, who gave special instructions to the participants of the uproar".

As is well-known, Yaroslav Stetsko was an inmate of the Nazi concentration camps for many years.

"The provocation before the building of the Embassy of the USSR was staged at a time when a reception honoring the 50th anniversary of the October (Revolution) was held. The crowd of hooligans blocked the entrance to the embassy and scattered leaflets. The guests who were arriving for the reception were insulted and bottles of paint and other objects were thrown at them."

The note does not name any Western ambassadors who had been insulted or at whom bottles of ink, etc. had been thrown.

"The windows of the embassy were broken; the walls were bespattered and attempts made to set the building on fire".

The note does not give the number of the millions massacred by the Russians as

the result of the October Revolution, or the seas of blood spilt by the Russian executioners of the victims of the Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples.

"The same day an anti-Soviet provocation was also organised in front of the General Consulate of the USSR in Montreal.

"The USSR Embassy in Canada had drawn the attention of the Canadian Government to the preparations for such provocations many times, and has insisted that appropriate measures be taken to prevent such uproars, which are not in keeping with normal diplomatic relations among states. The Soviet side has also warned the Government of Canada in this matter through the Canadian Ambassador in Moscow. However, the circumstances show that the Canadian authorities did not use any means they should have used to ensure the normal flow of business and immunity of the embassy which stem from the generally accepted norms of hospitality and are in the interests of the development of Soviet-Canadian relations. Furthermore, there is every reason to state that the preparation and holding of this provocation proceeded with the obvious connivance of Canadian official authorities. In fact, the organisers of the provocation had at their disposal not only the organs of the press but also Canadian radio and television which for several days gave wide publicity to the hooligan actions being prepared against the Soviet Embassy. As a matter of fact even during the uproar the Canadian police remained inactive citing 'the absence of directions'."

The Kremlin wrongly accuses the government of Canada of having some type of relation to the demonstration. This is a clear, typically Russian lie. Moscow would like to see a government of a free country, in which every freedom of the individual is guaranteed by law, using clubs or Che-

kist nagant revolvers to disperse the demonstrators.

The demonstrators' anger is clear to all civilized people, when the fact that, for the least expression of free thought, the creators of cultural values are suffering in Siberia or in lunatic asylums.

For the Chekist terrorists, objective information is loud publicity. On the other hand the Chekist murderers are silent about the fact that anti-Vietnam, pro-Communist hooligans in a contemptuous way insulted the Prime Minister of Canada himself in front of the Parliament and the Canadian police did not arrest them.

But why is "the greatest power on earth" complaining so much?! Is it because the idea of freedom is breaking up the prison of nations and is spreading throughout the world? This is where the reason for their fear is to be found.

The note further states: "*The Soviet Government lodges a firm protest with the Government of Canada in relation to the said hostile and provocative actions against the USSR Embassy in Ottawa and the General Consulate of the USSR in Montreal. The responsibility for the material and political consequences of these actions rests fully with the Canadian Government, which cannot be evaluated in a way other than the failure of the Canadian party in its obligations, which are called for by the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations.*

"Taking into consideration the regrets on this occasion expressed by the Foreign Affairs Minister in his letter of November 8, 1967 to the USSR Ambassador, the Soviet Government feels, nevertheless, that the Minister's letter on this question is unsatisfactory, because it essentially makes an attempt to remove the blame from the Canadian authorities for the provocations organised against the Soviet Embassy."

The Chekists cannot understand that in a free, democratic country the government neither organises nor calls to a demonstra-

tion, but a free citizen, making use of his democratic rights, does it on his own initiative. And there is no democratic country where the government prohibits a citizen to do so. The Chekists have "forgotten" how many anti-Vietnam demonstrations against President Johnson they have initiated in the USA, but the government of the USA, as well as that of Canada is tolerating such demonstrations. But the Chekists were annoyed when among others young demonstrators pointed to their crimes. The young people were born or reared in Canada and they cannot be labelled Nazis or collaborators of Hitler.

The Chekist note continues: "*The Soviet side demands severe punishment for the instigators and the participants of the anti-Soviet provocation and full compensation for material damages sustained by the Soviet Embassy. The Soviet Government awaits that the Canadian authorities will use the necessary means to create normal conditions for the activities of Soviet institutions in Canada*".

We ask in earnest: How did the Chekist government answer to the proof of the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany that upon direct orders from Premier Khrushchov and Minister Shelepin the Head of OUN, Stepan Bandera and Prof. L. Rebet were murdered on the free German soil, — and to the third planned murder, that of Yaroslav Stetsko?

All this had been proved in court as well as by the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee.

Why are the Chekists silent?! Why is the West silent?! Stepan Bandera also died for the freedom of the West. And the murder of Symon Petliura and Col. Evhen Konovalets?! All this has also been documented. Why is the West silent? The U.S. Judiciary Committee also included its own evidence. We are waiting to see what the Free World will present to the terrorists and murderers from Moscow!

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

Policy toward non-Western nations

There were important differences in Lenin's policy toward the Asian nations on the one hand and toward the Western nations on the other. While he regarded the West as the primary object for destruction, he considered the Asian nations as potential allies (of course in the long run he intended to subjugate both the West and Asia to Russian domination). The enemy in Asia was the growing but still weak nationalism in the dependent and colonial areas. Lenin regarded Asia as the second front against the West and stressed the task of neutralizing the anti-Russian attitude of the rising nationalisms. The Bolsheviks undoubtedly regarded Asia as the first "front" in respect to immediate gains.

Lenin ordered the Bolsheviks to take the initiative in the slogan of the national liberation of the Asian peoples with the ultimate purpose of directing such liberation movements against the West and making these peoples believe that Russia was their natural ally and friend. President Chiang Kai-shek described Russia's Asian policy as follows:

The Russian Communists, as part of their strategy for world conquest, sought to use the forces of nationalism and the vast population in the East against the West's old colonialism and, at the same time, to undermine the nationalist spirit in the course of the Eastern people's national struggle and to use agrarian revolution as a means to the creation of Soviet satellites in the East. (125)

Where nationalist movements were not yet in evidence, the Communists were instructed to organize such so-called liberation movements, without however the nationalist content. At a meeting of the Comintern in 1922 Karl Radek formulated the "liberation policy" in the following terms:

Comrades, the world situation at the time of the Second Congress was entirely

different. The majority of delegates then counted on the immediate appearance of revolutions in the West; now we are in a period of gathering revolutionary strength. We must activate this tendency in the countries of the East. . . . Therefore the slogan of this Congress (Third of Comintern — A.B.) must be: to the long-suffering masses of the East! . . . We must not only be the nucleus of the future workers' party but must also become the true people's party in the East. (126)

Lenin prepared a plan for the subjugation of Asia. Ivar Spector explained it as follows:

The Soviet leaders envisaged a prolonged struggle in which the revolutionary movement would pass through three distinct stages. (1) The colonizing power would be expelled by means of an intensive national liberation movement — in other words, a campaign against colonialism which, in their opinion, would create a united front of all except the direct agents of imperialism. (2) Once national independence was achieved, the local Communists must conduct a campaign among the workers and peasant masses to the effect that political sovereignty was not enough — that complete liberation involves a social as well as a political revolution. The liberated state must therefore pass to the control of the workers and peasants. (3) The final stage involved the seizure of power by the Communist party. (127)

The first stage of conquest was therefore to be based on a nationalist terminology of "national liberation wars":

In Eastern Europe and in Asia the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions began only in 1905. Revolutions in Russia, Persia, Turkey, China, the Balkan wars — there is the chain of world events of our period, of our "East". And only a blind man could fail to see in this chain of events the awakening of a whole series of bourgeois-democratic movements, aiming at the

creation of national-independent and national-unified governments. (128)

During this first stage the task was to separate the "Eastern" nations from the Western empires and ally them with Russia:

We Great Russian workers must demand that our government should get out of Mongolia, Turkestan, and Persia . . . But does that mean that we, proletarians, want to be separated . . . from the Mongolian, or Turkestan, or Indian worker or peasant? Does it mean that we advise the masses of the toilers of the colonies to "separate" from the class-conscious European proletariat? Nothing of the kind. . . . We shall exert every effort to become friendly and to amalgamate with the Mongolians. . . . We shall strive to give the nations, which are more backward and more oppressed than we are, "unselfish cultural aid", to use the happy expression of the Polish Social Democrats, i.e., we . . . shall help them on towards democracy and socialism. (129)

The unification policy of "Eastern" liberation movements with the Bolshevik forces is also apparent in the invitation extended by the Third International to various groups of the Middle East countries to attend a conference to be held at Baku (August, 1920):

Workers and Peasants of the Near East! If you organize yourself, if you form your own workers' and peasants' regime, if you arm yourself and join the Russian workers' and peasants' army, you will defeat the English, French, and American capitalists, you will liberate yourselves from your oppressors, you will secure freedom, you will be able to organize a free, peaceful, republic of toilers, you will use the riches of your own land in your own interests and in the interests of the rest of toiling humanity, which will be glad to come to your assistance. (130)

In practice "unification" meant Russian domination, since in power-terms Russia was the "older brother", the "teacher", the "leader", the controller. Lenin stated his imperialism plainly: ". . . bring about the

closest alliance of all national and colonial liberation movements with Soviet Russia . . ." Hence "Federation is a transitional form to the complete unity of the toilers of the various nations." (131) In other words, alliance between the liberation movements and Soviet Russia was to result in "federation" with the Russians. The second stage would be the purging of the liberation movements of nationalist elements. The third stage would follow when the "liberated" peoples were completely amalgamated within the Russian empire.

Lenin was trying to gain leadership over the Muslim peoples by propagating the notion of Russia's mission to support national liberation against European imperialisms. (132) Ivar Spector, after a thorough examination of this policy, came to the conclusion, on the strength of the example of the Baku congress, that

the invitation to these peoples to come to Baku, issued by the Third International, was more aggressive in tone, its main purpose being to create the machinery needed to implement the Sovietization of the Muslim world. It summoned the "faithful" Muslim proletariat in order to bring about a jihad, or holy war, against the colonial powers, especially England. (133)

Sovietization meant Russification or Russian imperial domination. The first advance toward the southern neighbors of the Russian empire was to neutralize these nations, or to make them independent (seceded) from the Western empires and their influence. Ivar Spector wrote:

The Soviet leaders labored long and hard to create a chain of vassal states along the southern periphery of revolutionary Russia, both as a measure of defense against foreign intervention and as a prelude to the Bolshevikization of India and the East. (134)

This policy is exemplified in Lenin's letter to Amanullah Khan (November 27, 1919) in which he asked for trade and friendly agreements "for a joint struggle against the most rapacious imperialistic government on earth — Great Britain." And at the congress of the Communist International (June-July, 1921) the decision was reached to hold a "Congress of the

Toilers of the Far East". The congress proper took place from January 21 to 27, 1922, in Moscow and Petrograd. Since this congress coincided with the Washington Conference, from which the Soviets were excluded, the U.S.A. became the main target of attack. Whereas at Baku the main attack was directed against England, in Moscow it was against the United States. Lenin openly cherished the dream of dominating India and Persia at some later date. He wrote:

There is not the slightest doubt that the age-old plunder of India by the English, that the present struggle of these "advanced" Europeans against Persian and Indian democracy, will harden millions and tens of millions of proletarians (?? — A.B.) of Asia, will harden them for the same kind of victorious (like the Japanese) struggle against the oppressors. (135)

Lenin's strategy toward the East Asian nations was based on the "capture-China-first" principle. He favored a policy of kindling antagonisms between America and Japan while presenting Russia to the Chinese as a "true" non-imperialistic "friend" of theirs. (136) The directives of the Comintern of January 12, 1923, reveal Lenin's strategy toward China and again prove its Russian imperialistic nature. Here it is stated:

Therefore under these conditions it is expedient for the members of the Chinese Communist Party to remain within the Kuomintang Party . . . In the sphere of foreign policy, the Chinese Communist Party should oppose any flirtations of the Kuomintang Party with capitalistic powers and agents, Chinese military governors, or enemies of proletarian Russia . . . On the other hand, the Chinese Communist Party should influence the Kuomintang in the idea of uniting its force with the forces of Soviet Russia for a mutual struggle against the European, American, and Japanese imperialists . . . Supporting the Kuomintang Party in all campaigns on the national-revolutionary front, so long as it follows an objectively correct policy, the Chinese Communist Party nevertheless

must not fuse with it and during these campaigns must not furl its own flag.

There were several important elements to be considered: firstly, a formation of a "liberation" movement; secondly, developing hostility toward "capitalistic powers" and friendship with Russia; thirdly, uniting the Chinese liberation movement with Soviet Russian forces or placing it under Russian imperial control; fourthly, removing all true nationalists from the liberation movement;

Lenin's policy toward China was described with deep insight by Allen S. Whiting:

Had Soviet planners been only revolutionists, they would have bolstered the southern Government at Canton and attacked the counter-revolutionary regime in Peking. Had they been only Russians, they would have sought to strengthen their position in North China and ignored the feeble efforts of Sun Yat-sen. However, they were both revolutionists and Russians. (137)

President Chiang Kai-shek said of this policy:

Moscow's China policy was a double-faced one. On the one hand, the Soviet Foreign Office carried on diplomatic negotiations with the Chinese Government. On the other, the Communist International proceeded to set up a Chinese Communist Party. (138)

Lenin was both a Russian imperialist and a Marxist revolutionary. In China, he directed the policy of "two governments" according to the established pattern. Whiting commented on this policy as follows:

Michael Borodin was conferring with Sun Yat-sen in Canton. The two men were preparing a reorganization of the Kuomintang which was to carry the southern government on a victorious march against the war-lord forces of the North. Simultaneously, Leo Karakhan was in Peking, laying the groundwork for the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1924 . . . the two Russian representatives were fully informed as to each other's activities. Here was the fulfilment of Lenin's familiar advice to pursue legal and illegal activity, to work with recognized government leaders and with those extra-legal groups which could further Soviet aims.

Lenin urged that the peripheral territories must be detached from China through "secession" and China then isolated from the Western nations and from Japan. In 1922 the Peking Government issued a document in which the imperialistic nature of Lenin's policy was revealed. In this note it was stated:

The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared to the Chinese Government that all previous treaties made between the Russian Government and China shall be null and void, that the Soviet Government renounces all encroachments on Chinese territory and all concessions within China, and that the Soviet Government will unconditionally and for ever return what has been forcibly seized from China by the former Imperial Russian Government and the bourgeoisie. Now the Soviet Government has suddenly gone back on its own words and secretly and without any right concluded a treaty with Mongolia. Such action on the part of the Soviet Government is similar to the policy which the former Imperial

Russian Government assumed toward China. (140)

125. *Soviet Russia in China*, op. cit., p. 205
126. *Izvestia*, No. 266/1705/November 24, 1922, p. 3
127. *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1959, p. 107
128. Lenin, "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Sochinenia*, second ed., v. XVII, p. 436
129. *Collected Works*, 1916, v. XIX, p. 254
130. According to Ivar Spector, op. cit., p. 49
131. In the "Preliminary Theses on National-Colonial Question", 1920, v. 10, p. 233
132. See supra, pp. 83—4, 99
133. op. cit., p. 47
134. *Ibidem*, p. 84
135. "The Inflammable Material in World Affairs", 1908, v. 4, p. 300
136. See supra, p. 14
137. op. cit., pp. 34—5
138. *Soviet Russia in China*, op. cit., p. 15
139. op. cit., p. 121, on the "two-pronged policy" see also supra p. 106
140. *China Year Book*, 1923, p. 680
(To be continued)

The Enemy Of Bandera Movement In Ukraine Killed By Ukrainian Nationalist

"On August 24th, at 13:30 hrs., a fever of anxiety struck the invisible nerves of telephone wires: — A particularly dangerous criminal — has seized a truck and is driving towards Kyiv. The criminal, according to previous reports, is driving alone. He is armed with an automatic rifle and has more than 30 bullets . . ."

The Kyiv newspaper, *Molod Ukrainy* of September 1, 1967, reported next that the militia, "men in blue uniforms", surrounded Kyiv in order to prevent him from driving into the city. Among them was the order-bearer, first-lieutenant Yakiv Lobko who "travelled" a glorious road. As a youth he fought in defense of his native soil against the Fascists. After the war he fought the Bandera-people in Western Ukraine. More than once death stared into his eyes, but it always turned back. Yakiv Lobko recovered from three bullet wounds."

However, on this 24th day of August, 1967, the fugitive, about whom the news-

paper does not say anything more, racing with a militia motorcicle, killed Yakiv Lobko and another unarmed man. "The criminal jumped out from the truck-cabin and shot almost without aiming. The criminal turned the car around to the front and ran away from the road looking for safety. Lobko blocked his way. Shots resounded. The first-lieutenant of the militia fell down, as if cut down, and the bandit — wounded in the leg, leaving a bloody trail behind, returned to his truck and tried to drive away. The criminal did not get far. He attempted to hide in Telychka. Arriving militia detachments soon found and disarmed him. He was able to use only seven bullets".

Who was that anonymous criminal we do not know? But we know that divine justice caught up with Lobko, who surely had many crimes against the Ukrainian national freedom-fighters — the Banderivtsi on his conscience.

News And Views

Survey Of ABN's Activities In 1967

In 1967 ABN and its friends were responsible for a full programme of political activity, in accordance with the great tasks it has before it. On the most important part of this activity, that is, the work behind the Iron Curtain and the struggle being carried on there, we can, for understandable reasons, make no report. We must therefore limit ourselves to only the activities of the organs and friends of ABN in the Free World. We record in brief only some of our initiatives and actions in the political field.

On 6 February, on the occasion of the visit of Premier Kosygin to London, ABN staged a street demonstration there. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians living in London or the surroundings distributed leaflets and demonstrated in the streets with placards against these representatives of the Russian Bolshevik colonial empire. This successful demonstration found a favourable echo in the London press, radio and television.

On 19 February 1967, in New York City, the annual convention of the American Friends of ABN was held. There were delegations representing the following nations: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, North Caucasus, Slovakia, Ukraine and a delegation of the Youth Corps-USA. Dr Ivan Docheff was re-elected as chairman of the AF-ABN.

On 25 February ABN held an impressive protest meeting in Frankfurt, (Germany) on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of fighting against the Russian rule. On behalf of ABN Mrs Slava Stetsko, M.A., Editor-in-Chief of *ABN Correspondence*, and Dr Ctibor Pokorny, Chairman of the Organizing Committee of ABN, delivered speeches. Guest speakers were Prof. Dr. Adalbert Hudak, M.P., and Mr. Richard Hackenberg, M.P.

On 18 April ABN in Winnipeg organised

a protest demonstration against the Bolshevik 'Red Army' ensemble from Moscow. The demonstration was initiated at a mass rally at which the speakers were Mr. Ivan Ivanchuk, M.A., Chairman of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine in Winnipeg, Mr. Petro Bashuk, Representative of the League's Headquarters, and Rev. Semen Izyk, Chairman of ABN in Winnipeg.

In April part was taken by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of ABN, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A. and Mr. Anathole W. Bedriy, M.A., Representative of AF ABN, at the preparatory conference for the foundation of the European Freedom Council (EFC) in Copenhagen. This occasion was also used by President Stetsko and Mr. Bedriy to hold political lectures in Denmark.

President Stetsko and other representatives of ABN took part in the founding conference of the EFC in Munich from 30 June to 2 July.

In July, on the occasion of the Captive Nations Week, the AF ABN staged mass meetings in New York, Chicago and other cities. A mass meeting organised by AF ABN took place in New York City on 16 July. It was opened and presided by Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of the AF ABN. The main speakers were Dr. Nestor Procyk, President of AF ABN, and the Hon. Judge Matthew J. Troy, of New York.

ABN was represented at the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), held from 25 September to 30 September, in Taipei, by: President Stetsko, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M.A., and Dr. Lajos Katona, ABN Representative to the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Taipei.

The same delegates took part in the subsequent conference of APACL, held on 1 and 2 October in Taipei.

On 8 and 9 October an important con-

ference of ABN was held in Montreal. The following national groups were represented at the conference: Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Croats, Estonians, Germans, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Americans and Canadians of the English and French speaking communities. A banquet was given as part of the conference. The main speaker there was Dr. E. O'Connor (USA). President Stetsko was the main speaker at the public meeting. On behalf of the participants of the conference, a wreath was placed on the Cenotaph in Montreal. During the ceremony the speakers were Mrs. Stetsko, M.A., and Dr. Ante Bonifacic. At the conference topics were presented and discussed from President Stetsko, Dr. C. Pokorny, Dr. A. Bonifacic, Prof. T. Kis, Mr. R. Senkiw, Mrs. Stetsko, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Mr. M. Sosnowsky and Dr. Docheff.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik seizure of power, the ABN and the organisations friendly to it staged protest meetings or press conferences in various cities in the Free World.

The AF ABN together with the 'Order of Lafayette' organised on 5 November an anti-Communist rally in New York City. The speakers were: former Congress-

man Hamilton Fish, Chairman of the 'Order of Lafayette'; Dr. Nestor Procyk, President of the Council of the AF ABN; Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of ABN; P. Hamler; Admiral J. Clark; Hon. D. V. Patel, Representative of the Indian Parliament; Dr. I. Docheff, Chairman of AF ABN, Earl Smith, former US Ambassador to Cuba.

On 6 November ABN held a press conference in Munich. The conference was presided by Dr. C. Pokorny. A commentary on the Russian Bolshevik counter-revolution and its effects was given by the West German radio commentator Winfried Martini. The questions put by the journalists on current problems were answered by representatives of the nations oppressed by Moscow and Communism.

On 6 November ABN organised a press conference in Ottawa, at which President Stetsko was the main speaker. On the following day a four-hour anti-Russian demonstration was staged before the Russian embassy in Ottawa. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest against the 50 years of Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism. About 500 people: Ukrainians, Hungarians, Croats, Byelorussians, Rumanians, Latvians, Slovaks, Estonians, Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Poles, Czechs and



photo LA PRESSE

Visiteur de l'Ukraine indépendante

M. Yaroslav Stetsko, un tenace adversaire de la dictature soviétique, ancien premier ministre de l'Ukraine indépendante, président du Bloc anti-bolchevique des Nations (ABN) était de passage à Montréal, à l'occasion d'une conférence internationale de son organisation, après avoir assisté à Taipei

à la première conférence de la Ligue mondiale anticommuniste dont il est l'un des principaux promoteurs. A gauche M. Wasil Bezakhlbnyk, secrétaire général de l'ABN pour le Canada, et à droite, Mme Slava Stetsko, chef du Bureau de presse de l'ABN.

"La Presse" photo from ABN Press Conference in Montreal, Canada, October 10, 1967.

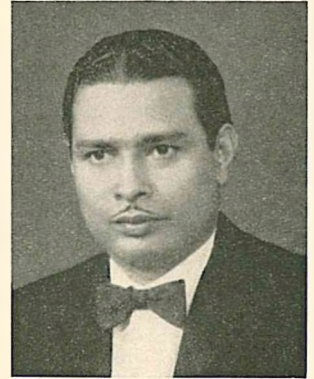
From left to right: Mr. V. Bezakhlbnyk, Mr. Y. Stetsko, Mrs. S. Stetsko.

Chinese, with more than 200 signs and banners took part in the protest. At the time of the demonstration the Russian embassy was holding a diplomatic reception. The demonstrators burned a Russian flag. The demonstration was widely covered by Canadian radio, television and press. The Russian Ambassador, Ivan Shpedko, sent a note of verbal protest to the Canadian Minister for External Affairs. On 16 November in Moscow Deputy Foreign Minister S.P. Kozerev handed a note of protest to the Canadian Ambassador, R.A. D. Ford. The next day the note was published in all the major newspapers in the Soviet Union.

On 7 November 1967, the ABN branch in Canberra organized a demonstration in front of the Russian embassy to protest the 50 years of genocidal imperialistic policy by Moscow. Organisation of Ukrainians, Latvians, Byelorussians, Croats, Slovaks, Hungarians and Rumanians participated in the demonstration. The main speakers were: Mr. F. Lovokovich (Croat), Mr. O. Kavunenko (Ukrainian) and Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussian) Vice-President of the Central Delegacy of ABN for Australia and New Zealand.

Prof. Dr. Nestor Procyk, President of the Council of AF ABN, initiated a civic action against the Soviet Russian propaganda exhibition 'Education-USSR' in Buffalo. On 25 November, when the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was held at a mass rally, with Congressman T. Dulski as the main speaker, participants resolved to protest the opening of the Communist Russian propaganda exhibition. Mayor Frank Sedita refused to open this exhibition. On 26 November, President Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of the free Ukrainian national government, opened in Buffalo an exhibition on the Ukrainian liberation struggle. Daily picketing of the Communist Russian exhibition commenced on 27 November. Thousands of leaflets were distributed. The same day a Red Russian flag was burned in front of the exhibition hall. On 1 December a press conference was held at which President Stetsko

A. M. Nazeer,
J. P., M.M.C.



exposed Russian genocidal policy. Another mass demonstration with scores of signs and torches was held on the evening of 2 December. An interview on the dangers of the Russian exhibition was given by Dr. Procyk on WHR broadcasting station. In connection with all these activities of ABN, President Stetsko was presented with an honorary emblem of the city of Buffalo by Mayor Sedita.

President Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko carried out a world tour from the middle of September to mid-December. They visited National China, Japan, USA, Canada, and England. They held political lectures and conferred everywhere with important politicians on present-day problems and tasks.

In December the Organisation 'Ceylon Friends of ABN' was founded on the initiative of the Anti-Marxist Muslim United Front. The Hon. M.H. Mohamed, M.P. Minister of Labour, Employment and Housing, was elected chairman; the Honorary Secretary was Mr. A.M. Nazeer, J.P., M.M.C.

**To His Excellency President
Houari Boumediene, Algiers, Algeria**

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations entreats Your Excellency to release the great African statesman, Moïse Tschombe, who has accomplished much for his own country and in bringing reconciliation between the black and the white races.

*Yaroslav Stetsko,
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine
President, Central Committee of ABN
(Telegramme sent on August 23, 1967)*

ABN PROTESTS AGAINST RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA EXHIBITION IN MUNICH



From January 10, 1968 to February 11, 1968 a Russian exhibition "USSR 1917-1967" was held in Munich, Germany. The purpose of the exhibition was to show the West German public the "progress" made in the Russian empire during the last 50 years. The exhibition was officially opened on January 9th by S. Tsarapkin, the Russian Ambassador to Bonn.

Members of ABN together with SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and a German student group initiated several protest actions against this exhibition. On this occasion three types of leaflets were issued by ABN: a) Press-statement by the President of ABN, b) Soviet Russian Exhibition — A Provocation, c) Bandera's Death — A Warning. Another protest leaflet was printed by the German students. During the opening, leaflets were distributed to dignitaries and press members attending the ceremony. On January 10th in the morning a mass demonstration was staged at which Ukrainians, Croatians, Slovaks, Rumanians, Lithuanians and Germans participated. There were over one hundred

placards demanding "Freedom to Intellectuals", "Russians Get out of Ukraine", "ABN Means Freedom" and so forth. At night a torch-light procession was organized by the German Republican Students' Club. They were joined by members of ABN. The purpose of the march was to honour Stepan Bandera and all other fighters for freedom who were murdered by the Russians. The march terminated with placing of a wreath at the site of Stepan Bandera's murder. Over 350 persons participated.

The demonstrations received wide coverage in the press, radio and television. Channel 2 of the German Television devoted part of its evening news report to the demonstration. Such widely read German dailies as *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Jan. 11 and 20, 1968), *Abendzeitung* (Jan. 11), *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Jan. 11) and weeklies: *Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung* (Hannover, Jan. 19), *Volksbote* (Munich, Jan. 20), *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* (Munich, Jan. 20) and an Austrian paper, *Salzburger Nachrichten* (Jan. 12) published favourable commentaries and photos of the demonstration.

Ukrainian Patriots in Russian Concentration Camps



1



2



3



4



5



6

- 1) Yaroslav B. Hevrych, 30, medical student, sentenced to 3 years' hard labour;
2) Valentyn Y. Moroz, 31, lecturer in modern history, 5 years; 3) Anatol O. Shevchuk,
30, writer, linotypist, 5 years, suffering from a heart ailment and acute rheumatism;
4) Mykhailo H. Osadchyj, 31, journalist, poet, literary critic, lecturer and translator,
2 years; 5) Mykhailo M. Horyn, 37, industrial psychologist, 6 years, denied all visiting
privileges; 6) Ivan A. Hel, 30, locksmith, studied history at Lviv University, 3 years.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

New Victims Of Russian Imperialism

Countries Occupied and Communized By Russia
1944—1945



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10

National emblems of: 1) Rumania, 2) Bulgaria, 3) Albania, 4) Serbia, 5) Croatia, 6) Hungary, 7) Slovakia, 8) Bohemia, 9) Poland, 10) Russian Occupied Zone of Germany. (Not in the picture: national emblem of Slovenia).

CONTENTS:

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (Republic of China)
Communist Infiltration Into South Korea 3

John Kosiak (Byelorussia)
Constitution of Byelorussian SSR Is A Sham 4

Karavanskyi Charges Russia With National Discrimination 7

European Freedom Council In Defence Of Writers . . 12

Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi
Articles of Soviet Law — Mere Fiction 13

KGB Persecutes Prisoners 15

Victims of Lawlessness 16

The Tragedy of Karavanskyi's Wife 18

International Indictment Of Russification Needed . . . 20

Russia Violates Human Rights 24

His Only "Crime": Son Of Gen. Chuprynka 25

V. Chornovil And His Works 29

Croatian Freedom Fighters Condemned 30

A. W. Bedriy (USA)
Ukraine's Liberation Struggle 31

Oskar Angelus (Estonia)
Estonia's Struggle Against Russian Imperialism 37

A. W. Bedriy (USA)
Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin 38

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Subversive Propaganda In The West

ABN's protest against the Soviet-Russian Exhibition "50 Years USSR", held under official patronage in the countries of the Free World.

The 50th anniversary of the existence of the so-called Soviet Union has even in the Free World given rise to unmerited celebrations without due regard to the true circumstances of the creation of the Russian empire. Nothing was said of the historical fact that, upon the take-over of power from the tsarist regime by the new absolutist regime of the Russian Bolsheviki, the non-Russian peoples like Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, North Caucasians, Turkestanis and others, had severed their connections with the so-called "Great-Russian Empire" and restored their own nation states. Neither was there any mention of the fact that these independent nation states were overrun, one after the other, by the Red Army in 1920-1 and their peoples once again subjected to Russian domination. From its very beginnings the so-called USSR thus showed the cloven hoof which to this day marks this totalitarian state structure as a colonial empire.

In subsequent periods, and especially after World War II, Soviet Russia succeeded in subjecting many other nations in Europe and Asia to the law of militant Russian imperialism of the Communist stamp, so that, deprived of their national sovereignty and of the most elementary human rights, these countries today are condemned to live under the Bolshevik tyranny. In view of these historical facts, barely hinted at here, it appears more than strange that journalists and official spokesmen in the Free West should not only view the existing situation with tolerance, but readily join in the eulogies occasioned by the anniversary of that October Revolution and praise its alleged achievements.

Belonging as we do to those nations which have fallen victims to the aggressive Russian imperialism under the guise of the so-called Proletarian World Revolution, we consider it our duty before mankind to accuse the Moscow rulers on the occasion of their inglorious jubilee of the following crimes and infamies committed during the last half century of Russian-Bolshevist domination:

The brutal violation of human and national rights, the undermining of religious faith as the ethical foundation of social life, the merciless exploitation of labour by statute and a new form of serfdom;

genocide, perpetrated not only by the direct physical destruction of entire ethnic groups, such as North Caucasians, Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, etc., but also by systematically decimating the national substance through mass deportations, forcible re-settlement and, especially, through the introduction of Russian settlers in non-Russian areas;

the eradication of national cultural values and aspirations in the subjugated countries by persecuting, deporting and incarcerating their intellectuals, writers, artists and journalists, still an everyday occurrence in all parts of the Soviet Russian colonial empire even in these days of the alleged liberalisation of the Bolshevik system.

We are of the opinion that in the face of these misdeeds the civilised Free World has no cause whatever to take note of and, least of all, to celebrate the anniversary of that October Revolution with which all the misery began.

We rather hold the view that the appalling events, for which the Russian-Bolshevik dominion of the past 50 years has been responsible, make it a duty for all men of good will to afford every possible assistance to the peoples enslaved in the Soviet Russian colonial empire, so that they may free themselves from the yoke and return to a dignified existence as individual nation states.

In the present era of world-wide ideological confrontation and thermo-nuclear weapons new methods of warfare have come to the fore. While Moscow day and night uses these new methods even in 'time of peace', morally and politically corrupting the countries of the Free World for the purpose of destroying them from within and making them ripe for their subjection to Russian-Communist world imperialism, the West persists in its apathy and pursues a ruinous policy of co-existence and rapprochement with the Bolshevik arch enemy, which in the long run can only lead to loss of freedom everywhere.

A favourite channel for Russian-Bolshevik infiltration are the intellectual circles and the mass media of communication in the Western world. To exert Moscow's influence upon these was also the object of the exhibition '50 Years USSR'. By way of arousing interest in Sputniks and other technical feats — achieved by the Russians largely through espionage, the kidnapping of Western scientists and the labour of millions of slaves — the intention is to promote respect and even admiration for the Communist system.

The transmogrifications of Russian Bolshevism, which aims as obstinately as ever at world domination, have lulled the West into gravely erroneous thinking. One of the misconceptions is the belief that with the death of Stalin and his era Russian imperialism, too, had gone, and this despite all the indications to the contrary. The West simply refuses to see that the Russian-Bolshevik strategy of conquest — whether under Stalin, Khrushchov, Brezhnev or Shelepin — is in fact becoming more and more aggressive and fanatical.

Hardly anyone in the Free World took the trouble to investigate the reasons behind Khrushchov's fits of supposed liberalisation and conciliation. A whole series of bloodily suppressed risings in the period between 1953 and 1959 were deliberately ignored, although it was these disturbances that shook the foundations of the Soviet-Russian empire and forced a show of 'concessions'. There were the revolts of the Ukrainian, Baltic, Turkestani, Byelorussian and Caucasian prisoners in the camps, followed by the risings in Posnan and Eastern Germany, and culminating in 1956 in the historic event of the Hungarian Uprising.

Since then there has again and again been agitation among workers and students in Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Baltic States and Byelorussia, against exploitation, Russification and the suppression of cultural life. As a result, innumerable intellectuals were tried by secret tribunals and given long-term sentences in prison or labour camps. Only a fraction of what is going on ever becomes known in the West.

All these atrocities, which strip the last vestige of legitimacy from Moscow's claim that it is the legal representative of the peoples within the Soviet-Russian empire, fully justify the following demands:

The exclusion of the USSR and all Communist regimes from international organisations, especially the United Nations where such action would be no more than the logical consequence of their own resolution condemning colonialism.

The condemnation of the Russian policies of violence and extermination, religious persecution and the imprisonment of intellectuals.

The withdrawal of Russian occupation forces from all non-Russian territories including those within the borders of the so-called USSR itself, thus putting an end to the existence of the last and most cruel colonial empire in the world and allowing the suppressed nations to regain their sovereignty.

The breaking-off of diplomatic relations with Communist regimes which are not the legitimate representatives of the peoples they rule.

The establishment of a common front, uniting the Free World with the captive nations against Moscow and Peking, as well as active support for national freedom fighters in order to avoid the alternative of a future atomic war.

A radical stand in the countries of the Free World against Communism and its sympathisers as the first condition for a successful repulsion of Communist aggression from without.

More than ever before, the governments and peoples of the Free World ought to remind themselves of the words of Demosthenes during the war against Philip of Macedonia: 'One thing is plain: we cannot hope to succeed in our fight against the enemy beyond the walls as long as we tolerate within our own town anyone who holds out his hand to the enemy across the wall.'

In the light of this ancient wisdom, the permissiveness of the West towards 'achievements' of a revolution which has only caused misery in our time and promises nothing but slavery all over the world, is not merely an error of judgment but amounts to gross irresponsibility.

Communist Infiltration Into South Korea

The seizure of the USS Pueblo in the high seas by North Korea, the North Korean Communist infiltration into South Korea to commit acts of violence, the Viet Cong's violation of the Lunar New Year truce, their mounting attacks all over South Vietnam, and particularly their infiltration into Saigon to scatter death and terror in many parts of the city are positive evidence of the Communists' open violation of solemn agreements and pledges and additional proofs of their wickedness and terroristic tactics. In view of all this, no people in the world should ever fall into their "peace" trap, or entertain any false hopes of "peace negotiations" with the perfidious Communists.

These series of acts of terrorism recently perpetrated by the Asian Communists are by no means isolated incidents. On the contrary, they are well planned and coordinated and are links in a chain of rela-

ted actions, including infiltration into Thailand and military threats to Laos.

This new series of atrocities constitutes a threat and a challenge not only to the national security and the cause of freedom in Asia, but also to the prestige and influence of the United States and to the Free World as a whole. The situation thus created by the Communists is intolerable to all lovers of freedom.

Therefore the United States and other countries concerned should take a firm stand and positive actions in response to the challenge so viciously posed by the Communists. One of the urgent needs is the early formation of a mutual security system for Asia and the Pacific region and the strengthening of military and political cooperation among the Asian and Pacific nations.

(From the Statement by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang)

Constitution Of Byelorussian SSR Is A Sham

At the time when all the non-Russian nations started action for restoration of their former free, independent, and sovereign countries Byelorussian constituent body — the First All-Byelorussian Congress assembled on December 17, 1917 in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia. It was constituted of 1,872 freely elected delegates from all areas of their nation. Their first task was to take the necessary steps for establishing an independent Byelorussian Republic. Participating Communist-leaning delegates were a small minority and unable to change this trend. This first attempt at freely elected self-government came to an abrupt end as an armed force dispatched by the Bolshevik-Russian government overran and dispersed the Congress. However, immediately following this action, the Congress met and chose a Governing Council which on March 25, 1918, proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. This same Byelorussian Governing Council then organized loyal armed forces and the fight for independence was begun. Many brave and loyal people died from the overwhelming forces thrown against them by Soviet Russia. But finally after several years of struggle, Byelorussia was conquered and then divided between Soviet Russia and Poland, by their convention at Riga in 1921.

While this war was on, the Soviet Russian government on January 1, 1919, in opposition to the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, created the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and included it in the USSR.

The constitution of the Byelorussian SSR is a sham and is not applied to any extent in reality. It is used for propaganda purposes only. It guarantees that the BSSR should have direct diplomatic relations with all countries of the world, but these relations do not exist at all. It guarantees that the BSSR should maintain its own armed forces, but there are none. It guarantees that the basic governmental func-

tions of BSSR are to be performed in Minsk, but they are executed only in Moscow by the central Russian government. In 1963 — the Council of Economic Affairs of BSSR, the Bureau for State Planning of BSSR, the State Committee of the Council of Ministers on Construction and Architecture, and the Ministry of Commerce of BSSR, in 1966 — the Ministry of Public Order and the Ministry of Education, in 1967 — the Ministry of Industrial Construction of BSSR and the Ministry of Rural Construction of BSSR were transferred. Even the administrative functions for local affairs have been gradually transferred to the central government in Moscow.

All government functions of the BSSR officials have been reduced to compliance with the orders issued by central Russian government in Moscow and these orders give priority to the needs of Russian imperial interests and not Byelorussian interests. Any deviation from these orders by officials of the BSSR government is met with swift retaliation, including arrest, deportation into concentration camps, or death.

It is clearly evident, that BSSR is a fictitious state. The permanent representative of the BSSR at the United Nations, Mr. G. Chernushchenko, really is representing the Russian government in Moscow, but not the Byelorussian people.

During all these years of domination over Byelorussia Soviet Russia has conducted a most ruthless colonial policy of exploitation. Any temporary modifications in these situations reflected varying Russian needs only.

All political power in BSSR is concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party with its leadership in Moscow. At the beginning of the Bolshevik rule the control of the Communist Party in BSSR was in the hands of the Russians indirectly. Since the Second World War, however, Russians have openly taken control of the management of the party

and are openly conducting and fostering Russian policy. Today the top positions of government in BSSR are filled mostly by Russians. The Communist propaganda machine is used to weaken the resistance and mislead the opinion of other nations of the Free World.

Byelorussian economy is constantly exploited for the benefit of Russia. Large areas of Byelorussian forests are cut and exported and many of the agricultural and industrial goods produced are also diverted from the Byelorussian economy. The exploitation of peasants is conducted in the true traditions of colonial imperialism of which Russia openly accuses others, but really uses herself. She took the land from farmers and forcibly imposed her own slavery system. Under this system the collective farms and Soviet farms have a very low productivity ratio, but they are still forced to pay the government according to previously set delivery quotas. This leaves the undernourished peasants with less than a minimal living requirement and one that is even lower than that established by inadequate Soviet standards.

Much of the same can be said for the Byelorussian industrial workers. The highly exploitative Stakhanov-method and contest-method of work are widely used. Workers are defenseless because the unions are part of the Communist government and they are promoting the exploitation and oppression of workers.

Byelorussian industry which is using local raw materials for local needs is kept on a primitive level. However, the imperial needs of Soviet Russia are treated very differently. She has built giant automobile and tractor plants in Minsk, a gasoline refinery in Polazk, and others. Those factories are artificial for the Byelorussian economy; they are using raw materials and parts imported from Russia, and their products are exported, but they have a basic military goal. Located close to the western borders of USSR, these plants will serve as repairing bases for armaments, or as storages of strategic fuel and oil in case of military operations by mechanized Soviet armies in Western Europe.

Official budgets show that each citizen of the Russian RSFSR is allocated 1-1/2 times more of the budget assignments than each citizen of Byelorussian SSR. It is feasible to assume that real investment in RSFSR is substantially higher. Information in Soviet newspapers and magazines about new plants and construction supports this assumption, since the official commercial statistics concerning BSSR and RSFSR, as well as those of the USSR, are not published. In this way the real picture of Russian colonial exploitation is kept as secret as possible.

The Byelorussian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, after being restored in 1922 by Metropolitan Melkhisedek, was completely liquidated in 1937. All 2,000 clergymen were shot or deported to concentration camps. 2,500 churches and 23 monasteries were destroyed or closed. In Western Byelorussia, annexed to Soviet Union in 1939, all religious life was suppressed by the Soviet Russian government. A few parishes were left for propaganda purposes, but they were subordinated to the Moscow Patriarch, but discrimination and oppression is applied against those people who have the courage to continue their religious beliefs. A similar fate was encountered by all other confessions.

Soviet Russia is constantly conducting action for the transformation of all the non-Russian nations into one Soviet Russian nation. This goal was officially included in the Programme of the Communist Party of the USSR adopted in 1961. Any desires for an identity as a separate Byelorussian nation have been declared bourgeois nationalism and are ruthlessly persecuted.

The extermination of all Byelorussian national distinctions leading to a differentiation from Russian is constant and various methods are used. The leading political and cultural segments of Byelorussian nation are intimidated by mass terror. Tens of thousands of politicians, scientists, professors, teachers, writers, poets, artists, engineers, doctors, etc. are shot, or deported to concentration camps and their po-



*First Government
of the Byelo-
russian National
Republic, 1918.*

sitions are filled by non-Byelorussians. Several millions of peasants, the backbone of the Byelorussian nation, were deported to concentration camps, and they perished there. The best of Byelorussian educated youths are constantly deported to the Arctic regions of Russia, Kazakhstan and Siberia and are replaced en masse by Russian specialists. The literary Byelorussian language has been modified over the years by the introduction of Russian elements into its grammar, syntax and vocabulary. In addition, the use of this Russianized Byelorussian language is replaced, whenever possible, by the Russian language. At this time, the Russian language is used for instructions in all Byelorussian universities and in the great majority of all other schools, in cultural life, administrative offices, commerce and the armed forces.

The printing of books, magazines, and newspapers in the Byelorussian language has been reduced to a minimum. Instead, they have been replaced by publications in Russian and other imported Russian publications from Russian SFSR.

The history of Byelorussia is being falsified by Soviet Russian scholars to accommodate it to current Russian needs. The historical struggle of the Byelorussian people against Russia for national independence is omitted completely, and replaced by false tales of Byelorussian desires for union with Russia.

The Russianizing action is applied not

only to the people, but also to the country. The buildings in Byelorussia are erected in uniform official Russian fashion. The old monuments of distinctive Byelorussian church architecture are destroyed. The names of streets and towns of Byelorussian SSR, as well as institutions, schools, etc. are dedicated to the Russians: Lenin, Pushkin, Kutuzov, etc. In the Byelorussian towns monuments dedicated to the same Russian personalities are erected.

The Moscow government, using mass terror during 50 years of occupation has annihilated over 6 million of the Byelorussian population. They eliminated the leading element of Byelorussian society and destroyed all Byelorussian political immigrants who had received asylum in Byelorussian SSR.

Despite these heavy losses and permanent oppression, at each opportunity the Byelorussians are still fighting for liberation from Soviet Russian domination. At the end of the 2nd World War, on June 27, 1944, the Second Byelorussian Congress convened in Minsk. This Congress annulled all treaties concerning Byelorussia made by occupational governments, confirmed the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, elected the Byelorussian Central Council as the only representative of the Byelorussian nation, and entrusted it with the power to fight for independence. However, Byelorussia was conquered again by Soviet Russia.

Karavanskyi Charges Russia With National Discrimination

To the Chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

from the poet and translator, KARAVANSKYI Sviatoslav Yosypovych, condemned without trial and investigation to 8 years 7 months imprisonment on charges of making accusations of discriminatory practices of enrolment at higher educational establishments of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

PETITION

The questions of mutual relations between nationalities are such as should above all interest the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

However, in the course of the last 30 years the Soviet of Nationalities dealt with very few topical nationality problems. The activities of the Soviet of Nationalities, up to 1953, when all the Soviet State organs were personally represented by General Secretary Stalin, must not, of course, be either criticised or condemned. This was a period when the Soviet of Nationalities existed purely *pro forma* and in reality did not exercise any State function. But, unfortunately, this inertia of inactivity is still weighing heavily on the Soviet of Nationalities which should be occupied with overcoming a whole range of the vestiges of the cult of Stalin's personality, which even now continue to hamper and undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

The friendship of the peoples of the USSR will be able to develop and grow in strength successfully when all the nations and peoples of the USSR have equal rights in all the domains of social and political life. This is an axiom which there is no need to prove. It is precisely this fact that compels me to address this petition to the Soviet of Nationalities asking it to take measures to do away with outrageous remnants of national discrimination which

still have place in our life.

In the first instance I am drawing your attention to the discrimination with regard to the Jewish population. In the first instance for this reason that attitude towards the Jewish population is that litmus-paper which testifies to the degree of international consciousness of a given society. The closing down of Jewish cultural institutions: newspapers, schools, theatres, publishing houses; the shootings of Jewish cultural leaders, the discriminatory practice of enrolment of Jews at higher and secondary special educational establishments — all of them are phenomena that flourished abundantly during the period of Stalin's personality cult. It might seem that the condemnation of the cult should have put an end to these discriminatory phenomena. But, unfortunately, this did not happen. N. S. Khrushchov in order to satisfy public opinion abroad (he paid little attention to public opinion at home) was compelled to rehabilitate Jewish cultural leaders who had been shot and innocently condemned. This was all he did. And where are Jewish theatres, newspapers, publishing houses, schools? In Odessa, with its Jewish population of 150,000, there is not even one Jewish school. And the practice of enrolment at higher educational establishments? Again in Odessa with its 25% Jewish population, only 3-5% of students at higher educational establishments are Jews. This is the norm which unofficially regulates the enrolment to higher educational establishments. Jewish youths who submitted applications for admission to higher educational establishments in other cities of the Soviet Union, usually received the answer: "After all there is a similar college in Odessa — why don't you enrol at 'your own' college?" And this happens at a time when young people from the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, Tula, Saratov study at higher educational establishments of Odessa — they are provided with hostels specially built for this

purpose, and the local Jewish youths (just as the Ukrainian and Moldavian) enjoy very limited rights to education.

Surely, these facts cannot further the friendship of the peoples.

On the contrary, these facts tend to shape the awareness among the Jews that they are an inferior, underprivileged nationality, and push them onto the path of Zionism. And it must be admitted that never before had the ideas of Zionism such popularity among the Jewish population as they have at present. This is a result of the discrimination against the Jewish minority.

No less outrageous facts of national discrimination are the facts of general deportation of the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans beyond the frontiers of their respective Republics and the liquidation of their statehood.

The expulsion of the Tatars from the Crimea is an act of crying injustice and no arguments in its defence can justify it. How is it possible that in the 20th century society which wishes to build the most just system in the world, deports a 900,000 strong people from its historic land for "treason to the Fatherland" by some of its representatives? Who has the right in the 20th century to drag out of the archives of imperialistic relations such arguments as that, allegedly, "historically" these territories were not Tatar, but Rus'-ian? If one is to be consistent in arguments of this kind, then the Khabarovsk and Maritime territories and the Amur region should immediately be transferred to the Chinese People's Republic, because these territories had been taken away from the Chinese people by the Russian imperialist tsars.

Surely, the destruction of the statehood of the Crimean Tatars, their dispersal over the expanses of Kazakhstan and Siberia, the depriving them of their schools, newspapers and theatres in their own native language, does not further a *rapprochement* between the peoples, or does it?

And the Volga Germans? How can they be guilty before society for Hitler's crimes? Is this a Marxist approach to the solution of complex problems: to measure people

not with a social but with a national yardstick? Does the slogan, "Proletarians of all countries unite!" not apply to the Jews, Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans? After all there are no bourgeois Jews, capitalist Tatars and German estate owners in the Soviet Union. There are only working people.

How can young people be brought up in the spirit of internationalism when, in front of their eyes, entire nationalities are deprived of their rights to national autonomy and the rights to education both in their native and non-native tongues? What "rapprochement" can there be between a person who has been expelled from his own home and his country, and a person who has occupied that home and that country?

In the same series of facts there are also mistakes that have been committed in the practice of the restoration of the national statehood of the Chechens, Ingushes, Kalmyks, Karachais and other peoples. This act of justice with regard to the small nationalities did not pass without omissions which make it doubly clear to the small peoples that they are not completely equal. In accordance with the established order, the families of the unjustly deported nationalities are not given back their immovable property: buildings, houses, cottages, and they, upon their return to their native land, have to buy premises from the local government authorities, or to build themselves new homes. Why should it be like that? After all, those people had been deported unjustly. Consequently, in granting them the right of return, the decree of the Supreme Soviet failed to assure the means for its implementation. As a result, many Chechens, Ingushes, and representatives of other nationalities, do not return home. Does such a practice of return contribute to the friendship of the peoples? It is as if a man was given an expensive cake from which all chocolate had been eaten out. Can such a gift be received as a gift?

During the period of the personality cult a series of crying injustices had been committed with regard to the Baltic peoples.

Among such cases of injustice is the general deportation of the Estonian pop-

ulation from the frontier areas of Estonia to Siberia. Their only guilt was that they lived in the frontier locality. After all, one could have resettled this population in another district of the Estonian Republic. But no, the population of the town of Silamäa was deported to Siberia.

In 1940, as is known, the Latvian Republic voluntarily joined the Soviet Union. Therefore one should not have expected any reprisals against the military personnel of the Latvian army. However, strange as it may be, in 1941 officers of the Latvian army were invited to a tactical exercise from which they never returned; they were interned and their subsequent fate is unknown. The fact remains that not a living soul from among these officers returned home, as did not those thousands of Latvians who had been groundlessly arrested and deported in the years 1940—1941. The suspicion arises that during the period of Beria's arbitrary rule these Soviet citizens might have been annihilated in various ways in the camps. This crime, which in itself is a crime against humanity, cannot contribute to the strengthening of the friendship of the peoples, and in order not to allow such facts to occur in the future, it is time now to carry out an investigation, and if necessary, to carry out appropriate

excavations and exhumation of corpses, and to bring to justice those guilty of the deaths of thousands of Soviet citizens of Latvian nationality.

The friendship of the peoples has been greatly harmed and is being harmed by the distortions of the nationality policy in one of the biggest republics of the USSR — in Ukraine. Russification of higher educational establishments carried out in Ukraine since 1937 has been condemned and partially revised — in Western Ukraine, while in Eastern Ukraine higher education is still Russified even today. Such a policy is based on the arguments that a difference, allegedly, exists between the Eastern and Western Ukraine. If this be so, then why has the Ukrainian people been reunited in one Ukrainian Soviet State? Evidently, in order that the entire Ukrainian people, deprived of its own statehood in the past, be educated and develop as one national organism. But, in spite of it, as far as education is concerned, one Republic is divided into two parts. Such a practice not only does not further the friendship of the peoples, but, to the contrary, splits one nation into two peoples, just as one nationality the Ossetians, had been split into two Republics: the South and North Ossetian ASSR, and Buryat-Mongols have



Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front demonstrate near the USSR's Permanent UN Mission in New York on March 9, 1968 in defence of the Ukrainian prisoners in the Russian concentration camps.

been divided into the Buryat-Mongol ASSR and the Ust-Ordynsk and Aginsk National Areas. Such a splitting up of one nationality into parts does not further friendship among the peoples, but divides them.

The friendship of the peoples is also greatly harmed by the absence of an amnesty for the participants in the popular uprisings in Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia between 1943—1949, directed against the cult of Stalin's personality and Beria's terror. Even at present, great conglomerations of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, live in the Komi ASSR (Vorkuta, Inta, Pechora), in Siberia (Irkutsk, Kemerovo regions and Krasnoyarsk territory), in Kazakhstan and in the Kolyma basin. They had been deported there on suspicion of participation in the uprisings against the personality cult in the years 1943—1949.

It is no secret to anyone that unjust acts against the Ukrainian people: execution by shooting of Ukrainian leaders, — Chubar, Kosior, Zatonskyi, Liubchenko, the execution by shooting of the writers — Mykytenko, Vlyz'ko, Falkivs'kyi and scores of others, unjustified expulsion of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine from the Comintern, the annihilation and deportation of the Ukrainian intellectuals from the city of Lviv during the years 1939 — 1953, mass compulsory resettlement of Ukrainians to Siberia, forced Russification of Ukrainians in the Kuban, Bilhorod (Belgorod) and Starodub areas — all these facts could not fail to call forth indignation among the people which expressed itself in the popular uprising between 1943—1949. The majority of its participants and simply witnesses (and there are more of the latter) of this uprising are still living beyond the frontiers of their Republics. In order to ensure a genuine friendship of the peoples of the USSR based on the forgetting of old quarrels, these victims of Stalin's personality cult should be returned to the territories of their Republics.

A true friendship of the peoples also demands a wide amnesty to all those prisoners who even today (for 15, 18 and 20 years) are rotting in the prisons and

camps for their participation in the protests against the cult of Stalin's personality and Beria's terror. If the friendship of the peoples of the USSR be a genuine friendship, then it must be based on humane, friendly relations among the peoples and not on national hatred and fratricide. A score of years after the events of 1943—1949 the camps and prisons of the USSR are still packed full with prisoners, participants in the uprising. It is precisely in order not to permit a release of those people that the barbarous 25-year term of punishment has been retained in the USSR. This term is at present served predominantly by the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Moldavians. Why is there no pardon for them? After all, those who played a part in the mass annihilations of Soviet citizens in 1937—1939, are now being magnanimously forgiven, because, allegedly, it was such a bad time, those people are not guilty, for they merely fulfilled instructions from above. Why is there no such forgiveness for the Ukrainian women, Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak, sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment? Is it permissible to keep for 18 to 20 years in Vladimir prison the women: Kateryna Zarytska — since 1947, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak — since 1950? Some time ago N. S. Khrushchov condemned the inhuman shooting of a pregnant revolutionary in Albania, but can, from the positions of this condemnation, approve of the imprisonment of women for 18 and more years in a stony grave!

A contradiction to the true friendship of the people is also the practice of settling Russian population in the towns of the national republics. Thus, in the Ukrainian SSR, the Russian population is systematically, year-in year-out, increasing, while the Ukrainian population is decreasing. Similar national migrations are taking place in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and other national republics. Such a colonisation runs contrary to the friendship of the peoples. For instance, the appearance of great masses of Russian population in

Ukraine (retired officers, retired KGB functionaries, and other privileged categories of citizens) who settle down in the towns and occupy all convenient posts, jobs and professions, has the result that the indigenous Ukrainian population is pushed down to lower paid jobs of unskilled labour, medical orderlies, doorkeepers, loaders, construction and farm workers. Such an unceremonious colonization of ancient Ukrainian territories does not promise anything but national hostility. Let us recall the bloodshed among the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia in 1917–1920. And the year 1958, when the Russian population of the city of Grozny welcomed the Chechens and Ingushes, who returned to their native land, with the slogans: "Away with the Chechens and Ingushes from the Caucasus!", "Long live Stalin's nationality policy!" Is this not a purely colonialist attitude towards the inhabitants of those places since antiquity, towards the lawful masters of the territory in question? Is this not a shameful expression of the enmity between the nations? Is this not a clear proof that the policy of colonisation of the national republics is leading not towards friendship, but towards enmity between nations? One cannot argue for the friendship of the peoples, and at the same time defend the policy of intermixing the nations and of a division of social functions of production and leadership among them. Consequently, from the positions of a true friendship of the peoples, the policy of transshipment of national minorities to Siberia and of settling the national republics with an alien, mostly Russian or Russified population, must be reviewed.

A no less outrageous vestige of the cult of personality, which has a direct bearing on the relations between the nationalities, is also the so-called system of passport registration of residence permits which exists in the Soviet Union. In accordance with this system a person must live only where he/she is permitted to live by the militia organs and has no right of free movement in the country, or, rather, has the right to move to Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan,

but has no right to live in the so-called "controlled" (Ukr. "rezhymni") towns. Thus an inhabitant of Ukraine has no right to settle down freely in Kyiv, Odessa, Lviv, an inhabitant of Lithuania — in Vilnius and Kaunas, and an inhabitant of Latvia — in Riga. Why? In what way is the security of the Communist society threatened, if Ukrainians live in Kyiv? The Soviet Union, after all, signed in 1948 an international convention on the rights of man, which contains an article about the freedom of unrestricted movement within a country, but in fact there is no such freedom, because inhabitants of the national republics have no right to settle down in the cities of their republics. The discriminatory system of residence permits, as existing at present, opens the way to the colonization of the towns of the national republics with an alien, predominantly Russian, population. Such a practice calls forth antagonism between the indigenous population and the Russified population of the towns. Such an antagonism makes itself felt in all the national republics.

To the facts of national discrimination belong also the "mistakes" in the delimitation of the frontiers of the national republics. Thus large areas populated with Byelorussians in the Smolensk and Bryansk regions have not been included in the Byelorussian SSR; while the Krasnodar territory, and parts of the Voronezh and Bilhorod regions, and the Tahanrih district of the Rostov region, are not included in the Ukrainian SSR. Areas populated by Moldavians in Odessa region have been excluded from the Moldavian SSR. The Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region has been excluded from the Armenian SSR.

But, as regards the autonomous republics, the division of the territories has been carried out in the fashion of the lion from Aesop's fable. A part of Penza region and the town of Penza itself, populated by Mordovians, have not been included in the Mordovian ASSR; large territories of the Ulyanovsk and Orenburg regions, populated by the Tatars, have been excluded from the Tatar ASSR. The homeland of Musa

Djalil (a Tatar poet — Ed.) remains in Orenburg region. A part of Kirov region, populated by Udmurts, has not been included in the Udmurt ASSR. And on what grounds was Vyborg excluded from the Karelian ASSR, or Komi people artificially split into two republics — the Komi ASSR and the Komi-Permyak National Area, as was also done to Ossetia and Buryat-Mongolia?

The development and strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR demand that these questions be considered within the shortest possible time and solved in the most just way.

On my part I propose that the following measures be taken:

1. To cease all kinds of national discrimination with regard to the Jewish population.

2. To restore the statehood of the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans.

3. To return property to the families of the unjustly deported and presently repatriated peoples.

4. To bring back to their homelands representatives of the peoples of the Baltic countries, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, as well as Moldavia, unjustly deported to Siberia.

5. To carry out an investigation into the traceless disappearance of the Latvian military personnel.

6. To implement a wide amnesty for all victims of Stalin's personality cult.

7. To release women martyrs: Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak.

8. To consider the question of the position of the Ukrainian population of the Kuban, Bilhorod and Starodub areas which is subject to discrimination, and to take measures to abolish it.

9. To remove all elements of discrimination with regard to the nationalities in the field of public education in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia and other republics.

10. To condemn the practice of the resettlement of the population of the national republics to Siberia and their colonization with Russian population.

11. To review the system of passport restrictions and to condemn passport discrimination which runs counter to the international convention and undermines the friendship of the peoples.

12. To revise the frontiers of the national republics with the aim of establishing exact ethnographic frontiers.

13. To carry out a wide discussion in the press on all the problems mentioned above.

10th April, 1966.

EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL IN DEFENCE OF WRITERS

(Resolution Adopted in Milan, January, 1968)

The world has been moved by the publicity attached to the recent trials in Moscow. But these are only the tip of the iceberg.

The suppression of freedom and of basic human rights in the USSR is a long story — at least 50 years old — and what is now happening is only different in emphasis to what happened under Lenin, under Stalin, and under Khrushchov.

Secret trials, deprivation of freedom without trial, the locking up of inconvenient people in lunatic asylums, and the deprivation of basic human rights to people who oppose the Communist regime, should be condemned by all who value freedom.

The evidence we have of secret trials in Ukraine, of people sent to concentration camps without any trial, shows the real extent of this persecution.

We believe that the civilised world will condemn this abhorrent persecution and we call upon the free world to protest in the strongest possible terms against this assault on human rights. We look forward to the day of release for all the victims from the subjugated countries in the USSR, and from the satellite countries.

Their only crime was that they fought for human rights and the political independence of their nations.

Articles Of Soviet Law — Mere Fiction

Letter to the Editors of Pravda from the political prisoner Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi (Mordovian ASSR, st. Pot'ma, p/o Yavas, p/s 385/8).

Mankind constantly strives towards improvement of the norms of moral behaviour of people, of their attitude to society, to other people. In different periods of time it bowed before different ideals. Plato idealised goodness, Aristotle — social virtues, Copernicus — meekness, Buddha — humility, Christ — love of one's neighbour, Feuerbach — general love, Heidegger — freedom, and Marx — the will of the proletariat. They all tried to defend human dignity.

Formally it appears that, in accordance with the provisions of the Human Rights Declaration, the Soviet law fully guarantees all human rights. Soviet practice, however, denies and rejects these achievements of the civilised world and proves something quite different. All my life I have lived in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the law. This came easily to me because nature itself equipped me with an awareness of social usefulness. As a lawyer I have always treated jurisprudence seriously. Never in my life have I committed any crime. My only mistake was that I thoughtlessly trusted Soviet propaganda and remained within reach of the hands of the MGB (Ministry of State Security — Ed.) Before the war I was a member of the Council of Advocates in Lviv, during the war I was a judge at the Polish Court of Appeals in Cracow, and after the war I worked as legal adviser at the Ministry of Agriculture of Czecho-Slovakia.

On the basis of a false denunciation Poland proclaimed me a war criminal for alleged collaboration with the Germans. It demanded my extradition and announced that I would be brought to trial. As a result, Czecho-Slovak authorities arrested me on 1st August, 1948 and extradited to Poland. For a year investigation went on in Warsaw. It revealed complete baselessness of the accusation. To the contrary, I

proved that I held a critical view of Hitler's political course and was imprisoned as a result. It was easy for me to prove falsification of the material evidence because it had been done in a crude and unskilled manner. Poland found itself in an embarrassing position. But, instead of sending me back to Czecho-Slovakia as a Czecho-Slovak citizen, Polish authorities sent me under escort to the Soviet Union. At the same time their former falsifications in a new, corrected version were also handed over. It must be taken into account that, according to Polish law, the Polish court was entitled to put me on trial. Nevertheless Polish jurisdiction did not allow itself to be led astray. It managed to maintain its dignity and did not wish to condemn an innocent person. This was done by the Soviet authorities. Another year of investigation also passed without any results.

It is well known what Soviet methods of investigation looked like in those times. The accused was considered a criminal by the very fact that he was brought to criminal responsibility. There existed only a one-sided method of investigation of criminal cases, essentially that of accusation. Nevertheless I managed to survive all the horrors of police tortures and rejected all libellous insinuations. Owing to the absence of the evidence substantiating the accusations I was not handed over for trial by a court, but was sent to forced labour camps for a term of 25 years on the basis of a decision by the Minister of the Interior of the Soviet Union of 16th July, 1949 No. 2906-49, in accordance with the Article 54-22k (of the Criminal Code of the USSR — Ed.) Thus my guilt was settled in an administrative, i.e. police manner. As is known, the courts do not administer and the administration does not dispense justice. After all, this is the basis of the Soviet constitution, criminal law and inter-

national law valid in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the 20th Congress of the CPSU clearly determined that the OSO (Special Councils) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was not a lawful organ of justice. Of course, I have a knowledge of these matters. Contrary to categorical norms of law, I have been languishing in prison for 20 years already, without a trial, without a sentence and without an opportunity to defend myself.

A comparison of the humane principles of Soviet laws with the existing Soviet reality brings one inevitably to the conclusion that all the grandiloquent articles of Soviet laws are generally and totally a mere fiction and have a purely propagandistic purpose. The practice is a striking contradiction of all the camouflaging tricks of the Soviet official equilibration and proves demonstratively that lawlessness and arbitrariness are an organic and inalienable attribute of the Soviet system. Thus, the Soviet constitution and the Soviet laws have been raised to the present-day level of civilisation. It is all the more unfortunate, however, that the executive organs are unable to rise to the level demanded by their tasks. They, for instance, cannot understand that places of imprisonment are there only for the criminal world. They do not wish to take into account the moral state of the citizen who happens to fall into that vicious circle. There arises a sorry paradox: the *camarilla* violates the laws in full awareness of it and enjoys the freedom of movement with impunity, while honest people are suffering imprisonment, although true social morality demands the contrary.

It should be pointed out that I have been deprived of the right of correspondence and of receiving parcels. I am also unable to order and receive medicines and orthopedic instruments prescribed for me by a Soviet doctor. I must state that I behave correctly, for I cannot behave otherwise. The severe regime applied to me has no legal basis. The determination of the regime is essentially the determination of the punishment. Normally, the proper organ to determine the punishment is only

a court and not administration. The latter is also worth noting that only robbers, thieves and hooligans enjoy the general and stricter regime in the Soviet Union, while decent people are punished with the severe or the especially severe regime.

I happen to look through the pages of the Soviet press. Governments of Spain, Portugal and other countries are often condemned there. Soviet leaders are indignant at the inhuman and unlawful imprisonment of people without trial. Those leaders demand that human rights be applied to the inhabitants of Africa and Asia. What is all that idle talk worth when compared with Soviet reality? Do those leaders not realise that the world is diligently studying Soviet law and knows that many innocent people are languishing in prisons and forced labour camps here, without trial, without sentence and without opportunity to defend themselves.

It seems then that to violate the right of a black person is bad, while to do the same thing to our people is good. What sort of ethics is it? One hears a lot of idle talk about overcoming the cult of personality and restoring legality. What is the worth of all this chatter when reality contradicts such twaddle? Essentially, nothing has changed. Only more refined forms of mockery of human dignity have replaced the old ones.

What has been said above bears witness to the fact that restoration of legality in this country is an intimate spontaneous need of the citizen and he must be helped. I cannot do it, because I have met the fate of a martyr in the Soviet Union. I can only watch with sadness and breathe the evaporations of Soviet reality. It is the press in the first place, as tribune of public opinion, that is called upon to uncover and reveal the shortcomings in the work of the security establishments of the state and to help the society to rise to a higher level. The press calls the tune of the moral behaviour of the citizen and strengthens at the same time the respect for his rights and dignity. In cases of the violation of legality it takes measures to bring it back to a healthy state. Of course, this can be

achieved only by the chief organ of the country — the Central Committee of the CPSU. For this reason, to send this letter to the Prosecutor's office would be tantamount to the burying of the question touched upon in it. One can realistically reckon on the restoration of legality in the Soviet Union only in that case if your organ on its own behalf takes up a position and presses for its implementation. History does not know an unending mockery over

the dignity and rights of man, because it is an essential attribute of human nature to strive towards goodness, truth and self-preservation.

Undoubtedly, this urge reigns also on the Slavonic soil. The press can, to a considerable extent, contribute to the acceleration of this process. This is a demand not only of true journalistic morality, but also of responsibility before history.

Dubrovlag, Spring 1967

KGB PERSECUTES PRISONERS

In the last few weeks new Ukrainian political prisoners have been transferred to the Volodymyr prison (on the Kliazma River) from other camps and prisons where they have been serving their sentences. Some have been brought there after new trials. Isolating the Ukrainian prisoners in the Volodymyr jail, the Russian KGB organs are thus avenging themselves on the better sons and daughters of the Ukrainian people.

Among the Ukrainian prisoners who recently came to the Volodymyr prison are Valentyn Moroz, Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, Mykhailo Horyn and Mykhailo Masiutko, who became known to us through V. Chornovil's book, "Woe from Wit".

An article, "Report from the Beria Reservation", written by the above-mentioned Valentyn Moroz is very popular today and is being passed from hand to hand. The "Report" brings to light the arbitrariness and the terrorist methods employed by the KGB agents towards inmates at camps for political prisoners. This article is a new document on the mockery of human dignity, on the lawlessness in the camps of the severe regime, on the Bolshevik methods of "retraining" of political prisoners, which are unheard of in the 20th century.

The author of the article, Valentyn Moroz was born on April 15, 1936 in the village of Kholoniv, Volyn. In 1958 he

graduated in the History Faculty of the Lviv University. In 1964 he taught modern history at the Lutsk pedagogic institute n/o L. Ukrainka and later at the Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogic Institute. V. Moroz is the author of many works on history and a participant at various scholarly conferences. He was arrested in August, 1965, and in January, 1966 was sentenced to five years' imprisonment at camps of the severe regime for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", after which he was sent to camp near the town of Yavas, Mordovian ASSR to serve his sentence.

As the result of his article "Report from the Beria Reservation" V. Moroz was transferred from Yavas to a prison in Volodymyr (Russian — Vladimir).

The city of Volodymyr is located on the Kliazma River, 175 kilometers east of Moscow, and 300 kilometers north of Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, where most of the Ukrainian prisoners are found.

The Volodymyr prison is famous in the entire USSR for its cruelty and inhuman treatment of prisoners. Most of the prisoners are confined to stone, wet and cold cells without windows or fresh air.

