

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

The Third Conference Of The World Anti-Communist League Bangkok, Thailand, December 3—6, 1969



Presidium of the Conference. From l. to r.: H. E. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (China), Honorary Chairman; H. E. Dr. Phan Huy Quat, former Prime Minister (Vietnam), the outgoing Chairman of WACL; H. E. Field Marshal Thanon Kittikachorn, Prime Minister of Thailand; General Praphan Kulapichitr (Thailand), incoming Chairman of the WACL; Prof. Dr. Jose M. Hernandez (Philippines), Secretary-General.

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US President Meets AF-ABN Delegation



President Richard M. Nixon (second from left) and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew (first from left) chat with Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN (first from right).

On October 29—31, 1969, a conference of the representatives of various nationalities took place in Washington, D. C. It was called by the Republican National Committee.

Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgaria), *Mr. Miro Gal* (Croatia), *Col. N. Nazarenko* (Cossackia), *Mr. W. Mayewsky* (Ukraine) and others represented the American Friends of ABN at this conference.

On October 30, 1969 *President Richard Nixon* received the delegates of the conference at the White House. All delegates were personally introduced to the President and *Vice President Agnew* by *Mr. Laszlo Pasztor* (Hungarian), Director of the Nationalities Division of the Republican Party.

President Nixon and *Vice President Agnew* spoke to the delegates at the special reception, emphasizing that the US policy regarding the securing of freedom and independence for all nations in the world will not be changed.

Lenin's Centennial – A Warning To The West

The Russian empire is in the state of excitement over the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. For the rulers this is justified since no one else contributed so much to the establishment of the present Russian empire as did Lenin. Lenin formulated the modern Russian imperialist ideology; he mobilized the Russian masses for the conquest of other nations; he molded the Russian imperial state and brought about the rise of the new imperial elite.

As early as the end of the 19th century, the young Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov felt strongly that the Russian empire was crumbling and resolved to save it at all cost. Therefore in 1900 he proposed that "the immediate political aims of the *Russian Labour Party* should be the overthrow of the autocracy and the securing of political liberty." (*Immediate Tasks of Our Movement*) In 1903 he said that he would do everything in his power to prevent "the falling asunder of *Russia*." (*The National Question in Our Program*) By "Russia" he meant the then Russian imperial state. From this it follows that the tsarist system had to go but the empire would stay.

Lenin devised a new form for the Russian imperial state, which he called the "Soviet republic". In the simplest terms this meant: "Let *Russia* be a union of free republics." (*Speech on the War*, 1917) In 1917 Lenin boasted: "The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is the embryo of a workers' government, the representative of the interests of the poor masses of the population, i. e., of nine-tenths of the population . . ." (*Letters from Afar*) When his movement gained power in Russia in November of the same year, Lenin moved swiftly against the non-Russian nations under the pretext of working on behalf of nine-tenths of each respective people. In reality he was supported solely by the Russian people. Therefore "the union of republics" was a state established by the sovereign will of the Russian people, as the result of their conquest of other nations.

Lenin used the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as the cover-up for the new Russian imperial rule. By "proletariat" he meant the Russian proletarian imperialistic movement and by "dictatorship" a totalitarian, mono-party regime in the conquered nations centered in Moscow. "Socialists are in favor of utilizing the *present state and its institutions* . . . and the necessity of utilizing the state for the special form of transition from capitalism to socialism . . . the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is also a state." (*The Youth International*, 1916) And then, "The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets has given a majority to the Party of the Bolsheviks. Therefore, only a government formed by that Party will be a Soviet government." (*From the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.P.(B)*, 1917) To prevent any misunderstanding by the captured nations, Lenin stated: "The Soviets are the *Russian form* of the proletarian dictatorship." (*Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, 1918) He said this at a time when the Russian armies were conquering Ukraine, Byelorussia, Cossackia.

While in Russia Lenin established the Soviet proletarian state which was national in character, in all the non-Russian countries, i. e., in the "Soviet republics",

the states were not to be national in character, but were to be the so-called proletarian class “republics”, which in reality meant the extension of the Russian state, with the “republics” becoming mere colonies.

In 1903 Lenin wrote in *Iskra*: “. . . on our own we take the case of self-determination of the proletariat of each nationality, and *not of peoples and nations* . . . The general, fundamental, always prerequisite program of the Social-Democracy of *Russia* will always consist *only* of the demand of full legal equality of citizens (regardless of sex, language, race, nation, etc.) . . .” Consequently, in a Soviet “republic” in Ukraine only the people who fell into the category of Lenin’s “proletariat”, i. e., those who were completely obedient to the Russian imperialistic proletarian movement, were to receive some “rights”. The whole Ukrainian nation would get only “legal equality” before Lenin’s Russian proletarian “law”.

With “the dictatorship of the proletariat” Lenin evolved another imperialistic principle, the principle of “centralism”, which meant a complete subordination of the conquered nations to the Russian “center”. In 1913 he praised an article by a certain Bolshevik, “as an article by a *centralist* who fights Donzow and Co.” (Dr. Dmytro Donzow is the most outstanding Ukrainian political philosopher). Lenin added: “It is mandatory to fight nationalists of *this* kind.” In a letter to the Bolshevik Shaumian of December 6, 1913 he made himself clearer: “Indeed, the limits of autonomy will be determined by the *central* parliament. We are unconditionally in favor of centralism. We are against a federation.” (*Works*, 3rd ed., v. 17, p. 89) Only the “central” government, i. e., the Russian imperial government must be sovereign. The conquered nations will not enjoy any sovereignty of their own.

The principle of national self-determination played an important role in Lenin’s policy of deception. In the fundamental work written in 1903, entitled *The National Question in Our Program* Lenin frankly stated: “It is in the *interests of this class struggle* that we must *subordinate the demand for national self-determination*.” However, he promised to give each conquered nation the right to use the principle of national self-determination in name only: “While recognizing this *right*, we subordinate our support of the demand for national independence to the interests of the proletarian struggle . . .” (op. cit., *Works*, 3rd ed., v. 5, pp. 243, 329) Thus the conquered nations (Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, etc.) can use the right of self-determination in theory, but they cannot exercise this right in practice.

The celebration of Lenin’s centennial is the glorification of the achievements of a modern, sophisticated and at the same time brutal empire-builder. It is an anniversary of totalitarianism, terrorism, genocide, injustice and exploitation. In other words, it is an anniversary of conquest of many nations by Russia. This anniversary should remind all free nations of the possibility that one day they too may be devoured by the Russian Molokh. It should remind all freedom-loving people of their duty to assist the captive nations so that the latter could liberate themselves from the Russian prison of nations and reestablish their own sovereign states.

The Russian UN Policy

(Excerpts from a speech by Hon. Paul Yuzyk delivered on the floor of the Canadian Senate.)

In view of the fact that on November 7 the Soviet Union and Communists in various parts of the world celebrated the 52nd anniversary of the Russian Communist October Revolution, and the fact that the Canadian Government is interested in making the United Nations a more effective instrument in carrying out the principles of the charter, I have chosen to deal with the policy of the Soviet Union in this world organization.

Every country has its own view of the proper function of the United Nations and every country attempts to use the UN for its own purposes. In general, the prosperous countries of the West regard the organization in political terms; their view is that its function is to maintain peace, punish the aggressor and prepare the ground for world government; they pay little attention to the extensive welfare and technical programs. The United States tries to use the United Nations to contain Communism and counteract left-wing revolutions. The Europeans see in it a useful forum to discuss grievances and a convenient centre for diplomatic contacts and negotiations with many nations. The Soviet Russians look upon it, at least on the surface, as a necessary evil in which they must paralyze the plots of the "Imperialists". The newly developing countries which were former colonial states fervently support this world organization, using it as an instrument to voice their anxieties, so as to secure more economic, technical and educational assistance from the wealthy states. All are worried about preventing a third world war which, with the modern super weapons, could destroy mankind.

Broadly speaking, the member states of the UN are divided into two camps, the capitalist and the Communist, but there are also regional groupings.

The "Fifty Years of Communism" that was celebrated in the Soviet Union in 1967 was certainly not the Communism envisaged by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the

founders of the theory. According to the concept of these ideologists, Communism meant a state of affairs in which nation states would "wither away", the capitalist system would be destroyed and the conflict of classes would vanish. In this society, people would rid themselves of the "opium of religion" and would become educated so as to develop their full potential and organize their life on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." This, of course, has not been achieved.

Lenin Founder Of Communist Dictatorship

The "Fifty Years of Communism" is in reality the fifty years of the rule of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. and other parts of the world. The Communist Party was the creation of Lenin, whose ideas very often differed from those of Marx and Engels. Lenin established Bolshevism, which by means of a well-disciplined organization of professional revolutionaries destroyed tsarist autocracy and the "Bourgeois" provisional government and set up what was called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" — the present Soviet system. This "dictatorship of the proletariat" was to be a transitional stage in the evolution to Communism.

Many Communist leaders outside Russia, although in sympathy with the Russian October Revolution, did not endorse Lenin's highly centralized dictatorship of revolutionaries and the suppression of freedom. Rosa Luxemburg, a revolutionary in Poland and one of the founders of the German Communist Party, is proving prophetic in her criticism of Lenin's Bolshevism in the following manner:

Freedom restricted to the supporters of a government, freedom only for the members of one party, however numerous, is no sort of freedom. Freedom is always and only the freedom of those who think differently... Without the right of free speech, the life of public

institutions will wither away, become a shadow and a masquerade and only bureaucracy will remain as the active component. Public life will gradually become anaesthetised while a few dozen leaders with unquenchable energy and boundless idealism direct, a dozen of the best brains rule and a working class elite is assembled in official meetings from time to time to applaud the speeches of the leaders, to vote unanimously for resolutions put before them — in fact an oligarchy . . . Under such conditions public life will take on a new savagery and will lead to political assassinations, the shooting of hostages, and so on.

However, Rosa Luxemburg did not live long enough to influence the Communist movement, for she was murdered less than three weeks after the German Communist Party had been established in December, 1918. Her assessment of Bolshevik methods of fifty years ago describes quite accurately the situation in the Soviet Union today.

Although Lenin adhered to dictatorial control of his Bolshevik Party, he did not hesitate to issue promises of "land, bread and peace" as well as freedom, which, as subsequent events proved, were not intended to be kept, but were merely a means of obtaining power. Take, for example, one of the first decrees of the Soviet of People's Commissars dated November 15, 1917, concerning the subjugated peoples of the Tsarist Russian empire:

1. All peoples of Russia are equal and sovereign;
2. The peoples of Russia have the right of self-determination including the right of secession from Russia and of the establishment of independent national states of their own;
3. All national and religious-national privileges and restrictions shall be abolished;
4. The national minorities and ethnic groups on Russian territory shall be given every opportunity to develop freely.

When the Bolsheviks were in power under the leadership of Lenin, the various subjugated peoples asserted their "right of

self-determination, including the right of secession from Russia and the establishment of independent national states of their own." One after the other, the non-Russian peoples proclaimed their independent states, fifteen in number, in the following order: Idel Ural (Tatar)—November 12, 1917; Finland—December 6, 1917; Ukraine—January 22, 1918; Kuban Cossacks—February 16, later proclaiming their union with Ukraine; Lithuania — February 16; Estonia — February 24; Byelorussia — March 25; Don Cossacks—May 5; North Caucasus—May 11; Georgia—May 26; Azerbaijan—May 29; Armenia—May 30; Poland—November 11; Latvia—November 18 — all in 1918; Far Eastern Democratic Republic (Siberia)—April 4, 1920; Turkistan—April 15, 1922. This was a democratic anti-imperio-colonial manifestation. Gradually, the Russian Communist regime subverted and conquered by force all those independent states, and these nations are again part of the Russian empire under totalitarian rule, not much different from the autocratic Tsarist regime.

Not only did the Russian Communist Government make a general declaration of self-determination, but we also have its formal acknowledgment of this right with respect to Ukraine, dated December 17, 1917:

We, the Soviet of People's Commissars, recognize the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to separate from Russia or to make an agreement with the Russian Republic for federative or other similar mutual relations between them. Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly.

This declaration proved to be deceitful and perfidious, for at the time of its announcement the Russian Communist Government immediately had a Ukrainian Soviet Republic established in Kharkiv, another city in Ukraine, in direct opposition to the democratic Ukrainian National Republic. This Ukrainian Soviet Republic

claimed to possess the sovereignty of an independent state, but when it became a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, it lost its sovereignty, including the rights of amending its own constitution, maintaining its own armed forces, conducting its own foreign policy, directing its own financial affairs, et cetera. Ukraine, as a consequence, became a mere province under the rigid control of the centralized Russian Communist Government in Moscow, similar in many ways to her position under the former Russian Tsarist regime.

To gain Ukrainian support for the final phase of World War II effort, to save his own face and have more votes in the newly-established United Nations, Stalin had the Soviet Constitution amended, restoring to Ukraine and Byelorussia their own ministries of defence and external relations, but he did not allow the establishment of their embassies in foreign countries. These were the only two so-called "republics" of the U.S.S.R. which were given these rights and became founding members of the United Nations. None of the other members of the United Nations have given recognition to Ukraine and Byelorussia, knowing that these two countries have no sovereignty. The Soviet Government does not encourage such a step, undoubtedly fearful of the fact that official diplomatic relations between these two component "republics" and the sovereign states of the world could stimulate the movement towards independence. This was obvious at Expo '67 in Montreal. Moscow refused a separate pavilion and

exhibition for both Ukraine and Byelorussia, as this would have implied the recognition of the sovereignty of Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Communism, Lenin's brand, does not tolerate freedom and democracy. This becomes abundantly evident just from a mere reading of *The Theses and Statutes of the Communist International*, approved at the Second Congress of the Communist International (Comintern), which was held in Moscow in 1920 and has always been binding upon all Communist parties throughout the world. The object of the Comintern is stated in the following sentence:

In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an international Soviet Republic as a transitional stage to the complete abolition of the state, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms.

To achieve this purpose all means were to serve the end, applying the Machiavellian principle that the end justified the means. This is how it was stated in *The Theses*:

It is especially necessary to carry on illegal work in the army, navy and police—on the other hand it is also necessary in all cases without exception not to limit oneself to illegal work, but to carry on also legal work overcoming all difficulties, founding a legal press and legal organizations under the most diverse circumstances, and, in case of need, frequently changing names.

(To be continued)

"The state regards the classes not as different individual parts, but as an organic complex: as the nation. All classes are equally important for it: its mission is to create and maintain harmony among them, to prevent one from exploiting the other, for they all live and flourish through the others and the disappearance of one will sooner or later lead to the disappearance of the others."

(from **Political and Literary Writings** of Mihail Eminescu)

Death Penalty For Opposition

“A dangerous playing with fire, which threatens all our freedom with destruction.” With these words CSU head Franz-Josef Strauss warned the USA against a softening of the Western system of alliance in favour of a “European peace settlement” on Moscow’s terms (*Bild*, October 13, 1969).

This quotation seems to us to be completely true. For the reason that Moscow and its satellites are striving not only in the field of foreign policy to weaken the Western system of alliance, but are endeavouring with an unparalleled force to destroy any spirit of resistance within the *Western* nations by menaces. We are not referring to the threats contained in newspaper columns or in the speeches of politicians, which could be regarded as pure propaganda. We will ignore this kind of threat in our considerations, since it is subject to day-to-day circumstances and could alter in agreement with Moscow’s political tactics. We would like to point to another kind of threats, which have a lasting character and are embodied in the penal codes of some Communist countries. They are directed not only against their own subjects, who are condemned at pleasure and executed, but also against foreigners, even if they had carried out the alleged punishable actions not in the territory of a Communist state but outside this area.

Not only citizens of foreign states are subjected to the threatened punishments, but also so-called “stateless” foreigners even if they have their residence in a foreign land. Communist ideology means by “foreign land” only the countries of the Western hemisphere. The importance of these threats contained in the penal code should not be taken lightly, since they will lead to court actions against alleged guilty persons. The accused will be described as “guilty” according to a Communist conception which works with ideas quite different from those known in the West as “truth and justice”.

We may find an example in the penal code of the so-called Socialist Republic of Rumania. It came into force on January 1 1969 and is for the most part an imitation of the Soviet Penal Code. It has thus replaced the penal code of 1936, which took into account in its provisions the latest results of modern criminology. The “threatening” provisions are to be found in the chapter on “*offences against state security*” and read as follows: “. . . the meeting together of several persons to carry on an activity of fascist or anti-democratic character or of *any other activity* through which the alteration of the socialist order is aimed at, as well as the joining or support in any form at all of such a group . . . is punished with death and total loss of property.” (cf. Art. 167, Par. 3 of the new Rumanian Penal Code). The same punishment is imposed, if the punishable action is carried out among those in Articles 155—165 of the same Penal Code. That means, however, also under circumstances quoted in article 159, that is, when the actions are carried out “by a foreign subject or by a stateless person not resident in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.”

From the above provisions it is evident that the Communist legal system is striving to punish with death and total loss of property not only the subjects of the SRR who have made themselves guilty of the quoted activities, but also foreign subjects, as well as stateless persons not resident in Rumanian territory. It is not stated by what process these foreigners are to be punished. But it can be imagined without much difficulty, since in such a state the legal system is completely subjected to the party and the party represents a minority which will never be divorced from power but reigns as a dictator over the state.

It is remarkable that not only actions of the individual or of a group, but even simple *propaganda, irrespective of what kind and irrespective with what means* are punished with twelve years imprisonment, if this propaganda has a fascist character or seeks to change the so-called *socialist order* (i. e. the Communist system of rule), in which the sense of this text is to be further explained. To remove any doubt the exact meaning of this text, we give its wording as follows:

“The *carrying on in public of propaganda* of fascist character no matter with what means is punished with prison sentences of between five and fifteen years.

Propaganda or the undertaking of any action at all to bring about a change in the socialist order, or from which danger for the security of the state would result, is punished with a prison sentence from five to fifteen years and loss of certain rights.” (Art. 166, new Rumanian Penal Code).

When the Communist penal code talks of a *fascist, anti-democratic activity*, or of a propaganda of fascist character, there can be no doubt that these expressions have in no way the same content as in the West. Behind the Iron Curtain all these expressions have another meaning. And it is of decisive importance to analyse the two meanings, the eastern and the western, of those expressions. For the Western world, “fascism is a generic term for all right-wing, totalitarian, authoritative systems.” For *Communism* fascism means “a description employed, a slogan against all non-Communist systems” (from “Der Grosse Herder”).

Thus fascism is a battle-cry used against the non-Communist countries (including the Federal German Republic and the USA). In other words, all the political systems of the Western world are regarded by Moscow and its satellites as fascist systems, regimes, governments. For Russia there is in the Western hemisphere no democracy. The same thing happens to the expression “activity of anti-democratic character”, which is contained in the new paragraphs quoted from the new Rumanian penal code.

For the Bucharest regime “democracy” means in no sense a “government of the people”, an expression known in the whole Western non-Communist world, in opposition to the power of individuals or of a group, to dictatorship (cf. “Pocket-book on Communism”, by E. Saltner and St. Thomas, Godesberg, 1963). For the Bucharest Communist leadership, as for all Eastern bloc countries, the term “democratic” equals “Communist”. “Democracy” is the oligarchical and tyrannical dictatorship of the party over the people. Thus what is “non-Communist” (or “anti-Communist”), is regarded as “anti-democratic”.

On The Policy Of The "Relaxation Of Tension"

In the Soviet Russian policy of "coexistence" an important role is played by the propagation of "relaxation of tension" or "détente". But there is consciously no discussion of the definition of the word. "Détente" experts act, now as before, according to the following principles:

As long as somewhere in the world Soviet regimes have not yet been instituted "détente" between Soviet Russia and the Free World is to be continued. The transformation of the "détente" illusions of the West into Soviet Russian "détente" practice must not only be propagated according to a uniform plan laid down by the "détente" experts active inside the Free World as decisive public opinion but also carried on in all spheres of life and activity with managerial skill and executive adherence to plan. The dynamism, then, of this "détente" process is effective in that the still existing differences in the economic system are reduced to the same extent as the globally oriented technologists from both sides are able to become "socialist" carriers-out of the executive process. Notice is taken of real world events only in so far as they may be useful for the furthering of this executive process.

For all forces of opposition, which have not committed themselves to such a process of world formation, the resulting picture of world political developments remains the starting point for their present and future considerations. This is the result of an unfalsified world survey.

A potential ally relationship between the USA and Soviet Russia, despite all the efforts of the "détente" experts and the globally-oriented "socialist" technocrats, could not be further advanced as wished. On the contrary the two atomic world powers have been engaged in a bitter struggle for years against each other in the main operational area of power politics — Vietnam. To this extent the practice of power politics refutes the theory of a possible alliance.

Reality has taught that the theory of the potential alliance could only be put into practice if on both sides the oppositional forces could be previously forced to accept the idea of capitulation. This has not been successful in both America and the Communist-ruled part of the world.

In Asia in the course of time the "détente" illusions have increased to the same extent as the Vietnam war has been intensified.

The American government became forced to court allies among Asian countries for its military action in Vietnam since the world Communist aims in the Asian operational area could only be countered through such a joint action.

The consequences of the many-layered and increasingly involved struggle for leadership and power in Asia then found a response in the Western hemisphere. It leads nationally, internationally, and within the parties to a constantly new checking of the quickly occurring changes in world politics and interests.

Both from different national and international spheres of action a new race for the favour of the Soviet Russian "détente" practitioners has been put on, more favourably than they themselves had until then been able to shape. They decided the conditions of the race and the order of the competitors. They decided their pre-qualifications, which they had already produced in their spheres of action or which they could still produce. And the nations of the Soviet Russian empire were shown all that the Western "relaxers of tension" were prepared to liquidate for this favour, indeed, were firmly determined to do.

In such a perspective it was thus without importance with which national flags, party clichés, team managers, combinations and rank labels the competitors of the race appeared. Even the conditions, which they agree on or create themselves additionally for their pre-qualifications in the West

European and Atlantic rounds, remain of lesser importance. The only decisive factor is that the competitors are ready for action everywhere considered most important and most urgent by the Soviet Russian "détente" practitioners. Their role as global referee cannot be disputed by the Free World, or by the Communist regimes neither in the sense of leadership and the executive-technological skill, nor in the sense of belief

All forces of opposition must therefore be influenced in their analysis of the present world political situation by this basic concept of power held by the Soviet Russian

"détente" practitioners. Only thus will they be able to bring realistically their power to bear jointly to shape events everywhere, where chances are already offered for this, or can be created. Anyone who has not yet committed himself to world Communist superstition and the superiority of leadership deduced from it, will also in the future remain anxious to make joint use of such chances in his own sphere of action. As in Asia, so in Western Europe the boomerang effects of the "détente" race will show themselves more and more demonstratively for all the non-Communist competitors who take part in it.

Historian Predicts The Downfall Of The USSR

For those who think that the Russian empire will exist for at least a full century, or perhaps even several centuries, since it is allegedly a great power and a carrier of "the new — socialist idea", the forecast of one of Kyiv's professors can come as a shock.

The professor was sent to Siberia, but the views expressed by him about the fate of the Russian prison of nations have reached the West. According to the Reuters news agency this prediction sounds as follows: The Russian empire must inevitably clash with Red China. The Bolshevik regime is getting old; it is unable to crush all freedom-loving trends and for this reason it is inevitably nearing its downfall. This collapse will be hastened by the war with China, which is bound to occur. The population is gripped by dissatisfaction and rebellion against the regime and the Kremlin will fall just as tsarism had fallen, in the face of the development of the anti-imperial forces.

The Red Chinese revolution is entering the expansive stage. In a few years China will be conquering Siberia and other territories. At the same time the war with China will lead to the loss of the satellite states. This professor says: "If the USSR will fight in Siberia, Germany as well will

use this situation for her unification." The population of the empire will engage in a desperate struggle and the Soviet bureaucracy will not be able to control it.

The views of the Kyiv professor were reprinted by the Paris periodical *Express*.

These are the views of an intellectual on that side of the Iron Curtain, who can see better where its weak points are to be found. History teaches us that every empire will disintegrate, and the tempo of our age will speed up this process of decay.

It is to be regretted that the West in its treatment of the USSR is only writing and speaking about discontent of political, social, day-to-day or spiritual character, but is silent on the national question. However, the greatest revolutionary moving force in the USSR are the subjugated peoples and they are going to topple this most cruel empire and prison.

The national cause entails the most martyrs and victims, prisoners of jails and concentration camps, and because of this the enemy is perpetrating national genocide. Consequently, the very national revolutionary forces will drive a wedge into the Russian prison of nations — without the help from Western knights and cynics.

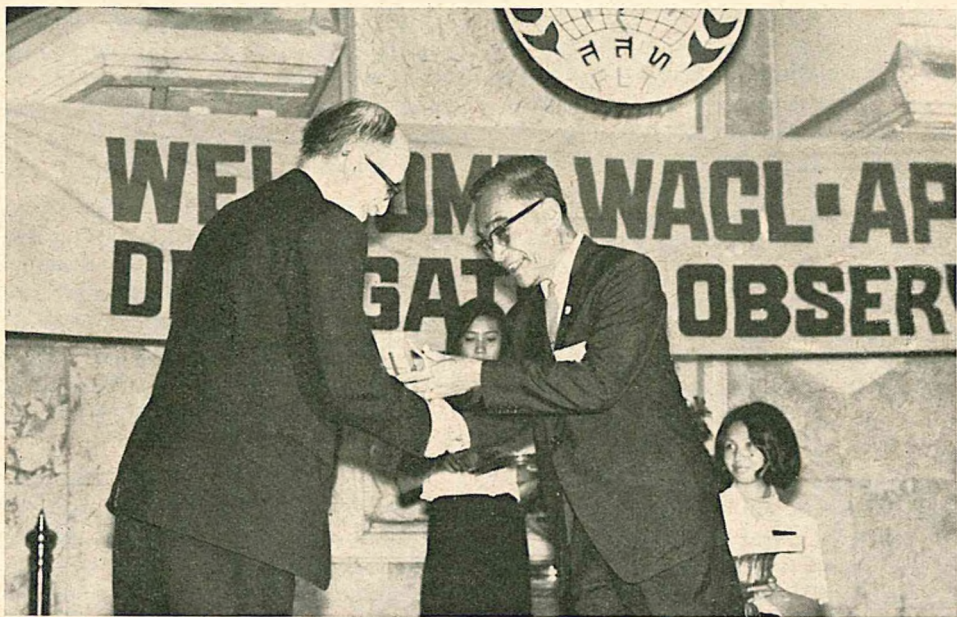
Declaration Of The Third Annual Conference Of The World Anti-Communist League

The World Anti-Communist League, meeting at its Third Annual Conference in Bangkok, Thailand on December 3-6, 1969, with an attendance of 180 delegates and observers from 54 member — and observer — units, has taken another big forward stride in its endeavour to establish a joint international anti-Communist front by rallying freedom-loving forces under the banner of a crusade for freedom.

With a new decade about to begin, the WACL is doubly aware of its responsibility in the face of rapidly-changing times. The tremendous achievements in the field of scientific creation and material production, and especially the epoch-making significance of the recent successful landing on the moon, point to the possibility that the 1970's will be an era of true freedom for mankind. However, the evils of Communism, the terror of slave labour and the menace of Communist aggression still threaten peace and freedom in the world.

The WACL reaffirms its conviction that it must continue its unremitting effort to wipe out Communism, destroy the slave labour system and counter all attempts at aggression until a total victory is attained by all the freedom-loving people of the world.

The WACL firmly believes that to treat the evil power of Communism as compatible with decency is contrary to all principles of justice. All endeavours to reach constructive results through negotiations with Communist aggressors are doomed to failure. The WACL wishes to solemnly remind those peoples of the



ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko (left) with the Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League, General Praphan Kulapichitr (Thailand), during the Third WACL Conference.

free world, currently negotiating with the Communists, of their dedication to freedom and that they must forever be vigilant against double talk by the Communists.

To the free world peace-negotiators now in Paris, the WACL wishes to state solemnly that the talks must not be allowed to jeopardize the independence and freedom of the Republic of Vietnam.

To the government of the United States of America, the WACL must emphasize that, unless the Communists show concrete signs of sincerity, there should not be any premature withdrawal of U.S. combat units from Vietnam such as would weaken the posture of the United States of America and its allies.

In this connection, it is noted that the United States government has agreed to return Okinawa to Japan by 1972 and that, consequently, certain American combat units would be withdrawn from the island. In view of this, the WACL also must emphasize that sufficient measures should be taken to safeguard the security of the Republic of Korea and other adjacent areas still threatened by Communist aggression.

The WACL wishes to warn advocates of appeasement against unthinkingly giving aid and comfort to Communist designs on human freedom. Lamentably, there have been many cases of young people being exploited and utilized by the Communists to serve their own ends. The WACL calls on the youth of the world to stand bravely and resolutely on the side of freedom and join in the fight for democracy and justice.

The WACL must state that the international Communists are still bent on expansion, infiltration and subversion in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. Such aggression poses the greatest menace to the security and peace of the world.

For this reason, the WACL is of the opinion that efforts must be stepped up to build an international anti-Communist front, to unite all the freedom fighters of the world and to check Communist atrocities. All the free peoples of the world must support the East European and Asian peoples, still languishing under Communist rule, in their fight to regain freedom. Positive assistance must be given for the liberation of these peoples and also in countering any future Communist attempts at aggression, rooting out at the same time the evil influence of Communist ideology of whatever brand.

The WACL renews its support of the liberation fight of Ukraine, Caucasian nations, Byelorussia, Hungary, Baltic States, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, East Germany and all others against Russian imperialism and Communism, which has violated their national independence and human rights.

The WACL has decided to hold its fourth annual conference on September 21, 1970 in Tokyo, Japan.

Turmoil is ahead in the 1970's. The WACL pledges to start the new decade with determination and courage in order to make the 1970's a decade of decisive victory for freedom.

The WACL takes this opportunity to express its heartfelt felicitations to His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand on his birthday on December 5, 1969. The WACL is convinced that Thailand has an infinitely bright future as a great free nation.

Resolutions Passed By The Third WACL Conference

In Support Of The Captive Nations And On The Threat Of Russian Imperialism To The Free World

Whereas, Soviet Russian imperialism — after conquering Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkmenistan, the peoples of the Caucasus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Bulgaria, Rumania, East Germany and others, helped Communism to subjugate North Korea, North Vietnam, supported Communism on the Mainland of China, in Cuba and in other countries (Zanzibar, Albania, Croatia, Serbia) brutally suppressed the liberation uprisings of Ukrainian and other prisoners in Russian concentration camps (1948, 1953—1959), crushed the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and the attempts of the Czech and Slovak peoples to free themselves (1968) is invariably growing with the aim of world domination;

Whereas, the present-day Russian fleet realizing the historic imperialism of tsarist Russia to dominate the seas, threatens Southern Europe, the Near East and Northern Africa and is systematically expanding to the Indian as well as the Pacific Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea;

Whereas, by means of guerilla warfare in Latin America, Moscow is trying to establish there regimes dependent on it;

Whereas, by means of subversion of social order, general demoralization, student unrest in North America and Western Europe, and in the USA through racial conflicts provoked by it, Moscow is trying to conquer these parts of the world from within;

Whereas, Russian and Red Chinese aggression against independence and the reunification in freedom of Vietnam and Korea through their support of North Vietnam and Viet Cong and the support of subversion in South Korea threatens the independence and freedom of the Asian peoples;

Therefore the Third World anti-Communist League Conference resolves:

1. To continue the political support of the national liberation struggle of all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism

and Communism in the USSR and outside its borders for the restoration of their free and independent states and for human rights;

2. To appeal to the governments of the free world:

a) to initiate a policy of liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, which constitute the Achilles' Heel of the Soviet Russian prison of nations; supported by the free world the national liberation revolutions and uprisings are capable of toppling the Russian Bolshevik empire and the Communist system and preventing the thermo-nuclear war;

b) to support the struggle for the reunification in freedom of countries divided by force;

3. To condemn:

a) the endless Russian Communist policy of grasp, aggression against ever new countries, the subjugation of numerous nations and the violation of human rights and planned perpetration of genocide of peoples;

b) the Russification of life of the subjugated nations, the destruction and burning of cultural, historical and religious monuments, archives, museums and churches by Russian chauvinists in the subjugated countries;

c) the maintenance of concentration camps and the imprisonment in them of intellectuals, clergymen and faithful of various religious beliefs, fighters for freedom of speech, thought, conscience, and national and human rights.