In this prison the following organizers of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II have been kept: Kateryna Zarytska — 21 years, Odarka Husiak and Halyna Didyk — 18 years.

Victims Of Lawlessness

*From The Petition Sent By S. Karavanskyi To The President Of
The Journalists' Union Of Ukraine*

"Socialist legality — the legality of the most perfect society in the world, should be based on the most humane principles, for Communist society is the most humane and the most progressive society in the world."

This is an axiom which does not need proof. And therefore manifestations of arbitrariness and lawlessness . . . , which to this day occur in our juridical practice, cannot but sound an alarm.

The first striking manifestation in the genocide of prisoners is the retention in the USSR of a 25-years' term of punishment, which thousands of people are serving to this day.

Our legal system has also retained many other negative elements, which only give cause for anxiety . . .

Andreev — witness for the international commission which investigated the Katyn forest case in 1942 — is now confined to the Vladimir jail for the 22nd year. Andreev's testimony became the basis for the decision reached by the international commission in 1942, which found the organs of the NKVD guilty of mass executions of Polish officers. The case was reexamined and the new investigation rejected the previous findings. But why was such harsh punishment allotted to Andreev for perjury? 25 years of solitary confinement! Is false, forced, evidence such a great "war" crime for which it is necessary to encase a person in a stone sack for 25 years?

Women-martyrs Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husiak and Halyna Didyk are in the Vladimir prison under guard. All of them have been condemned to 25 years' imprisonment. For what offences? Have they executed Soviet citizens? No. Did they serve the Germans? No. Have they performed acts of subversion or espionage? No. Where is their guilt to be found, then? In the period of the occupation they organized Red Cross committees in Lviv, Drohobych and other cities with the aim of helping the Ukrainian anti-Fascist move-

ment — the insurgents from the UPA. And for this the women are rotting in prison. Not in camp, but in a stone grave — in prison.

* * *

In the Dubravnoye camp system, Volodymyr Horbovyi, a citizen of the CSSR, is spending his 19th year. He was convicted in 1947 by such a legally incompetent organ as an OSO (osoboe soveshchanie). As is well-known, all individuals sentenced by the OSO were rehabilitated long ago and the OSO itself has been dissolved and its activities condemned. Nevertheless, a citizen of the CSSR, V. Horbovyi, who before his conviction had never lived in the Soviet Union, is now under guard, without knowing for whose sins. OSO's conviction should not be considered legally valid — it was completely groundless. For what, then, is a man rotting in jail for 19 years?

While living in the Polish Republic, Horbovyi was a counsel for defendant Bandera in 1934 at Pieracki's trial. But is that a crime? And can a precedent for the betrayal of the Fatherland be found in it? What Fatherland did he betray? Moreover, did he betray it? Could a Polish citizen, living in Poland, consider himself a citizen of the USSR?

Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Shukhevych, is also confined to the Dubravnoye concentration camp. He was arrested in 1948 (he was then 15 years old) and was groundlessly convicted by the same OSO to ten years' imprisonment for alleged "connections with the underground". In the spring 1956 he was released as a minor who had completed one third of his sentence. In the autumn of 1956, Attorney General Rudenko protested against his release, motivating it by the fact that Shukhevych was "the son of a prominent nationalist". The persecution of parents for the deeds of their children and vice versa is the most loathsome relic from the times of Stalin, but this was the very

fashion in which the protest was formulated. Sent to prison, Shukhevych spent another two years there and on the day of release an arrest warrant was brought to him and an investigation into "anti-Soviet agitation" which he supposedly conducted from his cell was begun. Two "witnesses" from the same prison ward were provided and the case was duly legalized.

The calculation was as follows: under the threat of a new conviction the prisoner "will reeducate himself" and will agree to whatever is demanded of him. But Shukhevych did not succumb. Therefore he was convicted in the "cell" case to 10 years of camps. Doesn't this show deliberate baiting of an innocent man on the part of both Rudenko and the KGB? Wasn't the very practice of "cell" cases done away with? And how many more of those "cell" cases await Shukhevych in the future? Is it possible that he is destined to live in prisons and camps for the rest of his life?

M. Soroka, a victim of Stalinist lawlessness, is still languishing in the Dubravnoye camp. Arrested in 1940, he was innocently convicted by the then Beria gang to 8 years. In 1949, after returning to Lviv, he was again arrested and banished to Krasnoyarsk for the same "offence" that he was arrested for in 1940. Thus, M. Soroka was punished twice for the same "crime". But there was no "crime" at all. In 1951 a Sub-Carpathian military tribunal declared him rehabilitated in the 1940 case. In 1952 M. Soroka was arrested for the third time. This time he was accused of belonging to invented camp "organizations". For this "sin" he was given 25 years. Even if it were admitted that Soroka really was a member of these organizations, even then he did not merit such an inhuman term, for his "guilt" has as many as three mitigating circumstances.

1. The term 1940-1948 was served by M. Soroka guiltlessly, and therefore, becoming disillusioned as to the justice of the legal institutions, he began to search for justice elsewhere.

2. The period when M. Soroka was imprisoned marked itself as a period of persecution, arbitrariness and shameless geno-

cide of the prisoners; therefore the appearance of camp underground organizations was a form of self-defence.

3. Neither the court nor the inquiry had shown any concrete actions of these hurriedly baked "organizations".

Today, Soroka is spending his 26th year of punishment since the first court action. And this is at a time when our legislation provides for the maximum penalty of 15 years. Completing his entire term M. Soroka would be in prison for 38 years! And this being tried only the first time!

Communist humanism and socialist legality demand a re-examination of M. Soroka's case and a disclosure, by way of an open trial, whether he deserves such a cannibalistic penalty, the penalty which can only be justified by the policy of genocide of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

A talented painter, V. Duzhynskyi, is also imprisoned in the Dubravnoye camp. All his guilt is to be found in the fact that in 1957 he hung the flag of the Ukrainian Zaporizhian Army outside the Lviv opera house — the flag of our gallant ancestors who defended Ukraine and all of Rus' from the Turks and the Tatars. 10 years' imprisonment — for flying a flag. Is that humane? Is that lawful?

In the Dubravnoye camp there is also a group of Ukrainian intelligentsia from the city of Lviv — S. Virun, M. Lukianenko, I. Kandyba and other organizers of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, the programme of which contained full safeguards for the socialist gains in Ukraine and aimed at giving Ukraine greater political and economic sovereignty in the system of socialist cooperation among nations. For this offence they were convicted in 1961 as follows: M. Lukianenko and I. Kandyba to 15 years, and S. Virun to 11 years. The question arises: for what was this group sentenced? Since the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right of secession from the USSR to the union republics. How is it possible to prosecute people for activities which in no way contradict the Constitution of the USSR? Isn't there some contradiction here which

paves the way for arbitrariness and lawlessness?

In the Dubravnoye camp system a group of Ukrainian intelligentsia from Karaganda — Yu. Dolishnyi and others are also serving their terms. The reason for their prosecution was the fact that they demanded that a Ukrainian school be opened for their children — a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR.

The system of the so-called "erroneous" acquittals constitutes grave illegality. An individual is prematurely released. He lives as a free man and suddenly the organs of the KGB appear — get ready for

jail; you have been released by mistake. This Jesuit method gives the KGB organs a chance to repress an individual without trial and investigation. Thus journalist Karavanskyi, sentenced to 25 years, was acquitted after serving 16 years in 1960 before completing his term. He spent 5 years as a free man, married, enrolled at a university, and suddenly on November 13, 1965 (after 5 years!) he was arrested and ordered to serve 9 more years because the prosecutor had protested against his release upon an appropriate request by the KGB organs. In such a way Dubravnoye camp inmates, M. Soroka, V. Lev-

To: Camp Commandant Citizen Korolkov, P. O. Box 385/II

Copy: To First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, L. I.

Copy: Editor's office of the newspaper Humanité

From: Citizen Strokata, Nina Antonivna, Odessa, Chornomorska doroha, 56-a, Apt. 12

PETITION

For 18 years the camp administration was unable to influence prisoner Karavanskyi, S. Y., and Karavanskyi's family is not permitted to maintain contacts permitted by law. Therefore, I, the wife of S. Y. Karavanskyi, beg that he be executed in order that my husband's long years of suffering and the constant conflicts between Karavanskyi and the administration may cease.

I am writing this petition while in full control of my senses and with full understanding of its gravity.

27 December 1966

(N. Strokata)

kovych and others, were arrested anew.

The very system of maintenance at camps constitutes the same glaring act of lawlessness and violation of all the principles of humanitarianism accepted by the entire civilized world. Here I will cite a few "golden" rules of this system:

1. The prisoners work for 8 hours a day in shops detrimental to health and have no rest either on Saturday or on days preceding holidays.

2. A guaranteed amount of nutrition barely reaches 2,000 calories. (Theoretically, on paper, the norm calls for 2,400 calories, but thanks to the very low quality of food products and a very low quality of bread (60% excess in weight of bread

over the flour used) the caloricity of a guaranteed ration barely, if ever, reaches 2,000 calories).

3. From the money earned by a prisoner 50% is retained by the state, and from the remainder only 5 rubles can be exchanged for food in the canteen (for special regime — 2 rubles).

4. The canteen sells neither bread nor butter, nor sugar, only poor quality sweets and shortening, and possibly canned vegetables.

5. Before completing one half of his sentence, a prisoner cannot receive food parcels from home.

6. After completing half a sentence it is possible to receive three parcels (weight-

ing 5 kgs.!) a year, if the administration approves. And the reasons to refuse to deliver a package are countless: failure to attend amateur performances, failure to visit political information centres and hundreds of other reasons.

7. A prisoner can only write two letters a month.

8. A political prisoner, particularly one with higher education — a student, a teacher, an engineer — must without fail be assigned to manual labour. This is a method of moral oppression and psychological persecution of an individual.

9. To visit a prisoner is allowed only "at a time free from work", that is on work days a prisoner must go to work and only the evening and night, when he should sleep and rest, can be used for such visits. Therefore, from the three days allowed for visits, a prisoner can only spend 26 hours with his wife or other relatives (12 hours are taken up by going to and coming from work and the work itself: at 6 A. M. a prisoner is taken from the reception house and at 6 P. M. he is brought back). Such system hurts not only the prisoners, but also their relatives. Such practice of meetings with relatives is shameful and full of scorn.

* * *

The prohibition to receive parcels, starvation rations, restrictions on the use of earnings — are they not a relapse to extinction by famine?

It is interesting that the entire "re-education" programme at camps is based on starvation. Thus, for example, prisoner A. Hubyh received a parcel. The package was not given to him, but the section supervisor said openly to Hubyh: join the camp police and you will get the parcel. A package also arrived for prisoner A. Novozhytskyi, but it was returned home on the basis that — supposedly — Novozhytskyi is not attending school. Is it possible that in the system of "re-education" of the prisoners there are no other means for safeguarding of education than a method compelling one by starvation?

Now you see what a progressive method

of re-education it is. Just as in a zoo where the animals are trained: if you will do this or that — you will eat; if you won't — starve to death. It seems to me that such practice has nothing in common at all with retraining and is just scandalous for Communist society.

A characteristic detail: the weight of the parcel cannot exceed 5 kilograms. If the package weighs 5 kilograms and 100 grams — it is returned. You see — the diligence and the adherence to rules are exceptional. If they would only keep the laws and regulations so diligently! But no! Even this strict rule is not always enforced properly. All packages coming from abroad are given out without restrictions. Why? Are there any exceptions to the rule regarding packages from abroad? Of course not. It is simply that the human trainers are embarrassed before the world's public opinion that they are treating human dignity of the imprisoned in such a wild and shameful way.

The living conditions of the prisoners are also horrible. In the barracks — bunk beds, only 1.3 sq. m. of barrack space per capita. Such standards are definitely unsanitary, unhygienic and intolerable.

And the "special regime"? It is a camp-murder chamber, a camp-crematorium. Here people spend decades under lock, in cement cells without windows, with the lamp shining at all times. The food norm is guaranteed. The canteen sells only cigarettes, matches, tooth-paste, soap, envelopes. Only 2 rubles can be spent a month. Clothing — Buchenwald style, black and white. Deprived of air and light, weakened by starvation rations, with 7–10 men locked into a crowded cell, the people lose their human likeness day by day. Suicide cases (prisoner Susei), crippling and insanity occur very often. The prisoners cut their veins and with blood write on the cell's walls: "Death to Sviatkin!" (Sviatkin — KGB representative at camp No. 10.)

One of the prisoners cut off his ears, placed them in an envelope and mailed them to the 22nd Party Congress... At the brink of despair, the prisoners prick out a tattoo on their foreheads: "Slave of

the CPSU". For this there are very severe penalties, as for sabotage, subversion, or calling for an overthrow of the regime — the penalty is execution (prisoner Malai). All those horrors — a method of "re-education".

The cells-murder chambers are regularly visited by the workers of the KGB who advise condemning your past or renouncing your views and then you will be transferred from the "special" to the "severe" regime.

A long confinement in the camps of "special" regime is a complete physical and moral metamorphosis of a human being into an animal, a destruction of an individual. The camps of "special" regime are a crying relic of the genocide of prisoners which had been used in the times of Beria, Yezhov and Yagoda.

And the attitude of the administration? Particularly the workers of the KGB? KGB representative from Dubravnoye camp No. 11, Senior Lt. Harashchenko dares to appear in the visiting room, when the wives arrive to see their husbands, and

in the presence of husbands declares: "Why are you coming to see him? Give him up!" Such "lovable" conduct is not even remembered from Beria's times.

This is a horrible picture of arbitrariness, legalized upon instructions, unworthy of a Communist society.

... I am turning to you, and through you to the general public with a request to turn your attention to the crying remainders of Stalin's genocidal policies toward the prisoners and to use all possible means for their removal.

* * *

I am turning with my petition to the Journalists' Union because it unites people who by their very profession are called to defend the social interests. A journalist is an active fighter against evil, arbitrariness and obscurantism, no matter in what guise they happen to appear.

I hope that the Journalists' Union will look favourably at my petition, for it is bound by the "moral code of the builders of Communism".

May 10, 1966

International Indictment Of Russification Needed

To the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Comrade V. Gomulka

from citizen of the USSR Karavanskyi, Sviatoslav Yosypovych, who lives in the city of Odessa, Chornomorskyi sbliakh 56-a, Apt. 47.

PETITION

The 20th Congress of the CPSU became the turning point of the Communist movement. It condemned the policy of inexcusable, unfounded repressions which took place in the USSR in the time of Stalin's personality cult toward the great majority of party members and non-partisan citizens, including members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Unfounded accusations aimed at the Ukrainian intelligentsia of "nationalism", of "treason to the fatherland", etc. were, in the hands of unscrupulous career men, the means which permitted them to revise Lenin's nationality policy.

Groundless repressions took such prominent Leninists from the ranks of the party as S.V. Kosior, V. Ya. Chubar, M. Skrypnyk, D. Zatonskyi, P.P. Postyshev and thousands of other party activists, who joined the party before October and at the time of the Revolution, when V.I. Lenin headed the party. This crime against the party paralleled the crimes against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Thousands of writers, artists, teachers and scholars were accused of "nationalism" and physically destroyed. It is enough to mention the names of those groundlessly executed and now rehabilitated (producer L. Kurbas, writers I. Mykytenko, M. Zerov, D. Zahul, M. Irchan, O. Vlyzko, D. Falkivskyi, M. Kulish, I. Dniprovskyi, O. Sokolov and groundlessly repressed Ostap Vyshnia, B. Antonenko-Davydovych, V. Hzhyskyi, Z. Tulub) to see from this far from complete list of well-known names what blow had been dealt to the Ukrainian intelligentsia

in the period of Stalin's personality cult just before the Great War for the Fatherland. And literally tens of thousands of rank and file Ukrainians with higher education were exterminated! This pogrom-like, unjustified activity undoubtedly could not help but be marked by the fact that in the period of the Great War for the Fatherland some activation of the nationalistic organisations on the territory of the Ukr.SSR had been noticed.

After 1945 attempts were made several times to renew groundless repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, and repressions against the Jewish intelligentsia have taken place.

The 20th Congress condemned unfounded repressions against the representatives of various nationalities. But unfortunately last month facts were recorded on the territory of the Ukr.SSR which testify that attempts to renew unfounded repressions against the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia have been made.

Thus in February of this year (1965) I filed a complaint with the Ukr.SSR Attorney General's office to prosecute Yu. M. Dadenkov, the Minister of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr.SSR. The Attorney General's office did not reply and only from a private conversation with the Attorney General did I find out that the complaint had been forwarded to the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education. After con-

sidering the complaint, Minister Dadenkov took a number of steps to remove the discriminatory rules of admission to the universities and specialized secondary educational institutions of the republic. Therefore, there were grounds for my complaint, and, since it helped to bring to light certain shortcomings, it should be considered advantageous to the cause of Communism. Unfortunately, it is not known why unfounded repressions have befallen me.

On September 4th of this year five representatives of the Odessa oblast detachment of the KGB came and searched my apartment. The search did not produce any compromising materials. As I later stated, on the basis of questions put before me at the inquiry, a copy of my complaint to the Attorney General of the Ukr.SSR of Feb. 22, 1965 on the prosecution of Minister Dadenkov was found in the possession of a Canadian citizen, Ivan Vasyliovych Koliaska. This had been the basis for the searching of my apartment.

As I was able to determine, Ivan Vasyliovych Koliaska is a Canadian Communist of 30 years' standing. During 1964-65 he studied at the Higher Party School under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and in 1965 supposedly returned to Canada. If this is true, I wonder why the fact that my complaint was in the possession of a Canadian Communist



*Buffalo
AF ABN
demanding
freedom
for Ukrainian
intellectuals.
(Dec. 1967)*

should disturb the organs of state security so much? I feel, that it is more important for the security of the Soviet state that the present distortions of Lenin's nationality policy, such as anti-Semitism, Ukrainophobia, discrimination on the grounds of nationality and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology be removed from our life as soon as possible, and those guilty of violating the Soviet Constitution be brought to criminal prosecution. Why shouldn't a Canadian Communist, who, side by side with us, is struggling against world imperialism know about the facts of violations of Lenin's nationality policy, which were and still are taking place in Ukraine and other Soviet republics today? These facts were possible due to an absolutely erroneous nationality policy, which has evolved in the USSR as the result of the personality cults of Stalin and Khrushchov. In an article "On One Political Mistake" which I am attaching to this complaint, the facts on the erroneous nationality policy in the sphere of education are revealed.

Communist Koliaska had been a Communist for 30 years. If after one year's stay in Kyiv he began to have doubts as to the justification of the continuous Russification policy of the Ukrainian life in Ukraine, the policy of discrimination against the Ukrainian language and culture, the policy of re-settling of Ukrainian population from Ukraine and settling Ukrainian cities with non-Ukrainian, particularly Russian inhabitants, then this fact should force the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to consider whether it is conducting a just national policy in Ukraine, whether this policy is Leninist and whether it is instrumental in the strengthening of the international Communist movement?

Unfortunately the facts prove that a completely different point of view prevails among the leadership of the CPSU. At the time when my apartment was searched, throughout Ukraine 28 representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, among them journalist I. Svitlychnyi, were arrested. Literary critic I. Dziuba lost his job at a

publishing house, was accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and was denied the right to do ideological work.

Almost a month has passed, and there are no reports in the press on the reasons for these arrests. In Kyiv rumours of unknown origin are circulating that supposedly these individuals wished to separate the Ukr.SSR from the USSR. These are without doubt unfounded accusations, since neither by their activity nor their views did these persons ever express such desires (thus in the works of I. Svitlychnyi there is not even a hint of such views). But even if it were true, then why the accusations of "Ukrainian nationalism"? In the world Socialist system, fraternal cooperation is found among the countries of the Socialist camp — Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic. Perhaps under the present conditions of the development of the Communist movement, it would be expedient for the Ukrainian Socialist nation to be a separate Socialist entity in the general Socialist camp? In any event, the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right of secession from the USSR to the Soviet republics. But if it is true, then the accusations of those who want to make use of this right of "bourgeois nationalism" are completely groundless and can under no circumstances serve as a basis for an arrest. Such a viewpoint can analogically accuse the Communists of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the GDR, who have deemed it necessary to expand their Socialist economy within the framework of independent Socialist states, of bourgeois nationalism. Such groundless accusations of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of bourgeois nationalism would seem strange and would prove that in this case we have to deal with a misunderstanding of the spirit of Lenin's nationality policy.

Systematic indictment, repeated every five to ten years, of the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia for bourgeois nationalism becomes in a long run strange and incomprehensible. Is it possible that

the Ukrainian intelligentsia is so thoroughly bourgeois (50 years after the October Revolution) and hostile to the Socialist order? Is there no other reason in the Soviet reality which would bring a relapse to nationalism? But what is in fact nationalism? Is it the desire for the development of national culture, native language and even the wish for separate state development, or is it a legal right of every nation, which is the result of its economic, cultural and social development? All these questions demand deep Communist thinking and exposure because they play a foremost part in the world Communist movement.

Marxist dialectic teaches us that all phenomena have causes, and in order to do away with negative social phenomena, it is necessary to liquidate their causes. Leaning to so-called "nationalism" undoubtedly has its objective reasons — the continuation in Ukraine for 30 years of anti-Leninist nationality policy. It is found in the Russification of the population and mass deportation of Ukrainians from Ukraine to Siberia, Kazakhstan and other remote regions and the settling of Ukrainian cities with non-Ukrainian, particularly Russian, population. Of course, such policy is an anti-Leninist policy which has nothing in common with Marxism; it is a policy which is harmful to the international Communist movement.

The facts of groundless repressions against the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which commenced this month, and the whole series of distortions of the nationality policy which take place in the Soviet republics of the USSR are forcing me to turn to you, as a prominent leader of the Communist movement, with this petition. I think that proletarian solidarity and Communist conscience, as well as the ever-present concern for the purity of Communist ideas, the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concern for the fate of the world Communist movement will force you to give my petition all the attention required as a matter of party principle. The contents of my petition may be summed up as follows:

1. In so far as the nationality policy is of great importance to the development of international Communist movement, there should be an exchange of ideas on the nationality question among the Communist parties of the world.

2. In order to bring about such an interchange of ideas I recommend that an international conference of the Communist parties of the world be called.

3. Behind a round table the Communist parties of the world should work out principles of Marxist-Leninist nationality policy, the principles to which all Communist parties of the world would adhere in their practical work of building up Communism.

4. Behind the round table the Communist parties should condemn the facts of anti-Semitism, Ukrainophobia, discrimination on nationality grounds and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology which occur in practice in various Communist parties. In particular, they should investigate the inadmissible practice of discrimination against the Ukrainian population of Kuban, where the Ukrainian population is deprived of all cultural and educational institutions in its native language, which were liquidated in 1937 and have not as yet been re-established.

5. The Communist parties should examine separately whether it is expedient to change the ethnical composition of the population — whether mass deportation of the representatives of a given nationality from the territory of the national republic is expedient.

6. Behind a round table the Communists of the world should consider the question of the possibility of unfounded repressions and as a matter of principle condemn such repressions.

With cordial greetings,

Respectfully yours,
(S. Y. Karavanskyi)

Sept. 27, 1965

Russia Violates Human Rights

To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR

from political prisoner Hel, Ivan Andriovych, sentenced under Article 62, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to three years' imprisonment in the camps of the severe regime, Yavas, P. O. Box 385-II-4.

DECLARATION

There have been many tragedies in the history of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for its basic rights, national dignity and the right to exist. In the long list one of the greatest, in my opinion, after the disgraceful mass executions of the 30-40s, were the numerous repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1965-66, which only because of the nation-wide protests did not become mass repressions. I have been one of those groundlessly accused and sentenced.

Without going into a detailed analysis of my so-called anti-Soviet activities on the basis of which the case had been fabricated and the verdict of "guilty" was reached, and without going into the analysis of the methods by which the investigation had been directed, the juggling of facts and the "conduct" of the whole case by the organs of the KGB, I state the following:

The repressions of the years 1965-66 were gross violations of legality, a return to the days of the personality cult, an attempt by the organs of the KGB to consider themselves sovereign and unaccountable for their actions, a state within a state.

By their arbitrariness the organs of the KGB violated not only a whole series of articles of the Constitution of the USSR, the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR, but also of international law. These are the most important of them:

The Constitution of the Ukr.SSR Article 105 and the Constitution of the USSR Article 125, "corresponding to the interests of the workers and with the aim to strengthen the social order the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law:

- a) freedom of speech
- b) freedom of the press
- c) freedom of assembly and meetings
- d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations".

The Constitution of the Ukr.SSR Article 91 and the Constitution of the USSR Article 111: "Hearings of cases in all courts of the USSR are public, if exceptions have not been stipulated by law, with the guarantee of the right of defence for the accused."

Thus, simply because the trial was held behind closed doors, in violation of the constitution, the sentence is subject to revocation.

"The General Declaration of Human Rights", signed by the representatives of the governments of the USSR and the Ukr.SSR, as members of the UN, and particularly its Article 19: "Every individual has the right to the freedom of convictions and to their free expression; this right includes the freedom to adhere to one's convictions without hindrance, and the freedom to search for, receive and disseminate information and ideas regardless of the means and regardless of state boundaries."

My political activities did not go beyond the limits of legality; I have been convicted absolutely groundlessly. Therefore, quite apart from the fact that I pleaded guilty at the court trial, I do not feel guilty and do not consider myself as such. I demand immediate release and the prosecution of the real violators of the laws.

Iv. Hel

February 23, 1967

His Only "Crime": Son Of Gen. Chuprynka

To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

from the political prisoner Yuriy Shukhanych-Berezynskyi

28th July, 1967

STATEMENT

In September, 1963 I was transported under escort through halting places, from the Mordovian concentration camps where I had been imprisoned, to Kyiv into the prison of the KGB (i.e. State Security Committee — Ed.) at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

I was not notified by anyone about the reason of my transfer into the investigation prison. And only from the fact that from time to time I was taken by officials of the KGB to theatres, museums, factories in Kyiv, and also conducted to Zaporizhia, Kakhivka, Kherson, and Kaniv, I could conclude about the real reasons and demands which I would have to face later.

And this did really happen in July, 1964, when the officials of the KGB, Colonel Kalash, and captains Lytvyn and Merkatanenko put to me a demand that I should write a kind of declaration which could be published in the Soviet press and which would make it evident that I was breaking with the nationalistic ideas. Upon my question whether this should be a declaration that I would abstain from any anti-Soviet activity whatsoever, the answer was that this would not do. I should write something where I would condemn nationalism in general, condemn the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, quote some facts that would compromise Ukrainian nationalists, as well as condemn my father, Roman Shukhanych, who in the years 1944–1950 was the leader of the underground resistance movement in Ukraine.

Upon my refusal to write (or to broadcast any statement of such contents), they proposed to me to describe at least my

journey through Ukraine, so that it could be published in the press. When I also rejected this proposal, Col. Kalash stated that I should do it, for then the KGB would initiate proceedings towards obtaining a pardon for me.

But as I do not feel guilty in any way, I could not write such a petition, and this I declared, presenting my motives in a written form. These are as follows:

1. As far back as 1956, the Prosecutor General successfully appealed against the decision of the court at Vladimir (i.e. Vladimir on the Klyazma, east of Moscow — Ed.) by which I was released from imprisonment, on the basis of the decree from 24. 4. 1954, as having been arrested at the age of adolescence, motivating his action by the allegation that I had tried to contact centres of Ukrainian nationalists abroad (without producing any evidence at all) and that my father was the leader of the underground movement of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (which I cannot deny).

2. On the 21st August, 1958, on the day when I should have been released after ten years of imprisonment, on the basis of the decision of the OSO (Osoboye Soveshchaniye — Special Council — Ed.) of the MGB (Ministry of State Security — Ed.) of the USSR I was delivered a new order for my arrest, motivated by the absolutely false accusation of anti-Soviet agitation among the prisoners of the Vladimir prison.

3. The accusations were based on the false testimonies by two agents of the KGB, ordinary criminals, specially prepared by Senior Lieut. Halsky (now colonel Halsky) for that kind of witnessing, for which they were promised special privileges (which they later received).

4. The above-mentioned witnesses (Burkov and Fomchenko) gave false evidence, contradicting one another, or even their previous testimonies.

5. It was put to me as a crime (and as one of the main counts) that I was in-

terested in the details of the death of my father, who was killed on the 5th March, 1950 in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv (West Ukraine — Ed.).

6. During my arrest on 21st August, 1958, a few poems by Olha Ilkiv were found among my possessions and confiscated. The poems were purely lyrical. Nevertheless they were enclosed with my case and put to me as a crime on the grounds that Olha Ilkiv had been sentenced for membership in the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ed.) and for illegal activities, and also because her poems had previously been printed in underground publications, about which I learned only during the investigation.

7. The literary expertise (the experts were Lesyn and Kozachuk) was conducted not only in an unsatisfactory, but extraordinarily unscrupulous manner. It qualified the verses found with me and confiscated from me as nationalistic, which bears no relation to reality.

8. Disregarding the fact that “the crime” was committed at Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) and that, consequently, in accordance with the existing laws, the case should have been heard by the Vladimir Region Court, I was transported to the KGB prison at Lviv where the investigation was continued, and where I was sentenced by the Lviv Region Court.

9. Although the KGB organs camouflage all their activities with the talk about the interests of the people, my trial on 1st December, 1958 was conducted behind closed doors, contrary to the existing laws, and this proves that I was kept hidden from the sight of the people for fear lest the unattractive machinations of the Lviv KGB become known.

10. During the trial the judges did not aim at an unprejudiced consideration of all the details but at executing the instructions of the KGB, to have me sentenced at any price.

11. My appointed defence lawyer (Smirnova) acquainted herself with my case only immediately before the session of the court.

Having realised that I could not rely upon any objective defence, I refused to have a lawyer, but the court ignored my request to conduct my defence myself, wishing thus to cover up all the abuses of the juridical norms on their side.

12. The experts of the court literary expertise, during the questioning, allowed themselves very often to transgress the limits of their competence, as defined by law, and put to me provocative questions (with the permission of the court) which referred more to my personal views than to the materials of the case.

13. During the court investigation only the witnesses of the prosecution were heard (Fomchenko and Burkov), while the court did not find it necessary to hear the evidence of twelve witnesses who could have refuted the evidence by Burkov and Fomchenko.

14. Being afraid that even at a trial behind closed doors I would be able by my questions to reveal the falsity of the testimonies by the witnesses for the prosecution, the court did not allow me to put questions to the witnesses, which could have unmasked them as the agents of the KGB who were giving evidence according to the instructions received from Halsky.

15. Although it was clear from the first glance that the witnesses were spurious, that their testimonies were false, the court ruled that only they were trustworthy, refusing to accept any other explanations or evidence, declaring that it was the right of the court to give preference to these or other testimonies as deserving trust.

16. When, however, the witnesses proved themselves incapable of fulfilling their tasks, namely to prove logically my guilt, the members of the court and the prosecutor came to their rescue and directly suggested to them what they should answer. Prosecutor Kolyasnikov who supported the accusation proved himself (especially eager in this direction).

17. The members of the court and the prosecutor were more interested in my convictions, as if these were punishable, than in the details of the case, and they persisted in putting a stress on them as well

as on whose son I was.

As the result of such irregularities, I was sentenced, according to the wishes of the KGB, to ten years of imprisonment. Although I had previously guessed the reasons for such a sentence, yet shortly afterwards I found out that my premonitions were well founded. Thus, still during the preliminary investigation, investigator Vinogradov declared to me that the investigation was only the beginning and that later the officers of the security organs would have a lot to talk about with me.

His words came true shortly after the sentence was passed by the court. Within a few weeks I was called to see Senior Lieut. Halsky and, during the interview, he admitted, without any reservations, that the sentence was passed on the basis of false evidence and that it was without foundations, but — and here I quote his words — “with your views and your convictions we cannot set you free”. I should give proofs of my loyalty in the form of a press conference, an article, a pamphlet,

or a broadcast in which I would condemn the OUN, my father, etc. “If we were sure that you would talk with us on this sort of subject, we would not have had to resort to such methods as arrest and court trial”, Halsky said in conclusion.

It became clear to me that my trial was inspired by the KGB with the intention of blackmail in order to force me to come out with the required public statement, and that it had nothing in common with justice. For an act of this kind I was promised review of the court sentence and release from prison. When however, I refused I was sent to the political concentration camps in Mordovia.

I explained all this in writing to Col. Kalash, and this made further talks on similar themes impossible.

But even afterwards the KGB did not leave me in peace, because already a year later, in July 1965, I was called in the concentration camp to see the local representative of the KGB, Capt. Krut’, who declared that I should write a petition for



Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) demanding the release of Yuriy Shukhevych. (Bonn, West Germany, March 5, 1968.)

pardon to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. I refused to write such a thing and agreed to write only a short statement in which I explained that I had been innocently sentenced, and that all my appeals to the juridical and prosecuting organs had been without any results, and therefore I was writing to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The KGB, however, was not satisfied with it and in a categorical form Capt. Krut' demanded from me a petition for pardon, which I refused to write. He then declared that the administration would submit such a petition itself.

As became clear later, no such petition was ever sent, and my statement was not answered. From this I understood that it has not even been sent to the Presidium. And all this comedy was staged only in order that such a petition be attached to my file. For in this way the KGB would have shifted responsibility from itself, because a petition for pardon is tantamount to an admission of guilt. But my "case" was too obviously sown with white threads, as was confirmed by Capt. Lytvyn, who said that the guilt of the Lviv KGB consisted in that it had been unable to prepare the case adequately.

Consequently, they are not troubled by the obvious injustice done, by the violation of legality, but by the incapability to fabricate skillfully the necessary evidence. Therefore this incapability had to be camouflaged by my petition for pardon which then would have wiped out all the traces of the flagrant abuse of the law, the traces of the crime.

Out of my 34 years of life I have spent 19 years in prison. For the first 10 years I was imprisoned on the basis of the decision of the Special Council at the Ministry of State Security of the USSR. And although the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared the Special Council at the MGB an illegal organ, its decisions have not been declared null and void, and therefore many people, myself included, continued to suffer imprisonment, and some still do so. I received the next 10 year sentence on the direct

instructions of the KGB on the basis of the evidence fabricated by it. They continue to persecute my mother, Natalia Shukhevych-Berezyns'ka. And all this happens under the resounding declarations about justice, legality, and so on.

No, I have long ago ceased to believe in the declared justice and legality, which I have never seen embodied in practice.

Therefore I turn to you now, when only one year is left before the second term of my imprisonment runs out, not because I have any illusions on your account, not because I hope that you are able to intervene and to vindicate the justice trampled under foot. No!

I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months' time a new crime will be perpetrated against me; they will again fabricate a new case to get me sentenced for the third time.

And, if not, there is no one to warrant that in a few months' time I shall not be killed from behind a street corner by hired assassins as was done with many a political prisoner after their release. I should like to mention just the cases of Lytvyn, Vartsabiuk, Bergs, Melnikans and others. Or I shall die a mysterious death.

Or it may happen that a mass crime will be repeated on political prisoners in Mordovia (and everything is ready for that) — that they all will be physically destroyed, and later the executors of that crime will be annihilated.

This was the reason that prompted me to address myself to you, so that you should know these things, and that later, in the future, you would not be able to say that you had not been properly informed, that all this was done without your knowledge, and that you bear no responsibility for similar actions by the KGB.

Mordovia — Ozernyi

"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

V. Chornovil And His Works

Viacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil was born on December 24, 1937 in the village of Yerky, Zvenyhorodsk region of the Cherkask oblast, in the family of a village teacher. He entered school in 1946 and finished in 1955 with a gold medal. The same year he enrolled at Kyiv University in the Faculty of Journalism. During school year 1958 he worked at the construction site of a blast furnace in Zhdaniv, first as a carpenter and later in the publishing office of the construction newspaper. He finished the university with honours in 1960. From July 1960 till May 1963 he was employed by the Lviv television station as the senior editor of youth broadcasts. From May 1963 he worked at the construction site of the Kyiv hydro-electric station first in charge of the Comsomol and later as the editor of the radio-paper at the site. From September 1964 he worked on the staff of the newspaper *Moloda Hvardia* (Young Guard). In 1963—64 he passed an entrance examination to the Philology Faculty of Kyiv University with excellent results and began his post-graduate work in Ukrainian literature under Prof. Pilchuk. Evaluation of his work: "he is found to be an able journalist; his writings are marked with profundity of thought, understanding of the problems and the knowledge of the case. Chornovil's criticism of art and literature is especially good. V. Chornovil's works are well thought out, lively and original in their presentation, worthy of a public writer. He knows how to analyse the finer points in the book under review. The conclusions of his articles are marked by accuracy and laconism."

Prof. Iv. Pilchuk, after familiarizing himself with the manuscript, the published works of V. M. Chornovil and after listening to his brilliant answers relating to Ukrainian literature during his entrance examination, expressed his consent to be his research advisor.

In connection with the protests against the 1965 arrests, Chornovil's post graduate work was rejected and he was fired from his post at the *Moloda Hvardia*. After an interval he found a job on the staff of the newspaper *Drub Chytacha* as a literary worker. When he failed to testify at a closed trial of Horyn, Osadchyi and Zvarychevska in April 1966 he was sentenced to three months of forced labour. He was again fired from his job. From May to September, 1966 he worked as a laboratory technician for the Carpathian meteorological expedition sponsored by the Institute of Geology. Later he took the position of publicity inspector for a Kyiv bookstore. In the Spring of 1967, in connection with the expiration of a temporary visa in Vyzhhorod near Kyiv he moved to Lviv to his family which took up residence there in 1966. Work in general was denied him in Lviv. He became an instructor in the society for the conservation of nature. All this time he was engaged in research work concerning language questions and the history of literature, recently taking up juridical-legal questions. He wrote appeals to the government in which he exposed the violations of socialist laws by the prosecuting authorities, the KGB and the courts, during the arrests and trials in 1965—66. They include: "Relapse into Terror, or Justice" (1250 typed pages), and "Woe from Wit — Portraits of Twenty 'Criminals'". None of the above agencies replied to the statements sent to them and did not refute the facts presented, which have once been called slanderous and for which on August 3, 1967 the Lviv prosecuting organs searched Chornovil's apartment and as the result of which, besides a few books and the aforementioned statements, personal letters, postal receipts and a notebook have been confiscated.

V. Chornovil was arrested on August 5, 1967. He was tried in November and

sentenced to three years of hard slave labour.

He is married and has a three year old son Taras. His wife Olena is a physician.

Published Works

Scholarly articles — “The Desire to Break the Chains”, on the relations between B. Hrinchenko and I. Franko, (*Literaturna Hazeta*, Dec. 10, 1963); “B. Hrinchenko in the Field of Public Education”, (*Radianska Shkola*, No. 12, 1963); “First after the Intermission”, on the works of Hrinchenko, (periodical *Prapor*, No. 6, 1964); on the works of Samiilenko in *Literaturna Hazeta*; “Corypheus of the Ukrainian Theatre” — foreward to a book “Tobilevych, Plays”, pub. *Molod*, 1965; a series of literary-critical articles, “Echo of Centuries on the Desna” — paper *Moloda Hvardia*, July 11, July 18, Aug. 1, Aug. 8, 1965; “Museum under the Sky”, Sept. 1, 1965, *Literaturna Hazeta*; “Canoeing on the Ros”, June 6, 11, 13, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; “Prisia — Kornii — Story” (supposedly a review of A. Khyzhniak’s book “Grandchildren Will Ask”), Feb. 17, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; V. Slavchuk, “24 Hours — from the life of the workers’ dynasty”, Jan. 1, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; “Poetry of Great Design”, April 29, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; “Before an Attack” (report from trans. IRYeS), May 5, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; “An Extension of Life”, (on Symonenko), Dec. 11, 1964, *Moloda Hvardia*; “Tireless Ploughman” (Hrinchenko) July 8, 1963, *Kyivska Zoria*; “Great National Poet” (Shevchenko) March 9, 1964, *Comsomol HES*; “Kobzar Had Been Here”, March 3, 1964, *Comsomol HES*; “First Cube, Last Cube”, Aug. 30, *Kyivska Zoria*; “She Killed Him at Dawn” (Chumak) Nov. 20, 1964, *Moloda Hvardia*; Slavchuk, “Insurgent Children”, May 9, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; “In the Mountain Valleys”, June 5, 1964, *Literaturna Ukraina*; “The Parting Word of the Kameniar”, Feb. 4, 1964, *Literaturna Ukraina*; “Poetry of Civic Duty”, Dec. 4, 1965, *Drub Chytacha*; “National Calender 1966”, Feb. 19, 1966, *Drub Chytacha*;

“The Mountains Sing”, Feb. 19, 1966, *Drub Chytacha*; V. Kornii, “Twelve Hard Years”, Nov. 20, 1965, *Drub Chytacha*; V. Slavchuk, “When Unlikeness Saddens”, Oct. 30, 1965, *Drub Chytacha*; V. Chornii, “Peace Is Only a Dream”, Nov. 13, 1965, *Drub Chytacha*; “Ukrainian Calendar in Poland”, Nov. 27, 1965, *Drub Chytacha*; “Familiarize Yourselves: Book Heroes in the Paintings of Artists”, Jan. 29, 1966, Feb. 12, 1966, *Drub Chytacha*; V. Slavin, “‘Secret’ of Leonid Oleksovych ‘Elpomei’”, Nov. 20, 1965, *Drub Chytacha*; “Merry Bookworms’ Club”, Feb. 12, 1966, *Drub Chytacha*; “Insight into the Riddle of History”, Horb, Feb. 2, 1966, *Drub Chytacha*; “Tireless Ploughman” on the 100th birthday of Hrinchenko, Dec. 8, 1963, *Kyivska Zoria*.

Unpublished Scholarly Articles

“Taras Shevchenko in the Works of B. Hrinchenko”, “The Rise of B. Hrinchenko as a Publicist”, “In the Footsteps of a Great Teacher”, “Fear an Old Boomerang” or “It Is a Declared Anti-Thesis Poetry”, “Yes, Attention Should Be Paid to the Press” (on the language culture), review on the book “1000 Winged Expressions of the Ukrainian Literary Language”, “Dni-pro Star”, collection of works by beginners at the Kyiv HES construction site, edited by V. Ch., foreward, and others.

Croatian Freedom Fighters Condemned

A court of the “Yugoslav” Communist regime has condemned five Croatian freedom fighters for “terrorist activity directed against the state, with the aim of overthrowing the regime”, to penal servitude between three and fourteen years, in the Croatian town of Mostar. According to the accusation, four of them had joined the Croatian organisation “Ustasa” in France and had returned illegally to their country in the summer of 1967. The aim of their political activity was the elimination of the Communist dictatorship of Tito and the re-establishment of the independence of the Croatian state.

Ukraine's Liberation Struggle

Independence Struggle

During the last quarter century the Ukrainian national liberation movement dramatically demonstrated many times the desire of the Ukrainian people for their own sovereign and independent national state. In the years 1944—1950 this struggle was led by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) headed by Gen. Taras Chuprynka, who was killed in battle with the Russian occupation forces in his headquarters-bunker in the forests of the Lviv region. This people's liberation struggle was one of the reasons which prompted Stalin to bring the Ukr. S.S.R. into the United Nations with the view of forestalling any Western designs to recognize the UHVR as the real representation of the Ukrainian people.

In 1946—47 the UHVR together with the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) organized a boycott of elections to the organs of the so-called Ukr. S.S.R. held by the Russian colonial regime. Millions of people abstained from voting. This boycott was an impressive manifestation of the anti-Russian, anti-USSR feeling of the Ukrainian people.

In the years 1945—50 millions of Ukrainians were sent by the Russians to slave concentration camps. In the 50's these prisoners organized large-scale uprisings against the slave empire. The empire was greatly shaken, but Moscow managed to survive by massacring the insurrectionists. Millions of these prisoners were the proof that the subjugated peoples wanted their own free national states without any colonial domination by the Russians. Khrushchov had to disband these slave-labour camps because they became seeds of nationalism, anti-imperialism and anti-Communism.

Foreign Liberation Policy.

The Ukrainian liberation movement has been conducting for the last 25 years its own, inherently Ukrainian, foreign policy.

The First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples (1943) was a real step forward in the creation of an anti-imperial, anti-Russian front. Numerous armed-political raids by the UPA into the territories of the enslaved peoples (Byelorussia, Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, Slovakia) in the years after World War II (1945—48) strengthened this common front and manifested the will of the Ukrainian people to co-operate with all nations on the basis of the ethnographic principle and the inevitability of the anti-Bolshevik front of all the subjugated peoples. Through the ABN, the Ukrainian liberation movement became active in many free countries and has gained allies and friends. Among its achievements are a co-operation agreement with the Chinese nationalists, the establishment of friendship and growing support among Canadian and Spanish statesmen, and further, the participation at numerous international conferences, establishing co-operation with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the passage of the Captive Nations Week Law in the USA. At the same time thousands of Ukrainian freedom-fighters exiled to the far corners of the Russian empire are spreading the concepts of a common front of the subjugated peoples in their own right. In the 60's the spreading of the idea of the world anti-Communist, anti-Russian front in Asia and Western Europe has taken place: the World Anti-Communist League and the European Freedom Council — Co-ordinating Body for Organizations Fighting Communism — have been created.

The action in Sweden during Khrushchov's visit had great propaganda and political significance. At that time, the President of ABN — Yaroslav Stetsko — closely linked the present liberation struggle of Ukraine with Hetman Mazepa who fought (at the beginning of 18th century) against Russia in an alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII.

The Fighting Ukraine has paid great attention to ideological, propaganda, and

political warfare. Important works of Hornovyi, P. Poltava and S. Bandera appeared in underground publications. The Captive Nations Act clearly exposed the colonial nature of the Bolshevik system. By their activities throughout the world Ukrainians remind the world that the Ukr. S.S.R. is not a Ukrainian state but an agent of a foreign empire. The World Congress of Ukrainians constitutes an open protest against the USSR-Ukr.S.S.R. and against the colonialist-imperialist Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Republican Party's inclusion in its 1964 political platform of the truth on the colonial status of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR and the anti-national character of its structure was a moral victory. In the beginning of the 60's John G. Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada, courageously proposed to put the question of the exposure and condemnation of Soviet-Russian imperialism before the Committee on Colonialism at the United Nations. The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League has condemned and is fighting USSR-Ukr. S.S.R. as a colonial anti-national system imposed by the force of Russian arms. In the struggle against Communist-Russian imperial ideology a useful function is performed by several periodicals (*ABN-Correspondence*, *Ukrainian Review*, *Ukrainian Quarterly* and others) as well as the writings of Dmytro Donzow and Yaroslav Stetsko.

Radio broadcasts to Ukraine from Madrid, Rome and Taiwan also help to combat Moscow's ideas.

The Ideological Liberation Struggle

The ideological struggle between freedom-loving Ukraine and imperial Russia is always in a state of great acuteness. The works of Vasyl Symonenko and numerous other writers are an expression of this fierce moral struggle against atheism, materialism, Communism, despotism, socialism, Russian imperial education, Russification and collectivisation. One of the tragic results of this struggle was the decision of Russian criminals to murder Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko, who are the symbols of

no compromise, adherence-to-principle and the revolutionary spirit in the struggle to regain the full sovereignty of Ukraine, who are known in all corners of this greatest prison of nations. The statements by many leading statesmen of the Free World that Ukraine is a trumpet and vanguard of the anti-Communist, anti-Russian, anti-imperial struggle is forcing the Kremlin tyrants to conduct great counter-campaigns. Continuous tirades against Ukrainian nationalism in the Soviet press are proof of the effectiveness of the Christian, anti-imperial and European national ideas of Fighting Ukraine. In Ukraine, as well as in other parts of the empire, underground publications, the so-called "bootleg literature", which spread freedom-loving concepts of the revolutionary liberation struggle, appear often. Historic anniversaries give the Ukrainian people an opportunity to strengthen their Christian, freedom-loving feelings. This happens particularly on the anniversary of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Vasyl Symonenko, "33", at funerals of various national heroes, during the so-called Bolshevik trials of captive Ukrainian revolutionaries, etc. Those who have returned from exile are considered by the people as symbols of fighters for eternal freedom-loving ideals of a nation. The people are listening to Ukrainian radio broadcasts from Madrid, Rome and Taiwan. Ukrainian artists and writers are in the forefront of shattering the ideas of despotism, tyranny and totalitarianism.

The national liberation struggle in Ukraine is being constantly led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Most of the big uprisings in the Russian slave camps were organized and headed by Ukrainian nationalists. In 1959 they even organized a large anti-Russian revolt in Temir Tau. Many nationalists conduct their anti-colonial struggle individually. Such was the legendary Antin Olynyk, who, before being killed himself in 1966, executed scores of anti-Ukrainian bandits. In the summer of 1967 a multitude of people came to the burial of the leading member of the OUN, Mykhailo Stepaniak, turning the funeral into a demonstration of

solidarity with the OUN. News of the trial and subsequent execution of the officer of UPA — O. Hryva, was spread spontaneously among the masses where the UPA and the OUN enjoy great prestige. Such trials, which occur regularly, evoke wide sympathies and mobilize new forces for the continuous struggle to regain national freedom and liberties.

The activity of the OUN can be perceived indirectly from the reaction of the enemy. The press is overfilled with attacks against Ukrainian nationalism. The highest organs of the CPSU often debate their strategy and tactics against OUN! Alexander Shelepin, one of the leaders of the colonial system — personally directed the murder of Stepan Bandera (Head of OUN), perpetrated in Munich in 1959. OUN is also the strongest movement among the three million Ukrainians living in exile. The force of OUN's ideas can clearly be noticed in the works of Vasyl Symonenko, a great poet who died in 1962 in Ukraine at the age of 29. One OUN-group under the name "33" symbolically identifies the 33 Ukrainian students — members of OUN — who were murdered by the Russians in 1952 in reprisal for the execution of Yaroslav Halan — the lacquey of Moscow — for his anti-nationalist activities with the millions of Ukrainians who died in 1932-33 during the Moscow-organized artificial famine in Ukraine.

The political struggle in Ukraine is carried on between two "parties" — the CPSU representing the Russian colonialists and imperialists and the OUN representing the Ukrainian nation. Middle of the road conciliatory groups do not and cannot exist.

Ukrainians constantly demand that all matters pertaining to Ukrainian interests should be decided and executed in and from Kyiv the capital of Ukraine, and not in and from Moscow. Moscow and Kyiv represent symbols of two worlds: the world of slavery and the world of freedom. In the works of V. Symonenko the alien nature of the CPSU in Ukraine is excellently portrayed. Also the composition of the Communist Party of Ukraine

(a branch of the CPSU in Ukraine) shows the unrepresentativeness of this party as a Ukrainian party, for Ukrainians compose a group unproportional to their ratio in the population. At the most recent conference of the CPU (March, 1966) there were 1517 Ukrainians and 472 Russians or 28.9% or twice as many as there are Russians in the population of Ukraine. If we take into consideration that a large percentage of the so-called Ukrainians are either of mixed marriages or Russians with Ukrainian names, or people educated in Russia, the Russians can easily command a majority. In the highest echelons of the CPU the ratio of Russians to Ukrainians is 3:2. The army, state administration, the organs of internal security, the trade unions, the national economy — all are directed and controlled from Moscow, and not from Kyiv. When Ukrainian workers were striking in the fall of 1966, the case was settled by the headquarters of trade-unions in Moscow and by the Russian Premier — Kosygin. During the wide social unrest in Novocherkask in 1962 military units composed of Ukrainians refused to shoot at the populace. It was only after the intervention from Moscow that the special KGB troops bloodily quelled the just demands of the workers.

Armed Liberation Struggle

Armed struggle is always part of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle. Till the early 1950's large insurgent forces (in battalions and companies) operated in Ukraine. During the 50's Ukrainians organized armed insurrections in the Russian slave prison camps together with other nationalities. These revolutionary feats grew to huge proportions. 80,000 were killed in Vorkuta, 1948; 15,000 in Norilsk, 1953; 400 in Vorkuta 1953; 300 in Viatka, 1954; 600 in Kingir, 1954; 200 in Irkutsk, 1956; etc. The main enemy criminals such as Y. Halan and Col. Moskalenko have been tried by revolutionary courts and executed for crimes against the people. During the Hungarian revolution of 1956, the Ukrainian armed underground was sabotaging Russian transport and com-

munications in the Carpathian Mountains used for shipment of tanks and troops to Hungary. Ukrainians in the Soviet army refused to fight against the Hungarian anti-Russian revolutionaries. They deserted and in a few instances joined the Hungarians in combating Russian invaders. In the 1960's Ukrainian freedom-fighters organized raids on the KGB-stations in Western Siberia and in Kazakhstan. In the Don Basin Ukrainian workers supported their just demands with armed revolts many times. Deeds of great heroism were performed when Ukrainian officers committed suicide rather than order their troops to shoot on their armed compatriots (e. g. Novocherkask, 1962). Instances, where troops composed of Ukrainians exchanged fire with the KGB forces, have been recorded.

Vasyl Symonenko shall be mentioned again as a representative of nation-wide opinion in combating lawlessness and arbitrariness of various colonial organs of terror and violence. A very dramatic proof of these methods was given by Stashynsky, the KGB-agent who assassinated S. Bandera and Lev Rebet, another leading Ukrainian, and who later defected to the West, revealing the inhuman criminal methods of the KGB in murdering, kidnapping, terrorizing, and persecuting the Ukrainian freedom-fighters.

A great dissatisfaction with awful labour conditions and brutal exploitation of workers exists in Ukraine. The consciousness that in the Russian colonial system work is not rewarded justly is very deeply ingrained. Society is resisting the planned breaking-up of families and mass export of the Ukrainian youth into Russian Asian colonies for denationalization and exploitation. Recent reports show that Ukrainians are fleeing back to Ukraine from Siberia or northern Russian regions in great numbers. The people treat the underground clergy, monks and nuns and returnees from banishment, invalid freedom fighters, pious Christians and the persecuted cultural activists, who do not accept atheism or Russification, with particular reverence and care. The UPA

waged a heroic struggle in defence of Lemkivshchyna, a Ukrainian region which came under Communist-Polish domination, from where the whole ethnic community was forcefully deported.

In the economic field the Ukrainian people wages a life and death struggle for its physical existence. The tendency to private ownership of a garden, a cow, and a chicken is an important weapon of the nation in its fight against Russian totalitarianism, genocide and exploitation. Whenever possible, peasants "steal" from Kolkhozes the goods robbed from them in the first place. Small-scale free trade is a very healthy phenomenon in the struggle for the existence of the nation. A tendency to accumulate private property and to secure a good, healthy family residence is also a constructive trend opposing the Russian policy of anonymity and collectivism. Constant labour protests, revolts and strikes help to realize the natural desire for progress in living conditions in contrast to Moscow's attempts at utter exploitation. The peasant, labour and social trends reveal the orientation of the economy upon national interests contrary to alien imperialistic interests. Scholarly works, which through historical documentation remind the people of the inherently Ukrainian private ownership and the advantages when the economy is built on this basis, are beginning to appear in economic literature. Literature which urges more attention being devoted to the economic problems of Ukraine in contrast to the "all-Union" or imperial approach is on the increase. A healthy, individualistic phenomenon is exhibited by procuring and keeping fire arms for personal protection and for eventual use against the oppressors and enslavers, although the colonial government severely punishes for possessing arms. The typical Ukrainian private initiative and enterprise are alive despite the enemy's attempts to force people to become faceless and weak-willed automatons of the despotic tyrant. The Ukrainian nuclear scientist, Borys Dotsenko, who asked for political asylum in Canada in October, 1967 very clearly explained the

Russian policy of stifling all individual initiative and personal freedom in Ukraine.

Destruction, sabotage and ruining of the foreign exploitative economy occur often and are accompanied by spontaneous approval of the native population. Voices are heard in favour of reducing heavy industry and increasing light consumer industry. Economic solidarity and altruism among the Ukrainian political prisoners in Russian slave camps are known throughout the world.

Cultural Struggle

In Ukraine the conflict between the religiousness of the natives and the atheism of the alien colonialists is always very acute. Christmas and Easter often turn into mass demonstrations of faith and Christian piety in which tens of thousands participate despite prohibition and subsequent persecution of the participants. In spite of systematic destruction of Ukrainian monasteries and shrines, the people are visiting these places by the thousands and show great reverence for the clergy and the religious. From time to time miracles take place in Ukraine which further strengthen the people's faith and piety. People support the underground Church. The poverty stricken population manages to keep up many churches, shrines and clergy despite various preventive measures by the occupation regime such as innumerable taxes on church buildings and religious ceremonies. Religious literature is being spread throughout Ukraine. Recent trials in Lutsk, Rivne and Zhytomyr show that people are sentenced to many years in prison for distribution of such literature against the CPSU directed atheistic campaign. The distribution of rosaries, crucifixes, medals, holy pictures, etc. is considered very heroic. Hundreds of letters received by Ukrainians in the Free World reveal that the people in Ukraine have a stronger faith than those in free countries. Many Ukrainians are suffering in banishment or in slave labour camps for their religious convictions. Recent documents received in September of 1967 reveal that hundreds of women-martyrs are suffering

in Mordovian concentration camps. The Ukrainian population continues the noble tradition (prohibited by the Russians) of raising symbolic graves and road-side shrines and crosses. In a recent case a road-side cross was destroyed by the Communists several times and each time appeared again.

Despite a constant extermination process Ukrainian culture exists, lives and grows. Hundreds of persecuted Ukrainian artists, writers, and intellectuals constitute one of the proofs of this. They attempt to diminish and destroy the cultural despotism of the CPSU but since the foreign oppressor refuses assistance to anyone going against the orders of the CPSU, creative Ukrainians live and work in extreme misery. They are continuously watched, censored and persecuted. Moscow attempts to isolate Ukraine from the cultural West and from the Christian world.

Ukrainians fight against the concept of "big-brother" treatment. They resist Russification of the Ukrainian language, the lowering of standards in teaching Ukrainian social and humanistic sciences, etc. A struggle to save, preserve, discover and study cultural monuments, works and antiques, especially libraries, museums, important architectural buildings and memorials goes on. Organizers of religious schools are considered heroes. The enslaved people have the method of revealing their cultural preferences by mass demonstrations and manifestations, at unveiling of monuments of national figures, during folk festivals, at political trials of independence-fighters, at funerals of well-known individuals and at religious processions and services. Folklore flourishes; anonymous poetry is passed from hand to hand, legends about contemporary heroes (e. g. Oliynyk) who destroy the colonial bandits are widespread. The patriotic songs are indestructible promoters of Ukrainian spirituality. Overcoming many hardships, Ukrainian scholars manage from time to time to publish a few valuable books. A struggle is going on to transmit the better national traditions to the future generations.

An Appeal On Behalf Of Ukraine

In the last few years and months an unknown number of Ukrainians have been arrested in Ukraine, secretly tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and slave labour outside Ukraine ranging from several months to 15 years, and even to execution by shooting, for demanding political and cultural freedoms and independence for the Ukrainian nation.

The majority of the convicted persons are intellectuals — university professors and lecturers, students, journalists, lawyers, writers and poets, artists, etc. from various parts of Ukraine. Some of them belonged to the Communist Party and Komsomol. Referring to the provisions of the Constitutions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the so-called Leninist nationality policy they raised demands for complete political freedom and independence of Ukraine and came out in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian people to a genuine development of its culture, especially the unrestricted use of Ukrainian in schools, civil and military institutions, and public services of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

In justification of the arbitrary arrests and draconic sentences, the Soviet-Russian authorities accuse the arrested persons of "treason", "especially dangerous anti-State crimes", "agitation and propaganda aimed at undermining or overthrowing the Soviet regime" motivated by Ukrainian nationalist sentiments.

In view of this what is the use of the articles of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. which state that "each union republic retains the right to freely leave the U.S.S.R." (Article 17), that "each union republic has the right to enter into direct diplomatic relations with foreign countries" (Article 18-a) and that "each union republic has its own republican military formations" (Article 18-b)? What is the use of the article 123 which states that "Equality of citizens of the U.S.S.R., without regard to nationality and race in all the fields of economic, state, cultural and social political life is an inviolable right"? How dare they proclaim that "the law guarantees to the citizens of the U.S.S.R.: a) the freedom of speech; b) the freedom of the press; c) the freedom of assembly and meetings; d) the freedom of street procession and demonstrations" (Article 125)?

The analysis of the general situation in Ukraine and the information relating to the activities of Ukrainian intellectuals who cannot openly and frankly express their opinions on the questions of Ukraine's underprivileged international status, on the restrictions hampering Ukrainian culture and language, on the Russification of Ukrainian life, in the press, radio, television and at public meetings, reveal that what is happening in Ukraine at present is nothing less than a determined drive by Russian authorities and their subservient helpers, to crush ruthlessly the rising Ukrainian aspirations to national freedom and independence, to break the national spirit and intellectual elite of Ukraine. All this amounts to cultural and national persecution which has as its final aim the suppression of Ukrainian cultural originality and the elimination of Ukrainian people as a distinct and separate ethnic group by means of forced Russification and the retention of Ukraine under Moscow's colonial rule.

These restrictions, accompanied by the arrests and severe sentences meted out to intellectuals, constitute a flagrant violation of human rights, which should not fail to arouse the disapproval of world public opinion. Censorship and the dictatorial state system prevent the Ukrainian people and its intellectuals from publicly defending themselves, from voicing for all the world to hear their demands concerning the restoration of their national political rights and the lifting of restrictions on their culture and language.

The struggle for the implementation of complete and universal decolonisation in all parts of the world should not be separated from the struggle of Ukraine and all the

peoples subjected to Russian Communist oppression and imperialist policies for their national independence and liberty. These valiant efforts deserve full respect and support of all conscientious and freedom-loving people throughout the world.

We declare our solidarity with the persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals and promoters of national independence and individual freedom of Ukraine and other nations suppressed by the Communist Russian regime, pledge our support for the noble aims for which they are striving, and call upon all people of good will to join us in rendering at least moral support to these pioneers of human rights and liberties in the continuing darkness of tyranny.

Estonia's Struggle Against Russian Imperialism

On the Soviet Union's western corner, facing Sweden and Finland across the Baltic Sea, a small nation mourns the lost short freedom it wrenched from Russian Bolshevik rule 50 years ago. After 700 years' foreign rule, lastly as a Russian province, the independent Republic of Estonia was proclaimed on February 24, 1918. Two years' fighting the onslaughts of the Red Army finally secured recognition of Soviet Russia for the new state in February 1920. Twenty years later the dream was over. Stalin's 1939 pact with Hitler placed Estonia "in the Soviet sphere"; after the Kremlin ultimatum Estonia was "admitted to the Soviet Union" on August 6, 1940 — and the Red Army marched in.

Since its early stirrings Bolshevism in Estonia has borne three characteristics. Its spiritual fathers and most active representatives were Russians and to a minor degree Russified Estonians who could not even speak the language of their forefathers. Before World War I the man who first followed up Bolshevik tendencies in the Estonian workers' movement was later chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the USSR (nominally head of state), M. I. Kalinin. He was deported to Estonia (Reval) in 1901 for revolutionary activities and continued his work there. He set up an illegal organisation with a secret printing shop. His followers were Polevoi, Shirokogorov, Privolney-Privalov and others, especially students from Petersburg University, for the centre of Estonian Bolshevism after 1910 was Petersburg (now Leningrad), residence of the tsars, only 70 miles outside Estonia. Unlike the Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries and representatives of other wings of the wor-

kers' movement the Bolsheviks most resolutely denied Estonian independence.

The most important combat method of the Bolsheviks was annihilation and agitation. Hardly had they established their extreme group in 1904 than riots against real or alleged enemies started. When the 1905 Russian revolution, which was mainly agrarian, began and the Baltic was in a state of war the radical workers decided against the will of the Social Democrats to burn down mansions on the land. Significantly the first such resolution was made at the "Volta" machine factory where Kalinin worked and agitated after his arrival from Russia. This same tactic was used inside Russia.

It would of course have been more logical and understandable if the revolutionaries had turned against the Russian military punitive squads suppressing the revolution. But the Bolsheviks were not interested in hopeless fights against regular troops but rather in widening the differences between the working and other classes. The Russian soldier was left undisturbed to shoot, arrest and beat up workers and peasants to deepen the hate against the regime and help prepare the Bolshevik takeover of power.

Revolution paid off in Russia itself at the end of the First World War. But in Estonia all efforts failed. Neither the 1905 and 1917 revolutions nor the 1918—1920 war brought them lasting power. The brief spell of freedom manifestly steeled the people's will to preserve it. For with the world at war it took the Red Army and all its political commissars to impose Communism on the 1.2 million Estonians after 1940.

(Oskar Angelus)

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

The identical conclusion was drawn by Allen S. Whiting. (141) Lenin endeavored to detach Manchuria from China, or at least to make it a stepping-stone on the road toward subjugating all of China.

From delegation of the CER offer in 1919 it was but a step in 1920 to infrequent references to "Russia's financial and economic interests" in North Manchuria. By 1922, Joffe's statements included outright demands that "necessary guarantees" be given to safeguard Russian interests in the railway zone. (142)

In 1922 Joffe regarded this aggressive policy in the vein of the most "reactionary" tsarist statesmen. He revealed the purpose of the Karakhan's manifestos to be hollow propaganda in order to cover the vicious and rapacious Russian imperialism:

. . . with a view, again to avoiding any misunderstanding whatsoever . . . deems it necessary (Extraordinary Plenipotentiary Envoy of RSFSR — A.B.) at the same time to stress that, on the one side, it was quite wrong to draw this inference from these Declarations, that Russia renounces all her interests in China. By these Declarations Russia had renounced the predatory and violent policy of the Tsar's Government and promised to renounce those rights which had accrued to Russia from this policy. But firstly, until all these questions shall have been settled by a free accord between Russia and China, Russia's rights in China will not have lost their strength, and secondly, these Declarations do not at all annul Russia's legal and just interests in China. In particular, for instance, even if Russia vests in the Chinese people her title to the CER, this will not annul Russia's interest in this line, which is a portion of the Great Siberian Railroad and unites one part of the Russian territory with another. On the other hand . . . the promises stipulated in these Declarations of 1919 and 1920, which the Workers' and Peasants' Government still recognizes as binding it today, cannot

after all be valid forever, and that, therefore, unless the Chinese Government discontinues its ignoring of the Russian interests, Russia will perhaps, after all, be obliged to consider herself free from those promises which she voluntarily gave. (143)

When Russian influence spread in China Lenin worked hard to capture the control of the Chinese nationalist movement and then to eliminate the nationalist element within it. He distorted Sun Yat-sen's doctrine calling it "narodnichestvo" (populism):

. . . to the extent that the number of Shanghai's increases in China, the Chinese proletariat will increase as well. It will probably form some sort of Chinese Social Democratic Labour Party, which, while criticising the petty-bourgeois utopias and reactionary views of Sun Yat-sen, will certainly take care to single out, defend and develop the revolutionary-democratic core of his political and agrarian program. (144)

From all the facts stated in this chapter we thus see that wherever the Bolsheviks on their conquering path reached the boundaries of the former tsarist empire, Lenin immediately ordered them to invade neighboring countries. He visualized a Russian world empire, founded on some ideas of Marxism and on traditional Russian messianism, as well as on the tsarist state legacy. Lenin devised an appropriate strategy of conquest that would correspond to the aims which were to be fulfilled. The West was declared Russia's and Communism's chief enemy, while "the East" was to be conquered through the propaganda of Russia's mission to "liberate" oppressed nations from Western domination. Lenin applied to his universal ideas a strategy of total war. "War" was his basic strategic principle. With regard to the West Lenin favored the policy based on the ideas of anti-imperialism, anti-nationalism, anti-Westernism, and of a classless society. Exploitation of international "antagonisms" and fomenting civil

wars (called the proletarian revolution) were his principal means. With regard to the "East" the principal means applied by Lenin were "liberation wars" and alliance with Russia.

Chapter V. Epilogue: Legacy of Lenin's Imperialism

Lenin left to his successors a lasting heritage of ideological and political concepts, and Russian imperialism formed its basis. We shall discuss those phases of his imperial heritage which were dealt with in the preceding chapters but which do not reflect his whole legacy.

Lenin's legacy consisted in impressing upon his followers the notion that advancement of Russia's imperialistic interests must be their uppermost aim. Hence, after Lenin, Bolshevik leadership always remained in the hands of the group which followed this principle.

Lenin's influence upon his successors made itself felt in the complete securing of those ideas and policies which were substantially oriented to the interests of Russian imperialism. Before the downfall of the tsarist government Lenin often scorned it for realizing policies which did not contribute much to the expansion and growth of the Russian empire. It is an undisputed fact that the Russian empire became much stronger under Bolshevik leadership than it was under tsarist leadership and especially after 1944 it expanded geographically as well as in influence.

The great legacy of Lenin was the creation of a new Russian imperialist elite which became more aggressive and dynamic, more expansive and missionary than the previous tsarist elite had been. This new elite combined the ideas of Communism and of Russian imperialism with the methods characteristic of both ideologies and of the Russian culture. Lenin invented so-called "Soviet patriotism" as the means of assimilating and subjugating the non-Russian nations. He made Communism, as an ideology and as a movement, a tool of the Russian imperialists; this principle became specifically "Leninist"; accordingly Russian Communists should neither con-

quer other nations without the Communist ideological justifications, nor should they ever become true internationalists of Trotsky's kind. Lenin's heritage is obvious in the structure of the Soviet government and also in the Soviet constitution. Both reveal the synthesis of Russian imperialistic aims and Russian traditional forms with Communist ideas. Lenin's legacy is also to be found in the synthesis of Communism with Russian culture, which synthesis assured the dominating influence of Russian culture over the Soviet state, thus extending this influence to the non-Russian nations conquered by the Communists. Lenin established the principle of giving priority to the defence of Russia before the principle of spreading Communism. The rise of Stalin, after Lenin's death, was to a large degree based on this principle, while Trotsky pursued the opposite principle.

This legacy also consisted in founding Communist world policies on the power and the interests of Russian imperialism. He discarded "Communism" oriented solely to the proletarian class and instead adopted "Communism" which served as the ideological tool of the Russian imperialists. He therefore maintained that the Russian people were the vanguard and the base of world Communism. Thus the Third International became the instrument of the imperialistically-minded Russian Communists.

Lenin was instrumental in transferring to his successors many traditions of the tsarist Russian regime which were based on imperialistic concepts. The governmental system and the state constitution of the USSR encompassed tsarist imperial ideas. Lenin's principles in this respect were retained by his followers. This legacy consisted of absolutism, despotism, centralism, and the law of force.

Lenin also left a legacy of imperialistic cultural and economic ideas. These are collectivism, anti-Westernism, Russian traditional messianism, secularism, and imperialism. His heritage is similarly strong in military and police aspects. The army became, as it had been under the

tsars, the tool of Russian imperialism. The same also applied to the police, to which Lenin left unrestricted political powers in regard to the subjugated peoples.

He left a legacy of tsarist imperialistic concepts in the Soviet foreign policy. It remained under the spell of Russian messianism, the main objective of which was the constant expansion of the geographical, political, and cultural boundaries of the Russian empire. The Bolsheviks were ordered to continue the expansionist policies of the tsars although with different justifications and using new methods.

Lenin instilled into his followers the concept of an indivisible Russian empire, in which formal constitutional appearances may be changed, while the many non-Russian nations must be dominated by the Russians. Lenin's successors retained his prescription of giving theoretical independence to the non-Russian nations but keeping them under the absolute imperial rule of the Russians through administrative and political channels. From this principle was deduced the principle of the uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of nationalist striving on the part of the non-Russian peoples. During the wars with the many nations which seceded from the Russian tsarist empire Lenin formulated a peculiar strategy of conquest. This strategy was taken over by his successors and was strictly followed in subsequent imperialistic ventures.

Lenin's successors learned from him to think globally, to form global aims of expansion. An important precept was that of gradual expansion, step by step although the conquest of the whole earth remained the ultimate objective. He was in fact the originator of the Russian policy of global conquest. It was to be effected under the guise of a world Soviet union. With it went a proper strategy of conquest, notorious for its totality, double-front tactics, anti-Westernism, and ideological warfare.

Lenin's stature in the Russian Communist movement is so great that his successors as autocrats and despots were and are essentially imitators, trying to fulfil his

objectives by his strategic concepts. Although times have changed, and great changes have occurred since Lenin's period in particular in the technological and economic fields, Lenin's concepts are still adhered to by Russian Communists, including L. Brezhnev. Hence the political leaders of the world should study Lenin's ideas and policies in order to have a thorough insight into the ideas and policies of the present-day Russian rulers.

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From Letters To ABN:

January 27, 1968

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

Thank you profoundly for your inspiring message to the Mass Rally in commemoration of the 14th Anniversary of Freedom Day.

This Freedom Day movement has spread all over Taiwan. Present at the Taipei Rally were US Congressman John Ravick, representative from the National Captive Nations Committee of the USA, envoys of foreign diplomatic missions stationed in the Republic of China, representatives of all walks of life in Taiwan, representatives of ex-POWs of the Korean War, recent freedom-seekers from Korea, Vietnam and Indonesia, and many other distinguished guests. Most of them made speeches and denounced the Communist tyranny at the meeting. We had the pleasure of reading your kind message at the Rally and printing it in our Special Pamphlet for wider publicity. It is our firm belief that your message will be a source of great encouragement to the captive peoples in their struggle for freedom.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
 Ku Cheng-kang,
 Chairman

January 15, 1968

Dear Editor:

I wish to express my sincere appreciation for ABN Correspondence. I pay my respects to you for sparing no pains for freedom to nations and freedom to individuals. We are struggling with the Communists and sending troops to Vietnam because the Korean people are freedom-loving people.

I am director of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and also work for the Seoul Shinmun (Daily News) as standing auditor. I read the booklet with deep interest and had it kept at the Inquiry Section of our newspaper for those who are interested in ABN and also as data for articles.

Again thanks for the booklet and all my best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
 Kim, Jong-myun
 Seoul, Korea

"I have sworn upon the Altar of God,
 Eternal Hostility against every form of
 tyranny over the mind of man"

Thomas Jefferson

News And Views

ACEN Contradicts Captive Nations Law

Resolution of the Plenary Session of the Hungarian Cross and Sword Movement held on 3 and 4 September 1967.

The basis for the existence, the exclusive task, the only direction for the activities of all political Hungarian emigrants is to be the spokesman before the public opinion of the Free World for the Hungarian nation, which has been silenced and robbed of free expression of its will and opinions. Therefore the custodians of Hungarian spiritual life and the leaders of Hungarian public life are burdened with a heavy responsibility. Their ideas expressed as individuals or in groups are not private matters but common property, the analysis and discussion of which at the Hungarian Forum are of great importance from the standpoint of the future of Hungary and they contribute to the progress of public Hungarian life.

Our long life as emigrants has taught us that the basis of personal judgment cannot be 10 or 20 years spent in the public service but that service for the present and future of Hungary forms the true standard. The position acquired in one's native country does not mean a natural legal continuity as an emigrant. Therefore each idea can only be measured in the context of Hungarian life.

The ACEN (Assembly of Captive European Nations) tolerates in its ranks only those nine states officially recognised as states by the USA. That is to say, apart from Hungary, only Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland and the Baltic states.

By reason of its constitution, the ACEN is decidedly for the present status quo, i.e. its aim is only the end of Russian occupation. The ACEN is not concerned with the fate of the c. 4 million Hungarians torn away from Hungary, nor with the question

of the Slovaks pitilessly oppressed by the Czechs, or with the question of the Croats subjugated by the Serbs, without mentioning the fate of the oppressed minorities of Slovenes, Macedonians or Transilvanians.

ACEN stands in open contradiction, with its statutes and its present political line, to the law passed by the 1959 American Congress on the proclamation of the Captive Nations Week, since ACEN wants to limit the 22 nations, which the American nation is to remember each year, to a mere 9.

The American resolution of 1959 has legal force over the Captive Nations Week. It acknowledges the national characters of the people living in Central and Eastern Europe, and their rights to be free nations. The American conception is much more in accordance with the political programme of the Hungarians living outside the boundaries of Hungary, who numerically far outnumber many of the newly-created African or Asian states, than the integrity of territory found in the artificial political principles of ACEN based on the Trianon treaty. If however the political conception demanded by the American legislature should be in disagreement with the present plans of the American government, it is the prime interest of all Hungary to put its political weight to bear for the realisation of this conception, which promises a better future for Hungary. It is therefore in the interests of Hungary to change the political line of the ACEN. If this is not to be attained, then the Hungarians should withdraw in a body from ACEN, since they would thus liquidate practically the last stronghold of the policy of the so-called 'Little Entente'.

The Hungarian politicians in ACEN should work for the sake of the future of our nation above all for the rights of the Slovak and Croatian nations too,

so that mutual solidarity can be realised between the national personalities living in the area of the Carpathian basin, and so that we can make a first step towards a better future.

The Hungarian public opinion, the press, and the bodies dealing with Hungarian problems should occupy themselves with these questions, in accordance with the importance of the matter. Let us not allow

this great question of the future of Hungary to become a fruitless personal matter of mutually warring politicians, but let every forum of Hungarian spiritual life occupy itself with serious, considered responsibility, with the sketching of the future of Hungary, a thing which would be, in consideration of the sad 50th anniversary of Trianon in 1970, a really up to date and constructive task.

The Bloody Jubilee

A few weeks ago two jubilees took place in the Soviet Union: at the beginning of November the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated, in December the celebrations for the fifty years of the Cheka, the GPU, the NKVD, the MVD, and the KGB, as the Soviet secret police has been known in the various epochs of its history. The power of the Bolsheviks was cemented with the Cheka, and what Stalin made out of the GPU and NKVD can be read up in the libraries. *Millions fell victims to the secret police*, mostly, if at all, rehabilitated only after a violent death. Dictatorship brought real terror and it is small wonder that the Communists, after their take-over of power in the neighbouring eastern states, imitated the perfect *bloody* organisation of the Moscow headquarters and staged show trials, which in part will remain *crimes* in the history of these countries. *Despite* Moscow's renunciation of violent revolution, the methods of the Soviet secret service have not really changed. *The latest kidnapping of the Ukrainian scientist working in England, Dr. Tkachenko and the injection into him of a slow-working poison* however allow us even in our days a *terrible* insight into *the whole system* of the secret service.

The Soviet secret service is said today to number about a *million members*, of whom every fourth one has undergone special training. At the jubilee conference in the Kremlin, the statement by the new

KGB chief, *Yuri Andropov*, that there can be no return to the lawlessness by the police, was greeted with much applause. The KGB, he claimed, protects the Soviet population against all enemies, spies and saboteurs, and frustrates the attempts by the West at infiltration. Only enemies of the Soviet Union could describe the KGB as a 'kind of secret service', concluded Andropov. There are secret services in the whole world. They are certainly justified, as long as they are to protect the state against external enemies. But in dictatorships they enable the rulers to remain in power, to silence and gag every internal enemy.

No article appearing on the occasion of the jubilee of the revolution was without signs of the *seas of blood and tears through which the Communist revolution passed*. Its henchmen were the successors of the Chekists. If the Kremlin rulers had allowed the build-up of a state to be celebrated, *the hope might have been further cherished* that the dark times of Stalin's rule were indeed over. But now the highest representatives of the Soviet state are to be seen at the jubilee of the secret service and *give their sanction* to the 'achievements' of a Beria. Urs Schwarz in his book 'Fear in Politics' described the Soviet regime as the *perfection of terror* over its citizens. Party ideologist Suslov said in his lecture on Party principles, that the old mistakes will not be repeated, for times have changed. Other times need other

methods: from the dead letter-boxes to button-hole cameras, from the brain-washing of the show-trials to the deadly prisons of Siniavskys and Daniels and thousands of other Ukrainian intellectuals, much has really altered. For the better?

(Tiroler Tageszeitung 22. 12. 67)

Communist Party Composition

Partiinaiia Zhizn (organ of the CPSU) for October, 1967 published statistics on the development and the condition of the Party. It gives the following table:

	Members in Millions	Nationality Percentage by	Percentage in Relation to the Total Population of the USSR
Russians	7.85	61.8	54.5
Ukrainians	1.98	15.7	17.8
Byelorussians	0.42	3.3	3.7
Uzbeks	0.22	1.7	2.9
Kazakhs	0.20	1.6	1.7
Georgians	0.21	1.6	1.3
Armenians	0.20	1.6	1.3
Azerbaijanians	0.16	1.2	1.4
Others	1.44	11.5	15.4
	12.68	100	100

The above figures are proof of the total and absolute domination by the Russians over all other peoples in the Soviet Union and of the lack of any equality in international relations, for the Russians everywhere have supremacy and preference over other peoples in each area. In the Soviet Union sovereignty is exercised by the

Increase in the Military Budget of the Russian Empire

In the budget estimates of the so-called Soviet Union for 1968 an increase of about 2.2 milliard roubles for military expenditure is foreseen and allowed for. 16.17 milliard roubles are, in total, intended for military purposes within the Russian Bolshevik colonial empire (excluding the so-called satellite states).

CPSU where the Russians have absolute majority.

These statistics do not tell the whole truth, because, knowing the practices in the Soviet Union, many millions of the population are counted as Russians even though they are not Russians. The real Russian population, if we were able to prepare such a study, would definitely be below the 50% mark of the total population of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, sovereignty in the USSR rests exclusively with the Russians. All the other nations lack sovereignty and depend upon the will of the Russians. If we consider

that the Soviet Union is organised as a "dictatorship of the proletariat", it means that the whole power of the state is in the hands of the Russian proletarians who rule over all the peoples in a dictatorial-totalitarian way. This leads toward the genocide of these peoples, under the guise of the so-called "fusion of nations".

Communist Party Chief Stabbed

Tel Aviv. The Israeli Communist Party chief Meir Vilner was stabbed in Tel Aviv in the open street. He was taken to a hospital, but according to his doctors is not in danger of his life. As the police stated, the perpetrator of the attack declared that he had acted out of "anguish over the fate of the Jews in Russia".

Anniversary Celebration In London

The 50th anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukraine's Independence was celebrated in London on January 28th and 29th, 1968.

At the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the City of London, the Apostolic Exarch for Great Britain, His Excellency Augustine E. Hornyak OSBM, celebrated a Pontifical Divine Liturgy for the restoration of national political and religious freedom in Ukraine.

On the Sunday afternoon at the Royal Festival Hall, thousands of Ukrainians and their English friends gathered for a Commemorative Concert organized by the Ukrainian Jubilee Committee. Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association, carrying Ukrainian flags and standards lined the stage while opening speeches in English and Ukrainian were delivered by Mr. Michael English, Member of Parliament for Nottingham and Mr. W. Mykula B. A., B. Litt.; the chairman was Captain M. Bilyj-Karpy-nec.

The celebrations concluded with a Cocktail Party in the House of Commons on Monday evening at which Mr. Leslie Lever M. P. was the Host. Among the Members of Parliament present were: Mrs. Bessie Braddock, Sir David Renton, Mr. T. A. Jones, Mr. Jack McCann, Sir William Teeling, Mr. J. Briggs-Davison, Mr. Michael English, Mr. Dingle Foot, Mr. Bob Howarth, Mr. Dan Jones and Mr. Leslie Lever. Also present were Lady Jane Birdwood; the South Vietnamese Ambassador and his wife; Mr. Joseph Lisowskyj, President of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain; Mr. Vanston, Chairman of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society; Mr. John Graham, Member of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council; representatives of Amnesty International, the British Press and representatives of Ukrainian organizations in Great Britain.

The toast to Ukraine was proposed by Mr. Jack McCann M. P. and responded to by Professor W. Shayan and Mr. Vanston.



From the Cocktail Party in the House of Commons. From left to right: Burnley Evening Star Reporter, John Graham, Mrs. Phan Trong Quy (from the South Vietnamese Embassy), Mr. Dan Jones, M. P. for Burnley, and Mr. J. Lisowskyj.

Book Reviews

Jürgen Domes: Policy and Government in Red China:

W. Kohlhammer Publishing House, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne, Mainz, 1965. 184 p.

In writing this work, the author intended to give 'some basic information on the internal policy, the structure of leadership and methods of government in Communist China'. In this he has succeeded.

Jürgen Domes gives in this book objective information on the government, the party apparatus, the mass organisations, the 'Peoples Liberation Army', the methods and structure of the 'thought reform' and the Peoples Communes in Red China. The author is not concerned with the conflict between Red China and Soviet Russia, since he confines himself in this book only to internal policy.

In the introductory chapter 'Intellectual concepts present in conditions prior to the Communist seizure of power in China', the author refutes erroneous suggestions that Communism had any kind of roots in the cultural history of China. The coming into existence of the Communist movement in China was a result of the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia. Soviet Russia also supported the Chinese Communists in their struggle for power. These facts are also brought out in the description of the Chinese Communists' struggle for power in this book.

'Certainly the Chinese Communists are indeed Chinese and the tradition of their people is reflected also in their organizational forms and actions. But the system of government set up by them and the methods of government used by them are foreign to China, a fact which is often not admitted'.

The author makes the following statement inter alia on the much-lauded 'successes' of the Communist dictatorship in China:

'But the crisis of the years from 1958 to

1962 has led to economic and social stagnation, whereas at the same time in Japan and a series of South-East Asian countries considerable progress has been achieved. Only unconvincing evidence can be quoted to support the often heard claim that 'the Chinese are certainly still badly off, but they are still substantially better off than ever before in this century . . .' The price paid by the Chinese people for this not altogether convincing achievement in development seems, in view of the results, too high. Even the credentials of their development policy can scarcely be employed to increase the reputation of the KCT (Chinese Communist Party).

The author comes to the following conclusions:

'There are many different signs today which point to the fact that the government in Peking is concerned much more with the retention of power than with revolutionising China. It is true that from time to time a new revolutionary onset will occur, as for example has been appearing in broad outline since the summer of 1964. But the elan of the first years after 1949 has been missing in the actions of the last years. It cannot be excluded that the leaders of the KCT are beginning to resign themselves. This would mean that the Communist revolution in China has failed'.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny.

Mato Tovilo:

Croatia's Way Of The Cross
They Fell For Their Country.
1966 Library of H. O. P.

The author, a Croatian soldier, relates in this book his memories of the independent Croatian state and of the terrible crimes perpetrated by Communist partisans in Croatia during the Second World War. He describes Croatia's struggle, for survival on the basis of his own personal experiences. The information he gives on the tragedy of the Croatian army, which fought hero-

ically against the Russian-Bolshevik Red Army and against Tito's Communist partisan bands, is shocking. In May 1945 thousands and thousands of Croatian prisoners of war were handed over by the British occupation power to the Communist dictatorship of Tito, in the Yugoslav state formation, which had been re-established by force. Most of these soldiers were simply murdered, and others bestially tortured. The author describes as an eyewitness and fellow-sufferer cruel crimes and indescribable atrocities. The representatives of the Western victors however kept silent about these mass murders committed against the enslaved Croatian people!

"The surviving Croatian sons, exiled all over the world, protested in speech and writing, asking the Free World to hear our complaints also; asking them to look at the suffering of Croatian mothers, women and children."

"Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, the great archbishop of Zagreb, was first in raising his voice in defense of the unprotected Croatian lives. Priests and intellectuals implored the West to hear their complaints about the horrors being inflicted on the Croatian soldiers, one of Europe's most gallant armies; and on a nation which, for four centuries had guarded the Eastern approach to the West, protecting it from all aggressors from the East."

The West had no understanding for the Croatian people. Unfortunately the West has learnt nothing from the tragedy of the Croatian people. At that time the representatives of the West supported Tito's criminal Communist dictatorship, and they still do so today.

Dr. C.P.

Dr. Edmund Marhefka:

The Rulers Of This World And The Problem Of Power. Berlin

1958, 480 pp.

In this work devoted to the philosophy of the state the author strives to throw light on the problem of power. This problem doubtlessly belongs to the central problem of political science, and its solution must be considered the most important task

of any policy. The author of this book represents the view that the rulers of this world do not understand this problem in general, since they confuse power with force.

Dr. Marhefka strives to elucidate this problem with a deep sense of responsibility and considerable expert knowledge. His starting point is the Christian ethos and scientific knowledge. In his view power differs from force in its essence by the fact that it has no purpose in itself but serves the nation and has its limits in the laws of nature and morality. "The outer phaenotype of physical force has been confused with the character of genuine power. Genuine power however is based on service to the nation. By observation of the moral law, service in the 'triangular' form of thought lies in the spirit of the constructive principle of love of one's neighbour and not in the spirit of psychic and physical suppression of one's fellow men."

The author in the book under review brings forward much historical evidence for the theory that a 'triangular' conception of a state and social order and a corresponding policy serves the rise of nations, social progress or at least a peaceful development. In contrast a 'linear' or subjective ideology brings about decline and ruin.

The author feels the spiritual historical development of Europe to be especially tragic in this respect. "Here the linear or subjective ideology which Hellenism had given birth to carried in itself the kernel of decay . . ."

The 'triangular' form of Christianity penetrated into this linear attitude, producing however not a revolution but a change in perspective . . .

Until the end of the Middle Ages the leading princes in the main treated their duties as rulers as the cause of the elementary moral law."

With the Renaissance however there began in Europe a return to 'linear' ideology.

The French Revolution of 1789 formed an important milestone in this spiritual development of Europe, and its fateful results and after-effects are still to be felt.

"The spiritual confusion which has since the French Revolution with its self-contradictory principles of legitimacy affected the legal constitutions of most European states, found its climax in Russia."

"Through the revolution of 1917 the direction which had further developed as a result of the Renaissance from the Platonic Utopia came to triumph and found its expression in socialist Communist doctrine. In connection with the materialistic, industrial and unsocial development taking place in Europe, important pre-conditions offered themselves for this in Russia itself."

"Even if Soviet-Russian Communism deviated from the principles of socialism as represented by Karl Marx, it still made its own the speculation of historical materialism of Marxist stamp: to break the process of development of the mechanised, capitalist living process of the nations in an unfailling statistical final state of general levelling and proletarianisation and to harness it in the service of its own plans."

"The representatives of a system of government have hardly ever been so under the spell of such piteous fear as the representatives of the Soviet system. At every turn, in speeches, writings, decrees, laws and decisions, everywhere, the hysterical fear of aggressors, spies, saboteurs, subversive elements (who knows what that is?), fascists, reactionaries, and other elements comes to light in utter confusion. These shadowy ghosts are characterised as the reflexes of natural instincts, which suggest involuntarily the terrible uncertainty of the unlawful rule of force. Fear is the clearest expression of weakness."

The author says about our century: "The Twentieth Century is characterised by unprecedented spiritual confusion and political chaos, which labels regression as progress, which considers unlawful governments as lawful, shows the mass-man as its own working-slave pressed down to the level of an animal and recognises the greatest state-criminals in world history as possessing equal rights. A pitiful spectacle of human lack of dignity!"

Dr. Marhefka however does not only criticise but indicates positive solutions.

In his work he also gives suggestions for the organisation of a modern state and legal order, which are worthy of attention.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

Professor Dr. Meciar in Munich

The President of the Assembly of Slovak Liberation Committee, *Professor Dr. Stanislav Meciar*, authorized Slovak representative of the Central Delagation of ABN in Argentina, undertook a European tour from Buenos Aires in February of this year.

Professor Meciar also visited Munich. On this occasion the Presidium of ABN held a reception on 19 February. The President of the Central Committee of ABN, who was absent from Munich, was represented by his wife, Mrs. Slava Stersko, head of the ABN Press Office. The reception was also attended by Dr. K. Drenikoff, the Bulgarian representative of ABN in France, as well as members of the Ukrainian, Slovak and Croatian delegations of ABN. Discussions were held in a very friendly spirit.

Professor Meciar is a prominent representative of Slovak cultural and political life. Already in his own country he belonged to the intellectual elite of the nation. He worked in Slovakia as the director of an important cultural institute. He was later appointed professor of Slovak literary history at the Slovak University at Bratislava. Besides this he was also active in politics and as a publicist. When the Russian Red Army was marching towards Bratislava, Professor Meciar went abroad, like thousands of other anti-Communist-minded Slovak patriots, to work there for the liberation of Slovakia. As an emigrant, Professor Meciar developed important activities in the political field and as a publicist. For years he edited the Slovak exile newspaper, *Slovenska republika* (Slovak republic). In this new political work, he did not neglect activity in the cultural sphere. Whilst an emigrant, Professor Meciar wrote and published several books, scholarly works in the specialised field of Slovak literary history.

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CONTENTS:

<i>V. Kajum-Khan (Turkestan)</i> Turkestani Élite Against Falsification Of History	1
<i>Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy)</i> Merciless War Against The Free World	4
<i>Dr. Ivan Bankovski (Bulgaria)</i> The Truth About The "Liberation" Of Bulgaria By Russia	8
<i>Austin J. App, Ph. D. (USA)</i> Soviet Russia Chief Enemy Of Free Peoples	11
<i>Dr. Ctibor Pokorny (Slovakia)</i> Slovakia Demands National Freedom And Sovereignty	15
<i>Ivan Dziuba (Ukraine)</i> Internationalism Or Russification	17
<i>Wolfgang Strauss (Germany)</i> The Wave Of Anti-Colonialism	25
Fighters For Independence Incarcerated	29
Bulgarian National Front Celebrates Anniversary	39
News And Views	40
<i>H. L. Kaster (Germany)</i> The Russians In The Mediterranean	42
Ukrainian Support To ABN	44
From Behind The Iron Curtain	46
Book Reviews	48

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Turkestan Elite Against Falsification Of History

In the last few months it has become evident that various currents are apparent among intellectuals in Turkestan in the questions of culture, tradition and national heritage, which differ in many ways from the pure party line. A strong group declares itself for classical Turkestan literature and art, without which the present culture would not be possible, for certain national customs and usages, and for an idealisation of the cultural heritage of the past. The "many thousands of years of Turkestan history", the "holy national heritage", the "holiness of the Mother Earth" are often spoken and written about, while the great rulers TIMUR, BABIR, ULUKBEK and others are honoured. (*Uzbekistan Madaniyati*, 12. 1. 68, *Yash Leninshe*, 7. 3. 68, *Soviet Turkmenistani*, 31. 1. 68)

Now in the historical sphere too, especially in judging the many questions relating to the conquest of Turkestan by tsarist Russia and the establishment of Soviet-Russian power in this area, certain changes are making themselves noticeable. The previous official version was that Turkestan joined itself voluntarily to Russia, mainly to obtain protection against occupation by English imperialists. This theory was represented, on the orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, by party and government functionaries, scholars, writers, journalists and others in Turkestan.

At present another line can be noticed, principally among scholars. The impression is given that Turkestan historians are making an effort in their academic research to achieve a certain objectivity. "The voluntary union of Turkestan with Russia" is no longer simply spoken of, but scholars use various formulas such as "incorporation", "integration", "Russian colonialism", "oppression", etc..

Thus M. TULQUN (ov) wrote as early as November 1967:

"After the incorporation of Central Asia by tsarism in the second half of the nineteenth century (1860), the people were oppressed on two sides: on one side by the native rich and the Beks and on the other by the Russian colonists, who oppressed the people severely." (*Soviet Tadzhikistani*, 12. 11. 1967)

The same was to be read in a joint work on the "Incorporation of Central Asia into Russia" by Professor Dr. GULAM (ov), member of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR, and A. ASKAR (ov) and A. MOHAMMADZHAN (ov), both candidates in historical science. (*Soviet Uzbekistani*, 6. 2. 1968)

Thus it is now being openly written that there was "incorporation of Central Asia into Russia", "colonial oppression", "integration", and thus the official theory of the "voluntary union" is opposed. Previously the statement that Turkestan had been conquered by force of arms of tsarist Russia was also avoided.

The same currents also make their appearance in a large collective work published in 1967 on "The History of the Communist Organisations in Central Asia", in which, besides some Russians, over fourteen Turkestan scholars of

repute from the five Soviet republics in Turkestan cooperated. What is remarkable is that this work has appeared with the support of the Institute for Party History at the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of the five Soviet republics in Turkestan. The period 1903 to 1925 is dealt with.

In this work it is clearly stated:

“ . . . some individual districts (e. g. Kirghizia and Turkmenistan) voluntarily became incorporated into the existing Russian empire. On the other hand (e. g. Bukhara, Khiva, Kokand) were annexed to Russia by force.”

This is contrary to the attitude of the party leadership. For the first time, an open admission was made that at least a part of Turkestan had not joined Russia of its own free will. Naturally even this attitude does not entirely correspond to the historical facts, but it would however lead too far within this work to prove that even the Kirghiz and the Turkmens were not voluntarily incorporated into Russia. The question may simply be asked: why did the inhabitants of Kirghizia and Turkmenistan carry out great uprisings against tsarist Russia as early as 1890 and later in 1916, and why did Turkmens wage such a heroic fight against the tsarist conquest of Guk-Tepe?

Here we shall consider more the estimates and different currents in judging the recent history of Turkestan, which were not previously apparent and clearly differ from the Communist Party line.

Sh. ORASA (ev), corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR, expressed his attitude to this work (“History of Communist Organisations in Central Asia”) in January of this year (*Soviet Uzbekistani*, 13. 1. 1968). He described it as very valuable, but made this reproach against the authors:

“The authors in this work have clearly represented the true sense and the meaning of the incorporation of Central Asia into Russia. The reasons why some regions joined Russia voluntarily and others, in contrast, did not, must be given.”

At the same time the authors are criticised for having given a distorted picture of the founding of Soviet power and the new government of workers and peasants in Turkestan, and thus creating the impression that it was in the hands of the Soviets, before the power of the Soviets had been set up there. The authors had even written in other passages that, although the country had been proclaimed an Autonomous Soviet Republic, the republic had not yet been sovietised. (This refers to the Autonomous Turkestan Republic).

Sh. ORASA (ev) also makes criticism in this context of the formulation by the historians, which is not in accord with the Communist Party line:

“ . . . it was by the victory of the October Revolution that the dictatorship of the proletariat was created in Turkestan . . . ”

He demands an exact definition of the founding of the dictatorship, for otherwise one assumes that the Soviet power in Turkestan was set up from outside by force, without the participation of the people. It can be assumed that the historians consciously wanted to make such an explanation possible.

ORASA (ev) incidentally contradicts himself at once, for he writes:

“The Communist organisations in Central Asia had to overcome very great and difficult resistance, such as the solution of the national problems, combating

large-town chauvinism and the native nationalists of the bourgeoisie . . . A hard and sharp fight had to be fought”.

Even the authors had confirmed the severity of the struggle of the Communist organisations in Turkestan, Bukhara and Harazim, when they wrote:

“The Communist organisations in Central Asia had to endure a serious test, since the counter-revolutionary forces had given themselves the task of destroying and choking the new Soviet state, and the struggle against the English military intervention and the war against Enver Pasha in Bukhara and against Dzhunaid Khan in Harazim were being waged . . . as well as the re-establishment of the economy . . .”

It was also admitted, however, that the people had put up strong resistance to the Communist regime.

As proof that Turkestanis had cooperated in the establishment of Soviet power, the founding of the Communist party organisation and the formation of the People’s Republics of Bukhara and Khiva, as well as the Autonomous Republic of Turkestan, some names were given of those who were said to have worked beside the Russian revolutionaries, such as N. HUDZHA (ev), N. TARAQUL (ev), A. BABADZAN (ov), S. KAZIM HOSHA (ev), D. K’AMAL (ov), F. HODZHA (ev), D. USTABAY (ev), A. RAHIMBA (ev), T. RISQUL (ov), K. ATABA (ev), and others.

But these men were almost exclusively those who were made responsible and shot in 1937-38, as nationalists, leaders of secret independence organisations and enemies of the Bolsheviks.

In addition, the People’s Republics of Bukhara and Harazim were states and governments built on a national basis, which were recognised as sovereign by Moscow and at the beginning maintained diplomatic representatives. The heads of the government were nationally-minded leaders, who had been liquidated by 1924-25.

Naturally the authors, historians and other scholars guard in a certain respect against criticism by official positions. Some abuse the “ideologists of the bourgeoisie”, others cover themselves with quotations from Lenin or celebrate the “achievements of Socialism” in Turkestan.

Nevertheless, these tendencies away from the party line represented by Turkestan’s scholars are not to be overlooked. These currents which, as we showed at the outset, are not limited to the historical sector, are not yet finished.

Chicago Mayor’s Telegram Expresses Solidarity With The Subjugated

Please convey to your distinguished guest, Mr. Stetsko, my greeting. As I informed him in my office, Chicago is honored to have him as a guest. His courageous leadership of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations command the respect and support of freedom-loving people everywhere. As long as I am Mayor of Chicago I will always be in the forefront of those who continue to campaign for the enslaved people of the captive nations. I regret very much I could not join you tonight.

*Richard J. Daley, Mayor
May 25, 1968*

Ivan Matteo Lombardo, f. Minister of Foreign Trade, President of the Italian Atlantic Committee and Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association

Merciless War Against The Free World

There is one great illusion which the die-hard optimists abounding in the free world will never renounce: that it is truly possible to reach permanent agreement for a genuine and lasting peace with a country that is driven by the desire for expansion, with an iron will for conquest, sustained by a conviction of its predestination for absolute world domination. This is a stubborn illusion which irrationally persists, regardless of even the most recent historical experience, and equally afflicts all. Such a situation existed once before, in the late twenties and the thirties; and it is being repeated during the sixties. If we then consider the persistent effort which is made to transpose dream and aspiration into sham reality to lend credibility to this illusion; if we consider the way in which this dream is continually nourished with new hypotheses, although their adversaries believe (or would like to believe or pretend to believe) in the "historical inevitability" of their own final victory; if we consider the widespread refusal to take account of all those objective facts which, in the course of what are now decades, have shown that illusion to be false, we must ask ourselves if man's stupidity is not perhaps unlimited and incorrigible.

The truth is that in our world men prefer to be blind and deaf at any cost. The inability to understand Communism; the reluctance to go to the heart of the studied ambiguities and semantic mutations which Communism applies to everyday language; the superficiality with which texts and declarations are summarily "taken note of"; the parochial mentality and the shortsightedness with which the global aims, strategies, tactics and techniques of Communism are disposed of, both with reference to what has already been, and with regard to Communist anticipations for the future; and the carelessness with which

these troublesome aspects justified by hard facts are avoided by flights into optimistic assumptions: all this helps to render the West extremely vulnerable and to hasten the approach of the holocaust, making it more probable rather than more distant and unlikely.

We, in the West, have long since become accustomed either to minimize the Communist phenomenon or vociferously to discuss it for a brief duration. At times it has been represented as the man "with a knife between his teeth", an image which was not altogether realistic, or at least only partially. But it was the Communists themselves who were to profit from such an artificial cliché by shrewdly and successfully correcting this image when it would be psychologically and politically useful to them. Therefore very few, their attention absorbed by this cliché, were actually aware of what the Communists were in the meantime plotting, above all in those sectors in which a few experts — who have infiltrated into the delicate and sensitive zones of democratic institutions — are able, with rare efficiency, to manipulate thousands of human beings and to influence millions of others.

From time to time this negative image of the "bogey-man" has been countered by a completely positive image favouring "understanding" and even agreement to daring "dialogues": "social reformers", "innovators of economic structures", "peace-loving" folks dedicated to the pursuit and application of "philosophical" and "scientific" formulas for human progress, and so on. And as a result of the influence of this image, the study of Communism's formidable organization, of the motivations of its expansionist drive, of its intentional perversion of language (which is one of its most effective instruments) and of the methods and technology which it applies to its universal, permanent, and

unrenounceable goals of expansion and world hegemony was completely scorned.

Here, too, the Communists have benefited and have known how best to profit from this image in order to legitimize their position, as well as to derive tactical advantage within the framework of their overall strategy of conquest. Communism, in practice, is nothing but the application, with maximum method and efficiency — by a fanatical, disciplined, and intelligently organized and directed minority of even minute proportions — of a theory for the conquest and subjection of the disorganized and inert masses and of those groups and classes which, lacking in will-power, are easily influenced, morally depressed or spiritually underdeveloped.

The myth which spurs on the leaders and planners of this movement and fills them with fervor is that of the conquest of absolute, unlimited and final power. So much the better if irresponsible and short-sighted opportunist fellow-travellers contribute to the pursuit of the coveted result. So much the better if the gregariousness of the masses and their longings for the “millenium” make the task an easier one. After all, the Communists are neither the first nor the last to exploit the credulity of mankind.

Communism promises mankind a happy “new society”, a great feast, a joyous peace . . . That later the “new classless society” will be transformed into a caste society with the most rigid divisions, that unheard of miseries and sufferings will take the place of the promised “land of milk and honey”; that far from attaining peace and tranquility mankind will be compelled to live in a state of permanent and interminable conflict; that in due time fellow-travellers will be swept away or liquidated like so much human waste; that the “new man” which the *system* would like to create will turn out to be a robot whose spirit, mind and dignity have been defiled and silenced: all this, in the final analysis, will count for little or nothing for too many, in spite of the blood-curdling experiences suffered over many years by many peoples. Where these

events have taken place there no longer remains, by ordinary standards, the possibility of liberation. Another link has merely been added to the chains of slavery being forged to encompass the world. Isolation and silence separate the subjugated peoples from those still free. Another slice of humanity has been swallowed up by the darkness. The rest of the world becomes swiftly and unfailingly afflicted with a recurrent form of collective loss of memory.

There is no possibility of convincing the Communists to renounce their objectives or to deviate from the course they have set for themselves: neither negotiation, nor concession, nor willingness to disarm. And the acceptance of their strange “doctrine of peaceful coexistence” is even less useful to the cause of peace.

Negotiation, for the Communists, means to demand everything while conceding nothing. It is not understood as a method by which controversy can be conciliated, but as a technique in the struggle for victory by instalments; a game, in any case, in which they have no intention of being the losers. They evaluate any concession made in their favour as an act of weakness which is to be exploited in order to wring further concessions. The summoning of a Disarmament Conference, or a treaty providing for arms limitation or for the control of a particular weapon, are regarded as so many victories in which the enemy has been hypnotized, and time or prestige gained for their aims. Every peace petition is a favourable opportunity and a contribution of prime importance for the powerful propaganda machine which is in tune with that “strenuous struggle for peace” aggressively conducted in all fields and by all means other than those which are truly peaceful. Adhesion to the widely advertised “doctrine of peaceful coexistence” would be only the victory of a strategy geared at obtaining *maximum results with the smallest possible risk*. This, after all, is logical for those having a morality of their own and their own conception of the relationship between ends and means, an unrestrainable lust for

conquest, and a far-seeing vision, in comparison with the self-imposed short-sightedness of their adversaries.

The Communists will abide by commitments, promises, and the signatures they solemnly affix to treaties *only and in so far as it will contribute to the development of their strategic plans* and will bring them closer to their final goal. But on the other hand, they are *compelled* by the very concepts of their own morality, and by the general perspective and final goal which they have imposed upon themselves, to repudiate commitments and promises if, as a result of errors of calculation or unforeseen developments, these were to compromise or slow down their plans of conquest. For the Communists, in fact, failure to live up to commitments and agreements with the hated and despised "capitalist" enemy means to keep faith with the goals they are determined to achieve, to be loyal to the movement, "faithful to the ideals" and "consistent" with regard to Marxist-Leninist principles. In any event, we must take them for what they are and not for what we wish they were nor for what they would have us believe them to be.

Year 1917 marked the 50th anniversary of the revolution in the Russian empire; of that single brief hour of liberty which fleetingly illuminated the entire Russian empire with a rainbow of hopes and illusions. For although in the extremely difficult conditions, despite the inexperience of political groups which nevertheless had the radical ambition to attempt an experiment of total and direct democracy, and even though it broke out unexpectedly *the revolution without revolutionaries* of February 1917 (Old Calendar) was — even if very brief and unfortunate — the only true revolution in the Russian empire.

For year 1917 also marked the 50th anniversary of the conquest of power by the Bolsheviks with the coup d'état which goes under the name of the "October Revolution". If revolution, in the literal sense, means a change of government and regime by violent means, then the events of October 1917 (Old Calendar) undoubtedly fit the definition. But if that word is

used to signify liberation from tyranny, the achievement of the aspirations of freedom, the overthrow — of the substance and not only of the forms — of those methods and system which deny liberty and debase the human personality, then the changes brought about by the conquest of power coldly and methodically organized by Lenin would be more correctly defined as a *counter-revolution carried out by "professional revolutionaries"*.

From that very tragic moment on the hopes and aspirations for independence and autonomy of the non-Russian nations and ethnic groups of the Empire were stifled — often in bloodshed — one by one; and a new form of totalitarian tyranny was gradually established, a tyranny which was to seek excuses in its ideology for the rivers of blood it was to cause to flow and for the misery and suffering it was to impose with premeditated ruthlessness. This was a tyranny which was to succeed even in making worse institutions and methods which were already damned in the times of the Tsars, and to which it added other ones in absolute disregard of human liberty, rights, and dignity.

It is easy to make a cynical recitation of the remarkable developments of heavy industry, of the high degree of electrification, of the dams which have been erected and the canals which have been dug, of the outstanding space achievements, and of the highly sophisticated weapons which have been produced; but all this could never be considered as full compensation for the human beings murdered for class motives, either "administratively" in the forced-labor camps, or "technically" by the artificial creation of famines — what Stalin used to call a "social engineering" achievement — in order to overcome the problems created by the survival of the peasant classes.

But there are several reasons for which October 1917 has gone down in history as an unfortunate date, not only for the Russians and for the oppressed peoples of the Empire, but for the entire world. In the first place, the Bolshevik method of an absolute and irreversible conquest of

power, which was contrary to all democracy and legitimacy, marked a profound reversal of the historical course and political morality of the twentieth century.

The Leninist concept of a revolution which is to be prepared and organized by a specially formed and trained group of "professional revolutionaries" is the repudiation of the democratic and socialist concept of revolution: a movement which does not spontaneously arise from the people but is the work of a very exclusive and restricted group; the fruit not of an effort to convince and convert, but of conquest, the assertion not of the will of the majority over that of the few, but the rule of a scant minority over the vast majority of the people.

In the second place, the one-party police state which rules by terror and is characterized by the denial of human liberty and the rights of man, the totalitarian institutions and the deafening propaganda techniques designed to overpower the masses both at home and abroad, and the unrestrained desire for power and world conquest are methods which have already inspired imitation and which continue to tempt potential dictators.

In the third place, a gigantic conspiracy on a world scale has been progressively established and has become increasingly powerful; a conspiracy which now under the banner of "international Communism", now under that of the "building of socialism in one country", or of "the destruction of class enemies", or of "national liberation movements", or of the so-called "people's wars", has, for half a century, been bathing the world in blood.

For it is since the creation of the Soviet state under the rule of the Communist Party, and since the glorification of the USSR as the "leading socialist state" and as the Mecca of Communism, that the world has been living through a period of physical and spiritual travail which not only gives no sign of abatement, but promises to become more intense and thereby increases the anguish of those who live in fear of the worst.

The truth is that "Communist society"

was designed and created to *wage relentless and merciless war* against the rest of the world. And Communism's goal is the complete transformation of the world, from top to bottom, by means of the annihilation of all the historic social orders that exist, in more or less perfect form, in other countries. Thus, the necessity definitively to destroy any terms of comparison, to prevent the survival of any politico-economic and social system which might differ from their own, is added to the inherent dynamism of their dogma. They *must* destroy political and individual liberties, and economic systems different from their own, if they are not to run the risk — in the long run — of being overcome.

It is in the very nature of Communist totalitarianism that the struggle which they conduct on every front should not be limited in space, time and means. Moreover, since its goal is one of conquest and subjection and not conversion, where ideological deception does not succeed, iron and fire, or a combination of both these forms of assault, will be tried.

All this has been systematically developed over the last fifty years by the methodical alternation of bellicose appeals for "class warfare" and deceptive exhortation calling for peace. The fact is that the Communists will use any and every means which may contribute to the attainment of their final goal, to which they harness everything. Nor can we deny their fanatic determination in the pursuit of their goal, and their cold reasoning power in the systematic exploitation towards this end of all political, psychological, social, economic, scientific and military factors. Inflexible doctrinaires in so far as their goals are concerned, the Communists reveal themselves to be remarkably empirical and resilient regarding the means that they use. In the West, on the contrary, we who are free men give the impression of being traditionalist and doctrinaire as far as means are concerned, but empirical — and even agnostic — with regard to the goals we should attain.

(To be continued)

The Truth About The "Liberation" Of Bulgaria By Russia

The 3rd March this year saw the ninetieth anniversary of the preliminary peace of San Stefano, with which the Russo-Turkish War (1877—78) was ended. This day is celebrated as Bulgaria's National Day, to commemorate the fact that the Peace Treaty of San Stefano laid for the third time in Bulgarian history the foundation stone for an independent state as a member of the European family of nations endowed with equal rights. With it ended 500 years of Turkish foreign rule. If one reflects that in addition to the political yoke the Bulgarian nation was also under the tutelage of Greek ecclesiastical and cultural authorities and had to endure five centuries of this double enslavement, without being destroyed in its national entity, it is not exaggerated to grant that this nation possesses a tough, unparalleled national consciousness.

Ninety years have passed since the birth of the new Bulgarian state which was announced by the peace of San Stefano. The evil memories of the five hundred years of slavery have been forgotten. The Bulgarian nation is also however disillusioned concerning the former feelings of gratitude to the Russians, even if the Bolshevik satellites in Sofia today pay such lavishly eternal thanks and indebtedness to Russia.

But why should in fact the Bulgarian nation be grateful to the Russians? It is clear that no nation in this world allows its sons to fight and die for the interests of other nations; equally little did Russia do so in the war it waged against the Turks, which is wrongly called a war of "liberation".

In reality the Bulgarians themselves achieved their freedom, in the main, — at least created the basic conditions for it — long before Petersburg decided on a Balkan campaign. National rebirth began in the eighteenth century, introduced by the monk Paissij, with his pioneering work of history of the Bulgarian past, composed on Athos. Then followed in the nineteenth century the struggle against the Greek ecclesiastical tutelage, lead by Bishop Ilarion Makariopolski and a long chain of national religious and political leaders, which in 1870 led to the creation of the independent Bulgarian exarchate, recognised by the High Gate in Constantinople. Immediately after this the political and military preparations also began for national liberation, by Rakovski, Levski, Karavelov, Boteff and others, whose breath-taking popular movement found its climax in the April revolt in 1876. This legendary revolt aroused the entire European public opinion and placed the Bulgarian question on the agenda of world politics. Finally, in this context, not enough praise can be given to the role played from a purely military aspect in the Russo-Turkish war by the 6,000 Bulgarian volunteers in the battle to defend the strategically decisive Schipka Pass in the Balkan Mountains. Against these Bulgarian volunteers, — "Opalshentsi" — the Turkish High Command had set an almost ten-times stronger Turkish army under the well-trying Turkish general Suleyman Pasha, to force the march through to Northern Bulgaria. It was assumed by the Turks that the "slave army" — as the

Christian subjugated nations were then called by the Turkish rulers — could be put to flight, in view of Turkish superiority. But in this the Turks had made a big mistake, for it was these Bulgarian volunteers who prevented them from breaking through this Balkan pass, by fighting an unparalleled action. If the break-through had succeeded, Suleyman Pasha would have relieved the over 40,000 strong Turkish army encircled near Pleven (Northern Bulgaria) and together with it thrown back the Russian troops over the Danube. In the words of documentary records: "The Russian Supreme Commander Prince Nikolai Nikolayevich had long since given up hope of a victory and even before the battle of the Schipka Pass had asked permission from Tsar Alexander to withdraw troops over the Danube."

The real aims of Russia in that war were not something like the liberation of the "Christian brother nation" of the Bulgarians but much more the realisation of the old dream: the conquest of the Dardanelles and the establishment of a Russian province on Bulgarian soil. Even a name, *Zadunayskaya Gubernia*, was made for it, but the Great Powers would not allow this under any circumstances. Their fear that Russia could easily push forward through a Bulgaria friendly to it, bordering on the Aegean Sea, occasioned the summoning of the Congress of Berlin on 13 July 1878, and led to the dismemberment of Bulgaria into five parts. Only Misia (Northern Bulgaria) with Sofia became a principality, Northern Thrace (Southern Bulgaria) under the name "Eastern Roumelia" became a Turkish province with Bulgarian administration, whilst Macedonia and Aegean Thrace fell once more under Turkish rule. Serbia acquired the whole Moravia area and Rumania was allotted almost all Dobrudja. The Congress of Berlin was the only reason why Bulgaria had to fight five wars of liberation in the time following, to reunite the dismembered parts of her land and to bring all Bulgarians together.

If we now consider these upheavals (and historical events become the clearer, the greater the distance in time), we can understand all that the Bulgarian nation lost by this premature liberation by the grace of Russia. If the Russo-Turkish war had not taken place then, the Bulgarian nation would have sooner or later regained its freedom by itself; but at the latest during the First World War, when Poland and a number of Asian countries as well as Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon among others, attained independent existence out of the ruins of the Turkish empire. Bulgaria also would have then arisen within its true ethnographic boundaries from the Danube to the Aegean and from Lake Ochrida to the Black Sea.

Therefore it is our opinion that the Bulgarian nation should at last once and for all frankly declare: An end to slavish subservience to Russia! We have no reason to be thankful to Russia! Rather should Russia be grateful to us, for our volunteers rescuing not only Russian military honour in that war by holding up the Turks in the Balkan mountains at Schipka, but helping Russia indirectly to large territorial gains in the Caucasus and in Bessarabia. This last was in fact wrested from Russia's ally Rumania, although Rumania had helped the Russians in that war with a 30,000 strong army. As compensation, the Russians gave the Rumanians the Bulgarian province of Dobrudja which Rumania then did not want at all!

Our thanks for the act of liberation 90 years ago are due rather to all those modest but active Bulgarian patriots from the time of national rebirth, as well as the fighters for freedom from the time of Turkish rule and no less to the political and military leaders and guardians of national consciousness from the time before liberation. Not least also to those heroes of legendary fame — the Bulgarian Opalshentsi — who fought the battle of Schipka and were able to assure freedom for their native country.

The Baltic States And Russian Aggression

Fifty years ago, the three Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, broke away from revolutionary Russia and declared their freedom as independent nations. Lithuania proclaimed her independence on February 16, 1918, Estonia on February 24, 1918, and Latvia on November 18, 1918. All three were promptly recognized as such by the Western Powers.

The struggle for Baltic freedom was by no means over, as in December 1918, Soviet troops occupied the new nations for five months, being eventually driven out by patriotic Balts. As a result, Soviet Russia signed the Treaty of Tartu with Estonia on February 2, 1920, the Treaty of Moscow with Lithuania on July 12, 1920, and the Treaty of Riga with Latvia on August 11, 1920, in each case unreservedly recognizing the independence and sovereignty of the new states and forever renouncing all sovereign rights over these Baltic territories and their people.

In September, 1939, the USSR, by military threats, forced all three Baltic nations to sign so-called "Mutual Assistance Treaties" and to grant military bases to the Soviet armed forces.

In June, 1940, the Kremlin sent ultimatums to the Baltic States demanding passage of troops and tactical military positions. These demands were met under duress. The Soviet Union further demanded the formation of pro-Red governments in the three states. This, too, was done. With the military bases made available, the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania by force on June 15, 1940, followed by the occupation of Latvia and Estonia on June 17, 1940.

From 1940 to the present, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have suffered severely under Communist Russian oppression. From the very outset, the Baltic Communists have been supported by Russian tanks and bayonets.

(From the leaflet by the *Canadian Loyalist Movement* 1968)

FELLOW CANADIANS!

You enjoy every comfort of modern life, Ukrainians and others in USSR suffer, deprived of everything. Help them, by voicing your moral support of their ideals by protesting against their cruel treatment.

Do not be silent! Speak out! Protest against the violation of elementary human rights by the Russian Communist regime, demand release of all political prisoners in the USSR!

Help to restore freedom, justice and independence for those who are suffering, fighting and hoping. Help the victims of Soviet-Russian oppression!

The struggle of the enslaved nations for their human rights concerns you, because the West's freedom and security depend to a large extent on the outcome of this fight!

Do not be misled by Moscow's lies and smiles! Do not be fooled by Soviet singers and dancers. They are sent here to conceal by songs and dances terror, fear and death which continue to dominate the life of peoples in the USSR.

Defend your freedom — support Ukraine's liberation struggle!

(From the leaflet by *Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine*)

Soviet Russia Chief Enemy Of Free Peoples

Among the many grim realities the U.S. faces this year is the long resisted realization that it is Moscow more than Peking that supplies Hanoi in the Vietnam war and that Soviet Russia, far from mellowing, ever more aggressively endangers American interests. In its January (1968) issue, *The Readers Digest*, in an article ominously entitled, "The Road to World War III", starts:

"Many signs are appearing on the international horizon which are reminiscent of what happened before the outbreak of World War II." Among those signs it specifies Moscow's and Hanoi's recent agreement "whereby more than a billion dollars' worth of planes, missiles, armament and other material is to be furnished in the next 12 months free of charge to North Vietnam." Then follows this alarming sentence:

"We are, therefore, in a 'state of war' with the Soviet government, but we haven't officially recognized that fact."

This frightening analysis comes somewhat more than a year after President Johnson on October 7, 1966, shifted American policy towards Soviet Russia from "the narrow concept of co-existence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement." One of the appeasement bridges was the subordination of German reunification to improved "East-West environment," which is believed to have triggered Chancellor Erhard's fall and produced a coalition including a former Communist leader. Another was the security given satellite puppets like Gomulka and Ulbricht in the statement, "Our purpose is not to overthrow other governments . . ."

Then in his State of the Union Message (January 10, 1967) the President spelled out that he wished to end the cold war, not to continue it, wherefore he had proposed "direct air flights to the Soviet Union," entered "into a cultural agreement" with it, approved "commercial credits" through the Export-Import Bank with the Eastern bloc, was promoting "increasing contacts with

Eastern European countries", and, most significant of all, had "removed more than 400 non-strategic items from export control."

In short, President Johnson a year ago proclaimed for his Administration a crash programme of building bridges to the Soviet bloc — with no strings attached or assured reciprocation. This included a consular treaty most favourable to Soviet Russia and a projected nuclear non-proliferation treaty with Moscow so dangerous to Germany and other allies as to have the late Adenauer denounce it as the Morgenthau Plan Squared. What appears to have motivated this "peaceful engagement" policy was the hope to induce Moscow not to heat up the war in Vietnam but to use its good offices to persuade Hanoi to negotiate.

Moscow Has Been Escalating Aid to Hanoi

The Administration ironically escalated its aid and trade to the Soviet bloc at the very time it was becoming obvious that Soviet Russia far more than Red China was our real antagonist in Vietnam. It must have realized that the 400 items released to the Soviet bloc as non-strategic would contribute to our one thousand fatal casualties a month. Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota on January 18, 1967, said he was appalled at the number of key U.S. items traded to the Soviet bloc:

"We are doing this in the face of the fact that every sophisticated weapon being used to kill our boys in Vietnam is furnished by Russia. The deaths of many of them could be marked, 'Made in Russia'."

Congressman Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin on January 17, 1967, said that eighty per cent of Hanoi's strategic materials and weapons come from the Soviet Union and its satellites: "Practically every American plane that has been shot down over North Vietnam has fallen victim of Russian-made and Russian-supplied surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft batteries; American

ground forces have been subjected to substantial casualties caused by Russian and East European military equipment; and the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars have been supplied in the South by trucks made in these countries."

The *U.S. News* for January 30, 1967, entitled an article, "Russia: The Enemy in Vietnam." It reported that the weapons that kill our men have the trademark, "Made in Russia," on them, which make the Vietnam war "the second most costly in dollars in American history . . . It wouldn't be much of a war for the U.S. if it weren't for Russia." Soviet Russia was shipping some 80,000 tons a month, on the average of one ship a day, to Hanoi through the Haiphong Harbor (which Secretary Mc Namara did not let our military bomb). Soviet Russia supplied Hanoi with 100 Mig fighters, 2000 Russian technicians, 6000 anti-aircraft positions, and in 18 months had shipped 300,000 metric tons of gasoline. One thousand Russian SAM anti-aircraft missiles, costing Moscow \$ 25 million, had destroyed thirty U.S. planes costing us a billion dollars and many pilots.

After a year of bridge-building to Moscow, Soviet Russia's role in the Vietnam war has not lessened but increased. *U.S. News* for December 25, 1967, reports as follows:

"Official U.S. studies conclude that the Vietnam war is a big plus for the Soviet Union. Reasoning: the U.S.S.R. for an investment of about a billion dollars a year, fosters a war that generates civil strife inside the U.S. and damaging rifts with allies abroad — while the war costs the U.S. 26 billion dollars a year and the lives of many fine young men."

Reluctantly and fearfully Moscow's sinister role in Vietnam is coming to be recognized. Professor Robert Strausz-Hupe, Director of the University of Pennsylvania's Foreign Policy Institute, told a seminar of 67 Republican Congressmen in Washington "that the principal antagonist to the United States in Vietnam is the Soviet Union" and "most certainly not Communist China or North Vietnam" (*Phila. Bulletin*, April 7, 1967). The important *Wall Street Journal* entitled an editorial, "The Soviet-Ame-

rican War" (July 7, 1967): "One of the ironies of Vietnam is that while the U.S. is fighting there, in part to contain Red China, its actual big-power adversary in this particular struggle is Russia — so far anyway."

The *Wall Street Journal's* editorial significantly adds: "It is not a secret, but somehow the Russian roadblock to peace seems almost to have been played down. It deserves more scrutiny, and more thought. And the circumstance that we are at war with Russia, albeit by remove, ought to inject a note of caution into all the current dreams of detente . . ." It is curious and almost pathological how the Administration, supported by the dominant liberal press, keeps talking and acting as if Red China were the only enemy in Vietnam and pretending that, as Professor Strausz-Hupe puts it, Soviet Russia is willing to be "an honest broker trying to bring peace in Vietnam." According to the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* (July 28, 1967) President Johnson's special representative had offered "trade and disarmament concessions to the Soviet Union if the Russians would help in bringing the North Vietnam Communists to the peace table." Though the Soviet Union rejected this reciprocity, the Administration expanded trade anyhow. John A. Stormer, author of the most widely circulated anti-Communist book in America (at least 6.5 million copies) *None Dare Call It Treason* said in a circular two years ago:

"Despite all the evidence that the Soviet Union and its satellites are supplying the weapons which are killing Americans, Washington continues to operate on the theory that Soviet Communism and Polish Communism and Yugoslav Communism have 'mellowed' and are 'different' from the 'bad' Red Chinese kind of Communism." (Nov. 23, 1965)

Both the Johnson and the Kennedy Administration cast Soviet Russia in the role of a possible ally. *Human Events*, a well informed, responsible Washington weekly, on January 11, 1964, carried an article entitled, "U.S. Is Backing Soviet Union in Power Struggle with Red China." It reveals that "Secretary of State Dean Rusk is reported — without denial — at a meeting of the

ministerial council of the North Atlantic Treaty to have urged the Western Allies to help the Soviet Union win its power struggle with Red China."

This tragic policy is certainly most detrimental to the liberation from Soviet Russia of the captive nations. In a recent interview, Former Vice-President Richard Nixon accused the government of misjudging or misrepresenting Soviet Russia's role in Vietnam. The Johnson Administration "has based its policy on the false assumption that the Soviet Union wants to end the war; it makes no sense to let the Soviet Union have its cake economically in Europe, and eat it militarily in Asia." (*U.S. News*, Nov. 20, 1967). Vice President Hubert Humphrey on October 16 held that U.S. security is at stake in Asia, that the threat to world peace is military aggressive Asian Communism fostered by Peking. On October 19 he explained that U.S. policy is not to contain China but to contain "certain of its aggressive patterns of conduct" until it changes, and denied that Rusk had raised the "yellow peril" concept. Undersecretary Katzenbach ridiculed "charges that the Administration evokes 'yellow peril', and on October 26, even President Johnson, at a White House ceremony, felt compelled to defend Rusk and to deny that he had raised a racial issue! But what in any case emerges is more blame for China than Russia."

A Curious Leaning to Moscow

Surely there is something curious, if not indeed sinister, in the Administration's determination to represent Red China as the enemy no. 1 when in fact it is Soviet Russia that supplies 80% of the war material to North Vietnam. The fact is there are forces in the government which so favour Soviet Russia as to be sinister and dangerous. One might even call them subversive in as much as by the Captive Nations Resolution of Congress in 1959 the U.S. is officially committed to work for "freedom and independence" of the captive nations enslaved by "the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia". Nevertheless, certain elements in Washington have in fact worked to consolidate the Soviet Russian empire. In April

1963 the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in a document entitled, "Controlling the Police in a Disarmed World," gave the following endorsement to the monstrous Soviet-Russian enslavement of half of Germany and half of Europe:

"Whether we admit it to ourselves or not, we benefit enormously from the capability of the Soviet police system to keep law and order over the 200-odd million people in the USSR and the many additional millions in the satellite states.

"The breakup of the Russian Communist empire today would doubtless be conducive to freedom, but would be a good deal more catastrophic for world order than was the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1918." (See Lev Dobriansky, "*The Vulnerable Russians*," 1967, p. 252)

This practically commits America to perpetuating the Soviet empire! Coupled with President Johnson's words on October 7, 1966, that "Our purpose is not to overthrow other governments," it practically guarantees Moscow's complete control over the captive nations and precludes German reunification except under Communism! It also explains why Washington gave neither moral nor material support to the Berlin uprising in 1953 nor even to the Hungarian one in 1956!

While Washington's right hand professes anti-Communism, Russian or Chinese, its left hand in effect has supported the Soviet-Russian enslavement of the Captive Nations. Walt W. Rostow, now White House Assistant to President Johnson, under the Kennedy Administration prepared a paper entitled, "U.S. Handling of Uprisings in Eastern Europe Should They Occur." Rostow is considered to be the blueprinter of the policy of bridges to the Communist bloc. It is also significant that because of his Communist sympathies and affiliations he "was three times rejected for service in the Eisenhower Administration because he was considered a possible security risk." (See *Human Events*, Oct. 21, 1967).

In his paper on East-European uprisings, Walt W. Rostow explained: "It is U.S. policy to refrain from encouraging or supporting uprisings in the Eastern European satel-

lites. If revolts break out in East Germany, Poland or any other satellites we should maintain a hands-off posture and urge our allies to do the same . . ." (See "The Hon. Walt Whitman Rostow", *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 3, 1967).

The fact is that in and out of the government there is a powerful contingent of men who favour Soviet Russia not only over Red China but also over Christian Europe. Senator Frank J. Lausche from Ohio in *Reader's Digest* (June 1964) said we are losing the cold war because our State Department "contains long-entrenched and frequently misguided men whose views too often account for our unsuccessful policies." These men profess to wish to defeat Communism by "seeking areas of understanding." He says:

"The entrenched powers at State / State Department / are still convinced they can reach gentlemanly agreements with the Communists, and talk them out of aggressive aims . . . Help poor Nikita, so the line goes, prove to his Communist competitors, particularly Red China, that his peaceful coexistence works."

These people, sometimes unwittingly, sometimes very consciously, still want to set the U.S. only against Red China and appease Red Russia. *U.S. News* in "Russia's Strategy in Today's World" (Nov. 27, 1967) gives the reason:

"Main point made by the experts is that if the war in Vietnam were to escalate into

a conflict between the U.S. and Red China, nothing could please Russia more.

"The U.S. and Communist China are the two great rivals of the Soviet Union today. China's emergence as a nuclear power constitutes a formidable threat to the Soviets. From Russia's point of view, it would be highly desirable to see China's nuclear potential smashed by the U.S."

Certainly it would be a splendid strategy for Moscow to manoeuvre the U.S. and China into a war the way in 1939 it promoted the German-Polish-British war. But it is the worst imaginable strategy for Western Europe, above all for Germany.

But whoever wants the welfare of Christian Europe must reflect that it is Soviet Russia that maintains the wall in Berlin, the barbed wire entanglement through the heart of Europe, and whose brutal armies enslave fully half of Germany and two dozens of captive nations. It must be obvious that for Western Europe the chief enemy is Soviet Russia.

America should pursue a strategy which will put Soviet Russia in a vice for, until Soviet Russia liberates its enslaved nations, it will remain the biggest modern colonial empire.

But as Soviet Russia's sinister role in Vietnam shows, Soviet Russia is also militarily far more of a menace to honorable American interest than Red China. Sooner or later both the American people and their government will recognize this.

From Letters To ABN:

February 24, 1968 marks the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Estonia. This event will be commemorated by Estonians throughout of the free world. Only in the Republic of Estonia is the celebration of this national day of freedom forbidden by the Soviet Russian occupation authorities.

The long history of Estonia is filled with periods of foreign domination and exploitation. However, the people of Estonia have always known how to sustain and carry on their national existence in the face of suppression. The last decades are again filled with enormous sacrifices that the Estonians have had to bear and are still forced to endure.

The free world cannot disregard the policy of aggression of the Soviet Union which is being camouflaged by Communist propaganda and empty pledges of high-sounding principles.

Ernst Jackson,

*Acting Consul General of Estonia
in charge of Legation, (New York)*

Slovakia Demands National Freedom And Sovereignty

Slovakia has been demonstrating its striving for freedom very impressively in the last few months. Nevertheless uncertainty still reigns in the public opinion of the free world regarding the freedom aspirations of the Slovak nation.

The Slovak nation in its overwhelming majority rejects both the artificial Czecho-Slovak state formation, the re-establishment of which was forced upon it by the Russian Red Army in the spring of 1945, and the "people's democratic" regime, which was also forced upon it by this army; it wants freedom and independence for Slovakia.

The Slovak people is not content with a mere loosening of the Communist system. In the present situation it matters to the Slovaks whether the Communist system is being loosened or not and to what extent. They have done much in this respect and have achieved something already. The nationally minded writers and scientists in particular strived for the loosening of the system for years. But the Slovak people wants more.

The broad masses of the Slovak people are demanding their own statehood and independence for Slovakia.

Under this strong pressure even the Slovak Communists and their collaborators are seeking compromise solutions. Instead of the independence that the people demands, they only demand a greater autonomy and more national rights for Slovakia.

Also the election at the beginning of this year of Alexander Dubcek, a Slovak, as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, and the subsequent developments are direct results of this situation.

It is certainly also no chance occurrence that this year the "Slovak National Council", an official institution which represents the special position of Slovakia in the artificial state formation of Czecho-Slovakia, demanded the establishment of an autonomous Slovak state within a federal Czecho-Slovakia, on precisely the Slovak Independence Day (March 14th). (The Slovak Diet had declared the independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939.)

During this session of the "Slovak National Council" its member Andrew Klokoc said: "If the Slovaks would demand the establishment of their own independent state under these circumstances, it would not only be understandable but neither non-Marxist nor anti-Socialist." But this conference did not go as far as that and spoke only in favour of the above mentioned compromise solution.

Such a compromise solution is also advocated in the resolution of the Association of Slovak Writers published in the paper "Kulturny zivot" (Cultural Life) of March 22, 1968: "The correction of our political system is inseparable from the process of democratisation . . . One cannot use the argument that the

Czech public is not yet prepared for that solution forever. It is a sad fact that the Czech people was systematically misled on the real situation for years. The principle of equal rights demands that the Czech people is master of its own affairs and the Slovak people of Slovak affairs, because sovereignty is not given to someone but the people will use the sovereignty as its natural right."

Under the pressure of public opinion Alexander Dubcek also advocates a federalisation of the Czecho-Slovak state formation. On April 1, at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia he declared: "The present position of the Slovak National Organs is subject to justified criticism. Therefore it is necessary to work out a new constitutional law in the near future and before the elections to the National Assembly (Parliament in Prague) and the Slovak National Council which would basically alter the position and the powers of the Slovak national organs. In this connection it is necessary to prepare a federative order of our state as a Leninist form of solving nationality problems in the sphere of the constitutional rights."

It is still uncertain which results these efforts will have in the near future.

Of course, as far as the Slovak nation is concerned, it will never be satisfied with semi-solutions, such as a liberalised and federalised Czecho-Slovakia. This was shown especially markedly in the recent mass demonstrations in Slovakia.

Several demonstrations for the freedom and independence of Slovakia were staged by Slovak students and young workers in the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava. The people taking part in these demonstrations sang the old Slovak hymn, which during the period of national independence of Slovakia (1939-1945) was the national anthem, and also carried the state arms of the Slovak Republic, which have been banned in Slovakia since the end of World War II.

On April 28th a national pilgrimage by Slovak students took place to the ruins of the Devin castle, at the point where the frontier river Morava enters the Danube. (There in 1836 an important conference of nationally minded Slovak students had taken place.) Ten thousand people taking part in this pilgrimage sang the old national anthem and demanded the national independence of Slovakia.

On May 4th, 150,000 Slovaks assembled on the Bradlo Mountain in Western Slovakia to demonstrate for the freedom of their country. This demonstration has been the greatest in the history of Slovakia. At this demonstration the symbols of the Slovak Republic were carried. The assembled masses honored the memory of great Slovak patriots, Msgr. Hlinka and Msgr. Tiso. In the old Czecho-Slovakia (1918-1938) Andrew Hlinka was the leader of the Slovak freedom fighters against the Czech foreign rule. Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso was the President of the independent Slovak Republic (1939-1945). The "people's democratic" regime had him executed in Bratislava on April 18, 1947, after a mock trial.

The Communist press in Slovakia also reported these demonstrations. But the biggest Western newspapers ignored these facts because they did not fit into their concept.

The Slovak people nevertheless is determined to make use of its rights of self-determination and sovereignty as soon as the conditions are ripe for it.

Internationalism Or Russification

(Below we are publishing Ch. 7 of an extensive work by a contemporary literary critic in Ukraine, sent by him to the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine and the CPSU. It has been circulating in manuscript copies in Ukraine and has been smuggled to the West.)

As is well-known, there was a struggle in the party for a long time, when the national questions were being discussed, between those who considered Russian superpower chauvinism to be the main obstacle in the construction of real international union of republics and those who instead blamed "local nationalism" in the republics. Among the latter was Stalin, who coined a special term "social-chauvinism" by which he branded the "nationalists". At the height of the Stalinist action against "social-chauvinists", V. I. Lenin (1), as is well-known, intervened in the affair, put a decisive stop to this campaign and called upon the party to undertake a merciless struggle against Russian superpower chauvinism as a mortal danger to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of building the union of republics.

Today, there are many of those who do not like to mention such Leninist directives; it is therefore all the more mandatory to recall them. This is how Lenin treated the question of two nationalisms:

"In my works on the national question I have already written that an abstract approach to the question of nationalism in general is useless . . . It is necessary to distinguish between the nationalism of an oppressing nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a large nation from that of a small nation."

"In relation to the latter nationalism we, nationals of a large nation, have almost always in historical practice been guilty of countless instances of violence and even more than that — imperceptibly for ourselves we have been committing violence and insults in countless instances . . ."

"Therefore internationalism on the part of the oppressing or the so-called 'great' nation (although great only by its violence,

great only in so far as a tyrant is great) must consist not only in the maintenance of a formal equality of nations but in such an inequality that would compensate on the part of the oppressing nation, the big nation, for that inequality which is in fact created by conditions of life. Anyone who does not understand this has not grasped the essence of the real proletarian approach to the national question, has in essence remained on the petty bourgeois point of view and therefore cannot fail to slide back any minute to this bourgeois point of view."(2)

And further:

"The basic interest of proletarian solidarity, and consequently also of the proletarian class struggle, requires that we should never approach the national question in a formal way, but that we should always take into account the inevitable difference in the relation of the proletarian of an oppressed (or small) nation towards the oppressing (or large) nation." (3)

This was said already in the Soviet time, in connection with Soviet problems and from the experience of Soviet construction. After analysing this experience V. I. Lenin stated: "I declare war on Russian superpower chauvinism not for life but unto death." (4)

In accordance with the Leninist directive the 12th Congress of the RKP(b) (Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks — ed.) resolved:

"A resolute struggle against the survivals of the Great Russian chauvinism is a foremost task of our party."

In connection with this quite extraordinary importance which V. I. Lenin attached to the struggle against Russian superpower chauvinism, a need has arisen to pause, if only briefly, at the question: where is the source of this chauvinism; what are

its symptoms; what makes it so dangerous and what safeguards exist against it; how did Lenin propose to struggle with it and were his commands in this respect carried out; was this struggle put into effect and is it being conducted at present?

Russian chauvinism as the legacy of history

The 12th Congress of the RKP(b) qualified Russian chauvinism as "the result of the former privileged status of the Great Russians". Somewhat earlier V. I. Lenin indicated: "For centuries the Great Russians, under the yoke of landowners and capitalists, absorbed the shameful and appalling preconceptions of Great Russian chauvinism... Cursed Tsarism transformed the Great Russians into the executioners of the Ukrainian people."⁽⁵⁾

Much was said about this very thing at the 8th, 10th, 12th and other congresses of the party up to and including the 16th.