4. To appeal to the free world to urge Russia:

a) to release immediately all political prisoners, in particular, all imprisoned priests, Catholic and Orthodox, Protestant ministers, Moslem and Jewish religious leaders, and especially, the Archbishop of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, V. Velychkovskyi, if he is still alive, and generally all prisoners-fighters for human rights and the independence of peoples;

b) the abolishment of all concentration camps in the Soviet Russian prison of nations and individuals, and in the whole Communist sphere of influence;

5. To urge that the leaders of all nations of the free world condemn the USSR and its satellites as the most cruel prison of nations and work for the expulsion of the USSR and its satellites from the United Nations and other international organizations for violating the UN Charter and for the breaking of relations with this empire;

6. To appeal to the public of the free world to urge their respective governments to change their policies toward the captive nations from the so-called peaceful co-existence with Russia to the policy of liberation; to combat the Communist fifth columns within the free nations; to strengthen patriotism, the heroic concept of life and social justice; to protest and demonstrate against Bolshevik crimes, aggression and genocide, against the violation of the rights of individuals and nations.

Against Extermination Of Cultural Leaders And Destruction Of Mounments In Ukraine

Whereas the extermination and Russification policy of Moscow toward the Ukrainian people in all spheres of life — cultural, religious, economic, national and political — is being intensified;

Whereas the Ukrainian people is invariably and painstakingly continuing the struggle for its own free and independent state and human rights;

Whereas Moscow's persecution of the Ukrainian cultural leaders and the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox underground Churches is becoming more brutal and intensive;

The Third WACL Conference resolves:

1. To render full political support to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of its free and independent state and for human rights;
2. To condemn most strongly the destruction and burning of cultural, historic and religious monuments, archives, museums and churches in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries (e.g. the burning of priceless archives in the church of St. George in the Vydubyskyi Monastery in Kyiv, the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, the destruction of a synagogue in Odessa with valuable archives, etc.);
3. To condemn the gradual poisoning of food which is served to prominent Ukrainian intellectuals (M. Horyn, I. Kandyba, L. Lukyanenko and others) incarcerated in concentration camps,

the 25-year confinement in the Vladimir prison of Ukrainian underground Red Cross volunteers (K. Zarytska, O. Husak, H. Didyk and others), the imprisonment by the decision of the KGB without any trial of Ukrainian jurists, in particular Volodymyr Horbovyi, LLD, who is confined to a concentration camp for 23 years, the imprisonment of the Ukrainian Catholic underground priests, with Archbishop V. Velychkovskiy at the head, as well as Orthodox and Protestant clergymen, — annihilation of fighters for freedom and independence of their homelands, forced Russification, Communist murders of fighters for freedom and independence in the free world (1959 — [Ukrainian revolutionary leader, Stepan Bandera, 1949—1969 Byelorussian, Azerbaijani, Turkestani, Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian and other fighters for freedom) — are invariably continuing and are being systematically intensified, and to appeal to the conscience of the free world to exert every effort in order to stop this terror, genocide and destruction of cultural monuments in Ukraine and other subjugated countries and to obtain immediate release from the prisons and concentration camps of the Ukrainian political prisoners and prisoners of other nations subjugated in the USSR and in the so-called satellite states and the liquidation of all concentration camps.

Both Resolutions were accepted unanimously at the Plenary Session, December 6, 1969.

In Defense Of Gen. P. Hryhorenko

Various international organizations, the press and the general public of the West have started a campaign in defense of a Ukrainian, Gen. Petro Hryhorovych Hryhorenko, who has been active in the fight for freedom and restoration of civil rights and against the discrimination on nationality grounds in the USSR.

P. Hryhorenko was born in 1907 in Ukraine, in the village of Borysivka, Zaporozhe region. From 1922 to 1929 he worked as locksmith in the Donbas, and at the same time attended school. In 1929 he entered the Kharkiv Polytechnic Institute from where he was transferred to the Kuibyshev Military-Engineering Academy. After graduation Hryhorenko served in various units of the Red Army. Later he entered the Academy of the general staff. He finished World War II with the rank of major-general. During the war Hryhorenko was wounded and is an invalid of the second category.

In 1961 P. Hryhorenko was the director of the scientific research department and the cybernetics department at the Frunze Military Academy. At that time he allegedly demanded that the Communist Party return to the "Leninist principles". Subsequently he was dismissed from the academy and sent to Usuriysk. He was forced to work as a loader and was confined to a mental institution for a time. For his defense of those arrested and repressed in the USSR, and in particular for his friendship with the Crimean Tatars, Gen. P. Hryhorenko was thrown out of the Party, stripped of the rank of general and deprived of all pension rights. He was arrested on May 7, 1969 at the airport in Tashkent where he wanted to appear as a public defender at the trial of the Tatars.

Recently, the wife of Gen. Hryhorenko, Zinaida, appealed to the public of the world to come to the aid of her husband and to demand his release.

From Letters To ABN:

November 15, 1969

Dear Mrs. Stetsko:

I have recently read a book by a friend of mine, Mrs. Bernadine Bailey, entitled CAPTIVE NATIONS. I am sure you are probably familiar with it.

I wrote Mrs. Bailey concerning her book, as I am quite in sympathy with its content. It gives a view that is something I think Americans have overlooked. We know there are wonderful people behind the Iron Curtain, but they seemed so much more remote until this book came out.

The book is so good that I have ordered several copies to distribute, as I think these Nations do indeed open a line of defense for everyone in the so-called "free" world — or what is yet considered free.

I write this with the assumption that you are familiar with her book. If you are not, Mrs. Bailey tells Americans in the book that the people who are held captive by the Soviets are the Americans' best line for defense.

Mrs. Bailey, on my request, sent me this address, as I would like to know what progress is being made by ABN. Therefore, I have enclosed my personal check (she said to pay this way) for \$ 6.00 for the ABN publication. Perhaps you will see that it is placed correctly so that I may receive ABN CORRESPONDENCE.

With every good wish for you and those working with ABN, I am

Mrs. C. C. Burgess

Russian Solution Of The "Armenian Question"

Armenia is one of the fifteen Soviet republics and is situated in the South Caucasus, bordering in the north on Georgia, in the east on Azerbaijan, in the south on Iran and in the south-west on Turkey.

In the course of its history, which can be traced over thousands of years, Armenia proper extended over a greater area, stretching from the Caucasus to the Cilician Taurus.

In modern times, the democratic Republic of Armenia which lasted from May 28, 1918 to December 2, 1920, comprised, in addition to the present Soviet Armenian territory, other areas which stretched as far as the Russo-Turkish frontier of 1914. The treaty of August 10, 1920 recognised the de jure independence of Armenia and left the question of the determination of the southern frontier to the arbitration of the United States President, Woodrow Wilson. On November 22, 1920, Wilson demarcated Armenia as a total area of 87,000 square kilometres, but this remained a dead letter with the Russian occupation of Armenia, and the dismemberment of the latter and its present confinement within the tiny area of 30,000 sq. kms., only a third of which is cultivable, the rest consisting of mountains, arid, stony land and one large lake (Van).

According to the Soviet national census of 1968, the population of Armenia is 2,310,000. This figure represents a third of the total number of Armenians, at least an additional million of whom live outside Armenia, some in other Soviet republics, particularly Georgia and Azerbaijan. The rest are scattered all over the world, in the entire Middle East, North and South America and Europe. The Armenians of the diaspora desire the liberation of their historic home and the establishment of a free, independent and united Armenia.

Peter I was the first Russian Tsar to plan expansion of the Russian frontiers as far as the Mediterranean, and during his reign the first thrust southwards took place in

1722. The Armenians living under Persian and Turkish rule hoped that the Russians, a Christian people like themselves, might bring them independence, but history has shown the futility of such hopes. Never have the Russians, from Peter I, to Lenin and Stalin, seriously contemplated the liberation of Armenia and the creation of an independent state. Below is some of the historical evidence of this Russian attitude:

1) At the time of the expedition to the Caspian Sea organized by Peter I in 1722, a combined Armenian and Georgian army of 4,000 men was raised to help the Tsar to free their two peoples from the yoke of Persia. What happened? In September 1723, by a treaty signed in St. Petersburg, the Persians ceded Darband, Baku, Quitan and Mazandaran to the Russians, who undertook to defend the throne of Shah Tahmaz. The Armenians were betrayed and left to the mercy of the Persians, who resorted to reprisals, devastating villages and massacring the peasantry.

2) A century later, in 1826, in the war against Persia and in the 1827—1828 war against the Turks, the Tsar made lavish promises of independence to the Armenians in order to win their support. Again the sacrifices made by Armenians had the same result. Marshal Paskievich, the Tsarist general who became known as the "Duke of Erivan", "rewarded" the Armenians by exiling to Kishiniev in Bessarabia Archbishop Nerses of Ashtarak, who had been the organizer of the Armenian volunteer corps.

3) The Russo-Turkish war of 1877—78 set the seal on the emancipation of the Balkan Christian peoples, but left the Armenians still under foreign domination, with the question of their future reduced to vague promises of reforms.

4) In 1885 all Armenian schools in the Caucasus were closed and their property confiscated upon the orders of the Tsarist government.

5) In 1890 a group of Armenian armed patriots, led by the student Gougounian, was taken prisoner on the Turkish border and exiled to Siberia.

6) On June 12, 1903, the Tsar decreed the seizure of all Armenian church property, including that of Etchmiadzin, the seat of the supreme head of the Armenian Orthodox Church. The Armenians rose in revolt as one man, but were suppressed.

7) In 1905 the Russian government provoked war between the Armenians and Caucasian Moslems.

8) In 1908 several hundred leading members of the Dashnaktzoutune party were arrested and imprisoned, and in February 1912, 180 Dashnaks were brought to trial in St. Petersburg before the special section of the Imperial Senate.

9) In February 1915 the Armenians of Van fought alone against the regular Turkish army and the Russians waited for the latter to retreat from the region before themselves entering the town, they evacuated in July, without any plausible reason, forcibly deporting tens of thousands of Armenians.

10) On April 5, 1915, General Yudenich proposed in a report to the high command of the Russian Caucasian army that the abandoned regions of Alashkert, Diadire and Bayazit should be settled by Cossacks from the Don and Kuban. The Russians wanted an "Armenia without Armenians", in the words of Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky, a former president of the Russian Imperial Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

After proclaiming independence, the Armenian National Council transferred its seat from Tiflis to Erivan, the capital, took into its hands the government of the new state and proceeded to establish the administration of the country. Priority was given to relief work among the population, most of which consisted of penniless refugees, combatting epidemics resulting from the long war years and taking charge of great numbers of widows and orphans.

The Republic was immediately recognized DE FACTO by the Allies and by Turkey; in January 1920 came DE JURE re-

cognition. Under the treaty of Sevres, of August 10, 1920, Armenian independence was to have been formally acknowledged, but this treaty was never ratified by the Allies and was superseded by the treaty of Lausanne, of July 24, 1923, in which Armenia was not even mentioned.

Soviet Russia attacked Armenia on September 23, 1920 without any declaration of war. The Bolsheviks then occupied part of the territory of Armenia and thus speeded the fall of the Republic. In October 1920 Moscow's plenipotentiary, Legrand, arrived in Erivan and submitted the following demands to the government:

- 1) Repudiation of the Treaty of Sevres;
- 2) **Permission for Soviet** troops to pass through Armenia to link up with the Turks to fight against the Allies;
- 3) Settlement by Russian mediation of all frontier disputes between Armenia and its neighbours.

The Armenian government rejected the first demand, but under Soviet and Turkish pressure accepted the last two. Legrand then left for Moscow via Baku, supposedly to ratify the agreement but returned to Erivan on November 29, 1920 and presented an ultimatum demanding the Sovietization of Armenia, the greater part of which was occupied by the Turks. Unable to continue the struggle on two fronts, the Armenian government capitulated to the ultimatum, and Russians administered the COUP DE GRACE to Armenian independence, thus settling the "Armenian Question" in the Soviet manner. By a treaty signed on December 2, 1920, Armenia was declared a Soviet Socialist Republic and a government was formed, composed of five Communists and two members of the left wing of the Dashnak party. The Soviet government gave certain guarantees regarding the army, the officer corps, the political parties, and defined the borders of the republic, Kars being retrieved from Turkey.

But with the arrival of Gassian's Soviet Military Revolutionary Committee, the treaty was denounced and militant Communism was introduced. In fact 1,500 of-

officers were exiled to Siberia, 3,000 intellectuals were imprisoned, the chief object of which was the total destruction of the Dashnak party.

Then on February 18, 1921, the revolt against this reign of terror began, and the people of Erivan rose, driving out the Reds, the peasantry of the Zanzezour region putting the 11th. Soviet army to flight. The democratic Republic was re-established, with a "Committee for the Salvation of the Fatherland" as the government. The Soviet government, in the meanwhile, had escaped to Nakhichevan, from where they took the offensive, using armoured formations, against the national government. Each offensive, from February 18 until April 2, 1921, was smashed; but in the face of odds of ten to one it was decided to evacuate, and with the final fall of the National government, the people retreated EN MASSE, fighting all the way, until by the end of July, 1921, the last members of the government crossed the Araks river into Persia.

The Soviet Russians have falsified Armenian history; in fact this is the truth: On December 31, 1917, Lenin and Stalin issued a decree proclaiming the right of the Armenians to self-determination, but the Russians restored the regions of Kars and Ardahan to the Turks by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, thus rendering the position of the Transcaucasus untenable. The Bolsheviks organized a conspiracy against the democratic government of Armenia which led to the Communist uprising of May 1920 in a number of regions. The revolt was crushed, but left traces in the army, in which Soviet agents carried on their subversive work of demoralizing the soldiers.

It is now 50 years since Armenia fell under Russian dictatorship. Communist propaganda claims that the Armenians have enjoyed peace for half a century, thanks to the presence of the Soviet regime, that the country has been industrialised and agriculture successfully collectivized. It may be true that Armenia suffered no foreign invasion for many years, but she nonetheless gave the Red army over 100,000

of her sons during World War II, all of whom perished at Kerch, in the Crimea, fighting the Nazis. It is also correct to say that during the N.E.P. period in the mid 1920's, the Armenian people was able to devote itself more or less peacefully to the reconstruction of the economy, but situation changed completely in 1930, with the beginning of forced collectivization of agriculture. The population was subjected to extreme brutalities and the spectre of civil war loomed up. Several local uprisings broke out, notably in the Daralagiaz region, and arrests and mass deportations were commonplace as the peasants resisted settlement on collective farms, on which to this day the Soviet regime exploits the labour of the peasantry.

In 1936-1937, purges of unprecedented severity occurred in Armenia; hundreds of leading party members and intellectuals were shot on the orders of Stalin, while others were imprisoned or sent to do forced labour in Siberia. The decimation of the Armenian intelligentsia during these years is one of the blackest pages in the record of the Soviet regime. Among those who perished were such celebrated writers as Tcharents, Pagounts, Yessayan, Kalantar, Torrosian, Kamsaragan, political leaders such as Der-Kaprielian, etc., in all over 3,500 victims.

Today the Soviet Russian government is busy sowing discord in the Armenian diaspora by exploiting the Church, the spiritual head of which, the Catholicos, resides at Etchmiadzin, near Erivan. Russian propaganda is very intensive, particularly in the Near East, where hundreds of thousands of Armenians recognize as their spiritual leader the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, who resides in the Lebanon. The intrigues of the Soviet agents have not yielded fruit, however, as the overwhelming majority of the Armenians living outside the Soviet Union are firmly attached to the ideal of independence. They are politically organized in the name of independence, and live in flourishing communities where the national language and culture are kept alive.

Byelorussia Today

Byelorussia is a completely distinct nation from Russians, Ukrainians, Poles or Lithuanians, with her own language, culture, traditions and history, but little is known about Byelorussia in Western countries, because it is sometimes called White Russia, sometimes White Ruthenia.

But the desire for freedom and independence has always remained alive, and when there was opportunity at the time of the Russian Revolution, the Byelorussian Congress, consisting of 1,872 delegates, representing all parties, met in their capital, Minsk, formed the first Byelorussian Government and on 25th March, 1918, proclaimed the independence of Byelorussia within its ethnographical boundaries. The Government was recognized *de jure* by Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine; *de facto* by Bulgaria, Denmark, France and Yugoslavia.

But the newly born Byelorussian State after some centuries of Polish and later Russian domination, with a young and weak army, having no assistance from anywhere, was defeated by the Bolsheviks, who occupied Byelorussia, and in 1919, formed the Soviet Byelorussian Republic, dependent entirely upon Moscow.

After 1919, there were a number of uprisings in Soviet Byelorussia where, according to Soviet sources about 50 guerrilla units were operating; the last one was destroyed by the Bolsheviks in 1929.

Later, by the Treaty of Riga (March 18th, 1921) the Byelorussian territory was divided by Soviet Russia and Poland, both hostile to Byelorussian Independence, and both trying to misrepresent her history, her political and cultural movements and progress. Over two-thirds of Byelorussia was taken by the Soviet Union and about one-third by Poland, and that partition and occupation lasted until the Second World War.

Towards the end of World War II, in 1944, the Second Byelorussian Congress confirmed all the resolutions of the First

Congress, proclaiming the Independence of Byelorussia, but almost at once she was conquered again by Soviet Russia.

The present Soviet Byelorussia, with a population of about 9½ million people within her present political boundaries of 83,000 square miles (larger than England, Scotland and Wales put together) is, in fact, a modern Russian colony administered mainly by over 75,000 Russian officials, policemen and 300,000 colonists, after the removal of more than 15,000 distinguished Byelorussian intelligentsia (professors, scientists, writers, poets, scholars, etc.) whom the Russians did not fully trust.

About one-third of Byelorussian territory, comprising over 3 million people, was annexed to the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic.

There are no accurate figures of the physical annihilation of the Byelorussian population and it is doubtful whether they will ever be known. But, according to estimates drawn from all possible sources, the victims must lie in the region of about 8 million people.

The first Tsarist Russian Census of 1897 showed that at that time, there were 10,300,000 inhabitants on ethnographical Byelorussian territory (8.2 million Byelorussians). If we take into account the normal demographic growth, the actual number of people in Byelorussia in the period of over one hundred years would have nearly trebled, because the annual increase was 1.3%.

The enormous decrease was caused by the following factors: —

- (1) About 1½ million people as a result of revolution, famine of 1920—1923 and forcible collectivization of 1929—30.
- (2) About 1 million during the so-called "man-made" famine of 1932—33.
- (3) About 2½ million during World War II and some years afterwards through Soviet Russian guerrilla activities, German repressions, normal losses of soldiers and civil population.

(4) About 2 million people deported to Siberia, Kazakhstan and other remote places during 51 years of the Soviet regime.

(5) About 1 million people unaccounted for, who disappeared without a trace.

It should be mentioned that the mass arrests and deportations were applied almost entirely to nationalities other than Russians. The present population of Siberia is a conglomeration of various nationalities, with only a comparatively small number of Russians, especially in the far North and East, where living conditions are very severe. Out of a total population of 220 million in the USSR, there are about 120 million non-Russians.

The Russian policy towards religious life is well known. Before the First World War, there were 3,552 churches and 25 monasteries in Byelorussia; 80% professed the Orthodox faith, about 15% were Catholics, and 5% other religions. Now only about half a dozen churches are left, for propaganda purposes for visitors, but none of them is truly serving religious needs of the people. Almost all bishops, priests and monks were arrested, some tortured to death and shot; the majority were sent to hard labour or concentration camps. Churches were destroyed; some were converted into warehouses, cinemas, living quarters or even stables.

The ruthless Russification of Byelorussia is in full swing. In the 30 existing higher educational establishments and universities, the Russian language is insisted upon almost exclusively and in the prevailing majority of other primary, secondary and technical schools (statistics from 1. IX. 1969 — there were 11,000 schools with 1,519,000 pupils). Out of 260 newspapers (including provincials), 15 magazines and 73 other periodicals, only a comparatively small number is published in the Byelorussian language, and the same is true of books. Byelorussia is flooded with Russian books and newspapers.

In spite of determined Russian efforts to eradicate every bit of Byelorussian national feeling, the masses of people have never

voluntarily accepted Communism, and their strong desire for freedom and independence has never been extinguished. Clandestine underground movements are still at work in Byelorussia, Ukraine and other enslaved nations. The "popularity" of the Communist party in Byelorussia may be judged from the fact that despite the material advantage of the party membership card, only 2.2% of the population are party members. Byelorussia is one of the founder States of the U.N. and has its representatives in U.N. organs, nearly all of them Russians.

Finally, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that according to the Byelorussian Constitution enforced by Moscow, "Byelorussia is entitled to exercise State power *independently* and to enjoy all sovereign rights, including the right of free secession from the USSR; the right to enter into direct relations with foreign States; to conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic representatives."

In practice, this cynicism and hypocrisy can be best illustrated by the examples of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, when they attempted to implement the U.N. Charter and regain their self-determination.

P. Junach

The Byelorussian Liberation Front in London

Ukraine — Producer Of Over 60% Of Sugar In USSR

An editorial in *Radyanska Ukraina* of September 3, 1969 states that "Ukraine is the major beet field of the land (USSR). The collective and state farms of the republic yield half of the all-union harvest of sugar beets and its factories produce over 60% of all sugar. The Vinnytsya region is called the Beet Donbas."

230,000 hectares have been devoted to beet cultivation last year. Besides the Vinnytsya region beets are grown in the following oblasts: Khmelnytska, Poltava, Ternopil and Rivne.

Latvians Threatened With Genocide

Three of the main factors which, since 1945, have threatened the existence of the Latvian people as a Nation are:

1. The influx of Russians into Latvia.
2. The introduction of Russian as the official language of Latvia.
3. The distortion of Latvian history.

(1) During the past 25 years the proportion of Latvian-born people has fallen to 1,600,000 against a total population of 2,400,000. Discounting foreigners living in Latvia before the last war, this means an influx of 400,000 foreign nationals (the majority of whom are Russians) since 1945 and the present rate of immigration is 13,000 a year. To absorb this inflow of foreigners it has been necessary to change Latvia from a rich agricultural country to an industrialized one **DEPENDENT ON RUSSIAN RAW MATERIALS**. Latvian-born people are encouraged to emigrate to Russia and other Soviet Republics, thus further depleting the Latvian-born population in Latvia.

(2) By Constitutional Law the Latvian and Russian languages are equitable but in practice Russian is the official language at all levels. This means that non-Russian speaking Latvians cannot be employed on any administrative or even lowest grade clerical work. All children are taught Russian but Latvian is not a compulsory subject in the schools. Scientific and technical subjects are taught *only* in Russian, and a further obvious threat to the growth of the Latvian language is the fact that no textbooks are printed in this language. Every newspaper and periodical published in Latvian is also published in Russian but not everything published in Russian is translated into Latvian. Of all broadcasting *only* 23% is in the Latvian language and *only* 5% of films in the cinemas.

(3) Perhaps the most serious threat to any nation is the denial and distortion of that nation's history. The very being of the Latvian Nation, the culture, traditions and heritage are losing their meaning owing to continuous indoctrination of "new",

"revolutionary" criteria. The present trend is that all Latvian literature, music and art have always been based on Russian counterparts. Traditions and festivals, whose origins are lost in the mists of time, are presented as expressions of alleviation of misery before the "liberation" of Latvia by the present rulers, and as such are no longer necessary and are, in fact, ridiculous and bourgeois under the present, most enlightened regime. The claim is made that Latvia has no history before Tsar Peter I (the first record of Latvia's conquest by Russia) and that the years of Independence (1918-1940) are hardly worth mentioning as patriotic Latvians were struggling against the bourgeoisie for union with Russia. In fact, the "liberation" of Latvia by Russia in 1940 was comparable with last year's events in Czecho-Slovakia, in that Latvia was fully occupied by Red Army troops, tanks and secret police before the Soviet Latvian Government was formed at the "request" of the Latvian people.

These insidious efforts to destroy the Latvian people as a Nation are not new to us. Our history shows that for 700 years, owing to our geographical position, we have been fought over and have come under various foreign rulers at different periods of time; yet the Latvian Nation still exists. By their very nature, temperament and essential moral qualities, the Latvian people will never become Russians.
Latvian National Council in Great Britain

"We all have the most violent dynamite available, the most irresistible fighting instrument, which is stronger than tanks and machine-guns: our own ashes! No power in the world can escape ruin, if it has built its foundations on the ashes of brave fighters killed for justice and God."

Ion I. Mota

Ukraine's Key Position In Eastern Europe

To fully understand the present life and struggle of the Ukrainian people it is important to know what force sustains and guides their daily existence.

Ukraine, with her historical past of over 12 centuries, marked by highly developed jurisprudence, established equal rights for men and women, abolishing death sentence, glorifying human and individual rights in the system laid down by the Grand Prince Yaroslav Mudryi in the 11th century, has preserved her national identity in spite of Russian slavery. Therefore Ukraine has enormous and threatening significance for the Communist Russian oppressors. In the past 50 years about 20 millions of Ukrainians perished innocently.

Notwithstanding, the persistent and forceful Russification, attempts at denationalization of Ukrainian people, Ukraine's youth of today, fully cognizant of the glorious past of their nation, of the times of her moral, spiritual and military strength proves to be quite a difficult task for the Russian imperial forces.

The Ukrainian youth and young intellectuals, though brought up in the Russian Communist system did not only retain their individual Ukrainian image but manage to conquer their tyrants spiritually.

Ukrainian intellectuals, having been convicted by secret Russian trials, and sent to concentration camps, are writing courageous letters to the government representatives with frank complaints and accusations. Vyacheslav Chornovil's known papers published recently in England and in USA, to mention but one, show clearly and unequivocally that the Ukrainians have now nothing to fear but fear itself.

Step by step, this work and the works of many other Ukrainian public figures have shown to all thinking people the shallowness and cunningness of the Communist system. The Soviet Constitution is analyzed

and shown to be not worth the paper it is written on.

Individual Freedom? Almost none. A hard day-to-day struggle to retain some fragments of individual dignity in the face of odds.

Strengthened by heroic exploits of the intellectuals, the masses of the Ukrainian people appear to be able to fend themselves with renewed vigor, and stubbornness.

Job opportunities are closed to those whose "bourgeois" or alleged nationalistic leanings are known or suspected. But people learn how to accommodate without giving up their national ideals and retaining their individual dignity.

In housing matters, priority is given to the trusted Communist workers; good Ukrainians have to fend for themselves.

Religious freedom is in reality non-existent! Religion, however, has definitely survived in Ukraine. Religion flourishes underground much like that of the Christians in the catacombs. Christening of children is clandestine; Christian burials are frowned upon by Russian officials. Persecution of religion by Russians takes place whenever it is possible to uncover something, through cunningness and treachery.

Just recently the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi was arrested on his way to hear the confession of a woman. Hundreds of priests are in jails.

The future of Ukraine however is bright and well defined. The Ukrainian people shall continue to uphold their 12-centuries-long tradition of their old Christian culture which flourished so brightly from the 8th to the 14th century, when Ukraine's significance and might were the greatest.

Ukrainians do not show signs of breaking under the Russian heel and will certainly continue to remain a thorn in Russian side until Russia withdraws her occupying forces from the land of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people.

It appears that no matter how much Russia and Moscow will scheme, trying to hide the importance of Ukraine's key position in Eastern Europe, Ukraine shall always come to the forefront of struggle. For the Ukrainians the present era is an era of the

struggle of Kyiv against Moscow for the old traditional culture and human dignity as well as the sovereign identity of the Ukrainian people and nation, in the family of all nations.

British League Urges Not To Forget Those Who Suffer For Their Faith

Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution states:

"The Church in the USSR is separated from the State and the school from the Church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights states:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance."

The difference between the two articles is self-evident. While ensuring freedom for anti-religious propaganda, Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution makes it an offence for any Soviet citizen to teach religion, either publicly or in the private of the family. Indeed, although Article 124 is quoted liberally by the Russians and Communist sympathizers as guaranteed religious freedom in the USSR, in reality, it is used more and more as the basis for intensification of religious persecution.

No religious faith has escaped this persecution. Catholics, Lutherans, Muslims, Jews, Baptists, and the old Orthodox Churches — all have been persecuted and many of their clergy and laymen imprisoned or sent to forced labour camps, without trial and without sentence.

Mr. Alexander Dinces, an American citizen only very recently released by the Russians after spending over five years in various prisons and camps said of these religious prisoners: "They come under the status of political prisoners. They are separated from general or criminal prisoners. They are regarded as provocateurs, charged with sympathizing with the capitalist system, or conducting harmful anti-Soviet propaganda by means of various religious channels. Surprisingly, in recent years, the number of so-called religious prisoners, prisoners of conscience, is still going up."

Mr. Dinces said the treatment of the religious prisoners was hard. Some had been charged with promoting religious activity, some with trying to give religious education to their children. "There were a lot of clergymen in the prison camps — ex-ministers of various religious groups, priests, pastors, and so on from all parts of the Soviet Union."

Evidence now reaching the West shows that since the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, the Russians have intensified religious persecution, particularly in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Daily, we receive information about further arrests, as for instance the arrest on January 27th this year of the Ukrainian Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyy.

In the name of the millions who have died, and for the many thousands who are still prisoners of conscience, we appeal to all who value human dignity not to forget those who now suffer for their faith. The people of these suffering nations look with hope and confidence to us for at least a sign of our sympathy with them.

Ukrainians Addressing British Prime Minister

(Below we are publishing the full text of a memorandum by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, which was delivered to Prime Minister Harold Wilson on November 10, 1969, during the Captive Nations Week in England.)

Sir,

We, the undersigned, take the liberty to address you on the occasion of the Captive Nations' Week (November 9-16, 1969) on behalf of the 30,000-strong Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom where, for almost a quarter of a century, it has enjoyed the privilege of refuge and liberty living in this country side by side with the hospitable British people.

At the same time we feel that we have the moral right and duty to speak on behalf of the entire 46,000,000-strong Ukrainian nation which for the past 50 years has been suffering terrible oppression at the hands of the totalitarian Communist Russian regime of arbitrary violence and inhuman brutality, and has been prevented from voicing its aspirations freely in a genuinely democratic manner.

The purpose of this letter is to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the situation of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism, in particular in Ukraine, to the continued aspirations and struggle of the Ukrainian nation for individual freedom and national independence, and to some important facts in the East-West relations which profoundly influence today, or are bound to influence tomorrow world political developments.

1) First of all, we wish to draw your attention, Sir, to the fact that the national problem in the Russian colonial empire, known as the Soviet Union, together with its satellites, remains acute. The enslaved nations have not and will never reconcile themselves with their underprivileged position in the shadow of Russian great power chauvinism.

Among those enslaved nations, Ukraine has given innumerable proofs of the continued resistance of the Ukrainian people to Russian supremacy and of the will of

the Ukrainian nation to regain its liberty and national independence.

The Declaration of Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic of January 22, 1918, was followed by three years of armed resistance of the Ukrainian regular forces to Communist Russia. This War of Independence ended in the Russian conquest of Ukraine, partly owing to the lack of understanding and assistance from the Western Democracies. The prolonged struggle of armed partisan units in the 1920s, of various underground organisations, such as the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Association (liquidated in 1930), the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (founded in 1929), and various others has not abated to this day. The proclamation of the restoration of Ukraine's independence in the capital city of Western Ukraine, Lviv, on June 30, 1941, on the outbreak of the German-Russian war, by Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists led by Stepan Bandera, expressed the cherished aspirations of the Ukrainian people but was followed by brutal Gestapo reprisals. The armed fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, under the leadership of Roman Shukhevych (General Taras Chuprynka) between 1942 and 1950, first against the Nazi German occupation and later against the Soviet Russian domination, spread over a large part of Ukrainian territory and was supported by millions of the Ukrainian population. Shootings, mass arrests and deportations temporarily dealt a heavy blow to Ukrainian resistance, but even in concentration camps of Siberia Ukrainians organised uprisings which forced Khrushchev to introduce certain changes.