"Colonisation of the borderlands is not simply the work of a few months, but of whole decades. For decades Russian imperialism used to colonise these borderlands. If we accept that economic development is reflected and reveals itself on various battlefields of the social economic life, then it must be accepted that colonisation of the borderlands by the Russian imperialism has created a colonialist attitude of those Russian elements who live in these borderlands... And as long as we do not live down this ideology... we shall not be able to accomplish anything... We have to begin a struggle against colonial ideology as such..."⁽⁶⁾

Is such colonialist heritage and such colonial attitudes now reaching an end, today, in the 49th year of the Soviet rule?

Far from it, even today, particularly in large cities, a segment of the Russian middle class, which is hopelessly far from being a carrier of Communist internationalism, but is a spiritual heir "of ten generations of colonisers", is very strong. This Russian middle class does not consider itself a friendly guest and a good friend of the peoples among which it lives, but rather a

master of the situation and a superior element. It treats the peoples among whom it finds itself with contempt, and instead of showing an interest in, learning, and adopting their culture, language, history, and so forth — as always was done and always will be done by all good guests and visitors or even friends called to help, — this middle class not only does not learn or adopt them, but is not even interested in them and does not let any opportunity go to insult, laugh at or ridicule them. "They know Ukrainian borshch; they know Ukrainian bacon" — wrote V. Mayakovskiy about them 40 years ago. But even now they do not know much more.

The attitude of this middle class to the Ukrainian people has crystallized and is further crystallizing into such tragic "folklore pearls" as, for instance, "khokhlandia", "Rankenshrase", and "zaliziaku na puziaku hop".

Neither do they treat other peoples of the Union any better. "Those Georgians are such idlers, such boors... and terrible nationalists; those Azerbaijanians are such dirty people, such boors, such nationalists; those Latvians are such nationalists", etc., etc.; in other words the whole world consists of boors and nationalists, and only they, the Russian townspeople, are the pillars of culture and the good angels of internationalism.

This segment of the Russian middle class in the national republics is a colossal and ever acting politically reactionary, culturally and morally lowering factor; it introduces strong (and considerable) poison into the cause of friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

However, it is no wonder that, semi-officially, it is considered as the true bearer of proper ideas, a promising base of the government and a counter-weight to the "indigenous". "Indigenous" — that is something about which the middle class shouldn't bother...

That is how it was described by the party resolutions of the 1920s, that is how it has remained in the present. The difference — very substantial — is to be found in the fact that then a fierce and many-sided

struggle was waged with it; now no struggle or even educational work in this respect is conducted; it is not even recommended to talk about this middle class and therefore its permanent intoxication has become even more dangerous.

Russian chauvinism as a means of merging the Union of the Republics with the "one and indivisible"

At the 10th Congress of the RKP(b) a prominent party leader Zatonyski said:

"A kind of Russian Red patriotism has come into being. And now we can see how our comrades, with pride, and not unjustifiably, consider themselves, and sometimes look upon themselves primarily as Russians. They tend to cherish not so much the Soviet regime and the Soviet federation, as there is a trend among them towards 'the one and indivisible' (Russia — ed.). Some comrades confuse the necessity of real centralism with the accustomed vision of 'the one and indivisible'. A colossal confusion of concepts is taking place."

"Of course, under the Soviet regime centralism is necessary, that is natural . . . But one must strictly differentiate between what is really demanded by necessity, what is demanded by the essence of the Soviet regime, by the necessity of the revolutionary struggle, and that which is a survival of the old national ideology on the part of our Russian comrades. One must differentiate between the really necessary centralisation and that primitive Russian highhandedness (Russotiapstvo) — the term is not mine but Lenin's, used by him, unfortunately, rather late, only towards the end of 1919, and at a party conference at that. But at present it has received more rights of citizenship and has begun to roam the world. This Russian highhandedness exists everywhere; it exists above all in the midst of our party mass; it exists not only among those colonialists who had to adapt to Communism in far-off borderlands, as for example in Turkestan. This Russian highhandedness may be observed also here, in Moscow, in our central establishments as well. Side by side you will meet the revolutionary attitude in some

directions and some sort of inertness, some kind of sluggishness in this sense and some sort of confusion of the concept of Soviet unity with the gravitation towards 'the one and indivisible'."⁽⁷⁾

And further:

"We must not keep to that primitive Russian line which is followed by a considerable part of our comrades to the detriment of the Soviet regime and to the detriment of the Soviet federation."⁽⁸⁾

A little later Stalin spoke about this in a speech delivered at the 12th Congress of the RKP(b):

"The idea of a change of signposts was born, wishes are floating around to arrange in a peaceful way what Denikin failed to arrange, namely to create the so-called one and indivisible."⁽⁹⁾

"It is no chance occurrence, comrades, that the advocates of the 'change of signposts' have found masses of followers among Soviet officials. This is no chance occurrence at all. It is no chance occurrence either that gentlemen 'change signposts' followers praise Communists — Bolshevics, as if to say: talk as much as you wish about Bolshevism, chatter as much as you wish about your internationalist trends, but we know that what Denikin failed to arrange you are going to arrange, that you, the Bolshevics, have restored the idea of the great Russia, or at least you will restore it. This is no chance occurrence at all. It is no chance occurrence either that this idea has also penetrated some of our party institutions . . . Great power chauvinism, the most dyed-in-the-wool nationalism is growing among us, not from day to day, but from hour to hour, trying to eradicate all that is not Russian, to gather all the strings of administration around the Russian principle and to suppress that which is not Russian."⁽¹⁰⁾

These were the words of J. V. Stalin in 1923, during the life and under the "questioning eye" of V. I. Lenin. But later, changing from a party activist to a ruler, he himself peculiarly "changed signposts" and did a great deal in the name of "all the strings of administration around the Russian principle". A centralised expression of

this new "change of signposts" were ideas expressed by Stalin in the well-known toast, "For great Russian people" (where other peoples of the Union appeared as definitely second-class and where victory over fascism was made dependent not so much on the socialist order as on the inherent Russian "endurance" and the same ability to unite everything "around the Russian principle").

Everybody can still remember the tragic orgy of "Russian priority" which followed in its footsteps and lasted several years. Today many of its elements seem tragicomical and unbelievable, but it took place and it placed an indelible mark on our entire community and spiritual life. Its visible and invisible consequences can be felt even today.

Conscious or unconscious "mixing up" of the USSR with the "one and indivisible", this "same sort of confusion of the concept of Soviet unity with the gravitation towards "the one and indivisible" about which Zatonskyi spoke sarcastically in 1921 — has today entered the flesh and blood of many people and manifests itself in many ways.

Not so long ago our press, with great pleasure and gusto, popularized V. Shulgin's letters to the Russian White-guard emigrants, in which he called upon them to make peace with the Soviet regime because it has not only not destroyed Russia, but has on the contrary saved and extended her. Which Russia Shulgin had in mind is quite clear . . .

Not so long ago either, in folklore, historical, literary and other works the history of Russian relations with the neighbouring peoples, the history of Russian colonisation was objectively and properly illuminated. Quite habitually, as matters of common knowledge, all the "advantages" of colonisation were openly discussed, and the destruction of entire peoples "on the way to" the next sea or ocean. It was natural to read or write as for example:

"The first people destined to receive the blow of Russian conquerors advancing to Siberia were the Voguls . . . Upon the approach of the Russians, the settlements of

the Voguls offered strong resistance to the newcomers and even later, at the end of the 16th century, surrounded on all sides with a network of island fortresses, they continued to fight against the Russians . . ."

"The main mass of the Voguls . . . after the conquest by the Russians, was turned into semi-nomad game hunters, fishermen and reindeer breeders . . . The Vogul people, formerly full of vitality and martial spirit, who knew ore-smelting, the blacksmith's craft, and agriculture, who carried on trade and waged wars when oppressed by Russian conquerors, fell into decline and lost its former knowledge and, pressed upon on all sides, retreated into impassable thickets . . . The Russian conquest concentrated the thoughts and wishes of the Vogul people on the struggle for its national liberation. But years went by, the power of the conquerors grew stronger, hopes for liberation grew less and less, and from the depths of the people there grew the picture of a hero who would accomplish great feats of valour and save the Voguls from Russian domination . . . Heroes of this type are familiar to us from the epic stories of other oppressed Siberian peoples . . ." Yanyi Kelb (the hero of an epic story — I. D.) recounts those instance of violence and cruelties which Russians committed after a victory:

*"They took away our land,
Our rivers, our forests,
They laid our humble smoke-huts
Under much too heavy tribute,
They took wives, and we began
As slaves to serve them meekly.
With the arrival of the Russians
The dumb death has come a-flying,
Sending us disease and illness,
Plague on our reindeer . . ."*

These words of Yanyi Kelb are those of all Siberian nationalities.

Each day there were more of them (the Russians),

*Our nation fell in numbers, —
remarks Yanyi Kelb.*

The sorrowful mood of the Vogul people in face of the threatening annihilation turns into weeping; not only people, but fish, birds, animals, the forest and the entire

nature were weeping, too . . . There took place one of those uprisings of the oppressed northern nationalities which have adorned the history of Siberia since the beginning of the 17th to the 19th century." (11)

Similar historical truth was simple and self-explanatory, broadly presented in the works of historians, sociologists, journalists, demographers, writers, in social science of the twenties and the thirties generally, just as in the progressive thought of the pre-revolutionary times, as, especially from the factual side, in the majority of the pre-revolutionary scientific publications.

At present we will encounter nothing of this nature. Now, here, there and everywhere, at the risk of using the tone and the phraseology of the officialdom of the pre-revolutionary era, they write and emphasize to the tone and the phraseology of the Katkov propaganda (and really referring to it) the "benefits" which Russia brought the conquered peoples (it seems that they mean those peoples which were saved under the "fatherly" hand of the autocrats; the fate of those which "were wiped off the face of the earth" is still not clear; it is most convenient with those whose names were lost: they did not exist, period). These benefits include: preservation of national existence from predatory neighbours, peace and quiet, friendship, industrial development and trade, culture, etc., etc. Appearing in the capitals of Central Asian republics, Khrushchov particularly liked to stress two factors: Russia brought these peoples peace, quiet — it put an end to internal quarrels (strong government) and "feudal parcelling" — and higher culture (this — to peoples with a thousand-year culture, before the existence of Russia) . . . Reading Khrushchov's generous "sincerities" you notice something familiar all the time . . . Then finally you remember: this is the same "peace-making" or "liberation" of peoples "from their internal lies" about which so much was said one hundred and fifty, two hundred and three hundred years ago by little liked personalities from Catherine I to Pobiedonostsev. And as for culture, one can find information on it in history from the times of Pizarro to our days (although in our times

even the colonisers of Africa are ashamed to speak about it openly). This is where naked political practicicism, the ignoring of the spirit of Marxism and only formal use of its phraseology, can lead.

Admittedly a minor correction is in order here: it is said that these benefits were brought to the peoples, not by Tsarism, not even by Russia, but by the great Russian people. Since, begging your pardon, policies in general and the colonial policy in particular were made by the Russian tsars and not by the Russian people, this "correction" is the same type as if we would try to excuse the conquest of India on the basis that the English people — is a great people and to insult it by reminding it of its colonies is improper.

What a special people — the only people in the whole world which made all other peoples happy, itself being one of the most unhappy, and which gave to others what it did not have itself. How could it, for example, bring culture, when it is known that to 95 % of the Russian population this culture was inaccessible and that, according to V. I. Lenin, in the Tsarist empire the development of capitalism and "the general level of culture was often higher in the 'alien' peripheries than in the centre of the state". (12)

Of course, all these questions are much more complicated and contradictory, and to bring them down to the imaginary patriotic versions and propagandist generalities in order to prove how the great Russian people extended a brotherly hand of generous help to this or that neighbouring people without end — is false, anti-historical and anti-Marxist. Here a specifically historical and Marxist class approach is exchanged for a primitively propagandist, nationalistic, and superpower approach.

But at the same time a view that is a far cry from Marxism is popularized everywhere. Generations of young people in particular are brought up on it in schools.

It has to be imagined what foundation of morality and civic virtues is given to our youth by this propaganda, against which the true sons of Russia struggled, from the

revolutionary democrats of the 1860s up to Lenin.

And "nation-wide celebrations" of third, fourth, second centenaries, 150th anniversaries of "voluntary unions", "annexations", "entries" and similar territorial "appropriations", as was said long ago. Recently it seems that even the 450th anniversary of the "voluntary annexation" of Kazan was celebrated, that same Kazan which was massacred by Ivan the Terrible. What will be next: the anniversary of a voluntary union with Crimea and the voluntary resettlement of the Crimeans from the southern coast to Siberia? The taste for nation-wide masquerades does not seem to have been lost . . .

At the same time they do not take into consideration the commonly known historical fact, or the evidence provided by Russian and other national literatures, or the voices of progressive civic leaders, or the traditions of revolutionary thought, or the principal documents of Marxism-Leninism — all of which together and separately say that:

Firstly: not one of these "unions" and "annexations" was "voluntary" either in essence or even in form. Ukraine also did not "reunite" but entered into an alliance by treaty which was later treacherously broken by tsarism. Compare, for instance, the words of Hertsen: "Khmelnyskyi surrendered to the Tsar not because of his love of Poland . . . Moscow, or more precisely, Petersburg, cheated Ukraine and forced her to hate the Russians". (13)

Or again in Hertsen:

"After joining Great Russia, Little Russia reserved considerable rights for herself. Tsar Oleksiy swore to protect them. Peter I, under the pretext of Mazeppa's betrayal, left only the shadow of these privileges. Elizabeth and Catherine introduced serfdom there . . . The unfortunate country protested, but could it withstand the implacable avalanche which was rolling from the North to the Black Sea and which covered everything with a single ice sheet of slavery?" (14)

A number of other peoples and lands were acquired by way of conquests, on which there are more than ample facts and documents, if only in the many volumes of "Istoriya Rossii" (History of Russia) by Soloviov. This is what a contemporary says about the "voluntary" annexation of Georgia:

"The original cause of the occupation of Georgia was the representation by Count Pushkin who, motivated by egoism, and perhaps also by zeal towards the Fatherland, saw in the accomplishment of this enterprise the means to crown with a happy success intentions both personal and also those generally useful for service." (15)

The same document cites motives for subjugating other Caucasian lands: "A land will be annexed which abounds in metals, crops and animal husbandry". It seems that this question was exposed simply and clearly. Finally, the peoples of the North, Siberia and Central Asia were conquered by tsarism and, where convenient, were liquidated on the grounds that they were "savages" and "cut-throats".

Secondly: none of these conquered peoples bettered or could have bettered its economic conditions thanks to the conquest, but, on the contrary, they rather declined, or even degenerated, died out. Many peoples and tribes of Siberia became extinct; from many not even the names remained. It is well-known what poverty was brought to Asia by tsarism; it is known that in Ukraine it introduced serfdom, brought havoc, took away the intelligentsia and extinguished all fires of cultural life. A scholar and a civic leader of the time, V. N. Karazin said: "It is painful for me to see her, rich both in gifts of nature and talents of her inhabitants, in desecration and contempt." And about the fate of the Crimea he wrote: "we have transformed the Crimea from a beautiful and densely inhabited country which it was under the Turks into a desert". (16)

The book "Description of Crimea" by Ye. Markovych (SPb, 1902) contains factual data on the fact that during the Tatar rule the education of children was manda-

tory in Crimea; after the subjugation by Russia complete illiteracy became the rule. Analogous documentary data also exists on Ukraine, where at the time of Khmelnytskyi and in the early decades of the Hetman state schools were to be found in almost every village, but at the beginning of the 19th century, that is one hundred years later, according to official censuses, they decreased tenfold. This is why academician Bahaliy at one time expressed a generally known fact in the State Duma when he said:

"The fact that the Little Russian population in the 19th century is backward in comparison with the Great Russian and people of other stock, is more or less indisputable to all, and one of the reasons for this backwardness is precisely the difficulties pointed out above (instruction not in their native language — I. D.)... while in the 17th century Little Russians were famed for their education and, as is well-known, they transplanted it even to Muscovite Russia." (17)

H. I. Petrovskyi said the same thing at the 4th session of the State Duma on 2 June 1913 (his speech was written by Lenin):

"I have to tell you that the 1652 study of Arch-deacon Pavlo Alemskyi on the literacy in Ukraine says that all members of the household, not only male staff, but also wives and daughters knew how to read: the 1740 and 1748 censuses say that in the seven regiments of the Hetman state — in the Poltava and the Chernihiv provinces for 1,904 villages there were 866 schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction. There was one school for every 746 persons. In 1804 a decree was issued prohibiting teaching in Ukrainian. The results of national oppression can be felt further. The 1897 census showed that the most illiterate people in Russia is — the Ukrainian. They are at the lowest level. This happened in 1897, when there were 13 literate for every 100 persons." (18)

Thirdly: a phenomenon which is characterised by violence, colonialism, decline of society and culture of the subjugated nations including their physical destruction or

biological extermination (classical genocide) cannot be considered progressive. It strengthens national enmity (and not friendship, as we are now shamelessly assured contrary to Lenin: "Cursed tsarism made Great Russians the executioners of the Ukrainian people"), which strengthens reaction and weakens the revolutionary forces of the master-nation itself. "A long history, centuries-old history of strangling the movements of the subjugated nations, a systematic propaganda of such strangulation on the part of the "upper" classes have created great obstacles in the cause of freedom of the Great Russian people itself in its preconceptions, etc. (19) Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism could not and did not recognize it as progressive.

Lets' think logically. Was Tsarist Russia a despotic empire or not? If it was, then how can a Marxist-Leninist permit the very possibility in reality (and not in form only) of a voluntary annexation or alliance in this process, which is known to history as a classical example of colonialist advancement? Let whoever can, explain: how could a colonial process and imperialistic plunder be composed of a very long chain of "voluntary" unions and annexations? Or vice-versa: how could a number of these unions and annexations add up to imperialism? What is it — dialectics? No, sophism and absurdity.

(To be continued)

- 1) V. I. Lenin, "K voprosu o natsionalnostyakh ili ob 'avtonomizatsii'" (To the question of nationalities or 'autonomism'), Moscow, 1965.
- 2) Ibid. p. 24.
- 3) Ibid. p. 25—26.
- 4) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), Kyiv, 1957, p. 67.
- 5) Ibid. pp. 626—627, 431.
- 6) "X sezd RKP(b); stenograficheskiy otchet" (10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); stenographic transcript), Moscow, 1963, p. 209.
- 7) Ibid. pp. 203—204.

- 8) Ibid. p. 206.
- 9) "XII sezd RKP(b); stenograficheskiy otchet" (12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); stenographic transcript), Moscow, 1923, p. 36.
- 10) Ibid. p. 364.
- 11) M. A. Plotnikov, "Yangal-Maa, vogulskiy epos" (Yangal-Maa, Vogul Epic), Moscow-Leningrad, 1933, pp. 10—12, 40.
- 12) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), Kyiv, 1957, p. 360.
- 13) A. I. Gertsen, Rossiya i Polshcha. Pismo vtoroe. (Russia and Poland. Second Letter.) *Kolokol*, London, 1859, No. 34, p. 274.
- 14) A. I. Gertsen, "Sobranie sochineniy" (Collected Works), Moscow, v. 12, 1957, p. 327.
- 15) Rassuzhdenie o polzakh i nevygodakh priobreteniya Gruzii, Impertii i Odishi so vsemi prilozhayushchimi narodami. (Reflections as to the advantages and the disadvantages of the acquisition of Georgia, Impertia and Odisia with all surrounding peoples.) Kn. "Chteniya", v. 2 (April-June 1862) ch. 5, p. 87.
- 16) V. N. Karazin, Pisma k kniazuiu Adamu Chartoryiskomu. "Russkaya starina" (Letters to prince Adam Chartoryisky. "Russian antiquity"), Petersburg, 1871, pp. 704, 707—708.
- 17) "Ukrainskaya zhyzn" (Ukrainian Life), Moscow, 1912, No. 5, p. 38.
- 18) V. I. Lenin, "Statti i promovy pro Ukrainu" (Articles and speeches on Ukraine), Kyiv, 1936, p. 307.
- 19) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), p. 364.

ENEMIES ON AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER GORTON AND PRES. STETSKO

The Communists and Russian agents often supplied evidence on the success of the political activity of ABN. The most recent such evidence is provided by the *Tribune* (Melbourne), an official organ of the Australian Communists. On January 31, 1968 it carried a front-page article entitled "Pro-Nazi link cracks Gorton image".

The article describes Australian Prime Minister John Gorton as a close friend of ABN's President, Yaroslav Stetsko. In particular the Communist are attacking the Prime Minister for his official declaration of 1957. Being a Senator at that time, Mr. Gorton said that Mr. Stetsko is "a man whose object is to free his people from that Communism which has taken the place of Fascism as a threat to the rights of all peoples, including the new Jewish homeland and Jews throughout the world."

Moscow and her Australian stooges can-

not forget Mr. Stetsko's successful and important Australian trip more than ten years ago. They rather remind their followers in other countries about the far-reaching contacts and influence of ABN and the Ukrainian liberation movement in the world. Brutally falsifying facts on Ukrainian liberation movement they label it in the most slanderous terms: "extremist elements in the Ukrainian community", "puppet nazi government set up in Lviv", "Ukrainian nazis", "Stetsko's traitor government", and others. By discrediting Mr. Stetsko's activities the Communists are trying to weaken ABN's influence and the influence of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in the world and to embarrass the present Australian government, whose Prime Minister is a staunch supporter of the subjugated peoples' liberation from the Russian colonialist yoke.

The Wave Of Anti-Colonialism

In Eastern and South-Eastern Europe events of world-historical importance are under way. Political ideas and forces which we believed to be extinct yesterday are being aroused. While in some West European states a post-revolutionary need for peace determines national life, in the Eastern part of the continent a pre-revolutionary prairie fire of the need for restlessness is flaring up. This need for restlessness among the nations between the Elbe/Saale and the Urals, between the Gulf of Finland and the Black Sea is characterised by three currents, which may well run parallel but nevertheless are different in their origin, their being and their aim, indeed, they are even in a certain way antagonistic in nature. These currents are: nationalism, revisionism, and anti-Stalinism.

This judgment is reached not least through the official statements of those politicians whose rule, or, to use a modern expression, establishment, is most seriously threatened by these three currents. The Soviet-Russian party head Brezhnev voiced the opinion on 31 March at a conference of the Moscow City organisation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that foreign powers hostile to Communism were attempting to undermine the unity of Marxist members of the International through the promotion of nationalist and revisionist tendencies. This process of infiltration is taking place, according to the words of Brezhnev, both on the international level and in the national sphere, that is to say, in the individual Communist states. The Hungarian Communist Party Secretary Komocsin reached a judgement running in the same direction as that previously mentioned by me, in a radio and television address on 27 March, when he represented the view that the Communists in Bohemia and Slovakia must carry on a struggle on two fronts at present, that is to say, against "backward-looking conservative forces" (i. e. the Stalinists), and on the other hand, against the "ultra-nationalist and right-wing circles, which are boost-

ing the bourgeois republic", under which is to be understood in Marxist terminology, "non- or anti-Communist democrats and patriots".

In the 31 March 1968 edition of the *Siebenburgischen Zeitung* (a German newspaper), published in Munich, we find a remarkable article, which expresses in precise form the conflicts between nationally orientated Communists in Eastern Europe and Communists sworn to internationalism. I quote: "In comparison with the Communist Party of Hungary, which, in view of its interpretation of history places the idea of international solidarity of Communists before the national concern... the Rumanian ideologists under the leadership of Ceausescu grant the national element in their conception of history and culture a superior rank... in such a perspective the great poets of the nation, their great historians, statesmen and generals are again commemorated in a truly admirable way and brought to life as an example for young people."

Over the frontiers and barriers of the multi-national USSR, over the barbed-wire fences of the Soviet-Russian protectorates, colonies, dominions and spheres of influence, the wave of anti-colonialism breaks today, a wave driven and borne by the force of nationalism. Even internationalist-liberal periodicals in Western Europe today admit the reality of a rebirth of nationalism. In Eastern Europe the lights of internationalism (of Marxist origin) are going out, the charisma of international solidarity of all Communists is on the point of death, the new fire, which will light Eastern Europe, the new charisma, to which the peoples of Eastern Europe are succumbing, is called nationalism. We must not pretend to be blind towards the signs of fire from the East.

The engraved difference between the student rebellions in the East and the phenomenon of student revolts in Western Europe consists in the motives. The wave of re-

volts in the East has national political and democratic roots. The movement of rebellious youth in Poland, Ukraine, Bohemia and Slovakia has long since written the hackened solutions of national self-determination and independence, freedom of political discussion and opposition on their flags. The creed of nation, freedom and democracy here becomes an electrifying battle-cry. The student revolt of 8 March in Warsaw was directed at the internally (i. e. through the one party Communist dictatorship) and externally (through the forced alliance with the USSR) oppressed Polish fatherland. Is it surprising that in the columns of demonstrators the Polish national anthem was sung again and again and the red and white banner of the Jagiellons fluttered at the head of the procession of national rebels? The real Pole confesses two religions: nationalism and Catholicism. Twenty-one years of Communism have not been able to alter any of this. A week before the outbreak of the Warsaw student revolt one could read in the *Bavarian Courier*, the party newspaper of the CSU: "In the West most youth demonstrations show an international character, while in the Eastern European countries, about which one should assume that they live with an international way of thinking, young people are being encouraged directly to nationalism . . ."

But the "internationale" was also sung (so our left-liberal magazines will object at once) on 8 March in Warsaw. Yes, why not? A rousing rhythm and a revolutionary content, challenges to the "emperor", "tribune" and "idlers", to exploiters and oppressors. Did the lines

"... a clean sweep with the afflicter!
army of slaves, awake!"

sound very pleasant and brotherly in the ears of the policemen, the toughs, the Gomulskists? In an epoch when the Communist reaction is attacked by a rising of the nationally and socially oppressed, even the "internationale" in the mouths of rebels has a deep, genuine justification. Incidentally the Budapest students also marched against the party headquarters on 23 October 1956 with this song (and the Hungarian flag).

But the further course of the Hungarian people's uprising twelve years ago, the nationalist character of which became clearer and clearer from hour to hour made the international workers' song to be forgotten even among the workers themselves. The "internationale" was no longer heard in the Budapest streets in the week between 28 October and 4 November 1956 . . . The national Communist phase, the phase of reformed Communists and revisionists lasted in the Hungarian revolution exactly 72 hours.

As an idea, Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism has long since passed its zenith. It is burned out, spiritually and morally exhausted. Revisionism cannot bring the corpse of ideology back to life. A banner for the future, an example for young people, a fascinating substitute for religion among the workers, today Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism is no longer all this. This realisation is today the intellectual common property of the young intellectuals in revolt in nearly every Eastern European nation. The former Austrian Marxist and present leader of the SPÖ (Austrian Socialist Party) recently claimed in an interview that there is no longer the danger of an ideological threat from the Communist East. His words were: "There are no centres of power or radiation of Marxism-Leninism any longer." The SPÖ leader in this state of affairs can find no attempts by left-radical students in Western Europe to effect feverish efforts at the ideological re-animation of the corpse of Marxist-Leninist ideology with pseudo-revolutionary methods and without the popular support of the people. He says: "I consider Communism practically dead as a political movement in Europe. I consider it a survival, as defeated."

Perhaps it is not least the diary entries and poems of the Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, who died young, that influenced the judgment of the former Austrian Marxist, Bruno Kreisky. An entry of 8 October 1962 runs: "I revolt against a new religion, against hypocrites who try not without success to transform Marxism into a new religion, into a straight-jacket for science, art, love . . . if Marxism does not

halt the crazy assault of dogmatism, it is damned to become a religion. But no doctrine may dare to exert a monopoly over the spiritual life of mankind . . ." There is no doubt that Vasyl Symonenko knew that Marxism had stiffened into dogmatism. A straight-jacket? Yes, even worse, a death bed for ideals and ideas, which fifty or sixty

years ago a part of the Eastern European intelligentsia believed in. Ideals which today, petrified, resemble "granite obelisks", the fate of which it now is (I quote from one his poems) to lie fallen and decaying on the ground. Symonenko calls Marxism "an illusion shot dead", in whose graveyard there is no more room for graves.

*Milliards of faiths — buried in the soil,
Milliards of happiness — smashed to smithereens . . .*

Vasyl Symonenko died when he was 29 in December 1963. Five years later (the poet could neither feel nor know it) the

young people in Warsaw went into revolt, ready to act in the way he spoke of. He prophesied:

*The people are already as one bleeding wound,
The earth is growing wild from wounds that ooze,
And for every executioner and tyrant
There waits already a roughly twisted noose.*

*The tortured, hounded, killed and murdered
Are rising up, at a trial to meet,
And their vile curses, raging and rebelling,
Will fall upon the souls, mildewed and full-bellied,
And from tree branches there will swing
The apostles of crime and deceit.*

That was the voice of a dead poet. If one wanted to give a title to the nationalist feeling of the young people in revolt, valid not only for the Ukrainian nation, it would have to read: Back to the nation, back to your own history, your own national culture, your national tradition. The occasion of the student demonstration in Warsaw was the ban on the performance of a national drama from the 19th century by Mickiewicz, the "Festival of the Dead", a play in which the oppressed, discouraged, enchained people plays the main hero. Russia, the despot, is accused. In Kyiv students and high-school pupils made pilgrimages to the Shevchenko monument, the

stone symbol of a nation freeing itself. In Moscow a resistance circle of young poets and students in opposition called itself after Ryl'yeyev, the chief leader coming from the Ukrainian small nobility, of the famous Decembrists revolt in 1825 against the Tsar, absolutism and foreign rule. Does nothing repeat itself in history? The extremely ardent worship of the nation, of the working and enslaved classes, is also an inheritance of the Narodniki movement, which exactly a hundred years ago began in the universities of the multinational Tsarist empire. The watchword of the Populists (in Russian "Narodniki") was: "Go to the people to seek allies."

*My nation exists, my nation will always exist!
Nobody will scratch out my nation!
All renegades and strays will disappear,
And so will the hordes of conquerors-invaders!
You, bastards of satanical hangmen,
Don't forget, degenerates, anywhere:*

*My nation exists! In its hot veins
The Cossack blood is pulsing and humming.*

This poetic glorification does not come from the classical Narodniki era. It was given birth in the Bolshevik epoch, written six years ago by the Ukrainian, Vasyly Symonenko.

The Prague students made a pilgrimage to the grave of Jan Masaryk. This demonstration, even with the best will, with the most generous interpretation, cannot be regarded as an act of ideal Communist youths, of revisionist-minded young Czechs. Here, in this act, the efforts of young people to leave behind them even the frontiers of revised, humanised, liberalised Communism, is shown in all clearness. Jan Masaryk was and is for a Czech Communist almost classical type of a "national bourgeois" politician. The youth of Prague asked party-leader Dubcek: "What is going to happen to people who are not Communists?" Dubcek's answer does not interest us, but the question itself. It could have also been formulated differently: Is there also room for non- or anti-Communists in the new CSSR? Do they also possess the right to be politically active?

The new regime has answered (several times and expressly warning) with an unmistakable "no". Recently the new action programme of the Czech Communist party was commented on in the party official publication, *Rude Pravo*, by the party jurist, Mlynar. He sees in it an important legislative task, to guarantee freedom of assembly and the freedom "to form new organisations, groups and societies". But we may not understand in this the freedom to form political opposition, the freedom to form political parties or trade unions, which

cannot share the same ground as Marxism-Leninism or collaboration with the Communists. The idea passionately brought forward by the Czech youth of a new non-Communist opposition party, put forward as the only reliable organ of control, was rejected by Party jurist Mlynar with the argument that the Czech C. P.-led National Front offers the citizens the only possibility of being active in a political party.

Here we must recognise the limits of revisionism, of the so-called liberalised Communism. The Dubceks, Ceausescus, Kadars, Titos do not think of denying the principles of a Communist state, the principles of a one party dictatorship. The Communist party continues to be the leading force in the state. The principal effort of the revisionists in the Eastern bloc is to rescue Communism (government and ideology), through a planned, forced, controlled carrying out of the backlog of de-Stalinisation, not to liquidate it. Even anti-Stalinists are anti-democrats! The time for completely free elections, even without real opposition parties, has not yet come, in the opinion of the old Communist and liberaliser admired by the West, Professor Goldstücker of Prague. Thus the frontiers between genuine democratisation and Communist revisionist tactics cannot be convincingly drawn. And in this inevitable antagonism between the wishes of the youth and the will of the party lies the great risk for the liberaliser: will the young people, the intelligentsia, the people, respect the limit? This question applies to all countries of the Eastern bloc, including Rumania and Hungary. My opinion is that they will not.

Fighters For Independence Incarcerated

*To the Head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR,
D. S. Korotchenko*

*From political prisoner Lukianenko, L. H., Mordovian ASSR, st. Potma, p/s Yavas,
p/ya. XX385/II*

STATEMENT

On May 20, 1961 the Lviv Oblast Court at a closed session tried group case no. 1 on the basis of articles 56, no. 1 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR sentencing me to execution by shooting, Kandyba — to 15, Virun — to 11, Libovych, Lutskiv, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi — to 10 years of imprisonment respectively.

On July 26, 1961 the Court Board on criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR examined our appeals, leaving unchanged the juridical qualification of the actions of Kandyba, Virun, Libovych, Lutskiv and myself, replaced the death sentence by 15 years' imprisonment and, on the basis of new articles, gave Kipysh and Borovnytskyi 7 years' imprisonment each instead of 10.

Both the sentence of the oblast court and the decision of the court of appeals are unlawful because of gross violations, not merely of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Soviet procedural codes but even of the most elementary human rights, in the conduct of both the preliminary investigation and the trial.

The KDB* investigators in the Lviv oblast are systematically and constantly using such illegal methods as planting their agents in the cells of the arrested citizens.

In our case the Chekists put spies with all 7 defendants, in the case of Koval and Hrytsyna — with all 20, in the Khodoriv group with all six defendants. This happened in 1961—1962, was continued in later years and took place in 1965—1966 in the preliminary hearing in the case of M. Horyn, M. Masiutko.

In the cell, upon instructions from the investigators, these agents told all sorts of nonsense of anti-Soviet nature, provoked conversations, conducted themselves tactlessly and shockingly and generally tried to

create unbearable conditions, attempting to implant the thought that all our human rights are on the other side of the prison wall, but here in the investigating isolator of the KDB, they will do what they please with us, as these organs had previously done with Tukhachevskyi, Hamarnyk, Mykytenko, Sokolovskyi and thousands upon thousands of other innocent people. Whether we give proof or not is immaterial: once the Chekists have arrested you, it means you will not be free again. The posture in the investigating isolator is significant only to the extent that the sooner you agree to sign the formulation by the investigator the sooner your ordeal in prison will be terminated, the sooner you will be sentenced and sent East to camp (if not shot), and there it is easier. But if you resist and try to prove your innocence — you will be confined longer, but the end is the same — you will be sentenced. Moreover the defence of your innocence irritates the investigators, and the more determined the arrested is to prove his innocence the more furious they become and add to his sufferings in the investigating isolator. As if supporting the words of a spy in the cell, the head of the Administration, Col. Shevchenko, said to me in his investigating office: "You can resist. We have time. The Code gives us 2 months for inquiry, but if it should be necessary we will hold you 5—8 months. But we will win, and you will show us what we need".

The Lviv KDB, working on the defendant around the clock, either in the private office of the investigator, or in the cell, brings the psyche of inexperienced citizens to a state of complete depression when an individual becomes absolutely indifferent to everything in this world: to the case itself, to his future fate, to the

* State Security Committee

fate of his friends, relatives, even to his dignity. Dulling consciousness they at the same time weaken his control of instincts, and then stimulating the instincts, especially the instinct of self-preservation, they demand fantastic demonstrations from people. This fantasy clearly reveals itself, for example, in connection with Libovych, in his statement that I supposedly threatened him with death if he should betray the organisation. People sign all sorts of fabrications of the investigators against their friends, and against themselves. Later, some sink even lower and, placing themselves at the mercy of the KDB, begin to sign protocols of "their" testimony, without even reading them, and later give their consent to cooperate with the KDB. Then the Chekists put them with other defendants and they themselves now begin to write denunciations of others (as heretofore had been written against them), demanding that the KDB fabricate a case on new people.

Pitiful people!

But what should be the conscience of those who understand perfectly well that they are not having to deal with trained foreign agents but still bring their victims to such a deplorable state only because they dared to express their own views on the world?

When V. Lutskiv agreed to cooperate with the KDB, he was planted in the cell with Roman Hurnyi (the case of Koval and Hrytsyna). In the cell they quarrelled about a triviality, and then Lutskiv in his denunciations began to write inventions against Hurnyi. The investigators formulated these denunciations in an appropriate manner. The Lviv Oblast Court sentenced Hurnyi to death, which the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR reduced to 15 years' imprisonment.

Intending to convict an individual, the investigators pay very little attention to the fact that some statement does not correspond to the truth. The main thing is to find somebody to confirm it. Thus, when I was interrogated regarding Y. Voitsekhovskiy and I insisted that he has no bearing on the case, the Head of the

UKDB Col. Shevchenko said to me:

"Lukianenko, is it possible that you feel sorry for him?"

Thus, the main thing is not to find the truth of the matter, but to find at least one subject who would agree to sign a protocol or to "prove" a lie in court which he and the KDB know is a lie beforehand.

In my cell there was an agent under the pseudonym of Nestor Tsymbala. He told me a lot about the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). And even though in court I was not asked about this party, and have not said a word about it myself, in the sentence the court (violating the principle of direct evidence at the trial) recorded:

"Being aware of the defeat of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and, particularly, of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Western oblasts of Ukr.SSR . . ."

As a matter of fact I knew nothing about the OUN prior to the arrest. Tsymbala, i. e. the KDB, acquainted me with it and then substituted his knowledge for mine. Thus the Chekists obtained a "fact" (even though there is nothing to confirm it). If I hadn't "felt sorry" for Voitsekhovskiy and agreed to confirm the Chekist allegations — this would also have been a "fact". Myron Yovchyk (from the Koval and Hrytsyna group) wanted to get some explosives to quarry stone for the house which he was planning to build. The investigators forced S. Pokora to show that he allegedly procured it for subversion. This sole assertion became the "evidence" for the accusation of Yovchyk of subversive acts and his sentencing to 15 years' imprisonment. Thus "facts" used in convicting people of the greatest crimes are merely concocted.

From the rostrums of congresses and conferences, on the pages of newspapers and periodicals, on the radio we constantly hear about the renewal of legality and the triumph of Soviet democracy; we hear that the Soviet state is the most democratic people's state, but in those remote corners where it is decided whether a person

should live or die — in these corners arbitrariness reigns, of which the people holding sovereign power of government are least aware.

In 1962 the entire Ukraine knew about the trial of M. Hlezos. The papers published articles and photos from the court. The public found out quite a lot from Hlezos' biography and read numerous articles in which violent anger was expressed towards the Greek bourgeoisie which has established a police state, denies rights to people and tries so harshly (he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment) for political activity. But what did the Ukrainian people know about a trial, in that same year, 1962, of 20 persons in Lviv, 4 of whom received the death sentence? With the help of Lutskiv, S. Pokora and the like, these people were accused of terror, subversion, and nationalistic propaganda, although in reality they did not kill a soul, did not blow up anything, did not circulate any leaflets.

What did the Ukrainian people know about the trial in Lviv in that very year, 1962, of six men from the Khodoriv region, of whom Mykhailo Protsiv was executed?

The Ternopil Oblast Court sentenced the Mykola Apostol group numbering 5 persons in 1961, and in 1962 the Bohdan Hohus group consisting of 5 persons, as the result of which Hohus received the death sentence. What did our people know about these trials? Nothing, because all these trials were held behind closed doors.

The public knows from newspapers and the radio about the trial of Juliano Grimao in Spain, about the fate of Gizenga, about the protest of an American sergeant against the Vietnam war, but knows nothing about its compatriot Anatoliy Lypynas, who was convicted for his political convictions and has been made a cripple at the places of detention. Now at 32 he is a complete invalid and is slowly dying in bondage in a foreign land.

What could the public find out from the papers or the radio about the wave of arrests and trials in 1965—1966? Nothing. It has detailed information on the work

of New Orleans Attorney-General Garrison on the investigation of the Kennedy assassination, but is completely ignorant as to who is being arrested by the Attorney-General of the Lviv oblast; it knows the number of those arrested in Greece, but does not know how many were arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk and what goes on in the jails of the KDB.

The people's lack of information about the work of the KDB gives it almost unlimited power over the individuals who fall into its hands. The fact that the activities of the KDB are hidden from the community gives it an opportunity to grossly violate the laws of the Soviet state.

With the help of agents the investigators of the KDB organise an exchange of notes among those arrested in the same case but confined to different cells. Forging the handwriting, they, in the name of the correspondents, send their own memos with appropriate information and questions. If the defendant does not write his friend any concrete facts, they try to plant the seeds of mistrust and later hostility among them. After the preparatory stage the agent, in this or that form, tries to instil the thought that: "all is lost, do your best to save yourself!" At the same time, "do your best" does not mean "stand up for the truth, come what may; even though alone, but stand up for it and don't let yourself be induced to give false evidence", but only: "they lied about you; you lie about others; others are seeking favours from the investigators; seek them too." After receiving several notes from your friend which are completely defeatist in spirit, the suggestions of the agent do not seem absurd. Even if a person does not believe them, the worm of doubt planted in the consciousness is gradually doing its work. The Chekists are artists: they carefully watch an individual's behavior in the isolator and cut the correspondence short when the doubts as to the falsity of the note have not yet been dispersed. And when they notice doubts as to the agent, they will try to dispel them, slipping in a book, as for example, Tolstoy's "Prince Serebrianyi".

With the help of agents the Lviv KDB is actively trying to influence the outlook of the suspect. Thus, they told me (as well as my co-defendants) about a lot of horrible acts committed by the representatives of the government. Injustice, of course, gave rise to indignation. This indignation was later used as proof of anti-Soviet attitude.

The impression arises that the KDB itself is trying first to implant the anti-Soviet outlook, and then to punish for it.

Lawlessness In Courts

In the period of the exposure of Stalin's personality cult, in the speech of the secretary of the CC CPSU the absence of special statutes on the activity of the KDB was pointed out (as one of the factors which supported lack of control over it). I don't know if the laws on the activity of the KDB were passed after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, but in any event, such measures as planting of agents and with their help the physical and psychological terrorizing, distortion of real facts and the fabrication of arbitrary ones, etc. cannot be raised to the status of permitted (legal) tactical methods of investigation, because these measures, rather than helping to discover the truth, help to fabricate accusations. The application of such methods brings to nothing all rights of a citizen and liquidates all signs of democracy as a political order. When a legislator wrote in article 22, no. 3 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR that:

"It is prohibited to try to obtain evidence from the accused by means of force, threats and other unlawful methods", he doubtlessly had in mind the banning of such a law as planting of agents as well.

If the KDB in the Lviv oblast feels that the above mentioned methods are not enough to break the will of the accused (or it needs them for other purposes) it uses chemical means. In Mordovia in camp No. 7 V. Lutskiv was telling me and S. Virun in 1962 that he was able to overhear how

an overseer of the Lviv isolator was indulgently reproaching somebody for the fact that because of a misunderstanding he was given a double dose of narcotics with his meal. I am ready to give evidence on the use of narcotics on me to a competent commission, which would undertake to investigate the unlawful methods used in the preliminary investigation of our case.

In obtaining the "truth" the Lviv Chekists have not discarded from their arsenal such weapons as a fist. It didn't happen during Stalinist times or even in 1955 that a Chekist, Halskyi, beat up Mykhyailo Osadchyi, Associate in Philosophy, a lecturer at the Lviv University. Thus, after Stalin's death, the KDB has been using in its investigations not only the methods prescribed by the Criminal Procedural Code, but also "supplements" from its sad past experience.

Supervision in the conduct of the preliminary investigation in our case was in the hands of the Assistant Attorney General of the Lviv Oblast, Sarykov. Article 20 of the Principles of Criminal Legal Procedures of the USSR and the union republics states:

"In all stages of the criminal court proceedings the prosecutor should use all means stipulated by law to remove all violations of the law regardless of where they might occur."

How did prosecutor Sarykov perform the function of a dispassionate defender of the law? He went to the cells and saw that dummies were confined with us — and did not protest against this violation of article 22 CPC Ukr.SSR. He was present at the interrogations in the private office of the investigator, but instead of taking a proper attitude he used coarse uncensored abuses; instead of directing the inquiry to the road of objective investigation of the circumstances of the case, he yelled: "We will crush you!"

Denying the right of the people to establish an independent state, Sarykov said that Ukraine could not exist independently without a union with Russia, for she would definitely be conquered by some-

body. In other words, the Ukrainian people is capable neither of establishing an independent state nor of defending it. How do these thoughts differ from Goebel's "theory" of superior and inferior races and peoples? We have heard enough from the Rosenbergs, the Bormanns and similar racialsists about the inferiority of the Ukrainian people (as well as other Slavic peoples). And when identical ideas are expressed by the representatives of the neighbouring Russian people, we do not feel any better because of it.

Denisov, Sergadeev and Sarykov — these defenders of the Ukrainian Soviet sovereign state — have lived in Ukraine for a long time, but have not learned our language. On the contrary, they treat it, our literature and our culture with contempt and disrespect and their every step gives evidence of their chauvinism. They exhibit fierce hatred towards us. Being aware of the fact that persecution for political convictions is contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR, they did everything possible to conceal our case from the Soviet public. In order to misinform the people in the neighbourhood where we lived, various cock and bull stories were spread. Thus, in Hlyniany where I lived rumours were circulated that allegedly a radio-station, dollar bills, a large quantity of anti-Soviet propaganda literature of American origin had been confiscated from me and that all in all I was an American spy.

When the Lviv KDB convinced itself that it was able to hide the truth from the people, it changed the accusations from anti-Soviet propaganda to betrayal of the fatherland, and the representatives of the oblast and republican prosecuting offices sanctioned it.

Testimonies Fabricated

The following fact is also revealing. During his imprisonment in Mordovia V. Lutskiv began to have pangs of conscience and wrote statements to official agencies about the falsity of his evidence in our

case; in particular in his declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine he wrote:

"In January 1961 the Lviv Oblast UKDB arrested me in connection with the arrest of Lukianenko and detained me in the investigating isolator. Considering myself to be innocent, I believed the officials of the UKDB that I was arrested in order to help them allegedly expose criminal activities of Lukianenko, after which they promised to release me. During this conversation some man was begging for mercy under intolerable blows from one of the workers of the KDB. I was clearly given to understand that in case of refusal the same tortures awaited me. It frightened me and I agreed to write information in my own handwriting which was needed by the UKDB because of insufficient charges against Lukianenko, which were later rewritten to suit investigator Denisov, and were included in the case; I also agreed to sign protocols with evidence necessary for the workers of the UKDB . . .

Investigator Denisov further forced me to sign protocols where he wrote that on November 6, 1960 I allegedly called Lukianenko, Kandyba and Vashchuk to an armed struggle against the Soviet regime and to subversive activity in the ranks of the army and that supposedly Lukianenko was also in favour of an armed struggle, which in reality did not occur either on my part or on the part of Lukianenko.

The investigators of the UKDB, whom I trusted as representatives of my government, systematically deceived me: in the beginning they drummed into me that I was needed in jail only to expose Lukianenko prior to the trial (i. e. to sign protocols) and just before the trial I was persuaded that I should help to expose Lukianenko in court (i. e. to repeat everything which was stated in the protocols) and I was told that I would probably get several years, but if I would not listen to the workers of the UKDB I would be sentenced to a much longer term with the help of some graver article . . .

After the trial the workers of the UKDB assured me that I was not to worry about the sentence because it was passed only so that I could help the workers of the UKDB a little in their work and here they needed an official signature (because I was also sent to court as a witness) to cooperate under the pseudonym of Havryliak.

After some time I was told to go to camp to investigate anti-Soviet nationalistic organisations supposedly existing in the camp. When I refused to go to camp I was left in the investigating isolator to spy on the arrested citizens. The people having confidence in me, told me in their simplicity their thoughts or facts, on the basis of which I wrote denunciations or verbally informed UKDB workers, Poliariuk, Dudnyk, Horiun, Denisov, Sergadeev, Halskyi and others”.

Approximately at this time Lutskiv wrote several declarations to the official organs about the falsity of his denunciations against R. Hurnyi, and also begged Hurnyi to forgive him for it. Hurnyi forgave Lutskiv. It is his personal matter how he evaluates the fall and the baseness of Lutskiv and others like him whose stupidity and lack of principle have to a large degree fostered the arbitrariness of the Chekists (and ended with the execution of Koval and Hrytsyna in their case). But how did the Attorney General's Office of the Ukr.SSR, where Lutskiv turned with his declarations, react? According to articles 367 and 370 CPC Ukr. SSR in Hurnyi's case (as well as in ours) the sentence should have been overruled and a new investigation ordered. But the Attorney General's Office did not protest against an unlawful sentence. It seems it has also forgiven. Hurnyi forgave Lutskiv, and the Attorney General's Office of the Ukr.SSR has forgiven the Lviv KDB. Hurnyi's opinion is his personal concern, but the activity of the Attorney General's Office is not a private matter. The Attorney General's Office is a public institution which has been created to supervise legality in the state. And if it is serious about what has been collected and published under such names as the “Constitution”, the “Criminal

Code”, the “Criminal Procedural Code” it is duty bound to see that not only the citizens but also public servants, including such institutions as the Committee of State Security, should abide by these laws.

An open trial is one of the basic democratic rights of the Ukrainian people. Therefore it has been proclaimed by article 91 of the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR and included in the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR as the fundamental principle of the democratic court trials in the Soviet state in Ukraine.

If *Salus populi suprema lex est* (the good of the people is the highest law) for the Soviet state and if the laws of the Soviet state guarantee the good of the people (and it has to be assumed that it should be so) then the adhering to laws by the executive branch of government or their violation serves as an indicator: does this executive branch of government work in the interest of the people, or does it place its own interests above the interests of the people?

Open trial gives the people an opportunity to supervise the work of the court and prevents unlawful sentencing of individuals: public trial is a guarantee of legality in the activity of the organs of justice.

Russia Afraid Of Ukraine's Secession

The Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the right of every man to an impartial trial. With the rise of bourgeois democracy the impartiality of the trial was hoped to be achieved by the jury system. Besides this, the judges were forbidden to engage themselves in political activities: as long as a person is a member of the court he cannot be a member of any political party. To what degree objectivity is achieved by these organisational measures is evident from the fact that in Tsarist Russia (according to Lenin “the prison of nations”) the court acquitted Vira Zasulich who attempted to assassinate Trepov, the Mayor of Petersburg.

The oblast court, which is elected by the oblast Soviet of workers' deputies upon recommendations from the party organs, is the court of primary jurisdiction for political cases. The Head of the Lviv Oblast Court, Rudyk, under whose chairmanship the trial of our case was conducted, is a member of the CPSU. His political convictions are the policies of the CPSU. Political convictions are not garments which can be put on and taken off at will but an inner attribute of an individual caused by a definite world outlook and method of thinking. A Communist, whether at a party meeting or in court, remains one and the same person — going to court to decide the fate of an individual he cannot leave his party passions in the cloak-room of the court, like a pair of galoshes; he takes them into the court room and acts under their constant influence.

As is evident from the laws the Soviet state treats all citizens alike, regardless of their viewpoint: Moslem, Communist, Catholic — all have the same political, employment, pension and other rights. But the party treats them unequally: it propagates one ideology and struggles against all others.

The act for which I was arrested was interpreted by the Lviv Oblast Court as anti-party. To Rudyk, as a Communist, this meant that my actions were contrary to his personal political interests. Seating himself in the judge's chair, he viewed us as his personal political enemies. Being a Communist, a judge in a political case, he became the judge in his own case, which is a violation of one of the fundamental principles of impartiality in court, i. e. *Nemo iudex in causa sua* (nobody can be a judge in his own case), which has been generally accepted from ancient Roman times.

The will of the punitive organs of the Lviv oblast has been done: for our love of Ukraine and our aspirations for its independent state existence we were placed behind barbed wire in Mordovia and forced to work. Such aspirations are considered normal and lawful for all

people: for the Asiatics, for the Africans, for all other peoples of the world, but not for Ukrainians. Ukrainians cannot even think about state independence. Of course, there is a piece of paper in existence called the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR which states: the Ukr. SSR has the right to secede from the USSR, but Stalin with the bandits of Yagoda, Yezhov and Beria taught people to look at the constitution (as upon other laws of the land) as empty pieces of paper; laws are one thing but order is another. Laws are passed and changed; they exist in their own right, and the political regime in its own right. Each has its tradition and history which in practice are almost unconnected with each other.

At the preliminary investigation I told investigator Denisov that agitation to separate the Ukr. SSR from the USSR does not constitute any crime because article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right of secession from the USSR to the union republics (and therefore, a right to agitate to make use of this right) to which Denisov replied, raising the constitution over his head:

“The constitution exists for abroad”.

On another occasion, when I said that my aim was to refer the question of the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR for consideration by a popular referendum or the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR, Denisov said:

“If you managed to organize demonstrations in Kyiv, Lviv and other large cities of Ukraine, if great masses of people with banners, placards and slogans demanding Ukraine's secession from the Union would take part in these demonstrations, do you think that the government would not use troops to crush the demonstrations? Why do you think they are stationed in the cities?”

These are the words of a man who is not interpreting but making policies; this is grim reality!

In 1964 I wrote a complaint regarding my case to the Attorney General's Office of the USSR. In answer to this complaint Assistant Attorney General of the USSR,

Maliarov, wrote that my actions were qualified correctly by the Lviv Oblast Court as betrayal of the fatherland, since they were allegedly harmful to the territorial integrity of the USSR. Indeed!

It seems that Maliarov does not consider the Soviet Union to be a federation, a union of republics having equal rights, but a unitary state! A very eloquent admission of a highly placed guardian of legality on the union scale.

From his explanation it follows that article 56 CC Ukr. SSR, speaking of territorial integrity, has in mind not the territory of the union republic but the inadmissibility of the secession of the union republic from the USSR.

Well, such interpretation is in line with the superpower chauvinistic policy which the Tsarist government had applied to Ukraine from the times of Peter I. The aspirations of Ukrainians for autonomy were assessed by the Tsarist henchmen prior to the Revolution as treason of the fatherland. And now Maliarov, Diadkov, Starykov, Sergadeev, Denisov and others like them are also assessing the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for equal status with other nations of the world as betrayal of the fatherland. Brought up on the Russian chauvinistic traditions they hope, it seems, to continue the old policy forever.

Rights Of Secession Trampled

This is reality. Denisovs are holding the state machinery in Ukraine in their hands. They determine what is treason and what is not; they send people to camps; they take human life and force people to work for more than ten years under inhuman conditions. This is reality. Nevertheless this reality reeks of deadliness, for it was begotten by yesterday's day; it lives by yesterday's ideas; it tries to transform yesterday into the present and the future.

When the Romanov empire conducted a colonial policy towards Ukraine it acted within the spirit of its laws and ideology; it acted in the same colonization spirit

as England, France, Austria-Hungary, Portugal, etc. of the time; it acted in the spirit which then prevailed in the whole world. But when the chauvinists try to conduct a similar policy today, they are acting contrary to the laws of the Soviet state, against Marxist-Leninist ideology, against the anti-colonialistic spirit of the present era.

At present, when the Romanov empire no longer exists, but the Soviet Union, the chauvinists appear as the violators of laws and not as their defenders, because no matter by what sophisticated twists they would try to explain articles 17 and 14 of the Constitutions of the USSR and Ukr. SSR in the spirit of the absence of the right to self-determination, common sense is always victorious over sophisms and persistently confirms that: a right of a republic to secede from the USSR is a right and not its absence, and the words about giving a right can never be changed by the words denying it as the words "take" and "do not touch" cannot be casually interchanged.

The periodical *Radianske Pravo* (Soviet Law) (No. 1, 1966) wrote:

"Ukraine, as well as any other Soviet republic, has the right to secede from the USSR any time it wishes. The right of secession of a union republic, which can neither be taken away nor changed by the Soviet regime, gives the people of the union republic an opportunity to express their will on the most important question — the form of its statehood."

This is an interpretation of the constitutional law on secession, as set forth by the editors of an official juridical journal in an editorial. Clearer than clear. Ukraine has the right to secede from the Union; a citizen of the republic has the right to agitate for secession.

Whoever acts justly — acts openly; whoever tries lawfully — tries publicly. Denisovs know that they are avenging themselves on the Ukrainian patriots contrary to the Soviet laws and therefore they are trying to conceal their mistrials from human eyes.

The persecution of people desiring to make use of their constitutional right of secession is contrary to the Marxist theory which has always included the right of nations to self-determination. The right of nations to self-determination was always a component part of the CPSU. And if a person is a Communist in practice, and not only formally, he cannot be against the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination. Therefore the actions of Denisov, Sergadeev and similar survivors of the Stalinist era are a glaring contradiction of both the Marxist theory and the Soviet laws.

Millions of people in the universities and in the system of party education are studying the classical Marxist works and programme documents from which only one thing is evident on the national question — Marxists-Leninists have always upheld the right of nations to self-determination. In order not to show these masses how far Denisovs are from Marxism they are forced painstakingly to hide their work and the trials for so-called anti-Soviet nationalistic activities from these millions.

Finally the third factor — the spirit of the epoch.

In the 19th century it hardly got on the nerves of the executioners of Ukraine at all, because this was an epoch of colonialism. Colonial oppression was, so to speak, a legalized phenomenon. Tsarist extortions in Ukraine could not have a major influence on the international prestige of the Russian Empire, because similar extortions took place in the colonies of Austria-Hungary, Portugal and other imperial states. But in the 20th century, when colonial empires fell one after the other, and from the whirlpool of stormy events strong forces of national liberation emerged, when these forces determine the spirit of the contemporary epoch and give it a banner — in this epoch attempts to stifle the aspirations of Ukrainians for national freedom appear to be a terrible anachronism and a grave injustice.

The desire of the chauvinists to continue the old policies gave rise to great hypo-

crisy. On the other hand the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR have signed the Charter of the United Nations which proclaimed the right of all nations to self-determination. On December 14, 1960 the government of the Ukr. SSR signed the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. At international rostrums from the lips of the Soviet leaders come the fiery words of support for the fighters for democracy and national freedom. Conferences are taking place at which resolutions similar to the one below are passed:

“We cannot live in peace when blood is being spilt on this earth for freedom, the sanctified blood of our brothers who courageously rose in defence of democracy, freedom and the independence of their people . . .”

The Second Soviet Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Asia and Africa in the name of the entire Soviet people lodges an angry protest against the murderous imperialists and demands an immediate end to the persecution and punishment of the patriots and fighters for the freedom of peoples, an end to the widespread terror, genocide and apartheid, and the freeing of all political prisoners.

We call upon all who hold dear the ideals of freedom, democracy and justice, to come out in a single front against all repressions and persecutions of the fighters for national independence, for the liquidation of colonial and racist regimes.

We demand:

Freedom for the fighters for independence! (From a resolution of the Second Soviet Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Asia and Africa in Baku, May 8-11, 1964.)

A real anthem of democracy and national independence! But what is this anthem worth when in the Soviet prisons and camps the fighters for independence and extension of democratic liberties are incarcerated, when the chauvinists are persecuting fighters for the freedom of Ukraine in the most brutal manner. At the same time, in order to cut the roots

from under the revival of the idea of state independence, they are trying to destroy historical consciousness in the Ukrainian people (which is the only thing which could unite all the strata of the nation into one fist in the struggle for self-preservation) and to engraft it with a feeling of a bastard.

The present generations of our people are deprived of the spiritual achievements of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. In the Russified institutions of learning Ukrainians are taught the history of the Russian Tsars, but not the history of our people. The contemporary Ukrainians do not know what their ancestors lived by, for, from the great cohort of Ukrainian philosophers, only the works of H. Skovoroda (incomplete) have been published; the works of Ukrainian economists, historians, publicists (even those which were published in Russia prior to the Revolution) are now prohibited; many prose-writers have been banned completely, and others are published only partially; such spheres of spiritual life of our ancestors as music and painting have been completely neglected.

Having concealed the rich spiritual heritage of our ancestors from the present generations it was easy to instil the idea that in our past there is nothing which might be worthy of attention. At the same time the consciousness of the spiritual unity of generations which for many centuries was a strong weapon of unity and made it possible for the Ukrainians to endure all trials of fate and to live through the Tatar-Mongol invasion, serfdom, the Turkish advances and the Tsarist occupation.

On the one hand the actions completely correspond to the spirit of the contemporary era: all kinds of support to the foreign fighters for democracy and national independence, and on the other hand terrible conservatism: the stifling of fighters for democracy and national independence within the state, an attempt to fence themselves from the world historical process. From here stems the desire to conceal their persecution of the Ukrainian patriots from the wide world with the

help of secret inquiries, closed trials and isolated places of imprisonment.

Thus, the punishment organs in Ukraine are acting in secrecy from the people because persecution for the idea of the secession of the Ukr. SSR from the USSR is contrary, in the first place, to the laws of the Soviet Union, secondly, to the Marxist ideology, thirdly, to the spirit of the contemporary anti-colonial epoch.

The positions of Russian chauvinism in Ukraine today are much weaker than they were prior to the Revolution. And not only because of the above-mentioned factors. They serve as brakes for social progress and hinder the development of our language, literature, and the entire national culture. It has no moral support whatsoever. It is based solely on brute physical force (army garrisons, as investigator Denisov stated) and the fear of our parents. But on force alone nothing has ever lasted for long, and fear is not permanent either. Like everything else in this world, it is a passing phenomenon. In order for it to exist it has to be constantly revived. It has been kept alive by deaths, thousands of innocent deaths. This is what frightened our parents. But after the war a new generation was born and has grown up which does not know the horrors of terror and is not bound by fear.

It is the new master of the land. The future belongs to it, and it is beginning to understand the danger to the fatherland of fencing off from other nations. It understands that self-isolation from other ideas means the impoverishment and the robbing of self. "He who shuns both people and ideas becomes spiritually poorer and poorer and sinks lower and lower", was said by Jules Michelet.

In a time of rapid industrial development and in particular of technical means of information it has become almost impossible to isolate people from outside ideas. The chauvinists could place philosophers Konovych-Horbatskyi and Kostelnyk, economists Osadchyi and Levytskyi, historians Poletyka and Hrushevskyi, ethnographers Nomys and Shukhevych, philologists Zhytetskyi and Potebnia, publicists

Drahomaniv and Pavlyk under lock and key; they can even copy their works on magnetic tape in the library and set them on fire, but they cannot place locks on numerous channels of diverse external (and internal) information with new ideas. And every ray of new information brings fresh spirit which destroys the old foundation of a chauvinistic building. They still have enough power to strangle the prisoners, but it is impossible to stifle the contemporary spirit which constantly gives birth to thousands like us.

The Draft of the Programme of the URSS, which constituted primary evidence

of my "guilt" in 1961, ended with the words which I am repeating with even greater certainty:

"Triumph of the Soviet law will be our triumph as well".

If you, citizen Korotchenko, together with the Russian chauvinists, do not want to play the role of a brake on the road of development of the Ukrainian nation, use all means at your disposal to re-establish the regime of legality in Ukraine.

Mordovia, Camp No. 11, Central Isolator.

May, 1967

Levko Lukianenko



BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT CELEBRATES ANNIVERSARY

The Bulgarian National Front celebrated the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the organisation in exile on March 2—3, 1968, in New York.

The main event took place in Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel on March 2nd with the participation of over 400 persons. The speakers of the evening were *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, President of the Bulgarian National Front; *Dr. Walter Dushnyk*, Ukrainian Congress Committee; *Mr. Charles Andrianszky*, Secretary General of AF-ABN; *Mr. T. P. Jennings*, President of the American Christian Youth Organisation; and *Prof. Dr. Christo Christeff*, Bulgarian scientist.

Large Ukrainian delegation led by *Mr. M. Spontak* and delegations of twenty-two other nationalities attended and demonstrated the united front against Communism and Russian occupation. The dance group of the Ukrainian Youth Association of New York led by *Mr. Oleh Genza* participated in the programme.

On the occasion of the anniversary gold medals were awarded for 20 years' service to *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, *Dr. George Paprikoff*, *Mr. Angel Gandersky*, and *Dr. Angel Todoroff*. Many other members of the organisation were awarded with silver medals for 10 years' service.

The Congress of the Bulgarian National Front held its sessions at the same time and unanimously re-elected *Dr. Ivan Docheff* as President.

News And Views

William S. Schlamm

The Harmless Mao

We now have to deal with *two versions of Communism*, the Russian and the Chinese. Both versions can appeal to Lenin, the Chinese to the *young* Lenin, the Russian to the *old*. The Russian Communists and their loyal disciples practise the tentative caution, the tactical cunning of the aging Lenin; the Maoists draw their theory and strategy from the original elan, the *aggressive* ruthlessness of the young Lenin.

Why this clarification of the obvious? It seems necessary to me, since the non-Communist world is losing in its increasing confusion the perspectives of contemporary history. In the so-called "bourgeois" world a *suicidal false appraisal of Maoism* is beginning to make headway. It is met both in fashion houses and state-chancelleries. In the fashion houses, the peak of ladylike elegance and masculine playfulness is scaled with the "Mao style". In the *state-chancelleries* it seems that Maoist Communism is being considered as a *very ally* of the "bourgeois" world. In both cases this is nothing but the frivolousness of a *characterless* bourgeoisie.

For of course Maoist Communism is an *even harder* and more determined enemy of the bourgeois world than the more cautious Russian version. *Both* armies of world-revolution, although they occasionally may scuffle with each other, will naturally *unite* at this turning point of world history. But at first, in this moment of history, it would be conceivable that the bourgeois world could "coexist" with Russian Communism. Even in this short breathing space, however, the bourgeois world must understand and combat the explosive force, the youthful ruthlessness of Maoism as an intolerable danger.

The exact opposite is happening. The "ruling class" of Germany in particular is

once more hastening *the young Lenin to power in a sealed train*. This "ruling class" is not satisfied with the disgrace of 1917 — it has to repeat it with compulsive insistence. *For what does the true wretchedness of the official German reaction to Dutschkism consist in?* In the public decision to contest the revolutionary character of the German guerrilla movement.

It is not really a question of Dutschke's supporters. They are, as the young Lenin once was, sincere and undisguised deadly enemies of the bourgeois world. They say and show daily that they have *decided upon an armed revolt*, that they are *preparing* it with dauntless spirit, that they reject with contempt tactical compromise with the "class enemy". Mr. Enzenberger writes it in his "timetable", Mr. Marcuse announces it from California, and Mr. Dutschke in the "Evangelic Academies" of the Federal Republic. But official Germany not only plays *stupid*. It greets, with "imperturbable" perversity, the frankly proclaimed revolt as "*welcome unrest*", the candidly announced guerrilla war as a "*discussion*".

The cause of this *mental sclerosis* is an abnormal mental somersault: the "materialistic view of history" has scarcely touched the "proletariat", for whom it was intended, but instead absolutely convinced the "bourgeoisie". Educated citizens, for example, are convinced that revolutions can only be the political results of economic crises; and that, as long as there are no economic crises, there can be no revolutions. Beyond this the *legend* has imposed itself that revolutions will be made only by the "oppressed" but not by the sons of the elevated bourgeoisie.

But it is clear that all modern *revolutions, since 1776*, have been made by *sons of rich people*, never by the "proletariat", and seldom out of hunger. Rather the modern revolution is again and again the attempt of some young decided sons of bourgeois citizens, to overrun with daring their fathers'

world, *grown tired out of nothing but ease*. The attempt fails, when the tired world of the father rouses itself to decided resistance. And it succeeds, when the fathers play down its revolutionary character.

Official Germany seems to have decided to do this. The young revolutionaries, who are *preparing the armed guerilla-war* with active candour, have no time to meet all the invitations of the "Evangelic Academies". They have taken the example of the young Lenin — "*all power to the Soviets*" — but the official guardians of the German constitution interpret this undisguised acknowledgement of an appeal for Soviet revolt against parliamentary democracy as a welcome contribution to democratic discussion.

It is of course possible that the guerillas will lose the courage of their own convictions and that the openly announced revolt will be cancelled. But I would not bet on it. In the humourless but sincere self-confidence, in the unvarnished frankness and in the courageous spirit of *these German guerillas*, I can feel an earnestness, which will not be afraid of itself. *They only need a little more time: these young rebels are thorough-going and want well-trained cadres, before they strike. But strike they will, I fear.* For Official Germany is tempting them to overestimate their chances. Perhaps it is no overestimate. Perhaps the revolutionary determination of a few thousand young rebels will really be enough — as Mr. Enzenberger is now being trained in Cuba.

(*Salzburger Nachrichten*, 23. 3. 68)

Memorandum To The Court Of World Public Opinion

On February 21, 1968, the Washington, D. C. Chapter of American Friends of ABN and the Organisation for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine sent a memorandum to the Court of World Public Opinion. The memorandum accused both the Russian Communist Party and the Russian Communist Government of the following crimes against the Ukrainian people and humanity as a whole:

armed aggression, political subjugation

and persecution, religious persecution, genocide, political murders, cultural persecution and Russification, economic exploitation and secret trials in 1965—67.

Eleven books were enclosed with the memorandum as documentary evidence of the above-mentioned crimes.

The memorandum was signed by Col. William Rybak, Acting Chairman, American Friends of ABN, Washington Chapter, and Mr. Volodymyr Y. Mayewsky, Chairman, Organisation for the Defence for Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., Branch 17, Washington, D. C.

The Slovaks For A State Of Their Own

Dr. Albert Parry, programme adviser of 'Radio Free Europe' (RFE) in Munich, states in his article, 'Old Border Rifts Keep East Europe Reds at Odds' in the newspaper 'The San Diego Union', (San Diego, California, 28 Jan. 1968), that the Communist rulers in Eastern, South Eastern and Eastern Central Europe have not yet succeeded in solving the nationality questions. Therefore there are constant disputes there between, for example, Roumanian and Russian, Polish and German, Slovak and Czech Communists. Dr. Albert Parry writes correctly about the Slovaks: "And of course the Slovaks are still not happy with the orders they get from Prague: Communist or not, they would like to have a state of their own".

The heads of RFE however will not recognise such facts, since they do not suit their ideas. RFE ignores the question of nationality and produces propaganda for retaining the 'status quo' i. e. for a liberalisation of Communism within the existing state-formations, without consideration of the right of self-determination and sovereignty of nations.

Some of our readers were right to draw our attention to the fact that Transylvanians and Macedonians are not "national minorities", but that Transylvania and Macedonia are geographical designations (*ABN Correspondence*, No. 3, 1968, p. 43). Publishing a resolution under *News and Views* as documentation does not mean that we are in agreement with all remarks and formulations contained in it.

The Russians In The Mediterranean

by H. L. Kaster

Since the six-day war, at the latest since the end of last summer, the Mediterranean has ceased to be a western or — as has often been said — an American inland sea. *Moscow's Bases in the Near East*

This development so unfavourable to the West was pointed out insistently by experienced neutral observers months before. It has so accelerated in the last few months that the NATO Council devoted a special session to it in Brussels.

The alarm signal was given by the sinking of the Israeli destroyer "Eilat" by rockets fired from Soviet "Komar" boats. As reported the Soviet Union has in the meanwhile supplied a whole flotilla of these small boats armed with rockets, against which, according to military experts in the West, nothing approaching an equivalent can at the moment be employed.

This is not all. It has since become known that the number of Russian military technicians and experts at work in Egypt is constantly increasing and, according to thoroughly trustworthy sources today amounts to some thousands.

The Egyptian harbours and military airfields have also become intermediate stations for the delivery of Russian supplies to The Yemen, which the Russian government is not yet ready to reveal. An unequivocal proof of this is given by the participation of Soviet pilots in the fighting for The Yemen capital Sana'a.

The South Flank of Europe Threatened

It is disturbing to think that the guided-missiles of the Komar boats were in action for the first time in the Mediterranean. It is true that the fact that Russian gunners were in action cannot be confirmed, but the supposition is not far from the truth that Egyptian men could not be trained quickly enough to undertake the successful attack on the "Eilat".

The question may therefore be asked today whether this was not really a Russian demonstration, with the aim of pres-

enting to the West the effect of the new Soviet weapon system, and the "Eilat" served merely as a representative target.

There is every reason in NATO Headquarters to be worried about the weakening of the so-called south flank.

The further strengthening of the Russian Mediterranean fleet announced by the Soviet ministry of defence shortly before the end of the year reveals that Moscow has publicly decided to increase its forces to such an extent that in the foreseeable future at least an effective counter-weight and, if at all possible, even a superiority over the American Sixth Fleet will be the result. The vessels in the Mediterranean are not only those coming from the Black Sea, which can at least be ascertained, but also the Russian submarine fleet which comes through the Straits of Gibraltar, of which at least a part may be, in the view of western military experts, extremely modern, atomic-powered vessels.

Helicopter Carriers for the Mediterranean?

In Alexandria today, according to reliable reports, there are, in addition to combat units, a so-called "administrative ship", a troop transport ship, a large tug and a floating workshop as well as a submarine tender. It cannot be said whether the Soviet Mediterranean fleet already amounts to fifty units, although experts speak of this number and claim they are still being very cautious.

In any case, however, an important reinforcement is already to be foreseen today: the first Soviet helicopter carrier has recently finished its trials in the Black Sea, and a second, which is being built at present, in Odessa, can be placed in service in 1970 at the latest. Experts believe that they are intended exclusively for service in the Mediterranean.

They would supplement the present Russian Mediterranean fleet, which consists of rocket-cruisers, Komar and Osa boats, equipped with "Styx" rockets, mine-destro-

yers, submarines, submarine-destroyers, "Alligator" type landing-ships, tankers and auxiliary ships of every kind, which can still be covered in an emergency by long-distance bombers with a radius of six thousand kilometres. It can, it is true, supply itself, in the same way as the American Sixth Fleet, but it also needs, as does the American, fixed bases.

Russian Big Lift Possible

Moscow has lost the Albanian base of Valona, and Yougoslavia is scarcely offering her services. For this reason Egypt had to make the necessary concessions for its Mediterranean harbours Alexandria and Port Said, and it is to be assumed that the Soviet Union will in one form or another succeed France in the Algerian military harbour Mers-el Kebir, which the French have already given up.

It has been maintained, it is true, that the Soviet Union would have considerable difficulties to overcome if it intervened militarily in a Near East crisis. But that may be doubted.

Certainly amphibious Russian landing troops at present are estimated to be hardly more than five or six thousand men. The Soviet Union however has seven or eight divisions of parachute troops, which military observers think can be transported over the distance, two at a time, with the help of the strategic transport-plane "Antonov 22".

The same sources also point out in this context that these aircraft are twice as large as similar American means of transport until the entry into service of the new American type G-5.

Important Submarine Fleets

According to all appearances, the Soviet Union is in the act of following the example of America and becoming, from a purely land power, a combined sea and land power, an undertaking promising it a greater military and political mobility. The Soviet fleet today has already a tonnage second only to that of the Americans.

Of the c.400 Soviet submarines more than fifty may be atomic-driven and perhaps forty equipped with ballistic rockets. The fleet has as its purpose to make possible the Russian presence in any corner

of the world, and a real power of intervention everywhere, without immediately causing the danger of escalation.

That is to say, it is to be used as a means of political pressure. This became clear for the first time after the six-day war, and possibilities of a similar kind can present themselves even tomorrow again in the Eastern Mediterranean.

New Conception by the Russians

The increased presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean is therefore not, as has often been said in the past months, a direct result of the six-day war between the Arabs and Israel, but the partial result of the new military and political conception worked out by the Soviet Union in the first half of the sixties.

The Mediterranean must offer itself to the Russian view as an especially favourable theatre of operations: America is heavily engaged in South East Asia, the British Mediterranean fleet is in part withdrawing, so that the Mediterranean represents the weakest link in the western line of defence.

Even last October the commanders of the NATO-forces in Southern Europe gave an urgent warning of the danger developing, when they said that the strategic situation in the Mediterranean had basically altered since Egypt was obviously forced to grant the Soviet Union bases for sea and land forces and to allow units of the Soviet Army to be stationed there.

And the West?

It is very gradually being realised in Western Europe that the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean is there and will remain there, and it has been urgently pointed out lately also by French military experts that the situation which has arisen is serious, that, at least for the moment, the West has no really effective defence weapons with which to meet the Soviet Komar and Osa boats and the "Styx" rockets.

NATO has already begun to react. The structure of forces in the Mediterranean area has already been strengthened, and there are further plans, which are however hard to put into effect because of the doubtful position of France and the neces-

sity for a modernisation of the Turkish and Greek fleets.

The fact can no longer be overlooked that the Soviet Union is in the process of eliminating the lack of strategic mobility which has often hindered its policies up to now, and has also decided to protect

and widen its sphere of influence in the Mediterranean. Further proof is shown by the installation in Egypt, according to reliable information, of launching sites for the most modern Russian ground rockets being carried out at present.

Eastern Digest, No. 3, 1968.

Ukrainian Support To ABN

The World Conference of the Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front was held in New York on 15 November 1967. Representatives from Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, Canada, USA, Germany and France participated. After familiarizing themselves with the work of the organisations in the countries of the Free World and listening to the lectures relating to their activities, tasks and prospects and after the basic consideration of problems of the Ukrainian internal and international policies, they adopted the following statements and resolutions:

"The World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which is being held on the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Ukrainian National Revolution and the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army places before it the task of bringing about the organisational perfection of the Ukrainian social and community life in diaspora, in order to help the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people and to preserve and strengthen the Ukrainian national substance in the countries where Ukrainians are living.

"In the present-day international political reality and in consideration of the situation in Ukraine under Soviet-Russian occupation and the fact of the widespread resistance to the policy of Russian imperialism, as well as direct struggle and various actions directed against the forced-upon hostile regime, clearly defined and appropriately directed action of the Ukrainian independence forces in the countries of the Free World is a factor which has all concrete preconditions for significant reinforcement of the struggle in Ukraine and for its successful completion.

"The Conference most strongly condemns Russian colonial policy in Ukraine, in particular the Russian attempts to destroy the Ukrainian elite. The Soviet-Russian regime's punishment of the leading representatives of Ukrainian culture, science and other facets of national life, the arrests and secret trials, the deportation of Ukrainian leaders to concentration camps or their confinement to mental institutions, the transmigration of young people from Ukraine and the settling there of the Russians — all these manifestations of the policy of genocide applied to the Ukrainian people demand not only the strongest possible indictment but also counteraction where and when it is possible and timely.

"The Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front feel that the World Congress of Free Ukrainians will follow the line of the most active support for the liberation struggle of Ukraine for the liquidation of the Russian colonial empire and the reconstruction in its place of national states of the various peoples, re-established by them through the national liberation revolution. In particular the Conference expresses its certainty that the competent organs of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians will immediately take all the necessary steps to counteract Russification and genocide policies of the Soviet-Russian regime in Ukraine and will be instrumental in obtaining the release of the arrested Ukrainian activists.

"The Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, firmly grounded on the thousand-year traditions of the Ukrainian statehood of the Ducal and the Cossack-Hetman era and the renewed sovereign Ukrainian State of 1918—1919, the Carpathian-Ukrainian State of 1939 and the renewed Ukrainian State of 30 June 1941,

are fighting for a sovereign, united Ukrainian State achieved through the break-up of the Russian empire of all colors into national sovereign states of all the subjugated nations within their ethnographic boundaries.

"The Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front believe that a common front of all nations subjugated by Russia is a precondition to a successful termination of the struggle with Russian imperialism. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is such a form of common struggle at the present time. It was initiated by the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka and is headed by the Former Prime Minister of Ukraine (1941), Yaroslav Stetsko. ABN has given the question of the liberation of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism a broad world base, mobilizing the forces of the world supporting our political concepts to a common anti-Russian and anti-Communist front.

"The Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front confirm that the ABN is conducting a successful campaign for the liberation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations from the Russian yoke and has made great strides forward in the foreign policy sector in its quarter-century activity on behalf of Ukraine.

"ABN's concept of national liberation revolutionary struggle is based on Ukraine's own and other subjugated nations' forces by the way of a coordinated action in the struggle of the national liberation revolu-

tionary organisations of the subjugated peoples and their communities in the Free World. The mobilization of the world anti-Russian and anti-Communist forces in the world for the national independence of peoples and freedom for the individuals is the task of the entire Ukrainian community.

"The Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the Free World extend their greetings to the heroic Ukrainian people which is struggling for its national liberation. The Conference sends its warm greetings to the nationalists-revolutionaries, members of the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine and throughout the Russian empire, who under the harshest conditions are organising and conducting the revolutionary liberation struggle against the Russian oppressors of Ukraine. The Conference greets all those Ukrainian cultural leaders who defend the sovereignty and the originality of the Ukrainian spiritual heritage and who oppose the Russification policy of the regime which is trying to force alien spiritual values upon the Ukrainian people.

"The Conference greets and expresses its admiration for the firmness and inflexibility of the Ukrainian men and women who even in concentration camps and in Russian prisons, in exile and under all possible conditions are putting up resistance and are struggling for the victory of the Ukrainian and Christian truth on Ukrainian soil.

"The Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front render their complete and all-round support to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations."

New York, November 1967

AN EPILOGUE TO THE ANTI-COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION IN OTTAWA

As we reported earlier (see ABN Correspondence No. 6, 1967) an anti-Russian demonstration was staged before the Russian embassy at Ottawa on November 7, 1967. Several demonstrators were arrested at the time, but released soon.

On April 26, 1968 four of the demonstrators were tried on the charges of "disturbing the peace". The defendants as well as the organisers of the demonstration received full satisfaction from the Ottawa court which dismissed the charges against them. Not only did the court recognise the demonstrators' right to express their opinions, and ideas and to protest at the time and place they deem appropriate but also sanctioned the methods of protest they employed at the time.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

New Arrests And Trials In Ukraine

New bootleg and underground literature which "is passed from hand to hand" in Ukraine, provides information on new arrests and trials which took place in the autumn of 1967 in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv). This time a political organisation which published an underground organ *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom) is involved. This publication propagates secession of the Ukr.SSR from the USSR and the achievement of Ukraine's independence. The defendants — who are primarily young people who grew up and studied under Soviet conditions — were accused of "treason to the fatherland", "subversive activity" and "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". All were tried according to Articles 56, no. 1, 62 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR. All eight defendants were given sentences ranging from 5 to 15 years of imprisonment in the corrective-labour camps of the severe regime.

Arrests In Lviv

Last New Year's holiday the Communist city administration put up a large Christmas tree at the market. It remained there till Christmas (January 7th according to the Julian Calendar). In 1967 great numbers of city dwellers assembled near the tree and sang carols but the Soviet-Russian security organs did nothing to prevent this.

This year, however, a completely different situation developed. On the evenings of January 6, 7 and 8, 600—700 people gathered by the tree. Militia and the secret KGB agents surrounded the people but did nothing until they started to sing carols. Then the militia began to disperse those present and to arrest all those who took part in the singing. Some older persons in the crowd knelt down and began to pray out loud. Great commotion followed. During the three days a total of 80 persons were arrested and jailed by the militia. Among

the arrested there were 18 students from the Ivan Franko University and 21 students of various institutes. They were all accused of "hooliganism" and anti-Soviet propaganda. All students were expelled from the universities.

The above events caused a stir not only in Lviv but also in the country as a whole.

Kyiv Radio Admits Arrests Of Intellectuals

News of the arrests in Ukraine first appeared in the broadcasts of the Kyiv radio for Ukrainians living abroad, allegedly as an answer to listeners' questions. Victor Stelmakh, a correspondent of the Ukrainian radio, interviewed Hryhoriy Malyi, a department head at the prosecutor's office of the Ukr.SSR, and received the following evasive answer: Malyi confirmed that trials took place in Ukraine and that convictions resulted, but — "for crimes against the state, to which the criminals owed their well-being." Those convicted were average people, so to speak, overambitious, and lacking in the elementary virtues of a citizen. Malyi described Chornovil as an individual who wrote slanderous letters, twisting the facts beyond recognition and passing a conglomeration of inventions and hear-say for facts. With respect to Evhenia Kuznetsova, also arrested with Chornovil and sentenced "for anti-state activities", Malyi admitted that Swedish physicists, Trystar Nilson and Ferse Belgrem, were concerned about the fate of a colleague (Kuznetsova worked as a laboratory assistant at the chemistry faculty of the Kyiv University) and turned to the official organs in Ukraine in her case.

Kuznetsova was forced to write a reply to the Swedish scientists in which she says among other things that "she realizes her guilt before the nation and the state" and that in connection with this admission she was allegedly "forgiven". Malyi simply called Karavansky a Nazi collaborator,

who received his intelligence training in Rumania.

This is what the Kyiv radio carried on the trials in Ukraine for Ukrainians living abroad. However, all these cases are hidden from the Ukrainian population in Ukraine by both the Ukrainian-language press and radio broadcasts.

New Attacks Against Writers

At the end of April the Executive Board of the Writers' Union of Ukraine held a series of meetings in Kyiv at which not only those Ukrainian writers who are ho-

stile to the system but also those who are "ideologically neutral" were attacked. Such attitude of some writers angered the party leadership in Ukraine and led to the rebuke of the writers. The resolution adopted by the Writers' Union Executive Board warns that writers who do not follow the latest directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine with respect to the strengthening of ideological work will lose their membership in the Writers' Union. Under Soviet-Russian conditions this means the loss of all rights to have their works published.

Australian Ukrainians Demand Release Of Yuriy Shukhevych

On May 26, 1968, over 300 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association from Victoria, Queensland, Sydney and Newcastle staged a demonstration before the Russian Embassy in Canberra, Australia. Holding placards and chanting such slogans as "Long live our heroes", "Freedom not terrorism" and "Barbarians leave Ukraine" they demanded the release of young Ukrainians from Russian concentration camps, in particular, Yuriy Shukhevych. In the course of the demonstration the embassy was pelted with eggs, oranges and fire crackers. Also three Russian flags were burnt. As in previous such demonstrations the Russian Embassy spokesman called the demonstrators "people who are afraid to go back to Ukraine because they were involved in terrorist tactics against Russian and Ukrainian citizens during the last war" and said that they "teamed up with the Germans and helped fight their own flesh and blood". Of course this is sheer nonsense because most of the demonstrators were between the ages of 18 and 30. The Embassy spokesman also twisted the facts on Yuriy Shukhevych calling him "the son of a bandit and murderer".

The demonstration received extensive coverage in Australian radio and television and was front page news in such papers as

The Canberra Times, the Newcastle Morning Herald, The Sydney Morning Herald, and the Daily Telegraph.

Scandinavian Ukrainians Commemorate Independence

Ukrainians from Sweden and Denmark commemorated the 50th anniversary of Ukraine's independence in Malmö, Sweden, on January 27, 1968 with the Divine Liturgy, celebrated by Rev. M. Coliatti, and a rally which was also attended by the Danes, Swedes, Estonians, Latvians and Croats. The rally was opened by Mr. Kyrylo Harbar, the head of the Ukrainian community. The main speech was delivered by Mr. Oleh Demkiv. Other speakers were Father Coliatti, Mr. Ante Markovich, a Croat, Mr. Lynd, a Swedish student, and a representative of the Baltic peoples. The rally received several congratulatory telegrams, among them from H. E. Ole Bjorn Kraft, President of the European Freedom Council. The children under the direction of Mr. Mykhailo Boyko sang several songs and performed two dances.

The rally adopted a resolution strongly condemning Russian imperialism, genocide and persecution in Ukraine during the last 50 years. Several Danish and Swedish dailies printed news of the rally and excerpts from the resolution. The resolution was also broadcasted over *Radio Vatican*.

Book Reviews

Luis V. Manrara: *BETRAYAL OPENED THE DOOR TO RUSSIAN MISSILES IN RED CUBA*. Printed 1968 by the Truth About Cuba Committee, Inc., 931 S. W. First Street, Room 203, Miami, Florida 33130, U.S.A. Price 1.50 dollars (Postage outside USA not included).

The President of the Truth about Cuba Committee, Luis V. Manrara, clarifies in this documentary book principally the world political crisis which arose in October 1962 through the introduction of Russian missiles into Red Cuba and its "solution" by the Kennedy-Khrushchov Pact.

"The significance of the K.-K. Pact is that it embodies the Washington-Moscow status quo in regard to Cuba. It was a bold attempt to 'legitimize' an unholy alliance. The fact uncovered in this Exposé confirm that the K.-K. Pact was only another step in the long established directives of the perplexing incredible history of the U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. entente."

The author publishes in the book under review seven facts which prove that the government of the U.S.A. is complying with the K.-K. Pact.

He also destroys the illusion that, after the conclusion of the K.-K. Pact, there were no more Russian offensive, long-range nuclear missiles on Cuba. "On the contrary, after the K.-K. Pact guaranteed that the United States of America will not permit any attack on Red Cuba, the cautious Russians felt secure to proceed, unhampered, with their missile buildup in Cuba . . ."

Manrara supports his theories with logical arguments, weighty and irrefutable evidence. His latest book contains a large number of important documents (sworn testimonies, official documents, newspaper reports and commentaries, press, radio and television interviews, photographs), which confirm the accuracy of the author's views.

The importance of the book under review,

however, surpasses that of mere historical representation. The results of the betrayal of Cuba and the Free World are still to be felt!

This courageous exposé by the Cuban patriot is a burning protest against the betrayal of Cuba and the Free World, a warning of Russian Communist expansion, and an appeal to the reason and decency of freedom-loving people.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný

Intensified Aggression In Korea

A Report on Armed Infiltrators Sent by Communists in the North. Published by the Ministry of Public Information, Republic of Korea.

Seoul, 1968. 46 pages.

This documentary report describes the infiltration which took place on 21 January 1968 by a group of 31 armed Communist agents, officers of the North-Korean army, from North to South Korea. The aim of this action was to make a surprise attack on the palace of the President of the Republic of Korea, the residence of the Ambassador of the USA and other important buildings in Seoul. The infiltrators however were not able to fulfil their tasks. The whole plan foundered on the alertness of the security organs of the Korean Republic.

This documentary report is a new striking proof that the Communist dictatorship — despite all talk of 'peaceful co-existence' — is carrying out a policy of aggression and expansion. It is very significant that it is also Soviet Russia which stands behind the Communist regime of Kim Ill-Song in North Korea. 'It is an undeniable fact that Kim thereafter succeeded in increasing the volume of trade with the Soviet Union, and in obtaining a considerable quantity of modern weapons from the Kremlin'.

AF ABN CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO

At the invitation of the Chicago branch of the American Friends of ABN and the Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of ABN, visited Chicago from May 23rd through the 27th. On May 24th AF ABN organised a press-conference at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel which was attended by a large number of American journalists and T. V. and radio reporters. Representatives of the press of the subjugated peoples also attended this press-conference. The event was widely covered in the press, radio and T. V.

Under the title, "**Student Revolts Laid to Russ Labor Chief**", the **Chicago Tribune** writes:

The student and worker revolts in France and West Germany were engineered by a former head of the Russian secret police in a new effort to subvert the west thru civil disorders, a prominent anti-Communist leader declared yesterday.

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, one-time premier of the Ukraine and now president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, identified the man behind the revolts as Alexander Shelepin, former chief of the Soviet security organisation K.G.B., who now is chairman of the Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

Addressing a news conference in the Sheraton-Chicago hotel, Mr. Stetsko said that the shift of Shelepin into the labor post a year ago meant increased efforts to create worker unrest in the free nations.

Calling Shelepin "the most dangerous man to the west," Dr. Stetsko warned the United States to expect more Paris revolts as part of Russia's expanding strategy of "modern" warfare, which includes civil insurgency and wars of national liberation.

He criticizes the United States and other western powers for adhering to old theories of warfare and relying on nuclear weapons and a belief in co-existence with the Soviets.

He called for political support of underground movements in Communist nations before the United Nations, and increased propaganda and infiltration in the Soviet Union . . ."

Chicago's American, in an article entitled "**Europe Revolts Caused by Reds: Ukraine Chief**" writes:

Stetsko predicted more revolts such as the one going on in France as part of Russia's expanding strategy of what it considers "modern warfare." This includes wars of national liberation and civil disorders, the anti-Communist leader said.

Stetsko said he will appeal to the United Nations to investigate political persecution in and by the Soviet Union.

"For the last 3 years the Soviet government has been conducting an unpublicized, but nonetheless, ruthless campaign of arrests, trials, and convictions of Ukrainian writers, poets, journalists, professors, students, and other men and women of intellect," Stetsko said.

"End Cultural Exchange"

Stetsko called for an end to all so-called cultural exchanges between the United States and Russia on the grounds that they are used by the Communists for subversion.

He was critical of the United States for believing it can co-exist with Russia . . .

Later that day, Mr. Stetsko paid a visit to Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago who is greatly interested in the struggle of the subjugated peoples.

On May 25th an international conference of ABN was held in Sheraton-Chicago Hotel at which ABN's programme for the near future was discussed. In the evening an ABN banquet with Mr. Kliufas, a Chicago attorney, as master of ceremonies, was held. The speakers included former U. S. Congressman C. Kersten, representatives of the subjugated peoples who are members of ABN, a representative of the Ukrainian community in Austria, former UPA Commander, Mr. Goliash, Mrs. Ulana Celewych and others. Y. Stetsko was the main speaker at both events. He also addressed a mass meeting of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), a meeting of the representatives of the Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front and the Ukrainian section of ABN. On May 26th, he participated at the ceremonies honoring the fallen Ukrainian heroes.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Barbaric Russian Aggression Against Czechs And Slovaks



Bratislava. Desperate students trying to stop Russian tanks.

CONTENTS:

<i>Austin J. App, Ph. D. (USA)</i>	
Lip Service To Freedom Is Not Enough	3
Cardinal Slipyj Visits Canadian Ukrainians	5
<i>Dr. Edmund Marbefka (Germany)</i>	
The Aesthetic-Ethical Code And Freedom	7
Anti-Kosygin Actions In Sweden	9
<i>Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy)</i>	
Merciless War Against The Free World	11
Appeal To The Peoples Of The Free World	15
<i>Ivan Dzyuba (Ukraine)</i>	
Internationalism Or Russification	19
Sad Anniversary For Vietnam	30
<i>Sviatoslav Karavanskyi (Ukraine)</i>	
About A Political Mistake	31
WACL Chairman On Viet Cong's Cruelty	35
News And Views	36
Russian Militarism — Highest Form Of Education In Lithuania	39
Prof. Velez In Munich	40
Captive Nations Week Observances	42
Croatian Independence Day In USA	43
Book Reviews	44
<i>Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka (Japan)</i>	
Support To The Captive Nations	47
Ukrainian Youth Demonstrates Against Russian Barbarism	48
Armed Force Against Russian Aggressors Needed	49

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Colonialism Is Not Dead

Because the West European Powers renounced almost all their colonial possessions after the end of the Second World War and helped them to obtain independence, the opinion that colonialism had died out is very widespread. This is a most erroneous opinion.

Colonialism is not yet dead because the right to self-determination, i. e. many nations' right to sovereignty is still being neglected and violated.

When the West European Powers gave up their colonies in Asia and Africa and assisted them in gaining independence, they completely ignored ethnographic data and national peculiarities. The colonial territories which obtained their independence this way did not constitute ethnographic unities, since their borders had not been laid down in accordance with ethnographic data. Leading West European Powers and the UNO as well considered these newly independent states as though they were natural political unities, homogenous nations, which was, however, not the case. Almost all these states are inhabited by several peoples, whose language, civilization and national ambitions are different. They are really forced structures, dwarf empires. If the former colonial powers and the UNO ignored the entire complex of problems mentioned above when they granted the right to self-determination to the former colonial countries, then they should at least subsequently act in keeping with UNO resolutions on the right to national self-determination and on de-colonialization and with the agreement on human rights and should promote national struggles for independence in those created artificially after the Second World War.

We can unfortunately only discover evidence of the opposite. The democratic powers and UNO not only do not support national liberation struggles, which are directed against the "integrity of the existing state structure", but even help to suppress such struggles. Katanga and Biafra are striking examples of this.

When the former Belgian Congo was made independent, the territory of Katanga split off from this structure and declared itself independent. In accordance with the right to national self-determination Katanga was justified in doing this, since the population differs from that of the rest of the Congo in its ethnic, linguistic and cultural characteristics and has also the economic prerequisites for independence.

The case of Biafra is similar. This country has all the prerequisites of an independent state. Its population differs ethnically and linguistically from the population of Nigeria and is in civilizing influences superior. But most states in the world and the UNO are not willing to acknowledge its independence and tolerate the barbaric war of conquest and destruction which Nigeria is waging against it. Nigeria's conduct of the war can only be termed genocide. Despite this the UNO and the democratic nations do nothing about it! Genocide is being carried out in sight of the whole world, and on this side of the Iron Curtain!

Although the right to self-determination, i. e. the principle of national sovereignty, is a logical consequence of the realization of democracy in international relations, the democratic powers leave the responsibility for it more or less to the Communist and Russian imperialists.

The result of this fateful circumstance is that Soviet Russia and Communists in general stand up for national sovereignty in places — outside their own sphere of power — where it seems to them to be in the interest of Communism and opportune for the Russian empire. As against this the democratic powers either do not trouble themselves at all about the universal realization of the right to self-determination or leave initiative in this respect to the representatives of the Russian-Bolshevik colonial empire.

But it never occurs to the Russian imperialists to put the principles of national self-

determination into practice in their own sphere of power, i. e. recognize and observe the independence of peoples living there.

The non-Russian peoples of the former Russian Tsarist Empire did in fact make use of the right to self-determination, of their right to sovereignty, in the years 1917/18, when they declared their independence from Russia and began to build up their own states again. At first the Russian-Bolshevik lords recognized the self-determination and sovereignty of these peoples for tactical reasons, but afterwards they found various excuses for waging war against the states who had thus gained their freedom, in order to conquer them and incorporate them once again into the Russian empire. Soviet Russia occupied and annexed the following countries, thus breaking the precepts of international law: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Northern Caucasia and other states. During the Second World War the number of states annexed by Soviet Russia increased: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In other states which were occupied by the Russian Red Army during the final months of the Second World War "peoples' democratic" governments dependent upon Russia were forced upon the population. Although these states were not incorporated into the so-called Soviet Union, they in fact ended up by being dependent on Russia.

Most of the governments of the free world have recognized the annexations and interventions which Russia has made in violation of international law.

Most democratic governments do not bother themselves at all about the subjugated peoples within the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. When questioned about it their spokesmen feign ignorance, pretending not to know that these states were ever independent. Then again, they try to make the right to self-determination of these nations seem questionable by doubting their real desire for independence — as though there were such a thing as a civilized nation that did not want to be independent!

When, after a struggle for national freedom and self-determination which had lasted for decades, the Slovak Diet declared Slovakia independent, various politicians, diplomats and journalists began to defame the Slovak Republic. They did this because the resultant division of the artificially established state of Czecho-Slovakia annoyed them. When, in the course of their military operations in the spring of 1945, the Russian Red Army occupied Slovakia and re-established the artificial Czecho-Slovak state against the will of the Slovaks, there were many democrats in the free world who also referred to this violation of the right to self-determination as "liberation". Even now, when mass demonstrations and rallies are being held in Slovakia for the independence of that country, the press in the free world practically ignores the aspirations of the Slovak people to independence. Nor has the recommended federalization of Czecho-Slovakia, which the Communist leaders are offering the Slovak people as a compromise solution, attracted much attention in the press in the free world. On the whole they give consideration only to relaxation of the Communist system of government and the fluctuation of its relationship to Soviet Russia.

The leading powers in the free world have always assumed, and still do assume, a passive or illogical attitude towards the right to national self-determination, not only to nations in Europe, but everywhere in the world, where the realization of this principle presents problems.

On the night of August 20th Soviet Russian armed intervention took place in Bohemia and Slovakia with the aim of crushing the aspirations to independence of the Czecho-Slovak state formation, thus arousing the indignation of the entire free world. In all probability the governments of the free world will also do nothing about this new gross violation of the sovereignty of the Slovak and the Czech peoples. They will accept the "facts" as provided by the Russian occupation army as they have often done in the past.

This newest intervention by Soviet Russia clearly indicates what this colonial power understands by self-determination and sovereignty of peoples when it comes to its own sphere of power.

Lip Service To Freedom Is Not Enough

The purpose of Captive Nations Week is to mobilize world opinion to demand freedom for both the satellite nations, like Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria, and also for the non-Russian nations within the USSR, like Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Armenia, Cossackia, and others. Congress in 1959 listed twenty-two satellite and captive nations, including North Korea and North Vietnam, as enslaved by "Communist imperialism". Now also Cuba is one of them, and American boys are dying every day to keep South Vietnam free!

We and all Americans who observe Captive Nations Week, to quote former President Eisenhower in his first proclamation of 1959, want "freedom and independence . . . for all the captive nations of the world". But since 1918 and 1945, happily, Western colonialism has practically disappeared. Ireland and India, the Philippines and Morocco are free. Britain and France, Belgium and Holland have liberated their colonies. Germany in 1918 and Japan in 1945 were forced to free theirs.

The one empire that has not freed a single one of its enslaved peoples is Soviet Russia. On the contrary, it has extended its brutal colonialism and secured it with such barbarisms as the Berlin Wall, the Iron Curtain, and the tanks and machine guns that in 1953 murdered the freedom fighters of East Berlin and in 1956 those of Budapest. This very summer when enslaved Czecho-Slovakia started to loosen its chains, Soviet Russian tanks moved in and occupied these nations.

Yet America and the Free World have for decades patiently accepted Soviet Russia's attacks on real and imaginary Western colonialism. They have liberated, often prematurely, their African and Asian colonies. But they have not clearly and consistently demanded that Soviet Russia similarly give independence to its captive

and satellite nations. We who observe Captive Nations Week urgently ask our fellow countrymen and the world to demand this independence for the captive nations under Communist domination.

Happily most Americans, including elected officials, give at least lip service to freedom for the satellite nations. These with 102 million people in 393,000 square miles, were betrayed into Russian tyranny at Yalta. Even Americans soft on Communism generally wish Moscow would free these victims of Roosevelt-Stalin peace dictating. But they do not demand it loudly and insistently, and they certainly don't demonstrate for this morally required liberation!

Unhappily, when it comes to the captive nations within the USSR, most liberals and many poorly informed other Americans do not even really want independence for them. They want to think that the so-called Soviet Union is all Russian, ethnically and culturally, the way Californians and Pennsylvanians and Texans are American. They tend to feel that giving the Ukraine and the Baltic nations back their independence would be dismembering Russia the way in 1945 the Morgenthauistic victors dismembered Germany. They do not want Russia dismembered vis-a-vis Germany. Shockingly, even elements in the government accept the Soviet Russian empire as a necessary "police system to keep law and order". In April, 1963, the U.S. Arms Control Agency instructed whom it concerned that "The break-up of the Russian Communist empire" would be "catastrophic for world order".

As we all know, it is this sort of shocking acceptance of the Red colonialism on the part of the Free World, this virtual and semi-official approval of Soviet Russia, the most tyrannical colonialism in history, the only one that ever needed a wall and an Iron Curtain, not to keep enemies out, but its own people in, which

gives the Red dictators their prestige and prevents world opinion and the oppressed peoples from rolling back and breaking up the Soviet Russian empire.

Morally oriented and freedom-loving men and women must insist that this Red empire dissolve, the way every empire in history, even benevolent ones, had to end. Colonialism cannot be a way of life in a world that preaches human rights and democracy.

Dissolving the USSR does not mean dismembering Russia proper. We want a strong and healthy Russia, but a Russia of Russians, not one of a majority of enslaved foreign nationalities, a Russia brought down to its own size. The Soviet Russian empire now, the USSR, is an immense area of 8,647,172 square miles, more than the U.S. and Canada and Mexico together. It is almost three times the size of China, and of Australia, and six times the size of India.

It has a population of 235,000,000, but of these only 110 million are Russian, the other 125 million are Ukrainians, Balts, and others. They speak their own languages and have their own culture.

These captive peoples inhabit 2,053,781 square miles of land that has been theirs

for centuries. But if they and their lands are given their rightful independence, Russia will still be the strongest nation in Europe, about as populous as Germany and France combined.

Such rightful Russia can only be established by the liberation of the captive nations. It will have nothing to fear from any country in Europe, but it will also no longer be a threat to Western Europe or to world peace. Russia, once its captive nations are liberated, will not be threatened by anyone and will have no cause to threaten anyone else. The only serious danger of a third world war, or of a nuclear war will have been removed.

And we believe this is the only way to remove the threat of a third world war. We believe if the American people, and the American government resolutely throw all their moral, economic, and diplomatic support to the aspirations and efforts for freedom of the captive nations, these nations can without a world war be liberated. Not even totalitarian dictators can long defy righteous concerted world opinion allied with the just aspirations of most of their people. We are morally bound to work for and to pray for — and God willing to achieve this liberation.



ABN representative, Mr. A. Bedriy, speaking at the press conference arranged by the June Committee for foreign correspondents covering the Assembly of the World Council of Churches. (Stockholm, Sweden, July 14, 1968.)

Cardinal Slipyj Visits Canadian Ukrainians

*Cardinal Slipyj with
Prime Minister Pierre
Trudeau and
Metropolitan
Maxim Hermaniuk.
(Winnipeg,
June 23, 1968)*



Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which is in union with Rome, has visited the Ukrainian community in Canada in June this year. It is Cardinal Slipyj's first visit to a Ukrainian community in the Western world since his release from Soviet Russian captivity in 1963, on the intervention of Pope John XXIII, after spending 17 years in prisons and concentration camps for refusal to dissolve the Ukrainian Catholic Church and transfer his allegiance to the Russian Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow.

Over 50,000 Ukrainians from Eastern Canada and USA attended the Holy Mass celebrated by Cardinal Slipyj, assisted by several Archbishops and Bishops, in the Canadian National Exhibition Stadium in Toronto, on Sunday, June 16th.

In his address Cardinal Slipyj said that Ukrainians in Canada were right to maintain their national identity through political, economic and cultural organisations. He had praise for the work of Ukrainians in Canada, because they have been generous in supporting such Ukrainian Catholic projects as colleges and seminaries in Rome to keep the faith thriving in a way now impossible in Ukraine.

Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), Ukrainian Scouts, and pupils of Ukrainian schools in Toronto marched past the official stand. Ukrainian songs and dances by various choirs and dance groups gave colour to the great rally.

All newspapers gave front-page coverage to these events and published large, sometimes even full-page, pictures of the Cardinal.

Canadian Press On Cardinal Slipyj

Toronto Daily Star, June 15, 1968 writes on the first page under the title: **60,000 Welcomes for a Church's Prince: Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, a Ukrainian archbishop who spent 17 years in Siberian labor camps, conducts divine liturgy at St. Nicholas Church today. The spiritual head of the world's 10 million Ukrainian Catholics, he is first Ukrainian cardinal to visit Canada. More than 2,000 welcomed him to Toronto yesterday and the church was jammed today. Tomorrow he is expected to conduct mass before 60,000 at the CNE bandshell. Story on P. 59**".

The Globe and Mail, June 17, 1968, under a huge photo showing Cardinal Slipyj celebrating mass, writes: "White-bearded Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, major archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church who was released in 1963 after being imprisoned by the Soviet Government in Siberia for 17 years, celebrated a mass at the CNE bandshell yesterday. More than 40,000 attended service."

In the following article, **Globe and Mail** writes: "... To Ukrainians, he is considered a symbol of resistance to totalitarianism.

"He was made a cardinal in 1965 and in the same year was appointed member of the Sacred Oriental Congregation and Commission for the Codification of Eastern Canon Law ...

"The cardinal was welcomed by several leaders of the Toronto community and by representatives of the municipal, provincial and federal governments.

"Transport Minister Paul Hellyer read a telegram from Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who expressed the gratitude of Canada for the Ukrainian contribution to the development of the nation.

"Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield referred to Cardinal Slipyj as a man of courage and talked about Canada as a multi-cultural country 'where a man is judged by his abilities and not by his background'. He said the 500,000 Ukrainians in Canada had made a meaningful contribution to Canadian society ...

"Ukrainian Catholic bishops from Canada and the United States accompanied Cardinal Slipyj to the grandstand.

The Telegram, June 17, 1968, under a picture showing Cardinal Slipyj and Mayor Dennison says: "The Cardinal became the first holder of a gold key to the City of Toronto during his visit. The key, mounted on a walnut plaque, with an inscription, was presented instead of the usual cufflinks."

In an article on the same page entitled: "Cardinal draws loudest cheers" **The Telegram** writes: "Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield got polite applause at a Ukrainian festival at CNE stadium yesterday but the crowd saved its loudest cheers for a 76-year-old cardinal who has spent 17 years in Siberian labor camps."

Toronto Daily Star on June 17, 1968 again published a large picture of the Cardinal.

"Earlier, yesterday morning, some 50,000 persons heard the cardinal sing a pontifical divine liturgy with other Ukrainian bishops and priests at the CNE. More than 2,000 received Holy Communion from the cardinal.

"Cardinal Slipyj, 76, is a tall, white-bearded symbol of Ukrainian Catholic resistance against Russian political domination, the Russification of the Ukrainian culture and the defence of Catholicism against state interference."

The Montreal Star, July 13, 1968 writes: "... The 76-year-old spiritual leader of Ukrainian Catholics around the world, named to the College of Cardinals by Pope Paul VI in 1965, is currently on a swing through the West, the main settlement of Ukrainian Canadians.

"He will be met at Montreal International Airport by Most Reverend Paul Grégoire, archbishop of Montreal, and clergymen and members of the Ukrainian community here. He will be guest of the archbishop at his residence here ..."

The Aesthetic-Ethical Code And Freedom

Whereas the unchangeability of the moral code inherent in human nature and laid down in the decalogue has been established by Christianity, the laws of aesthetics also inherent in human nature show a diversity in expression ranging from the highest tributes in the worship of God to various conventionalities in everyday life. This signifies a definite teleological scale of values. *Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi*. A similar reference is made by Caius Sallustius Crispus in his "Second Epistle to Caesar": "The prosperity and wealth of man is only mocked not honoured by building palaces and manor-houses and decorating them with paintings, tapestry and other objects and by making everything else except oneself an object of curiosity."

Even though the demands for expression of one's innate sense of aesthetics is justified, its abuse through ostentatiousness and human cults leads to criticism, indignance and revolt. A disregard of the fundamental laws of aesthetics and ethics is a welcome target for extensive criticisms in topical literature. Unfortunately this also gives "world-reformers" an opportunity to bring forth new absurdities, the best example being those promulgated by atheistic Communism.

The aesthetic-ethical code is the root of all culture. In the field of architecture the classical Grecian temple is hardly surpassable. But even the architectural styles of ancient Egypt, Asia and the Roman and Gothic periods together with their technical achievements are of an aesthetic nature inasmuch as they clearly reveal a sincere effort to express harmonic beauty as mankind's spontaneous reaction to the glory of God. It is only when elements of destructiveness and ugliness are openly aimed at, as in the case of modern anti-art, that a marked decline and deterioration in aesthetics ensues and, furthermore, if this is

accompanied by general moral depravity it leads to a decline in culture on the whole. One thing is certain, to wit, that in accordance with the revelations Christianity will persist till the very end of time. Thus one may rest assured that Christian art and culture will time and again experience a fresh revival and rise to new heights whenever it tends to wane. Oswald Spengler made a grave mistake in not taking the invincibility of Christianity into account.

As has been proved by Professor Otto Kraus ("Grundfragen der Gesellschaftspolitik", Berlin, 1964) a clear line is to be drawn between culture and civilization.

Mankind is endangered by the steady increase in automation which could well lead to thoroughly organized "press-button societies" and thought control. Yet progress in civilization has harmful effects only when it reaches a frenzied pitch and does not necessarily have to be an antipode of cultural progress.

The appropriate cultural policy, therefore, would be to recognise and prevent the harmful effects of civilization in time. But the inefficiency of institutional systems by and large gives one sufficient ground to expect that such matters will not be paid attention to until the harm has already been done.

Another grave source of danger for art and culture are the innumerable arbitrary definitions of the term freedom, amongst others those which voice destructive and anarchistic tenets. As a matter of fact freedom implies an inviolable right to support the aesthetic-ethical code unhindered. Many Christian martyrs and men who fell prey to tyrannical rulers devoted their lives to this cause. This fundamental knowledge is a touchstone for gauging the capability of politicians, statesmen, diplomats and writers.



†

JENS NIELSEN

Jens Nielsen, a noted journalist and a great friend of the subjugated peoples, died in Copenhagen, Denmark on June 24, 1968. The news of his premature death brought grief to his many friends almost all over the world as well as to the anti-Bolshevik movement in Denmark.

Mr. Nielsen was born of Danish parents in Haderslev, now a Danish town on the Danish German border on March 5, 1921. He attended a Danish school and after graduating with honours

went to Copenhagen where he pursued his career in commerce and industry. Because of his great intelligence, diligence and energy he was held in great esteem wherever he worked. From 1961 to 1963 he was a manager of a Danish firm in Pakistan.

Jens Nielsen was interested in politics since his youth. At the age of 15-16 he was already delivering speeches to youth organisations on behalf of the poor and the persecuted. He was a lifelong student of ancient history, early European history and the history of the European political trends. This combined with his great gift for languages and through his many travels, gave him great insight into the questions of foreign policy. Besides Danish, English, French, German and Italian, he knew several East-European and Asian languages.

Recognizing the hostile and subversive nature of Communism as an enemy of the free world, Mr. Nielsen undertook an uncompromising struggle with Communist ideology and together with other prominent Danes propagated the truth about the peoples subjugated by Russia, especially Ukraine. He was an active supporter of ABN and the European Freedom Council in Denmark as well as other Scandinavian countries. It can be honestly stated that much of what has been achieved in the anti-Communist struggle in Denmark in recent years can be attributed to Jens Nielsen. Having numerous acquaintances and friends in the Danish political world, he was able to accomplish much on behalf of the subjugated peoples among Danish political, academic and student circles. The fate of Europe was always close to his heart. His comprehensive knowledge of so very many subjects, his fervent interest in the welfare of his fellow human beings and his steadfast belief in justice and freedom created in this unassuming man something far above the ordinary world of politics, something, which will be remembered with gratefulness.

A great European has gone into eternity. In losing Mr. Jens Nielsen the anti-Communist front has lost a staunch fighter and a friend, but his memory will always live among us.

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

Anti-Kosygin Actions In Sweden

During the visit of the Russian dictator, Alexei Kosygin, to Sweden on July 11-13, 1968, the Central Committee of ABN together with the Swedish organisations, June Committee, Democratic Alliance and the Baltic Committee organised various counter-actions. Their aim was to expose Russian genocide towards the subjugated peoples within the USSR and their aggressive ambitions towards the so-called satellite states, and to inform the Swedish public opinion about the liberation struggle in the subjugated nations, the creativity of the young intellectuals, persecutions and deportations, and the terror and crimes of the Russian colonial apparatus.

The highlights of the anti-Kosygin demonstrations included a mass rally on June 11th in Sergel Square, the centre of Stockholm, organised by the Democratic Alliance at which over 3,000 participated. About 300 placards, slogans on cloth, and flags of the subjugated countries had been brought to the Square for the meeting. Mr. A. Larsson of the Democratic Alliance made the opening speech. Mr. James Turner spoke on behalf of the US youth. Mr. Rainis Cedrins, chairman of the Latvian Youth Organisations in Sweden, demanded that Russians leave the subjugated coun-

tries. Mr. A. Bedriy, representative of the Central Committee of ABN, appealed to the Swedish people for moral support to the subjugated nations in their struggle for independence.

The rally was followed by a protest march at which the participants, mostly Swedish youth, carried flags of the subjugated peoples and placards such as: "Kosygin and other dictators are not welcome"; "Dictators — No, Freedom and Democracy — Yes"; "For free Ukraine"; "Freedom for Baltic States"; "Freedom for Hungary", and many, many others. After the march the June Committee organised a protest meeting with the participation of about 1,000. Prof. Birger Nerman, chairman of the June Committee, stressed in his opening speech that Moscow's objective was to enhance Soviet prestige and weaken Sweden's historical ties with the West by means of Mr. Kosygin's visit. The other speakers were Prof. Jerzy Hauptmann of the Kansas City University, USA; Mr. Tord Tannenbergh, chairman of the Democratic Alliance; Mr. Andres Viirsoo, an Estonian journalist in exile; Mr. Teodor Berkovits, representative of the Hungarian freedom fighters, and Mr. Bertil Häggman, secretary of the June Committee, who read





the telegrams, messages and letters.

Press conferences were given: on July 13 to foreign correspondents covering Mr. Kosygin's visit and on July 14 to foreign correspondents covering the Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Uppsala who were visiting Stockholm on that day. Prof. Birger Nerman, Mr. Anathole Bedriy from ABN and three secretaries of the June Committee, Mr. Arvo Horm, Mr. Bertil Häggman and Mr. Bertil Wedin,

gave explanations at the press conferences, assisted by Mr. Landsmanis and Miss Adelaida Lemberg.

A number of booklets, leaflets and cartoon postcards were published. Appeals, programmes of the protest meetings and leaflets were distributed in Swedish, English, German and Russian. The Swedish newspapers gave extensive coverage to these events.

Communist Press Attacks OUN And EFC

Komunist Ukraina (June) attacked the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the European Freedom Council in an article "Instructive Pages of History".

Here are some excerpts: "In unfolding their subversive political and ideological struggle, imperialist bourgeoisie sets itself the aim of weakening the unity of the socialist countries, of the international Communist movement, of disuniting the vanguard forces of the present-day era, of undermining socialist society from within, and of destroying its ideological and political unity . . .

"In June, 1967, in Munich (Federal Republic of Germany) a special organization was set up — the so-called 'European Free-

dom Council' whose aim is to coordinate the activities of all anti-Communist groups in Europe. One of the chairmen of this 'firm' is the bourgeois nationalist — Yaroslav Stetsko.

"Ideological subversionists are attempting to bring back to life the mildewed little ideas of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, to raise on their shield bourgeois nationalist parties and groups which once used to be active in Ukraine and in emigration. They are trying to depict the spiritual apostles of nationalism . . . as the spokesmen of the ideas of 'independence', 'sovereign statehood', who allegedly even today are embodying the 'popular' and 'national spirit' of the Ukrainian working people . . ."

Ivan Matteo Lombardo, f. Minister of Foreign Trade, President of the Italian Atlantic Committee and Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association

Merciless War Against The Free World

(Continuation)

The holocaust of World War II was followed by the iron age of the "cold war". This cold war — as it was called — has involved peoples longing for peace in scores of conflicts, entanglements and wars — of traditional or non-conventional type — which have caused rivers of blood to flow. The majority of these conflicts has been provoked or caused by the Communists, either by direct aggression, by the instigation of others on their behalf, or by the organization of terrorist activities, subversion and/or guerrilla warfare. Nor is their influence to be excluded from those conflicts in which the Communists seem neither directly nor indirectly involved; for quite often such conflicts are a result of their political actions, diplomatic maneuvers, and supplies of weapons, or they arise from local reasons which are being exploited for the advantage of Communist expansionism in the world.

It is for this reason, then, that the aggressive drive of the Communist movement has known no respite but for the pauses necessary for the regroupment of forces or the preparation of new offensives when their progress has been checked or a reconsideration of the strategic lines has been deemed convenient. In Leninist language this pause is called "peredishka". But such periods of respite are also useful to the aggressor as a means of causing the adversary to relax and lower his guard, thereby facilitating the success of the next offensive. In any event, whether in or out of the periods of "peredishka", the constant warfare, the untiring aggressiveness, have always been accompanied by a continuous drumming of slogans dealing with "peace".

It is of course true that since the beginning of time no aggressor has ever declared as such his own aggressive intentions. Without going too far back in history, if we reread solemn declarations of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, we would have to conclude that the pursuit of peace was

their favourite hobby. Let me make myself clear; in a burst of sincerity, an aggressor may even admit that he was forced to attack in order to prevent an attack which otherwise would have been directed against him by an adversary . . .

Therefore, in addition to the constant "declarations of war" issued by the highest Communist leaders and contained in the resolutions of party conferences, and in addition to the tragic reality of the conflicts which are instigated and waged by their "proxies", it is the deluge of accusations against the West, against the "imperialists", against the "capitalist" world which is supposedly preparing for war (and thus, "no matter where this may take place the Soviet Union will not be taken by surprise and will inflict the most serious and final defeat on capitalism"), which should undoubtedly constitute our most serious preoccupation. I say serious preoccupation because this spate of shamelessly lying accusations could become the build-up of moral alibis if — the risks having been reduced to the minimum — the USSR ever considered the times propitious and the situation favourable to hazard a worldwide showdown.

In recent years the Leninist "peredishka" has gone under the name of the "doctrine of peaceful coexistence". The West is inclined to take this — a substitute or transformation of the "cold war" — at face value (according to the meaning, that is, that our current usage gives to those words), notwithstanding uneasiness in some quarters at the acceptance of this *ersatz* instead of authentic and general peace.

No one doubts that even this tricky "peaceful coexistence" is preferable to nuclear holocaust, but in practice it puts the free world under the constant strain of having to contain, control and combat revolutionary movements, the fomentation of disorder and rebellion, and the unending

process of subversive underground activity. This is merely to say that under the standard of "peaceful coexistence", the areas of instability, insecurity and aggression of the world continue to expand.

On the other hand, the representation of a co-existential and peace-loving Soviet Union in contrast to an overflowing and war-mongering Maoist China has no realistic content. The essence of the quarrel between those two powers lies not in disagreement over the pros and cons of the struggle for world revolution, but in the evaluation of the right moment and the most appropriate methods for waging it.

It is not at all true that China repudiates "peaceful coexistence". It would be quite to the point to recall that this phrase was first used in a diplomatic instrument which shortly followed the agreement concluded on the 29th of April, 1954, between the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India. Two months later Chou En-lai and Nehru signed a joint declaration which incorporated the basic inspiring principles currently known as the "five principles of coexistence", according to which:

- 1) the High Contracting Parties guarantee *mutual respect for the territorial integrity* and sovereignty of their respective countries;
- 2) *renounce all forms of aggression*;
- 3) commit themselves to reciprocal *non-interference* in each other's domestic affairs;
- 4) agree that their relations should be conducted on the basis of equality and mutual advantage;
- 5) extol the virtues of *peaceful coexistence*.

It is, moreover, on the model of this document that "peaceful coexistence" was later adopted in declarations and instruments which the USSR signed with Asian and even European countries.

In any event, it was within but a few years of 1954 that the world was enlightened — and Nehru, in turn, was disillusioned — as to the intrinsic content of "peaceful coexistence" by the repeated

attacks and constant pressure along the Indian border by the Chinese armies. In the meantime, however, it had been of great advantage to Communist China to have sheltered India in the "opium house", displaying the sign of "peaceful coexistence", and to have debilitated her over a period of several years, prior to kicking in the shins and humiliating her.

In the same way it is incorrect to claim that it was "honest" Khrushchov, "the de-Stalinizer", who presented the world with this up-to-date version of the "pax comunista". Without going back to re-exhume one by one all the dates and occasions in which this expression has enjoyed great favour (and when it has not) by following the twists of Russian foreign policy, we would like to emphasize the fact that when a concept as essentially abstract as this one is professed by one who proudly boasts of his own materialistic training, it is a sign that the concept *necessarily* incorporates something which is of essential utility for Communist expansionism and is extremely dangerous for the non-Communist world.

The Soviet Russian leaders are and will continue to be prisoners of their system. Therefore their writings must of necessity be examined in accordance with the meaning they are meant to express and not that which we would like to understand. For it is they themselves who make no secret of the aggressive and warlike content of "peaceful coexistence"; from "class warfare" within the individual country to that on the international level; from "liberation movements" to "just wars" ("just", for the Communists and therefore unjust for the "imperialists" who defend themselves) and "people's wars"; there is, after all, nothing in "peaceful coexistence" but the justification and anticipation of conflicts.

We learn in fact, that these "liberation movements" can always count on the support of Soviet Russia which, as explained in precise and peremptory statements, has no intention of settling for a "peaceful coexistence" even on the basis of the *status quo*. Far from having renounced any further expansion of Communism in the world, she has guaranteed armed protection

to these movements which constitute her most recent instruments.

And indeed these so-called "liberation movements" most often arise as a result of Soviet Russian initiative, drive and instigation, and they develop, prosper and endure because of the hardware, military technicians and "specialists", tools of every type, and political and financial assistance which the USSR and the satellites provide. In addition there are special schools which, for decades in the Soviet Union, since the end of the Second World War in satellite countries and in Maoist China, and for half a dozen years in Cuba, have been — and are — training and instructing the subverters of the social and political order of the non-Communist world. We have seen them, and shall continue to see them at their work; they are the cadres of the "revolutionary wars".

Regardless of the "temporary disagreements on certain concrete questions which exist within the socialist community" (as the current "cold war" between the Soviet Union and Maoist China is euphemistically defined by the Communists), Russia and China are in agreement — quite often even in the language they employ — on full solidarity with the forces of destruction and support of the "protracted conflict" throughout the world. This agreement could be officially noted at the Tricontinental Conference of Havana in 1966.

"Peaceful coexistence", Soviet-style, sheds light on certain great contradictions for which the West alone will have to bear the brunt. The free world is branded as "imperialist" following the curious Communist concept according to which those who eventually extend their rule over territories beyond the seas are "imperialists" while those doing the same on the great contiguous land-masses are not. (But if, let us suppose, Communist powers were in existence overseas, they naturally would not be "imperialists" but Leninist good Samaritans). The free world is accused of "aggression" if it seeks to contain or combat the endeavours of Communism to impose its own system by means of terrorism or force of arms. Any effort by the

free world to run to the defense of those who are attacked or menaced is considered not only as "aggression" but also as "invasion". For the Communists, on the other hand, invasion is no longer such when carried out by them themselves through the infiltration of subversives, guerrillas, and so-called "people's" armed forces.

Whereas the free world is not allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the Communist world, the latter considers the contrary as its unquestionable right. And whereas the Communist world is completely sheltered from any form of internal criticism or opposition by the prevention of the expression of dissent by the totalitarian whip, the inevitable criticisms and perplexities which are characteristic of the pluralistic societies of which the free world is composed, are amplified to the highest degree and used and exploited as much as possible for the benefit of Communist endeavours.

The Western world ought to awake from its slumber, forget the rosy dreams, and face the hard facts. It cannot hope to see peace dawn upon the world; it has to realize that war has been declared and is being actually waged against it. One of the tactical designs in the general strategy, for waging the "protracted conflict", is the so-called "peaceful coexistence". One has only to go back to the official and unimpeachable sources: the "secret texts" of the dogma, the statements of the "charismatic leaders", the enunciations of the ideologists, the "interpretations" of the expounders, and the "lines of strategy" proclaimed by party congresses. Of course, one has to penetrate the obscurities of an Aesopian language and the ambiguities of distorted or revolutionized semantics, and translate them into an intelligible and comprehensive language for the understanding of free men.

But this language has an important justification for the Communists, which varies according to whom the message is directed:

- a) to provide the faithful, the cadres, and the "professional revolutionaries" with

the precise directives they are to follow in certain stages and at certain moments. The strategic blue-print is unrolled before their eyes. Conventional language, by incessantly reiterating the final goal, indicates the "strategic line", points out the tactics, and prescribes the techniques;

- b) to give non-initiated, the man-in-the-street, and the great mass of people the illusion of a totally different meaning by the uses of certain "magic" words, constant references to elementary "fetishes" and "taboos", and the irritating repetition — to the point of absurdity — of arbitrary classifications and prejudices.

The great modern tragedy of the free world derives exactly from the gap between the plans and behaviour of the enemy and its lack of comprehension of, and supine accommodation to, the Communists' designs. It is simply impossible to reconcile two opposing world visions, moralities and civilizations. While one of the two has always demonstrated a broad and constant willingness for conciliation — almost, we might say, towards "convergence" — the other has never deviated from its desire to impose its own "final solution" on the world; a final solution which identifies the *synthesis* (of an arbitrarily formulated *thesis* and *antithesis*) with the functions of the butcher and the grave-digger.

If the true significance of the Soviet Russian "doctrine of peaceful coexistence" is to be restored, it will be necessary to cleanse it of the deceptive peaceful appearance which cloaks its aggressive intentions and designs. The offensive of the armies of disorder must be met by a counter-offensive (or at least stronger active defences) based on the established order which will be waged in agreement by all those governments and peoples who will accept no ambiguities in the concept of peace, and who intend to continue along the road of social and economic progress with liberty and freedom from fear.

The general mobilization of the "anti-

imperialist" forces which, if given the chance, will impose an iron *ideological imperialism* on the world (to be accompanied by military and economic imperialism), and the "wars of liberation" which intend to "liberate" other peoples from their liberty, independence, and national ways of life, must be met by the mobilization of all the forces of democracy, of all those forces, that is, which believe in liberty and are willing to fight to protect it.

The role which the United States is currently playing is one which ought to be assumed, in the interest of all humanity, and in the interest of the Soviet Union itself (if it is true that she desires to avoid the terrible confrontation), by the entire free world. Otherwise it is obvious that if things were to go too far, and were the free world to find itself with its back to the wall and faced with a choice between coming to its knees and the final struggle, it would probably be compelled, out of desperation, to react with the whole range of its power.

In the nuclear era it is not admissible for the free world to be ignorant of the intentions or to underestimate the capabilities of the totalitarian states and the conspiratorial tasks of the Communist parties under their control. It is of vital importance (particularly for the political *élites* and the statesmen of the free world), to understand the formulas of national defense and international security — whose components are diplomatic, technological, military, economic, social and psychological — which are becoming a necessity for national survival. A *strategy of freedom through peace* imposes certain priorities for the next fifteen or twenty years: to hold aggression at bay, regardless of whether it manifests itself in "insurrectional" forms or in the military techniques of space; to combat the erosion of will power and the corruption of the moral values of many peoples; to assist, disinterestedly, the less fortunate nations, and to create and/or consolidate the institutions which guarantee real peace and human progress.

Appeal To The Peoples Of The Free World

Below we are publishing an appeal by the Fourth Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the main Ukrainian political movement which supports the ABN — held in the Spring of 1968. The Fourth Congress of OUN analyzed the conditions in Ukraine, the development of the national liberation struggle during the last 25 years, reviewed the present international situation and worked out the political, ideological, strategic, organizational, cultural and educational tasks lying ahead of the OUN and the whole Ukrainian national liberation movement. It elected Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, f. Prime Minister of Ukraine, its President.

For the past forty years, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has led the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people for national sovereignty of its homeland and against Soviet Russian subjugation. At its recent, Fourth Congress (Spring 1968), the Organization reaffirmed its determination and resolve to strengthen the struggle against Russian colonialism. Thereby, the forces of freedom and independence for all suppressed nations are strengthened.

We believe national independence and personal freedom to be the greatest and most basic of human rights and we appeal at this time to all peoples of good will to join with and support us in the pursuit of those rights.

I.

The period since the last World War has seen far reaching human progress. In spite of the fact that war, poverty and hunger still cast shadows over much of the world, there is an acute awareness among peoples of the efforts being made to put an end to want and fear. Most heartening is the growing resolve of humanity to persevere in this effort to improve and humanize the world.

It is precisely against this background of growing enlightenment, however, that colonialism and subjugation of nations appear in their true light as the most anachronistic and evil vestiges of a bygone age. A number of nations continue to suffer outright oppression and foreign domination. Imperial Russia failed to set free the nations held in her captivity, and worse, Moscow continues to press her relentless drive to colonize the world.

The world is witnessing all too clearly the reality of Russia's long-term plans for world domination. As a direct result, the reunification of the peoples of Germany, Korea and Vietnam is being prevented. The peripheral wars in the Far East and, more recently, aggression in the Middle East have been Russian instigated. Moscow has established a strategic base in Cuba, now serving as its foothold in Latin America. There are long established Russian bases in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean region.

Russia's peculiar world-viewpoint and way of life deny the integrity and rights of other nations if those rights do not serve her specific purposes at any given time. This Russian view of the world has not changed for centuries, save that through experience it is now practised with a high degree of sophistication.

II.

Contemporary Russian colonialism has its gravest and most direct effect on the non-Russian nations and peoples within the U.S.S.R. National oppression there is intense and thorough. By the size of their populations alone, such non-Russian nations as Ukraine present a threat to the Russian empire and they are ruthlessly suppressed in an effort to reduce the danger of organized or spontaneous resistance and struggle for liberation.

The methods of Russian colonialism within the Soviet Union, in the satellite countries and in other nations are practised under new camouflage, but they remain basically unchanged. As in the case of

Russia's foreign policy, sophistication is a new cloak concealing old objectives. This sophistication has become imperative in view of world public opinion and pressures from national liberation movements. Stalin's outright genocide still finds widespread application albeit in a changed form. In Ukraine, for example, Russia aims at the destruction of the Ukrainian nation by doing away with its leaders, its writers, its intellectuals. Obviously, deprived of leadership freedom forces become weak and frustrated. Forced deportations of young Ukrainian activists to remote regions of the Russian empire are designed to prevent any popular uprising and to support the Russification process. Blatant suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture amounts to genocide in that it attempts to silence the soul of the nation. Through the persecution of priests and the faithful, and the closing or outright destruction of churches Russia aims to make the practice of religion impossible. Russia surpasses all precedents in her denial of the fundamental right of nations under her colonial domination to national freedom and independence. Moscow is also trying to further her expansionist aims by taking over the vacuum created by the liquidation of other colonial powers.

That such is the present fate of non-Russian nations under Russian rule is the clear responsibility of the Russian nation and its leaders. The twin ideologies of imperialism and messianism are indisputable Russian national traits. To change the fate of those suppressed nations, to grant them national independence, and to assure for their people the basic freedoms and human rights, is however, at least partly, the responsibility of the international community. The age has passed when colonial powers could dominate and exploit their subjects, both nations and individuals, without being challenged. The assertion that the denial of basic human rights to the captive non-Russian nations should remain an internal matter of the Soviet Union is indefensible. No government or any international organization can turn its back on the denial of human rights to any nation

or people. Numerous publications and various communication media of the free world have recently carried unprecedented amounts of information dealing with this issue. Eye-witnesses have managed to convey first-hand reports of the situation, and there have even been those victims of national and personal persecution who have smuggled detailed reports of their plight to the outside world. Ironically, even some Communist parties operating in the Western world*) were recently shocked at the degree of national oppression perpetrated in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately the reaction in the free world to these facts of oppression has been weak, uncertain and at times bordering on indifference.

It is even more difficult to comprehend how governments and international bodies — not to mention public opinion — can continue in this day and age to tolerate such events as have recently occurred in Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russia. Writers, intellectuals and other national leaders have been shot, imprisoned or declared insane for advocating national independence and human rights for all peoples. Free peoples of the world have not raised a strong voice in their defense. The anguished cries of the enslaved are largely ignored.

Undue fear of Russian power has paralyzed free governments of the world, causing them to maintain a strange silence. However public opinion aroused has, despite muscle-flexing by the Russians, a moral obligation to speak out on behalf of those who so eloquently and bravely demonstrate their dedication to basic human rights.

III.

It is quite clear that Russian designs for world conquest and domination are rapidly moving forward. Russia hopes to conquer the world by inciting peripheral wars, such

*) The Canadian Communist Party, for example, sent a delegation to Ukraine which returned convinced that Russification and national persecution of that country was clearly evident. Also the leaders of the Communist Parties of Italy and France expressed their dissatisfaction with Moscow's policies,

as in Vietnam, and by subversion. By exploiting the tactics of "peaceful coexistence" Moscow buys time for strengthening its economic and military power. By infiltration and subversion of free countries Russia disrupts popular governments and jeopardizes human rights in all free societies. After half a century of growth Bolshevism is now out of control and threatens the entire world. The prophecy of Lenin is taking rather ominous proportions.

Imperial Russia has been engaged in achieving a devious plan to frighten the peoples of the free world, particularly the United States, by means of the alleged "Yellow Peril" arising in turbulent Red China. Tales and truths related to the unparalleled conquests of Ghengis Khan are promoted in a propaganda complex which paints imperial Russia as gradually moving toward democracy. Hints are made that those who are free should not be critical of Russian aggression and despotism because an alliance between Moscow and free nations will soon be a necessity to save the world from the so-called "Yellow Peril". The same propaganda tactics were used prior to the outbreak of World War II to bring about the "strange Alliance" between the major powers of the free West and Stalin's imperial Russia. The penalties paid by civilized mankind for this international fraud are great, including the unending cold war, and the hot wars, which now torment the free world. We must not allow a repetition of the greatest blunder of World War II. It is impossible to eliminate the secondary threat from Peking without first eliminating the primary threat from Moscow.

This threat can be stopped if greater attention is paid to the injustice which prevails in the captive, non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries. Through skillful, appropriate action on the part of the free world, the last surviving colonial empire would cease to exist.

In their constant quest for liberation, the non-Russian nations imprisoned by Moscow have developed various ways to undermine the strength of their jailer, including active and direct struggle against the

Russian forces of occupation. As a rule, Ukraine has been in the forefront and has led such activities. This was true at the time when the new empire was being forged by Lenin, during Stalin's purges, and particularly during and after the Second World War when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) engaged in open combat with the larger and well-equipped forces of Russia. The major character of that struggle is underscored by the fact that the USSR, Communist Poland and Czecho-Slovakia were compelled to enter into a treaty in 1947 in which they combined their forces for the specific purpose of putting down the Ukrainian armed struggle for liberation. That struggle is still going on. Ukrainian and other captive non-Russian peoples have widened their struggle for freedom and national independence across the expanse of the Soviet Union, adapting their methods to prevailing circumstances to the point of being able to lead active resistance from within the confines of the vast complex of concentration camps.

The aims of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists deserve full support of all nations and international organizations believing in and working for justice and peace for mankind.

We hold:

— that justice is indivisible and that its equal application to all nations and peoples is mandatory for the preservation of human rights in the world;

— that Ukraine and other subjugated nations must by natural right regain their independence and truly sovereign status;

— that the colonial empire of Russia must be completely and finally dismembered and that in its place the captive peoples be supported in their efforts to reestablish their independent national states;

— that democratic forms of government must replace Russian autocratic rule in all non-Russian nations subjugated in the U.S.S.R.;

— that a just social order with full national rights replace the tyranny of foreign Russian control, throughout the present Red empire;

— that upon the liberation of Ukraine and other captive nations they enter voluntarily into international economic, social, cultural and political cooperation so that a new world order based on peace with justice for all may be built.

This year marks the 20th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which numerous states affixed their signatures, including the USSR. We ask that integrity and life be poured into that document. Speaking on behalf of the struggling Ukrainian nation and appealing in the name of justice for all peoples and nations of the world, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists urges the full restoration of human rights in Ukraine.

Specifically we demand:

1) that all Soviet Russian occupation forces be withdrawn from Ukraine;

2) that basic human rights, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be respected and put into effect in Ukraine;

3) that the Russification of Ukraine be caused to cease forthwith;

4) that writers, intellectuals, religious and political leaders, now incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, be released immediately;

5) that it be made possible, by whatever means necessary, to hold free and democratic elections in Ukraine.

An aroused conscience of mankind can find the ways and means to make these appeals reality. We believe the tragic human plight of several hundred million non-Russian people in the captive nations of the present day Russian empire, when they are widely known, will prove to be sufficient to arouse that conscience.

Spring 1968

We believe without reservation that the right of self-determination, i.e. national independence and human rights in general, cannot be ignored without serious consequences to the great powers as well as to the smaller nations. The world today is confronted with a spirit of defeatism, a defeatism which draws a dangerous parallel to that which prevailed some 30 years ago. That spirit went unchecked and the tyrants grew bolder with each passing month. The dignity of man was made a mockery, despotism was glorified and the world was plunged into a terrible war. We must not permit that to happen again. The present spirit of defeatism must be replaced by the peaceful power of human freedom.

We recall the words of Winston Churchill, who spoke in unequivocal terms against appeasement and defeatism. He emphasized that if a nation will not fight when victory would not be too costly . . . "you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival . . . There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

It is our hope that this urgent message will reach all men of good will and that they in turn will be moved to join the struggle for the implementation of basic rights for all the nations and peoples of the world. The enslaved nations now silenced by the chains of Red Russia plead for their liberation. What is done in response to these pleas may well determine the future freedom of each country. The future peace of the world hangs on the balance as surely as day follows night.

The Fourth Congress Of
The Organization Of Ukrainian
Nationalists (OUN).

Internationalism Or Russification

(Continuation)

But let's suppose that Tsarist Russia was not a despotic state and an empire, and that Russian colonialism was thought up by the nationalists and Russophobs. In other words: that such fiction as voluntary annexations really took place in relation to Russia in order to distinguish it by something from other countries of the world to which such heavenly manna did not fall and never will fall as long as world history is recorded.