At present we receive ever new confirmations of the existence and strength of the underground national liberation movement in Ukraine. Clandestine political

literature with Ukrainian patriotic contents is again circulating in Ukraine, and some of it has even reached the West. Moscow reacts with increased terror, arrests of prominent intellectuals, students, and members of various underground Ukrainian organisations which come into existence spontaneously in many parts of Ukraine. The Mordovian concentration camps are filled to a great extent with Ukrainian political prisoners, fighters for the rights of the Ukrainian nation and for individual freedoms. Hundreds of Ukrainian patriots unjustly sentenced to 25-year terms of imprisonment back in Stalin's times, are still languishing in prison. Among them are well-known national figures: the distinguished lawyer, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, a citizen of Czecho-Slovakia, as well as three women Red Cross organisers: Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husak and Halyna Didyk.

In the last few years a number of Ukrainian patriotic underground organisations have been discovered by the Soviet Russian secret police in Ukraine and severely dealt with. Thus, in 1959, a group of young people who founded the clandestine "United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine" in the region of Ivano-Frankivsk, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 7 to 10 years. In 1960, a group of lawyers who set themselves the task of pressing for the implementation of the right of secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the Soviet Union, and founded the organisation named "Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union" in Lviv, were arrested and at a secret trial in 1961 sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 7 to 15 years. In December 1961, another group of young people who founded the organisation named "Ukrainian National Committee" in Lviv were secretly tried. Two of them, Ivan Koval and Bohdan Hrytsyna, were sentenced to death and others sent to prison for terms ranging from 10 to 15 years. A considerable number of Ukrainians from various parts of Ukraine were sentenced in 1962-63 for "anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda" to many years of imprisonment.

In 1965 came a wave of reprisals against Ukrainian intellectuals and cultural workers who protested against Russian colonialism in Ukraine, especially the officially favoured cultural Russification. Over 20 of them from various parts of Ukraine were arrested at the end of August, 1965, and secretly tried at the beginning of 1966. They were sentenced to up to six years of imprisonment and hard labour in the concentration camps of Mordovia. One of them, the poet and translator, Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, who had already served over 16 years of his 25-year prison sentence and had been released in 1960, was rearrested and sent, without trial, to serve the remaining 8 years and 7 months of his quashed sentence in the Mordovian camps.

A journalist, Viacheslav Chornovil, who attended some of these trials, collected documentation about the arrested intellectuals, in particular their petitions and open letters to the Soviet authorities pleading for justice and protesting against Russification policies, made a number of typewritten copies of this collection of documents. One or two of them reached the West and was published in Ukrainian and English. This served as a pretext for the authorities to arrest him in August 1967, and sentence him in November of the same year to 18 months of imprisonment.

In 1967 the KGB carried out numerous arrests among young people in West Ukraine. At a secret trial in Ivano-Frankivsk they were accused of belonging to the organisation named "Ukrainian National Front" and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging from six to 15 years and to many years of banishment from their native land.

In 1968, a number of signatories of the famous open letter of 139 Ukrainians from Kyiv, protesting against violation of "socialist legality", against secret trials and suppression of the national rights of Ukrainians, have suffered reprisals, among them the poet Ivan Drach, the critic Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, the historian Yurii Braichevskyi, the philologist Zina Franko, and others. Likewise, several Ukrainians, among them Professor Pliushch, signatories of the

open letter of 54 Soviet citizens, protesting against suppression of civil rights in the USSR, have also been arrested and persecuted.

On January 27, 1969, the K.G.B. arrested Mgr. Vasyl Velychkovskyi, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite, in Lviv, West Ukraine. This Church has been banned by Russian authorities in 1946 when all its bishops were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and the only survivor at present is Major Archbishop Yosyf Slipyi who spent 18 years in Soviet concentration camps and now lives in Rome where he was made cardinal by Pope Paul VI. Mgr. Velychkovskyi, who had been secretly appointed Archbishop by the Metropolitan Yosyf Slipyi, has died in prison shortly after his arrest. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has also been completely destroyed by the Communist Russian authorities and is not permitted to function in Ukraine.

The above facts which are but fragmentary, illustrate to some extent the persecution which Ukrainian nation suffers at the hands of the oppressive and alien Russian Communist colonial regime.

2) Further, we wish to express our conviction that the assurances which Russia frequently gives of peaceful coexistence with the free countries of the world are no more worth than similar Russian assurances and solemnly signed treaties in the past. They were usually broken as soon as Russia felt that she could violate them with impunity.

In this respect Ukraine has had a long and bitter experience. Thus on December 17, 1917, the Soviet Russian Government, in a diplomatic communication to the Ukrainian Government, recognised the right of Ukraine to full independence. But already 10 days later Communist Russian troops invaded Ukraine under the pretext of helping the puppet Communist "Government" of Ukraine set up by a small group of Communist Russian agents in the East Ukrainian city of Kharkiv in opposition to the true national Government of Ukraine

in Kyiv. Two months later, Russia agreed in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk to evacuate her troops from Ukraine and to recognise Ukraine's independence. But this obligation was broken at the end of the same year, 1918, when Russian Communist armies again swarmed across the borders of Ukraine under the same pretext. Moscow was then certain that no one would come to Ukraine's aid.

As in the case of Ukraine, Russia also completely disregarded her treaties with Poland, Finland and the Baltic Republics when an opportune time came some 20 years later. The sense of various agreements, especially with the Western Allies, concerning the future regimes in East-Central Europe was unrecognisably twisted by Russia towards the end of World War II, and in the immediate post-war period, when Russia saw that the governments of the West would not do anything to stand up in defence of the said countries.

This should be a warning that the slogan of peaceful coexistence propagated by Russia is merely a strategic manoeuvre designed to lull the West into a feeling of false security in order to gain time to consolidate her decomposing empire, to strengthen overwhelmingly her military might and to gain new footholds in the so-called Third World.

The declared and real aim of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Russian Government leaders still remains the same: to extend their odious spirit-killing monstrous empire throughout the world. For it is only in that system that Russia can hope to play a leading role, being its inventor and the prime moving force. If the system be relaxed, it would inevitably be overthrown by the discontented masses, consisting of the oppressed nations and individuals, because they are forced every day into permanent natural opposition to it, kept in check only by means of terror, ruthless violence, and ceaseless propagandist brain-washing in isolation from the rest of the world. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique realise this dilemma perfectly well and it is for this reason that they are endeavouring to turn back the

spontaneous drift towards relaxation which began after Stalin's death. The Russian leaders cannot satisfy themselves with the maintenance of the international status quo either, on a permanent basis that is, because this excludes control over the growth of new forces and new power centres outside their sphere of influence. These forces are bound to become new obstacles to the fulfilment of Moscow's ambition to dominate the world. Thus, the only way possible for them is to hold on to a basically offensive strategy aimed at advancing at opportune times towards world supremacy, profiting as much as possible from the consequences of World War II advantageous to them, from appeasement moods in the West, and from opportunism of some Third World politicians.

3) We wish to express our sincere conviction, Sir, that as long as the CPSU is in power in the USSR, there is no hope for a real reform of the system towards something approaching normal democratic standards of political life, and as long as any Russian empire exists, of whatever colour, it will not abandon its drive for world domination. Any appeasement of Russian expansionist ambitions or recog-

nition of the status quo as lawful or permanent, strengthens the Communist Russian system and creates additional danger to the free world. On the other hand, passivity on the part of the free world with regard to Russia is fraught with mortal peril for the freedom of the countries of the West. It is only a long-term offensive strategy which can ensure the survival of the free world and at the same time bring nearer the restoration of freedom in the sphere now dominated by Russia. Concessions and half-way solutions which have been tried with Russia and the Communists since the end of World War II, have proved to be no solutions at all, but simply stages towards enabling Russia and the Communists to expand further their sway. The examples are: Poland (1944-45), Czecho-Slovakia (1948), Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and last but not least East Germany. Mainland China could also have been saved for the free world, had there been more sober assessment of the situation on the part of the West. The withholding of any kind of recognition or any support from the Ukrainian independence movement before, during and after World War II, on the part of the West, was one of the great



The Cathedral of the Rumanian Orthodox Patriarch in Bucharest.

mistakes of policy, for it helped Russia to consolidate her hold over the strategically important Ukrainian territory, as well as over the Central European satellites.

There is not much hope for the West to win the deadly contest with Russia and the Communists when it will merely continue to repulse half-heartedly Communist attacks on the battlegrounds chosen by them, as is now the case in South-East Asia. The results of such a policy have become clear from the conflict in South Vietnam and Laos. The Communists are able to concentrate all their efforts, manpower and military resources for an attack in an area which is ripe for their penetration owing to various circumstances. Moreover, the Communist "ideological" penetration and warfare, which is not discontinued even in the period of supposed "peaceful coexistence", can be ignored only at the extreme risk to the West, as seemingly innocuous student disturbances in Paris, USA and other places have shown.

4) Regarding the contents and methods of ideological response on the part of the free world, in particular the leading Western powers, to the Communist, in particular Soviet Russian, challenge it is our considered opinion that they are far from sufficient. It is our conviction that the most important shortcomings of the present ideological stance on the part of the West are the following:

a) The Western response is purely defensive and for this reason uninspiring to the millions of people subjugated by Russia and Communism;

b) it fails to provide any guidance to the oppressed millions of how to organise themselves for resistance to their tormentors, how to thwart the criminal policies of the Communist dictatorships, how to withstand modern propaganda and brainwashing techniques. Free mankind is thus in full awareness refusing to give a helping hand to its brothers and sisters suffocating under the stifling Communist regimes;

c) it fails to offer a vision of a better future for the oppressed nations and individuals and a hope of its eventual achievement. At best, the West merely in-

forms them blandly and "objectively" of what goes on in the rest of the world, how the free world has reconciled itself with the rape of the enslaved nations, how prosperity is rising in some countries, etc.;

d) it often mistakenly regards national Communism as the solution to be offered to the enslaved nations, whereas in fact "national Communism", if it exists at all, is merely a temporary compromise between the Moscow-oriented Communist tyrannies and the spontaneous nationalism of the overwhelming masses of a given nation, and cannot serve as a desirable ideal for true freedom-loving forces;

e) it fails to encourage the unity of action of the enslaved peoples on the basis of genuine regard for equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, integrity of their ethnic territories, because it shows undue respect for Russian chauvinistic susceptibilities among other things;

f) most important of all, it fails to utilise the most potent idea, namely the liberation aspirations of the peoples imprisoned by Russia within the frontiers of the USSR. The example of our native country, Ukraine, is telling. Thus, even today, the Foreign Office and the B.B.C. External Services still do not consider it necessary to introduce Ukrainian broadcasts of the B.B.C., motivating their refusal with such arguments as that Ukrainians largely understand Russian, that the Russians might be dissatisfied at such a move, and that there is a shortage of financial resources. Surely, these arguments pale in view of the likelihood of winning warm sympathies of 46,000,000 European people which can easily be done by introducing B.B.C. broadcasts in Ukrainian. Ukrainians, after all, represent some 20% of the population of the USSR, they are natural leaders of some 50% of the total population of the USSR, which is other than Russian; Ukrainians also make up nearly 10% of the population of our European continent.

g) the Western response usually lays stress on criticizing merely the false Communist doctrine without seriously attacking Russian imperialism and great power chau-

vinism which are the real driving forces behind the Communist movement. Without them Communism as such would create little danger to the peace of the world.

5) We take the liberty to appeal to you, Sir, as the leader of a great nation, a country which is world famous as the cradle of parliamentary democratic government, the country which has shown unexampled respect for the dignity of man and his freedom, as well as for the rights of nations and peoples however humble, by peacefully granting independence to many once dependent countries, to show once again the spirit of outstanding moral leadership at the present juncture of history by initiating efforts to mobilise world public opinion against the continued existence of the anachronistic, tyrannous and inhuman colonial Russian empire which camouflages itself as a "socialist union of equal peoples" under the red international proletarian flag, but which is in fact a direct continuation, in modernised form, of the Muscovite dukedom, of the bloodthirsty tyranny of Ivan the Terrible, of the absolutistic autocracies of Peter I, Catherine II, Nicholas I and other Russian tsars, who conquered foreign lands and subjugated other nations.

The world cannot exist forever divided into two completely antagonistic systems: one that cherishes freedom of nations and individuals and another which uses every means to suppress and eradicate them. Freedom is a delicate plant and considerably more effort has to be exerted to cultivate it than is more than necessary to break and destroy it. But what we see in the world today is the fact that increasingly more forces and efforts are applied to the destruction of freedom than to its spread and cultivation.

We trust and hope that Britain with her old democratic tradition of justice and fair play will raise its voice in defence of the enslaved nations and their inalienable rights, in particular at the forum of the United Nations. Among them, we dare to hope, representatives of Her Majesty's Government will come out in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian nation to national liberty

and independence the more so as there have never been any feelings of hostility between our peoples, no conflicts of interests. Although geographically situated at the opposite flanks of Europe, Ukraine and Britain belong to the same continent and to a similar cultural tradition. As in the past, there will exist in the future many promising possibilities of economic cooperation between Ukraine and Britain on the basis of mutual advantage and equality. These opportunities, however, are not only neglected by the present Russian Communist colonial regime, but its policies are designed to reduce such ties to the absolute minimum and to channel that minimal trade via Moscow thus ensuring the greatest possibilities for the exploitation of Ukraine's resources for Russia's own purposes, usually to the disadvantage of Ukraine.

In order to give just one individual example of the injustice of the Russian Communist rule in Ukraine, we take the liberty of including a photostat copy and an English translation of the personal appeal by the Ukrainian political prisoner, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, who has been mentioned above. Although his letter was written as far back as 1962, it is still topical, because Dr. Horbovyi is still being kept in a Mordovian concentration camp, as is witnessed by Mr. Gerald Brooke who met him personally and formed the highest admiration for him.

We should be most grateful, Sir, if you would kindly give our letter your careful consideration.

We are, Sir,

Very truly yours,

For and on behalf of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain:

Prof. W. Wasylenko (President)	Dr. S. M. Fostun (Secretary)
I. Rawluk (Executive Director)	I. Dmytriw (First Vice-President)
M. Bilyj-Karpync (Second Vice-President)	J. Zablockyj (Presidium Member)

W. Oleskiw
(Presidium Member)

Russians Feared Stepan Bandera

Speech of remembrance and warning delivered by Wolfgang Strauss (former inmate of Russian concentration camps) on 11th October 1969 at the Nocturnal Wreath-laying Ceremony at Stepan Bandera's death-place, Kreittmayerstr. 7, Munich, West Germany.

Dear Friends,

Ten years ago, on 15th October 1959, this place witnessed the death of a man who will go into the history of the Ukrainian nation as one of the strongest and most fascinating political personalities of our century, as a genuine revolutionary transformer of this very Ukrainian nation. An army of historians will write a long series of books on the life, work, importance and emanation of this man, and, I am firmly convinced, he will be dealt with also by German historians.

But whatever the judgment of historians may be — those of us standing today before his death-place, on this pavement and at this hour, are tortured by a quite different question, the question of when at last the first salvo in the Ukrainian anti-colonialist revolution of liberation will be heard, the rumbling of the revolution for which Stepan Bandera worked his whole life, in times when he was free from political persecution and when he had to go underground, with the total devotion and total selflessness of a liberation nationalist.

Is it presumptuous to desire ardently the hour of freedom for an oppressed, exploited, dismembered people? Never!

During the epoch of terror under Stalin after the war the concentration camp guards in Siberia and Kazakhstan used to call the political prisoners from the Ukrainian contingent "Banderivtsi". Stalin's executioners gave their most determined opponents the name of the man they hated most, since they feared him beyond all measure.

The Stalinists of that time, as the Stalinists of today, feared in Stepan Bandera the idea which today, even at this moment, is spreading over the whole world, from Ireland to South Africa, from Peru to China, setting peoples and continents ablaze: the idea of the freedom of the nation — freedom for one's own national way

in a new social order, freedom for the realization of national independence. This idea is invincible, my friends.

Invincible in the general political sense, invincible also particularly in the moral and military sense. The national idea is the idea of humanity. 50 years ago in the storms of the February Revolution the 300-year-old Romanov dynasty came to grief on this truth. 24 years ago Hitler's imperialism and colonialism was wrecked on this truth: they foundered on the national, human idea.

Can the approaching Ukrainian liberation revolution be killed, be stifled by killing one of the spiritually motivating forces of this revolution? Ten years ago those who gave the order for the assassination, the Russian Bolsheviks, believed in this possibility. Today, ten years later, we and they know that the loss of this man was unable either seriously to delay or even to paralyze pre-revolutionary developments in Ukraine.

Surely nobody, no politician in East and West will wish to assume today that the Ukrainian people, the second largest Slav nation, is ready to accept the rule of colonialism, of imperialism, of intellectual intolerance, cultural discrimination and social repression for ever!

Every popular revolution, so history teaches, is preceded by a period of intellectual, spiritual opposition. This condition is found today in Ukraine. I will only mention the names of Symonenko, Drach, Chornovil, Dzyuba, Lina Kostenko, Lukyanenko. The revolution itself is the cause of the whole creative nation — the worker with the gun, the peasant with the hand-grenade, and the student on the tank. *They* will carry to an end consistently, severely and ruthlessly in the streets and fields of Ukraine the just cause, — which was Bandera's cause, and which still is!

The Main Ideological And Political Principles Of The OUN

(Continuation)

V

1. The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism was formulated on the basis of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation, as a synthesis of the values and concepts which it created and cultivated during its historical existence. This is a collection of truths and ideas which give an answer to the most important questions of the existence of the world, nation, human life and society, the values of man and society, and cooperation among men and peoples.

2. The chief truths and ideas of Ukrainian nationalism are: the primacy of spiritual origin, the primacy of the nation and its state sovereignty and unity, independence of Ukrainian politics, social justice, respect for man and universal human values, and free development of all creative forces of the nation.

3. Ukrainian nationalism, as an ideological and political movement, stems from the spiritual and social nature of the Ukrainian nation and therefore it satisfies its most essential needs, its general development and natural harmony of all creative expressions of the individual and the nation.

4. The guiding principle of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism is the truth that the prime cause of all life is spirit not matter. The mover of human life, social order, social and political processes is a human being and not industrial relations. Rejecting the thesis of dialectical materialism which says that matter is the basis of life, Ukrainian nationalism acknowledges that the First Cause of all life is Absolute-God in the Christian meaning of the word.

5. The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism is an exact opposite of all materialistic ideologies. Materialism equates all life with material processes, denying God, religious values, spirituality and free will. The Marxist-Leninist materialism also denies universal human values and replaces them with

class morality and tries to explain the moving forces of history by economic conditions and class antagonisms. Regardless of the fact that the materialistic theory has long been disproved by science, especially contemporary sciences beginning with the quantum theory of physics, through biology, to space flights and including the splitting of the atom, the Russian Bolsheviks are still trying to impose this theory on other nations by force attempting to subordinate to it economic, cultural, political and social life of the subjugated peoples in order to realize their Russian concept of social order and their imperialistic exploitation under the guise of Marxist-Leninist theory.

6. In the nationalistic world outlook a special place is reserved for Christian and national mystique, the cult of saints and heroes, the uncompromising fighters for truth. Human dignity and respect, religious toleration, sacrifice and self-denial in the name of eternal postulates of man and nation — are the component elements of nationalistic outlook on the world.

7. In accordance with the maxim "nobody has greater love than he who gives his life for his brethren" it is a precept of the members of the OUN "to win a Ukrainian state or to die in the fight for it." The activity and the struggle of the OUN for national and human rights against imperialistic and colonialist enslavement and lawlessness flows from this moral spring.

The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism places man, family, nation and the form of its organization, the national state, in the centre of attention. Well-organized relationship among these components is a precondition to the full-valued national development.

a) *Man* — Ukrainian nationalism acknowledges the special role and position of man in the life of a nation, as a being with his own unique individuality, free will and

his own intellectual, spiritual and material needs and interests. Man-individual is not only a physical part of national society, but also an active and formulating factor of national life. He, as an inseparable component part of a nation, is responsible in his conscience for the performance of his function in society. There is no such thing as a nationless man, there is only a concrete national man defined by national substance. It is in the national interest to guarantee to every man conditions favourable to his complete development and self-expression in free work, at the time when the boundaries of freedom of an individual, the ways and forms of satisfaction of his private interests and needs are defined and regulated by freedom and rights of another individual, by the needs and interests of the nation as a whole.

b) *Family is the basic cell of the spiritual and organic society, the nation, the preserver and creator of the Ukrainian kin, Ukrainian culture and morality.* The nation, as a living organism preserves itself and develops thanks to the growth and development of its living cells, which are the families. As a basic cell of society, the family is also the first school of social life, solidarity, respect for the rights of others, unity, and in particular — the source of the propagation of the human race, nation, the forge of Ukrainian morality and patriotism.

c) *Nation* — In the centre of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism stands a nation, as a natural category, socio-political value and living, original, spiritual and or-

ganic society, which crystallized and grew from determined historical, geo-political, economic and socio-political conditions. The nation, as understood by Ukrainian nationalism, is a unity of all strata and all generations ("the living, the dead and the unborn"), welded together by common history, culture, language, traditions, territory and the common will to live an independent, self-reliant, life in their own state. On the road of historical development of mankind a nation became the basic subject of international life and a force which plays a decisive role in the formulation of historical processes in the world; it became the basis of the political organization of the world. The idea of national freedom corresponds to the deepest aspirations of all peoples. Constant and all-round strengthening of the development of the nation as the highest form of human society will also decide the question of further existence of all kinds of empires and together with it will bring about the liquidation of domination of one nation over others.

d) *State* — In accordance with the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, the national state is the highest form of the organization of the life of the nation, which serves the interests of its citizens, and its structure and order correspond to the characteristic attributes of the nation and its living needs. Only its own national state can guarantee to the nation the free development of all its spiritual and material forces and a proper place among other national states. The national state is a permanent embodiment of the will of the nation and the individual.

"Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own."

Benjamin Franklin

Croats Demand Sovereignty

Yugoslavia is an artificial State structure which for the first time came into existence after the First World War in 1918.

The Croatian people have been in their present homeland Croatia since 626 A.D. Until 1102 they had their own national rulers — dukes, bans and kings — and their own State Parliament. In that year Croatia decided to enter into a personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary and in 1527 with the Habsburg Monarchy, still preserving its Statehood and its own Parliament. Thus, Croatia was a State for nearly 1300 years, i.e. until 1918 when it was included in Yugoslavia against the wishes of its people.

In this new State the Croats were second-class citizens. In 1928 the Croatian leader Stjepan Radić was murdered in the Belgrade Parliament and in 1929, by a dictatorial decree, they were forbidden even to call themselves Croats.

On April 10th, 1941 the Croats exercised their right of self-determination and proclaimed their own Independent State of Croatia. This Croatian State was buried by Agreements of Yalta and Potsdam and in 1945 it was again included in Yugoslavia. Tito's Communists are guilty of murdering at least half a million Croatian victims who fought for freedom and independence of Croatia.

The Yugoslav Communist regime is working on instructions of Communist imperialists from Moscow, and we think it is time that the free world sees this and stops helping it.

However, the Croatian people do not intend to be exterminated and allow their millenary State right to be buried. Therefore, in alliance with all other captive nations, they continue their struggle for freedom and independence of Croatia.

Europe as a whole is awakening and fighting for its survival. Croatia is proud to be one of the oldest members of European community and will do its best to be tomorrow, as a sovereign nation, an equal member of the world family of nations.

For Ukrainian Patriarchate

The request that the Ukrainian Catholic Great Archbishopric of Lviv should be raised to the level of a Patriarchate of Kyiv and Halych has been addressed to the Pope once more by the synod of Ukrainian Catholic bishops. Under the chairmanship of the Major Archbishop of Lviv, Cardinal Yosyf Slipyi, the synod worked out a constitution for the patriarchic character of the Ukrainian Church. It met from 29 September to 4 October in the newly-founded Ukrainian university in Rome.

The work of the synod was shared by about 20 Ukrainian metropolitans, archbishops and bishops who are entrusted with the religious guidance of about two million Ukrainians in Canada, the USA, Australia, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, France, Italy and the Federal German Republic. On the agenda were also questions of liturgical language, training of priests, education of youth, lay apostolate and an ecumenical dialogue with Orthodox Christians.

News And Views

Kenya People's Union Infiltrated By Russian And Chinese Communists

Red China has organised a People's Liberation Front for Kenya. Peking proclaimed simultaneously that it would pave the way for an African cultural revolution. At the same time the USSR is trying to establish pro Russian groups in Nairobi and other towns.

It seems that the Kenya People's Union (KPU) is being infiltrated by both Communist opponents, the Chinese and the Russians. An observer in Nairobi declared that the People's Liberation Front had nevertheless not got beyond its "extremely weak" beginnings. He did not think that it would succeed in its agitation for the unleashing of People's Liberation Wars in East Africa. The distribution of the "Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" in the vernacular was having equally little success.

The headquarters of the People's Liberation Movement in Kenya might well be — as in most African and South American countries — the news agency Hsinhua. Hsinhua maintains in the whole of East Africa a network of agents which is controlled from Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania. Military education centres for various "people's liberation fronts" are also situated in Tanzania. Soviet Russia recently strengthened its infiltration throughout Kenya, apparently to impede an increase in the influence of Red China. The report of the observer in Nairobi quotes the "considerable successes of the counter-espionage authorities in Kenya". For example: "Measures were directed against the Russian press agency Novosti, a certain Sakharov, and the Soviet export delegate, Agadzhanov, who is in charge of the distribution of Soviet films, sending them out to various towns in Kenya, partly having them performed by travelling theatre companies and taking the opportunity to form smaller Communist

groups. These cadres direct their subversive activities, like the Chinese, at the KPU.

The observer is convinced that a central leadership has already been set up for the underground activities in Kenya. It is headed by a former diplomat of the Russian Embassy in Nairobi, the "retired" embassy counsellor, G. Bekhtarev.

A characteristic symptom of the Communist activity in Kenya is the fact that the leader of Czech news agency Ceteka, the "journalist" Forejt, had recently to be extradited.

Anti-Jewish Campaign In Russian Sphere Of Power

The representatives of 25 Jewish organizations at their conference held recently at Geneva (Switzerland) have accused the Communist dictatorships in the Soviet Union, in Russian occupied Poland and in the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany of conducting an anti-Jewish campaign. The conference in a communiqué expressed its indignation at the campaign emanating from Soviet Russia under the cover of "Anti-Zionism" and taken over by other Communist-ruled states dependent on Russia.

Ambitious Agricultural Programme

The economic programme for the years 1971 to 1975, which will be presented at the 10th Romanian Party Congress in August, provides for a 35 % to 45 % increase in output. This, like most Romanian agricultural targets, is not likely to be achieved. During the seven years from 1962 to 1969 wheat production has increased by not more than 17 %.

New Arrests And Repressions In Ukraine

The following people were dismissed from work for signing the so-called "Ukrainian letter of 139" in defense of Chornovil and other prisoners:

M. E. Braichevskiy, senior research worker of the Institute of History, at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, a well-known historian, a candidate of history, author of monographs "How and When Did Kyiv Arise", "The Question of East-Slavic Statehood", "The Origin of Rus'", "Unification or Annexation" and others. At the party meeting of the Institute, the former secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and now director of the Institute of History, A. Skaba, shouted in the direction of M. Braichevskiy: "I cannot tolerate evil spirits."

Mykhailyna F. Kotsyubynska, the author of numerous articles dealing with literary critique and a book entitled "Literature as the Art of Words" (Kyiv, 1965, pp. 324), staff member of the Institute of Literature at the AS Ukr.SSR. The campaign against her was led by M. Shamota, the author of an article condemning O. Honchar's "Sobor", and A. Skaba.

Zinaida T. Franko, the granddaughter of Ivan Franko, philologist, staff member of the Institute of Philology at the AS Ukr.SSR.

Yu. Bachynskiy from the Institute of Zoology.

L. Yatsenko, member of the Composers Union of Ukraine, candidate of art, author of many songs (including the well-known song "Verkhovyna"), staff member of the Institute of Folklore and Art at the AS Ukr.SSR.

Leonid Plyushch, a well-known mathematician from the Institute of Cybernetics.

H. Minyailo from the Kyiv Institute of Micro-Instruments for organizing a discussion club with the permission of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine.

R. Motruk, from the Kyiv Radio Com-

mittee, for the fact that on May 22, 1968 she went to the Shevchenko monument in Kyiv in spite of prohibition. There Kyiv students meet annually to commemorate the day of the poet's burial.

L. Orel, a teacher, from various schools.

Mykhailo Biletskyi, Kyiv mathematician.

Nadiya Svitlychna, writer, sister of the literary critic Ivan Svitlychnyi.

Yuriy Tsekhmystrenko, candidate of physics and mathematics.

Disturbances at the Kyiv University have brought on further repressions:

Lecturer *V. A. Vyshenskiy* was told to leave the university.

Candidate of physics and mathematics *V. H. Bodnarchuk* was illegally dismissed from work "for activities inconsistent with the high calling of a Soviet lecturer." The dismissal order, as demanded by the KGB, was quickly signed by the rector of Kyiv University I. T. Shvets, who being a Party member since the age of 23, is known at the university to be a KGB collaborator. At the meeting of the Department of Mechanics and Mathematics I. Shvets shouted that there is "opposition" at the university, threatened to "expel" everybody and "to investigate at the Party inquiry those Communists who take a soft stand."

In an attempt to discredit certain lecturers and scientists, the conduct of a well-known scientist Heorhiy M. Polozhiy, the author of many scientific works which appeared not only in Ukrainian, but also in Russian, German and English (one of his books was published by an American publishing house in 1965) seems hostile indeed. Among the mathematicians of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR he is known as the initiator of the campaign against the Jews, as well as well-known Ukrainian mathematicians *B. V. Hnidechko* and *H. I. Shylov* in 1962, and recently also against a young intellectual, *Lilenko*, who abstained from voting against *V. H. Bodnarchuk*.

The Party conference of the Institute of Mathematics at the AS Ukr.SSR recommended that a well-known mathematician and a director of the said Institute, *M. Berzanskyi* (born in 1925 in Kyiv) and *V. Skorokhod* be prevented from lecturing at the Kyiv University.

A member of the Writers Union of Ukraine, poet *Ivan Drach*, and Doctor of Chemistry, staff member of the Institute of

Physical Chemistry, *H. Dvorko*, were dismissed from the Party.

Party inquiry gave a vote of non-confidence to *I. H. Zaslavska*, the candidate of physics and mathematics, staff member at the Institute of Semi-Conductors at AS Ukr.SSR. A strong reprimand was given to the writer, member of the Writers Union of Ukraine and staff member of the Institute of Literature at the AS Ukr.SSR, *L. N. Kovalenko*.

In The Tracks Of Peter I

On October 2, 1939, less than two months after the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Molotov said to the Latvian foreign minister Munters, who had been summoned simultaneously with the other foreign ministers of the Baltic states to Moscow:

"What was laid down in 1920 cannot last eternally. Peter the Great was already clearing the way for Russia to the Baltic. We want to use your harbours, to have free access to them and the right to protect them." (Arnold Spekke: History of Latvia, Stockholm, 1957)

Stalin, who was present at the talks, had added:

"I will tell you openly what has already been agreed upon between the Soviet Union and Germany. The Germans will not protest if we occupy your country. But we do not want to exploit this situation." (op. cit.)

The conversation took place when a treaty was forced on the Baltic states allowing military bases and the entry of the Red Army.

On March 29, 1940, six months after the signing of the so-called Bases-Treaty, Molotov said at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow:

"After the experiences of six months it can be stated that these treaties with the Baltic states have been very favourable. The treaties have contributed to the consolidation of the international position of the Soviet Union as well as that of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Against the fears of circles hostile to the Soviet Union the independence and independent policy of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have not suffered. Based on these treaties, it may be hoped that relations between the Soviet Union and the Baltic states will become even better". (op. cit.)