Then we will raise another question: does Marxism approve of the loss of national sovereignty, or its renunciation under conditions of capitalism, or even more, feudalism. With deep and sincere condolences to the fans of tricentenaries and 450th anniversaries we have to admit — no, it does not approve. But on the contrary, Marxism, begging your pardon, “does not recommend” this either for those who “are annexed”, (“As long as national in-

New Arrests In Ukraine

According to recent reports, new arrests took place in several Ukrainian towns in the autumn of 1967. Later a trial took place in Ivano-Frankivsk. In the dock were members of an alleged underground political organization which published its clandestine organ *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom). Articles which appeared in this newspaper demand that the Ukrainian SSR secede from the USSR and become fully independent. Eight of the accused received sentences ranging from 5 to 15 years' imprisonment in forced labour camps.

Further details about the trial of V. Chornovil, which took place on 15th November in Lviv, have reached us. Some Lviv writers were present at the trial. From Kyiv there came Ivan Dzyuba and Lina Kostenko, two well-known writers. Chornovil was defended by Kisenikskiy, a lawyer from Moscow, the same one who defended Siniavsky and Daniel. Chornovil was accused for writing his letter to the Prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR which is widely circulating in manuscript copies in Ukraine. The letter was not read at the trial, because there was nothing in it which could be termed illegal, but it revealed the lawlessness of closed trials and highhandedness of the KGB secret police. Chornovil behaved in a dignified manner at the trial and his defence plea is being widely read in manuscript copies in Ukraine.

Ivan Dzyuba, whose book “Internationalism or Russification?” has just been published in English, is reported to be under house arrest. Lina Kostenko has also been arrested. Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, a literary critic, is the victim of this new wave of persecution. Mykola Meshchak, a translator of English, French and Italian works, was arrested in Kyiv in April, 1968.

dependence is missing — writes Engels, — . . . the people is historically unable even to discuss seriously internal questions of any kind” (20) or to those who “do the annexing” (“A people which oppresses other peoples cannot be free”). (21)

Or another Engels’ view:

“On the basis of Irish history it can be seen what misery is brought to a nation which oppresses another nation. All English vices have their origin in the Irish sphere.” (22)

Generally it is interesting to analyse the profound thoughts of Marx and Engels on the relations between England and Ireland: in many questions they correspond to the history of the Russian-Ukrainian relations . . . What’s more, Marx and Engels frankly suggest “separating” (yes, yes).

“A direct absolute interest of the English working class demands the breaking of its present ties with Ireland.” (23)

Quoting this letter Lenin adds:

“Marx also . . . preaches the separation of Ireland and England . . . Ireland’s economic ties with England, in the 60s of the last century, were, of course, closer than the ties between Russia and Poland, Ukraine and so forth. The ‘impracticability’ and the ‘impossibility of realizing’ Ireland’s separation (if only due to geographical conditions and the unsurpassed colonial might of England) are clearly visible . . .”

. . . “The policy of Marx and Engels in the Irish question gave an important example, which to this day has kept its practical meaning, of what the attitude of the proletariat of the oppressed nations to the national movements should be — it warned against this ‘peasant eagerness’ with which the lower middle class of all countries, colours and languages hastens to acknowledge as “Utopian” the change of frontiers of states, opened up by violence and privileges of landowners and bourgeoisie of the same nation.” (24)

But perhaps none of this, however, applies to Russia at all, in so far as the Russian people has been assured from times of yore that “what is fatal to a German is

healthy for a Russian”. Of course it also applies to Russia, especially to these voluntary unions.

In an article “On National Pride of the Great Russians” Lenin writes: “. . . Economic boom and quick development of Great Russia demands the country’s liberation from the domination of Great Russians over other peoples.” This is almost the same as what Hertsen once wrote: “Russia should disband the parts rather than draw them to the centre.” (25) “We would very much regret, if Little Russia, for example, when asked to express her ideas freely, would not be able to remain completely independent.” (26)

In the above quoted speech by H. I. Petrovskiy in the State Duma (written by Lenin, as we have already mentioned) the same is said:

“Our landlords and official circles are trying to implant the thought in the people that self-determination of nations will have an ill effect upon the state. But look at Sweden and Norway: here there are two cultured states. You know that general well-being, civilization and education are a hundred times greater there than here. In 1905 Norway decided to separate from Sweden, and what happened? They separated peacefully and freely, even though Sweden has twice as many inhabitants. There they did not start to bait Norway, did not begin to arouse its people against Norway or to struggle with Norway, to extend Sweden’s oppression over it.” (27)

In the work “On the Right of Nations to Self-determination” Lenin approvingly cites these words by Engels on the Russian empire: “Russia is the ruler over a large amount of stolen property — that is the ‘oppressed nations’, explains Lenin — which she will have to give back on the day of reckoning . . .” (28)

. . . Marx, Engels and Lenin considered colonialism and the Russian tsarist oppression to be the worst in the world, not in the last place because it reached the heights of hypocrisy and cynicism in its use of the most eloquent phraseology in the basest matters, because it was able to hide the real behind the apparent very successfully.

Returning now to our discussion on "unions", "annexations", etc., let us say, that from everything cited above an elementary thought logically follows, that: if and when it is worth celebrating the respective dates (and perhaps it is worth it, because they are nevertheless very important turning points in the history of the respective nations) then their commemoration should be utilized for broad exposure of the particulars and forms of Russian imperialism, to explain the shameful and reactionary substance of the militant Russian nationalism and "superpowerism". (It is with this very educational work that the party was creating in the 20s the feeling of a basic difference between the present Union of the republics and the former Russian empire, and not the concept of an heir.

We are being engrafted with the sense of heredity. The legacy of territory, the legacy of "indivisibility", the legacy of "sacred boundaries", the legacy of the "unconquerability of Russian weapons", the legacy of "unification around the Russian principle" (that same principle which was unbearable for Marxists-Communists long ago) and Russian "leadership", the legacy of "elder brother", the legacy of the concept of the exceptional role and mission of Russia towards the neighbouring peoples, etc., etc., — only all this is expressed by pseudo-internationalist phrases. This is not a legacy of which Communists could be proud. The great Lenin was ashamed of this legacy; he was proud, however, of another Russian legacy, a truly great Russian legacy, the legacy of revolutionaries.

"We are filled with a feeling of national pride and for this very reason we particularly hate our slavish past (when landlords and nobility led the muzhiks to war in order to strangle the freedom of Hungary, Poland, China) and our slavish present when these same landlords with the help of capitalists lead us to war to strangle Poland and Ukraine, in order to crush the democratic movement in Persia and China, in order to strengthen the Romanov, the Bobrinsky, the Puryshkevich mobs which are bringing infamy to our Great Russian national dignity. Nobody could be blamed

for the fact that he was born a slave; but a slave who denounced all aspirations for his freedom, makes excuses and decorates his servitude (for example, calls the strangulation of Poland, Ukraine, etc. 'defence of the fatherland' of the Great Russians) such a slave is a coward and a cad, which brings out a rightful feeling of indignation, scorn and repulsion. (Let the contemporary Ukrainophobs and scorners of 'nationalism' contemplate these words. — I. D.)

"There is no other way for the Great Russians to 'defend their fatherland' but to wish for a defeat of tsarism in any war, as the least evil for ninety percent of the population of Great Russia, for tsarism not only oppresses ninety percent of the population economically and politically, but also demoralizes, belittles, dishonours, prostitutes it, teaching it to oppress foreign peoples, teaching it to cover up its shame by hypocritical, allegedly patriotic phrases." (20)

These words should be written "with red-hot iron" (let it do a good deed once in its life) on the pumpkin foreheads of present-day cowards and cads, who are covering up the shame of the past by hypocritical, supposedly patriotic phrases and are staging expensive "nationwide celebrations" at the sites of national tragedies. Do they understand that basically by repeating versions of tsarist official policies today, with respect to Russian history, as well as her relations with surrounding peoples — they are freely placing themselves in the position of heirs of these official policies and identifying the USSR with the former Russian empire? That they are doing no more or less than betraying Leninism by substituting the superpower approach for the class-revolutionary approach?

All this is supposedly done in the name of the glorification of the Russian people and its mission. But its indisputable greatness is not to be found in this, and it is not generally permissible to use the word "people" haphazardly, demagogically, where complicated historical, economic and social processes are involved. Marxists are concretely analysing them also where the superpowerists and "patriots" want to cover

up all dubious matters by the word "people", "the Russian people" — there the Marxists find a concrete Russian landlord, a trader, a factory owner, an official, a kulak. Here is another example of how, at the time of the Revolution, the Communists treated the question of relations between the Russians and the indigenous population in the lands subjugated by Tsarist Russia. It is an excerpt from a co-speech on the national question at the 10th Party Congress (com. Safarov):

"In 1916, in Semirechye alone, 35 % of the rural Kirghizian population died out . . . Another figure — the loss of 70 % of cattle — by these very same Kirghizians . . . Distrust of the Russian town was sucked with the mother's milk into the blood of the indigenous population. The Kirghizian says: "Kill a Russian's father and give money", "If a Russian is your friend, keep a stone in your bosom". For a Kirghizian in old times a Russian was an official, a policeman, an oppressor, a robber. Clearly, a special approach is required here to win the non-exploiting element of the borderlands for the Soviet regime . . . After all, who has managed to get into the Party there . . . The old Russian official got into the Party there. Previously he placed his hopes in the imperialists, but when this hope collapsed, when he had seen that one cannot expect a direct help from Moscow and Petersburg, from bourgeoisie and landowners, he understood that in the Turkestanian situation of national enmity it was necessary to create any regime, but definitely a Russian regime. Thus the Party dirtied its hands there owing to the fact that in the beginnings we had failed to attract to it indigenous proletarian and semi-proletarian elements. Such elements do exist, and if we are able to attract them, they will fight honestly and selflessly under our banner. In actual fact the Communist pope, Russian policeman and Semirechye well-to-do farmer who still keeps scores of farmhands, has hundreds of cattle and hunts Kirghizians like game, found himself in our ranks.

"At the time of the Revolution such horrors took place there that it is high time someone should speak about them openly,

in order that Russian colonialist habits, which are still alive among our rank and file, might be finally done away with, and that the resolutions of the Comintern should not remain an empty sound for us . . .

"The Russian imperialist well-to-do farmer class which by will of destiny became the "bearer" of the proletarian culture in the borderlands, pushed the indigenous masses away into the camp of the counter-revolution. Naturally, in the industrially underdeveloped borderland there are very few Russian proletarians, and at the same time, as the regime had to be made up exclusively of the Russians, the well-to-do farmers and others jumped on the proletarian bandwagon.

"Thus as a result of the fact that any Russian in the borderlands had the privilege of being a "proletarian", the regime was made up of the most infamous hangers-on, who, with the help of the Soviet regime and being in the ranks of the Soviet regime, staged all sorts of counter-revolutions . . . This is the situation, comrades, which has not yet been fully liquidated by us; this inheritance is the inheritance of the imperialist colonial relations. This is the automatic continuation of the old colonial relations under the Soviet signboard and form . . .

"According to the statistics of the Semirechye region, in the course of the Revolution, the land ownership by Russian well-to-do farmers has increased from 57 % to 70 %. Note, comrades, in the course of the Revolution, during the period of the Soviet regime! And at the same time the number of Kirghizians who died in Semirechye region increased to 35 %.

"At this juncture, comrades, it is necessary to say quite definitely that without the restoration of the labour rights to land to the indigenous population of the borderlands, the population which is literally dying out, one cannot talk about any nationality policy in the borderlands. In particular this concerns the Kirghizians, the Bashkirs and a whole series of the mountain tribes in the Caucasus where the tsarist government in the past gave the best pieces of land near the water sources to the privile-

ged Russian population. The number of these well-to-do farmers, comrades, is counted in hundreds of thousands. Hundreds of thousands of well-to-do farmers in the borderlands, who formed the manpower of imperialism, who lived and continue to live, enjoying a whole series of privileges as a result of their economic dominance, as a result of the fact that they own a vast amount of land.” (30)

How this serious and honest, this responsible and internationalist conversation contrasts with the present-day, sweetly sentimental “patriotic” falsehoods on the “help of the brotherly Russian people” — under conditions of tsarist colonialism!

And let us turn our attention to the fact that precisely those Russian Communist-Revolutionaries, who at the dawn of the Soviet regime really extended a hand of brotherly help to “natsmen” (members of different nationalities) by declaring a merciless war on Russian superpower chauvinism, by taking away lands and privileges from the kulaks and giving them to a dying local population, by taking care of national Soviet self-government, cadres, culture, education, — they did not make much noise about their Russian help and their Russian mission, even though they perhaps had reason to do so. On the contrary, they stressed the historical guilt of Russia before these peoples, and considered their actions of de-colonialization among other things as restitution for this historical sin. This is a complete (and beautiful) analogy of the way in which Marx and Engels treated the question of a historical debt of the English working class to Ireland.

This was genuinely internationalist, revolutionary proletarian feeling for the world. Now it has been exchanged for superpower, “the one and indivisible”, Russian-messianistic feeling.

A constant emphasis of either the leading role of the Russian people, or its special mission in the history of the neighbouring peoples, or its constant uncompensated (one-sided) help and so on and so forth — all this is far removed from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of real historical process, far removed from the revolutionary

class outlook. As the revival, in a different form, of the concept “of uniting around the Russian principle” so despised by the Marxists, this cannot help but implant in a certain part of Russians, which is far from being the better one, a conscious or unconscious feeling of national superiority, and in other peoples of the Union — a complex of national inferiority.

A broad “shake-up” of the past, of the generally known historical facts which is connected with it on the side of falsification — breeds disrespect for the truth, unscrupulousness, cynicism, which cannot be blended either with the principles of Communist education.

Finally, the persistent “correcting” of pre-revolutionary Russian history, the history of the Russian empire in the interests of present-day politics, the desire to find the roots of the present statehood in the traditions of past statehood (no wonder that in schools “The History of the USSR” does not begin with our times but is in reality the history of the Russian empire which changes into the USSR, when it follows logically that the history of the USSR should really be the history of the USSR and the preceding period should be the history of a number of nationalities now constituting the USSR) — and in connection with this a “rehabilitation” of a sort and the decoration of this landlord-bureaucratic state with its “victories”, “reunifications”, “military glory” and “liberationism” — all this breeds suspicion; is not some sly dog buried here?

A question arises: who needs all this and why? Would it not be more dignified to educate the young people in the spirit of Leninist understanding of national dignity and internationalism? In the spirit of understanding the contrasts between Russian superpowerism and Russian patriotism, between Russian superpowerism and internationalism? In the spirit of honest treatment of history and the understanding of the tragedy of these phenomena and processes, which were too self-advantageously formulated by the stronger party which also “confirmed” its own version. In the spirit not only of verbal and for the “code”, but fundamental, active, from the depth of the

soul, as an organic need, cultivated respect, honour and love for all peoples, to be anxious about them. In the spirit of deep and noble understanding and feeling of our mutual responsibility, of us, the representatives of various nations for the fate, for the future, for the culture, for the language — for genuine development — of all nations, historically united in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

3) *Russian chauvinism as a practice of attributing to the Russians that which was created by all peoples of the USSR*

One of the methods of confusing the USSR with “the one and indivisible” is attributing to the Russians all that was created by mutual efforts of all the peoples of the USSR. Many Ukrainian scholars and artists in the distant and the recent past somewhat unceremoniously, without any indication of their nationality, are presented as Russian scholars, etc. only because, due to unfavourable conditions in Ukraine during tsarism or circumstances of personal fate, they were forced to work beyond the borders of Ukraine. This pertains to the past. But analogical tendencies to enter everything on the Russian account are true for current phenomena as well. Thus, such formulas as “the Russians launched the Sputnik”, “the Russians are building the Aswan Dam”, “the Russians are aiding the peoples of Asia and Africa”, etc. have wandered into the Soviet press and from there to the consciousness of the people from the bourgeois press and foreign political phraseology, which consistently identifies the USSR with Russia and which does not have to know other Soviet nations at all. But no one ever hears, let's say, about the aid which is given to these peoples by such member of the United Nations Organisation as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, about the participation of Ukrainians in all these matters. And from the Asian and African peoples themselves Ukrainians never heard a word of thanks; what's more, they don't even know about the existence of such a nation as the Ukrainian, even though her share in this “Russian aid” is considerably large. Many young people from Asian and African countries study at Ukrainian univer-

sities, but the majority of them doesn't even realize that they are making use of the hospitality and the help of the Ukrainian nation, a nation which has its own culture, language, and statehood. Of course, it is not their fault . . . As a matter of fact, recently the argumentation on the impossibility of teaching in Ukrainian at the Ukrainian universities was reinforced by one more “proof”: it can't be done because foreigners are studying there . . .

Countless facts, among them many curious ones, testify to the care taken by our press and our leaders to be lenient with this foreign identification of the USSR with Russia. Here is an example. At an international film festival in Mar del Plata a Ukrainian film, “The Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”, produced by the Kyiv Dovzhenko studios, won second place and was warmly received by the audience. But of course, the “popularity” of the UN member Ukraine in the world is such that the Argentinian audience did not know of the existence of such a sovereign state and such people; the name Kyiv did not mean a thing to it and it shouted “Viva Russia! Viva Moscow!” It would seem that the only thing left would be to burn with shame that even the name of your people is not known and the triumph of its art is credited to this same Russian account. Nevertheless, the chairman of the State Committee of the Ukr.SSR on cinematography, S. P. Ivanov, talks about it in the newspaper *Vechirnyi Kyiv* (Evening Kyiv) without a shadow of uneasiness, without even noticing the servile bitter sarcasm of fate . . .

I am sure that these and similar phenomena are advantageous to no one . . . The Russian nation — one of the greatest and the most famous nations in the world — does not need this for its greatness and glory. On the contrary, it is merely insulting to a cultured Russian.

4) *Russian chauvinism as national nihilism, pseudo-internationalism and pseudo-fraternism*

V. I. Lenin, not once but many times, stressed the danger not only of the conscious but also of the unconscious Russian superpowerism and chauvinism, which can be

completely “unnoticeable” to its carrier, but still very dangerous: it often manifests itself in the form of national nihilism and superficial false understanding of internationalism. We already spoke about it in Chapters II and III.

Psychologically it is not hard to understand its origin: from the times of the Mongol invasion the Russians did not experience national subjugation; for centuries their nation had its own state and ruled over others. The question of national existence or non-existence never stood tragically before them; they, as was said a long time ago, were “nationally content”, and could not always understand the “nationally hungry”, to understand all the painfulness and all the hidden mechanics of national oppression. No wonder that among them (although, of course, not only among them) there were many people inclined to overlook the national injustice, to underrate the national question, to consider it either made up or as something not worthy of a noble person, something which prevents all efforts from being concentrated on more important matters and the service to humanity. They were people punished with a lack of understanding of this deep two-sided relation which exists between problems pertaining to humanity as a whole and those pertaining to a nation, as pertaining to a whole and a part; unable to sense this irrecompensable loss which is sustained by “humanity as a whole” through the weakening or bloodletting of its sources — the nations. (Moreover, any squeeze on their nation would be quickly felt by them).

There are many people who assure you that they are internationalists, that they love Ukraine, and Georgia, and Latvia, etc., even love them as brothers, and therefore they are angered all the more when someone among Ukrainians, Georgians or Latvians, etc., emphasizes his separateness, his non-adherence to Russia. “Why should we divide ourselves by nations, we are all — brothers”, — complain such comrades sincerely. Really there is some unpleasantness here. But let’s quietly contemplate where it comes from. We have no doubts as to the sincerity of their love. But love — that’s not ev-

erything. Both the most sincere and the strongest love can insult, or can even constitute a danger for the object of love. This happens, for example, when they love as their own, as something no different from them, something indiscernible; they do not realize the difference, the independent difference, the independence and self-sufficiency of the object of love. True love is different from the naive-egoistic love in that it is conscious of its identity, individuality, sovereignty, its “beyond you” and without you existence of the object of love, and not only realizes it but elevates itself to the highest degree of worth and breathes this worth. Thus, such love will not be offended when the object gives it to understand its identity.

We shall illustrate it with an historical example which should be considered by some comrades who love Ukraine dearly. Generally speaking, everybody loved Ukraine. Of course, different people loved her for different reasons and in different ways. The Russian tsars, for instance, loved her very much. “I (Elizabeth Petrovna, Tsarina — I. D.) have become so fond of this dear and good-natured people”. And Catherine II even wished to transfer the capital to the Dnipro River: she liked “beneficial air and the warmth of climate”. (This moving admission can be read in a diary which was kept by her secretary Khrapovytskyi). All bureaucratic Russian patriots liked “the blessed south” — Little Russia, and all landlords and bureaucratic leeches and all shopkeepers and official locusts loved Ukraine. But what is best — Ukrainophobs and militant Russian nationalists loved her the most — fiercely, unseparably, fraternally, to the death.

For example, this is what one of the ideologists of the Slavophile-pan-Russian variety of “the same parentage”, Ivan Aksakov (son of a prominent writer) who was at one time branded by Shevchenko as a serf-holder and a “protagonist of the birch” — wrote in his paper *Den* (Day):

“In respect to the ancient Russian regions inhabited by our co-religionist blood brothers, Little Russians, Chervonorussians, Byelorussians, Russia relies on the most indu-

bitable of all rights — the moral right, or more correctly, the moral obligation of brotherhood.” (31)

These “moral obligations of brotherhood” did not apparently permit I. S. Aksakov to recognize the basic rights of the Byelorussians and Ukrainians which he falsely proclaimed; this “morality” compelled him to appropriate what did not belong to him:

“We stand for the full freedom of life and development of each nationality . . .” (32)

But:

“We consider Byelorussians our brothers in blood and spirit, and think that Russians of all appellations (! — I. D.) ought to constitute a common solid family.

“A Little Russian question does not exist for the Little Russians at all.” (34)

“A Little Russian question does not exist by the very fact that this is an all-Russian, provincial, nation-wide question, the question of the entire Russian land, just as close to the inhabitant of Penza as for the inhabitant of Volynia. Ukraine beyond the Dnipro River and Byelorussia are not a conquered land about which one can have disputes, but a part of the living body of Russia: there is no room either for a question or a dispute here.” (35)

As is evident, colonialism can manifest itself not only under the appearance of direct discrimination, but also under the appearance of “brotherhood”, and the latter is very characteristic of the Russian colonialism (above we have already quoted an official call to brotherhood in the State Duma).

Who has not heard of M. N. Katkov (if only from the works of V. I. Lenin) a loyal servant of self-government, a hater of the revolution and the liberation of peoples, and a fierce and untiring hater of Ukraine? This name is a symbol of “the prison of nations”. It was he who denied not only national self-determination but even the smallest national autonomy, denied it from the motives of “brotherhood” and “internationalism”: “They want to give us such a regime which would be based on national differences”. (36) And again, he, M.

N. Katkov, loved Ukraine as no one else, strongly and sincerely.

“We love Ukraine — we love her as part of our Fatherland, as a living and dear part of our people, as part of ourselves, and it is for this reason that any attempt to instil the feeling of mine and yours in the relations between Ukraine and Russia is so hateful for us. We love Ukraine with all her peculiarities (! — I. D.) in which we see the guarantee of future brotherhood and multifariousness in the common development of our national life. (You see what an internationalist! Even greater than some of the present-day ones! — I. D.) We do not understand, we do not recognise any rivalry between the Ukrainians and Russians. We see in it a false and noxious idea. We love Ukraine, the peculiar character of her children, the poetry of her traditions and melodies; her songs are as near and akin to us, as the songs resounding on the Volga. We are far from condemning those Ukrainians who show a passionate love for their homeland. Local patriotism is a very respectable feeling, but is must not exclude wider patriotism; the interests of the homeland must not be opposed to those of the Fatherland.” (37)

Everything here seems “correct” and even “magnanimous”. Why then did the entire avantgarde Russia consider Katkov to be the spokesman of despotism and in particular, an enemy of nationalities, and especially a hater of Ukraine? Why did Lenin brand him as such? Perhaps, there is some mistake here or maybe this appraisal has in mind not these but other views of his? No, these are the ones and there is no mistake. Similar things were said by the entire official Russia. This is the way the entire official Russia loved Ukraine as long as there would be no division to “yours” and “mine” (you see, they were against “egoism” and “divisions on national grounds”!) In case of need, under the pressure of circumstances, Russia was ready to acknowledge everything as due to Ukraine except one thing: the right “to set off the interests of the homeland against the interests of the Fatherland”, that is, the right to be herself, Ukraine. It was then that the theory of the

Russian empire as "the same parentage" of tens of nationalities developed and, for example, after the exposure of the Kyrylo-Metodiyivsk Brotherhood the chief of the gendarmery, Count Orlov, issued a directive to watch that *"the educators and writers conduct their activities in the spirit and according to the aims of the government . . . without placing more weight on the love of the native land over the love of the fatherland-empire, condemning everything that could be harmful to this love (e. g. the love of the fatherland-empire — I. D.) . . . that no conclusions reached by scholars and writers should go in the direction of the elevation of Ukraine, Poland or various other nations but the Russian empire of peoples that make it up and to stir people away from 'thoughts on the possibility of independence and on the one-time freedom of the peoples dominated by Russia'."* (38)

As we see, it was not hard for the leaders of the empire as well as for the ideologists of Russian chauvinism to be "internationalists". But their "internationalism" was an "internationalism" of a robber, who has got hold of a coveted piece and does not want to return it, and begins to "enlighten" the victim: how bad and unprogressive it is to divide into "mine" and "yours", how unbrotherly, would it not be better to continue to be together and to strive for the "common" good . . .

This is why progressive Russia considered Katkov to be a symbol of oppression and deceit; this is why Lenin reproached the "Katkov regime", this is why the Katkov regime is a "generous" hater of Ukraine, an "internationalism" of extreme Russian superpower chauvinist. This is why the fact that today some are beginning to repeat the phraseology of Katkov and other "all-Russians" cannot but sound an alarm.

Let this historical episode (and there are thousands of similar ones) serve as a lesson: not everything which looks like internationalism, which calls itself internationalism, which wants to present itself as internationalism is internationalism. And not everything which the opposite side proclaims as nationalism or "seperatism" is nationalism. Not all is brotherhood which pretends to

be brotherhood. Not everything is love which calls itself love. We will not seek any analogies. But when somebody speaks about love let's look closely: does this love take care of itself, or of the one whom it loves? Genuine love to another nation or to other peoples means that we want to see it as being itself and not like unto us; we want to see it behind us and beside us as independent and having equal rights, and not as a part of ourselves; we are ready to help it to stand alone and not to make it look as we do. The existence of a human being needs the existence of similar human beings; the existence of a nation needs the existence of other similar nations.

When an "internationalist" complains that some "national" does not run into his embraces, "fences himself off", "clings" to his seperateness, "conserves" his culture and language, — we must know: his "internationalism" — is an "internationalism" of a Russian superpower chauvinist. His love — is an appetite to appropriate and to swallow.

As Lenin wrote:

"When a Great Russian Communist persists on the merging of Ukraine and Russia, he will easily be suspected by the Communists of defending such a policy, not from the considerations of unity of the proletarians in the struggle with capitalism, but because of the preconceptions of the old Great Russian nationalism, imperialism." (39)

For Lenin one thing was the criteria of sincerity and internationalism in this question: the recognition or lack of recognition of Ukraine's absolute right to complete separation, to full state sovereignty. Lenin recognized this right unconditionally but the advocates of serfdom, the "progressives" and similar "one and indivisibles" or federalists — either did not recognize it or recognized it with "strings attached". This is the crux of the matter.

The expedience or the possibility of such a separation at any given moment is quite another question. Lenin warned that whether this question will be raised will depend on how definitely the national interests of the republics will be satisfied in the future Union. Only under the conditions

of complete recognition and deep understanding of Ukraine's right to separation and independence would it be possible to affect such national construction in the Union, which would completely satisfy national needs, and the question on the act of separation would not even be posed in a rhetorical form.

5) *Ukrainophobia*

Does hatred towards Ukraine exist today in Ukraine? This question will surprise many. But not all. I am sure that many Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians could be found who would not only attest to the fact that it exists but would also provide proof from their personal experience.

In the beginning let's agree on the fact that Ukrainophobia does not necessarily mean a desire to twist the neck of every Ukrainian (even though similar attitudes also existed: J. V. Stalin, it was revealed by the materials from the 20th Party Congress, was greatly disturbed by the fact that it is physically impossible to deport all Ukrainians to Siberia). Ukrainophobia can also be liberal and even to a high degree intelligent. We have seen from the above that Ukrainophobia can also result from great love towards Ukraine as a "jewel" of Russia, with a too peculiar understanding of brotherhood, etc. It is possible to love Ukraine as an ethnographical concept and at the same time to hate it as a national and political concept. Ukraine was thus loved by all enemies of the principle of Ukrainian separatism, from Catherine II (her celebrated philippics against the "Cherkasyshchak" (Russian name for Ukrainians of the 16th century) for "brazen theory by which they consider themselves to be a people distinct from the Russian people", for "erroneous and uncalled for republican thoughts") to the well-known "progressive" Peter Struve, who formulated this idea thus: for Ukraine against "Ukrainism" and "nationalism":

"I think that, being traditionally Ukrainianophile, Russian progressive public opinion must energetically, without any ambiguity or indulgence, enter upon an ideological struggle against 'Ukrainian movement, as a tendency to weaken and partly even

to abolish the great achievement of our culture — the common Russian culture'." (40)

Lenin's opinion of this highly civilized Ukrainophobia is well known.

One has to be a backward person indeed, quite lacking in national and moral training, to repeat something similar even today, only expressed differently! And there are many such "intelligent" people, their credo: "I love Ukraine, but hate nationalists", at a time when at the smallest explanation it is revealed that a "nationalist" is every Ukrainian who exhibits at least some traits of his nationality. ("Why do they cling to their 'language'?")

But there are also Ukrainophobes of an open cannibalistic character. During the above-mentioned incident at the Shevchenko evening at the machine-tool factory, the head of the Factory Committee there, Glazyrin, interrupted the reading of poetry shouting: "Will you translate that to a human tongue (Russian); we don't understand the Banderite language (Ukrainian)!"

But was it not as a sign of exceptional confidence in the sincerity and correctness of Glazyrin's political line that he was sent to Warsaw as a member of the Ukrainian delegation to the VI World Congress of Trade Unions? Excellent people are representing Ukraine in international organisations! When in 1963 the Creative Youth Club organised a celebration in honour of I. Franko and a torchlight procession to his monument, shouts were heard from the crowd on Khreshchatyk (the main street of Kyiv): "Look, Banderites! There are so many of them!" All heard this and know, just as they know about an unbelievable act, unknown in any civilized country, by an instructor at a medical institute, Assistant Professor (!) Telnova, who profaned the monument to T. H. Shevchenko. Of course, Telnova not only went unpunished, but, on the contrary, everything was done to neutralize the consequences of any unforeseeable initiative by accidental witnesses and to "forget about the whole thing". It is understandable. The events of 22 May 1964 and 27 April 1965 showed that an entirely different type of people is snatched by the Shevchenko monument . . .

Similar examples could be multiplied. And how many times has anyone who dares to speak Ukrainian in Kyiv, on the street, in a street-car, etc. — felt upon himself the mocking, scornful or hate-filled eyes, or heard quiet or loud insults directed against him! And here is commonplace conversation at a movie theatre showing the film "Dream".

— Have you seen how Banderites swarm to see that film?

— And do you know who are the Banderites?

— I do. I do not need much. I would (an eloquent gesture) all of them, vile creatures . . .

And one Russian mother tells another: "Because of that Ukrainian language my son did not go to school. He hates his Ukrainian language teacher so much. He calls her 'Banderovka' (contented laughter of both matrons)."

A boy in the second grade declares: "Oh, how I hate that Ukrainian language". He has no convictions of his own yet, but this already is present. He asks: "Mother, was Bohdan Khmelnytskyi courageous?"

— How should I tell you . . .

— Was he Russian?

— Ukrainian.

— Ukrainian?! — grimaces a disappointed child.

The child studies in a "Ukrainian" school, in the capital of Ukraine . . . And this child is by no means an exception: in its circle the majority thinks that way . . . Imagine what hell, hell for a teacher of the Ukrainian language, to work in such a school! How hard it is, almost impossible, to transmit the spirit of the Ukrainian literature. And how funny, weak and boring this literature must appear to the teacher himself, prepared for such listeners in iron correct texts.

Where does it come from? Have such people who specialize in the question of where "Ukrainian nationalism" comes from, asked themselves that question at least once?

Analogous examples can be cited by the hundreds. But when there is an opportunity to speak about it, the "responsible com-

rades" venomously retort: you have found some topic! Market talk!

Dear "responsible comrades"! Your insulting and impatient wiggling gives evidence only of how incapable you are of learning the Leninist approach to the case. Lenin thought that every policy manifests itself realistically in the everyday existence of millions. Not everybody reads the papers and not all believe them. But living conditions are real for everybody and have an influence on all. The above-mentioned and similar facts are actual everyday consequences of secret toleration of Russian superpower chauvinism (conscious or unconscious). Under the influence of similar facts Lenin spoke about the "Great Russian scum" and about the inevitability of a mortal struggle with Russian chauvinism, and you say that all this is little nonsense, foolishness and enemy invention, that everything is fine, and that complete internationalism reigns everywhere, etc., etc. If only the Ukrainian, Georgian, Latvian and other "nationalisms" were rooted out!

Until recently the presence of anti-Semitism in the USSR was denied the same way. Oh my God, what a mortal sin and lack of tact, a political illiteracy, it was to say something about anti-Semitism? Khrushchov was almost foaming at the mouth proving that such questions are presented for American dollars. He, tirelessly and with complete authority on the case, enumerated the names of Jews — scholars, artists, and so forth (he particularly liked to stress that there is a Jew in the government even — Minister Dymshyts — and that there are Jews among the builders of sputniks). Thus, it seems, that it is enough to banish anti-Semitism (or Ukrainophobia) from the conscious policy, and it will disappear everywhere, including the decisive sphere — the practical life, the everyday conditions.

And thus now after so many Ciceroniads, Jeremiads, Lazariads and Nikitiads — it was finally decided to return to Lenin: the newspaper *Pravda* in the 5 September 1965 editorial calls with Lenin's words to a "ceaseless struggle" with anti-Semitism. Better late than never, but it could have

been said much sooner. It was said and the paper was filed. But when will the "ceaseless struggle" begin?

- 20) K. Marx, F. Engels, "Sochineniya" (Works), Moscow, v. 27, p. 185.
- 21) Ibid. v. 15, 1936, p. 223.
- 22) F. Engels' letter to K. Marx, dated 24 October 1869. Ibid, v. 24, 1931, p. 240.
- 23) K. Marx's letter to F. Engels, dated 10 December 1869, from Marx, Engels, "Izbrannye pisma" (Collected letters), p. 230.
- 24) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine) pp. 396, 391—392.
- 25) A. I. Gertsen, Russkie ofitsery v riadakh insurgentov (Russian officers in the ranks of the insurgents), *Kolokol*, London, 1861, No. 161, p. 1326.
- 26) Russkim ofitseram v Polshche (To Russian officers in Poland), *Kolokol*, London, 1862, No. 147, p. 1214.
- 27) V. I. Lenin, "Statti i promovy pro Ukrainu" (Articles and speeches on Ukraine), p. 210.
- 28) V. I. Lenin, O prave natsiy na samoopredelenie, kn. "O natsionalnom u natsionalno-kolonialnom voprose" (On the right of nations to self-determination, "On the National and National-colonial Question") Moscow, 1954, p. 199.
- 29) "Lenin pro Ukrainu" (Lenin on Ukraine), p. 408.
- 30) "X sezd RKP(b); stenograficheskiy

otchet" (10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); stenographic transcript), Moscow, 1963, pp. 190—194.

- 31) I. Aksakov, Nashi npravstvennye otnosheniya k Polshche, kn. "Polnoe sobranie sochineniy" (Our moral relationship to Poland, "Complete Collection of Works") v. 3, p. 7.
- 32) I. Aksakov, Otvét na pismo, podpisanoe "Belorus" (an answer to the letter signed "Belorus", ibid. p. 15.
- 33) Ibid. p. 16.
- 34) I. Aksakov, Po povodu pisma Rigerá o polskom voprose (On the occasion of Riger's letter on the Polish question), ibid. p. 134.
- 35) Ibid. pp. 132—133.
- 36) M. N. Katkov, "Sobranie peredovykh statei 'Moskovskikh vedomostei'" (Collection of editorials from the *Moscow News*), Moscow, 1887, p. 270.
- 37) Ibid. pp. 117—118.
- 38) "T. H. Shevchenko: dokumenty i materiyaly" (T. H. Shevchenko: documents and materials), Kyiv, 1964, p. 55.
- 39) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), p. 626.
- 40) P. Struve, Obshcherusskaya kultura i ukrainskiy partikuliarizm; otvet ukraintsu. *Russkaya mysl* (All-Russian culture and Ukrainian particularism; an answer to a Ukrainian. *Russian Thought*), Moscow, 1912, No. 1, p. 86.

Sad Anniversary For Vietnam

About 200 guests attended a reception in London on Saturday, July 20th, given by the Ambassador of the Republic of Vietnam, H. E. LE NGOC CHAN.

Among the guests were Professor W. Shayan, Curator of the Shevchenko Museum and Library in London; Mr. V. Mykula and Mr. M. Powrozyk, of the Association of Ukrainians and Mr. John Graham, member of the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council.

The Ambassador said it was a sad day for Vietnam when his country was torn assunder 14 years ago and a wall of shame, like that in Berlin was made to cast its shadow over the 17th parallel. Collusion

between the French and the Hanoi leaders had led to the mutilation of the map of Vietnam and this was the outcome of the nine-year war in which thousands of Vietnamese patriots had fought and died.

On July 21st, 1954, the deepest aspirations of the Vietnamese people were betrayed by the Geneva Agreements.

The First Secretary, Mr. L. T. Quang, said it was the Communists, backed by Russian and Chinese Communists, who had broken the agreements of 1954 and embarked on aggression against the South.

A Resolution of support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people was passed unanimously at the reception.

Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, Ukrainian poet and translator, serving a 25-year sentence in a Russian concentration camp in Mordovian ASSR

About A Political Mistake

According to the "Decree on the ties between school and life", adopted in 1959, the study of the national language by pupils in junior and secondary schools with the Russian language of instruction in (non-Russian — Ed.) Soviet Republics is no longer compulsory and is implemented on parents' wishes. This is what Article 9 of this decree states.

The presence of the given discriminatory article in the decree can only be explained by the personality cult of the person of Khrushchov. Examining it in relation to Ukraine, this article is anti-Leninist, for it is in direct contradiction to Lenin's statement concerning the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian schools in the Ukr.SSR.

As far back as 1919, Lenin wrote: "Owing to the fact that the Ukrainian culture (language, schools, etc.) has for centuries been oppressed by tsarism and the Russian exploiting classes of Russia, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party makes it incumbent upon all party members to assist by every means, in eliminating all impediments for a free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. In so far as, on the basis of the centuries-long oppression, nationalistic tendencies are noticeable amongst the Ukrainian masses, the Russian Communist party members are obliged to show tremendous tolerance and discretion towards them, countering them with words of comradely explanation regarding the identity of interests of the working masses of Ukraine and Russia. The Russian Communist party members on the territory of Ukraine are obliged to implement in fact the rights of the working people to study and to converse in their native language in all Soviet institutions counteracting in every possible way all attempts to relegate the Ukrainian language by artificial means to a subsidiary role, and in contrast to it, striving to transform the Ukrainian language into an instrument of the Communist educa-

tion of the working masses. Measures must immediately be taken to ensure that there are numbers of Ukrainian-speaking officials in all Soviet institutions and in the future all officials should be able to speak Ukrainian" (Lenin's *Works*, Vol. 39. p. 334—337.)

In such a way Lenin envisaged that the entire social and political life on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic would be implemented in Ukrainian language. Undoubtedly, in such circumstances the knowledge of the Ukrainian language for those who study in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR would be compulsory.

From the juridical point of view Article 9 of the "Decree on the ties between school and life" is unconstitutional because it contradicts both the constitution of the USSR and those of the Soviet Republics. The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states: "The equality of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, regardless of their nationality and race, in all fields of economic, political, cultural and social political life is an unalterable law. Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights, or on the contrary, establishment of direct or indirect advantages for the citizens depending on their racial and national origin, as well as any preaching of national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt are punishable by law." (Article 103).

The language of the nationality is a bright expression of its own individuality. How can one speak of equality of nations when the language of one nationality is a compulsory subject in schools, while the language of another nationality (in this case the language of the majority of the population of the Republic) is taught only on parents' wishes?

The mentioned article of the law is discriminatory, because it puts the language of a Republic into a subordinate position: it humiliates the dignity of the citizens of the given Republic who speak their own national language.

The giving up of obligatory study of the national language in the schools of the Ukrainian Republic is erroneous from the point of view of an internationalist Communist upbringing of children. The reluctance of the parents, resident in the given Republic, to have the children taught the language of the Republic whose bread they eat, engrafts upon the children from an early age, chauvinistic ideas, unworthy of the Soviet people, about some exceptional quality of their nationality, and is also a direct deviation from internationalist Communist upbringing.

From the pedagogical point of view, Article 9 is absolutely erroneous. In the practice of Soviet education there has not yet been a precedent when the study of a subject was handed over for decision by the parents. The transfer of the question of the study by the children of this or that subject to parental competence is profoundly unpedagogical. Parents often do not realize the benefits or the harm inflicted upon their children by their decision of this or that kind. One may say that one of the most responsible fields of internationalist upbringing has been handed over for decision by the parents. Such "democratic" solution of this particular question could be justified if the question of the language of instruction in higher, secondary and special educational establishments were also decided in a similarly democratic fashion. For it is particularly in this field of public education that for decades (during the period of the personality cult of Stalin and Khrushchov) teaching was conducted in Russian and the knowledge of Russian was required at all entrance examinations. Therefore to leave the question of the study of the language after decades of such discriminatory methods against the Ukrainian language for decision by the parents is extremely strange and impolitic.

This method could be justified if the question of wage rates of the various classes of workmen and employees was submitted to a decision by the public. After all the public is no less interested in the question of just distribution of the material

goods in this country, the more so as the features of Communism should already be discernible in this very distribution.

As a result of the adoption of Article 9, the number of Ukrainian schools on the territory of Ukraine has been reduced. Thus in Odessa and the Odessa region in the 1962/3 academic year there was a total of 821 Ukrainian schools, while in the 1963/4 academic year the number was reduced to 693 and in 1964/5 it fell to 603.

In Odessa itself there was respectively 10, 8 and 6 schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction. (The total number of schools in Odessa is 104). The few Ukrainian schools which have survived are threatened with closure. All this is the result of the anti-Leninist discriminatory Article 9 of the "Decree on the ties of school and life".

How is the closure of the Ukrainian schools taking place? As a result of the elimination of the Ukrainian language from higher and special secondary educational establishments of Odessa, the parents, even prior to the issue of the decree, were reluctant to send their children to Ukrainian schools, justifying it by the fact that further education after finishing the Ukrainian schools was impossible. This argument was engrafted upon them by incorrect chauvinistic policy as regards the organisation of the higher and secondary education in Ukraine. Indeed graduates of Ukrainian schools in the higher and secondary special educational establishments of Odessa constitute only a small percentage of students.

The system of enrolments which existed until recently and which still exists in some places, gave advantage to graduates of Russian schools at their enrolment. Therefore parents who were previously reluctant to send their children to Ukrainian schools have now (after the issue of the discriminatory article) begun to demand a changeover of the Ukrainian schools to the Russian language of instruction. At first there appear Russian classes in Ukrainian schools; their number then gradually increases and finally the school becomes en-

tirely Russian. Ukrainian parents who are Ukrainian-speaking come to the schools demanding that their children be transferred to the Russian classes.

Such a petition on the part of the parents is not dictated by scorn for their mother tongue, but by those discriminatory barriers which for decades have barred the path to higher education for the graduates of Ukrainian schools, and which are still in existence in many places even today.

A typical example is the petition of a village woman from Kryva Balka, citizen Balok, to transfer her child to a Russian school. In a conversation with me, citizen Balok said that she wanted her child to study in a Russian school, because she herself had finished seven classes of the Ukrainian schools and later had continued her studies in Odessa, where because of the fact that she spoke Ukrainian her classmates were poking fun at her. As a result citizen Balok had to discontinue her education; but as for the daughter she wants her to be educated in such a way that she is not ridiculed.

Such confessions cannot be listened to without emotion. How could such discriminatory practices which have compelled a child of honest working people to abandon her education and to beg to enrol her daughter in a Russian school in order not to become in the future a victim of national discrimination — how could they have penetrated the milieu of the Soviet people — militant internationalists as they are by their outlook on the world? It's namely such a thought that must have guided many Ukrainian parents who insisted and still insist that their children should be educated in Russian schools. It is no secret that in Odessa (and in many other Ukrainian cities including Kyiv) amongst certain chauvinistically-minded sections of the population to jeer at and to ridicule the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality has become very popular. Such incidents have been noticed in buses, institutions, libraries, educational establishments, etc. Thus the history lecturer of the Odessa party school, Melnyk, stated in the

presence of students that she did not like the Ukrainian language and did not wish to use it. In this case such a statement on the part of a teacher, of an educator of the Ukrainian masses, is more than typical. All this testifies to the fact that during the times of the personality cult of Stalin discriminatory tendencies with regard to Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality developed in Ukraine. These tendencies have in the past few years been intensified by the so-called "Decree on the ties between school and life", as a result of which the number of Ukrainian schools in Odessa and the Odessa region, as well as in the entire Ukraine, has fallen catastrophically. The number of the Moldavian schools has also been reduced in the Odessa region. Along with it, pupils in Russian schools refused on a mass scale to study the Ukrainian language.

Thus in the schools of the Bolgrad district of the Odessa region, in the town of Izmail and Izmail district, Ukrainian language is not studied at all. Thus Article 9 of the "Decree on the ties between school and life" is aimed against the teaching of the Ukrainian language in schools.

Can any true internationalist be disturbed by the fact that his child is studying the language of a brotherly nation? Only chauvinistically-minded elements could confine their children within the narrow national framework covering themselves with theories about the exceptional character of their nationality. It is precisely Article 9 that has given trump cards to all chauvinistic survivals in the consciousness of people, that has inflamed chauvinistic moods amongst parents and teachers. Thus the director of the No. 125 Ukrainian school in Odessa, O. I. Kryuchkov, instigates the teachers and the parents to demand a changeover of the school to the Russian language of instruction. Without any permission from anyone, he twice summoned a meeting of the parents where the parents' committee decided by a vote to change the school over to the Russian language of instruction. Instead of trying to improve the pedagogical work and to ma-

ster the Ukrainian language which, as a matter of fact, he does not know, and to obtain, at least by correspondence method, pedagogical education which he does not possess either, this "propagator of enlightenment" does all in his power to bring about a changeover of the school to the Russian language of instruction.

This decree also develops unworthy tendencies amongst students. As a result of the "Decree" pupils with the Russian language of instruction have been divided into two categories: "Those who study the Ukrainian language" and "those who do not". In such a way, instead of the school levelling the national differences amongst pupils, it, on the contrary, magnifies and emphasises them. The division of the children into two categories provokes undesirable discriminatory phenomena. Thus in the Odessa schools the appearances of such names as Khakhhol" (derogative name for a Ukrainian), "Katsap" (a derogative name for a Russian), unworthy of the milieu of Soviet children, has been noticed. In children whose parents have refused to have their children taught Ukrainian language there appears a contemptuous, chauvinistic attitude towards the Ukrainian language and nationality. In children who study the Ukrainian language there emerges a feeling of inferiority, inequality of their nationality, whose language is not a compulsory subject for all pupils, which enjoys a subordinate status, and may be jeered at with impunity by the chauvinistically-minded elements.

No less painfully does this decree influence the pedagogical process and the lecturers of Ukrainian language. For the lecturer constantly fears that his pupil might refuse to learn the Ukrainian language and therefore he avoids, at any price, to give him low marks. After all the subject is not compulsory. Having received a low mark the student asks his parents to exempt him from the study of the language. Such incidents are very frequent. In such a way the decree has placed the entire category of Soviet teachers into impossible conditions: the normal process of teaching the subject has been upset.

All the facts set out above testify that

the adoption of the discriminatory decree during the times of the personality cult of Khrushchov has created impossible conditions for a normal functioning of the Ukrainian school system. The decree humiliates the national dignity of the citizens of Ukrainian nationality and deals a blow to internationalist Communist upbringing, thus preparing the ground for an aggravation of national hostility. It contradicts Lenin's behests, and being fundamentally discriminatory, it encroaches on the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

One would dearly wish that the wide public circles express themselves on account of the above-mentioned facts. For after all, it is not terrible to commit a mistake; by far more terrible it is to be afraid to correct it. It is precisely the desire to amend this mistake that has forced me into writing this article.

On my part I propose that:

1. Article 9 "Decrees on the ties between school and life" be immediately reconsidered.
2. The education in higher and secondary special educational establishments of the Ukrainian SSR be switched over to the Ukrainian language of instruction in order to make the path to education easier for the wide masses of the Ukrainian people.
3. To create a coordinating committee between the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukrainian SSR in order to ensure normal conditions of study for graduates of Ukrainian higher educational establishments and technical schools of the Republic.
4. To discharge all chauvinistically-minded teachers from the cadres of public education.
5. To apply resolute methods against the discriminatory tricks on the part of chauvinistic elements with regard to the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality.
6. To select people for the staff of Ukrainian schools who could inculcate in children love for their mother tongue and their native culture.

7. To discontinue the pedagogically erroneous practice of creating Russian classes in national schools which leads to Russification of national schools.
8. In order to ensure true internationalist upbringing of the national minorities, to introduce into the system of public education schools with Jewish, Armenian and other languages of instruction.
9. To devote particular attention to the education of national cadres in higher educational establishments which train teachers and see to it that groups and courses are set up which will train qualified staff for national schools.
10. To inform the wide public circles about all the measures that are being taken.

Only the implementation of these points will enable, in actual fact, according to Lenin's conceptions, to remove all obstacles on the path to a normal development of the Ukrainian school system.

WACL Chairman On Viet Congs' Cruelty

Statement issued on June 22, 1968 by Ku Cheng-kang, Council Chairman of the WACL, on the indiscriminate rocket attacks and bombardments of Saigon and other areas of South Vietnam by the Vietnamese Communists

Since the opening of the Paris peace talks, the continued bombardments of South Vietnam by the Viet Cong and their harassment of Saigon through rocket attacks, have further revealed the truly despicable and menacing face of the Communists. The loss of lives and property among the South Vietnamese people has aroused the indignation and anger of all freedom-loving, righteous peoples in the world.

I attended the Executive Board Meeting of the World Anti-Communist League at the end of last month in Saigon in my capacity as Chairman of the League Council. During my stay in South Vietnam, I was able to witness for myself the wanton destructiveness of the Viet Cong in Saigon and in other areas of South Vietnam. I visited on several occasions the Y Bridge area, where I saw the evidence of Viet Cong's unprecedented cruelty. Fortunately, the soldiers and people of South Vietnam share a strong hatred for their enemy and work together in absolute harmony and unity. Their anti-Communist spirit is very strong, and all the people support their government wholeheartedly. It is because of this high morale that the Viet Cong plot to disrupt order in Saigon and to slaughter the Vietnamese people has failed to reap results.

I offer my sympathy to the people of the Republic of Vietnam who are suffering the onslaughts of Viet Cong bombard-

ments. I also hold the hope that United States authorities will take speedy action on Ambassador Harriman's statement at Paris that grave retaliatory measures will be taken by the United States if the Viet Cong should continue their rocket attacks against South Vietnam. I urge the United Nations' Human Rights Commission to take immediate action to rebuke and punish the North Vietnamese for their aggression. The United Nations' High Commission for Refugees should especially stretch out a helping hand to those Vietnamese refugees who have suffered from Viet Cong violence. All anti-Communist nations in Asia must exert their utmost efforts to help the Republic of Vietnam assure its freedom and independence and to help the people of the Republic of Vietnam assure their lives and property. Only by doing this can we uphold humanism and international justice.

Persecution Of Religion In Albania

According to the Albanian Communist paper *Nendori* between February and May, 1968, 2,169 mosques, churches, convents and other religious institutions have been handed over to Communist youth organizations. As the result, nearly all sacred buildings in Albania have lost their original purpose. 70 % of the Albanian population are Moslem, 20 % Orthodox and 10 % Roman Catholic.

News And Views

Revived Ukrainian Nationalism

The May 30, 1968 issue of *The Reporter* (New York, Vol. 38, No. 11) carried a four-page article by Tibor Szamuely entitled, "The Resurgence of Ukrainian Nationalism." The author begins by stating that even though Ukraine possesses all the attributes of a state such as "clearly defined frontiers, a national language, and a historical tradition . . . a national flag, a national anthem, and a place at the United Nations" it is not really a state but "a mere territorial unit of the last of the great colonial empires". Then he goes on to describe the Russian totalitarian oppression of Ukraine and the struggle against it. The article gives grim statistics on the Russian genocidal policies which included artificial famines, mass deportations to Siberia, mass executions of the intellectual elite, etc.

Mr. Szamuely then speaks about the establishment of the National Government in Lviv, Western Ukraine, in June 1941, which lasted only several days and describes the armed struggle of the Ukrainians under the leadership of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) and the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) which continued until March 1950, when General Roman Shukhevych was killed in action.

The remainder of the article is devoted to the "revived Ukrainian nationalism". The prime instigators of this movement are Vasyl Symonenko, a poet who died at the age of 29, and his followers, the young generation of Ukrainians, who are no longer afraid of arrests, persecutions and heavy sentences after mock trials. The author quotes passages from Dziuba's speech at the commemoration of Symonenko's 30th birthday in January, 1965 as well as his speech in September 1966 at Babyn Yar, the site of the Nazi massacre of the Jews 25 years ago. The author then describes the rise of several illegal organisations which demanded Ukraine's secession from the USSR and the 1958 and 1960 trials of their members

after the authorities found out about the existence of such organisations. The author concludes his article with the description of the most recent trials of intellectuals. He pays particular attention to journalist Viacheslav Chornovil and his works.

The European Freedom Council Condemns Moscow

The Executive Board of the EFC held its meeting on January 12—14, 1968, in Milan, Italy, at which all members of the Executive Board of EFC participated: President O. B. Kraft (Denmark), Chairman EB EFC Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine), Chairman EB EFC Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy), John Graham (Great Britain), Madame Suzanne Labin (France) and others.

The programme of the meeting, proposed by the President of ABN, was accepted unanimously with minor changes. The previous work of the EFC has been discussed; the world political situation was analysed with particular emphasis on the struggle of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism; new methods of infiltration and offensive political and psychological warfare employed by Moscow against the Free World and the danger of peripheral wars were considered. Among other things it was recommended to the member-organisations of the EFC to conduct broad diplomatic and political activities in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights accepted in 1948. There can be no talk of freedom and human rights without national independence. The present trampling of human rights and national rights by Moscow and all Communist regimes was acknowledged and the necessity of campaigns to defend these rights was stressed.

A resolution in defence of persecuted writers and intellectuals, youth, and all others subjugated and persecuted was adopted. A protest letter on behalf of the per-

secuted Ukrainian intellectuals was sent to the London *Times*, which published it on January 17, 1968. It has been resolved to use various forums and means in order to defend the subjugated nations and peoples, as well as to combat the Russian and Communophile influence in the Free World. A telegram expressing solidarity was sent to the National Chinese Government which was commemorating "Freedom Day" on January 23, 1968.

The meeting noted that Madame Suzanne Labin's pamphlet on Bolshevik Counter-Revolution has been successfully distributed in various European languages. ABN was commented for its great activity in the past year, which was unusually beneficial to the general cause of freedom in the world. The necessity to publish in various languages the documents on the persecution of the Ukrainian intellectuals which have been received from the Mordovian concentration camps was emphasized. An extensive plan of action, which will be implemented by the EFC and its members, was accepted.

David Floyd On Ukrainian Nationalism *(Daily Telegraph, June 27, 1968)*

The alarm shown by the men in the Kremlin at the spread of the spirit of independence in Eastern Europe is not due simply to their fear of losing Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and, possibly, Hungary as military allies against hypothetical aggression from the West.

This is, of course, part of the story. The belt of nations, running from the Baltic to the Black Sea, which Russia overran at the end of the war, play an important part in Russia's western defences.

Czecho-Slovakia was allotted a key role in that system which has now to be transferred elsewhere.

But the Russian leaders also fear the spread eastwards of the ideas of national independence and democracy. A satellite and servile Eastern Europe served as a barrier against Western political and ideological influence in the Soviet Union itself. Behind the countries which we call Eastern Europe there is another belt of nations, also

running from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and longer under Russian domination, but in which the desire for independence is still alive.

Between them, the peoples of this inner belt—the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians of the Baltic States, the Byelorussians of the central area and the Ukrainians of the south—amount to nearly 60 million people, almost a quarter of the total population of the Soviet Union.

Severely Repressed

The Kremlin's nightmare is that the ideas of national independence and sovereignty may infect these people as well.

From that vast, inaccessible area between Eastern Europe and Russia proper only very rarely and belatedly do reports reach the West of the many arrests, trials and deportations of people with the courage to defend their national heritage.

But from today on no one in the West has an excuse for ignorance about either the lengths to which the process of "Russification" has gone in the western territories of the Soviet Union or the strength of the resistance to that process, at least in the Ukraine. Ivan Dzyuba's book "Internationalism or Russification?" (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 42s) is a masterly piece of political writing which can leave no interested person unmoved.

Dzyuba is a young Ukrainian writer and literary critic who was moved to write this book after the wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965. He warned the Communist leaders that the persecution of people labelled "nationalists" served neither the Ukraine itself nor the cause of Communism. In the Ukraine, he said, it was "permissible to label as 'nationalist' anyone possessing an elementary sense of national dignity or anyone concerned with the fate of Ukrainian culture and language, and often simply anyone who in some way failed to please some Russian chauvinist, some 'Great Russian bully.'"

The phrase "Great Russian bully" is, as Dzyuba makes clear, a quotation from Lenin. It is the great strength of his argu-

ment that his defence of the rights of the Ukrainian and another non-Russian peoples derives entirely from Marx, Engels and Lenin. He is the defender of Lenin's nationalities policy against its later distortion and reversal by Stalin and Khrushchov.

This is doubtless why the authorities have found it impossible either to reply publicly or to clap him into gaol.

Moscow's policy for the Ukraine is a very carefully calculated, long-term one of gradual erosion of Ukrainian national culture and consciousness, of slow genocide. There is a steady drain of Ukrainians away from their home towns to the newly developing areas of Siberia. They are replaced by Russians, especially Russian skilled workers and managers, who encourage Russification. Meanwhile Ukrainians shipped to Siberia are deprived of facilities for keeping their culture alive.

The process of Russification is seen most clearly in the field of publishing. Though the population of the Ukraine is still, despite Moscow's efforts, predominantly Ukrainian, more than half the books published there are in Russian. More significant, the proportion of Ukrainian books and publications is decreasing.

The Ukrainian language, similar to Russian but no closer to it than Portuguese is to Spanish, is being gradually forced out of use.

It requires courage for an employee to insist on speaking Ukrainian to his Russian boss, or for a shop assistant to refuse to understand a customer who insists on speaking Russian. Children cannot force their teachers to speak Ukrainian; students cannot walk out of lectures in Russian.

But "a smouldering, vague movement and awakening is felt among Ukrainian youth all over the Ukraine," says Dzyuba.

What will the Russian reply be? To revert to what Dzyuba claims was Lenin's enlightened policy for the non-Russian peoples, and risk the Ukraine following Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia? Or to stiffen their repression, and risk an explosion?

The Ukrainian Youth Association In Australia Demands The Release Of Young Ukrainians From Russian Concentration Camps

The present Russian Government is still using Stalinist terror tactics and brutality to suppress movements for freedom of expression and self-determination for Ukraine. Since the death of Stalin, thousands of young people have been arrested by Russian secret police and thousands have been banished from Ukraine and deported to Siberian labour camps for political reasons.

An example of Russian oppression is the case of Yuriy Shukhevych. In 1948, Yuriy Shukhevych, then 15, was arrested, convicted of political crimes and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. The fact that he was the son of Roman Shukhevych, known as General Taras Chuprynka, the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Freedom Army (U.P.A.), which was formed during the Second World War to fight against Nazi Germany and for Ukrainian independence from Russia, was held sufficient to convict him. Yuriy was tortured in prison in an attempt to force him to denounce his father and the ideals for which he died. He was released from prison in 1956, but was soon rearrested and in 1958 was sentenced to a further term of 10 years' hard labour for "conducting anti-Soviet propaganda."

The Constitution of the Soviet Union which guarantees freedom of expression, freedom of publication and the due process of law is a farce. These rights exist only on paper for propaganda value, and in reality they are totally disregarded by the Russian authorities. The Constitution of the Soviet Union also gives the right to any member republic of the U.S.S.R. to secede from the Union. Therefore, Ukraine as a member republic, has the right to secede if the majority of Ukrainians so desire, yet the Russian Government refuses to hold a referendum to determine this issue.

The methods adopted by Russian authorities violate basic concepts of justice, are contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by members of the United Nations, including Russia and prove con-

clusively that Ukraine is the victim of Russian colonialism.

We therefore appeal to all Australians for the sake of justice and humanity to voice their disapproval of the Russian genocidal policies against Ukrainians. We call upon the Australian university students and the Australian youth in general to protest against the violation of justice and basic human rights by the Russian secret

police. Every voice is valuable; in the name of humanity add your voice to the general outcry against the barbaric practices of the Russian regime and the blatant violations of the Declaration of Human Rights.

Help the victims of Russian colonialism by giving your moral and material support.

Ukrainian Youth Association
In Australia

Russian Militarism — Highest Form Of Education In Lithuania

The Lithuanian Teachers' Congress, held in Vilnius on March 25—26, provided additional proof that Lithuania does not have its own educational system. The "Gray Eminence" of the Congress was M. Kondakov, Vice-Minister of Education of the Soviet Union, who sat in the presidium and delivered the main speech in the tone of an inspector addressing the teachers of a remote district. Mr. Kondakov's word is law to Lithuanian educators throughout the year.

The subordination of the Lithuanian teachers and of the educational organization to Moscow was also emphasized in an action of a legal character. The Congress "elected" a delegation to an all-Soviet teachers' convention to be held in Moscow. The delegation was not formed as a representative group of an independent unit to a congress of an international character, but simply as a delegation of an association's chapter to the general meeting of its members.

Even more strange was the inclusion of Moscow's Vice-Minister Kondakov in the list of "Lithuanian teacher delegates". Other unusual "pedagogues" also listed were the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Barkauskas, and the Secretary General of that Committee, Jemeljanov.

The First Secretary of the Communist Party, Antanas Snieckus, delivered another key speech at the Congress. He told the teachers that one of their most important tasks was the "international education of students", because the "friendship of peoples is the source of our nation's strength

and power." The delegates were quite familiar with the meaning of Snieckus' phrases. "Our nation", of course, means Russia. "Friendship of peoples" refers to Lithuania's total absorption in and obedience to Moscow.

The Communist sensitivity to criticism of Russia's colonial policies was reflected in the following statement by Snieckus: "Not accidentally, the sharp point of our (i. e., Bolshevik, Ed.) enemies' diversion is directed primarily against the friendship of nations and aims to undermine it . . . All of their instigatory activity is directed exactly in that direction."

The leading institution of youth education in Lithuania is . . . the military commissariat. This revelation, which should be of interest to educationists abroad, was made by the CP organ *Tiesa / The Truth*, daily newspaper/.

The network of schools, press, radio, TV, even the Komsomol — the newspaper discloses — is in a sense only the helper of the commissariats, whose educational task is of supreme importance for the Soviet Union. That task is to prepare the draftees for service in the Red Army by "raising the Soviet patriots".

The military commissariats active in Lithuania have been given official recognition by the "Baltic military district" for having fulfilled their task better than any others. The authorities singled out for praise the inculcation of the cult of the Red Army and the depiction of the American and West German soldiers as bloodthirsty monsters.

Young Slovak Generation Loyal To Their Nation

On Saturday, 4 May, 1968, the inhabitants of Jablonica, Brezova pod Bradlom and the surrounding communities experienced something which no one expected: on the road leading to the monument of General Stefanik, the traffic had come to a standstill. About 15,000 private cars and 1,200 buses were moving as slowly as the thousands of students and young pupils who were walking to Bradlo Mountain. In the early hours of the afternoon, the grave of General Stefanik was surrounded by tens of thousands of students . . . at the stroke of eight o'clock in the evening fire was lit on all four sides of the splendid monument and the soldiers set off dozens of rockets . . . The meritorious artist Viliam Zaborsky recited Chalupka's poem "Mor ho!" (heroic epic). The poem was interrupted by students and then repeated many times with him, in about 40,000 voices " . . . a vol nebyt, ako byt cotrokom!" (. . . rather not exist than be a slave!) This had the sound of a vow of loyalty of the young Slovak generation to their nation, an oath that the young people would not allow a repetition of the modern darkness, whose

witnesses we became.

. . . There was no quiet on Bradlo in the night from Saturday to Sunday. Students lighted campfires, sang patriotic songs . . . hundreds of cars could only get to within fifteen kilometres of Bradlo on Sunday, since the roads were blocked and there was not enough room for the 150,000 people, even on the surrounding hills. The organisers, who included also hundreds of soldiers, could not cope with the situation. Nobody had expected 150,000 people (if not more). The students broke through the cordon and forced themselves a place in front of the monument, where they raised a gigantic national Slovak crest . . . in the enormous mass of people, a number of placards could be seen with slogans such as:

We need no foreign directors — we'll put things right ourselves! We want only what belongs to us!

The assembled masses honoured the memory of great Slovak patriots, Gen. Stefanik, Msgr. Hlinka and Msgr. Tiso and demanded the national independence of Slovakia.



Prof. Velez In Munich

Our Philippine friend, Prof. Gonzalo A. Velez, toured Europe this summer with a message from the government of the Philippines. He is the chairman of the First International Youth Conference to be held in the University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines from October 21-26, 1968. The purpose of this conference is to gather representative youth leaders from the six continental groups of Asia, Africa, Middle East, Europe, Latin America and North America to discuss common youth problems in order to foster and promote better world youth understanding through free and constant dialogues and to form the World Youth Corps (League) in order to strengthen the young people's fight against Communism and other ideologies that supplant human rights.

During his Munich stay (July 31 — Aug. 1) Prof. Velez visited ABN office and conferred with Mr. Y. Stetsko and other representatives of ABN, and the representatives of various German youth organizations. He also visited the summer camp of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM).

New Czech Regime Promises Freedom To National Minorities

PRAGUE, Czecho-Slovakia, April 10 — (Reuters). — The Central Committee of the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party issued a long statement reassessing and restating its foreign and domestic policies. One of the most striking revelations was a new course regarding the national minorities in Czecho-Slovakia. The Central Committee stated in this regard:

In the interest of strengthening the unity, conference and national individuality, of all nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia — of Hungarians, Poles, Ukrainians and Germans — it is indispensable to work out a statute defining the status and rights of various nationalities, guaranteeing the possibilities of their national life and the development of their national individuality . . .

The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (New Zürich Newspaper) interprets the Warsaw letter to the Prague Communists as an imperialist document:

“The text of the letter of the five parties loyal to Moscow sent to the Prague leaders, composed in Warsaw and now published, is a classic document of Russian imperialism, which, by utilizing Marxist-Communist phrases, is intent on preserving the fruits of Stalin’s policy of conquest. It is true that the influence of Gomulka and Ulbricht can also be seen in some formulations, but the whole document is typically Russian and exudes the unmistakably imperialist arrogance of Moscow. It is the same spirit of intolerance and presumption to smaller countries which filled the Cominform letters to Yugoslavia and which led to the suppression of the Hungarian uprising. This thus brings to nothing all the assurances made by the Kremlin in the last few months, regarding non-interference in the internal affairs of other Communist countries and parties, in connection with the preparations for the world conference of Communist parties.”

Champions Of Freedom Honoured

At its last Congress, the Bulgarian National Front presented the “Struggle for the Freedom of Bulgaria” medals in three categories: Gold, Silver and Bronze.

Gold medals were awarded to Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN, for his services in the common struggle against Communism and Russian imperialism and to Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff, as the co-founder and an ideologist of the Bulgarian National Front.

Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko
President ABN
Dear Mr. Stetsko,

We, the Bulgarian National Front, value very highly your outstanding service in the fight against Communism and for the liberation of all the Captive Nations, including Bulgaria, and at the Congress of the Organization, March 1968, in New York, decided to reward you with the GOLDEN MEDAL of the Bulgarian National Front.

It is a great pleasure for me to inform you about this.

With best regards, I remain

Yours truly,
Dr. Ivan Docheff, President

BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT, Inc.
New York, N.Y.

May 11, 1968

Captive Nations Week Observances

United States

In connection with the signing of the Captive Nations Week proclamation by President Johnson, demonstrations, rallies and meetings were held in all major US cities with the participation of a large number of Americans. In the US Congress several speeches on the captive nations were delivered, the texts of which have already been published in the "Congressional Record" for 1968.

Referring to the Captive Nations Week, *Daily News*, a New York newspaper, emphasized that the US government should strengthen its activities on behalf of the subjugated peoples.

Through the efforts of the Captive Nations Week Committee, under the leadership of Judge Matthew Troy, a well known Republican and a member of AF ABN, and with active participation of 18 nationalities joined in AF ABN, mass celebrations of the Captive Nations Week took place in New York.

On Sunday, July 14th, a march was organised to St. Patrick's Cathedral where Mass was offered for speedy liberation of the subjugated peoples. Close to 2,000 attended the Mass. After the Mass thousands of leaflets were distributed by members of SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association). In the afternoon a mass rally was held in New York's Central Park with the participation of 1,000. Congressman Lester Wolf was the main speaker. During the rally a Red Russian flag was burned. In the evening a concert was given with the participation of choral and dancing groups of various nationalities.

On July 20, 1968, 8,000 marchers took part in the Chicago Captive Nations parade, which was reviewed by Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley and Illinois' Governor Shapiro. The parade included 14 national groups whose countries have been taken over by the Communists and units from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, the United States Navy band, the fire department band, and the

police department drum and bugle corps.

In Philadelphia, Pa. a mass rally was held on Independence Mall July 21, 1968.

In each case appropriate resolutions were adopted and sent to the President, the Secretary of State, Senators and Representatives of a given state, and the press, radio and television.