Four months and one week later, on August 6, 1940, Molotov announced from the same platform of the Supreme Soviet:

"Of first rate importance for our country is the fact that the frontiers of the Soviet Union have been carried forward to the coast of the Baltic Sea. Thus our country has gained its own ice-free ports on the Baltic Sea which we need so much. With the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the Soviet Union, the population of the Soviet Union has grown by 6 million. The incorporation of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet Union is a perceptible blow for the capitalist world. (Istoria Estonskoj SSR, Tallinn 1952)

The Captive Nations Week In England

Large demonstrations in four English cities — London, Manchester, Nottingham and Bradford — were held in observance of the Captive Nations Week, November 9—16, 1969. The week was sponsored by the British League for European Freedom whose members are the British friends of the subjugated peoples and representatives of various national emigre organizations from countries behind the Iron Curtain. District committees charged with the preparation of the CNW program were established in the four above-mentioned cities. The London committee was headed by Lady Jane Birdwood. Besides the English friends the committees included representatives of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, Czechs, Hungarians, Rumanians, Georgians, Albanians, Bulgarians and Zanzibaris. Polish and Serbian representatives took part as observers.

As part of the preparations, Mr. John Graham, Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, sent out announcements about the Captive Nations Week to all bishops of various denominations in England and received dozens of favourable replies with assurances that this week will be designated as a week of prayer for the captive nations in many dioceses. 250,000 leaflets informing about the Russian subjugation of various nations since 1917 were published and distributed throughout England during the Captive Nations Week. Also 40,000 stamps-stickers were issued.

To inform the press and radio about the planned activities press conferences were held in London and Manchester. The London conference was opened by Lady Jane Birdwood. She was followed by Mr. John Graham, Sir Ian McTagert and Czech air force colonel, Shikl, who fled to the West with his family only two months before.

On Sunday, November 9th, an interdenominational prayer service was held in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, on Trafalgar Square in London. The sermon about the situation of the captive nations

was delivered by Rev. Austin Williams, the Anglican vicar of the church. The church was filled to capacity.

On Wednesday, November 12th, a meeting of the representatives of the captive nations and the British friends was held in the large committee hall of the British House of Commons. The meeting was addressed by Lord Saint-Oswald, a well-known anti-Communist leader and journalist and Rev. Wurmbrand of Rumania, who suffered years of imprisonment and torture in Communist jails and who is now preaching the truth about the Russian persecution of underground churches.

On Thursday, November 13, a reception in honor of the members of the Captive Nations Week Committee was given by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

The Captive Nations Week ended with a mass international rally near Marble Arch and a silent march through the streets of London to the Cenotaph, where a wreath "In memory of millions of victims from nations subjugated by Communism, who fell for freedom" was laid. The rally was opened by Lady Birdwood who depicted the tragic plight of the captive nations and reminded those present of the 95 million victims who perished at the hands of the Communist regimes. She was followed by a Ukrainian representative. The last speaker was Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M. P. from the Conservative Party. The members of various nationalities, with national flags, placards and banners, were joined by a large group of English young people, members of the Democratic Alliance and an organization of Friends of South Vietnam, who had just finished their own demonstration in front of the Russian Embassy.

During the week, representatives of various subjugated nations handed in memoranda to Prime Minister Wilson, explaining the situation in their respective countries. A sound truck, decorated with flags of the subjugated nations and learning a large sign, "The Captive Nations Week", cruised the streets of London during the week.

Shelepin Wanted For Murder

Washington D. C. — More than 500 Ukrainians picketed the Soviet Embassy here on Saturday, October 11, 1969 following a memorial ceremony in honor of Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian nationalist leader who was assassinated by the Soviet secret police in 1959.

After the demonstration, which lasted about two hours, members of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine fastened a "Wanted for Murder" poster to the wire fence which protects the Embassy. The poster, similar to the FBI notices in American post offices, accused former KGB chief Alexander N. Shelepin of having ordered Bandera's murder as part of Moscow's campaign to stamp out Ukrainian nationalism.

The memorial ceremony which preceded the demonstration was held at the Shevchenko Monument about a mile from the Embassy.

Michael Spontak, executive secretary of ODFFU, opened the ceremony with a moving plea to "Father Taras" to share his monument with Stepan Bandera, "Whose monument is carried in the hearts of all Ukrainians." Dr. Michael Kushnir then placed a wreath beneath Shevchenko's statue.

The principal speaker at the ceremony, Louisiana Congressman John R. Rarick,

told the group that "so long as Ukraine is enslaved no nation can call itself free." Congressman Rarick, like Stepan Bandera, was a prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp during World War II.

After the ceremony, members of the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUMA) under the command of Kornel Vasylyk, led the group in a march to the Soviet Embassy.

The memorial ceremony and demonstration drew Ukrainian Americans from as far away as Buffalo, N. Y. Dr. Nestor Procyk, chairman of the Ukrainian National Memorial Committee, which organized the program, estimates that at least 350 of the participants came from Upstate New York and New York City.

This was the first of two memorials commemorating the 10th anniversary of Bandera's assassination. On Saturday, Oct. 18, at 12.30 p. m. Very Rev. Josaphat Kusmiak, OSBM, celebrated a solemn "panakhyda" in memory of Bandera at the Central Park Bandshell in New York City. State Senator John Marchi and Arthur Levitt, Comptroller of the State of New York, were among many distinguished guests at the service.

Following the service, there was a march to the Soviet UN mission on 67th Street for a rally and demonstration.

Prof. Velez In ABN Headquarters

Prof. G. A. Velez, chairman of the World Anti-Communist Youth Corps and the Philippine Youth Corps came to Munich from Manila, Philippines, in order to discuss with the Central Committee of ABN the subject of the next world youth conference, the work program of the World Youth Corps, the organization of the world anti-Communist front and the principles of future activity within the framework of the ethical and political revival of the spirit of patriotism, the heroic concept of life

and social justice of youth and the society in general of the free world. The campaign in defense of the young generation and its creativity, in the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism was also discussed. The ABN played host to Prof. Velez on November Band 5, 1969.

After his ABN visit, Prof. Velez was scheduled to go to Paris, London and New York, where he hopes to stay for some time.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



ALBANIA

Most countries with a Communist regime, with the single exception of Yugoslavia, rely on a policy of isolation. This policy, which of course varies from country to country, is designed to prevent the great mass of the people from coming under the influence of non-Communist political, economic and cultural ideas. No Communist country has carried the policy of isolation to a greater extreme than Albania, which, in view of its size and state of development, happens to be among those that can least afford the dubious luxury of complete self-absorption.

Although more or less cut off from the rest of the world since the end of the Second World War, Albania's isolation became more or less complete about ten years ago, when she was expelled from the Soviet bloc and sided with Communist China in the latter's bitter dispute with the Soviet Union.

It is not surprising that, under these abnormal conditions, civil rights have made little or no progress under the Albanian regime. The press and other communications media are under strict Party control. Any kind of freedom of thought and expression is forbidden. So is the right to religious belief: the authorities have recently proclaimed Albania the first atheistic country in the world. No private Albanian citizen is allowed to travel abroad. Entry into the country is almost as difficult as travelling to China. Although it has become somewhat easier for tourists to visit the country, very few non-Communist journalists have been allowed to go there in recent years.

Yet there are some signs that even under these conditions the spirit of the people has not been completely destroyed. Franco Petrone, a correspondent of the Italian Communist newspaper *l'Unita*, who visited

the country last summer, reported that there was a good deal of restlessness among Albanian students after the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in August 1968. According to him, thirty students were expelled from the State University in Tirana after they had demanded greater political and cultural freedom.

ARMENIA

After five centuries of appalling domination by the Ottomans, the Armenians finally attained independence, which lasted from 28th May, 1918 to December 2nd, 1920. When the Republic was formed it was immediately granted *de facto* recognition by the Allies and Turkey. Then in January 1920 came the *de jure* acceptance by the same nations.

On December 2nd, 1920 militant Communism was introduced into the country by Soviet Russian Military Revolutionary Committee, and a reign of terror began. 3,000 intellectuals, members of the armed forces, and many workers and peasants were arrested and thrown into prison. The Bolsheviks also arrested over 1,500 army officers and deported them to Siberia, without even permitting them to take leave of their families. Not even the aged Commander-in-Chief, Nazarbekian, was spared. All freedom was crushed.

The inevitable happened and the people rebelled against the Soviet Russian occupiers on 18th February, 1921, and restored the democratic Republic of Armenia. This is the only time in the history of the Soviet Union that an outraged people succeeded, even though temporarily, in ousting the Bolsheviks.

But alas, this freedom did not last long, and now, after 50 years of the Russification of Armenia, the overwhelming majority of

more than 2,000,000 Armenians living outside the Soviet Union are firmly attached to the ideals of liberty, independence and a united, free Armenia.



BULGARIA

Bulgaria came under a Moscow controlled Communist regime after the Second World War and ever since then her economy and foreign policy have been directed by Russia in the latter's own interest.

All potential sources of opposition were quickly overcome: for example, 60,000 intellectuals who did not flee the country in time were brutally exterminated; while so tight a hold did the Moscow-dictated Communist hierarchy have that it refused assistance from the West even though the people it claimed to represent were starving.

Russian "advisers" and guards watch over every Ministry and important installation and the Bulgarians are not trusted to run their own government or industry.

There is discrimination against national minorities in the country. The ordinary citizen has no means of protection or redress against unjust manipulation of the laws. Other typical features of Communist regimes abound, such as exploitation of women, suppression of religion, censorship of the press and of artistic activity, absence of all basic human rights as laid down in the U.N. Charter.

The Bulgarians still remember with gratitude Britain's support in the last century, and they seek our help again now. Certain regimes in the West, with lesser faults, are pilloried, while the monstrous crimes committed against humanity in Bulgaria are unheeded. To ignore these crimes is the greatest injustice we can inflict upon Bulgaria, and at the same time the greatest service we can render the Russian imperialist manipulators.



BYELORUSSIA

Proof Of Russification

In 1967 the Soviet All-Union Book House issued a publication, Pechat SSR za 50 let (Fifty Years of Publishing in the USSR), which unwittingly provides illuminating data with regard to the Russification of the non-Russian nations.

On page 172 we find a tabulation of books and brochures published in the various languages of the Soviet Union. Individually listed are the Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tadjik, Armenian and Estonian languages, followed by the English, German, Polish and French languages. Also provided are the number and circulation of books and brochures for each language category listed.

In a period of 20 years (1946—1966) a total of 870,518 books and brochures with a combined circulation of 16,709,300 copies were published in the Russian language. The Russians have constituted about a half of the total population of the USSR.

Although there are at least 46,000,000 Ukrainians in the USSR — roughly half of the Russian ethnic element — in the same period only 56,357 books and brochures were published in the Ukrainian language, with a combined circulation of 1,430,000 copies. Moreover, if we consider the fact that 7,747 books and brochures of those published in Ukrainian were translations from the Russian, then the number of original Ukrainian publications is even smaller. In other words, population size for population size, about 7 times as many publications in Ukraine should have appeared.

The Byelorussians, who number over 10,000,000 in the USSR, fared even worse. In the course of the two decades only 7,335 books and brochures were published in Byelorussian with a total of only 171,900 copies. About eleven times as many publications should have appeared. Other non-Russian nations were even more poorly represented.

 **CROATIA**

The Croatian literary periodical "Hrvatski Knizevni List" which is published in Ljubljana (Slovenia) and repeatedly attacked by the Yugoslav Communist Party as "nationalist and anti-socialist", has been banned by the Tito regime, since it had published an article in which conditions in the Yugoslav "state formation" had been critically represented. The ban was disguised with a decision of the printing-press workers, to push the responsibility of the regime onto unknown workers.

ESTONIA

What can be said of Estonia today? The brief answer is: she is a Russian colony.

Politically Estonia, under Soviet Russian domination has been deprived of her freedom and independence and reduced to the status of a "Constituent Republic" of the Soviet Union.

Economically she is being systematically exploited by Moscow. According to data referring to the early sixties about 600 US dollars per capita of the population were expropriated from Estonia's economy for Soviet Russian requirements, the native population being left with a gross personal income of only about 300 dollars per capita.

In the *cultural field* the prevailing official slogan is "National in form, socialist in content". Consequently the only freedom which, for instance, a writer has, is the freedom to use his national idiom. The subject-matter remains under strict Party control.

There is no truth in Moscow's assertion that Estonia under the Soviets is a free country.

 **UNGARN**

Hungary's present political climate can easily be described in two words: hopeless stagnation.

Among the subjugated European nations, she doubtlessly appears the most placid, prosperous and civilized. But appearances deceive. After the re-establishment of Russian domination in 1956, with the tacit approval and consent of the West, Hungary's population grew apathetic and pessimistic.

Tourists and businessmen find the country seemingly quite normal. Factories are working full blast; shop windows are full; all hotels and restaurants are geared to entertaining foreign visitors lavishly. A Hilton Hotel, strip-tease clubs, gipsy music, many cultural and sporting events, wonderful lake-side holiday resorts are all helping to create a carefree atmosphere. But behind this facade gloom, fear, opportunism and self-centered egoism flourish. The creeping invasion of Russian settlers, the voluntary national suicide by free abortion, the economic stagnation caused by bad planning, forced heavy industrialization, unproductive collective farming policies, unending foreign aid and "peace campaigns"; all these are rendering individual and national planning pointless.

Most people are living from day to day, and have become totally apolitical, truly materialistic and self-interested. The "People's Democracy" is a repudiated democracy, with no higher popular ideals and creeds to follow. Apart from religion and artistic interests, which are officially suppressed, individualism cannot find true expression. Russian control and the secret police see to that.

Communism is self-destructive: Hungary today is the living proof of it.

 **LATVIA**

For the past 15 months, since the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia, the complaints of the Soviet Russian authorities against "ideological laxity in people's political thinking" have been intensified

in Latvia. The younger people in particular are criticised for their indifference towards the preachers of Party dogma.

Prominent Party functionaries have spoken out against writers, poets, journalists and editors of Latvian-language newspapers for the even greater "heresy" of harbouring nationalist tendencies and bourgeois ideas.

As is to be expected in this content, KGB activities also have become more noticeable and the following cases have reached the Western press: —

- the arrest of JANIS JACHIMOVICS, manager of a Kolkhoz who published a letter against the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia;
- the arrest of FRICIS MENDERS, 84, former leader of the Latvian Social Democrats and one of the founders of independent Latvia: subsequently released;
- the present trial of ILJAS RIPS, a brilliant young mathematician, whose protest against Russian anti-Semitism took the form of setting fire to himself.

In a speech made on the 11th June 1969, Party Secretary Rubenis impressed upon Party members the need to *unmask* all those who do not follow closely the ideological directions of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

(The word "unmask" has not been used for this purpose since the Stalin era, when it was synonymous with Siberia).



LITHUANIA

The people of Lithuania have suffered Russian occupation since the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, made in 1939. The end of the last war brought the destruction of Nazism and by a decree of the victorious Western powers, Germany was deprived of all the benefits of the Stalin-Hitler secret deals. In flagrant contrast, however, the Soviet Union continues to claim the countries appropriated by virtue of the Soviet-Nazi Pact.

In Lithuania today, persecution of the faithful, restriction of religious practice

and the closing of churches continues. Western newspapers and books are unavailable. Television and radio are completely censored. Foreign travel is almost non-existent. Elections are a mockery of democracy, since every candidate must be approved by the Communist Party and every political decision is made in the Kremlin. Added to this is the fact that Russian nationals, who have priority in housing and employment, are constantly being infiltrated into Lithuania, together with the teaching of their language and arts. Consequently, the Russian population of Lithuania has increased threefold since before the Second World War. Russian imperialism, by means of colonialism and economic and cultural penetration, attempts to assimilate Lithuania's national identity into the Russian colossus.

Lithuanians, both in Lithuania and abroad, along with other captive nations, are fighting Russian oppression. They need your help now, before it is too late. Before sitting down with the Russians to discuss European security the Western countries should demand the restoration of independence and freedom to Lithuanian and other Captive European Nations.



RUMANIA

The first thing that strikes one when dealing with Rumanian developments is a revealing and damning contrast between the pretence of "liberalization" and "national independence" on the one hand, and reality on the other.

The people are still in the grip of an almost ultra-Stalinist dictatorship, resting on the concentration of all power of the State, as well as of the Party, in the hands of one man, Ceausescu. The strictest control is imposed on all public expression of thought; youth is regimented; land collectivized; and lurking in the background is the old secret police apparatus. The mere lack of open terror should not be mistaken for liberty: the people still live in fear. Nor have material conditions improved since the country's resources are squandered on

a forced industrial build-up, with no direct or immediate benefits to the consumer.

On all counts this is an intolerable state of affairs, and, to off-set it, the regime took recourse to an ostentatious anti-Russianism and "patriotism" which, in view of the people's traditional fear and suspicion of Russia, required no special effort. Many people abroad hail "the Rumanians", i. e. the Rumanian Communists, as past-masters in the art of resisting Moscow's effort to mould Eastern Europe into a Russian pattern, and ask: "By what miracle did they succeed?" But what is the truth? By adhering to an "independent line" in *foreign policy* the Rumanian Communists can obtain much needed economic assistance and technological expertise from the capitalist West and, thereby, raise standards of living. And why should the Russians object to a course meant to help and consolidate the regime, so long at least as the local Communists do not tamper with *the system* — the Russians' main concern in Rumania — as a prop for their position in South-East Europe? And here is the paradox in the Rumanian situation: the fact that the maintenance of the Communist system is presented to the people as the only safeguard against what is described as the greater evil of Russian occupation and direct Russian rule! The aim of the ruling Communists is, of course, to induce a mood among the people to adjust to the existing situation, and carry out the dictates of the Party. When they speak of independence in foreign policy, they mean no more than independence of *their* Party, i. e. to be left alone to rule the country as they please.

The Rumanian people are not impressed by Ceausescu's tightrope antics, and still less are they deluded by his proclamations of "national independence". They know that there can be no question of *true* national independence as long as they are denied the democratic powers to sack Ceausescu and his henchmen, and freely decide the future of the country. What they expect of their Western friends is not mere contacts and collaboration with the Communist set-up, which only strengthen and

consolidate it, but policies designed to reinvigorate their spirit of resistance, and their hopes for *fundamental* changes.

Production Losses

Two Rumanian factories have been picked out for nation-wide criticism by the Rumanian authorities. They are the "Tractor" works at Brasov and "23rd August" locomotive plant in Bucharest. Both are accused of wastage and squandering state money. One is said to have incurred losses of 15 million lei in the first 8 months of this year, the other of 18,333,000 lei during the same period. Bad workmanship accounts for a high proportion of rejects. Lack of the right materials means the use of inadequate substitutes, which do not pass the resistance tests. Disorganisation leads to high railway demurrage bills and to the paying of unnecessary interest on borrowed money. The management of both factories defended their failure to perform according to plan by putting the blame on their suppliers.

Arrests Of Students

Following an anti-regime demonstration last Christmas in Bucharest University Square by Rumanian students who demanded freedom and justice, the Communist authorities carried out numerous arrests. A girl student, E. Sincal, pursued by the militia went into hiding at the time, but is now known to have been found and imprisoned for her part in the demonstration.



TURKISTAN

"Central Asian Military Region" In Turkestan

The Soviet Russian government has formed a "Central Asian military region" in Turkestan. This military region comprises the Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Tadjikistan in Russian occupied Turkestan.



Ukraine became independent on January 22nd, 1918 and was accorded *de facto* recognition by many states, including Great Britain and France. Soviet Russia, too, in a diplomatic note of December 17th, 1917, and in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk recognized Ukraine's independence. Soon, however, Russia invaded Ukraine and after a prolonged war occupied the country. Since that time thousands of Ukrainian political, cultural and religious leaders have been murdered, and millions of people have died of starvation or in prison. Moscow treated Ukraine as a colony and practised genocide against her people. But resistance continued, and on 30th June, 1941, restoration of the country's independence was proclaimed. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought for her independence against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia.

Ten years ago, on October 15th, 1959, the KGB agent Bohdan Stashynskyi assassinated the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, in Munich. But this crime did not break Ukrainian resistance. In the last ten years many underground organizations have been discovered in their country by the KGB and their members received draconic sentences, some of them being shot. The ferment among Ukrainian intellectuals and students grows: protests against Ukrainian colonial dependence on Russia and Russification policies have resulted in numerous arrests and imprisonment in the Mordovian concentration camps. Clandestine literature is spreading.

The national spirit of Ukraine is alive and Ukrainians will not rest until their country is free and independent.

A Shameful Spectacle In Cherkasy

Radyanska Ukraina of November 3rd, 1969 published a TASS report on the sorry sight in Cherkasy, which the said imperial agency paints as the day of "decoration". The point is that on November 1st in Cherkasy the Russian occupants and their

Ukrainian Communist Party toadies staged a masquerade-like unveiling in the center of the city of a monument to the creator of the modern Russian-Bolshevik prison of nations — Lenin. This spectacle was attended by as many as 12,000 people. The party dignitaries from various oblasts of Ukraine and from as far away as the town of Ulyanovsk in Russia came here. It is significant to note that the unveiling itself was performed by the Russians, who were placed in high positions in Cherkasy: the First Secretary of the Oblast Committee of the Party, Andreev. The designers of the monument were also Russians: architect Gnezdi-lov and sculptor Kuznetsov. The TASS report cynically declares that Lenin's monument was unveiled "on the blossoming soil of Shevchenko's country" — e.g. in Cherkasy.

Thus Moscow has demonstrated once again its merciless Russification of Ukrainian cities and the oblasts of Ukraine, which is received with indignation by Ukrainians in the whole world.

Forged Banknotes Put Into Circulation By The Russian Occupying Power

In the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republic large numbers of forged Czechoslovak banknotes have been appearing. The members of the Russian occupying power have put them into circulation. They are banknotes with the value of 100 Crowns. The forged notes have a different colour from genuine notes, and are also three millimeters shorter. The population refused to accept the forged banknotes. Then it was stated by the Communist regime that these were a new series printed in the Soviet Union. Thus this forged money in circulation has been belatedly made legal by the order of the Russian occupying power. Soviet Russia is thus exploiting Czechoslovakia economically even more than has been the case up to now since the end of the Second World War.

Freedom-loving Ideas In The Soviet Army

News has reached the West that three officers of the Soviet navy were arrested in the USSR for anti-Soviet activities. All of them were members of the crew of a nuclear-powered ship stationed in Tallin, Estonia. They were arrested at a time when they were preparing a "Call to the People" in which they demanded the democratization and liberalization of the Soviet Union.

The anti-Soviet activity must have been quite extensive since the imperial organs have already questioned several hundred people and searched over 30 buildings. The anti-Soviet movement, among other things, included the cities of Baku, Riga, Perm, Khabarovsk and Leningrad. Naval officers, cadets and students were active in it.

The leading activists of this movement will be tried according to Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the USSR for anti-Soviet propaganda. They could receive up to 12 years of hard labor in concentration camps.

Last year the three above-mentioned officers circulated a protest letter against the Russian invasion of CSSR. The Western press does not mention the nationality of the imprisoned officers. However, we know that soldiers of various nationalities are scattered throughout the entire USSR.

ZANZIBAR

Since the Communist inspired coup of 1964, which violently overthrew the freely elected Government, Zanzibar was turned into a Police State. Overnight the people were denied their democratic rights. Freedom of movement, association, religion and speech was banned. The usurpers of legality and constitutional government have no

respect for the dignity of man. Murders are committed with impunity and arbitrary arrests are very common. Any form of criticism of the regime is forbidden.

The economy of the country is in ruins. Property is confiscated. People are starving and some have died of malnutrition.

It is well known that a Communist regime is entrenched in Zanzibar, which is being used as a base for subversion for East and Central Africa. There are thousands of Red Chinese and East Europeans in Zanzibar who pose as technicians but in reality they are subversive agents working in neighbouring countries. They instruct guerrilla fighters and in fact the country is now held tightly in Communist hands. The question is, which country will fall next in that part of the world? Any part or the whole of East and Central Africa could come under the Communist grip if something is not done at once about this godless menace.

The present regime in Zanzibar does not enjoy the popular support of the people; hence Karume's public utterance that there would be no election in the islands for the next *sixty years* as it is a "colonial relic".

The people of Zanzibar demand:

- (1) The immediate release of the former Ministers, all detainees and all political prisoners,
- (2) Freedom of speech, assembly and movement,
- (3) Elections, so that the people can choose what is best for themselves,
- (4) The establishment of law and order, and
- (5) A referendum on the question of union with Tanganyika

All the people of Zanzibar want is a life of human dignity and freedom, a life of joy and happiness, a life which everyone of us has the right to enjoy and the duty to protect.

Book Reviews

Moshe Lewin: *RUSSIAN PEASANTS AND SOVIET POWER*. Translated by Irene Nove with the assistance of John Biggart. Preface by Alec Nove. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1968, 539 pp. Bibliography after each chapter.

Dr. Moshe Lewin is a senior fellow at the Russian Institute of Columbia University in New York City. He is qualified to write a book about Soviet peasantry, because he worked on the collective farms, in the iron-ore mines, the metallurgical plants, and served in the Red Army. After the Second World War he was in Poland, France and Israel. He received his doctorate from the Sorbonne. He describes the changes in agriculture introduced by the Communists after they had taken control of the vast agrarian territory. Ukraine, the bread basket of Europe, is referred to in brief. By the end of 1923 the Russians in the Soviet Union adopted some capitalist economic principles, creating the NEP. The author does not present the real reasons behind the retreat. He sees only the economic and natural causes, such as frost, a dry spell, etc.

The peasantry of Ukraine was the base of national struggle against the Russians. This was proved by the existence of the Ukrainian Independent Republic in 1918—1919, by many revolts and by the continuous struggle for the national identity of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian social unit *khutir* — the family property and its farm, whose owners were called *KULAKS* by the Communists were to be destroyed by means of collectivization and the introduction of *KOLKHOZES*. The same happened to *SEREDNIAKY*, or middle-income farmers. Only the *BIDNIAKY*, or the poor, were considered to be the privileged class for a short time, until they too were forced into the *Kolkhozes*. The principle, “who does not work,

does not eat”, was applied at the beginning of this system. Then the state introduced the Five-Year Plan, with its program of mass collectivization, which was vigorously opposed by Ukrainians. On p. 421 he mentions that in Ukraine in the summer of 1929 the attitude of the peasants (toward collectivization) remained negative. Stalin ordered mass collectivization and de-kulakization in 1929—1930. It meant a total destruction of the Ukrainian wealthy farmers.

The book stops before Stalin’s man-made famine in Ukraine in 1932—33, the genocide in Ukraine, which claimed the lives of 6 million peasants. This period ought to be included in Dr. M. Lewin’s revised edition of his present work. There are many references and sources about this period in English which could be included in the scholarly work of this type.

A. S.

Michael P. Gehlen: *THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION; A Functional Analysis*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1969, 161 pp. (Indiana University International Studies)

The totalitarian form of government in the Soviet Union, directed by its Communist Party for over 50 years, had been studied by many scholars of political science. This book is of particular interest because the author presents the role of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union in the decade following 1956. It contains six chapters, notes with bibliographical references and an index. First chapter deals with the functional analysis of political parties in general. It is a comparative study. Many scholars have tried to compare the Communist Soviet state with other political systems of state, but they have not found the right answer. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the government of or is

governing or ruling the Soviet Union and the government of the Soviet Union is a fictitious political body which is responsible to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This unique political form of government, hard to understand for Western scholars, often leads them to erroneous conclusions in their studies of the Soviet Union. The CPSU has its expositors in all other Soviet republics, the captive nations, which are receiving orders from the Central Committee of the CPSU in Moscow.

The main problem of the CPSU is the political recruitment of new members, mostly from among the Russians of the whole Soviet Union. The CPSU has as its main task the political socialization or Communization of the whole country, including the captive nations.

The cadres of the CPSU, the Aparatchiki, also help to Russify the non-Russian peoples in the USSR.

The main goal of the CPSU is colonial exploitation and Russification of all captive nations, as well as world revolution and the establishment all over the world of the Communist system of government which would take orders from Moscow.

The CPSU is an instrument of Russian political integration, and favors the Russian colonial monopolistic position in all the captive nations. The purges of 1936—38 in the USSR proved this. Today, the intellectual ferment, especially in Ukraine, is directed against this party of colonial exploitation and Russification, as is proved by Chornovil, Dzyuba and others. Russian Communist propaganda which speaks about the cultivation of a new Soviet-type man has failed. We see even in the satellite states, as proved by Czecho-Slovakia in August 1968, that the intellectuals are demanding democratization and freedom of expression. This is happening in the USSR as well, especially in Ukraine, where repressions, deportations and KGB activities have been accelerated.

The author shows little interest in the nationality problem in the USSR. This could be remedied in the revised edition of this interesting, speculative work. A. S.

John Gittings: *SURVEY OF THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE; A Commentary and Extracts from Recent Polemics, 1963—1967*. London—New York, Oxford University Press, 1968, 410 pp. Bibliography: Select booklist, p. 403—4.

In 30 chapters this book lists 138 extracts from Chinese and Soviet publications from 1963—67 and 23 documents in appendices from 1950—62. It deals with the Sino-Soviet Alliance of 1950, the Korean War, the Sino-Soviet border incidents and the rivalry regarding the international Communist dealings.

The polemics began in connection with the Atomic Test Ban Treaty in July 1963 and include differences over the cultural revolution in Red China.

This book was copyrighted by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London in 1968.

A. S.

Laszlo Revesz: FÜNFZIG JAHRE WELTKOMMUNISMUS. Die Rolle der KPdSU. (Fifty Years of World Communism. The Role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.) Published by the Swiss Eastern Institute, Bern, 1967, 166 pages.

Professor Dr. Laszlo Revesz, a Hungarian scholar working in Switzerland, gives in this book not only valuable information about the Russian Bolshevik Party (CPSU) and also other Communist parties, in particular on those in the states dependent on Soviet Russia, but also analyses the position of the Communist movement in the world and in addition reveals the Russian imperialist character of Bolshevism.

The author states that, in accordance with Bolshevik ideology, the national questions in a state where several nations live, should be solved by applying the principle of "socialist internationalism".

Professor Revesz writes, inter alia, as follows on the importance of the fiction

of "socialist internationalism" for Russian imperialism: "the essence of socialist internationalism as an ideological means of saving the Great Russian empire is given in a speech made by Lenin in 1919... under the banner of socialist internationalism a new, socialist culture was to arise, he wrote, which nevertheless would display in its main features a decidedly Russian character... under the slogan of 'rapprochement' the common Soviet language, Russian, was to be propagated and advanced". The author uses this context also to point out that several Bolshevik ideologists describe "the extinction of national languages and the voluntary adoption of Russian" as an "objective law"!

Professor Revesz also represents the preponderance of the Russian element in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and therefore also among the leaders of the state apparatus: "during the first decade of the Soviet Union, the Russian element was certainly considerably stronger inside the party than in recent times. The new development both within the Soviet Union and also the Communist world movement forced the Russians to make certain concessions in favour of the non-Russians, through which the percentage of Russians in the party showed a tendency to decline, while that of non-Russian nationalities experienced a slight rise. This development demonstrates that the party is anxious to attain a more or less artificial equilibrium between the individual nationalities and membership of the party. On the other hand, 'the 'international cadre exchange' assures the Russians of the leading positions in the union republics."

Professor Revesz points out that, in the same way that a preponderance of the Russian element in the leadership of the party and state in the Soviet Union exists, there is also a similar preponderance of the Czech element among the leaders of

the Czecho-Slovak state formation which can be observed: "the national composition of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia is significant: Whereas in Slovakia party members make up only 6.8 % of the population, this percentage in the Czech areas (including Moravia) amounts to 14.4 %."

The author also states that a new nobility has come into existence in Russia, after the revolution: "In the feudal system, every change of dynasty involved a new class of leaders. The new dynasty used to distribute among the members of the new aristocracy large gifts, in order to woo new supporters, and put them into all leading positions. The same happened after the fall of Tsarist Russia. Lenin destroyed the old apparatus of state and liquidated the old aristocracy. He was, however, forced to win supporters for himself and to provide them with privileges; he did this in the same way, by bestowing leading positions to them. He also created a new nobility: the Communist Party. Through the party statutes, he managed to make the new nobility much more conformist than that of the Tsarist empire. Iron discipline, the prohibition of any opposition party (even within the party itself), 'democratic centralism' in the party structure, all led to producing a ruling class which was an even more appropriate pillar of the regime".

Professor Revesz reaches the following conclusion in his evaluation of the Russian Bolshevik state empire: "The Bolshevik revolution carried out in 1917 had as its only effect the establishment of a neo-feudal state, with all the negative features of such a state, for which reason this state represents a regression and no kind of progress, as is claimed in theory and practice."

Dr. C. Pokorny



The participants of the Third Annual Conference of the World Anti-Communist League in Bangkok, Thailand.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

In Memory Of The Great Ukrainian Freedom-Fighter



March 5, 1950: General Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) died in battle with the Russian occupation forces.

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His Ideas Live On

March 5, 1970 marks the 20th anniversary of the heroic death of General Roman Shukhevych, *nom de guerre* Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He fell in battle with the Russian occupation forces which surrounded his Headquarters in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv in West Ukraine. At the time of his death Gen. Chuprynka also headed the Secretariat for Military Affairs of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Ukraine's revolutionary government) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists on the territory of Ukraine.

For seven years Chuprynka led the Ukrainian revolutionary-insurgent regiments, the greatest military force ever mastered by any nation subjugated by Russian imperialism. The ideas spread by the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement were so deeply ingrained in the Ukrainian people that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to operate after his death until at least 1953, while the nationalist revolutionary underground is still active in Ukraine and in many areas of the Soviet-Russian empire.

Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych is a symbol of liberation not only for Ukrainians. He should be remembered by all nations presently subjugated by Russia within and outside the Soviet Union, for he was the initiator of a common anti-Russian front of all the subjugated nations. It was through his efforts that a conference of the liberation forces of these nations took place in November 1943 and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was founded. That conference was prompted by the fact that beginning with 1943 UPA became a refuge for and an organizer of liberation forces of other enslaved nations, as for example, Turkistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Idel-Ural, Byelorussia and others, the nationals of which were in Ukraine as the result of the German-Russian war. This broadening of the front of freedom-fighting forces came not only because large groups of people from various enslaved nations were on Ukrainian territory, but also, and primarily, because of the ideological views and strategy of the late General.

From its inception, in the late 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought under the slogan: "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" It issued a declaration which said:

"The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is fighting for the establishment of the Ukrainian Sovereign United State and for the free life of every nation in its own independent state. The destruction of national enslavement and exploitation of any one nation by any other nation, and a system of free peoples in their own independent states — is the only order, which will justly resolve the national and social questions of the whole world. The UPA is fighting against all imperialists and empires . . . Therefore, the UPA is fighting against both the USSR and the German "New Europe". The UPA is fighting against the internationalist and fascist national-socialist programs and political concepts, for they are instruments of an aggressive policy of the imperialists. Hence, we are against Russian Communist-Bolshevism and German National-Socialism."

At first the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was organized as a national revolutionary liberation force directed against the Nazi-German invader, who conducted himself no less brutally than the Bolshevik-Russian conqueror. Then the population of Ukraine had to be defended against the vicious and bloodthirsty Bolshevik guerrillas, who were well armed and sent into Ukraine from Russia, not so much to combat the Germans behind the front lines as to combat the Ukrainian nationalist liberation movement. These invading foreign guerrillas were systematically pillaging and murdering the Ukrainian rural population. But in a short time the UPA won a decisive victory over these marauding Russian-Bolshevik bands.

When the Russians defeated the German armies and were again invading Ukraine, the UPA had to fight on two fronts, against both imperialist powers. It did not receive any assistance whatsoever from the then free Western powers. Every gun and bullet had to be captured from the invaders. No allied planes appeared over the horizon to drop supplies.

Meanwhile, both the Germans and the Russians were pressing into their service men from various small subjugated nations, who were sent into Ukraine to fight for the imperialists. Such "satellite" units were only waiting for a chance to desert and to return to their homelands. The UPA, under the command of General Chuprynka-Shukhevych, perceived the opportunity for transforming itself into an international force of freedom-fighting national liberation armies struggling against the big empires of the day. The UPA organized a large scale and very effective propaganda campaign amidst these various nationality forces serving the imperialists. Very soon not only individuals but whole units of Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanis, Turkestanis, North-Caucasians, Tatars, Cossacks were coming over to the UPA. Among them were also persons from Western nations, as for example, Belgians, Dutchmen and Frenchmen, who were sent to the eastern front by the Germans. Many Jews, some Balts, as well as a few Russians and Germans who became enemies of their own respective national imperialists, also served in the UPA.

General Taras Chuprynka developed a world-wide strategy of liberation of nations enslaved by Russia and the then Nazi-Germany. This strategy was to consist of establishing analogous insurgent revolutionary liberation armies in each conquered nation and synchronizing their struggle in an international coordinating center. Each national force, regardless of its size or the size of the particular nationality, was to function completely independently and have its own national leadership. In such a way a new progressive world force would come into being, a new community of free national states, respecting each other's sovereign rights and together combating every imperialist power.

The UPA, under its brilliant strategist, General Taras Chuprynka, together with its allies, the analogous insurgent armies of other freedom-fighting nations, achieved many important victories. It grew in strength quickly, reaching a quarter-million mark. The allied national units also numbered in the thousands. At times they were fighting entire German or Russian divisions. The victorious march of these freedom-fighters was, however, suddenly interrupted by the end of the Second World War, when Western Allies failed to show any desire or willingness

to help these liberation forces, but instead sought to establish friendly relations with Stalin's Russian empire. Moscow exploited this epochal mistake of the free Western nations, crushed the large anti-Russian liberation forces, and extended its colonial empire into the heart of Europe and over much of Asia.

The liberation forces of the nations subjugated by Russia had to change their methods of struggle. After many years of fierce fighting the UPA had to disband its large units and turn to underground methods. It lost many leading commanders. But the heroic death of General Taras Chuprynka in 1950, five years after the end of the war with Germany, was the most painful loss of all.

The ideas for which Chuprynka fought and died are widely held in Europe and Asia. The Byelorussian freedom-fighter Castus Calinouski in the late 19th century, the Azerbaijani and Turkestani liberation movements under Enver Pasha and Usman Batur in the 1920s and 1950s respectively, the Georgian and Armenian national liberation movements, the Polish "Home Army" and the Slovak liberation movement under Major Viliam Zinger in the 1940s, the Rumanian nationalists under Gen. Cornelin Dragolina, the Bulgarian underground movement under Gen. Lukoff and Nikola Petkoff and many, many others — were struggling to achieve the same goals.

Today the underground revolutionary liberation forces are again showing signs of steady growth in Ukraine as well as in all the nations subjugated inside and outside the Soviet Union. The memory and traditions of the glorious insurgent struggle of two decades ago are still vivid. The new generation is losing all fear of the oppressing, tyrannical and colonialist Russia.

The twentieth anniversary of the death of General Taras Chuprynka should serve as a lesson not only to all the political exiles of the enslaved nations but to the free nations as well, so that the mistakes of the post-war era could be rectified. Free nations cannot live in peace and security side by side with the aggressive and genocidal Russian empire. They should realize at last that the freedom-loving forces in the nations enslaved by Russia are their genuine friends and allies. Therefore, the free nations or at least their foresighted statesmen should recognize the timeliness of Gen. Chuprynka's ideas and strategy and extend assistance to these national liberation movements.

Long live the memory of the great freedom-fighter, Gen. Taras Chuprynka!

Long live the common front of all the national liberation forces fighting against the Russian empire and Communism, and for the reestablishment of their own sovereign national states!

ABN Delegation On A World Tour

For many years the ABN has been cooperating with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and with its individual national chapters. It also participated in the preparatory work for the establishment of the World Anti-Communist League. In fact, the President of ABN, Mr. Yaroslav

Stetsko (former Prime Minister of Ukraine), has been a missionary of the idea of a universal crusade against Russian genocidal imperialism and Communism and for the concept of "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" for the past quarter century. The ABN has taken part in every

conference of the WACL. Similarly, the ABN was not only represented but contributed significantly to the success of the Third WACL Conference and the Fifteenth APACL Conference, which took place in Bangkok, Thailand, on December 3-7, 1969.

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko came to Bangkok at the invitation of the Government of Thailand and the President of the Republic of Vietnam, General Thieu. Besides Mr. Stetsko, the ABN delegation consisted of Mrs. Slava Stetsko, editor-in-chief of *ABN Correspondence*, Mrs. Elga Rodze, representative of Latvians in Australia, and Mr. Rama Swarup, who was also head of the Indian delegation. Mr. Ya. Stetsko simultaneously headed the delegation of the European Freedom Council, as its Chairman. The EFC delegation was composed of delegates from Germany, France, Norway and Sweden.

The Third WACL Conference received numerous messages of support and greetings from various ABN branches. Especially numerous were letters from national liberation organizations of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Czechia, Estonia and others.

At the WACL Conference the ABN delegates participated in committees No. 2 on "The Captive Nations under Communism" and No. 5, which was responsible for the final drafting of all resolutions and the declaration. The ABN proposed resolutions on the necessity of the liquidation of the Russian empire and its dismemberment into independent states of all subjugated nations and the assistance by the free nations to their liberation struggle, on the assistance to the persecuted churches and intellectuals, on the condemnation of celebrations in honor of Lenin's 100th birthday, on condemnation and rejection by the free nations of the Brezhnev Doctrine, which is colonialist in nature and threatens the security of free Asian nations.

The resolutions, initiated or drafted by ABN, were officially introduced by the delegations of Argentina, Turkey, India, France, Germany and the National Captive Nations Committee of the USA. Our

proposals were warmly supported by delegations from Ceylon, Norway, Vietnam, Japan and the Philippines. ABN documents, presented to the conference, were included in the official records of the proceedings. These documents aroused considerable interest, since they included original material from behind the Iron Curtain dealing with the liberation movements.

At the Fifteenth Conference of the APACL the ABN-drafted resolution on the necessity to extend assistance to the liberations movements by the APACL member-nations, introduced by Turkey and Vietnam, was adopted.

During his stay in Bangkok, Mr. Ya. Stetsko was granted an audience by the King of Thailand, Phumibol Aduladeth and presented the King with a gift of books on the liberation struggle of Ukraine. Further Mr. Stetsko met with the Prime Minister of Thailand — Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, the Secretary-General of SEATO — General Jesus Vargas, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand and other leading statesmen.

Upon the invitation of the Government of the Republic of China, Mr. Stetsko visited Taiwan, where he conferred with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other government officials. Then he visited the military base at Quemoy.

After an extensive tour of Australia Mr. Stetsko is now visiting the United States and Canada with the aim to win new friends for our liberation efforts.

"Russian policy is unchangeable. Her methods can change, her tactics, her maneuvers; but the pole star of her policy — the domination of the free world — is a fixed star."

Karl Marx

The Communist Threat In Thailand

*Address by Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, Prime Minister of Thailand,
at the opening of the Third WACL Conference*

It is an honor and a great pleasure to meet with you all today at the Third World Anti-Communist League Conference. As the host country, we, the Thai people are very proud to have the opportunity to welcome delegates from our fellow nations whose ideals are those of Democracy and Freedom. This is a good and timely occasion for us to discuss ideas, exchange experiences, and analyze our problems so as to exert our best efforts to resist Communism and protect our countries from this worst enemy of mankind. This conference is also an indication of our joint efforts to maintain peace and democracy. Therefore on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the people of Thailand, I wish to express our deep appreciation for your support of this conference among free people. I also wish to thank the Free People's League of Thailand for its organization of this conference.

Although it is presently impossible to completely unite the peoples of the world together, it still is possible that the people of the world can live together peacefully. For this to be done, we should respect each other's autonomy and independence. We should consider each other as equals and never interfere with each other's affairs. We have accepted this as the most important principle for promoting peace and understanding among mankind. It is this principle which the free nations have accepted and strictly practised as an expression of respect for human rights. Contrary to this principle, the Communists have been trying, both openly and secretly by using their inhuman and immoral tactics, to destroy this principle in order to deprive us of peaceful existence. Thailand has been one of their foremost targets for years and is presently facing serious problems fighting against Communist aggression and infiltration. As you all know, Thailand is a country developing politically, socially, and culturally in order to achieve democratic goals and preserve its freedom and constitutional monarchy. Development such as this will be impossible unless we join together to completely destroy the Communist menace and its policy of subversion.

Therefore Thailand must triumph over our present enemy in order to achieve our democratic goals. If we are successful, not only will our country be preserved but also the nations which all you delegates are representing here will also be helped. The Thai government, under my leadership, has come to fully realize the importance of knowledge and experience, effective techniques, and strong will to formulate efficient methods to deal with Communism politically, militarily, and psychologically. And we must have faith in our ideals. I certainly hope that the representatives of the free people present here will discuss this and successfully formulate such methods in order to benefit mankind.

This conference will, therefore, be of great benefit to its member countries and especially to Thailand. It will make us understand our mutual problems in confronting Communism and allow us to gain new techniques and experience from each other. All of this will lead us to successful achievement of our goals in fighting Communism.

Asian Unity: A Pre-Condition To Peace And Freedom

I can recall no period in the history of Asia that has witnessed so profound a change in such a short time and in which there has been so much at stake for so many people than this, our age.

The contemporary scene has witnessed a fantastic growth of nationalism among Asians. Nationalism, as a propelling force for progress, is imperative. The danger lies in the fact that it is the Communist *modus operandi* to subvert and exploit, for their own sinister ends, the legitimate national aspirations of a people by equating those aspirations with anti-Westernism or anti-internationalism.

For some countries, the fast changing face of Asia has provided the climate or cause to adopt a policy of non-alignment. For a nation's neutrality to endure and to be valid, it must be able to count on absolute guarantees of non-aggression from all countries on either side of the ideological conflict; in Asia and the West Pacific, such a guarantee must come from, among others, no less than Communist China, which has yet to show that it can keep its word. Since, as a general rule, Communist subversion has progressed the fastest and thrived the most in neutral countries, the present trend towards neutralism is indeed a negative factor in the effort to counter Communist subversion and insurgency in this area.

The events of recent years have also revealed a distinct trend, to my mind a very healthy one, towards regionalism among Asians — a trend clearly demonstrated by the formation of such political groupings as ASEAN, ASPAC and others. Indeed, the Asians are taking bold and unprecedented steps in the direction of self-help and mutual assistance among their fellows, impelled mainly by a new realization that the problems of Asia are primarily for the Asians to solve. These new political organizations, whose objectives are almost purely

economic, cultural and political, have thrown into bold relief the unique character of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization as the only defensive alliance in this troubled area designed to meet Communist aggression in all its ugly forms. In relation to those groups, SEATO has helped to provide the conditions of peace and security so vital to meaningful progress.

Perhaps the most disquieting development to free Asians is the tendency of one-time enthusiastic, powerful and determined allies to turn to the home front and concentrate on domestic problems.

Mainly for political and economic reasons, the great powers are gradually pulling out of the Asian scene, and in effect switching to a policy of near isolationism. First, the Dutch. After Dien Bien Phu, France's presence in this part of the world has been limited to that which was necessary to tend her residual interests in the region. This includes her continuing membership in SEATO where, for the present, she continues to participate actively in non-military endeavours. The United Kingdom, while reassuring its SEATO allies and its Commonwealth partners that it will abide by its treaty commitments, has decided to withdraw all its military forces East of the Suez Canal, except the garrison in Hong Kong, by 31 December 1971. This precipitate military withdrawal perforce adversely affects the Free World's posture of defence in Asia.

The Americans' own announced programme of de-escalation of the Vietnam War, which envisages the disengagement of fairly sizable bodies of troops from the combat zone, has been viewed with no little apprehension by the free peoples of Asia. In a separate exercise, the United States, in line with a new policy of retrenchment, has made substantial cuts in its troop strength elsewhere in South-East Asia.

One cannot really readily accept the prospect of total unilateral American withdrawal from Asia and the Western Pacific. I have always maintained that it is clearly in the interest of the American people, as it is in the interest of Asians, that the Communists are kept in effective check in this part of the world. Besides, there are those — Asians and non-Asians alike — who believe, not without reason, that the present troubles of Asia, in more ways than one, are the net result of the delicate interplay of Big Power politics in the area. If this is so, then the Big Powers, America included, have more than just a moral obligation to maintain a stabilizing presence in this part of the world.

The tendency of the Big Powers either to disengage from the troubles of Asia or to reduce the extent of their commitments to the security of the region could lead to a security vacuum which the Communists would be only too happy to fill. These Big Power decisions have had the immediate effect of jolting free Asians to the inevitable conclusion, rightly or wrongly, that they could easily be let down by their powerful friends and allies. These developments have also raised very serious doubts in the minds of the people of the area about the very validity of treaty commitments. I hope to God that these doubts, unsettling as they are and striking as they do at the credibility of the Big Powers, do not metamorphose into a wholesale collapse of free Asians' confidence in the sincerity and in the leadership of those Powers.

Major changes in the face of Asia have also taken place and continue to do so as a direct result of the programmes of expanding their influence of the two biggest Communist powers, the Soviet Union and Communist China. Although each has pursued its programme in divergent ways, the objectives of both have been geared to eventual Communist domination of the world. *In fact, one cannot really overlook the long-term possibility that, despite the present animosity between the Soviet Russian and Communist Chinese regimes, their differences may somehow be resolved.* This

could come about either by conciliatory negotiations or by the accession to power within Communist China, in succession to Mao Tse-tung and his entourage, of a group that recognized the mutual advantages of ending the Sino-Soviet dispute. Should such a reconciliation occur, the nations of Asia could indeed find themselves totally subsumed in an area of imperious Communism.

Events in Asia during the past few years give no encouragement to the hope that Communist China's attitude towards her South-East Asian neighbours will be modified to any appreciable degree in the foreseeable future. On the contrary, an appraisal of affairs within Communist China provides clear indications that its intransigent foreign policy will continue unchanged and that, in keeping with Peking's sustained support of so-called "wars of national liberation" during the past few years, it would pursue with even greater vigour its support of subversion and insurgency within the borders of the free countries of Asia.

We all know that the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in June of this year, was used to re-establish the control of the Party over every aspect of national life, to reaffirm the mandate of Mao and his supporters and to remove from positions of responsibility those who were in any way opposed to his theories.

The foreign policy outlined to the Congress by Lin Piao, the designated heir to Mao, holds out no hope that Communist China will seek to develop closer and more friendly relationships with its South-East Asian neighbours. One notes with great concern, in fact, that Lin pledged his country's continuing support for the "revolutionary struggles" in foreign countries.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has given clear evidence that it regards Communist China's policy in Asia as a direct challenge to its own position as the world's major Communist power and as a threat to the Soviet Russian interpretation of Communist ideology.

Over the years, the Soviet Union has been making cautious but far-sighted steps to establish its influence in South-East Asia. It is apparent that there is today a widespread pattern of expansion of Soviet Russian influence in this area generally, from Ceylon to Malaysia. Russia has set up diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with many countries in the region, including Malaysia and Singapore. It has also made tentative overtures in the cultural field with staunchly anti-Communist countries such as the Philippines. Acting through North Vietnam, the Soviet Union has made certain preliminary moves to establish diplomatic relations with Nationalist China. Similar attempts have also been made in respect to Japan. Considering the new "forward" policy of the USSR, these diplomatic initiatives are not as incredible as they would seem at first glance. It was, significantly, in May of this year, shortly after the Communist Chinese Ninth Party Congress, that the Sino-Soviet dispute was openly extended into this area. An authoritative article in Izvestia, the official Soviet newspaper, expressed concern at Peking's "definite designs on a number of countries" in this part of the world and suggested that the situation called for "the laying of the foundation of collective security." The same theme was taken up by Mr. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at the Conference of World Communist Parties held in Moscow in June.

The Soviet proposal for "a collective security system in Asia" was well-timed, from the Russian point of view. Firstly, any proposal that offered the prospect of containing Communist Chinese aggression was likely to appear attractive to those countries which were the declared targets of that aggression. Secondly, the receptiveness of regional governments to such a concept could be substantial in the light of the announced British withdrawal and, additionally, in the light of recent modifications in American policies in the area. Thirdly, in South-East Asia there has been a growing appreciation of the fact that regional

co-operation, certainly in economic matters and possibly in defence, holds definite benefits for the individual countries of the region. Fourthly, the preliminary actions of the Soviet Union have been characterized by utmost "correctness"; great care has been taken to limit them to legitimate spheres that bring mutual benefits, and to avoid creating the impression that their objective is a long-term propagation of the Soviet Russian brand of Communism. Finally, there has been a growing feeling in the area that a cautious dialogue with the Communist powers must be achieved in some way if regional security is to be attained.

Although the proposal has not as yet been set out in any detail, the USSR appears to have in mind an arrangement whereby all foreign military bases would be excluded from the area; all Asian countries, irrespective of their political complexion, would guarantee one another's security and frontiers, and emphasis would be placed on economic co-operation and the peaceful resolution of local disputes.

The regional governments may well see in the Soviet Russian concept certain benefits to their own interests, especially in the short term. The Soviet Union may be expected to exploit this by making advantageous offers of economic aid and trading partnerships, as it has successfully done in some countries, and by encouraging regional economic co-operation, which would be consistent with its long-term objectives to extend its sphere of influence.

The long-term implications, however, need to be appraised with the utmost circumspection. In the first place, any increase of Soviet Russian influence would undoubtedly spur on Communist China to step up its support of subversion and insurgency, and thus accentuate the present major threat to the stability of the region. Peking has already condemned the scheme as an effort to set up "an anti-China military alliance." In addition, there is the inherent danger that acceptance of the scheme would lead to political subservience to the world's major Communist power, for

a dominant role in economic matters is conducive to the development of an equally dominant role in political affairs. *In short, the Soviet Russian concept contains the very real danger that, in time, the regional countries may find themselves subjected to rigid external political domination which denies them the right to determine even their own domestic policies. Let us not lose sight of the fact that the Communist objective still is to erode Western influence and ultimately supplant duly constituted governments with Communist regimes.*

The oft-repeated but entirely distinct proposal for some kind of a security alliance of free Asian countries has, understandably, attracted even more attention in recent months. Several national leaders, spurred on to a determined search for suitable interim or alternative defence arrangements, and recognizing that they have inevitably been tossed into the whirlpool of Big Power domestic politics, have expressed some support, in varying degrees, for the idea. To free Asians, this search for stop-gap solutions or alternatives is a question of survival.

Before I go into the merits and demerits of the proposal, let us look into the new American Pacific strategy which has given rise to the idea itself. On the basis of recent statements made by Asian leaders and of certain recent international developments, it would seem that the new American formula for Asia and the Pacific is as follows: greater Asian involvement in Asian defence, no wholesale American withdrawal, and certainly no dropping of commitments already entered into, more selective American intervention on behalf of and in alliance with selected Asian countries, and above all, increased reliance on Japan.

What, exactly, are the prospects for active Japanese participation in the defence of Asia? *However cautiously, Japan is emerging as the chief ally of the United States in the Far East and, its constitution notwithstanding, one cannot help but assume that in due course Japan will, once*

again, be playing a military role abroad. That country has so far been forced by internal political pressures to adopt a policy of "low pressure", but it would be most unrealistic indeed to assume that it will remain a passive member of the society of nations. Certain factors of overriding consideration are likely to compel her before long to change this policy. The hostile forces around it, its geographic size and location, its need for trade — these, and many other factors, would all seem to dictate that it must develop military, naval and air power to guard its booming economy.

This appears also to indicate that no all-Asian security pact would be of any real moment without the membership and the active participation of Japan. Yet, it is not difficult to recognize that Japan cannot change its policies and build up its military might to the proportions of an established military power literally overnight.

There are other difficulties in the way of a full-dress all-Asian Pact at this time. Before a developing country can become a useful member of any alliance in which there is no established world power, it must first attain a certain minimum standard of economic and social development. Japan is a case in point. If it has today one of the world's most stable national economies, it is because, in the crucial two decades following the Second World War, it did not need to dissipate its energies and wealth on the development and maintenance of defence forces, spending annually for defence barely two percent of its Gross National Product.

I believe that a formal Asian security alliance would be well worth all the time, all the energy and all the expense involved in its formation, if the main threat to the area were overt aggression. This is no longer the case, as you know; *the main threat which faces us is Communist subversion and insurgency.* I doubt very much that, after Vietnam, the Communists will ever attempt any overt aggression of a similar magnitude in the foreseeable future.

What is needed immediately, it seems, is not a formal alliance which would take time to establish and *to whip up into a going concern, but some practical and fairly elaborate and binding arrangement whereby effective collaboration among all the free countries of Asia could be carried out in combatting the particular threat of Communist covert aggression.* Such a system of effective down-to-earth collaboration could, naturally, constitute the groundwork and *provide the foundation for the establishment, at the appropriate time, of an all-Asian military alliance as such.*

We in SEATO, without being oblivious of the requirements of military preparedness against overt Communist aggression, *have set up a Counter-subversion-and-insurgency Centre*, in a necessary re-direction of the efforts of the Alliance. The activities of the Centre have so far been confined to its members, although, in keeping with the present nature and extent of the threat of Communist subversion, we are attempting to generate some interest in those activities among non-members. I realize that a far greater endeavour in this direction, encompassing the affairs and catering to the interests of all free Asian countries faced with Communist subversion and insurgency, is possible; and this should be pursued promptly and vigorously.

With a set-up such as I have just mentioned, and with the Big Powers committed under the Manila Pact to the security of the region, thus providing the requisite Big Power shield and the necessary backing, very little else would be needed to make the machinery for Free World defence in this area truly responsive to its many peculiar problems.

Let us face it. The Communists are a persistent lot, and, I dare say, are winning in many ways. *They know where they want to go and they are steadily getting there.* In South-East Asia during the past year or so, there has been a marked, and therefore very disquieting, deterioration in the subversive and insurgent situation.

View this against the truism that no country in the region is today without a Communist Party, legitimate or clandestine, and further, that no endemic Communist Party, either established or incipient, is known ever to have veered from the well-known Communist aim of undermining free governments for the eventual seizure of national power, and you have a very sad but realistic picture, indeed.

On the other hand, the free countries of Asia have had to fend for themselves, quite often haphazardly, and, in some cases, wrangling with one another in the process.

I submit that the need of free Asians at this time is solidarity in the face of an enemy who is determined to deal with them and to topple them one by one. I suggest that the action to take, in the wake of diminishing free world Big Power involvement in the affairs of Asia, is for the Asians themselves to stand up and be counted. I suggest that, in the universal effort to ensure world peace, to protect the God-given rights and the dignity of man and the independence of nations and to assure the very survival of mankind, you of the World Anti-Communist League and of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League can, and should, help lead the way. I submit that, with the Chapters of the World Anti-Communist League, of which you are an integral part, spread everywhere, and with your own machinery in your respective countries, you are advantageously placed and particularly equipped to spearhead this crucial movement. I suggest that, in so far as this region is concerned, the order of the day is for Asians to close ranks and, as one, to come to grips with the enemy and beat him at his own game.

Then, and only then, can peace and freedom in this potentially most explosive part of the world be assured for the enduring benefit of all mankind.

Bangkok, 6 December 1969

Moscow And Peking Pursue The Same Objectives

As you all know, the world situation has been changing at a rapid rate. Symptoms of disintegration of the Communist bloc have become more and more manifest. Early this year, bloody clashes between Soviet Russian and Red Chinese units broke out along Sino-Soviet borders. It is plain to all that Mao's China and Soviet Russia could never patch up their quarrels. The prolonged conflict has rendered both Moscow and Peking leaders unable to hold their grips on their satellites like in the past. Communist dominated countries in Eastern Europe show obedience to Soviet Russia only under the threat of the force of arms, to wit, the case of Czecho-Slovakia. Yugoslavia and Rumania continue to oppose Moscow's tyrannical and oppressive policies towards the Warsaw Pact countries. Disunity and dissensions prevail among Communist ranks everywhere. Ukraine fights for freedom and independence. In North Vietnam since Ho Chi Minh's death, the regime has been experiencing a severe leadership crisis.

In Eastern Europe, the danger of disintegration looms particularly great, because the unprecedented economic development and prosperity enjoyed by the European Common Market member countries have lured Eastern European countries away from the Soviet orbit. This clearly constitutes a serious threat to the Soviet Russian interests.

Now, the Soviet Union looks with apprehension upon the role of the Federal Republic of Germany in the development of European economy and the possible British entry into the European Common Market, which would boost the power of free Europe vis-a-vis the Warsaw bloc. Soviet leaders also fear that General de Gaulle's successors in France would return to earlier French stance to consolidate the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) thereby, enhancing the position of the Free World, especially the United States

in Europe. This situation explains in a forceful manner Soviet Russian policy as spelled out in a speech by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko at the United Nations General Assembly, in which he laid great emphasis on the "special" importance of free Europe with regard to the Soviet Union.

Undeniably, the Soviet Russian leadership in the Communist bloc has been weakened. But, on the other hand, we should not overlook the fact that the Soviet Union has been picking up influence in the Third World, especially in the Middle East countries. Recently, Soviet Communist Party Secretary General, Leonid I. Brezhnev, also urged the formation of a system of collective security for South-East Asia and the Pacific.

The expansion efforts of Soviet Russia should cause us some concern. In fact, in this area, the Soviet position has surpassed that of the United States and the Free World. It can be safely said that the United Arab Republic, Iraq, and the Yemen Republic have fallen into the Soviet orbit. As for the remaining Arab countries, regardless of their political regimes, autocratic or democratic, except for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Soviet Union has maintained diplomatic relations with them all.

The Soviet Union has provided not only military, but also economic aid to Syria and Iraq, especially for the development of oil fields and industrial projects. In Iran, U.S. influence has been neutralized by the Soviet Union. Iran has signed an agreement granting the Soviet Union the rights to participate in the development of oil fields on the Iranian soil. Most significant in Soviet-Iranian relations has been the treaty signed on Feb. 9, 1967 for the exchange of military hardware valued at 110 million U.S. dollars. Under the treaty provisions, the Soviet Union supplied Iran with tanks, army trucks, and anti-aircraft

weapons in exchange for light commodities. Thus, Iran was the first nation-member of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) to accept military aid from the Soviet Union.

We should also draw our attention to the Soviet Russian bid to strengthen its political and military influence in the Middle East by helping these countries build air and sea ports. Since 1958, the Soviet Union has embarked on the construction of the Hodeida harbor, located on the Red Sea shore, for Yemen, and the modernization of the Conakry airport for Guinea. Soviet Russian presence in the Aquaba and the Persian Gulf has been firmly established. Soviet Russia's aim in extending its influence over a number of passes, air and sea ports has been to establish military bases for any eventual need in the future. To the Kremlin leaders, the establishment of such bases would probably reap greater benefits and cost them less money than equipping and training local armies.

Coupled with the above-mentioned efforts, the Soviet Navy has been thrusting deep into the Mediterranean and, to some extent, into the Indian Ocean.

In the Mediterranean, for instance, about 30 to 50 warships have been dispatched to the area as a display of Soviet support to the Arabs. The warships anchored at these ports serve to deter any Israeli attempt to attack Arab ports. Besides, the Soviet Union would like to see the influence of the U.S. 6th Fleet reduced in this part of the world.

I should like to call your attention to the growing strength of some Communist parties in a number of European countries. Should these parties seize the reins of government in the Mediterranean countries, Soviet Russia with its existing influence in scores of Arab countries on the other side, would control an immense area of Europe and Africa. The world balance of forces would be shattered and we would witness a resurgence of strong nationalist sentiments. World War III would break out and mankind would be subjected to a nuclear holocaust.

I do hope such a dreadful prospect will

serve as a preventive for short-sighted statesmen and intellectuals.

We now come to South-East Asia, a region which Red China has unceasingly sought to conquer in the last two decades, either through military or political means. Soviet Russia is trying to move in to gain a foothold in that area. Soviet Russia has assisted Communist North Vietnam in carrying out its aggressive designs against the Republic of Vietnam. Recently, at the World Communist Conference held in Moscow last June 7, Brezhnev also called for the establishment of a system of collective security for Asia. Shortly after this meeting, Soviet diplomatic representatives in Asian countries have been summoned home for consultations. Soviet activities in this area are undoubtedly aimed at making deep inroads or at replacing U.S. influence.