Australia

In Sydney, Australia, July 21-27th, 1968 marked the Captive Nations Week. It began with a wreath laying ceremony at the Cenotaph on Sunday, July 21st. This was followed by an Opening Meeting in Sydney Town Hall under the chairmanship of Dr. L. Emmet Mc Dermott with the participation of 400 persons. The programme consisted of an exhibition of arts and crafts, arranged by national groups, a recital by a Lithuanian Mixed Choir and guest speakers, Mr. Young, Consul of the Republic of China; Mr. J. T. Gordon Jackett, MLA; Mr. R. Dragan (Ukrainian) and Mr. John Hughes, representing students at Sydney University. The meeting was concluded with a prayer offered by Msgr. John Byrne. On Wednesday, July 24th, a Public Meeting was held at YWCA Hall. A film "The Ultimate Weapon" was shown at this meeting. T. E. F. Hughes, MHR, Mr. A. W. A. Laing, Member of the Executive of the R. S. L. and Mr. Elton Wilson, Director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade addressed the meeting. J. Marshall was the chairman.

The Captive Nations Week activities were concluded with the International Cultural Festival held in Ukrainian Youth Hall on July 27th, with an introduction by the Hon. M. E. Furley, OBE, MLC. Latvian, Estonian, Polish, Croatian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Hungarian choral and dancing groups and soloists provided an interesting programme of national songs and dances. The Festival was attended by 1,500 persons, including many prominent political and civic leaders, and reporters.

Assembly, California Legislature, 1968 Regular Session

Assembly Concurrent Resolution

Relative to proclaiming April 10th as Croatian Independence Day

By Honorable Earle D. Crandall of the Twenty-fifth District
(Countersigned by Senator Clark E. Bradley of the Fourteenth Senatorial District)

WHEREAS, The United States stands as the hope for the enslaved nations in today's divided world; and

WHEREAS, Those nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in achieving their liberation and independence on the basis of the right of self-determination guaranteed in the Charter of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS, Croatia, one of the enslaved nations, is presently subjected to force and terror exerted by the Yugoslav Communists; and

WHEREAS, Communist Yugoslavia has recently assisted the Soviet Union in establishing a naval power in the Mediterranean to promote the spread of Communism; and

WHEREAS, The Croatian nation, ever since its early beginning in the seventh century, has had to fight to preserve freedom and independence, and in the pursuit of democratic processes created, more than a thousand years ago, one of the oldest elected parliamentary bodies, the Sabor; and

WHEREAS, Several hundred thousand Croats died defending their state, re-established by the Croatian people on April 10, 1941, against foreign aggressors including the Yugoslav Communists helped by the Red Army; and

WHEREAS, Communist Yugoslavia has prevented the election of representatives to the Sabor, and the Croatian nation has been deprived of the basic human rights of self-determination, free elections, economy, culture, religion, and even language; and

WHEREAS, More than 150,000 Americans of Croatian descent live in California, participating in economic, cultural, and political developments of this Golden State and always maintaining their vigilance against Communist aggression by sharing their knowledge and experience; and

WHEREAS, The desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of the submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace together with these prospective American allies; and

WHEREAS, It is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the State of California share with them aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence; now, therefore, be it

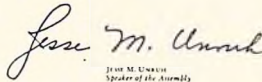
Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California, the Senate thereof concurring, That the members urge Governor Ronald Reagan to proclaim April 10th as Croatian Independence Day throughout this state, and invite all citizens to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty; and be it further

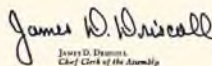
Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit a copy of this resolution to the Governor.

☞ Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 64, adopted in Assembly March 14, 1968.

☞ SIGNED:

☞ ATTEST:

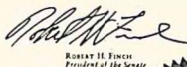

JEAN M. AUERICH
Speaker of the Assembly

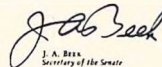

JAMES D. DYMALLY
Chief Clerk of the Assembly

☞ Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 64, adopted in Senate March 18, 1968.

☞ SIGNED:

☞ ATTEST:


ROBERT H. FINCH
President of the Senate


J. A. BREA
Secretary of the Senate



Book Reviews

Strachimir Belphegoroff:
LA MORT MYSTERIEUSE D'UN ROI.
(The Mysterious Death of a King)
Publishing House "Mlada Bulgaria", 1968,
32 p.

This publication is devoted to the memory of King Boris III, who ruled Bulgaria in extraordinarily difficult circumstances after the First World War and during the Second (3 Oct. 1918—28 August 1943). The author first describes the king's career and the political situation in the country and then comes to the main theme of his pamphlet. He describes the mysterious death of this noble king, who enjoyed general admiration and popularity among his people. The author analyses conscientiously various rumours which might account for the unexpected decease of King Boris. He comes to the conclusion that only the Russians could have any interest in the murder of this king.

An Instance of Treason: Ozaki Hotsumi and the Sorge Spy Ring is a book which has been written by Chalmers Johnson. It is published by the Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

It is an opinion widely held that this book is essential reading for anybody who is interested in the present cold war and in the international struggle against Communist forces.

Ozaki Hotsumi was pre-war Japan's leading expert on Chinese politics, economics, and social history, and the Japanese government's most influential civilian adviser on China. He was at the same time the second-ranking member of the notorious Communist spy ring headed by Dr. Richard Sorge. Ozaki was never a member of any Communist Party, but he was intellectually a very special kind of Communist. What is more, reading the book, we see that the same man, Ozaki, was also a Japanese nationalist and a Comintern spy.

Richard Sorge, a German national, was born in Baku, Armenia (Soviet Union), on

October 4, 1895. His paternal grandfather, Friedrich Albert Sorge, had been Secretary General of the First International and a close friend of Marx and Engels. Sorge joined the Hamburg branch of the German Communist Party in 1920 and went to Moscow in 1924. He worked in Comintern for Eugen Ott, who later was promoted to the intelligence section (Department Four) of the Red Army. But after establishing himself in Tokyo, he cultivated the friendship of the German Military Attaché, General Eugen Ott, who later was promoted to the post of German Ambassador to Japan. Sorge's World War I experience helped establish a close bond with Ott, and soon Ott learned that Sorge, who was correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, was a valuable source of information on Japanese political and military developments. In February 1938 Ambassador von Dirksen was transferred to London, and General Ott became Ambassador to Tokyo. Sorge continued as Ott's personal friend and adviser.

KIRCHE IN NOT (The Church in Need). Volume XIV. The Dialogue. Introduction by Bishop Msgr. Adolf Kindermann. Published by The Eastern Priests Help Association, Königstein, Taunus. 134 pages.

This book documents the 16th Congress of the campaign "The Church in Need", which took place from 4 to 7 August 1966 in Königstein in Taunus (Federal Republic of Germany). The book under review publishes the lectures given to the conference, its reports and its resolutions.

A lecture by Dr. Laszlo Feketekuthy is devoted to the questions raised by religious freedom in the lands under Communist rule.

The book contains objective reports on the present position of the Catholic Church and also other churches and religious communities in the following Communist ruled countries: the Soviet Russian occupied zone of Germany, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, Croatia and

Slovenia, Albania, Mainland China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Poland. A special chapter is devoted to the position of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union.

These reports reveal that, in spite of all loosening of systems, there is no genuine religious freedom in any Communist ruled country. "While atheist propaganda is controlled and promoted in these countries by the state, a reply even within the church itself is not usually possible. The disappointment of young people at getting no satisfactory answer to questions about the meaning of life, is growing."

The Congress therefore comes to the following conclusion: "Helping your brothers in need is still the commandment of the hour!"

The Vietnam Dilemma

by Rev. Daniel Lyons, S. J., New York, Twin Circle, 1967, 48 p.

In this pamphlet, Rev. D. Lyons makes some noteworthy observations such as "our problem in winning the cold war is our refusal to admit that Russia is our enemy in Vietnam." (p. 9) If Russia is the enemy of the USA in Vietnam, it must follow that Russia is an aggressive imperialistic power, for otherwise why would it be the enemy of the USA in Vietnam (thousands of miles from its homeland)? Another good remark is that "the idea that we will build up Russia but will defend South Vietnam is like burying our heads in the sand." (p. 10) But such a policy is in line with peaceful coexistence. It should follow that the USA should build up those countries which are friendly to it and hostile to Russia's imperialism. Indeed, the author comes to such a conclusion: "Bridges should be built to our friends, not to our enemies. But we build bridges to our enemies and antagonize our friends." (p. 27)

It would have been useful if Rev. Lyons mentioned that the Soviet Union is itself the empire of Russia, and not only the countries dominated by it outside the USSR. It would show that the friends to whom the USA should build bridges are

the freedom-loving peoples enslaved by Russia. We recommend to Western leaders to follow the view of Rev. D. Lyons because the nations enslaved by Russia are its Achilles' heel and the solution to many world problems lies in solving the problem of the liberation of these nations.

A. W. B.

The Development of Communism, an Analysis of the Liberalising Tendencies in the Eastern Bloc: published by the Free Press Union, Munich, 1967. 156 p.

In this book an attempt is made by journalists of the subjugated peoples in exile in the free part of Germany to analyse critically the loosening of the Communist system in the Soviet Russian sphere of power after the death of Stalin, and to answer the question often posed in the Free World, as to whether a liberalisation of Communism is possible.

The book under review contains the following contributions on this subject: Dr. Stefan Yovew — "Is a liberalisation of Communism possible?"; F. Korduba — "Changes in the government system in the Soviet Union"; Antal v. Radnoczy — "Coexistence and Safety"; Ratko Parezanin — "Communism knows no freedom"; Dr. Maximilian Chladny-Hanisch — "Changes in Communism"; Kristof Greiner — "Roots of the liberalisation tendencies in Czecho-Slovakia".

The authors of this book have reached the conclusion in their analysis of the situation that no genuine liberalisation of the Communist system is possible and that its relaxation has been set definite fixed limits. "The 'liberalisation' of the cultural sphere has been set limits in the Soviet bloc just as narrow as those for economic liberalism. This 'liberalisation' ends exactly where real freedom begins — 'intellectual freedom and freedom to discuss' are set equally impassable limits under both Tito and Gomulka and all other 'liberal' Communist dictators, for Marxist-Leninism has an ideological monopoly even in 'revisionist' regimes." (Yovew).

"Peaceful coexistence" is rightly describ-

ed in the book as an empty slogan: "Under present circumstances — that is to say under the constant threat to the existence of Western Europe by a superior expansive Soviet power — the slogan 'peaceful co-existence' sounds completely empty . . . the naive and well-intentioned should be amazed at all that is concealed in the Kremlin under the phrase 'peaceful coexistence'. One can after all make the following unobjectionable statement: that the objectives of the Kremlin are not parallel to the vital interests of the West, not even when 'peace' is being discussed." (Radnoczy).

A basic defect of the book is that the importance of national questions in the loosening of the Communist system in the whole Soviet Russian sphere of power (both in the Soviet Union itself and in the satellite states), which was carried out for tactical reasons, is not given expression. The Russian Bolshevik rulers and their satraps were forced to loosen their system of government to a certain extent, to stem the resistance of the subjugated nations against foreign rule and Communist dictatorship, which however they did not succeed in doing. We cannot however find any evidence of this important fact in this book.

Only in the contribution by Kristof Greiner is the resistance of the Slovak people against national oppression rightly represented as an important factor in the loosening of the system. Slovakia however is a special case in the Soviet Russian sphere of power, since she is not directly subject to Moscow. Slovakia is governed by the Czech Communist government within the framework of the artificial Czechoslovak state formation, which in its turn is dependent on Soviet Russian power.

References to Russian imperialism in the book under review are to be found only in the contributions made by Volodymyr Lenyk and Antal v. Radnoczy. In most contributions the national questions and the connection of Communism with Russian imperialism are completely ignored. Often mention is made merely of the "Soviet population" and "Soviet leadership".

The dominant position of the Russian

people in the Soviet Union and in the whole Soviet bloc is veiled: "Today, just as before the split, an atomic world power, the Soviet Union, is ruled by a Communist party; it exerts its regional hegemony over a series of Central and Eastern European countries partly through its ties with the Communist party in power there. It attempts to maintain or revive its leading influence on most other Communist parties, including also the ruling party in Cuba." (Korduba). The situation is thus described, not as the rule of one nation over others, but only the influence of a party on others.

Journalists writing in this vein are obviously not aware that the mere fact of the Russian Red Army occupying a country and putting into power a Communist party controlled by Moscow is enough to draw this country into the Soviet Russian sphere of power. This would make such a country, even with possible retention of its formal sovereignty, dependent on Soviet Russia. As a consequence a Communist dictatorship ruling there cannot be considered as an internal affair of the country and people concerned.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný

Karl Friedrich Grau: *Schlesisches Inferno* (Silesian Inferno); published by the information and documentation centre West; Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart 1966, 294 pages.

This book contains a valuable documentation of the war crimes committed by the Russian Red army during its invasion of Silesia in 1945. Prof. Dr. Ernst Deuerlein's interesting study on Moscow's political policies with respect to Germany, 1941 - 1945, serves as an introduction to this book.

In this documentation one can read the shocking eye-witness reports on the bestial way in which the Russian soldiers treated the defenceless civilian population: old Germans, women and children, upon the "liberation" of Silesia. Apart from individual eye-witness accounts, the book also contains statistical data on the crimes committed by the Russian Red army, the texts and facsimiles of various Red-army leaflets distributed among the German

population, as well as a map. The established facts are supplemented and illustrated with historical evidence on Russian imperialism and a brief sketch of Silesia's history.

It is to be regretted that the Free World knows too little about the war crimes of the Russian Red army. And what is much worse — it *doesn't* want to know anything about them!

(*Eduardo Comin Colomer: History of the Communist Party of Spain*. In two volumes. Madrid, 1965.)

Two books, which together contain 1417 pages report on the first beginnings of the Communist movement in Spain. The reader cannot but be astonished by the uncommonly rich source material in these publications. The author has been particularly concerned with making a meticulous analysis of the first beginnings of the Communist movement in Spain and of its development, in order to become as thoroughly acquainted with the nature of Spanish Communism as possible. Upon Moscow's instigation this movement was to make Spain the best bridgehead for the conquest of the West and the attainment of Soviet Russian goals.

Looking at the development of Spanish Communism from the historical point of

view, three separate phases can be distinguished. The author concerns himself above all with the development period of Spanish Communism, which began in April 1920 and ended in February 1936. For it was in 1936 that the Spanish Communists first dared to enter into the political life and events of their homeland. Senor Colomer calls this period of the Communist movement in Spain the "birth" of Communism in Spain, which later attained its "maturity" with regard to public and political life in Spain. Most of the source material had not been published up to now, which renders the scholastic value of the two books even greater.

Orden para Asesinar by Karl Anders, Montevideo, Comité Internacional para la Defensa de la Civilización Cristiana, 1967, 106 p. with illustrations.

This is the Spanish translation of the original German edition (*Mord auf Befehl*). It was translated by Adda Laguardia. The introduction was written by Elzeario Boix Larrierra, President of the Uruguay section of the above organisation.

The book is a document of methods employed by the Russian imperialists towards the liberation movement of the enslaved Ukraine. A.W.B.

Support To The Captive Nations

By Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka

APACL and WACL Japan Chapter

We are happy to note a step forward taken this year for the liberation of captive nations. On the other hand, we cannot but feel indignation over the Soviet-Russian persecution and suppression of writers and other intellectuals in Ukraine. The whole world must cry protest to this.

We regret, too, that the United States, the leader of the free world, has shown lukewarm timidity in resisting the aggression of North Vietnam and the Vietcong. This fact is quite clear: if the USA gives up South Vietnam or recognizes Red China, as some of her statesmen advocate, not only will the captive nations be further oppressed but also the present free nations of Asia will be enslaved and reduced to captive nations by Communist aggression.

We, therefore, strongly urge the USA and all other free nations to unite in supporting the liberation movement of the subjugated nations and in defending the free peoples against the Communists' direct and indirect aggression.

Ukrainian Youth Demonstrates Against Russian Barbarism

On August 7, 1968, 300 Ukrainian students staged a protest demonstration in front of the Russian Embassy in London. They were protesting against the Russian crimes in Ukraine, in particular against the arrests of Ukrainian writers and young people, which have recently been intensified.

The demonstrators broke through police cordons and pelted the Embassy with stones. They took down the Russian flag, burned it and in its place raised the Ukrainian flag. They sang the Ukrainian national anthem and shouted anti-Russian slogans.

The press, radio and television of Great Britain, as well as of other countries, gave extensive reports of the demonstration.

Below we are publishing the text of a leaflet which was distributed during the demonstration and a letter by a participant.

New Reprisals Of Moscow Against Ukrainians

Fresh reports from Ukraine tell of new mass arrests among Ukrainian intellectuals and student youth.

Disturbed by developments in Czecho-Slovakia, Russia seeks to prevent similar break-away of Ukraine from under the dominance of Moscow. The reports speak of the arrests of hundreds of Ukrainian students, lecturers, as well as writers, poets and critics who tried to voice their opposition to Moscow's policy of Russification and suppression of Ukraine's national independence aspirations.

In this Year of Human Rights it is Ukraine that has suffered the heaviest blow to human freedom.

The latest arrests include famous Ukrainian poets and critics:

LINA KOSTENKO — a lyrical poet of the 1960's group;
IVAN DZYUBA — literary critic whose book "Internationalism or Russification?" has been recently published in English in this country;

MYCHAILYNA KOTSIUBYNSKA — literary historian;
and many others.

It is reported that two Ukrainian patriots, Pryshliak and Levytskyi, have been sentenced in Ternopil to 25 years of imprisonment.

Mass arrests of young people who sympathised with Ukrainian writers imprisoned in 1965-1967 have taken place in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

In Lviv, the capital of West Ukraine, many young people have been arrested for daring to sing Ukrainian religious and patriotic songs in public.

We, members of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Gt. Britain, demand that an end be put to these arbitrary arrests of young Ukrainian patriots. We demand the immediate release of all Ukrainian political prisoners!

We call upon the youth of Britain to speak up in defence of the persecuted Ukrainian patriots who tried to make use of their rights to free speech in this Year of Human Rights.

Support Ukraine's struggle for national freedom and independence!

Condemn Moscow's colonialism and imperialistic policy!

UKRAINIAN YOUTH PROTEST COMMITTEE.

A Letter To British Newspapers

On Wednesday, 7th August, 1968, 200 British born Ukrainian students took part in a demonstration outside the Russian Embassy.

The aim of the demonstration was to protest against the recent arrests of intellectuals, writers and poets in Ukraine — whose only crime is that they asked for ordinary human rights, including the right to national freedom and political independence for Ukraine.

By protesting against the arbitrary arrests and cruel treatment of Ukrainian intellectuals, I sincerely believe that the gross injustice perpetrated by the Russian Communist colonialism and imperialism will be brought to the attention of the public at large.

Britain has given freedom to hundreds of millions of people in her former colonies, while Russia has been constantly expanding her slave empire.

During the course of the demonstration — after a Soviet official refused to accept a protest delegation of five students calling for the release of Ukrainian prisoners, I was one of seventeen students arrested and bundled into waiting Black Marias for obstructing a police constable in the execution of his duty.

I have no regrets in spending nine hours in custody — for a cause in which I profoundly believe.

To conclude, I appeal to the British public to protest against the violation of the basic human rights of the individual by the Russian Communist regime, and to demand immediate release of all prisoners of conscience whether they be from Ukraine, Byelorussia or from any other subjugated nation in the U.S.S.R.

May freedom prevail in Ukraine in the near future!

Student

Armed Force Against Russian Aggressors Needed

Telegram to President Lyndon B. Johnson

Your Excellency,

Since the barbarian Russian hordes have overrun the courageous Czech and Slovak peoples with tanks and war-planes and the world is thus once again threatened by genocide from the Russians, those nations subjugated by Russian tyranny — Ukrainians, Turkestanis, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, East Germans, etc. — expect the U. S. to abandon the concept of a bipartition of the world and the resultant policy of coexistence and to replace these with the formation of a world-wide liberation front against the Russian aggressors and oppressors. It is not the U. N., in which the Russians have veto power, that can give assistance against Russian despotism, but only effective power against the brutal force of the Russian despots.

The need of the hour is as follows: energetic support of the liberation revolution of the subjugated nations with the goal of dividing the Russian Empire into national, independent states. All peoples oppressed by Russian imperialism and Communism are fighting today not only for the democratic order but also for their own sovereign states within their ethnographical boundaries.

ABN and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) severely condemn the Russian aggressors and oppressors and with them their helpers in the subjugated nations and call upon the free world to break off all relations with the Russian imperialists and murderers and with the satellite countries, as well as to provide armed aid and to organise a world-wide crusade against the Russian murderers, who disguise themselves in the garb of the so-called "proletarian world revolution", before it is too late.

Yaroslav Stetsko, f. Prime Minister of Ukraine
President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

The Chornovil Papers

by Vyacheslav Chornovil

Introduction by Frederick C. Barghoorn

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by Ivan Dzyuba

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

ABN And EFC Conferences

17—22 October 1968, London, Great Britain



Wreath-laying ceremony at the Cenotaph in memory of victims of Russian and Communist subjugation and terror.

CONTENTS:

ABN And EFC Conferences In London	4
Letter To The R. H. Harold Wilson	10
<i>Hon. Ole Bjorn Kraft (Denmark)</i>	
We Must Be On Guard	12
<i>Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine)</i>	
An Outline Of ABN's Liberation Policy	14
<i>Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff (Bulgaria)</i>	
The Political Climate In The People's Republic Of Bulgaria 17	
<i>Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan)</i>	
Russian Methods And Plans To Dominate The World	21
<i>Prof. Ferdinand Durčansky (Slovakia)</i>	
Slovakia's Legitimate Rights	25
<i>Madame Suzanne Labin (France)</i>	
Violation Of Human Rights By Communist Powers	26
<i>Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgaria)</i>	
The Key To The Solution Of World Political Crisis	29
<i>Ernest Rigoni (Hungary)</i>	
Coexistence Policy — An Error	31
<i>T. Zarins (Latvia)</i>	
Russification Of Latvia	32
<i>Elmar Lipping (Estonia)</i>	
Estonian War Of Independence 1918 - 1920	33
<i>V. Bohdaniuk (Ukraine)</i>	
Ukraine's Desire For Independence Growing	35
<i>Dr. Stjepan Hefer (Croatia)</i>	
Croatian People Demand Self-Determination	36
<i>Dr. A. Ramishvili (Georgia)</i>	
The Nationalism Of The Caucasian Nations	37
<i>Counsellor I. Kim (S. Korea)</i>	
Unification Of Korea — A Pressing Demand	38
<i>Rama Swarup (India)</i>	
Imperialist Russia And South-East Asia	39
<i>Hon. Phan Huy Quat (Vietnam)</i>	
Declaration On Bombing Halt	41
Appeal And Resolutions	43

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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The 25th Anniversary Of The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations (ABN)

During World War II, in November 1943, there gathered in the Ukrainian woods near Zhytomyr the representatives of the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia. At that conference it was decided to present a united front in the liberation struggle against Russian domination, Communist tyranny and Nazi invaders. For that purpose, a Coordinating Committee was formed and a course of action agreed upon in accordance with the political objectives of these nations, i.e. to expel all foreign occupying forces, to abolish the Communist system and to restore the sovereignty and independence which these nations had regained after the Bolshevik October Revolution in 1917, but of which the brutal force of the Red Army was soon to deprive them. Thus the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was born amidst a war on two fronts.

After World War II, when Soviet Russia had conquered further parts of Europe and many more European countries fell under the despotic rule of Bolshevism, these countries' revolutionary liberation movements joined the ABN, convinced that only a combined effort can bring success in the battle against Russian imperialism. The realization that all the nations under the yoke of Soviet Russia had become companions in misfortune provided the basis for a programme of action and found its expression in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which from then on, still invisible to some, was to play its part on the stage of world politics.

In the 25 years that have passed since the foundation of ABN, its concept has found ever wider acceptance, until it has today become the key to the solution of the crisis in world politics. Events since the end of World War II and in particular the most recent developments in Czecho-Slovakia have confirmed beyond any doubt the accuracy of our concept and have knocked the ground from under all counter-arguments.

1. We have had proof, if such was needed, that the Communist rule extending over half of Europe, over countries and nations outside as well as inside the USSR, is essentially a manifestation of Russian imperialism, and it is therefore not enough to combat it merely as a socio-political system. Recent events in Czecho-Slovakia have once more demonstrated to the whole world that Moscow's objective is to maintain not only the Communist system, but above all Russian colonial rule and sole command in countries under Communist governments.

2. The conclusion from this is inescapable and again confirms the view expressed in the ABN programme that in the fight against Bolshevik despotism the first requirement is to mobilize the national aspirations of the subjugated peoples. We have always pointed out that in the long run only an affirmation of the national idea and a recognition of the inalienable right of nations to sovereignty can guarantee success in the fight for the abolition of Soviet Russian rule, imposed upon non-Russian countries by force and deception.

3. Developments in the past 25 years finally have confirmed our view of the

necessity of joint action in the national revolutionary liberation struggle by all the subjugated nations in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of power. Only by a simultaneous revolt of these nations can Bolshevist aggression all over the world be stopped and the Russian colonial empire be destroyed without running the risk of suicidal atomic warfare. Uprisings, like those in Siberian concentration camps which were led by Ukrainian nationalists, in Poznan and East Germany, particularly the Hungarian revolution and the present martyrdom of Czechs and Slovaks, demonstrate clearly that no nation can throw off the Russian Bolshevist yoke by fighting in isolation and considering only itself, let alone hope to achieve that end by evolution.

For 25 years ABN has stood up unflinchingly for these principles against a host of bitter opponents and hopeless illusionists. By our own efforts we have been able to build up a worldwide organization and we have won friends for the ABN idea in every country of the free world. At the same time we have established contact and cooperation for the purpose of defending common interests with a number of national and international anti-Communist organizations and institutions.



Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko addressing the Open Session of the ABN Conference, London, October 18, 1968.

The ABN continues to take every opportunity to inform statesmen, political circles and the general public all over the world about the true situation in the subjugated countries, where the desire for freedom is undiminished and requires only a spark to explode and destroy from within the Russian prison of nations. The latest proof we have of this is the ideo-political rise of the young Ukrainian intellectual elite of this decade.

It is the constant concern of ABN to mobilize in the Western world the will to resist Bolshevist expansion and infiltration and, in its own interest, to rally the free nations for a combined attack on the Russian Communist tyranny.


At the same time, ABN has a constructive programme of a new world order, to be established on the universal acceptance of the sovereignty of nations and peaceful cooperation among them in the service of progress. If these principles are ignored, the world and especially the great cultures of the world will, in our opinion, be doomed to destruction.

The ABN's call to battle has, of course, brought into the arena all those conscious and unconscious henchmen of the Bolshevist despots. The agents of Russian imperialism of all shades are at work in every country of the world, trying to discredit ABN and its representatives. By all kinds of slander they are attempting to bring our ideology into disrepute and to paralyse our activity. However, this merely confirms that the ABN concept does indeed spell mortal danger to Moscow and its colonialism.

The ABN banner has thus become in our time a symbol for the revolutionary liberation struggle against the Russian Bolshevist empire, and ABN itself a factor in world politics that has to be reckoned with. Had it not been for the latent and often manifest resistance of the captive nations, Russian Bolshevist expansion would no doubt by now have gone far beyond the limits of Central Europe.

Serious cracks have appeared in the fabric of so-called World Communism, and the much vaunted monolithic Communist world movement shows unmistakable signs of decay. To sit idly by while this process continues, or worse even, to help the Bolshevist colonial empire to recuperate, would mean to miss an historic — and perhaps the very last — chance to save the world. The need of the moment is to provide every possible support to all nationalist revolutionary forces within the Soviet Russian sphere of power and to work towards their simultaneous uprising in order to banish once and for all the gravest danger of all time.

But if the Free World should once more abandon the enslaved nations to their fate, it will not deter these from continuing their revolutionary liberation struggle against the Russian tyranny. They are determined to fight to the last against their Russian oppressors, confident that they will one day achieve their aim, to the benefit of all mankind, and guided by what has been the watch-word of the ABN since its foundation: "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Individuals!"



*The compliments of the season and sincere wishes
for the coming year to all our friends and readers of
ABN Correspondence.*

Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

ABN And EFC Conferences In London

Press Communique

Two important international conferences took place on 18-21 October 1968 in London, Great Britain.

One of them was the Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which was held on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of ABN, on Friday, October 18th and Monday, October 21st.

The second was the Conference of the European Freedom Council (EFC) which was held on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Saturday, October 19th.

On Sunday, October 20th, under the patronage of both organisations a large international march was staged through the centre of London "In Defence of Human Rights and Independence of the Nations Subjugated by Russia and Communism" as well as the Mass Rally under the same slogan in Hammersmith Town Hall.

In order to acquaint the press with the aim of the conferences, the demonstration and the rally a press conference was organised on Thursday, October 17th. On Monday, October 21st another press conference was held with the aim to familiarize the press with the outcome of the conferences and to give the leading members of both organisations a chance to meet with the members of the press.

On Tuesday, October 22nd, the participants of both conferences and invited guests attended a Cocktail Party at the British House of Commons and met with Members of Parliament in a friendly and amicable atmosphere.

On Saturday, October 19th the participants of the conferences and invited personalities were guests of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain at a dinner.

ABN Conference

The ABN Conference consisted of two parts — closed and open. At the Closed Session the delegates from various national representations who came from various countries and continents of the world, heard and discussed reports of the leading

organs of ABN and of the representatives of friends of ABN from various countries on their activities, and discussed plans for the future, while at the same time accepting appropriate resolutions and decisions.

The ABN Conference was opened by the President of the Central Committee of ABN and former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko. The sessions were chaired as follows: Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of independent Slovakia, President of the Peoples Council of ABN and President of the Slovak Liberation Council; Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of the Bulgarian National Front, Chairman of the American Friends of ABN; Dr. Baymirza Hayit, representative of the Turkestanian National Unity Committee and Mr. Zourabichvili, President of the Georgian National Centre (France).

Dr. C. Pokorny, Chairman of the Organising Committee and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A., Head of the Press Bureau of ABN and Editor-in-Chief of *ABN Correspondence* reported on the activities of the Central Committee of ABN.

Short reports on the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism were given by national representatives: *Armenia* — Mr. G. Hagopian (England); *Byelorussia* — Col. D. Kosmowicz, member of the Central Committee of ABN, President of the Byelorussian Liberation Front (Germany), and Mr. Y. Bunczuk (England); *Bulgaria* — Dr. Cyril Drenikoff (France); *Croatia* — Dr. Stjepan Hefer, President of the Croatian Liberation Movement (Buenos Aires, Argentina) and Dr. Anton Bonifacic, writer, Vice-President of the Croatian Writers Union, former head of the cultural relations department of the Independent State of Croatia (USA); *Czechia* — Mr. Myslivec, representative of the Czech National Committee (Germany); *Estonia* — Dr. Arvo Horm, Secretary-General of the Baltic Committee in Sweden; *Georgia*

— Mr. L. Zourabichvili (France); *Hungary* — Mr. E. Rigoni, Chairman of the Hungarian National Liberation Committee in France, editor of the bulletin "actualités hongroises"; *Latvia* — Mr. J. Petersons, representative of the Latvian National Committee (England); *Lithuania* — Mr. A. Pranskunas, Secretary, Lithuanian Union in Great Britain; *Slovakia* — Dr. C. Pokorny; *Turkestan* — Dr. B. Hayit (Germany); *Ukraine* — Mr. V. Bohdaniuk, editor, *The Ukrainian Review*.

Also reports on the activities of ABN delegations and the organisations of friends of ABN were as follows: Dr. Docheff (New York, USA) — from American Friends of ABN; Mr. Henning Jensen, Editor-in-Chief of *Reflex* (Copenhagen, Denmark) — from the Danish Friends of ABN; Mr. Rama Swarup (New Dehli, India) — from Indian Friends of ABN; Mr. Anders Larsson (Stockholm, Sweden) — from the Swedish Friends of Ukraine and ABN (Executive Secretary of Democratic Alliance); Mr. W. Oleskiw — from the ABN Branch in Great Britain; Mr. O. Kowal — from the ABN Branch in Belgium.

A broad outline of ABN's programme of activities was provided by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of CC ABN.

The financial report was given by Col. D. Kosmowicz, Member CC ABN, President of the Byelorussian Liberation Front.

The problems connected with ABN activities among youth were analysed by Mr. Anathole Bedriy (AF ABN).

Mr. Anders Larsson (Sweden) spoke about the concept of "Friends of ABN" in various countries.

All points of the conference were thoroughly discussed by the delegates.

The Conference accepted appropriate resolutions and an appeal to the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

In its resolutions the Conference reaffirmed the soundness of the concept of world construction on the basis of national states within their ethnic boundaries, called attention to the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian Bolshevik empire and the liberation of the subjugated peoples. The Conference reaffirmed the aims of ABN

and the need of an uncompromising struggle against Russian imperialism of all types and pointed out the falsity of the so-called national-communism. The Conference called upon the free nations of the world to break all relations with the Russian empire and its satellites and to discard the policy of so-called "peaceful coexistence" and to exchange it for the policy of liberation. The Conference called upon the free nations to create a common front against imperialistic Moscow and Peking, to condemn Russian policy of persecution and genocide. The resolutions bring to our attention the falsity of the policy of division of the world into spheres of influence and pay homage to the heroes of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples.

The Open Session of the ABN Conference, which took place in the evening of October 18th, was opened by Mr. W. Oleskiw, Secretary-General of the ABN Branch in Great Britain, who also presided over the session.

The following speeches were delivered: "25th Anniversary of ABN" — Col. D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia); "Russian Imperialistic Methods and Moscow's Policy of World Conquest" — Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan); "The Struggle of the Subjugated Peoples as the Key to the Solution of the World Political Crisis" — Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgaria); "New Liberation Strategy" — Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine); "National Independence as a Prerequisite for the Realisation and Safeguarding of Human Rights" — Min. F. Durcansky (Slovakia); "Vietnam's Struggle against Communist Aggression" — Mr. Diep-Quan Hong, Counsellor at the Vietnamese Embassy in London; "The Re-unification of Divided Countries — A Pressing Demand of Our Times" — Mr. Inguam Kim, Counsellor at the Korean Embassy in London; "Communist Strategy in Southeast Asia" — Mr. Rama Swarup (New Delhi, India).

The session accepted ABN's appeal to the freedom-loving countries of the world unanimously.

About 200 invited guests and the general public attended the Open Session.

The Conference Of The European Freedom Council

The EFC Conference which was held at 49 Linden Gardens, London, W. 2 on Saturday, October 19th, 1968, was opened by Hon. O. B. Kraft, f. Foreign Minister of Denmark, f. President of NATO Council, former leader, now prominent member of Danish Conservative Party, leader of

Uppsala and Tartu universities, director of National Historical Museum in Stockholm) Chairman of the Swedish Section of the World Anti-Communist League and the Scandinavian Section of the International Committee for the Defence of Christian Culture, and Mr. Anders Larsson; Danish — Min. O. B. Kraft and Mr. Henning Jensen; French — Madame Suzanne Labin, writer and journalist, President of the International Conference of



EFC President O. B. Kraft (left) and ABN President Y. Stetsko (right) during the wreath-laying ceremony at the Cenotaph.

Danish resistance against Nazi Germany, President of EFC.

The Conference considered proposals of the acceptance for membership in EFC of Swedish, Belgian and British organisations.

President of EFC, Mr. O. B. Kraft, reported on the activities of the Executive Board of the EFC.

Representatives of the member-organisations of EFC reported on their activities. Among others reports were given by the following representatives: ABN (Dr. C. Pokorny); Ukrainian delegation (Dr. S. Fostun); Byelorussian (Col. D. Kosmowicz); Italian — Min. I. M. Lombardo; German — Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer; Swedish — Prof. Birger Nerman (former professor at

Political Warfare, Chairman of the EFC Information Committee; British — Mr. John Graham — journalist, member of the EFC Executive Board, Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, Secretary-General of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society and others.

A lecture on the present resistance and liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples was delivered by Mr. A. Bedriy.

Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, f. Minister of Foreign Trade of Italy, Chairman (together with Y. Stetsko) of EFC, President of Italian Atlantic Committee, f. Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist Party, Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association, spoke about the programme of EFC

in the future in the light of the international political situation.

An outline of the tasks of EFC was provided by Hon. Y. Stetsko, Chairman of EFC.

Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer, f. Federal Minister of West Germany, member of the Christian Democratic Party, spoke about the role of EFC in the education of students.

Dr. Alfredo Ferlisi, jurist of international law (Rome, Italy), Prof. Dr. T. Oberländer (Germany), Lady Jane Birdwood (England) and Mr. W. Oleskiw (England) spoke about the financial basis of EFC activity.

The EFC Conference adopted appropriate resolutions.

The resolutions condemn all Russian and Communist imperialism and colonialism and demand support for the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire and the satellite states and for the establishment of independent states within their ethnical boundaries. The resolutions call upon the peoples of Europe to strengthen their role in the world, to reinforce military might, to give active support to the liberation movements, to condemn Russia in the UN for its imperialism, to use all efforts in order to realise the UN Charter and to abolish colonialism from the territory of the USSR and the satellite states.

March And Mass Rally

On Sunday, October 20th, 1968 two big demonstrations took place in London, showing the outside world the unity and moral strength of ABN and EFC.

Under the slogan "In Defence of Human Rights and Independence of the Nations Subjugated by Russia and Communism" a mass international march was staged through the central streets of London from Marble Arch to Whitehall, where wreaths from ABN and EFC in memory of the victims of Communism were laid at the Cenotaph.

At 12:30 p. m. short fiery speeches were delivered at Speaker's Corner near Marble Arch before the assembled demonstrators by: Mr. John Graham who spoke about the

purpose of the march, Mr. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy) and Mrs. S. Stetsko, who expressed protest against the violations of human and national rights by Russia and other Communist regimes. At the end of the outdoor rally Mr. John Graham read the text of the letter, which, after the march, had been delivered to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, H. Wilson, by the EFC and ABN delegation.

Over 3,000 persons of various nationalities with flags and signs participated in the march. At the head of the march two wreaths were carried by girls in national costumes. Behind them — flag bearers carrying flags of the subjugated peoples as well as the British flag. Then — there marched representatives of national organisations of the subjugated peoples and prominent friends from among the nations of the free world, in particular those who took part in the conferences of ABN and EFC. Behind them, in colourful national costumes marched young Ukrainian, Latvian and Lithuanian girls. And further — a long column of marchers carrying meaningful signs. The slogans which caught the eye were: "Combat Russian imperialism", "Victory for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations", "Long live European Freedom Council", "Freedom for Ukraine", "Freedom for Byelorussia", "Freedom for Latvia", "45-million-strong Ukrainian nation demands independence", "Out with Russian colonialism" and many others.

Passing through Oxford Street, Regents Street, through Piccadilly and Trafalgar Square, Whitehall the column stopped at the Cenotaph where the Presidents of EFC and ABN — Hon. O. B. Kraft and Hon. Y. Stetsko laid down wreaths in memory of victims of Russian and Communist subjugation and terror. This ceremony took place with flags held low and general silence of thousands of participants.

After the wreath-laying ceremony the ABN/EFC delegation consisting of O. B. Kraft, Y. Stetsko, I. M. Lombardo, T. Oberländer and John Graham went to the residence of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Harold Wilson, at No. 10 Downing Street, where it handed over a letter to the

Prime Minister from ABN and EFC. The letter asks for the support of Great Britain for the liberation aspirations of the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism and the condemnation of Russian imperialism and colonialism at the United Nations. The letter was signed as follows: from ABN — Hon. Y. Stetsko, Min. F. Durcansky, Dr. B. Hayit, Dr. I. Docheff and Mr. W. Olewski; from EFC — Hon. O. B. Kraft, Min. I. M. Lombardo, Prof. Dr. T. Oberländer, Madame S. Labin and Mr. John Graham.

Also on Sunday, October 20th Mass International Rally took place in Hammersmith Town Hall with the participation of over 1,000 persons of various nationalities. The rally was opened at 3:30 p. m. by Mr. John Graham who called to the stage one by one the flags of various nationalities carried by their flag-bearers. Besides the flags of nations subjugated by Russia the flags of divided countries — Vietnam, Korea and Nationalist China, as well as the British flag, were on the stage.

Very Rev. Alexander Babij (Ukraine), Rev. Vyeliky (Byelorussia) and Rev. Babik (Slovakia) offered the "Our Father" for the intention of the liberation of the subjugated peoples.

After the prayer Mr. John Graham asked Hon. O. B. Kraft, Y. Stetsko, I. M. Lombardo, Madame S. Labin and Mr. A. Roberts, M. P. to the presidium.

In an introductory speech the President of EFC, Hon. O. B. Kraft, pointed to the threat of the Russian-Bolshevik expansion and the need of all the freedom-loving peoples to unite their forces in the common struggle for victory of the world of freedom over the world of tyranny and for the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism.

In his speech Min. Lombardo showed the error to be found in the coexistence policy of the free world with Russian-Bolshevik empire and the necessity to put the liberation policy into practice.

Member of the British Parliament, A. Roberts, pointed out that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain want national independence and the guarantee of human rights.

Madame Suzanne Labin, in her lecture

on the violations of human and national rights in the Soviet Russian empire, called the free world to resist Russian policies and to support the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples.

Hon. Y. Stetsko, President of CC ABN, was the last of the main speakers. In clear and meaningful terms he gave an outline of ABN's liberation policy and put forward concrete demands to the free world to support the revolutionary liberation aspirations of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

Further the following speakers addressed the Rally briefly: from Vietnam — the Counsellor of the Vietnamese Embassy in London, Mr. Diep-Quan Hong; from Armenia — Mr. G. Hagopian; from Byelorussia — Mr. Y. Bunczuk; from Bulgaria — Dr. C. Drenikoff; from Croatia — Dr. A. Ilic; from Czechia — Col. Sladeczek; from Estonia — Mr. V. Partel; from Georgia — Dr. G. Ramishvili; from Hungary — Mr. E. Rigoni; from India — Mr. Rama Swarup; from Latvia — Mr. T. Zarins; from Lithuania — Mr. A. Pranskunas; from Slovakia — Min. F. Durcansky; from Turkestan — Dr. B. Hayit; from Ukraine — Mr. V. Bohdaniuk; from Sweden — Prof. Birger Nerman.

The speakers called for a united front of all the free nations and the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism in the struggle for freedom, sovereignty and independence of all nations.

The programme of the rally was diversified by the recital of the London Latvian Choir and the Ukrainian Choir "Boyan".

At the end of the rally Mr. John Graham read the text of the letter to Prime Minister Wilson from the participants of the ABN and EFC conferences. The rally was concluded by the British national anthem.

Reception For Delegates And Guests

On Saturday, October 19th, 1968 about 80 delegates and prominent personalities were guests at a dinner given by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. During the dinner Prof. R. Lisowsky raised a toast to the Queen of Great Britain and Mr. Bohdaniuk for the present guests. Hon. O. B. Kraft, Dr. I. Docheff, Min. I. M.

Lombardo, Madame S. Labin and Prof. B. Nerman expressed warm words of thanks to Ukrainians for their hospitality. Hon. Y. Stetsko briefly addressed the Ukrainians present, pointing to the great importance of both conferences and the participation in them of prominent leaders of free countries and the subjugated peoples' emigres.

Mr. Illia Dmytriw, First Vice-President of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, greeted the guests. Later he and Mr. V. Bohdaniuk introduced guests and delegates of both conferences.

The dinner passed in a very sincere, friendly and amicable atmosphere, due, to a large extent, to the appearance of a trio of singers from the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) branch in Bury, Lancs. and the dance ensemble from the London SUM branch under the direction of Mr. Ksiondzyk.

Cocktail Party At The House Of Commons

On Tuesday, October 22nd, 1968, in one of the reception rooms at the British House of Commons, a friendly get-together of delegates and guests of the ABN and EFC on one hand and the Members of Parliament on the other hand took place. Mr. Jack McCann, M. P. from Rochdale, Lancs. was the host of the Cocktail Party. 15 Members of the British Parliament attended, headed by former Minister and Head of the Labour Party, Hon. Douglas Houghton, representing Sowerby, Lancs. and Hon. W. Ross, Minister for Scotch Affairs. Besides them the following M. P.s were present: R. Buchanan, J. Bennett and T. McMillan (Glasgow), J. D. Concannon (Mansfield), J. R. Evans (Carmarthen), R. L. Howarth (Bolton), K. Lomas (Huddersfield), S. Mahon (Bootle, Liverpool), R. C. Mitchell (Southampton), T. Oswald (Edinburgh), G. H. Perry (Nottingham) and W. G. Price (Rugby). Among the guests at the party were also the Ambassador of Vietnam Le Ngok Chan and diplomatic representatives of the Baltic States.

Due to the fact that a debate on the relations between England and Rhodesia was taking place at the same time, a good number of M. P.s, from the Conservative Party in particular, who promised to attend the Cocktail Party were unable to do so.

Press Conferences

As mentioned above, two press conferences were held in connection with the ABN and EFC conferences: one on Thursday, October 17th and the other on Monday, October 21st. Mr. John Graham presided over both press conferences; Min. Kraft and Mr. Stetsko made short statements. National representatives, the Central Committee of ABN and the Executive Board of EFC made much literature available to the press, including prepared speeches and resolutions of both conferences.

As the result several notices about the conferences, the march and the rally appeared in the press. The march was covered by the BBC and ITV networks which showed it three times in the evening of October 20th, clearly indicating the aim of the demonstration and mentioning several subjugated peoples by name.

In conclusion it has to be stated that the conferences of ABN and EFC, which took place on the 25th anniversary of the founding of ABN in the forests of Zhytomyr in Ukraine upon the initiative of the OUN and the UPA and the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Universal UN Declaration of Human Rights have been completely successful. Their effects should be felt in the future activity of both international organisations. The success of the conferences is largely due to the efforts of the Organising Committee, headed by Mr. John Graham and the Ukrainian Community in Great Britain.

Press Bureau of ABN

Letter To The British Prime Minister

*The Right Honourable
Harold Wilson M. P.
Prime Minister of
Her Majesty's Government*

October 20th, 1968

Sir,

On the 20th anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, we wish to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the continued subjugation of many countries and innumerable millions of people by Russian imperialism and brutal Communist regimes. Every day the principles of the U. N. Declaration are being violated by Russia and other Communist regimes.

We, the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), wish to thank Her Majesty's Government for the opportunity to freely raise our voice in defence of the rights of nations and individuals suffering from oppression behind the Iron Curtain. We express our deep appreciation for the hospitality of Great Britain which has become famous throughout the world as the cradle of freedom and the rights of man. The enlightened policies of successive British Governments with regard to the freedom aspirations of many Asian and African nations in the last quarter of a century has won our admiration. This encourages us to hope that the similar aspirations of many European and Asian nations and peoples now imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain will find understanding and support from Her Majesty's Government.

The European Freedom Council — a Coordinating Body of Organisations Fighting Communism — stands for self-determination of all peoples, human rights and liberties, for human dignity, for freedom to practice all religious faiths, for social justice, for the re-establishment of the national and independent and sovereign states within the ethnical boundaries of all the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire, for the dissolution of artificial states' structures created by force or through foreign intervention, for the liquidation of the Communist system, for the re-unification in freedom of all divided countries.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — created on the initiative of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the forests of Ukraine in November, 1943, during the two-front fight against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia — ABN is a coordinating centre of the revolutionary underground movements and liberation organisations of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. ABN advocates the disintegration of the Russian empire and the artificially created states' structures into independent states within their ethnical boundaries by way of synchronised revolutions of all the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain.

In this Human Rights Year, we ask Her Majesty's Government to support the struggle for human rights and national independence of all nations enslaved by Russia and Communism — those incorporated in the USSR and in the satellite states.

In particular we ask Her Majesty's Government:

1) *to indict in the United Nations Russian imperialism and colonialism;*
2) *to initiate the observance of a Captive Nations' Week, similar to the week instituted by the U. S. Congress, dedicated to the enslaved nations which have been robbed of all the national, social and human rights guaranteed in the United Nations Charter. The observance of this week would mobilise public opinion in this free country on behalf of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain and would help their liberation struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism and for the re-establishment of their sovereign states;*

3) *to make every effort to ensure respect for human rights and national sovereignty and independence behind the Iron Curtain;*

4) *to strengthen broadcasts beamed behind the Iron Curtain, introducing broadcasts in non-Russian languages of the USSR and other Communist-dominated states, thus rendering moral support to the enslaved nations.*

We call upon you, Sir, and Her Majesty's Government, to take a lead among the nations of the free world in standing up courageously for human rights of individuals and nations enslaved by Russian and Communist tyranny.

We are, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

*Yaroslav Stetsko, President
f. Prime Minister of Ukraine*

*Prof. Ferdinand Durčanský
President, Peoples' Council
Slovak Liberation Council*

*Dr. Ivan Docheff, President
American Friends of ABN
Bulgarian National Front*

*Wasył Oleskiw, Secretary General,
ABN Great Britain
Ukrainian Liberation Movement*

*Dr. Baymirza Hayit
ABN Central Committee Member
Turkестanian National Unity Committee*

European Freedom Council

*Ole Bjorn Kraft, President
f. Foreign Minister of Denmark*

*Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Chairman
Executive Board of EFC
f. Italian Min. of Foreign Trade*

*Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer
f. German Federal Minister
Executive Board Member*

*Madame Suzanne Labin, Chairman
EFC Information Committee
President, Conference Internationale
sur la Guerre Politique*

*John Graham, Executive Board
Member, President, British
League for European Freedom*

Answer From 10 Downing Street

November 4, 1968

Gentlemen,

I have been asked to reply to your letter of October 20 to the Prime Minister, the contents of which have been noted.

It is an important feature of Her Majesty's Government's policy, as was made clear at the time of the Soviet invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, to work to ensure respect for all the principles of the United Nations Charter in all parts of the world.

**Yours truly,
D. H. Andrews**

We Must Be On Guard

Speech of Ole Bjorn Kraft, President of the European Freedom Council, Former Foreign Minister of Denmark, and Former President of NATO Council, on 20th October, (Sunday) at Mass Rally in Hammersmith Town Hall in London.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of ABN and EFC I give you all a most hearty welcome. I am sure that you all feel that a special welcome should be given to the representatives of the subjugated and captive nations.

They are refugees from the past looking forward and fighting for the future of their nations. I want to express our admiration for their faith, courage, and devotion to their cause. They preserve their national traditions, culture and religion on foreign soil. By that, they convince the world of the right of their countries to be free and sovereign states.

When the United Nations, 20 years ago, proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everybody saw it as a fine vision and a goal for the way of life of all people and states.

The Communist states have always paid lip-service to every human right expressed in the Declaration, but they have always violated and trampled them underfoot. They promised the people of their countries, and put it into their constitutions, freedom of speech and conscience, equality under the law, self-determination and the right to create, when they so wished, their own sovereign states.

But the Russian goad has never been lifted from their shoulders. The constitutions were broken by the governments who should defend them. The Russian empire is the greatest colonial power in our time.



ABN/EFC delegation at No. 10 Downing Street. From left to right: Hon. O. B. Kraft, Mr. J. Graham, Hon. Y. Stetsko, Hon. Th. Oberländer, Hon. I. M. Lombardo.

The time has come for the United Nations to indict their behaviour. The latest example of the Russian disregard is the brutal attack on the Czechs and Slovaks. They only wanted to move out of the shadow of tyranny, to liberate their way of life. They did not go so far as to break with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw-Pact — they only believed in a liberal Communism. But that was too much for the Soviet Union. The country was occupied by military force and the clock turned back to the past.

The picture presented by the situation in the Communist world is very sinister. Not only did the Soviet Union deny its own people the rights of their own constitution, but when another Communist country — one of its allies — tried to begin a development towards the goal of the human rights declaration it was ruthlessly crushed and the pressure put on its leaders. The Russians call them “Comrades”, but put them in prison, or force them to leave their country. Now we know what “peaceful-coexistence” means. For a long time we have lived in illusion. We have thought that the cold war was over, that it was possible to come to an understanding between Communist leaders and the Western world about the future development.

We thought that they wanted peace and freedom as we do. BUT we were wrong. They have quite other intentions. Many leaders still say that we must go back to the “cold war”. The truth is that it has never stopped and the Soviet Union has now started “cold war” aggression against the West. They accuse the German Federal Republic of having the intentions of military aggression against Eastern Germany and Poland. They warn the Scandinavian countries that there are dangers of them being occupied by West Germany. They attack Norway and Denmark for being members of NATO and accuse them of preparing to take part in an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union.

Kosygin went to Finland, where the Communists lost the election to strengthen the grip on that country. This is “cold war”. Perhaps you will think, it is only propaganda. BUT in our history we have seen that propaganda of that sort has been used, in a given situation, to prepare the ground for war. When you look at Soviet preparations in the military field, you cannot avoid feeling disturbed. The rapid building up of the Russian navy in the Mediterranean and its growing military power in the Middle East, the numbers of rockets with nuclear war-heads, and the new divisions on the frontiers of Western Germany, may lead you to ask: is that preparation for peace — or what?

I don't want to paint a darker picture than necessary, but I must admit it's time to be on guard. We have always thought that war in Western Europe was impossible, but now I cannot assume that Russia has completely given up the idea of an adventure into Western Europe, and we may ask ourselves, is the nuclear deterrent capable of stopping them?

We are sailing into stormy weather, and must be prepared to meet the storm with courage in our hearts and a firm determination to defend our freedom at all costs. If we want freedom and peace, we must be prepared for the war of the minds of men and for a military war to defend us against aggression.

BUT let us not despair. Let us lift up our hearts. Our course is good, our hands are clean. Let us go forward together for human rights for all people, for the rights of nations to decide their own fate, to be free and therefore happy.

An Outline Of ABN's Liberation Policy

The basis of ABN's liberation policy is its reliance on the strength of the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples themselves. Favourable external factors can only be a contributing, assisting factor for the spreading of the national liberation revolutions. A war can only be an opportunity for an uprising, but not the method of liberation.

Our conception of liberation envisages a joint liberation revolution of all the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism. This revolution is both national and social, simultaneously directed against Russian imperialism and Communism. The collapse and dismemberment of the Russian colonial empire will have radical consequences for the international balance of forces in the world.

The liberation of nations presently enslaved by Communist Russia cannot be achieved by separate, isolated attempts, by way of diplomatic bargaining, but through a radical change of the present-day system in Eastern Europe and Asia, enslaved by Russia, i. e. through the destruction of the Russian empire.

The nations enslaved in the Russian Communist sphere of domination are a distinct force in the world confrontation. Their liberation struggle is a powerful element, which forms a key factor in world politics.

Our enemy is not only Red Russian imperialism, but Russian imperialism of any political brand. We combat imperialism and stand for a just solution — a restoration of national independence based on the ethnic principle of the peoples incorporated into Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia as well.

National liberation revolutions are an alternative to an atomic war which is bound to follow if the Russian empire is allowed to maintain its power and grow in strength. An atomic war can be avoided if the nations of the free world actively support national liberation revolutions of

the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism. In fulfilling their duties to God and Country, defending their right to freedom and fighting for the victory of truth and goodness on earth, men must be ready to take every risk, realizing that responsibility for the destruction of mankind — if our duties are fulfilled conscientiously — would lie in divine and not human hands. It is wrong to fear that the Kremlin criminals have the power to destroy mankind, for this would be tantamount to the absence of faith in any higher power and capitulation before evil out of fear for one's physical existence. If we serve a good and noble cause, we should not worry about our physical existence, but only about its victory.

In the final phases of the conflict the decisive part will be played by the armed people. With the development of military technology, the importance of the armed forces of the people, the revolutionary-insurgent forces, does not decrease, but rather increases. Parallel to the development of its nuclear armament, as well as the conventional armament, which in the free world must be proportional to the armed forces of the Russian bloc and must not be neglected in favour of nuclear armament — the free world must try to minimize the military potential of the Russian bloc by helping to win the hearts and minds of the soldiers originating from the countries enslaved by Russia to the side of national liberation forces. In strengthening the insurgent armies and forming national armies out of those who will go over to the free nations, under the guidance of their independent national governments — the free world will win a decisive victory over Russia and her satellites.

The national liberation revolutions of the nations enslaved in the Russian Communist sphere of domination must be coordinated and synchronised. The guarantee of success of an anti-Russian revolution lies in a chain of revolutions in most subjugated

countries at once and in the broadness of its ideas and aims.

If national liberation revolutions are to be successful they must advance slogans which would captivate the imagination of all the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism and mobilize them for a revolutionary uprising. As the most universal slogan the ABN advances: "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" It means national independent states for the enslaved peoples and a universal realization of human rights and social justice.

It is necessary to set up a joint world anti-Bolshevist front of all the free nations on the one hand and all the enslaved nations on the other hand. It is necessary for both sides to agree on a strategy of the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism which would be the task of a world coordinating centre for anti-Bolshevist action.

The free world, together with the liberation movements of the enslaved nations, ought to proclaim a Great Charter of national independence of the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism, the charter of freedom of man and his rights, as a manifesto of all the freedom-loving mankind. The liquidation of the Russian empire must become the banner slogan for all freedom-loving mankind, just as the destruction of Communism, the false doctrine, which helps to mask the imperialism of Moscow. The help rendered by the West to the enslaved nations is in its own interest.

The policy of liberation demands the breaking off of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the Bolshevik governments, their expulsion from all international institutions and the transformation of these institutions into the instruments of struggle against Bolshevism, for freedom and independence of all nations, and for the securing of human rights for all men.

It would be a mistake on the part of the West to rely on the possibility of an alliance with Russia against the threat of Red China, for it would be analogous to developments prior to World War II. The main enemy of the free world is Russia, for Bolshevism is the original product of Rus-

sia. Red China is incapable as yet of maintaining a world empire; it lags far behind Russia in many respects.

In her offensive strategy which Russia uses against the West, peripheral and guerrilla wars, subversive activities by Communist fifth columns and various misguided pacifist and leftist movements, play the main role at present, for under conditions of a nuclear stalemate any direct action by Russia would risk appropriate retaliation by the West. By using this tactics of indirect warfare, Russia gains strategic advantages without risking anything. The West has long neglected the possibilities of using a similar strategy with regard to Russian Europe, having failed to support genuine national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, supported not just by "fifth columns" but by the entire enslaved peoples. The utilisation of this strategy would be advantageous to the free world on two counts: 1) it would undermine Russian military preponderance, and 2) avoid risking a nuclear war.

The powerful world anti-Communist front is to act as spokesman of the conscience of humanity, organising entire humanity in protest against barbarous actions by Moscow's slave-drivers — against oppression, terror, genocide, deportations, concentration camps, persecution of nationally-minded patriotic intellectuals and students, Moscow's colonial policies, collectivisation and exploitation of workers.

In view of the great importance of the religious factor in the life of humanity, it is necessary to encourage all religions and churches in the world to stand firm against atheistic Communist campaigns and deceitful approaches by Moscow.

The most powerful weapon of Russia which can bring about the downfall of the free world is pro-Communist and Communist propaganda, for it subverts the ideology of the free world, undermines its morality and destroys the will of the masses and of the elite of the free peoples.

Communist parties, all pro-Communist and anti-religious propaganda, especially in films, television, in textbooks, glorification of sexual licentiousness and criminal-

ity, which undermine the morals of free society, in particular of the young persons, should be prohibited just as Nazi propaganda is prohibited.

All persons who promote the spread of Communism, anti-patriotism, atheism, immorality, pro-Moscow or pro-Peking policy, and who obviously manifest pro-Bolshevist sympathies should be dismissed from public offices and universities.

A moral rebirth of mankind is an indispensable prerequisite of a successful struggle against the world evil of Communism, whose main centre is Moscow. Renewed faith in eternal truths, faith in God and Country, and de-barbarisation of humanity — are the values needed for victory. What is needed is character, courage, loyalty and determination in the realisation and application of patriotic and religious principles of life in the free world.

The free world must cease to fear Russia's military might which is held in leash by the dread of nuclear warfare and the fear of national revolutions within the Russian empire. It has to realise that in this nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as instrument of policy. This warfare must be carried on in enemy's territory, that is internally. The free world must understand that in this war of wills and ideas, a strategy based on

appeasement or containment, which can solely react to the enemy's offensives instead of resolutely attacking him, can ultimately lead only to defeat and degradation.

In the interests of general human progress it is necessary for Europe to regain her position of influence in the world, which she enjoyed for centuries as an important moral, cultural and political force. The free part of Europe will be unable to assert itself in the long run unless the peoples enslaved in the Russian empire are liberated, and thus the danger to the world is liquidated.

The guarantee of a lasting and successful defence of the still free part of Europe is to be found in her own forces and the orientation upon the liberation movements of the peoples enslaved in the Russian Communist empire. Europe will become an unconquerable force only when her interests will cease to be limited to the still free remnants of Europe.

We recall the words of Winston Churchill, who spoke in unequivocal terms against appeasement and defeatism:

“You may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival . . . There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves.”



Ukrainian group carrying a “No Peace without Free Ukraine” placard during the ABN/EFC march, London, October 20, 1968.

Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff

The Political Climate In The People's Republic Of Bulgaria



The author of this article was the first Bulgarian representative in the Central Committee of ABN, which he joined as early as 1948. He popularized the concepts of ABN among the Bulgarian exiles. He was the editor-in-chief of the German edition of ABN Correspondence. We are therefore pleased to publish the following article by him.

New basic law as reinsurance against reformers — subordination to Moscow and affection for Russians overtaxed — general overhaul of socio-political system by party plenum — appeasement measures and aversion to “ideological diversion”.

The so-called “Dimitroffian State Constitution” which existed in the Bulgarian People's Republic barely two decades ago, has been declared obsolete in Sofia. At this year's convention of the National Assembly President Georgi Traykoff asserted that it no longer did justice to the “turbulent development” of the socialist state and was not properly adapted to guarantee the highly praised “transition to Communism”.

President Traykoff, however, did not limit himself to such nebulous phraseology. The reasons he gave to the Sobranie for the need for a new, up to date, basic law lay in the necessity for “certain principles”, which had proved themselves to be excellent in the life of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to be firmly established constitutionally too. These principles are chiefly, according to Traykoff:

— The *supremacy of the Party* as an exclusive and undisputed factor in the political, public, economic and cultural life of the country;

— the so-called “*democratic*” *central government* in the organization and operation of the administrative machinery;

— the *alliance with the Soviet Union* and the other socialist countries as the immovable foundation stone of the existence and security of Bulgaria;

— co-operation within the framework of COMECON, i.e. progressive integration of the national economy in the Communist economic bloc controlled by Moscow;

— *co-operation with the under-developed countries* and a Bulgarian constitutional commitment to provide regular aid.

A select commission under the personal chairmanship of party and government leader, Todor Zhivkoff, was entrusted with the working out of the appropriate draft of the constitution.

The fact of giving such increased importance to the above-mentioned postulates of the Communist Party by making them categorical principles of the basic law

gives evidence of the blatant precautions taken by contemporary party leaders; they are attempting to reinsure the existing policy of total dictatorship and unconditional subordination to Moscow and to obstruct as much as possible the way to a process of evolution within the individual party — as, for example, on the Rumanian or Czecho-Slovakian model.

The newly devised constitutional texts in reality open up the way for a setting up in Bulgaria of a sort of status of servitude to the Kremlin, by presenting “completely legal” opportunities for an opposition which was sympathetic towards reform and all attempts at any real liberalization and democratization, which might make themselves evident either in the official party committee or in parliament, to be condemned as unconstitutional and even prosecuted as high treason.

On the other hand the newly planned state constitution also betrays the obvious fears of the present rulers in Bulgaria, that reformative tendencies towards emancipation from Russian guardianship might in the long run become active here too, and their feeling that a timely check to this is necessary. There have so far been sufficient dramatic events in the history of the so-called “democracy” in Bulgaria to prove that these fears are not mere chance, but are well founded.

Nikola Petkoff, representative of the Peasant's Party — former coalition partner of the Communists — was not the only one who had to pay with his life for his undismayed rejection of Moscow's authority. The prominent Communist leader, Traycho Kostoff, at that time the second most powerful man both in the Party and in the State, who dared at the very dawn of Communist power to oppose Stalin, was abruptly disposed of by means of downright judicial murder. The fact that he was afterwards re-habilitated during the period of the so-called de-Stalinization and even was remembered on monuments, is irrelevant here.

Even the party idol Georgi Dimitroff departed this life on Russian soil, after having discussed plans for a Balkan Federation with Tito on his own initiative; after this he had to practise penitent self-criticism. In the subsequent period a whole series of Communist leaders were overthrown in Bulgaria, some accused of being “Stalinists”, others of being “revisionists”, but in reality all only because they had found disfavour with Moscow.

An obvious expression of reformative or nationalistic Communist aspirations could be clearly recognized in the conspiracy for a *coup d'état* which was exposed in April 1956; this ended with the murder of CC-member Todoroff-Gorunya and with sentences on important military personnel and party officials. The position of established party and government heads was so insecure that Suslov himself had to rush from Moscow to Sofia, to strengthen the favourite Zhivkoff and discourage anti-Soviet activities; he made public demonstrations of his confidence and sang songs of praise to Zhivkoff at all larger places and garrisons in the country. From this angle the famous “orthodoxy” of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the rôle of Bulgaria as an absolutely trustworthy satellite in the Balkans seem to be less unshakeable than currently appears.

Nor are conclusions about the “proverbial” affection of Bulgarians for Russians so very different. It would be doing the Bulgarian people an injustice if one were to forget that they have more than once in the recent past held on to their freedom and independence and have successfully defended them against Russia.

During the very first struggles to act alone that the young principality of Bulgaria made, for example, after the War of Liberation in 1877/78, the Bulgarians succeeded in shaking off the guardianship of their Russian liberators and in thwarting their obvious endeavours towards annexation. Even at that time it was obvious that Petersburg had overestimated the Bulgarian sympathy with the "great brotherhood of Slav peoples and liberators" and had underestimated their determination to be politically independent.

During the whole of the subsequent period, however, Bulgarian affection was sorely taxed, first by Petersburg, then by Moscow. This was the case, for example, in the First World War when Russia, under the deceptive assumption that Bulgarian soldiers do not shoot Russians, sent strong Cossack regiments into Dobrudja — who were nonetheless decisively defeated. A crushing defeat was, however, inflicted by the Bulgarians themselves on the Russians during their massive thrusts forward at the beginning of the twenties, when the latter were committing mass murder and trying to incite civil war in their attempts to gain a foothold in Bulgaria and set up the first Soviet satellite country in the land supposed to be friendly towards them.

When, in September 1944, Russia finally succeeded in bringing the country she had so long desired under her power and thus obtained control of a key position in the Balkans, she succeeded only by sending in the Red Army and only under its protection. The fact that neither excessive fondness for the Russians nor Communist susceptibility on the part of the people was manifest here, can be seen in the fact that the new "democracy" controlled by Moscow had first to murder tens of thousands of citizens and to arrest and detain many thousands more, merely in order to assert itself and to survive.

The crises the ruling Communist Party had to face in its own existence have already been pointed out. The maxims about the indispensable affection to Soviet Russia as an inescapable condition to patriotism and about bondage to the Soviet Union as a criterion for genuine Communist and socialist conviction, coined by Georgi Dimitroff in his days, must long since be a thing of the past, even in Bulgaria.

There are at the moment hidden forces and aspirations at work in Bulgaria, aimed at a slackening of complete party dictatorship and possible emancipation from the authority of the Kremlin, trying to find a way out of the hopeless economic misery. This is indicated by a recent series of party and government measures, apparently intended to check and neutralize the reformative trend.

Most important was a ten-page newspaper article by Party secretary Zhivkoff and correspondingly extravagant resolutions at a party plenum at the end of July this year about the "improvement of the socio-political system", designed to give the idea that reform is approaching in all spheres of life. This is in reality another clumsy attempt by Communist scholasticism with encoded formulae for innovations in economy and administration, carefully packed with labels about "socialist democracy" or "democratic central government", which leave everything more or less as it was, or are even supposed to cement the unlimited omnipotence of the Party or its present central committee.

One thing particularly worthy of note in the above-mentioned "work of reform" — termed "fundamental programme of improvements" or even "indi-

vidual way to socialism” by the press — is the incidental announcement that party congresses will in future be held each time immediately before parliamentary elections, apparently to keep each new “National Assembly” firmly in the check of the ruling party by making congress resolutions immediately beforehand and similarly to influence the selection of candidates.

It only remains to be noted that, since the new development in the CSSR began, the government in Sofia has suddenly been in a hurry to take measures to appease the dissatisfaction in the country. It has, among other things, made concessions to students by increasing grants, giving bonuses for good grades, building comfortable hostels and institutes of education with modern teaching equipment, by improving and reducing the price of refectory meals; but the overall organization of student life is entirely controlled by Komsomol.

Further “short steps” in the same direction were as follows: a resolution by the cabinet council regarding better supplies of food and consumer goods to the population, so that the eternal queuing at bakeries and dairies will finally be ended. A further government resolution of 29. 7. 68. allows the National Savings Bank to grant credit for consumer and industrial purposes, agricultural machinery, household, etc.

At the same time the party and government press indulges for a considerable period each day in bitter complaints about alleged “ideological diversions” from abroad and is sounding the alarm because of possible incursions of “reaction”, which make extreme alertness necessary. Excesses on the fringes of the recent Youth Festival in Sofia give yet further evidence of the political aversion by which the regime seems, not without reason, to have been overcome. On the whole the lightning in the Eastern Bloc is clearly visible on the political horizon of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria as well. It was necessary here to point out the setting of this development and to throw some light on the generalized picture common in the West of the Soviet “model satellite” in the Balkans.



Young participants of the ABN/EFC demonstration, London, October 20, 1968.

Russian Methods And Plans To Dominate The World

We are well aware that it is impossible in a few words to show the history, and the methods and action of Russian imperialism as this imperialism is precisely the same age as the Russian state itself. It is also well known that in the whole of the world there is none second to it, or even comparable with it.

It knows no boundaries; it is universal and determined to appear as the ruler wherever possible.

There are a lot of people outside the sphere of Russian imperialism, who are convinced that imperialism is connected only to a certain regime in Russian history. They try to show differences, or even show a complete gap between the imperialism of Tsarist Russia and that of the Soviet Union.

One could often hear in the West, talks about Tsarist and Soviet imperialism without any clear statement about Russian imperialism as such. The regime is but a mere instrument of imperialism. No regime can exist in the world if not supported by a group within the nation and the changes in regime in Russia do not mean changes in the nature of Russian imperialism.