An appraisal of Red China will reveal that, although confronted by many domestic difficulties, militarily weak and politically isolated by Soviet Russia as well as the Free World, she remains a grave threat to the security of South-East Asia. In this region, Red China will continue to lend support to the so-called "revolutionary" or "people's wars of liberation", such as the kind of war being waged in Vietnam by the Communist Hanoi regime. Pro-Communist and neutralist slogans are wooed and encouraged by Red China.

It was also for that same purpose that Lin Piao reiterated the five principles for peaceful coexistence at the Chinese Communist Party's National Congress held last April. A two-pronged policy of proclaiming revolution and advocating peace seems to produce an effect on some naive and unsophisticated people.

In summing up the situation in Communist dominated countries, I would like to emphasize the fact that, in spite of division within the Communist bloc and the Sino-Soviet conflict, *both Moscow and Peking are pursuing the same objectives: to infiltrate and invade other countries, to destroy freedom, democracy and national independence and to trample upon human dignity.*

The Free World, on the other hand, has not worked out appropriate policies for joint action in the face of Communists' weakness in order to force them to accept peace. On the contrary, many free nations and a number of religious leaders have chosen to advocate an appeasement policy and more concessions to the Communists. Some groups in the United States have even gone further with their defeatist spirit. American public opinion among the academic circles has been partly poisoned by deceitful Communist propaganda. But I am convinced that, endowed with the democratic heritage and the pride of a nation having sent its men to the moon, a great majority of Americans will awaken to the Communist and Russian danger and repair the damage caused by a handful of anti-war critics. Whether it likes it or not, the United States must always assume the responsibilities of the leading nation in the Free World. For only the scientific capability can effectively check the Reds, encourage the captive peoples under the Communist and Russian yoke to rise up and fight for freedom, democracy and national independence in order to secure peace for mankind, not a peace in slavery but a peace assuring the interests of all nations.

I am confident such peace prospect will come to us. But to acquire that kind of

peace, the Free World should, at least for several decades, maintain and form new defense alliances and developed countries should devote a great amount of their material resources to the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

I sincerely believe that the most effective political formula for resisting Communism and Russian imperialism for developing countries is carrying out social revolution and eradicating social evils left behind by their former colonial masters. Only such a revolution would truly restore the people's confidence in their government and deprive the Communists of the issues for their malicious propaganda. It is also imperative and pressing for nations in each region to establish regional associations for development, trade, cultural educational and technical exchange. These organizations would greatly contribute to the development of countries and also constitute an effective weapon against international Communism.

In my opinion, the anti-Communist struggle is a long and arduous task. For this reason, I am inclined to think that we must actively create conditions conducive to the emergence of a new class of young leaders, who will carry on and complete the noble duty of restoring freedom, peace, fraternity and national independence.

Message From H. E. Nguyen Van Thieu

President Of The Republic Of Vietnam

To The Third Conference Of The World Anti-Communist League

On behalf of the people and Government of the Republic of Vietnam, and in my own name, I extend my warmest greetings to all the delegates and observers of the Third General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League.

The World Anti-Communist League has steadfastly upheld the ideals of Freedom, Justice and Democracy, and has made great strides against the Communist influences and practices. We appreciate very much the fact that Vietnam was selected as the site of the Second WACL Conference last year, and the Vietnamese people deeply value the League's support in their efforts to defeat Communist aggression and to seek a just and lasting peace.

The gathering of anti-Communist fighters in Bangkok this year, once again, constitutes the most eloquent testimony of the Free World's solidarity in the face of the Communist threat.

I sincerely wish the Third WACL Conference every success in its deliberations.

Hon. Senator Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (Turkey)

The Present-Day Russian Policy Towards The Turks

I would like to present a report on my views of Russia today, which I obtained during my visit there in September 1967.

In this report, you will find nothing but general impressions of present Russia, collected in the course of an official visit, which took no longer than ten days, by a politician who is interested in general ideas and does not hesitate to describe himself as anti-Communist, to the core.

Let there be no mistake: of the 15 republics which compose the U.S.S.R., an empire of continental expanse, I could partly cover only 5, visiting only 7 cities in all, and furthermore staying in each of them only half a day, a whole day or two at the most, observing the inhabitants as closely as I could, but narrowly restricted in my freedom of movement.

Obviously, this was far from sufficient to form an adequate idea of the country and the nations that live in it.

However despite the constant interdictions which hedged me in, and the numerous gaps in my information which have resulted from them, I hope that this report may be helpful in contributing to your enlightenment.

These are my statements and reflections, after a number of years in which I have eagerly followed with all my concentration and command, the evolution of the Communist regime which was established in Russia more than 50 years ago, and I have made a special study of the bad relations which the Russians have constantly entertained with Turkey.

The way internal and external policy, the yolk and the white of an egg, are being pursued in Soviet Russia deserves to be branded with the two characteristics of unreliability and deceitfulness.

The Communists who practice the Orwellian double-think as though they believed that all books, all libraries in the world have been burned down, and all brains washed, have ever since 1917 incessantly repeated, and indeed shouted from the house tops the laughable claim that they are bitterly opposed to imperialism and imperialists all over the world.

Now the fact is that alone in the period extending from 1939 to the present Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland, among the colonial powers of the West, *have acknowledged the right to independence of forty-four countries with a total population of 840 million*, whereas the Russians, *during the same period, have occupied 263,640 square miles of territory and engulfed no fewer than 220,750,000 human beings in the "Red Hell" stretching behind the Iron Curtain.* This, if we are to believe them, is not imperialism but liberation, restoration of freedom and incorporation in the Earthly Paradise.

One of the loudest claims of the Communists since the first days of their revolution has consisted in saying that, just as they had put an end to the Tsarist regime within the country, they had also renounced the external policy of the Tsars and foresworn every form of imperialism, being merely interested in applying the Marxist-Leninist principles within their own country and abroad.

Then again, if we are to believe them, the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist, etc.,

methods that characterized the preparation of their Revolution, and which they have been using during the fifty years that have elapsed since their Revolution — which they have been using to hurl the population of countries enjoying full liberty and independence into the Red Inferno — are all humane methods!

The transformation of blooming valleys into blood-drenched ones, of rose gardens into ash heaps, are called Socialist Recovery by them.

The tyranny and colonialism of the Tsars, which the Communists affect to curse, concerned only their own subjects and their neighbours, whereas the internal and external policies practiced by the Communists threaten the whole world, mankind at large, with Red slavery.

After seeing Russia, I can say even more definitely that in my opinion the *present foreign policy of the Russians constitutes the most virulent, the most contagious phase of the 19th century Pan-slavic policy of Tsarism, indeed Red death very thinly masked. In other words, the Red Imperialism of today is the twin brother of yesterday's Pan-slavism, only more pestilential and cancerous.*

After seeing the Turks in Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, my opinion of the main principles of the cultural policy which the Soviet Russians pursue against the Turks is as follows:

1. First of all the Russians strive to undermine the sense of community of origin in the Turks. In order to shatter the cultural unity to which the Turks have a natural right, they have since 1924 banished the use of the word "Turk". In this way an attempt is made to deny the Turkish character of the Turkish nations.

That is why, today in the Soviet Union, Tatars, Bashkirs, Azerbaijanians, Yakuts, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Turkmen are mentioned, but they are not considered as Turks.

2. The Russians deny the unity of the language of the Turks. The Soviet Russians are intent on presenting the language of every single Turkish group as a separate and independent language, with a pronunciation of its own.

3. Official Soviet historiography presents the development of every single Turkish people not as a single historic evolution but, on the contrary, as a series of historical events without any connection. They make every effort to deny the fact that the Turks in the Soviet Russian empire are Turks.

4. The Soviet Russians similarly divide into two, as "progressive" and "reactionary" the Turkish cultural inheritance. In their view, only that inheritance of thought and culture is "progressive" which is not harmful and dangerous from the point of view of Communism. Otherwise it is "reactionary".

5. The Russians leave no stone unturned to achieve the Russification of the Turks. Since 1939, the non-Russian peoples have been forced by law to learn Russian. As to the "School Law" of 1959, it directly compels Turkish children in the Soviet Union to take courses in Russian. In the school year 1963—64 more than one million Turkish children learned their lessons in Russian instead of in their mother tongue.

6. The spirit of the national literature is being destroyed. What they style "socialist literature of realism" has been made into a tool for the propagation of Russian and Communism.

7. The Russians' aim is to mold a "Soviet Communist nation" under Russian hegemony out of the various peoples living under their yoke. For the same reason

they are pursuing a policy of rapprochement toward the peoples behind the Iron Curtain which they call in Russian "sblizhenie".

8. Soviet Russia is using all its power to destroy Islam. Nowadays in the Turkish-Islamic lands under Russian rule, atheism prevails.

The impression I gained may be summed up in the following statement: food and clothing in the Soviet Russian empire, though poor in quality, cost tons of money. Woe to the denizens of this paradise!

In the Russian empire there is *not a whiff of liberty, not an atom of democracy*. Though 50 years have passed since the Revolution broke out and the Communist regime was set up, the people are still labouring under an unheard-of housing crisis. To buy bread, let alone other consumer goods, the people must stand in line. True, by means of heavy industry and massive investments giant works have been constructed, but the Russian people are still very far from a normal standard of living. The dictators and their disciples apart, the Russian people are still deprived even of flats to live in, so that several families have to share one flat with common kitchen and common water closet. Laughing faces, gay people are not only hard to find, they are actually non-existent, and everybody is crushed under overwhelming moral and material worries. The workers, administrators, artisans, drivers, and other professionals look upon their dealings with the customers as a drudgery and try to get rid of them. From music to fashion and from stockings to currency you may sense in almost everyone a nostalgia, a love of the West. Moral suffocation appears on all faces.

This situation may involve very many responsibilities, but obviously the person chiefly responsible is Stalin. The people whom we saw in Moscow, Leningrad and Kyiv who deleted Stalin's name from history, inflicting a second death on him, obviously paid him back his due, his long-overdue bill of loathing and hatred. But the most important and remarkable social phenomenon in all this is the fact that since World War II in the inhabitants of the Soviet Union, a sense of "facts and opinions" has emerged.

The Ukrainians look upon themselves as being the most progressive Republic in the Soviet Union. Actually this is the most European looking, the most promising country in the Union: we may expect from it brilliant tomorrows. Ukraine must become a free and independent nation!

In the three large Soviet cities (Moscow, Leningrad and Kyiv) we have seen we discovered many a fine historic monument dating back to the time of the Tsars, industrial installations, cultural and art institutes, and in addition to these, a number of 50-year-old collective "pyramids" resulting from forced labour and tyranny. If these are to be considered a success, we have to investigate what they have cost in terms of millions of human lives; we must also institute a comparison between the standard of living of the ethnic groups and nations of the Soviet Russian empire, and that of the Western peoples, to find out what the Communist regime has done to the inhabitants of this vast country. Is the standard of living we observed in these three cities superior to that existing in the Tsarist period, or has it sunk below the former level? The answer to this question depends above all on a thorough knowledge of the conditions prevailing before 1917. But there is a fact which is as clear as day and cannot be denied by anyone: the standard of living in the Soviet Russian empire is vastly inferior to that in the Western coun-

tries, even to that prevailing in some underdeveloped countries, and quite particularly to that of the U.S.A.

Now we may say: the high level of life aimed at could not be attained, but were the striking inequalities prevailing in the country not removed? If we remember the things we saw, we arrive at the conclusion that it is very difficult indeed to prove such a claim. The obvious fact seems to be that a small oligarchy wielding all the power and making ruthless use of tyrannical methods aimed at the establishment of equality, has secured for itself the lion's share of the national income and is using it to promote its own interests, for its own purposes. That is all.

The fallacy about Communism transforming mankind into a single brotherhood and gathering it into a Single World Paradise swayed by Eternal Peace has repeatedly failed in the last fifty years, its foremost defeat being the one it experienced in Hungary. Its expensive trials have too often resulted in cruelty, bitterness and failure.

Thou art weighed on the balance, and art found wanting.

Take, for example the fallacious promise of Communism: Everyone shall work according to his ability, and be rewarded out of the wealth produced, according to his needs. In our ten days, we saw enough of the practice to realize that Communism, as far as this fascinating enticement was concerned, had not kept its promise.

It was there for all to see: the Communists, as far as the Russian empire was concerned, had abolished what they called "the capitalist and bourgeois regime, this cursed system which blunts human labour, sterilizes natural facilities and limits productions". But the implied claim that Socialism and Collectivism would bring infinite abundance and wealth to the peoples has been thoroughly unmasked as a lie in the course of the last fifty years.

Rama Swarup (India)

India Fights Against Russian And Red Chinese Imperialism

(Speech delivered at the Third WACL Conference, Bangkok, Thailand.)

It is a matter of great pleasure for all of us to meet at this historical city of Bangkok. India and Thailand have close cultural, religious and friendly ties since the time immemorial. When we come from a country like India and see the Buddhist monks and the great Buddhist temples in this country, we remember our own Buddhist and Hindu religions which we practice in our ancient and modern India.

India has been participating since 1962 in all the Conferences of WACL and APACL. In fact, we are the chartered members of WACL. In our own way, we have been trying our best to meet the Communist challenge at home. We have also been showing our experience and our

information regarding Communist activities with the various anti-Communist organizations of the world. We have participated in almost all the anti-Communist events held in Asia and Europe during the current year. Like last year, only a few days ago, a 6-member Indian Delegation was sharing the deliberations at Seoul, Korea, in the second WACL Seminar. We had also the opportunity to extend hospitality to various Delegations from abroad which visited India during the year, particularly from Germany, the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of Vietnam, Nepal and others.

During this year alone, we have pub-

lished more than 11 booklets and books against Communism and our greatest achievement was when we collected signatures of 51 Members of Parliament on a cable addressed to the Prime Minister of Canada, requesting him not to recognize the Peking regime. In addition, 125 members of the Indian Parliament belonging to all the political parties of India, issued a joint statement calling upon the Indian Government not to support the Peking regime's entry into the United Nations and to establish full diplomatic relations with the Republic of China. These two statements were well commented upon by the press and the leading political dignitaries.

We believe that the anti-Communist struggle has yet to take a definite shape to give a severe blow to the growing menace of international Communism. As a result of the application of Marxist-Leninist ideology, Communism has taken a toll of nearly 100 million human lives since the Bolshevik Revolution overthrew the Tsarist regime in Russia. As was to be expected, Soviet Russia and Communist China account between themselves for nearly 19 million deaths. Besides the revolution of 1917, successive waves of pre-Stalinist and Stalinist purges and the Siberian concentration camps accounted, apparently, for 45 million deaths. To this is added the "Iron Curtain" countries of Eastern Europe over which Russia extends her shadow. Lives sacrificed in Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Albania and Yugoslavia are estimated at 3.6 million.

In addition, Mao Tse-tung took a toll of 20 million lives. The process of consolidation of Mao's regime meant the liquidation of 9.5 million more people, described as "class enemies".

Red China's "great leap forward", which plunged the country into a disastrous famine, resulted in the death of 13 million more. Finally, about 2 million have perished since 1950 in Communist Chinese slave labour camps. These figures make no mention of people killed as a result of Communist insurrection in India, but say that

the Communist Chinese invasion of Tibet and subsequent revolts by the Tibetans have cost 200,000 lives. Fatalities in the Korean war are estimated at 1.5 million and the bloody revolution in Zanzibar, which overthrew the Sultan and his Arab court and led to the union of the island with Tanzania, cost another 13,000 lives.

This is what Communism has given us. Mr. Chairman and Friends, while we appreciate the tireless efforts of our leaders like Mr. Ku Cheng-kang and Mr. Jose Ma. Hernandez, the Secretary-General of the WACL, in organizing the League in all parts of the world, the India Chapter believes that without the active co-operation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the European Freedom Council, it is practically impossible for us to expand our activities, in particular in Europe, America and Canada. The ABN and the European Freedom Council have a large following, good resources and able leadership with branches in these countries. Ukrainians in particular are well organized with 3 million emigrants in the free world.

We believe that the war in Vietnam, even after the withdrawal of the American troops, has to be won by the anti-Communist South Vietnamese Government under the leadership of President Thieu. We believe that the most valuable contributions made by Korea, Free China, Thailand, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, besides that of the United States, to the people of Vietnam in their fight against Communism have had to be further consolidated. We further believe that any talk of surrender of Vietnam or any kind of compromise in terms of a coalition government in South Vietnam would be a great blunder which the Communists are expecting from us. The death of Ho Chi Minh and the growing differences in the Russian and Mao's brands of Communism should be exploited successfully and strategically. We hope that the anti-Communist leaders assembled here from all corners of the world, will come out with definite proposals to finalize our future strategies to meet the challenge of the enemy.

Russian Messianism And Chauvinism Of V. I. Lenin

The majority of Western "experts" and "specialists" on Marxism-Leninism propagate the myth that Lenin was a true internationalist, a true anti-imperialist, and that he combated Russian chauvinism and imperialism. The truth is different. His writings and activities inflamed to the degree of fanaticism Russian ultra-chauvinism and the spirit of Russian messianism. In his opinion the Russian people were the "chosen people" who were to save the world from the "evil" Western civilization and culture. Lenin, more than all the Russian tsars, urged the Russian masses to conquer, destroy and plunder other nations.

However Lenin masterly synthesized the Russian messianistic concepts and their expansionist urge with the universalist Marxist doctrine to make it appear that everything was done not in the interest of Russian imperialism and messianism but due to the forces and aims of world proletariat and to the benefit of the great majority of humanity. The Russian intellectual, N. Berdyaev, expressed this synthesis as follows: Marxism made a strong impression on Lenin, because "*its messianic idea* connected with the mission of the proletariat combined and identified itself with the *Russian messianic idea.*" ("Russkaya ideya", Paris, 1946, p. 250) This prominent Russian intellectual acknowledged that Lenin accepted Russian messianism and united it with Marx's messianic idea. Such a synthesis represented the basis of modern Russian imperialism.

Lenin's belief in Russia's world "mission" was expressed by him as early as 1902, using the example of Russian literature: "...let the reader call to mind the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy like Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and the brilliant band of revolutionaries of the seventies; let him ponder over the *world significance* which *Russian literature* is now acquiring." ("What Is To Be Done?" in

"Selected Works", ed. by J. Fineberg, New York, International Publ., v. 2, p. 48) The named Russian intellectuals were allegedly endowed with qualities which made such Russians the natural leaders of the world proletariat.

Lenin continued: "The fulfillment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark not only of European but also of Asiatic reaction would place the *Russian proletariat in the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat.*" (Ibidem, p. 50) He instilled in the Russians the idea of their mission to destroy the European culture and civilization and to gain leadership over the world. The Russians must conduct themselves as a national unit, since they were the "chosen" and the best proletarians.

Some years later Lenin was fully seconded by Stalin, who became his great disciple: "We must *free ourselves* of the out-dated *prejudice*, that *only Europe can show us the way.* There is a dogmatic and a creative Marxism. I have decided in favor of the latter." (Stalin, "Sochinenia", Moscow, 1946, v. 3, p. 187) In other words, not Europe with its Christian and Occidental culture, but the Russian barbarian chauvinistic culture should strive to acquire domination over the world.

Georg von Rauch in his book "A History of Soviet Russia" commented on this view of Stalin and Lenin: "This was a messianic Socialism reminiscent of Herzen and Lavrov..." (Praeger Publ., New York, 1957, p. 49) The Ukrainian scholar, Yuriy Boyko, came to a similar conclusion: The *Bolsheviks' "internationalism is allied to Russian messianism*, and herein lie the fundamental causes of the Russian element in Bolshevism. Messianism, the historical mission of the Russian nation in the world, is the fundamental trait of the Russian mentality throughout centuries and finds its fulfillment in Bolshevism." ("The Russian Historical Roots of Bolshevism" in "The

Real Face of Russia", London, Ukrainian Information Service, 1967, p. 140)

In 1905 Lenin's chauvinistic fever skyrocketed, because he hoped that Russia and its new proletarian leadership will soon acquire a position of world leadership: "The eyes of the proletariat of the *whole world* are anxiously turned toward the *proletariat of the whole Russia*. The overthrow of tsarism in Russia, begun so valiantly by our working class, will be the turning point in the history of all countries, will facilitate the task of the workers of all nations, in all states, in all parts of the globe." ("Beginning of the Revolution in Russia", ed. cit., v. 3, p. 292)

Lenin was definitely possessed by the mania of Russia's greatness and world significance. The Ukrainian political philosopher, Dmytro Dontsov, commented on this ideology: "... the ideology of Muscovite Communism and that of Tsarism are merely two different forms of one and the same thing, namely of the same phenomenon of a more general character and this is nothing else than the Muscovite Messianism which wages war against the West." ("The Spirit of Russia", in "The Real Face of Russia", op. cit., p. 25) Dontsov continued: "A toying with the idea of the revolution and of the proletariat, a crusade against the bourgeoisie, amorous glances towards Asia, tirades and attacks against the principle of legitimism, — these ideas and methods are used equally by Lenin and the Pan-Slavists, and tsarists. And in both cases there is one and the same aim — the destruction of 'rotten' Europe ad majorem Moscoviae gloriam — the Europe that is hostile to all the forms of the Russian state which have existed so far." (Ibidem, p. 33)

Despite the reverses suffered by Russian Socialists in the 1905 upheavals, Lenin not only continued to believe in Russia's world mission but indoctrinated his followers with this idea: "it is quite natural that Marx and Engels should have the *most fervent faith in the Russian revolution and its great world significance*." ("Preface to the Russian Translation of Letters by J. F. Becker,

J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx and others to F. A. Sorge and others", 1907, in op. cit., v. 2, p. 735) His politics were Russia-centered and Russia-oriented; he was primarily interested in the expansion and growth of Russia's influence and might in the world.

From his Russian chauvinistic basis Lenin was organizing followers in Europe in order to destroy it: "The *Western* bourgeoisie has decayed and is already being confronted by its grave-diggers — the proletariat." ("Democracy and Narodism in China", 1912, op. cit., v. 4, p. 307) Marx, Engels, and the so-called international proletariat are being used by Lenin with the aim to destroy the West and to aggrandize Russia. The edge of Lenin's ideas and movement was directed against everything European, while at the same time everything Russian was overvalued in a chauvinistic spirit. Lenin's "proletariat" should not possess any characteristics of the European "decayed" culture, namely, Christian, individualistic, national.

In 1914 Lenin wrote an article, in which he expressly and indivisibly connected Russian national-imperial messianism with the Marxist internationalist doctrine. It was called "On the National Pride of Great Russians." His thesis is the following: "The interest (not understood in a bondsman's way) of *national pride* of the *Great Russians* coincides with the *socialist interest* of the *Great Russian* (and all the other) proletarians." (in "V. I. Lenin ob Ukraine", Kyiv, Gos. izd. pol. lit., 1957, p. 421) Russian chauvinistic "interest" has been covered up by "the socialist interest" — a militant but false doctrine.

The "positive" side of Russia's socialist mission should consist among other things, in Russia's being the "Kulturträger": "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." (1916, "Collected Works", v. 19, p. 254) Lenin clearly differentiates between the Russian

nation and the other nations. Russia is proclaimed to be in front of the "backward nations" and she has to give cultural aid to other nations. This is the new Russian cultural imperialism. The aim was to extend Russia's despotic, materialistic, plundering, collectivistic, anti-Christian culture to other nations.

Lenin constantly hammered the theme of Russia's superiority over Europe: "... the *Russian revolution* — precisely because of its proletarian character... — was the *prologue* to the *coming European revolution*. Undoubtedly, this coming revolution can only be a proletarian revolution in the profounder sense of the word... This coming revolution will show to an even greater degree, on the one hand, that only stern battles, only civil wars, can free humanity from the yoke of capital; on the other hand, that only class conscious proletarians can and will come forth in the role of leaders of the vast majority of the exploited." ("Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", 1917, "Selected Works", op. cit., v. 3, p. 18—19) The new anti-European and anti-Christian messianism was inspired and directed by the Russians. Marxism should serve "the Russian revolution" to acquire hegemony over other nations.

We have interesting commentary on Bolshevism-Leninism by a well-known scholar, Hans Kohn: "The *cause of Russia* and of *Communism* became today *one*: they cannot be separated from each other. The world revolutionary Communism has united with the *Russian nationalistic salvation mission*. They enforce each other in acknowledgment of autocracy, in the distrust of the West, in the belief, that Russia alone is the bearer of true religion and of the only good social order, in the conviction that the quarreling world shall be saved from fighting and chaos by Russia's faith and action." ("Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert", Zürich, Europa, 1950, p. 130)

When the tsarist regime collapsed in the Russian empire and the Bolsheviks were close to capturing power in this empire, Lenin boasted: "Humanity has not yet

evolved and we do not as yet know a type of government superior to and better than the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies." ("A Dual Power", 1917, op. cit., v. 6, p. 29) This statement reflected not only national pride but national chauvinism and messianism. We should keep in mind that Lenin considered the soviet form of state the exclusive product of the Russian nation. Noticeable here is the extreme intolerance to every other form of state, which prevented the adoption of the attitude of co-existence with states having different systems.

Lenin attached religious, patriotic and mystical value to the Bolshevik movement: "To the *Russian proletariat* much has been given. Nowhere on earth has the working class yet succeeded in developing as much revolutionary energy as in *Russia*. But to whom much has been given, of him much is demanded." ("Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", 1917, op. cit., v. 6, p. 70) The Russians have to lead and rule the whole world, because they are allegedly endowed with some extraordinary mystical powers and superior meta-physical knowledge, while the Ukrainians, the Germans, the French, the Italians etc. are nations of inferior qualities, and therefore must follow the Russians.

We can quote Hans Kohn again on the phenomenon of Lenin's messianism: "Lenin's categorical rejection, his contemptuous hate of the 'bourgeois' European civilization, awoke in the hearts and traditions of the masses a familiar note... Although the dogma came from outside of Russia; but as the Byzantine Orthodoxy, so Marxism was soon 'nationalized' and became a Russian Church." (Op. cit., p. 111) In another work the same author wrote: "The fanaticism of the Communists springs from their un-European type of faith, with its mediaeval absoluteness." ("Nationalism in the Soviet Union", New York, Columbia Univ., 1933, p. 27)

Lenin's chauvinistic messianism was put into practice: "Our Party must not 'wait',

but must immediately found a Third International . . . To whom much has been given, of him much is demanded. There is no other land on earth as free as *Russia is now.*" (Ibidem, p. 71-2) The Third International was to become an instrument for the spreading of Russian genocidal, anti-national, anti-individualistic and anti-Christian notions.

At the beginning of 1918 Lenin prepared a Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People, in which he announced: ". . . the Constituent Assembly insists on a *complete break* with the *barbarous policy* of *bourgeois civilization* which has built the well-being of the exploiters of a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of toiling people in Asia, in the colonies in general and in the small countries." (see op. cit., v. 6, p. 453) Again, Lenin revealed his complete and uncompromising hostility toward the Christian and the Western world. Russia must be cleansed of all their influences, because she possesses her own culture which is superior to the other ones. Those who resist the introduction of Lenin's brand of "civilization" shall be branded "barbarians" who must be destroyed.

Lenin's brand of Russian chauvinistic messianism appeared clearly in the resolution of the VII All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held on December 5, 1919: ". . . the conviction has penetrated the Muslim East that the *Russian S.F.S.R.*, located as it is between capitalist Europe and the peoples of Asia enslaved by imperialism, *is their stronghold* in their struggle for liberation from national oppression." (compare Ivar Spector, "The Soviet Union and the Muslim World", p. 38) Those who wanted to be liberated had to submit to the Russian rule and to execute Lenin's policies.

In 1920 Lenin declared a "holy" war against the West quite openly, firmly desiring to destroy Christianity and the free national states with their own social and economic systems: "As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in

peace: in the end, one or the other will triumph — a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism." ("Speech to the Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries", op. cit., v. 8, p. 297) He was definitely reaching for Russia's world domination.

Twenty years after the first pronouncement on his avowal of Russian messianism and chauvinism, Lenin again firmly confirmed the same stand: ". . . the *only nation* that emerged from a reactionary war by revolutionary methods not for the benefit of this or that government, but by overthrowing it, was the *Russian nation*, and it was the *Russian revolution* that extricated it . . . *all over the world* all the workers are *attracted towards* the *Soviet state.*" ("Political Report of the Central Committee to the XI Congress of the Russian C.P.(B)", 1922, op. cit., v. 9, p. 361) To Lenin the decisive and moving force in international affairs was the whole Russian nation and not some non-national movement. And he hoped that people from all over the world would gather around and submit to the rule of the Russian nation.

Lenin was not one bit ashamed to announce: "*We/Russians — A.W.B./created* a Soviet type of state and by that *ushered in a new epoch* in world history, the epoch of the political rule of the proletariat, which has come to take the place of the epoch of the political rule of the bourgeoisie." ("Notes of a Publicist", 1922, op. cit., v. 10, p. 308) The Russians were attempting to capture the rule over the whole world under the cover-up of "proletariat".

Lenin left to all his followers the commandment to achieve for Russia the position of world leadership. No nation can escape the confrontation with Leninist Russia: sooner or later only one alternative to complete subjugation to Russia will remain, namely, to stand up and in a synchronized universal front of all freedom-loving peoples to destroy all traces of Russian imperialism and its cover-up — Leninism.

The Russian UN Policy

(Conclusion)

Anyone who has followed the work of the Communist parties in the various countries outside the U.S.S.R., including Canada, will recognize that these instructions have been adhered to, to the letter.

The Communist view of parliaments in capitalist countries was stated thus:

Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future... its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them... The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to direct the masses to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within.

Stating that the work of each Communist member in the bourgeois countries "consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform", *The Theses of the Comintern* specifies only one loyalty. According to instructions:

The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party — whether legal or illegal.

The Bolshevik leaders of the Soviet Union have made plans to conquer the whole world, some of which have already been implemented but some of which have also backfired. Many leaders of Communist parties in bourgeois countries have undergone training to achieve this purpose. I have here a statement of Dmitri Manuilsky, Minister of External Affairs, who taught at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow in 1931, where several Canadian Communists also took courses. This is what he stated:

War to the hilt between Communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 to 30

years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep; so we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to co-operate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist.

It therefore comes as no surprise that after World War II this "spectacular peace movement" came in the form of "peaceful co-existence" and every outward appearance was made to display co-operation. That this was merely a tactic to achieve ultimate victory is evident from the speech of Prime Minister Khrushchov to German Communist leaders in 1955 in which he said:

People say our smiles are not honest. That is not true. Our smile is real, not artificial. But if anyone believes that our smile means that we have given up the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, they are badly mistaken...

One cannot stop the course of history.

If the masks are stripped off the face of "Soviet Communism" and the propaganda balloons are pierced, it reveals the naked face of Russian imperialism, propped up by brute force as under the Tsarist regime. The Red Army reconquered all the non-Russian peoples who had broken away from the Tsarist Russian Empire and formed their own independent states after the First World War. The second wave of Russian imperialism and colonialism commencing at the beginning of the Second World War absorbed the Baltic nations which were overrun by the Red Army. The third wave, since the Second World War, established Soviet satellite regimes in Central and Southern Europe, Asia and Cuba and inten-

sive subversive activities in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Asia. The "peaceful co-existence" did not hold back the Russian Communist regime from instigating aggression in Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere.

In his book *The Origin of Russian Communism*, Nicholas Berdyaev, the great contemporary Russian philosopher in exile, explains the real drive behind Communism.

Russian Communism is difficult to comprehend because of its two physiognomies. In some aspects it is an international and universal phenomenon; from other points of view it is Russian and national. It is particularly important for Western minds to understand the natural roots of Russian Communism and the fact that it was Russian history which determined the limits and shaped its character. A knowledge of Marxism will not suffice to find the cue to it.

In another place Berdyaev stated that in Bolshevism "the Russification and Orientalization of Marxism has been achieved."

Russian émigré leaders, even though they oppose Communism, have been constantly upholding the Russian empire and adhering to the "one and indivisible Russia" of the Tsarist regime. This explains why Alexander Kerensky, the leader of the Russian provisional government in 1917, who was ousted by Lenin's Bolshevik Party, later in 1943, when Hitler's Nazis threatened to dismember the Soviet Union, came to its defence with the following statement:

Russia, a geographical backbone of history, should exist in all her strength and power, no matter who or how he is ruling her. (In this case it was Stalin, the greatest tyrant in Russian history — P. Y.) From this comes Miliukov's testament to us: to be on watchful guard of Russia — no matter what her name is — absolutely, unconditionally and to the last breath.

Deceit, as has already been noted, is a basic tactic of Soviet policy in the subversion of the free world. During the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Communist Soviet Revolution, and the "glo-

rious" achievements of the Soviet regime, Alexei Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister, boastfully proclaimed, as reported in *Pravda*, June 20, 1967, that:

In the fifty years of her existence the Soviet Union has respected all other nations, great as well as small. Every nation is entitled to establish an independent national state of its own. This is one of the basic principles of Soviet policy. Supporting the right of self-determination of nations, the Soviet Union condemns and resolutely opposes the attempts of any power to conduct an aggressive policy and to work for the annexation of foreign countries . . . No country in the world could claim to have solved the nationality problem as successfully as the Soviet Union . . . No nationality in our country is discriminated against.

Consider the sincerity of the resolution introduced in the United Nations in December 1965 by Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, who recently visited Canada:

No state has the right to intervene directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal and external affairs of any other state. Consequently armed intervention and all forms of interference of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements are condemned.

These declarations of Gromyko and Kosygin are obviously false, for they did not deter the Soviet Government from sending the Red Army, together with the forces of its satellite states, to invade and occupy its socialist satellite Czechoslovakia in August 1968, just as it had done during the uprisings in Hungary in 1956. The Soviet Russian Empire was established by force and will evidently be maintained by force under a totalitarian system which cannot allow "liberalization", democracy and freedom to make headway within its jurisdiction.

We have already noted that the ultimate goal of Soviet Communism, as was spelled out in the Comintern *Theses* of 1920, was world conquest, which would employ all means at its disposal, including deceit and

force of arms. Subsequently, dictator Joseph Stalin, in his book, *Marxism and the National Question*, outlined the methods of achieving this objective as follows:

1. Confuse, disorganize and destroy the forces of capitalism around the world.

2. Bring all nations together into a single world system of economy.

3. Force the advanced countries to pour prolonged financial aid into the underdeveloped countries.

4. Divide the world into regional groups as a transitional stage to total world government. Populations will more readily abandon their national loyalties to a vague regional loyalty than they will for a world authority. Later, the regionals can be brought all the way into a single world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Comintern congresses of 1928 and 1936 formally adopted these intermediate goals of Communism in their programs. When the U.S.S.R. entered the League of Nations in 1934 it began to carry out this broad program.

After achieving victory over Nazi Germany in the Second World War, which would not have been possible without the close collaboration and extensive aid of the allies — the United States, Great Britain and others — the Soviet leaders expressed no gratitude to the allies, but immediately laid plans to continue their efforts to dominate the world. On the eve of the inception of the UN, the Communist pamphlet entitled *The United Nations*, published in 1945 in Bombay, India, advocated full support for this world organization, giving the four primary reasons as:

1. The veto will protect the U.S.S.R. from the rest of the world.

2. The UN will frustrate any effective foreign policy of the major capitalist countries.

3. The UN will be an extremely helpful instrument in breaking up the colonial territories of the non-Communist countries.

4. The UN will eventually bring about the amalgamation of all nations

into a single Soviet system.

This is precisely the blueprint that was initially drawn up by Lenin, elaborated by Stalin and refined by Khrushchov for achieving world government and Communist control of the world by exploiting the United Nations.

The use of such innocent-like tactics in the overall strategy of attaining a concealed goal is perhaps best illustrated by the story of the young married man working in a baby-carriage factory in Germany at the beginning of Hitler's regime. In his speech to the Senate of the United States on February 23, 1954, Senator William Jenner related how this young man had saved his money to buy one of the baby-carriages which he was helping to build, as his wife was expecting their first child. When the factory refused to sell him the product, he began to collect the various parts secretly. When he obtained all the parts, he and his wife painstakingly put them together. What a shock they received, when instead of a baby-carriage, they beheld a machine gun! It is obvious that the blueprint of the final product had been planned years ahead. Many unsuspecting people helped to produce the product which could even be turned against them.

This is the way the Kremlin master planners are exploiting the UN for their purposes. The pre-designed parts are being produced by many unsuspecting workers who believe they are helping to build baby carriages described to them with such slogans as "peace", "international co-operation", "world brotherhood", "human rights", "peace-keeping operations", et cetera. Little do many realize what the final product could be when the component parts are assembled.

Let us assemble some of the major parts of the Soviet Russian blueprint for the United Nations. Although the Third International repudiated parliamentarism, Communist members were instructed to enter bourgeois parliaments "to direct the masses to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the Parliament itself from within." Consequently, the Soviets have been constantly using the rostrum of the United

Nations to spread Communism over all the world and to inflame colonial people and underdeveloped nations against the Western powers, particularly the United States. Testifying to the Committee on un-American Activities, Dr. Marek Korowicz, a UN delegate from Communist Poland who defected in 1953, stated:

We were all indoctrinated strongly with the Russian master plan to reach the working classes of the various countries in the Western world over the heads of their governments . . . The organization of the UN is considered as one of the most important platforms of Soviet propaganda in the world . . . The UN offers a parliamentary platform to the Soviet politicians, and from this platform they may preach to the populations of the entire world and do their subversive propaganda.

The Soviet Union has consistently used her veto in the Security Council to paralyze the work of the UN during international crises. Of the 109 vetoes cast from January 1946 to October 1967, almost all of them

were cast by the U.S.S.R., except France, four times; the United Kingdom, three; and China, one. The United States did not use its veto at all. The Soviet Union vetoed all resolutions relating to Soviet aggression in Hungary in 1956 and recently her invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. She has been attempting to make UN peace-keeping operations as ineffective as possible also by refusing to contribute her share. In such a way the U.S.S.R. has used the UN to frustrate the foreign policy of the major capitalist countries; consequently, the veto should be abolished, as advocated by Senator Roebuck, or at least must be drastically modified.

The part of the Soviet Russian blueprint that has been most successfully realized was the role of the United Nations "in breaking up the colonial territories of the non-Communist countries", particularly in Africa. Commencing with 51 members 24 years ago, today the UN has 126 members, during which time some one billion people have achieved their independence, thanks to the efforts of the UN.

Former PM Of Ukraine In Perth, Hits Reds

"Australian people understand the threat of Communism very well", a former Prime Minister of Ukraine said in Perth yesterday.

He is Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, who is spending three weeks touring Australia during a world crusade to "inform people about the danger of Communism."

Mr. Stetsko is president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and chairman of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Liberation Movement.

He said he was against any compromise in Vietnam.

Mr. Stetsko was Prime Minister for only three weeks in 1941 when Ukraine proclaimed its independence from Russia and fought against both the Nazi and Red armies.

His term of office ended when he refused to collaborate with the invading Nazis and was imprisoned.

Since his release he has been promoting anti-Communist campaigns from headquarters in Germany and England.

Mr. Stetsko is armed with pamphlets dealing with conditions behind the Iron Curtain, lists of concentration camps, names of alleged political murder victims, and accounts of liberation movements within Communist countries.

He believes revolutionary forces in Communist countries will eventually lead to a "dissolution of the Russian empire."

He said the greater majority of young people in countries such as Czecho-Slovakia, wanted to free themselves from occupation and refuse to accept Russian influence.

The Sunday Times, Dec. 21, 1969
Perth, Australia

The Foundation Of Society According To The Law Of Nature And The Essence Of Power

Since the Frenchman, Auguste Comte, in his "Philosophie Positive" raised bitter complaints that no positive philosophy had yet proved the conviction of the necessity, according to the laws of nature, of social phenomena, sociology has not permitted itself to be halted in its active development, and has manifoldly illuminated many social phenomena. Nevertheless, the desired goal of Auguste Comte still remained reserved for the future. Even in 1929, the great teacher of State Law, Georg Jellinek, believed himself able to prove with his juristic logic in his "Allgemeine Staatslehre" that in the light of the knowledge of natural law, comprehensive realization of social law was impossible. He was mistaken. In the 20th century, natural science research itself has achieved such enormous progress that the intellectual sciences could not unheedingly ignore its results. There has been no absence of articles dealing with the evaluation of natural science knowledge for the intellectual sciences. Amongst the manifold writings that exist, the prize-crowned works of Hermann, May and Vogel under the common title "Die Bedeutung der modernen Physik für die Theorie der Erkenntnis" (The Importance of Modern Physics in the Theory of Cognition) and the remarkable treatise of Ludwig Kaul on "Atomenergie und Weltallkräfte" (Atomic Energy and the Forces of the Universe) should at least be mentioned. There is a powerful image of the world of matter constructed on the atom and, in strict correctness of sequence, carried through to the macrocosm, which is the result of the atomic theory. Though many completions and refinements may yet be experienced through further probing of single problems, in the theory of cognition one cannot ignore the general standard-giving results of scientific research.

What matters here is, not so much the analysis of the complete building material as the grasping of the basic principle on

which the complete building rests; that is to say, the essence of the atom in its universal significance. Not the prime atom or the H or, He atom etc.; but the atom in principle is the decisive thing. Today the atom is no longer contested. It is in its axiom the energy-bound polarity which makes up the substance of the construction of material and spiritual existence and which embodies at least two poles and the tension between them.

Existence envelops the material and spiritual realms. The spiritual implies likewise energy-bound polarity. In this lies the substance of thought, of conception, of imagination, of the order of things, etc. The Romans suspected this already when formulating the sentence: "contraria contrariis opposita magis illucescunt." And Göthe comes to the definition "Every spoken word incites the opposite meaning". As could be proved in innumerable cases, the basic atomic principle of energy-bound polarity is contained in everything capable of existence. Indeed, the Christian conception of God finds its essential consistency in its Holy Trinity, which is oneness in spiritually united duality. And so the ancient notion that God created the world and also mankind after his own image becomes understandable. And again, the same basic principle is found in the shape of human society: family, association, people, state, etc. Logically, the validity of the basic principle of the law of nature, extended also to the spiritual realm, is absolutely equivalent to the basic conception whereby all true statements are either direct replicas of facts, or through some transformation can be traced back to such, or at least with the help of general induction, be supported by such, so that, independent of such actuality, statements about a true fact cannot at all be made. As, on the other hand, the material is only a replica of the spiritual law, it would be impossible not to find in the spiritual realm

the law of the spiritual which is reflected in the material. Accordingly, methods of research and of knowledge in so far as they are the outcome of thought, are also none other in natural philosophy than in metaphysics, namely, induction, analogy, abstraction and imagination.

The essential thing always lies, at any rate, in the fact that a oneness formed from a three-fold principle results from a positive and a negative pole and the tension between the two. This trinity is found to be the prime principle in the world of matter and spirit.

With the knowledge of the basic principle of natural law, light is thrown on the substance of sociological problems. Not as though empirically or as a result of faith a natural order of state and society would not have hitherto been found. History shows natural law has always made its appearance also in the substance of the state. But the human spirit sought knowledge of connections in indisputable definitions and has often enough been led to disastrous errors, which went as far as anarchistic thought.

However, in that family, society, people and state are founded on the basic atomic principle, they can be explained as energy-bound polarity. Their conditions of existence correspond essentially to those of the atom. The laws of the atomic theory therefore, can be re-transferred to them by analogy, if not in substance. This conformity to natural law exists in a married partnership in the physical and spiritual relationship between the man and the woman; in society, in the relationship between the leadership and the rank and file; in the state, in the relationship between state authorities and the people. The activities corresponding to the movement must suffice for the operation of all cohesive forces. The opposition of the positive and negative poles and the tension arising between them signifies also here existence and development of life, signifies strict differentiation of the reciprocal functions. Above all, rank and file cannot at the same time be leadership, nor the people be at the same time government.

The possibility of human survival without the power of state is possible but then the social forces of cohesion threaten to be broken up, should they have already come into existence at all.

Also there is actually the possibility of a society without a leader, but also here the term rank and file is, strictly speaking, no longer correct and the rank and file threaten to become a horde which possesses no entity.

The comprehension and evaluation of the deductions to be drawn from the basic principle of the atom are to a large extent qualified to give information on the circumstances of existence which, up to the present, had only been sensed and believed or doubted and denied.

Within the polaric social relationships lies also the ethical behaviour of the human race, which gains for itself importance in the formation of the cohesive forces. Philosophy is for ever struggling to find a uniform basic law upon which all ethical rules and the inherent character of law reveal themselves. Christian theology, following on the Jewish, has accepted the term "love" as the ethical basic law in the definition "God is love and the highest commandment is love". But neither philosophy in general, nor natural science have hitherto been able to make much of it. This term "love" has often been strongly attacked, and mostly because it has been identified with the conception of weakness. Rightly understood and defined from the point of view of natural science, this term of love corresponds to that of constructiveness, that is, constructiveness in its final purpose, i. e. constructiveness in the direction of the will. However, this will which is directed towards constructiveness does not qualify as weakness, but as strength. Therefore the constructive element is goodness in that strength is also at the same time good, as it counteracts the opposing law of destruction and has to conquer it. And so, without exception, every strong and consequently also good activity of the will is directed towards constructiveness: spiritual and physical education, eating, physical culture, hygiene, handicraft, building activity,

literary activity, welfare work, music, etc. Herein lies the body of the moral behaviour of mankind, the peculiarity of the conscience and the freedom of the will. The whole complex of questions in this connection is tied to this human capability of decision. Indeed, the moral world order itself is none other than the useful relationship between constructiveness and destructiveness. And further, here is established the pursuit of happiness, aesthetics, benevolence, helpfulness, the notion of justice, perfectibility. Also the so-called instincts, as for instance, the feeding and reproductive instincts or impulses are reduced to the constructive instinct. Constructiveness can only work with love, "love to a thing", not with hate. The meaning of hate is destruction, consequently weakness. Weakness is bound to fail. Weakness and evil are therefore in the same way identical as contrast to strength and goodness. But there is also a destructive constructiveness and a constructive destructiveness. Here it is a question of the direction of the will and the final purpose. He who pulls down an old house in order to build, uses destruction it is true, but only to construct in the end. He who builds up a gang of arsonists in order to destroy houses out of hatefulness, employs in fact an organization of constructiveness, but only to destroy finally.

Destruction and hate lead in the end to chaos, in roaring fire or in a struggle of the elements, which only by consumption or transformation, can be fitted again into the divine order of constructiveness.

The fact will, however, hardly be denied that the human will, also when it employs destruction, will always in the end build something up as, for example, criminal psychology and revolutions show. Accordingly, Ludwig Kaul's opinion of the human will in that good and bad can be fitted into the scale of the will as different degrees of strength is acceptable. Kaul speaks only of what is considered, generally speaking, as bad. But in spite of this, theoretically at least, the possibility is imaginable that the will can be set towards evil even with the conscious aim of its own destruction.

Certainly one then no longer speaks of a sensible being, not even of an animal or brutish one, but of a mad, sadistic, inhuman being. With normal human beings, the trend followed by the will is led, if not by higher aims, then at least by basic instincts of constructiveness, that is eating, reproducing, etc. which bear a constructive character, so that in reaching their aim, good and evil merely portray the degree of strength of will which is necessary to withstand "temptations" to commit deeds which disturb or destroy the constructive sphere lying outside the ego.

To deepen this perception, it would appear necessary, however, to explore further the essence of contrariness. It is true, a certain contrariness lies in polarity. Kaul also uses this term for it. Even so, there are distinctions to be made. Polaric contrariness requires a complementary relationship should a fusion and not a repulsion, expulsion, or disintegration be produced. Strictly speaking, therefore, the term uni, atom, etc. as positive and negative is not quite correct, and one had better speak of positive and dispositive, or something similar. Affirmation and negation are incompatible opposites. They form no polarity, at least no constructive polarity. This fact is, among other things, also of significance for the attitude of political parties, groups, classes, "oppositions", trends, etc. A constructive, fruitful co-operation between opponents who negate each other's opinions or right of existence is not possible (*Pactum diaboli*). On the contrary, a constructive, fruitful cooperation can only then result if a complementary, i. e. a mutual condition of supplementation, corresponding to the ratio of power, exists or is brought about.

(To be continued)

"Russian imperialism, behind its 'Communist' mask, has proved to be more chauvinistic, more exalted, more inflated than at any time under the tsars. It covets Europe and the whole world as the supreme booty." (I. M. Lombardo, f. Italian Minister)

A Quarter Of A Century Of Rumanian History

On August 23, 1969 exactly 25 years had passed, since King Michael of Rumania proclaimed in a message to the Rumanian people that the war against the Soviet Union had ended and a cease-fire had been agreed upon. At the same time he set a date for the withdrawal of German troops from the country. Shortly before, the Premier, Marshall Ion Antonescu, as well as his Deputy and Foreign Minister, Michael Antonescu, had discussed the military situation with the king. Both politicians were arrested at the request of the king and handed over to the Russians.

A dispute exists concerning August 23 as a political and military act. On the one hand the Communists and other parties compete for the authorship of this action. The Communists at first called this day the day of liberation from the Fascist yoke by Soviet Russian troops; later there was talk of a revolution by the Rumanian people, which had taken place under the leadership of the Communist party. Only this year has head of state N. Ceausescu admitted that the monarchy also played a part in bringing about the revolution of August 23.

Some Rumanian parties claim for their part that they were responsible for what happened, since they wanted to extricate Rumania from the war against the Soviet Union and to place the country on the side of the Western allies. On the other hand a dispute has once more arisen among members of the Communist party. Some, such as Ana Pauker, were against this action, since they regarded it as a mistake that the Communists had combined with other political parties to overthrow Antonescu. In their view it would have been better, if the Russians had conquered the country and later handed over power without more ado to the Communist party. Gheorghiu-Dej and his group approved everything that happened in connection with August 23, since

otherwise Antonescu would have refused to end the struggle and the Soviet troops would have had first to carry on a longer struggle against their enemies.

The Rumanian writer Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu was very critical about this affair in his novels "25 Hours", "The Whip" and recently also in "La Condottiera". Other Rumanian writers, journalists and politicians condemned the action of August 23 and saw their opinion confirmed by later events: they regarded August 23 as a one-sided capitulation by the king and represented this as a betrayal not only of their former German allies but also of the Rumanian people.

On August 23, 1944 the new Rumanian government was formed under the leadership of General Sanatescu from various politicians and military leaders. The Communists played an almost insignificant role in the country. Together with the emigrants returning from the Soviet Union, they amounted in Rumania to not even a thousand members.

The German troops were unprepared for such an event: and it has remained a secret to this day why the German representatives in Bucharest did nothing, although the German Embassy had been informed by several Rumanians of the preparations for the revolution. Those working in the German service were imprisoned, the German ambassador in Bucharest, von Killinger, committed suicide.

On August 24 the German air force bombed the royal palace. The new government took this as an occasion to declare war on Germany on August 25. Chaos resulted. The Rumanian troops who followed the order to cease fire, were captured by the Soviet troops. Other Rumanian units fought the German troops. Over 130,000 Rumanian soldiers were captured and

transported to Russia. Even greater were the losses of the Germans. The number is placed at more than 600,000 soldiers who — no matter whether German or Rumanian — had become unfit for combat by August 23 and thus were either killed in action or captured.

Only on September 12, when the country had been completely occupied by Soviet troops, was a cease-fire signed in Moscow. The Rumanian delegates of the commission were transported to Moscow under strong guard in cattle-trucks and had no other right than to sign the text placed before them.

Gradually — helped by the occupying power — the activity and the influence of the Rumanian Communist Party grew. In the autumn and early winter of 1945 — under the pretext of purging the Fascists — the Communists penetrated by force into public offices and appointed mayors and prefects from their own ranks. The government had to be reformed several times, until finally King Michael installed a new government in March 1945 at the wish of the Soviet Russian rulers, under the chairmanship of a disguised Communist. From now on the fight began against all political parties. A land reform was introduced, according to which the peasants under the leadership of the Communists occupied the farms and divided the land among themselves.

German-speaking subjects and Rumanian politicians were deprived of their property; more than 100,000 Germans were carried off to the Soviet Union. The Communists sank their differences among themselves and concentrated their attacks on all differently minded political forces. At the end of 1945 a foreign ministers' conference of the Big Three took place in Moscow, at which it was agreed to help King Michael in the formation of a democratic government. Free elections were set for 1946. During 1946 the United States and England made various protests concerning the non-carrying out of the elections, the pre-

vention of the activity of political parties and the arrest of several politicians. Half-way through the year a new electoral law was passed and elections took place on November 19. The results were not given until three days later. Meanwhile something happened which had never happened before in Rumanian history: the Communists proclaimed the votes given to the opposition as their own and in return allotted their votes to the opposition. In this way the Communists received 349 of the total 414 mandates. The United States and England protested against this manipulation.

At the beginning of 1947 the peace treaty was signed in Paris and on August 23 ratified by the Rumanian parliament. In the summer of 1947 numerous arrests took place; the National Peasant Party was dissolved and on November 7 the last "bourgeois" politician, Gheorge Tartaescu, had to leave the government.

At the end of 1947 King Michael was repaid for carrying out the revolution of August 23: he was forced to abdicate — and the Communists remained the only rulers in Rumania.

After the enemies of the Communist party had been eliminated, the cease-fire between the Communists was lifted and the internal struggles for power began. At first Lucretiu Patrescanu was shot for treason; then the intimate of Stalin, Ana Pauker, as well as the Chisinevski group of Gheorghiu-Dej were eliminated. After the death of Gheorghiu-Dej in the early 1965, N. Ceausescu took over power and could think of nothing to do than to accuse his predecessor Gheorghiu-Dej of the murder of L. Patrescanu. The powerful minister for home affairs and head of the security service Alexandru Draghici was excluded from all party offices and very many of the party members previously murdered were rehabilitated. Only one thing has not yet happened: the rehabilitation of the millions of Rumanians killed by the Communists. The Rumanians have still to wait for that.

Forged Currency In Czecho-Slovakia

All observers are united in stating that the regime in Czecho-Slovakia is hardening. That "the morrow" will not dawn so soon for the Czechs and the Slovaks was perfectly clear from the result of the plenary session of the Communist Party's Central Committee held on September 27, 1969. Nevertheless, few people in the West know how profound the tragedy is experienced by these peoples and what threat for the Free World continues to be represented by the Communist danger.

And yet, after the invasion of August 21, 1968, Communism seemed to be unmasked for ever.

And now, why not quote Karl Marx himself on the subject of the Czech nation, at present the subject of our thoughts? In the *New Rhineland Newspaper* in 1848, the founder of Communism wrote: "...a merciless struggle must be waged against the Slavs and in particular against the Czechs, a war to the death declared, under the form of an indiscriminate extermination, in the interest of the revolution." What name should be given to this Marxist racialism?

Towards the end of the Second World War, the diabolical spirit of Stalin perceived the advantages which could come to his hard-pressed government through professional counterfeiters of money. Having an immense system of spies available throughout the world, and, in addition, a Fifth Column of subversives in the five continents, he had little difficulty in procuring the services of Harry Dexter White, an assistant to the Secretary of the American Treasury Morgenthau, to obtain from him the plates to print US dollars. These same plates were going to be used to print American notes for himself. These forged dollars were going to permit Stalin to pay in part, indirectly through Swiss banks, what Soviet Russia owed the Americans for their aid in military supplies during the war.

When Alger Hiss was arrested by the F.B.I. and unmasked, as a result, as a Russian spy, by Whittaker Chambers, H. D. White and his second-in-command Frank Coe, were all condemned to ten years in prison and the affair was shelved.

23 years later the printing-press of the Moscow mint began work again, this time to print "forged-real" Czecho-Slovak notes. Why "forged-real"? Another Czech H. D. White, a "hard" Stalinist, occupying an important post at the Prague mint, was contacted by Salgovic, Deputy Minister of the Interior, at Prague, in the spring of 1968. The Russians are the sort of people to surround themselves with precautions and the spring of 1968 promised little in the way of maintaining the "traditional" bonds existing between the Czech and the Russian peoples. It was necessary to be circumspect and, long before the Dresden and Warsaw conferences, the Soviet directors were already preparing the "final" solution of the Czecho-Slovak problem. The military occupation of this country was already decided if there was prolonged opposition by the recalcitrant members of Dubcek's team, the reaction of the Czech and Slovak peoples well judged, the impotence of the so-called Free World carefully calculated — nothing was left to chance. Things passed as we know, and "normalization" could begin, with some somersaults all the same, but only somersaults. The second phase of the "final solution" was then ready to be put into practice. Once the "guilty men" were eliminated, the economy had to be ruined for ever, to prevent the recovery of Czecho-Slovakia and to bind it definitely to the chains of Soviet Russian imperialism.

The families of the Russian occupation troops arrived and moved into the houses of Czech emigrants. They transported entire boxes of entirely new banknotes. The pay of the 70,000 Soviet soldiers and officers, as well as that of the 2,000 K.G.B.

agents, was increased by special allowances, so that the assault on the shops could begin. One saw then the Russians literally emptying the shelves of shoes and lingerie. The "customers" didn't buy goods in single amounts but by kilos, without worrying about size or cut. One couldn't allow oneself such a windfall in Moscow, still less in Khabarovsk or Vladivostok. While they possess Vostoks and Voskhods, the USSR still lacks those elementary commodities which are not missing from the homes of the good Communists in Pantin or Aubervilliers. This is the reason, by the way, why the latter have still the leisure to be Communists.

At the beginning of last July, a Soviet officer entered a shop in Usti nad Labem. He gave a brand new 500 Crown note to the cashier. Great surprise on the part of the cashier! Paper money to the value of 500 Crowns are not yet in circulation in the CSSR; one merely talks about them as notes to be issued, and here was a Soviet "brother" brandishing one to pay for 12 pairs of shoes. Yes, the cashier used the word "brother" to report the matter to the manager of the shop. In fact, the Czechs today prefer to call the Russians "brother", for one doesn't choose one's brothers, whilst one can choose one's friends under any regime at all. The officer took the 12 pairs of shoes of all sizes away: but the unfortunate manager of the shop saw the 500 Crown note refused at the branch of the State Bank. Several telephone calls were exchanged with Prague, the central office of the State Bank and the matter did not take long to be exploded. One then saw that the Prague mint had given to the Soviet authorities not only the plates for 100 Crown notes but also for 500 Crowns. A joke in the Czech character! The Good Soldier Schweik came back to make a show of "zeal"!

Some days before the first anniversary of the invasion, the shops in Mlada Boleslav and other towns with Soviet garrisons had been virtually emptied. The population had observed, on this occasion, that there was a perceptible difference between the

length of the 100 Crown notes of the C series in circulation and those of series D and Z, the latter being two millimetres longer. In Prague the resisters began to whisper that they were all a special impression of notes made by the Russians to submerge the Czecho-Slovak market. The result was that one no longer knew how many notes were in circulation. One of the directors of the State Bank was imprisoned for having divulged the real story. When one phones him today, the operator replies that he is sick and in the hospital. A funny hospital, the prisons of Pankraz and Ruzyně!

The Minister of Finance was forced to make a statement. He got out of it by announcing that it was a question of an "unsuccessful" issue but that the notes were still guaranteed by the State Bank. Luckily for the foreigner, the Crown is not quoted on the Stock Exchange and is not convertible. For the COMECON countries, a little more paper or a little less, is of no importance, provided it doesn't affect the Rouble, of course.

Some 100 Crown "forged-real" notes have been brought from Prague and are in the possession of the writer of these lines.

Recently our fellow-countrymen in Prague have informed me of a decision of major importance taken in Moscow. Enriched by the experience of the "Prague Spring", the Soviet Russian rulers have just in fact decided on the sharing out of "tasks" for each socialist country. Knowing that it is better to prevent than to cure, and not intending to risk another day of shame like that celebrated in Prague on August 21, 1969 (for such a celebration all the same harms the prestige of a "peaceful" nation), the Russians prepared a "caesarean"! Guarding against the inevitable, they began with Czecho-Slovakia.

Thus the shoe factories of Zlin in Moravia, the former world-known BATA industrial complex, which employs several thousand workers, is going to be transferred to Soviet Russia. Thus the soldiers of the Red Army will not need any more to get their shoes in Czecho-Slovakia and one

will no longer see queues outside the shops in Vladivostok. In addition, potatoes will not be cultivated any more at Ceskomoravská Vysocina, on the plain which extends between Bohemia and Moravia, nor corn on the plain of Hana. These crops will be abandoned and given to the Poles, for it seems that the soil is more suitable for them in Poland than in Bohemia. This will be more efficient and correspond more perfectly to the concept of the distribution of tasks. The Czechs and Slovaks will have to specialize more in the iron and steel and coal industry and in the manufacture of domestic appliances, for there lies, according to the Soviet Russian economists, the pure vocation of the country. The growing of root crops (42.3 %) as well as other areas of production will be completely stopped, so that even the last semblance of economic autonomy will be extirpated.

It is in this way that the Russians hope

to quell new aspirations to independence in the satellite countries. In some years none of them will be able to survive any longer outside the interdependence carried on in the whole socialist bloc. Each country with its own specialty, this is the Marxist remedy which will engender efficiency and assure the real division of socialist tasks. At the same time it will serve as the final binding with chains to the Russian empire.

The decisions taken since the last plenary session of the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party Central Committee constitute veritable provocation to the 14 million inhabitants eager for liberty and a masterly blow to the Free World, which the Soviet rulers prefer to translate as "a kick somewhere".

Now, perhaps, the international opinion will understand to what extent the Russians and their associates have raised or rather lowered — their contempt for all morality.

Russian Attacks Against ABN And OUN

Družba narodov (The Friendship of Peoples), No. 9 for 1969, has levelled an attack upon ABN and the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), and in particular upon ABN's president, Yaroslav Stetsko, for his political activity in an extensive diatribe by T. Myhal in the section entitled "Publicism".

This is a periodical devoted to literature and art and the socio-political problems, an organ of the Writers' Union of the USSR, published by the "News Service of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies of the USSR", in Moscow. The author of the diatribe, T. Myhal, is ill-famed for his collaboration with the oppressors of Ukraine.

Družba narodov attacks Mr. Stetsko for his trips to Asia, for his participation in international conferences, for the organization of the anti-Russian international front, for his activities at the forum of the United Nations and for his contacts with various statesmen of the free world. Moscow is particularly bitter about the fact that international conferences are adopting resolutions which call for the dissolution of

the Russian empire and demand that the West break all relations with it, for its expulsion from the UN and other international organizations and for the inclusion of the true spokesmen of the subjugated nations. It is also struck by the fact that the ABN and the OUN are preaching national liberation revolutions and the break-up of the Russian empire from within. The Russians were very hurt by the fact that Y. Stetsko has presented the English translations of the works of I. Dzyuba and V. Chornovil to the President of the Republic of South Vietnam. Moscow cannot forget ABN activities in Sweden which included the placing of a wreath on the sarcophagus of King Charles XII, an ally of Hetman Mazepa, Mr. Stetsko's audiences with Chinese President Chiang Kai-shek, General F. Franco, activities in Japan, the Philippines, USA, Great Britain and so forth.

It seems that the political activities of ABN and OUN are very dangerous for Russia when the organ of the Writers' Union of the USSR is concerned with them.

The Brezhnev Doctrine And Its Consequences

When Soviet-Russian dictator Brezhnev attempted to justify the Russian invasion of the "Czecho-Slovak Socialist Republic" (CSSR) with the thesis about the "limited sovereignty" of the "socialist states", he evoked with this thesis — since then called the Brezhnev Doctrine — astonishment and indignation in the free world. In reality, not this thesis but Russian imperialism is to blame.

The Brezhnev Doctrine unfortunately corresponds to the realities created by Russian imperialism. It is true that the regimes calling themselves "socialist states", which are in the Russian sphere of power, are not sovereign, in the real sense of the word. These regimes, or rather the countries governed by them, are only formally sovereign states, if they are officially characterized as such. In this respect, one can only speak of limited sovereignty, as Brezhnev does.