Obviously, during the Soviet period of Russian imperialism one can see certain shades of difference. According to the definition by Professor Seton-Watson of the University of London, one can classify it as *New Imperialism*.

If we wish to explore the very roots of Russian imperialism we have to analyse the basic character of the Russians.

In fact, in their history the Russians know no respect towards other peoples. Only in 1480 Russia freed herself completely from the Mongolian overlordship. But already 12 years later, i. e. in 1492, she began her first war against Lithuania.

The Russian leadership discovered with their Russian subjects a lust for expansion and the itch for robbery and domination.

Russian imperialism operated at first under the motto of: "Collecting the Russian lands" which meant at the time the conquest of independent Rus' principalities by the Muscovite prince. After this goal had been achieved, they tried hard in Moscow to find a new "idea".

After the seizure of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the Muscovites conceived the ambition to take the place of the Byzantine empire. Hence the idea of "Moscow as the Third Rome" which came into being then. In 1473 Ivan III married (for the second time) Sophie Palaeologus, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor in order thus to secure for Moscow the right to Byzantine inheritance. Shortly afterwards the Venetian Senate acknowledged Ivan III as the rightful heir to the Byzantine empire hoping thus to turn Russia into a Catholic state. Since that time the tsar showed the Byzantine double-headed eagle in his arms and crown, yet neither the tsar nor Russia became Catholic. Already in the middle of the 16th century the following idea gained currency in Russia: "The first and the second Rome have fallen, but Moscow stands as the third. The great and holy Russia and the Great Russian tsar alone defend and lead Christianity". This became a popular belief and a clear aim for action. Such was the origin of Russian messianism which became the *leitmotif* of the Russian imperialism. In order to provide a proof for her "mission", Russia engaged in anti-Islamic expansion in the East and in anti-Christian conquests in the West.

Finally, in the 19th century there emerged the idea of Pan Slavism. However, the idea of messianism was not abandoned. Pan Slavism was to bring all the Slav nations under the domination of Russia, and Russia intended, by means of the annexation of other Slavonic countries, to strengthen her imperialism. The idea of

Panslavism did not prove an effective tool. Nevertheless it was not abandoned.

At its inception the Russian state extended over an area of 16,200 sq. km. In the 16th century its possessions spread over more than 12 million square km. At the beginning of the 20th century this empire encompassed 22.8 million sq. km. of world surface. According to Lenin, 17.4 million sq. km. of that area were sheer *colonial possessions* of Russia. It was Lenin himself who said: "Russia is a prison of nations". So far nothing has changed in this respect, for the Russian Bolsheviks became direct heirs of the Russian empire.

After the Bolsheviks took over power, they refused to give the promised freedom to the nations. As a result of the freedom movements of the subjugated nations, there arose, in the years 1917-1919, on the ruins of the Russian empire, the national states of Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Idel-Ural (Tatar-Bashkiria), Turkestan and others.

This time Russian imperialism attacked these states under the mask of Communism-Marxism as the dictatorship of the proletariat and succeeded in annexing them

again to the Russian empire. It became quite clear that the Russian philosopher Nicholas Berdyaev was right when he wrote:

"In lieu of the Third Rome the Russian people have set up the Third International. The fatal marriage between the Russian national messianic idea and the international proletarian messianism was concluded in this Third International."

Berdyaev teaches us: "*Bolshevism is a purely Russian national phenomenon*".

This modernised imperialism became increasingly aggressive and tried to conquer systematically ever new territories, or to turn them into the vassal dependencies of Russia. After the Second World War countries of East and South Europe (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc.) became direct vassals of Moscow.

One of the specialists on Russia in Western Europe reported at the end of the 19th century: "*The idea of world supremacy determines the political ideas of the Russians*" ("The Antagonism between the Russian and British Interests in Asia", Vienna, 1890, p. 58). The idea of world supremacy became the *leitmotiv* of Bolshevik-



Dr. B. Hayit delivering his speech at the ABN Conference, London, October 18, 1968.

ism, too. When Moscow speaks today about world Communism and the Communist world revolution, then it has no other meaning than its firm intention to dominate the world by Russia. The Soviet leadership admits it itself that at the present time more than 1,170,000 people are living under the Communist regimes. Moscow hopes to establish its hegemony everywhere with the help of Communism. But the calculation has not worked. Yugoslavia, China, Rumania and Czechoslovakia have certainly tried to remain Communist, but they refused to recognise the hegemony of Moscow. The position of Russia towards these countries is generally well known.

The methods of the Russian imperialism in its striving to conquer the world have not changed at all. They remain not only unshaken but are being intensified. The most important methods of the Russian imperialism are as follows:

- 1) Gradual conquest of the lands neighbouring on Russia under the motto of securing Russian interests;

- 2) furthering unrest among the nations whose conquest is envisaged in order to create preconditions for a military occupation;

- 3) political, economic and diplomatic pressure on the free governments or even threats against them in order to make them pliable towards Russia;

The slogans for the realisation of the dreams for world domination run parallel to the methods employed. These methods can be summarised approximately as follows:

- 1) at first socialist-communist revolution in *one* country, and then progressively in the entire world;

- 2) liberation of the subjugated working people and peoples from capitalism and imperialism in order to achieve world domination in the name of the workers;

- 3) the policy of coexistence towards the non-Communist countries in order to lay the most important foundations for the Russian activities within the countries concerned, without giving up the ideological struggle;

- 4) propagandist show of the alleged national freedom of the nations in the Soviet Russian empire, with simultaneous continuation of the campaign against the freedom aspirations of the nations concerned;

- 5) the so-called brotherly and selfless aid for the peoples of Asia and Africa, in order to bind those countries more tightly to Russia. At the same time Moscow intends to make use of the national bourgeoisie in order to prepare conditions for the takeover of power by the so-called "progressive forces", i. e. the Communist elements.

Russian imperialism changes its tactics according to situation and conditions. Russian intellectuals describe the Russians as faceless. It means ruthlessness with regard to other nations.

We can state as proved that from the ranks of the Russian nation there arose ever new despots and driving forces of the Russian imperialism. This happened because the Russian people, in the course of its history, never knew anything like freedom, democracy or human rights which even in the times of classical Europe became characteristic marks of the normal way of life. Therefore the leading forces of Russia guide the Russian people in the direction desired by them, utilising the entire people as a means for imperialistic expansion. It is also worth noting that so far no one from the Russian ranks has felt able to condemn Russian imperialism. If anyone tries to come out against it, he will never succeed in making himself listened to. This is the main difference between the Russian imperialism and the classical imperialism of other European countries. As is known, the British and other kinds of imperialism were fought against by their own internal forces. Each variety of West European imperialism granted its dependent nations the right to establish their own national organisations and to free expression of opinions by means of publications and meetings. Thereby they furthered the freedom of numerous nations of Asia and Africa after World War II. The Russian imperialism recognises no elementary rights for the peoples. While

West European imperialism made a retreat after World War II, Russian imperialism has marched triumphantly onwards.

Everyone of us may ask himself: will the Russian imperialism retreat voluntarily from its idea of world domination and its sphere of domination? No, it cannot do it. Why not? Because it is a combination of human tragedy and comedy from the tradition and brutality of Russian leading strata, of the weakness of the neighbouring peoples and finally the consequence of the national character of the Russians whom Saltykov-Shchedrin described once as "eternally eating but never satisfied".

One component of the Russian imperialism is also constant suppression of the non-Russian peoples. The smallest endeavours of any people or even a group of any people to stand up for any other opinion than that of Moscow, is severely punished.

That is a regular experience of the peoples of the Russian empire. In 1956 the true face of the Russian imperialism was revealed in Hungary. In August 1968 it was newly shown in Czecho-Slovakia, and proved to be nothing else but the continuation of the traditional Russian imperialism.

The present-day Russian imperialism is enriched by the historical past of Russia. We know from Russian history that Peter I demanded: "Keep the Russian nation in constant state of war". He said further: "In the interests of the expansion of development of Russia war must serve peace and peace must serve war." Such proclamations, of course in different formulation, as for instance: constant readiness of the Soviet troops and vigilance towards

the so-called imperialism are continued even at present.

In spite of the harshness of the Russian imperialism the peoples have been able to uphold their existence. If the peoples of the Russian empire could not be Russified as quickly as could be expected, then the reasons for this lie in the ability of those peoples to resist oppression.

It seems that the free world has realised that Russian imperialism has become world problem No. 1. For the subjugated peoples of the Russian empire there remains only one way for the preservation of their existence. And this is: Dissolution of the Russian empire and the restoration of national independence of the nations. The Russian people should not feel endangered in any way by this demand, for national independence of the nations does not threaten the existence of the Russian people. Without the liquidation of the Russian empire the world cannot ever feel peaceful and secure, for we do not know when and where and under what pretext will it (Russian imperialism) reveal its explosive power.

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Editor's Note: "*Russian Methods And Plans To Dominate The World*" and Mr. Stetsko's "*An Outline Of ABN's Liberation Policy*", as well as contributions from p. 25—32 and p. 35—40 were read at various sessions of ABN/EFC conferences in London.

Slovakia's Legitimate Rights

The Slovak nation must, at the present time, endure great humiliation. On 21st August 1968, we, Slovaks, have become victims of invasion by the Russian troops for the second time. The first time was in 1945, when the Red Army overran the Slovak Republic and forced, without consulting the Slovaks, the present political solution on them. At that time there were still some people who, misled by Communist declarations and propaganda, and motivated by hatred and shortsightedness, had pinned some hopes on the Red Army. Since then, however, the overwhelming majority of the nation has had to tread the path of suffering. Murders, plundering, the rule of force, concentration camps, terror, all characterised the Communist system forced on the nation by the Red Army. Memories of the Red Army were so terrible in Slovakia in the summer months of 1968, that the whole country trembled at the thought of a repetition of such an invasion. For this reason the new occupation of the country by Russian military units on 21st August was a terrible shock for everyone.

No one in Slovakia would have expected the Russian military units in August 1968. Indeed, even the few Communists who believed it was possible to consider the Soviet Union as a partner, were at once cured and became propagators of the slogan: "Russians go home". The Russians have lost their last friends and political supporters, and it will take at least a generation before the wounds inflicted by the invasion of the Russians will be partially healed.

The Russians have brought great harm to the Slovak nation since 1945. Without consulting the wishes of the population, they have forced on us political solutions against which the nation has had to fight for 23 years to overcome at least in part the damage thus caused. When in foreign Prague the Communist Slovaks had succeeded at least to introduce the federalisation of the CSSR, in August the intention was expressed by Moscow to incorporate Slovakia into the Soviet Union. Thus the Kremlin despots proclaimed their intent of ruling and exploiting Slovakia even more completely than had been done up to then. Real federalisation was blocked by similar measures and only a truncated version of it remains.

It has once more been confirmed that Moscow does not respect the right of self-determination of nations and does not honour its obligations under international law that it has undertaken. Theories about proletarian internationalism and the equality of nations serve the Kremlin only as a cover under which they can pursue the aims of Russian imperialism all the more successfully. By carrying out a military intervention in this way, Moscow has admitted that after 23 years the Communist system has so few supporters among the Slovaks and Czechs that it can be maintained only thanks to Russian forces. The fact that 30 divisions had to move forward into the territory of the CSSR to crush the desire for freedom of the population clearly brought to light that the realisation of human rights and the maintenance of the status quo of 1945 are incompatible.

I can assure you that our nation will continue the struggle against the occupying forces, until Slovakia is once more free and independent and until such times as human rights and basic freedoms can find complete realisation there.

Violation Of Human Rights By Communist Powers

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes it a duty of all national powers to observe the following rules: "Nobody shall be subjected to torture, to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or to arbitrary arrest, detention or deportation. Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, with all the guarantees for his defense. Nobody shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home and correspondence. Every citizen has the right to freedom of movement within his borders and abroad and to leave his own country. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, worship, association, and may receive and impart information and ideas through any media of communication and regardless of frontiers. Everyone has the right to chose his government by free elections."

It is enough to merely quote these fundamental rights proclaimed by the UN Declaration, for everybody to see that the Communist states trample every day, every aspect of every article of this Declaration which, by its own preamble, is the basic qualification of eligibility for the United Nations. However, our leftists, insatiable for Charter violators, always request the admission to the UN of more Communist states like Red China. Thus our leftists, who make a profession out of denouncing the smallest breaches of human rights in bourgeois societies, swallow the most blatant violations of the rights of men by Communist regimes.

The UN claims another fundamental right of men: their right of collective self-determination. Article 15 states that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality". However, national self-determination is just as massively, as tragically, as cynically violated by the Communist states as all the other human rights; a fact evidenced by the following Golgotha of tens of nations:

Bloody crushing by the Red Army of *Ukraine, Georgia*, and all the other non-Russian nations inside the Russian empire. Annexation, with genocide, of the Baltic States, and other countries by Russia and of Tibet by Red China. Subjugation by violence of *Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, North Korea, North Vietnam*, etc. Bloody suppression of national uprisings in Hungary and brutal invasion of Czecho-Slovakia.

In brief, the UN shelters, today, member states who practice shameful imperialism, ruthless colonialism, cruel slavery, i. e. a totalitarian absolutism, which makes shambles of all fundamental rights of men. Everybody is aware that the Communist powers violate each and every principle of the UN, but the "enlightened" leaders of the free world choose to act as if the reality was the opposite of what they know it to be. Their "enlightenment" consists of asking for peaceful coexistence with those states which plunge human existence into a perpetual night. How can such an attitude make sense?

Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, I may say that contradiction between principles and facts can be tolerated if it lasted for a short time only or if the contradictions were light. But tolerating contradictions between principles and facts when they are both blatant and permanent, is equivalent to the suicide of mankind.

It is a *hopeless gullibility* to take seriously, when uttered by totalitarians, this term of "peaceful coexistence", that contradicts the very principle of totalitarianism, of which the most characteristic feature is a *constitutional* inability to coexist with others. In fact, the Communists have proven to the hilt that they have *never been able to coexist with anyone*; neither with their own subjects, whom they are holding in an iron grip; nor with the peoples whom they have enslaved; nor

with their neighbours whom they invade at every opportunity and are now crushing bloodily. And the Communist leaders cannot even coexist with each other, as they never stop assassinating each other. Coexistence is certainly a noble concept which is worth praising, but it is essentially democratic, as it implies tolerance for variety and respect for the rights of men and of nations. It is, therefore, contradictory to Communism which can live only if it remains exclusive and intolerant.

We must relay the "NIET" of the captive peoples

But precisely — so our liberals argue — Communist leaders are progressively abandoning their totalitarian nature. They are liberalizing. Isn't it then clever, for us, to precipitate their mutation by lending them a nice welcome.

There is, here, a gross confusion in the reasoning. It suffices to observe that, if we want to foster a certain phenomenon, we have to reinforce its *cause*. Well, what is the *cause* of the slackening of the Communist masters towards their subjects? Should it be their own good will, then it would certainly be proper to lend them a friendly hand. But how can our liberals speak of any good will coming from the Communist masters, after the innocent daughter of *Pasternak* was punished with forced labor, because her father dared to receive the Nobel prize? After the Communist Pharaoh's own daughter: Svetlana Stalin, was obliged to flee? After Yuriy Shukhevych, the young son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, has spent 20 years in prisons after being arrested at the age of 15 for his refusal to denounce his father? After so many Russian and Ukrainian writers are sent to lunatic asylums and concentration camps? How can our liberals speak of liberalization at the very moment when Soviet Russian tanks are crushing all the human rights of the Czechs and Slovaks?

The thaw behind the Iron Curtain really results from the unflinching refusal of the Communist regime by the enslaved peoples. It is the unyielding and sometimes rebellious hostility of the peasants of Ukraine,

of the students of Leningrad, of the convicts of Vorkuta, of the workers of East Berlin, of the women of Budapest which lifts, little by little, the leaden cover choking them. Hence, courting the tyrants results only in *slowing down*, instead of *accelerating*, the liberalization of their subjects.

Let us, here, remark that those defeatists who, today, invite us to waltz with the Kremlin, under the pretext that it grows better, gave us exactly the same advice under Stalin the Terrible. For 50 years, these same defeatists wanted us *always* to waltz with the Kremlin whether the latter is coexisting with us or aggressing against us. They have a *systematic obligingness* towards Communism.

The poet Heinrich Heine, on hearing somebody ask who was the chief ally of the Devil, answered: "It is the liberal intellectual who does not believe in the Devil". In the same way, I will say that "the chief allies of Soviet Russian imperialism are the *progressive intellectuals who do not believe in Soviet Russian imperialism*."

If we want to accelerate the splendid process of the liberalization behind the Iron Curtain, which carries with it the hope of our time, if we want not to betray the courageous peoples who are the true makers of the liberal process, we must relay outside, in a loud voice, the mute but unflinching NIET that the Soviet masters have never ceased to read on the muzzled lips of their subjects.

Let us recall, here, the great lesson which Ledru-Rollin gave us when he refused the hand Napoleon the Third was offering him, under the pretext that he was liberalizing himself. "When a totalitarian power, answered Ledru-Rollin, totters under the weight of its crimes, the democrats, if they want to accelerate its fall must *stiffen* and not *soften* their opposition."

The less the Communist dictators see Western hands offered to them, the more will they yield to their subjects' pressure. And, the more they feel their subjects' hostility, the less will they launch external aggressions. Thus, we see that the care for *freedom* inside the Communist empire con-

jugates itself with the care for *peace* outside, and both command to the West a policy of *absolute firmness* towards the Kremlin.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize that we, on whom many liberals try to cast discredit by calling us "systematic anti-Communists", ought to lay claim to that label with *pride*, for we bear it in excellent company. Indeed, the most systematic anti-Communists of the world are the people of the Communist dominated countries, and we can congratulate ourselves for having always been wholeheartedly in tune with them. Yes, the free world owes its survival, today, to the irreconcilable hatred that the masses of Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Caucasus, China and so forth have never ceased to show to their Communist rulers, be it by silent refusal, be it by open revolt. It is they who will, one day, bring our deliverance together with their own.

If the final aim of our policy must be to break dictatorship in Moscow and Peking, for, as long as their dictatorship stands, no man, anywhere on earth, will be able to face the future with confidence — the best way of doing so, without a world war, is to have it overthrown, from *within*, by its rebellious subjects. But this policy bids us to help, with all our hearts and might, the resistance of those captive peoples because they are, altogether, the most effective, the most valuable and the most exposed allies of the free world. And their sublime sacrifice, not only bids us to denounce their tyrants, not only bids us to unite, but also shows us the spirit of such a union. This spirit is the fire that inspires them, all races alike; it is the fire that glows in the forge of our civilisation, and the name of this fire is:

FREEDOM FOR MEN AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NATIONS!

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, 21 st August 1968

*So it has come; the tyrant's last pretension
To counsel, conference, and shared accord,
Floundering in truth of patriots crying freedom,
Forces agreement by the prevailing sword.*

*This is no time for mourning; revelation
Has struck the world with burning certitude:
See how the people's champion, Soviet Russia,
Exact its recompense in freedom's blood.*

*For those who understand dear freedom's language,
Have felt her in their veins, and on their breath,
Who know her, living, wordless, yet unyielding,
Constant companion in the lanes of death,*

*The very grasses of their subject homelands
Will become spears; their forests growing tall
Perfumed with gentle peace, will march with clamour
Until this strange barbarian shall fall.*

Marjorie Baldwin

The Key To The Solution Of World Political Crisis

For many years we tried to persuade the free world that the restoration of freedom and independence of the subjugated countries in East Europe and within the borders of Soviet Russia is the key to the solution of the political crisis. Unfortunately responsible authorities of the West did not pay serious attention to our warnings.

The struggle of the subjugated peoples for liberation from Communist oppression did not find proper response and support. Instead of that, especially in the last few years, there exists a rivalry of building bridges to the East and propaganda that Communism is evolving and becoming democratic, and that honest coexistence and collaboration between Communism and Democracy will be possible.

Today's policy of the Western world towards Communism was built and continues to be built on this basis. Communism took advantage of this policy and strengthened its positions. As a result of that, we have today's international political crisis, which is discussed everywhere.

During the last few years Soviet Russia has officially shown willingness to coexist with the West — with the intention to mislead the free world. This is clear from the fact that at the same time they have worked very hard for their armament and are today further ahead than ever before.

Directed by the Kremlin the Communists continuously spread their propaganda and influence into the free countries — encouraging and supporting arising conflicts and local wars all over the world.

Through this well planned policy Moscow engaged the West and especially the United States in spending great efforts, billions of dollars, and sacrificing thousands of soldiers' lives to protect the threatened small free countries in fighting the invaders and partisans, and to stay on guard day and night to keep the world's peace.

Using the right of "veto" the Kremlin

managed to make the United Nations an useless organization and to force the United States — its major opponent — to take over the role of world's policeman and fireman, which role — in weakening the strength of the United States — increases the chances of Communist domination over the free world in the future.

Following this plan for weakening the West, through well trained infiltrators, Soviet Russia inspires and continues to inspire in many Western countries and especially in the United States — inside disorders, political assassinations, street demonstrations, violations of the law, strikes in all branches of economic life and others like these — which ruin the public morale and deeply damage production.

Over two million American soldiers are today sent out of the country, all over the world, and we have to admit that because of that many countries are saved from the Communist invasion. I believe, the people of the free world are thankful for what the United States is doing. We hold this effort and sacrifices in high esteem.

Unfortunately, regardless of all these efforts, as long as today's policy towards Soviet Russia continues, the existing international political crisis will not be solved, but will be getting worse.

Until now, Western intervention in the struggle of the subjugated peoples was limited only to paper actions. The West let Russian tanks smash the Hungarian revolution in 1956. Moscow was encouraged by that and became more active in undermining the non-Communist countries.

The establishment of the Castro Communist regime in Cuba, right at the door of the United States, is a great strategical success for Communism, which success now affects almost all countries of South America.

Handing over control of the Suez Canal to the Egyptian government, in the same

way as the control of Cuba to Castro, the West itself opened the door to let Moscow put its foot on the African coast.

The victory of the Jews over the Arabs last year in June — does not mean that the Middle-East crisis is over. Soviet Russia continues to supply the Arabs with armaments, and the world has to expect another larger crisis there, maybe very soon.

The war in Vietnam, which continues for years and nobody can tell when its end will come, is another strategical success for Moscow. This war prevents the establishment of peace and security in the far east, and results in many troubles back home.

The arrogance of small North Korea in seizing the American military ship "Pueblo" and its crew, and in ignoring for nearly ten

at the present time. This can bring unexpected new difficulties and new crisis to the international scene.

The brutal invasion of the Red Army of Czecho-Slovakia just two months ago is an undisputed proof that Communism will never change and will never become democratic and that Western policy towards Communism based on a possible change is wrong.

The main result of the invasion is not the re-establishment of Stalin's rule in Czecho-Slovakia but the fact that today Russian tank divisions are on the Bavarian border and therefore the danger of Communist aggression has become more acute.

According to the last information we have Russian troops are concentrating in Bulgaria on the border of Yugoslavia.



Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy) addressing the rally at Speaker's Corner, Hyde Park, London, October 20, 1968.

months the request of the United States — the most powerful country in the West — to return the ship and free the crew — is evidence of the growing consciousness of the Communists that they are stronger, which is a result of the wrong policy of the West towards Communism in the past and

What was the reaction of the West to what happened in Czecho-Slovakia? Again only paper action. No wonder that we have and will continue to have international political crisis.

If we turn the other page and have a look at what is going on in the economic

scene—we have to agree that Moscow is improving. Soviet competition in international markets is growing, because the problem of the restoration of freedom and independence to the subjugated peoples is still not solved.

Russia robs the enslaved countries, keeps full economic monopoly over their production, buys all their products at prices fixed by the Kremlin — three, four, five times lower than the price on the international market, and afterwards — sells the same products at prices competing with the West.

Because of this competition, many Western countries are losing markets and are forced to look for business and invest capital in countries controlled by Communism. Indirectly this helps to strengthen the Soviet ability to compete, because Russia takes everything away from its satellites.

I believe, for our readers is not necessary to give more evidence. If the Western countries would have adopted another policy — advocated by us — the aim of which is to gain freedom and independence

for the subjugated peoples — and after adopting this policy — they would have supported resistance against Communism — today we could have had another situation — for example: Generalissimus Chiang-Kai-Shek would be in Peking and not in Formosa; Castro would not be in Cuba; Hungary would be a free country; the war in Vietnam would have ended a long time ago; the danger of a new crisis in the Middle East would not exist; the Russian tanks would not be on the Bavarian border and many other problems would not exist.

I believe that if the West adopted the policy advocated by us, the international situation today would be much different, and maybe we would not have to speak at all about an international political crisis.

Let us hope that after this costly experience the Western powers will recognize that the solution of the problem of the subjugated peoples is the key to the solution of the international political crisis and will adopt — in the future — a policy which will bring freedom and independence for all subjugated nations and thus secure peace all over the world.

Ernest Rigoni

Coexistence Policy — An Error

Exactly 12 years ago, the Hungarian people has clearly shown it's will for a democratic way of life and independence. It's fight for liberty has been savagely crushed by the Soviet-Russian Army. Nobody, except the Ukrainian soldiers of the Red Army — came to assist our people in it's courageous fight for survival.

The free world has hoped that that way, the coexistence policy with Russia will be possible. But 12 years later, Russia has occupied Czecho-Slovakia, the Mediterranean, Northern Africa and partly the Middle East. It is a proof that the coexistence policy was an error — and errors in politics are always paid at a very high price.

We hope that now everybody has definitely realized the nature of Russian imperialism and that the end of Russian colonialism will come soon.

Liberty for Hungary!

Liberty for the enslaved peoples of the Russian colonial empire!

Russification Of Latvia

If someone would ask me for an effectiveness rating on Human Rights I would not give a figure, or a letter, I would say let's compare it with Estate Agents. They too deal with humans and with the help of little plans they will tell you your and other rights, as dictated from higher authorities.

For the Latvian nation rights of all kinds over everything ended on 23rd August 1939 when to the Hitler-Stalin pact a secret protocol was added.

Then, as you all know, just before the end of the war in 1945 some more commercial transactions took place in Yalta, involving people and territories. Hitler was not allowed to participate because others wanted to try their hand at the game and need I emphasize what a mess they made of Europe. Stalin must have been delighted. In 1948 about the same time when I arrived in London the declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly in Paris. It was a sincere attempt with good intentions. There were rights for most people based on political, social, economic and cultural groupings. Also life, liberty, protecting the individual against oppression, security, freedom of thought and religion were mentioned, but remember none of these things were or are today applicable to the Baltic people.

When I started to accuse the East and warn the West and point out that shortage of timber, bacon and butter was because Latvia has been sold to Russia and could no longer export these things to Britain the people were very sympathetic but they did not really know what I was talking about. Ignorance reached its climax when I suggested to put the Russians on trial at Nuremberg.

Before anybody would believe me I had to wait till the nineteen sixties when a "trustworthy" person like Khrushchov supported me by declaring to the world what a murderer Stalin had been and that slave camps are part of the system. You know this makes me think, to be a politician or a Communist agitator must be easy going if one has, through ignorance, such faithful followers.

Today in Latvia systematic Russification is in full swing. Although Latvia has no raw materials, industries created require labour and it is under this pretext that thousands of Russians and others are flooded into Latvia. In 1935 75.5 % of 2 million people were Latvians. In 1966 only 58 % of 2.3 million people were Latvians. Only 23 % of all radio programmes are in Latvian, 55 % of all books and 65 % of newspapers. If you pay too much attention to the figures I just quoted, then the present political scene for the Latvians offers little hope. We, while enjoying the good things of life, are the only ones who can present the Latvian case to the world and to protest against the continual occupation of the Baltic States. Today, unfortunately, the United Nations International Court at Hague is out of bounds. United Nations in itself is a club strictly out of bounds for 6 million Balts but let us never give up this burning desire to regain Latvia's freedom.

There are already cracks in the wall. History has shown us that empires based on tyranny can suddenly disintegrate. But above all, let us remember that there is always a tomorrow and there is God.

Estonian War Of Independence 1918—1920

November 28, 1918, is a historical day. Early that day Estonia found out how much one may trust the Communists. The new rulers in Moscow's Kremlin, presided by Lenin, and unknown to the Western world declared several times that they respect the freedom of small nations — and therefore would encourage the non-Russian peoples in Tsarist Russia to regain independence. Estonian government after taking authority over Estonia from the German Army Command on November 11, 1918, also believed that Estonia has nothing to fear from the side of Russia, and therefore did not recall Estonian soldiers to active duty.

On November 28, the Red Army units attacked Narva, a well-known town close to the Estonian-Russian border. Poorly equipped units of Estonian 4th Infantry Regiment, supported by retreating German units courageously resisted the Bolsheviks and repulsed the first attacks.

But soon the Germans had to retreat and the Red Navy units landed at Narva Bay. Estonian soldiers had to abandon Narva and retreat westward.

Very soon new Red attacks followed at Estonia's southern front and by Christmas almost three-quarters of Estonian territory had been occupied by the Reds.

Meanwhile the Estonian government did not sleep and dedicated all its work to the creation of an effective army. It appealed to Western Democracies to help the democratic Estonian government to resist the Red avalanche.

Before Christmas the Estonian government appointed Colonel of the General Staff Johan Laidoner as Commander-in-Chief, proclaimed a general conscription and asked Finns to come to Estonia's aid.

At the end of 1918, new units, especially the Armored Train Division, and many infantry as well as cavalry and artillery units were created and in the first days of January, 1919, Estonian regiments were able to counterattack the Reds.

The Finns also rushed to help their southern brethren. The Estonian counter-attack was so successful that at the end of January almost the whole Estonian territory was free. The retreating Bolsheviks committed numerous crimes and the advancing Estonian soldiers themselves witnessed how their parents, sisters and brothers were shot and buried in mass graves.

At the end of 1919, the Kremlin leaders once more attempted to conquer Estonia by force of arms. New Red Army units were brought to the Narva front. On November 16, 1919 the Russian 7th Army, with 19,000 men and 100 guns, attacked the units of the First Estonian Division whose strength was only 4,700 men and 34 guns. This attack was an introduction to a period of defensive battles near Narva, which lasted until the armistice was concluded between Russia and Estonia on January 3, 1920.

At the same time the Kremlin leaders proposed to the Estonian government to begin peace negotiations. Actually the peace talks began at the town of Tartu in the beginning of December, 1919. The chairman of the Kremlin delegation demanded that almost the whole north-eastern part of Estonia should go to Russia. To effect their demands Red units were sent into battle. The Reds suffered heavy losses.

The Estonian government demanded that the border line must be drawn about 10 kilometers east of the Narva River.

The stubborn resistance of Estonia and heavy losses of the Reds compelled the Kremlin to accept the demands of the Estonian Delegation and at last the Kremlin signed the peace treaty with Estonia in Tartu on February 2, 1920.

By the Peace Treaty which is known as the Tartu Peace Treaty of 1920, Russia recognized Estonia as an Independent Republic and committed itself to respect

Estonian independence and not meddle in Estonian internal affairs.

Actually the Kremlin did not respect its own promises. Very soon Communist agents began to incite Estonian workers against the democratic government. The Estonian Communist Party in the Estonian Parliament openly agitated for the Soviet regime. On December 1, 1924, the Kremlin's cells, supported by secretly and illegally landed Red Army officers, started a *putsch* in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, which of course, was suppressed by Estonian soldiers in the very first hours. Nevertheless, the Communists succeeded in killing more than 20 Estonians: army officers, cadets, soldiers, police officers, and even civilian employees.

With the November 28, 1918, attack, the Bolsheviks began to realise a great aim. Soon afterwards the Kremlin itself published an editorial on the pages of *Izvestia*, explaining why they attacked Estonia. On December 25, 1918, *Izvestia* reported that the Red Army would have to conquer the Baltic states: e. g. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, to make a *platsdarm* of those countries, to spread Communism into the Scandinavian countries and Germany. At that time the Estonian Army spoiled the Kremlin

plans, robbed the Kremlin of its chances to bring Communism into Scandinavia, and closed the northern inroads to Germany. The southern inroads into Germany were closed entirely a year later when brave Ukrainian units stopped the Red advance in the southern part of German Russian contact land.

When Estonians in the free world as well as in occupied Estonia commemorate the 28th November after 50 years they may be proud that the Estonian Independence War was not only a cause for Estonia, but for all of Western Europe.

Estonians and all the Captive Nations are not surprised at what is happening today in Czecho-Slovakia, which has been invaded by the Soviet-Russian Army under the pretext of defending socialism: actually the event gave new attack positions to the Kremlin Army and threatened the free world.

It is time for the leaders of the free countries to go deeper into history and to acquaint themselves better with Kremlin's tricks. What happened 50 years ago in Estonia, is being repeated today in Central Europe — naturally on a larger scale.



Lithuanian group at ABN/EFC march, London, October 20, 1968.

Ukraine's Desire For Independence Growing

No words can express our sorrow at the continued violation of human rights and the national independence of the subjugated nations, in particular in our own native country, Ukraine.

Half a century has passed since Ukraine proclaimed her independence and set up a democratic government supported by the people who again took their fate into their own hands after long centuries of dark oppression by Tsarist Russian tyranny.

Ukrainian independence and human rights were, however, brutally strangled by new Russian imperialists in the shape of Bolshevism.

Millions of Ukrainians have died in fighting the invading hordes, in the unending reprisals against Ukrainian patriots, in artificially caused famines, in Lenin's terror, in Stalinist purges, in the prisons and concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan. Our churches have been desecrated and ruined; our libraries have been burned; our leaders have been murdered; our intellectuals silenced, our artists thrown into dungeons, our youth corrupted, our traditions, language and culture ravaged, ridiculed and suppressed, our farmers dispossessed, our workers exploited, our women forced to do exhausting work, our institutions prohibited, our black soil soaked with the blood of innocent victims. A puppet regime hostile to the aspirations of the Ukrainian people has been maintained with Russian bayonets in our country.

Despite all the tortures and stifling terror, the Ukrainian people have carried on unrelenting resistance and liberation struggle against the Russian tyrannous regime of occupation. A popular uprising in Ukraine was initiated by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in 1942 and carried on by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army commanded by General Roman Shukhevych at first against Nazi Germany, and later against Communist Russia until 1952. Between 1953 and 1959 the Ukrain-

ian underground led the revolts in the Russian concentration camps forcing the Kremlin to beat temporary retreat in its policies of genocide, colonisation and Russification.

Since 1959 the front of underground resistance has widened and now embraces all Ukrainian territories and all strata of Ukrainian population.

Recent arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals, the spreading protest literature in Ukraine, like the recently published Chornovil's Papers or Dziuba's book "Internationalism or Russification?" in this country, increasingly frequent student demonstrations in support of human and national rights of our people, some instances of workers' protests and even strikes, growing passive and active resistance of the farmers — are all proofs that Ukraine's desire for freedom and independence is far from dead, that, on the contrary, it is growing in strength and the time is near when popular anger at inhuman colonial policies of Russia, at rigid bureaucratic dictatorship of Moscow's criminal gang, will break out in an explosion which will destroy the system of oppression and lies. The Ukrainian youth, despite continuous efforts at brainwashing by the occupying power, retains its ideals pure and untarnished. It will fight with arms in its hands for the liberty and national independence of Ukraine and of all other enslaved countries behind the Iron Curtain, when the time of general revolution comes. It will fight for human rights of the Ukrainian people and all other peoples who cherish freedom and justice.

We call on all the subjugated nations to rally together in one united front! Our unity will ensure our common victory over the enemy of God, over the enemy of our nations, over the enemy of all mankind!

Victory for the ABN! Long live the European Freedom Council!

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals! Kyiv versus Moscow! — the slogan of our struggle.

Croatian People Demand Self-Determination

The Croatian Liberation Movement, for years an active member of ABN, gathers in its ranks more than one hundred different Croatian associations and organizations from the United States of America, Canada, South America, Europe and Australia. Its headquarters are in Buenos Aires, the Republic of Argentina. It demands that the Croatian people achieve their freedom and that they may re-establish and restore their independent, millenary Croatian State on their historical ethnical territory on the basis of the right to self-determination and according to the principles of democracy and justice. As a democratic and freedom-loving movement it identifies itself and fights along with all movements and peoples who fight against the violence of totalitarianism, Russian imperialism and all brands of Communism in general whether from Moscow, Peking, Belgrade, Prague or Havana.

For more than thirteen centuries the Croatian people preserved their national and cultural individuality, and to a greater or lesser extent on their own territory, but without interruption, they also preserved their political and legal state sovereignty. But at the end of World War I in 1918 and after the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, which also included the Croatian national territory, in spite of the promises of the war Allies, the Croatian people were denied the right to self-determination. The State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later simply renamed Yugoslavia by the Serbian King, was created; this also included the Croatian people without their being asked and against their will.

In this state under the hegemony of Serbia the Croatian people were deprived of their freedom and of all the thousand-years-old attributes of their statehood, and they were subjected to continual serious persecution and terror and to cultural and economic destruction as well. The culmination of this persecution was the murder of the Croatian national representatives in the Belgrade Parliament itself. The Serbian national representative Punisa Racic with shots from an automatic pistol killed two and seriously wounded several other Croatian national representatives, amongst them the President of the Croatian Peasant Party, Stjepan Radic, who died several weeks later from the wound. All the civilized world condemned this horrible crime in the strongest terms.

During World War II the Croatian people refused to defend their prison, Yugoslavia, but, on the contrary, they unanimously separated themselves from Yugoslavia and re-established and restored their Independent State of Croatia. The Croatian State was not a creation of Hitler or Mussolini as it was rumoured by enemy's propaganda. This is proved by the published documents of Hitler's Germany and by Ciano's "Diary".

The Croatian Army did not fight against the Western Allies. Within its state borders it defended its people and the Croatian State against the aggressors who were: the Serbian imperialists and Communist guerrilla bands of Josip Broz Tito who tried to destroy the Croatian State and to re-establish Yugoslavia.

By the Agreement of Yalta in 1945 Yugoslavia was re-established, and without consultation and against the will of the Croatian people the Croatian State was

included in it. The massacre, which the Yugoslav Communists perpetrated after this against the disarmed Croatian Army and civilian population near Bleiburg in Austria and later in Croatia in numerous camps, represents an unheard-of international crime and genocide in its greatest extent.

In Yugoslavia until now only one party, i. e. the Communist Party, rules with unlimited powers. Therefore, the Croatian people cannot express or manifest their will.

Nevertheless, the Croatian people decisively join and accept the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and on the basis of the right to national self-determination demand the re-establishment of the democratic and independent State of Croatia which will be ruled in accordance with the principles of human rights and liberties, contained in that Declaration.

Dr. A. Ramishvili

The Nationalism Of The Caucasian Nations

The Caucasus was one of the birth-places of the human race and a centre of ancient civilisation, notably in the Bronze Age. Christianity became the official state religion at the beginning of the 4th century in Armenia and in Georgia.

Strategically it has always been a formidable barrier between Europe and Asia Minor. Today it remains a key position in the struggle for the Middle East.

The traditional trade route between the West and India or China passed through Georgia since ancient times. Today the Caucasus is economically a self-contained unit, with immense and untapped mineral wealth.

Its four nations (Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian and North Caucasian) have nothing in common with the Russians either racially, ethnically or linguistically, and least of all historically.

They each had in their past powerful states and brilliant military commanders, renowned throughout the Middle East and Europe, such as: Tigranus the Great, King of Armenia, 1st century B. C.; David the Builder, King of Georgia, 11th century; Heraclius the Second, King of Georgia, 18th century; Shamyl, Imam of North Caucasus, 19th century.

Each of these four nations has repeatedly proven in its history that its nationalism remains totally unaffected not only by a mere 50 years of foreign occupation and repression, but even by one or more centuries. It has remained untouched today.

In particular, Soviet Georgia and Soviet Armenia represent today, in the Soviet Russian empire, two countries where an intense fire of nationalism burns unabated throughout their entire population! These four nations produced in this century responsible statesmen and independent governments with a Western outlook. They are friendly to the West, and more so to all captive nations and satellites.

The strong spirit of nationalism evident in the four Caucasian nations is a guarantee that, together with the liberation movements of other enslaved nations, they will regain independence and thus guarantee the human rights for their peoples.

Unification Of Korea – A Pressing Demand

As you know, Korea was not divided by the will of the Korean people. She was divided, against the will of the Korean people, by the big powers of World War II. The division was caused by the Allied Forces for the sole purpose of disarming the Japanese imperial forces stationed in Korea.

However, to the regret of the Korean people and to the sorrow of the entire world, the Communist leaders in the northern part of Korea did not agree with the United Nations' plan to unify Korea by peaceful means, and tried to occupy the whole of Korea by military force.

Thanks to the United Nations' Forces which came from 16 peace-and-freedom-loving countries, the aggression was repelled and the aggressors were driven back to the line which they had crossed. Since then, the Communists, recognising the powers of resistance in the free world, have resorted to other methods including guerilla warfare. They are constantly disturbing the peace along the demarcation line of the armistice agreement signed on July 27, 1953.

The infiltration reached a climax when, on January 21st this year, the North Korean Communist regime, sent a heavily-armed commando unit, composed of 31 officers of the so-called people's army, to assassinate the Korean President in Seoul.

Thanks God, one of them was arrested alive and all the others were killed as a result of the counter-attack by the police and soldiers, together with the cooperation of the civilian population. Two days later, you may remember, the USS Pueblo was illegally seized in international waters off the Korean shore.

They are resorting to assassination, sabotage and destruction to frighten the Korean people in the south, and to obtain their sympathies. However, the Communists in the north should know that the result is quite contrary to their aims. The people in the south are even more determined to fight against the Commu-

nists, and the morale of the Korean people is growing higher and higher.

The Korean Government in Seoul believes that economic development, the vigilance against stealthy attacks, peace and stability are essential to meet the Communist menace. We believe, we will win the final victory over the Communists.

We are glad to see that the First 5 Year Economic Development Plan has been successfully completed by the Government of the Republic of Korea under the strong leadership of President Park, and we are glad that the Second 5 Year Plan is also being carried out smoothly, according to the original programme.

The Korean people are satisfied with the recent progress in economic development and the stability of the political scene.

We are prepared to meet the infiltration of Communist agents into our territory. The Korean people feel pride and honour in reporting to the government authorities any Communist infiltration, and we do our utmost to apprehend the Communist agents.

The Korean people are grateful to the peoples of the free world for their assistance at the United Nations, and for their efforts to attain the unification by peaceful means.

In this connection, we, the Korean people, condemn military invasion by any Communist country. We condemn the Communist invasion not only in Korea, but also in Vietnam. We condemn the invasion not only in Hungary, but also in Czechoslovakia.

What we need and what we have, I am sure, is the determination and solidarity among freedom-loving peoples in the world. Through this determination and solidarity the peoples subjugated by Communist powers can be liberated from their yoke.

I hope, through the same determination and solidarity, the divided nations shall be unified.

Imperialist Russia And South-East Asia

Whatever its impact elsewhere, the Russian aggression in Czecho-Slovakia is unlikely to cause more than a ripple in South-East Asia.

The first feeling of dismay and disillusion is already giving way to a cool reassessment of the possible consequences of Moscow's search for friends in this region. Since the first purposeful overtures were made some two years ago, Soviet-Russian diplomacy has made tangible headway in the area. There have been no indications yet that Soviet-Russia's preoccupation with developments in Czecho-Slovakia would lead to a slackening of its efforts in South-East Asia or that the countries of this area would be less forthcoming in developing contacts with Moscow.

In fact, Russian determination to consolidate its fairly strong foothold in Singapore and Malaysia was demonstrated when the first Soviet trade exhibition was held in Singapore in early September. Even the few university students who had demonstrated in front of the Soviet Trade Mission

soon after the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia chose to ignore this event.

The Singapore government which had expressed profound sympathy for the Czecho-Slovak peoples and taken an indirect swipe at the Soviet Union, ("... we are shocked and dismayed by policies where right is no more than a display of might") has not let these sentiments interfere with trade. And the Russians reported with satisfaction after the week-long exhibition that several contracts had been concluded. In the other direction, Singapore has found encouraging markets in the Soviet Union and East Europe for its products, such as shoes, beer, etc.

The exhibition will now go to Kuala Lumpur, where the Soviet diplomatic presence is much stronger.

For Malaysia, the Soviet Union is the best customer for natural rubber, the country's life-blood. In view of the fierce competition posed by synthetic rubber, it is vital for Malaysia to preserve and expand the market for its natural rubber. Russia has been a big buyer even before, but the old



Mr. Rama Swarup (Indian Friends of ABN) speaking at the Open Session of the ABN Conference, London, October 18, 1968.

concept of a distant buyer (operating mainly through the London market and intermediaries in Singapore), who, in any case wanted the precious raw material, has given way to one of a friend who not only trades but is prepared to give aid and develop social and cultural contacts.

The Malaysian government was quick to express its "deep concern and regrets" at the Russian invasion, but while advocating the withdrawal of Russian troops, it stopped short of condemning Moscow.

In Indonesia, where the official reaction to the Russian move was more guarded than the outright condemnation by some political parties and students, both sides seem content with the pace of progress in the rehabilitation of their relations.

The Philippines, which decided just before the Czecho-Slovak incident to pursue a cautious policy of gradual establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, does not seem likely to reverse the process although the tempo might have slowed down slightly.

Neither has Thailand shown any signs of wanting to do more than register its disapproval of Russian occupation.

As far as the Communist states are concerned, North Vietnam has come out pat on Moscow's side while North Korea has indirectly supported the Soviet-Russian action by condemning the "counter-revolutionaries" in Czecho-Slovakia. Hanoi's attitude is understandable in view of its massive dependence on Soviet economic and military aid.

It was not considerations of trade and commerce alone, although these are substantial, that have contributed to the preservation of the Soviet-Russian image in South-East Asia as an affable, reasonable regime willing to coexist with non-Communist and even anti-Communist states.

Apart from trade and economic considerations, most of the South-East Asian countries look to the Soviet-Russian presence in the area as a stabilising, and perhaps a bargaining factor in the constantly changing balance of power. Having accepted the reality of a complete British withdrawal by 1971, the countries are inclined to look

upon an active Soviet interest in the area as a balancing influence against the threats from a nuclear China.

Quite apart from the susceptibilities felt while coping with big power manoeuvres, most of the South-East Asian countries do not tend to look upon the "disciplining" of Czecho-Slovakia as a case of naked aggression, in view of the strategic Soviet-Russian interests involved. They are also slightly cynical at the muted reaction of the United States and are inclined to attribute the developments at least partly to the evil system of carving out areas of influence between the big powers.

Not surprisingly, Peking's vociferous protests against the Russian invasion and lavish expression of sympathy for the Czecho-Slovakian "people" while condemning the Svoboda-Dubcek leadership, have cut little ice in this region. This is in a large measure due to their innate knack, gained no doubt by bitter experience, to see through this subterfuge. Peking has been very liberal with expressions of support for the "people" of Indonesia, Malaya (it has not taken note of Malaysia yet), Thailand, Burma and the Philippines in their imaginary or real struggle to overthrow their "reactionary" governments. It has also been noted that the present Czecho-Slovak leadership, whose liberalization moves are regarded with sympathy in this region, has been the target of abuse by Chinese leaders, press and radio.

Burmese, Indonesian and Malaysian charges of China's interference in their affairs have also not been forgotten. At the same time, none of the South-East Asian countries has yet experienced anything like it from the Soviet Union.

Hence this discreet approach to a problem on which they would rather not sit in judgement.

After all, a nation, like man, cannot be too careful in the choice of its enemies.

We — Indian anti-Communists — support the fight for the disintegration of the Russian empire into independent national states of all subjugated nations, as the only guarantee of lasting peace and security of the world!

Declaration On Bombing Halt

Considering that last March's suspension of bombing, conceived as a gesture of goodwill from the Republic of Vietnam and her allies for the promotion of peace in South-East Asia, has been ruthlessly exploited by Communists: During the seven-month period of the bombing halt, the Communists stepped up infiltration of troops, launched their second attack on urban centers in Vietnam and carried out a deceptive propaganda campaign in Paris.

Considering that another unconditional cessation of bombing, contemplated under the pressure of so-called pacifists, on the eve of US Presidential elections, would be an imprudent act, against the interests of the Free World.

WACL/Vietnam Chapter, as an anti-Communist organization of Vietnamese who have had bitter experience with Communist double-dealing tactics deems it necessary to make known its point of view:

— expresses its grave concern at the prevailing tendency for appeasement in the Free World advocated by a number of irresponsible, selfish politicians, particularly at the move to unconditionally suspend the bombing of the North;

— alerts world opinion to the "fight-talk" strategy of the Communists: when they finally found out they could not conquer the Republic of Vietnam by force of

arms, they switched to negotiations with the view of gaining some concessions from us;

— heightens its vigilance against all forms of negotiated settlements with the Communists since all agreements with the Communists are bound to be violated by the Communists themselves, the short-lived 1946 coalition government in Vietnam, the 1954 Geneva Agreement, the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, and the repeated Chinese provocations on the Indian borders being eloquent evidences;

— maintains that the peaceful coexistence formula proposed by the Communists is mere bluff, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the current Soviet threat over Rumania and Yugoslavia being concrete proofs that the formula has never been respected by the Communists, even between Communist countries;

— urges all freedom loving nations to render all-out assistance to the Vietnamese people so that the Republic of Vietnam can consolidate her democratic institutions, develop her economy, and carry out social reform, for the task of national reconstruction and leading to final victory over Communist imperialism.

Saigon, 25 October 1968

Dr. PHAN HUY QUAT
Chairman WACL/Vietnam Chapter

From Letters To ABN:

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Stetsko,

Congratulations on the successful International Conference of ABN and EFC. We published the Japanese translation of the Press Communique in our organ "Free World".

Looking forward to seeing you in Saigon. yours sincerely,

J. Kitaoka



†

Mile Rukavina

On October 26th, 1968 the life of the President of United Croats, Mile Rukavina, 58, was extinguished. This noble Croatia patriot and idealist, and two of his fellow-countrymen and colleagues, Kresimir Tolj, 31, and Vid Maricic, 22, were killed by Communist agents in their office in Munich.

We have every reason to believe that Mile Rukavina was assassinated on orders of the criminal Communist

dictatorship because he was an anti-Communist, freedom-loving Croatian exile-politician, who fought for independence and freedom of the Croatian nation as well as of all other subjugated peoples. For Mile Rukavina his political activity was a matter of conscience, a duty, a service to his people and to freedom, an uncompromising fight for national and human ideals. He lived like a fighter and died like a martyr.

Mile Rukavina and his colleagues who were killed with him, belong to a long line of Croatian martyrs who have died for freedom and independence of their country.

With the death of Mile Rukavina we have lost a dear friend and a courageous co-fighter whom we esteem highly. He fought against the same enemy and for the same ideals as we do. Until his tragic death he was a very active member of ABN. It is no accident, that it has been the exile organization lead by him which sent the most greetings to the London conferences of ABN and the European Freedom Council.

The tragic death of Mile Rukavina is a great loss not only for the Croatian nation, but also for all of us. Let us pay tribute to his memory.

The funeral of Mile Rukavina and his assassinated fellow-countrymen was held in Munich on November 2, 1968. Mrs. Rukavina, the widow of the President of United Croats, his son and daughter, and thousands of Croats, members of all Croatian exile organizations, and representatives of the subjugated peoples accompanied the three victims of Communist terror to their final resting place. In the name of the United Croats the Secretary-General of the organization, Ante Vukic, delivered a eulogy. Dr. Stjepan Hefer (Buenos Aires), Captain Ante Doshen (New York), Dr. Branco Jelic and other Croatian representatives in exile delivered touching speeches by the open grave. Dr. C. Pokorny expressed sympathy on behalf of the Central Committee of ABN.

Appeal

To All Freedom-Loving Nations And Peoples Of The World

issued by the Conference of ABN, London, October, 1968.

I.

The end of the aggressive Russian colonial empire is drawing near. Its final "ideological" masks are falling down: those of the "defender" of the Slavs, defender and vanguard of "world" proletariat, "liberator" of colonial peoples, defender of peace, etc. The repugnant face of the savage brute is uncovering before the whole world, the brute who preaches his "superiority" over all nations, cultures and religions — the superiority of the Russian slave-masters, before whom all people must turn themselves into slaves — into a "union" of nations, into a "brotherhood" under the whip of the Kremlin overlords.

The big lie of the Russian-Leninist ideology about the equality of peoples under Bolshevism, about the brotherhood of Socialist nations, the big material progress under Communism, about Bolshevik humaneness, etc., has been shown up.

Non-Russian nations will never compromise with the Russian subjugation. Any Russia — white, red or pink — pursues the same goal of expansion, of subjugating nations, and turning them into their serfs.

Russia realises this aim by ruining other nations, at first, weakening their physical vitality through artificial famines, mass resettlement and fusion with Russian people, colonization of conquered lands by Russians, ruthless economic exploitation. While Lenin promised paradise on earth, all these calamities began to overwhelm the non-Russian nations conquered by the Bolsheviks led by Lenin himself. Each successive dictator in Moscow (Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchov, Brezhnev) always promised quick solution to all social, national, and economic wants, but harsher exploitation and suppression followed.

Simultaneously with physical subjugation, Moscow proceeds to enslave the soul of nations and individuals, to make everyone subservient to its diabolic aims. All historical and cultural monuments of non-Russian nations are being systematically destroyed and in their place monuments, memorials, buildings or other works of "art" are being erected honouring the memory and extolling Russian tsars, Russian poets, Russian tsarist statesmen and Russian intellectuals. In the capitals of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union there arise centres of Russian chauvinistic culture. Non-Russian museums, libraries, archives, art treasures, especially churches and national buildings, are being brought into decay, neglected, ruined; they are burned down, turned into stores for potatoes and vegetables. Many of such invaluable treasures are being dragged away to Russia or forged and presented as pieces of Russian art and culture.

Russia spends tremendous energy for killing spiritually the subjugated nations — Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and other oppressed nations in the USSR as well as the satellite states by means of persecution and liquidation of the intellectual and artistic leadership of nations, by violating human rights, by terrorizing the creative and enterprising people, by Russification of national cultures. Moscow attempts to graft on the subjugated nations the inferiority complex, the serf mentality, by depriving people of the sense of human dignity and national honour, by depriving men of the strivings for greatness and great ideals, and by killing their spirit of courage.

The subjugated nations, in particular their revolutionary liberation movements and spokesmen in exile, have the great historical mission to strive to disintegrate this monstrous, slave-holding and parasitic Russian empire into national independent democratic states in their ethnic boundaries of all the subjugated nations, and to call upon the whole mankind to work for the same goal. We shall conduct an implacable fight with all and any imperialistic Russian governments and forces. We must overcome any doubts that

compromise and coexistence with Russia is possible. We shall steadfastly continue the struggle on the basis of national revolutions. Our goal is the destruction of the Russian empire, of Bolshevik rule, the uncompromising struggle with any imperialist government in Moscow, for any of them will attempt to suppress and oppress other peoples. But the supreme goal of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations shall be to rouse the combative spirit, the heroic spirit of our nations. We shall spread the slogan: "Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals". For independent and sovereign national states of all peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries. For national independence and freedom of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia.

We shall not be bribed, nor deceived, nor frightened.

A new era is dawning, the era of liberating nationalism and the fall of the Russian monster empire which has already lost all spiritual force and remains merely an expending military and police-regimented power.

II.

The Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held in London, in October of 1968, resolves to continue to work even more intensively with the aim of mobilizing the liberation movements of the subjugated nations against Russian and Communist imperialists, for coordination of these movements into one united front, and for organizing assistance for this struggle from the free nations.

The ABN calls upon all movements, groups and individuals who accept and favour the ideas, concepts and programme of the ABN to establish close association and cooperation with ABN. The ABN has become an inter-continental organization with branches in Europe, North and South America, in Asia and Australia. Freedom for nations and individuals is indivisible throughout the whole world. Today Red Russian and other Communist imperialists have conquered more than a third of humanity and have proclaimed their goal of conquering the whole world. Russian chauvinistic and messianistic colonialism is the enemy of all nations. Therefore, the struggle of freedom-loving nations and individuals must be conducted throughout the world. People of all countries of the world, of all continents, religions, races, if they value freedom of nations and human liberties, should cooperate closely with the ABN.

The ABN unswervingly upholds the need for and inevitability of national revolutions as the way of liberating the subjugated nations. Thus ABN employs various means of political action and works for revolutionary uprisings inside the Communist Russian empire. The ABN asks the free nations to give every assistance to the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations in the USSR and other Communist-dominated countries. We ask them to exert economic pressure by not trading with the enemy, nor helping him with the scientific and technical knowledge and in the construction of new war industry. We call upon all Churches of the world to bring assistance to the persecuted Churches under the atheistic Communist and Russian occupation.

The ABN Conference extends greetings to the World Anti-Communist League. The ABN hopes that the WACL will really contribute to the liberation of all captive nations in Asia and in Europe, inside and outside the Soviet Union, and that it will treat the liberation of all subjugated nations with equal importance and should include in its leadership the representatives of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism.

The Conference of ABN notes with particular pleasure the long-lasting and fruitful cooperation with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. The ABN notes with satisfaction that the APACL is willing to cooperate closely with ABN in its struggle for the destruction of Communism and Russian imperialism and for the reestablishment of sovereign national states of all peoples enslaved in the Soviet Union and other Communist-dominated countries, including Yugoslavia.

The ABN Conference extends hearty greetings to the European Freedom Council, established in 1967, which conducts anti-Communist activities in Western Europe and supports the struggle for independence of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialists and Communists in the Soviet Union and other Communist-dominated countries.

The Conference of ABN greets the initiative of the Philippine Youth Corps to hold a founding conference of the World Anti-Communist Youth League. The ABN has been working for the establishment of such an organisation for the last 20 years, for Russian and Communist imperialists are trying to demoralize, pervert and make the youth of the world their faithful and obedient servants, and in response, the youth of freedom-loving nations should organize itself for the struggle against the corrupting ideology of Communism and against the expansionist colonialism of Russia and other Communist powers, for the liberation of the enslaved nations, and for the destruction of the Russian empire.

The Conference of ABN acknowledges the popularity of the idea of a Captive Nations Week in many free nations. This event reminds the free world of the existence of a whole range of freedom-loving nations which are enslaved by Russian and Communist colonialists and are struggling for their national independence. We urge all free nations of the world to adopt the idea of a Captive Nations Week and to declare their solidarity and support for the independence of the subjugated nations.

Resolution Of The European Freedom Council

passed by the Second Conference of EFC, October 19, 1968, London

1. The Second Conference of E. F. C. notes that since the First Conference there have been significant international developments which have to be considered in the light of our aims and tasks.

The ruthless invasion of Czech and Slovak soil; Moscow's intensification of the pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany; the rapid building-up of Soviet Russia's aggressive navy, particularly in the Mediterranean Sea; the continued growth of Russian aggressive imperialist power in the Middle East; Russian nuclear-equipped submarines and space rockets with thermo-nuclear war-heads — all these are the active preparations for the destruction of the free nations.

2. In view of these developments, the E.F.C. condemns all Communist imperialism and colonialism and asks that all possible assistance be given to the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire and other Communist-dominated states in their struggle to establish their national and independent states, and unify in freedom all divided countries.

E.F.C. CALLS ON ALL FREE EUROPEAN NATIONS TO:

— assert their power, based as it is on strong spiritual and political values which recognise the dignity of man and his right to all the human rights specified in the U.N. Declaration;

— to strengthen NATO forces as the only possible way in which to resist Russian Communist adventures against the free European nations;

— to give active support to the liberation movements of the subjugated nations;

— to call for the indictment of Russia before the United Nations for the continued subjection of the subjugated peoples in the Russian Communist empire and other Communist-dominated states;

— E.F.C. calls for the full implementation of the Charter of the U.N. in the territories of the USSR and other Communist-dominated states, reminding Member Nations of their solemn declaration of "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

Resolution Of The ABN Conference In London

I. The Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, having gathered on the 25th anniversary of the foundation of this coordinating centre of the national liberation organisations and movements of the countries subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communist tyranny, reaffirms its conviction that:

a) national state independence, sovereignty and liberty of all the peoples of the world is an inseparable part of the progress, cooperation, well-being and peace of mankind;

b) sovereignty and independence of national states contribute to the development of original national cultures thus enriching the cultural heritage of all mankind;

c) national sovereignty and independence is the indispensable prerequisite and guarantee of the realisation of the Human Rights, as set out in the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations 20 years ago;

d) national and religious principles of the organisations of internal political and social life in sovereign states, growing from traditions and ways of life of every nation and eternal truths, are an incomparably better guarantee of the honouring of the rights and freedoms of man than any illusory and deceitful cosmopolitan and atheist ideas, such as those glorifying the cult of the Golden Calf, or hedonist individualist materialism, or propagating class warfare, envy and hatred;

e) in contrast to multi-national imperial states, national sovereign states have no possibility to concentrate huge material and technical resources as well as manpower of subject peoples for the manufacture of new military means of mass destruction. Therefore they are a better guarantee of peace, security, order and welfare in the world, provided that they enter into friendly relations among themselves on the basis of mutual recognition of sovereignty, independence and full equality without regard to size, population, wealth and other considerations;

f) the national principle of the organisation of the world, in contrast to the imperialist one, is the more just, progressive and humane, and the principle of the ethnic unity of a people in its own national state is the best key to the solution of frontier disputes;

g) the gaining of independence by the majority of peoples of different continents, inevitably favours the liquidation of the barbarous and genocidal colonialism, the Russian empire, and the dissolution of the artificial multi-national state structures, which are in the hands of Communist tyrannies, into national, independent and sovereign states;

h) the existence of the tyrannical Russian colonial empire in its Communist or any other possible guise, is contrary to the will of the enslaved nations to live their own free and independent lives, as well as to the progress of mankind and to a full realisation of the rights of nations and man; it is also the most dangerous threat to all freedom-loving mankind because of its drive to accumulate terrible means of mass destruction and determination to use them for the suppression of liberty;

i) Communism — in all its varieties — is an evil and criminal, anti-human, anti-national, anti-religious doctrine and system of life and political organisation of the world;

j) the idea of the imperative to liberate subjugated nations, the common front of all religions against the atheists, the struggle for the rights of man, for the all-round freedom of creative endeavour, for social justice and for the cultivation of national traditions and way of life — are the Achilles' heel of the Russian prison of nations and individuals, and strike at the sorest spot of any Communist system;

k) Bolshevism as the synthesis of Russian imperialism and Communism, is a creation of the Russian nation, an organic component of its spiritual and social make-up. Communist system imported into non-Russian countries remains a Russian style and way of life, alien to the subject nations.

II. In view of the above, the Conference of ABN proclaims with fresh determination as the main and unchanging aims of the movements united in its framework the following:

1) the liquidation of the Russian empire of any form, and its dissolution into sovereign, independent national states of all the peoples enslaved in it, comprising their ethnic territories, and a complete abolition of the Communist system of any kind;

2) the dissolution of other artificial multinational state structures, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, established and maintained not by consent of their member nationalities, but by violent means, into independent, sovereign, national states of their constituent nationalities within their ethnic boundaries;

3) re-unification, in freedom, of all the nations forcibly divided as a result of the Russian-Communist aggression, into nation states within their ethnic areas;

4) the combating of Russian imperialism of all varieties whatever deceitful and even "benevolent" masks it may adopt;

5) an uncompromising fight against all trends which oppose only the present Communist regime in the USSR, but do not oppose Russian imperialism, for instance, the concept of so-called democratic socialism replacing the present imperial structure in the USSR — unmasking them as attempts to prepare a "change of guard" in the Kremlin, the replacement of the Communist tyranny by a new Russian empire under different signboards, for Russian imperialism of any brand will remain a mortal enemy of all the nations at present subjugated by Moscow;

6) the combating of so-called national-communism as an "Ersatz" of freedom and deceitful trap designed to avert uncompromising revolutionary struggle of the subjugated nations which alone aims at a *total* destruction of the Russian Bolshevik yoke, in the spiritual, cultural, religious, social, economic and political aspects.

The coming into existence of national-communism is a consequence of the overwhelming pressure of the revolutionary

rumbings and risings of the popular masses of the nation as a whole, which forces the executors of the Russian way of thinking and acting in the enslaved country to exert themselves pressure on the occupying power. This they do not do in the name of a final break with imperialist Russia and her way of life, but in the name of the so-called "higher" aims — of the world Communist revolution, or world Communist movement, which is in reality a camouflaged form of the imperialism of the Russian nation.

The ABN Conference calls on all those who have lost their way in the national-communist ideology to join the broad revolutionary front directed against Russian imperialism and Communism at the same time, in the awareness of the fact that only an ideology based on liberation nationalism, and a revolutionary strategy can lead to victory, for it does not seek to have anything in common with any systems imposed on our countries by the occupying power, but destroys them to the foundations, totally and absolutely.

III. Relying on the forces of our own nations, on the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, as a way to liquidate the Russian empire and Communism, as an alternative to a thermo-nuclear war,

the ABN Conference, in the name of the devise, "Who helps our nations, helps his own nation" — puts forward the following demands:

a) breaking off of all diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with the USSR and its satellites, for those tyrants have the unchanging aim to subjugate and enslave whole nations and hundreds of millions of human beings;

b) exclusion of the USSR and all its satellites from all international organisations;

c) bringing of the USSR and its satellites before the International Tribunal in Hague for innumerable crimes of genocide, for provoking and carrying on of aggressive wars, for the violation of the rights of nations and man, for the destruction of churches, cultures and traditions of the sub-

jugated peoples, for subversion and disintegration of sovereign nations, for the infringement of their sovereignty and for the crimes more horrible than those for which Nazi leaders had been tried by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg;

d) an economic and communication blockade of the Russian and Communist regimes;

e) the discontinuance of the policy of the so-called peaceful coexistence with the Communist Russian tyranny, but instead initiation of the policy of liberation, the aim of which should be political, moral and technical support for the struggling peoples, in order to help to overthrow the Russian empire from within without an atomic war.

IV. The ABN Conference calls on the free nations of the world:

1) to work simultaneously on the front against Moscow and Peking and, through assistance to national liberation movements within the Russian empire, to make it impossible for Moscow to carry on peripheral wars;

2) to recognize that the main enemy of the free world is Russia whose way of life has been imported to Mainland China; hence, to help the Chinese people which is anti-Communist by its mentality and by its social structure, to throw off the yoke of the Communist tyrants and thus to liquidate the Red Chinese threat, to enable the national Chinese forces to neutralise it from within;

3) to oppose the attempts to set up a common bloc of the West with Russia against the Communist Chinese tyranny, because such an action would only bring about a victory of tyranny in general, as the experience of the Second World War has shown;

4) to condemn Russian colonialism and imperialism in the countries enslaved by it; to condemn the policy of extermination, Russification, persecution, imprisonment and sentencing of the creators of cultural values, of scholars, artists, litterateurs, students, Red Cross workers, practised by Russia and the Communists in the enslaved countries; to condemn and expose Russian

genocidal policy of deporting masses of population from their native countries to other countries of the USSR, so as to weaken the revolutionary liberation fight in the non-Russian countries; to condemn the colonisation by Russians of the countries of non-Russian nations.

V. The ABN Conference considers the policy of the Western great powers, in particular the USA, with regard to Russian imperialism and Communism, ill-conceived and often misguided and wrong.

The USA, in particular, is wrong in its policy, if it tries to implement the agreements of Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam about the division of spheres of influence. From the point of view of a universal strategy of struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism, the USA should not try to achieve a division of the spheres of interest but the realisation of a national principle of the organisation of the world against the imperialist one, i.e. respect for the sovereignty of nations who aspire to complete freedom and independence.

While supporting the US action in Vietnam in its resistance to Russia and Communism, we consider the methods and aims of this action — limited to local armed resistance, as well as the strategic concept underlying it, as false and insufficient for a lasting victory, because it avoids the attack on the main enemy, namely Russia, and its Achilles heel, the support of national liberation movements in the Russian empire.

VI. The ABN Conference expresses a negative view with regard to the attempts by some religious leaders in the free world to enter on a path of rapprochement with the regimes of militant atheists, and the church organisations subservient to them.

The ABN Conference considers that the time has come to undertake a crusade of ideas and faith against militant atheism and its centres, and not to capitulate before it.

VII. The ABN Conference expresses its firm conviction in the final victory of Truth, Justice, and Freedom over Falsehood, Oppression and Tyranny, in the victory of the presently enslaved nations over Russian imperialism and Communism, and in the

eventual re-establishment of free and independent states of all the nations incarcerated at present behind the Iron Curtain.

VIII. The ABN Conference pays homage to the heroic fighters for freedom who laid down their lives or are still fighting in the ranks of the underground movements for liberty and independence of their na-

tions and all humanity against the Communist oppressors and Russian imperialists and sends ardent greetings to the people of all the subjugated nations encouraging them to stand fast in the struggle against the greatest evil mankind has known so far, calling on them to unite their forces in the fight for true freedom and national independence of all the enslaved nations.

Andrew Ilic, Ph. D.

Mr. John F. Stewart

(On The Occasion Of The 10th Anniversary Of His Death)



The late Mr. John F. Stewart was a great man and personality of our time. And for ABN, i. e. for all European and Asian peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, he certainly was one of the greatest political fighters.

As a politician and freedom-fighter he was a realist. During his long life he had the chance to closely study Russian imperialism and the tactics of militant Communists everywhere who served Moscow which was and still is the centre of Communist conspiracy.

He also knew that the subjugated peoples wanted freedom in their own independent states. Therefore, he dedicated his life to their cause.

When ABN spread its activities over the free world Mr. Stewart was among the first

Western public figures who as the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom gave it the greatest support. For the ABN principles: freedom for nations — freedom for individuals were also his principles.

He wasn't taken in by the so-called "national communism" of Tito either and he fought it as hard as he fought Stalinism because he knew that Yugoslavia was a miniature "Soviet Russia" and a prison for Croats and other peoples in it.

We shall never forget the support which Mr. Stewart gave to our common cause during the ABN Conference at Edinburgh in 1950. In his speeches and writings he called for the dismembering of the Russian empire and of all other artificial state structures, demanding the establishment of independent national states within their ethnical boundaries.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of ABN and of the 10th anniversary of his death we remember with pride and gratitude our great "Uncle John" with the pledge that we shall carry on his great work for the freedom of our countries till the final victory.

And when this victory becomes reality I am sure that each of our countries will posthumously award Mr. John Stewart its honorary citizenship.



ABN/EFC Mass Rally and March "In Defence of Human Rights and Independence of the Nations Subjugated by Russia and Communism", London, October 20, 1968.