Are the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian, Armenian or other "Soviet Socialist republics", ruled by Russia, really sovereign, if we understand "sovereignty" as something real and not merely as fiction? In the case of nations which have been robbed of their independence by Soviet Russia and which have been incorporated into the Soviet Union by force, we can at best speak about formal sovereignty, whose practical application is very questionable.

The same is true of the so-called satellites of Russia which are not incorporated into the Soviet Union. Is it possible to speak presently about the real sovereignty of Poland, Hungary, Rumania or Bulgaria? These states are governed by regimes which are outgrowths of Russian imperialism. Therefore, the formal sovereignty of these states can be called "limited" at most. This is true even more for the Slovak and the Czech "Socialist" republics, which together constitute the so-called CSSR, and for the Russian Occupied Zone of Germany.

These realities are not new. They have

been created by the Russian Red Army which occupied different countries at different times and which forced upon them "socialist" or "people's democratic" regimes.

Every policy employed towards Moscow and the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union and the satellite states is unrealistic if it ignores these realities. Here not diplomatic recognition of the realities created by the Red Army is at stake, as the Communists and their agents, and the "useful idiots" are always demanding, but a true perception and judgement of the situation is of importance.

It is very typical that many politicians, publicists, journalists and radio and TV commentators, who are in favour of a "realistic" policy, take an absolutely unrealistic position towards Moscow and the governments dependent on it. They simply ignore the nationality problems in the Soviet Russian sphere of power and the resistance of the subjugated peoples, although these are important political factors. They do not see the connection between Bolshevism and Russian imperialism. They do not know the character of the Soviet Union and the mentality of its rulers. They look at the satellites of Russia as if they were really sovereign states.

The position taken by the statesmen of the free world towards Moscow and the governments dependent on it cannot be called realistic. If it were realistic, then no diplomatic relations would be possible between the independent democratic states and the enslaved "socialist" countries. These "socialist" states would not be represented in the United Nations, since only sovereign states can be represented there, as well as subjugated peoples through their legitimate spokesmen. As far as Soviet Russia is concerned, she also should not be represented in the UN and have the right of veto, although she is a sovereign state, which at the same time violates the sovereignty and self-determination of other peoples.

Moscow's Henchman Attacks Dzyuba

Excerpts from a calumnious article by Lyubomyr Dmyterko, entitled "Position in Battle. About One Writer Who Has Found Himself on the Other Side of the Barricade", which appeared in Literaturna Ukraina, Kyiv, August 5, 1969, p. 4.

The name of one Kyiv writer is recently being heard with increasing frequency over the turbid air waves of anti-Soviet broadcasts of certain foreign radio stations; more and more often it appears on the pages of the foreign, for the greater part bourgeois nationalist, emigre press. What has caused such unusual attention?

The Ukrainian Soviet critic Ivan Dzyuba began his creative activity in Donbas. The local party press published his reviews of works by Donetsk writers — both Ukrainian and Russian — articles on the workers' theme in literature, and such. In his first attempts, Dzyuba spoke from the standpoint of socialist esthetics, exhibiting in this an undeniable talent. The capital's literary publications gave serious consideration to him. He moved to Kyiv, enrolled as an "aspirant" (graduate student) at the Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Ukr. SSR Academy of Sciences, worked on editorial boards and in publishing houses. Dzyuba became popular among some writers, especially the young ones, who were impressed by his dedication and eloquence.

However, as time goes by, the young critic publishes less and less often in our press, which examines the literary process from the standpoint of party spirit, national character, socialist realism; more and more often he makes personal appearances, missing no opportunity to do this. Fine, this topic is important. In the building of its national culture, the Ukrainian nation has achieved great successes. Naturally, there still are certain shortcomings and defects here, as in all areas of social life. It is necessary to speak of them, to search for ways in which pressing needs would be resolved successfully. But in Dzyuba's speeches one feature became obvious: he continually avoided mentioning our achievements and, when speaking of real or imagined defects, he became further and further removed from life, from the correct understanding

of the nationality question. The public, particularly the executive of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, tried to caution Dzyuba against this tendency which often resulted in outright falsification. The critic ignored these friendly warnings. He extended his ideas, until finally, from under his pen there emerged a thick work significantly entitled *Internationalism or Russification?* — published last year in the Federal Republic of Germany, England and Canada, and reprinted by many nationalist newspapers and publishing houses in Western Europe and the U.S.

And then the nationalist bankrupts sounded their drums! With what epithets they endowed their fellow traveller. "The work is based exclusively on Soviet source materials", reads the description of this publication in the nationalist weekly *Ukrainski Visti* which is published in the Federal Republic of Germany at the expense of Bonn's treasury. *Shlyakh Pere-mohy* which is published by Bandera's followers, assures its readers that since 1919 "there has been no noteworthy study written by a Soviet Ukrainian which would present Ukraine's case and the Ukrainian idea with such force, clarity, indisputability, and courage as Ivan Dzyuba's work has done." In the wake of Canadian columnist P. Worthington, the Ukrainian Catholic *Ameryka* pronounces: "Dzyuba accuses Kremlin leaders of being anti-Leninist and anti-Communist."

What a furor!

The reason for all this agiotage is explained by OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) member, Rakhmanny in the Winnipeg nationalist newspaper *Ukrainskyi Holos*, which is published by the "Tryzub Publishing Association." By the way, this Rakhmanny (actually he is Hryhoriy Oliynyk) is known to us: he is an employee of the CBC radio-television corporation, a former contributor to Khar-

kiv's occupation pro-fascist newspaper *Nova Ukraina* (Hryhoriy Oliynyk and Roman Rakhmanny are two different persons. Rakhmanny is the pen name of Roman Olynyk — Ed. Note), who after the defeat of the Nazis escaped to the American zone, worked in one of the departments of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), and was editor of one of the most reactionary nationalist newspapers — *Homin Ukrainy*. Now he equates himself with the likes of Dzyuba, stating: "Their life force, the meaning and goal of their life, originates from the same Ukrainian land, and their spiritual strength flows from the same Ukrainian spiritual source."

Never mind the OUN members! The deep basses of the world's reactionary press also soared along with the multi-voiced chorus of anti-Soviet hysteria evoked by Dzyuba's poisonous brew. D. Floyd joined in a duet with P. Worthington of the Canadian *Telegram*, praising Ivan Dzyuba in England's *Daily Telegraph*: "The great force of his argument lies in the fact that Dzyuba's defence of the rights of the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations is based exclusively on Marx, Engels, and Lenin."

Stop, enough! How is this possible? Dzyuba defends Marxist-Leninist theses and this is well understood. It is loudly applauded by sly bourgeois nationalists — such honorable sirs as Rakhmanny and his colleague, a dedicated nationalist and employee of the US Library of Congress, Stefan Olynyk, even the member of Britain's House of Commons, Peter Archer, and numerous other hardheaded anti-Communists, while we, poor folk, cannot understand this at all.

It is difficult to speak of this because, after all, we are speaking of a man who lives and works among us. It is difficult, but unavoidable. We have before us not only a falsification of Marxism-Leninism, but cynical blasphemy as well. This, one should add, has also been noted by Sir Peter Archer, who in the foreword of the English edition of *Internationalism or Russification?*, quite bluntly calls Dzyuba a

revisionist. What is true, is true. Taking advantage of the legal and fruitful process of the liquidation of the personality cult and its effects, of the democratization of all areas of life, of the return to Leninist norms and the preservation of socialist legality, Dzyuba decided not merely to expose shortcomings and try to overcome them, but to completely revise the party line, contradict it, discredit it.

With this in mind, he juggles the ideas of Marxist-Leninist classics as he wills. For example, he cites excerpts from the letter of Karl Marx and F. Engels in his own bad translation, cutting them off at places convenient to himself, distorting and mutilating their meaning. He performs similar operations on the immortal works of V. I. Lenin. He needs to do all this in order to prove that Marx, Engels and Lenin supposedly considered the nationality question more important than social and class questions.

The reader can say — wait. And how do you know that Ivan Dzyuba in writing his treatise, addressed himself to anti-Soviet foreign circles? Perhaps, although making a bitter and sad mistake, he, nevertheless, tried to publish his work in Ukraine, submitting it to our publishers and appealing to government institutions?

Something like this did happen. In fact, Dzyuba submitted his manuscript together with a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. He did this in January of 1966.

However, a month earlier, in December of 1965, at Cop, a border station, 19 various documents, including a typed text of the book *Internationalism or Russification?*, together with the letter to the CC of the CPU, were found during a customs search on the body of a Czech citizen, Nikolas Mushynka, hidden under his clothing in a home-made belt. On that occasion Mushynka explained: "I received the letter to the Central Committee of the CPU from Ivan Dzyuba on December 4, 1965 in Kyiv... Dzyuba and I previously arranged that I receive the cited docu-

ments..." Actually, Dzyuba himself admitted this later.

The smuggler Mushynka did not complete his mission. This time neither Dzyuba's treatise, nor the letter he supposedly wrote to the Central Committee, nor the article entitled "Shevchenko and Khomyakov" which was written for the foreign press, nor poems especially selected by him, got across the border. When he found out about this, in order to cover his tracks, Ivan Dzyuba sent his materials to the Central Committee. But the matter does not end there. In spite of everything, soon the manuscript was published abroad and served for some time as a salvation for the exhausted nationalist propaganda.

The nationalist chiefs have adopted the renegade writings of Dzyuba not only for their internal use. They are trying to make a gift of them to other vultures of anti-Communism.

Recently a so-called Second World Conference of Anti-Communism took place in Saigon. Defeated a hundred times over, "president" of South Vietnam, Nguen Van Thieu, held a reception for the delegates of this assemblage. There the already mentioned adventurer Stetsko, in order to bolster the fighting spirit of his Saigon colleague, gave him Dzyuba's book as a gift. As if to say, here is our Ivan!

It only remains to add that the diatribe entitled *Internationalism or Russification?* is far from being the only manuscript of Dzyuba to find its way abroad. Articles, speeches, and other materials by the author are systematically published in the Munich nationalist monthly *Suchasnist*, in the organ of the OUN — *Ukrainskyi Samostiynyk*, in the organ of the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics — *Ukrainski Visti* (USA), in the organ of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine — *Homin Ukrainy*, and in the Bandera followers' weekly — *Shlyakh Peremohy*. Based on Dzyuba's materials, quite a number of nationalistic "publications" compose their anti-Soviet articles and declarations.

Perhaps Dzyuba does not even know

about all these works. But it is an undeniable fact that he has become a permanent, active contributor to the foreign enemy press, the source of its information. The more false that information, the more acceptable it is to the enemy.

Which of us does not remember Gorky's watchword: "whose side are you on, masters of culture?" Of course, this call hardly refers to Ivan Dzyuba; one cannot consider him a master of culture. He is author of a number of reviews and articles published in the Soviet press, and several dozen pieces of anti-Soviet slander. But he lives on Soviet territory, works in a Soviet establishment, and is a member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, which stands uncompromisingly on the side of Soviet order and Communist ideology.

Various persons belong to the writers' organization. They are very dissimilar; in terms of age, of genre, of talent, of artistic tastes and preferences. We react in different ways to each and every fact, occurrence, event; we chose various topics for our works. But we are all united by one, sacred, firm characteristic: loyalty to the Communist Party, and love for our Soviet Homeland.

Such is the ideological homogeneity and fighting unity which exists in our socialist society. All of us Ukrainians devotedly love our beautiful united Ukrainian land; we love it not only because it is Ukrainian, but also because it is Soviet. We all take pride in the beautiful, singing, melodious Ukrainian language and consider it to be a means of unity rather than enmity among people and even more so, not an excuse for provincial separatism.

Ivan Dzyuba cannot or will not understand this. He has deserted our ranks and fights against us. His chipped weapons are not that terrifying. They will not rescue the hopeless case of the "premier in exile" Stetsko, or that of the puppet president Thieu. And certainly, they will not greatly enrich the spiritual poverty of anti-Communism. But a fact remains a fact. Contemptible and shameful.

Resolutions Of The Third WACL Conference

Bangkok, Thailand, December 3—6, 1969

To Support The Republic Of Vietnam's Stand For A Just And Lasting Peace In Vietnam

The Republic of Vietnam, while waging a self-defense struggle against the Communist aggressors, has nevertheless manifested an earnest desire to seek a political settlement for the protracted Vietnam war. President Nguyen Van Thieu, in his message to the nation last July, has spelled out a major peace initiative, calling for free elections under international supervision with the National Liberation Front's participation, provided the latter renounces the use of force and pledges to abide by the democratic process. Last October, President Thieu also offered to hold direct and private talks with the National Liberation Front, to discuss any problem, including that of a cease-fire. Meanwhile, at the Paris Peace Talks, RVN representatives have always displayed good faith, restraint and flexibility in dealing with the belligerent Communists.

The Hanoi regime on the other hand, has so far not even budged an inch in favor of a negotiated peace. In 43 consecutive formal sessions with the Republic of Vietnam and US representation, they have adamantly rejected discussion of all peace proposals, and stuck to their most unreasonable demands for what amounts to an unconditional capitulation of the Allied forces, thus blocking all attempts to break up the Paris Talks' deadlock. At the same time, to boost their troops' sagging morale directly resulting from Ho Chi Minh's death, the Communists have launched their Winter-Spring general offensive, and stepped up shellings and terrorist attacks in South Vietnam. The Communists' stubborn attitude has discouraged even the most well-intentioned diplomats, and their callous disregard of world public opinion has aroused moral indignation of all peace-loving peoples. It is therefore hereby resolved:

(1) To support the Republic of Vietnam's stand for a just and lasting peace, free from Communist domination, and to laud her tremendous efforts in the search for a political settlement of the war.

(2) To urge world leaders and the United Nations to use every moral, political and diplomatic means to force Communist North Vietnam into serious negotiations with the Republic of Vietnam and her allies, responding to RVN comprehensive peace proposals for an early end to the Vietnam war.

(3) To appeal to the United States, as the Free World's leading nation, to honor her commitments in Vietnam, as solemnly proclaimed at Midway last June, and reaffirmed in President Nixon's November 3 address, to refrain from any systematic withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam which would undermine Asians' confidence in US leadership, and jeopardize the safety and freedom of the Vietnamese people, and never to accept any concessions to the Communists which would run counter to the express wishes of the Vietnamese people, as embodied in the present RVN Constitution.

Brezhnev Doctrine

Recognizing that the Brezhnev Doctrine, which violates both the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, was used to quell the struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks for freedom

This Conference resolves:

1. That this doctrine should be condemned;

2. That appeals be made to the free governments and peoples of the world to repudiate the intent and objectives of the doctrine including its implied recognition of spheres of influence and the status quo in certain areas;

3. That free nations urge the United Nations to closely examine the doctrine in relation to the United Nations Charter.

To Counter Communist Aggressive Action In Burma

The world should know that Burma is presently under both open and covert attack by Communist forces:

1. Peking-trained Burmese Communists and Chinese Communist forces, to a strength of three units, are operating in Northern Burma in the Kachin and Shan state;

2. The tiny Kokang state (within the Shan state) is completely under Communist domination;

3. Communist subversion is rapidly gaining ground in central Burma and along the Burma/Thailand frontier;

4. The Burmese government forces have recently fought 18 times with Communist forces on the northern border with much loss of life.

Consequently the WACL hereby resolves that:

1. These acts of aggression and subversion against the freedom-loving people of Burma must be exposed to the world;

2. Counter-measures must be taken to stop the Chinese supported aggression against Burma;

3. WACL-APACL and the members must cooperate with the Burma Chapter in its efforts to counter the subversive and aggressive actions of the Chinese Communists in and against Burma.

To Support The Greek Government's Fight Against Communist Subversion

— Considering the alarming presence of the Soviet Russian Fleet in the Mediterranean;

— Considering that the Mediterranean basin is under the direct threat of Communist expansion;

— Considering that Greece is in the frontline of the defense and the security of this region;

It is hereby resolved:

1. To support the Greek government's fight against Communist subversion.

2. To urge that the presence of Greece in all the European and Atlantic organizations be considered as indispensable.

Urging Pakistan To Sever Ties With Peking

Taking note of the increasingly close cooperation and collaboration between Pakistan and Red China particularly in the military and economic fields, and including the training of guerillas for subversion, this conference calls upon the Government of Pakistan — a member of SEATO — to sever its ties with the Peking regime and abandon its adventures with Red China in the interest of Peace and Freedom in Asia.

Condemning Communist Acts Of Genocide In Tibet

Tenant notamment compte du fait que la Troisieme Conference de la WACL se deroule a Bangkok, Capitale de la Thaïlande, haut lieu du Bouddhisme international, les delegues de l'anticommunisme mondial

— condamnent l'occupation du territoire Tibetain par les forces communistes chinoises;

— condamnent le genocide perpetre par la Chine Rouge contre le peuple Tibetain;

— adressent l'assurance de leur soutien a Sa Saintete le Dalai Lama exile en Inde dans l'attente de la liberte de Son pays.

On Promoting "World Freedom Day" Commemorative Movement

In view of the needs of the current world anti-Communist situation as well as the need to propagate the WACL spirit "to struggle for the freedom of mankind", member nations of WACL and APACL should step up their efforts and promote the international movement to seek freedom and national independence so that the peoples who have lost their freedom and national independence under Communist rule may regain them at an early date;

In view of the resolution of the 2nd WACL Conference on "World Freedom Day", it is felt that the resolution be carried out actively;

It is therefore hereby resolved that:

1. Beginning on Jan. 23 each year, in observing "World Freedom Day" week WACL chapters or observer units should carry on activities such as holding meetings, delivering speeches, broadcasting commentaries, making reports or planning editorials in newspapers or magazines. They should make policy statements dealing with major worldwide events in and out of the Iron Curtain and other major events which concern the future of mankind in seeking freedom. They should expose and comment on the united front intrigues of the international Communists and the activities and absurd pronouncements of the international appeasers. They should urge the free world to carry through the policy of liberating the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and assisting them to seek freedom and national independence.

2. In order to demonstrate the unity of action and objective on the part of the WACL-APACL members and observers, the WACL Secretariat will issue a unified "political call" one month before the "World Freedom Day" week.

3. WACL-APACL member units and observer units should make efforts urging their respective governments to announce publicly the acceptance of Jan. 23 as "World Freedom Day" and plan various commemorative activities. When a considerable number of nations have made

the announcements, support from the United Nations will be solicited. As with the "World Human Rights Day", the United Nations will be asked to set Jan. 23 as "World Freedom Day."

4. One half month after the "World Freedom Day" movement week each year, member and observer units will forward pertinent information and statistics thereon to the WACL Secretariat. The WACL Secretariat will then compile them into a pamphlet and report to the WACL Conference.

On 1970 Captive Nations Week

In view of the profound effects and impact made by U.S. Captive Nations Week Resolution upon the totalitarian and imperio-colonialist reins of Red Moscow, Peiping and minor satraps in the Red empire; and

In view of the constant hope this resolution, which was passed by the U.S. Congress in July 1959, has symbolized and extended to the one billion humans in all of the captive nations in Central Europe, the Soviet Union, Asia and Cuba; and

In view of the consistent support given by both the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the World Anti-Communist League in the annual observance of Captive Nations Week;

Therefore,

Now be it resolved that the Third Conference of WACL urge all of its chapters and affiliated organizations to prepare and participate in the 1970 Captive Nations Week, scheduled for the third week of July, and to send all published documents and data on the week's observance to the U.S. National Captive Nations Committee for inclusion in U.S. Congressional reports on the Captive Nations movement.

Urging The Creation Of Women Friends Of Captive Nations

Considering the power that the woman is capable of employing by participating in public affairs;

Considering the outstanding example given by the Brazilian women which saved the country from Communist chaos in 1964;

Considering that the only means of reaching victory are based on a frank collaboration and a pooling of perfectly organized and coordinated effort:

It is hereby resolved by the Third WACL Conference:

1. That all delegates here present strive to create in their own countries associations of "Women Friends of Captive Nations" which will consider what happened in the Captive Nations with two objectives:

a) help and support the liberation of Captive Nations,

b) struggle for preserving Free Nations from the destructive action of International Communism;

2. That all Chairmen of the Regional WACL Organizations strive to help and coordinate the formation of such Associations, guiding them to a mutual and full collaboration.

Urging Vigilance Against All Forms Of Communist Subversion

1. That each delegate be asked to request a member of every legislature within his region to introduce the following motion and endeavour to secure its approval:

Since Communism is a menace to all mankind, we pledge ourselves to resist it by the following means:

(A) Our peoples should be encouraged to ensure:

(1) That in all the associations to which they belong they will actively take part in meetings, discussions and elections so as to ensure that a minority consisting of Communists declared or undeclared cannot have any positions of authority;

(2) That they will be vigilant against the following subversive patterns designed to degrade their society:

(a) The reduction of the importance of family life and the failure of parents to give moral guidance to their children;

(b) The relaxation of educational standards: — Our children should be positively trained to respect discipline, moral worth, hard work, promotion for merits and should be given positive teaching of the history of Communism and the captive nations in all schools;

c) Indulgence in such activities as rioting, drug taking, character assassination;

(3) That in all possible media, press, T.V., radio, etc. the virtues and achievements of a free democratic society are supported.

(B) Our governments should be encouraged and urged to do all in their power to assist our peoples to resist the perversion of Communism.

On Solving The Spiritual Crisis Of Our Time

In view of the pre-planned infiltration by the international Communists of the free societies taking advantage of human weaknesses, spreading movements of appeasement and compromise, confusing right and wrong, concealing truth and righteousness and constituting the present serious crisis of spiritual passiveness and dejection among free men,

It is hereby resolved by the Third WACL Conference:

1. That the WACL members will urge their governments, political and party leaders to recognize the incompatibility of the Communist system with free societies.

2. That the governments, political and party leaders and prominent people of member nations should be asked to encourage the rightly motivated literary, art and recreational activities in order to fulfill their spiritual life and cultivate noble conduct at a time when scientific civilization radically stimulates people's cravings. Efforts should be made to dissuade and prevent youths from unfavourable tendencies in their activities.

3. That the governments, political and party leaders should take immediate actions to tie in family education, school education and social education and give equal emphasis to humanities, natural sciences and social sciences. Special attention should be given to cultivating a sense of responsibility on the part of the younger generation to the country, society and mankind so that they may be imbued with the spirit of improvement, bravery and steadfastness within moral ethics.

On Eliminating Student Disturbances In The Free World

In view of surging student disturbances and violence in a number of countries in the world, it is felt that though there are many contributing factors, such disturbances have already endangered national security and social order;

In view of the international Communists' taking advantage of this situation to realize their own designs attempting to turn it into subversive activities against all the institutions of the democratic societies;

In view of the young students' lofty ideals of life and bright future and the need to guide them onto the right road of struggle and against being tempted by Communist ideology or corrupted by empty thinking;

It is hereby resolved that:

1. The governments of free nations be urged to examine and review the causes of such disturbances and seek ways to eliminate them. In such fields as education, political affairs and social life, efforts should be made to provide youths with guidance and influence and to open opportunities and hope for development;

2. The youths throughout the world be called upon to develop the human value of democracy, science and ethics, stimulate moral courage, take an active part in the defense of truth, spiritual values, righteousness and freedom and never be involved with Communism;

3. Adequate measures must be taken to eliminate the student disturbances which are obviously manipulated by Communists. WACL members must inform public opinion to overcome any activity in educational institutions which go beyond the realm of law.

To Organize Counteractions Exposing The Evil Ideology Of Lenin's Teachings

That all member units organize counter-actions in their respective countries by exposing the evil ideology of Lenin's teachings and the tyrannical rule and genocide that has ensued, and also counteract steps taken by UNESCO and other Free World media to observe this event.

Condemning Communist Propaganda Advertisements

Whereas, the *New York Times* and the *London Times* have published an AD publicizing the biography of Communist instigator Kim Il-sung and whereas, Kim Il-sung is known for his cruel nature and his savage character, and

Whereas, Kim Il-sung heads the North Korean Communist clique which was an aggressor who unleashed the 1950—1953 Korean War and continues to commit aggression against the free people of the Republic of Korea, and

Whereas, his clique was instrumental in the seizure of the US ship *Pueblo* on the high seas and the downing of a US reconnaissance plane and

Whereas propaganda for subversion aimed against the Republic of Korea and the rest of the free world,

Now be it resolved that the Third Conference of the WACL condemn the afore-said advertisement as untrue and urge the press of the free world not to print such advertisements in the future.

Expressing Concern That Sweden Has Deserted Her Neutrality And Stand For Freedom

Noting the decisions of the Swedish Government to provide financial support and extend full diplomatic recognition to the Communist regime in Hanoi and also to withdraw its representation from the Republic of South Vietnam,

The WACL resolves:

To express to the Swedish Government the serious concern of the League that Sweden has deserted its traditional neutrality and stand for freedom so well expressed during the Korean War, and to urge a complete review of its Vietnam policy.

Declaration Of The 15th Conference Of The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

The 15th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League was held in Bangkok immediately after the successful conclusion of the Third Conference of the World Anti-Communist League.

As a WACL regional organization, the APACL supports all the resolutions of the 3rd WACL Conference.

The Conference focussed its attention on the current situation in Asia where the biggest threat comes from the Chinese Communists. APACL is deeply aware that once the US and the British forces are withdrawn from Asia the Communists will launch further military and political attacks in the Asian region. The APACL has also noted with concern the ambitious motives behind Soviet Russia's call for a collective security system in Asia. The free Asian nations are increasingly becoming aware of the need to strengthen unity and expand cooperation. It is, therefore, *necessary to establish a regional security organization for Asia and the Pacific at an early date in order that all free Asian nations can effectively pool their strength to defeat Communist aggression.*

It is the view of the APACL that nations elsewhere in the Free World must be made to realize the strategic importance of Asia in the world picture. An Asia completely free of the evil Communist influence is a sure safeguard of a firm foundation for world peace.

With regard to the Vietnam situation, the APACL firmly rejects any move that

may harm the Republic of Vietnam's freedom and damage Asian security. The APACL is certain that the Paris Peace Talks will not lead to results beneficial to the Free World. The free nations of Asia look to the United States as a leader of the Free World and urge that the US troop withdrawal plan now underway must be executed with utmost care, to retain adequate support for the Vietnamese people and Government.

The APACL also condemns the advocates of appeasement of the Communists for their encouragement of the enemy.*

The APACL appeals to the free Asian nations to resolve their religious, racial and territorial differences and join together to strike back at the ever increasing Communist challenge in order to free Asia from the Communist threat forever.

The APACL conference unanimously supports the Republics of China, Korea and Vietnam in their efforts to recover their lost lands and destroy the Communist regimes. It pledges to give all the necessary spiritual encouragement and material support it can to the peoples who are held captive under Communist rule in their just fight for freedom

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League has decided to hold its 16th Conference in Tokyo, Japan on 24th September 1970.

* The free world should have no delusions on the possibility of peaceful co-existence with Communists.

Renewed APACL Support For The Subjugated Peoples

The Fifteenth APACL Conference renews its untiring support for the liberation fight of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the nations of the Caucasus, the Baltic states, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism

and Communism in the USSR and its satellites for the restoration of their independent, sovereign states and human rights; and strongly demands that Soviet Russia withdraw her occupational troops from all the countries subjugated in the USSR and its satellites.

News And Views

1939: Finland Struggles For Freedom

Thirty years ago, on November 30, 1939, began the Finnish-Russian "Winter War", when on the previous day the Soviet Union — in a unilateral act — had swept the non-aggression pact with Finland from the table and broken off diplomatic relations. In the West this war has too often been overshadowed by the events of the Second World War, although it became representative of the will to self-assertion of a small land which had not wanted to yield to Moscow's wishes in every point. One of the leading Soviet Russian historians of the Second World War, G. A. Deborin, represents things as if the democratic Finland became in September and October 1939, the first months of the Second World War, the parade ground of "German Fascism" and Anglo-French imperialism, which were at that moment fighting each other.

Finland's situation was nevertheless, through the Hitler-Stalin Pact, together with the secret agreement of August 23, 1939 on the partition of the whole East-Central Europe into mutual spheres of interest, much more precarious and that of the Soviet Union much more promising than Soviet history would have it. Stalin had used the alliance negotiations with England and France in the spring and summer of 1939, in view of a possible German attack on Poland, to saddle the seaboard states formerly favoured by the Western powers, from Lithuania, through Latvia and Estonia to Finland, all together part of the territory of the former Tsarist empire, with a "Pact of Assistance", together with a right of intervention even in an "indirect attack", that is with a possible direction of Berlin. This was all carried out under the phrase: Securing of Soviet approaches against possible aggression. Unofficially behind this was the intention to re-establish the territory of the old Russian empire.

In Finland they defended themselves, as well as they could, in extraordinarily tough negotiations with Moscow, even after the other Baltic states had long since half-capitulated. Most Russian demands so restricted Finland's ability to defend herself that they were unacceptable if Finland wanted to maintain her own life. She was only ready for trivial concessions. As a precaution, in view of the mass movements of the Soviet troops on the Karelian Isthmus, the nerve-point of the quarrel, the mobilization was ordered of the small, ill-equipped Finnish army in November 1939. The Kremlin deduced "provocations" from this and at the end of November 1939 claimed stubbornly that the Finnish artillery had fired on Soviet territory — which was pure nonsense. When Finland, with regard to the Non-aggression Pact, proposed that both sides should withdraw troops 20 to 25 kilometres from the Karelian Isthmus, this was interpreted in Moscow as a new act of ill will. On November 29 Moscow broke off diplomatic relations; on the next day the Red Army marched, and the Red Air Force bombed Helsinki. Directly afterwards a Finnish Communist "government" was set up.

In the 1939 "Winter War", the Finnish army had ten divisions and seven brigades with 150 aircraft, the Russians over 30 divisions and 800 planes. The Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Baron von Mannerheim, at the beginning very pessimistic, dealt severe blows to the Soviet Russian army, which no one would have thought possible. It became clear that Stalin's "purges" in the Red commander corps had led to considerable weaknesses in the leadership of troops in battle. Deserving commanders still in prison were hastily rehabilitated and discharged to the front.

Not until February 1940 was the Soviet Russian army able to bring about a large-scale offensive over the frozen swamps and the ice of the Gulf of Finland, which the gallant Finnish army could no longer hold back. The world, apart from the reserved attitude in Berlin, applauded Finland. Sweden delivered arms, the USA gave financial help. The Anglo-French side considered phantasmagoric expeditions of assistance

through Northern Norway and Northern Sweden and in the Caucasus. The Finnish resistance made Stalin realize that he would have to withdraw from Finland, if he didn't want to become involved in a world war. The Peace of Moscow of March 12-13, 1940 assured, with harsh loss of territory, the independence of democratic Finland, thanks to the delaying resistance of the Finnish army. W. G. (*Die Welt*, 22. 11. 69)

Recent Arrests And Trials In Ukraine

As reported by the Lviv radio, a trial of members of the Security Division of the Regional Command of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was held in the "palace of culture" of the Krasne sugar factory. The defendants were: Oliynyk (pseud. Hovdomor), Chuchman (pseud. Denys), Chuchman (pseud. Bereza), Patsvirk (pseud. Yastrub) and Moroz (pseud. Bairak). The trial lasted for more than a month. The "travelling session" of the Lviv Oblast Court handed down its decision on December 2, 1969. All defendants were sentenced to long-term imprisonment in the camps of strict regime.

In connection with this trial the Polish Communist press reported that 154 persons

were called as witnesses, including 11 from Poland. It took 4 years to gather the accusatory evidence. One of the Polish correspondents present at the proceedings asserts that the trial was held in Krasne because detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were particularly active in this region in the past.

In Kyiv, Oleh Bakhtyarov, a Kyiv State University student, and economist Stepan Bedrylo, a staff member of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy, were arrested.

A trial of Mykola Breslavskyi, who attempted to burn himself in front of the University in Kyiv, resulted in a 2 and a half year prison sentence for the defendant.

The Murder Of Nahid Kulenovic Solved

The Munich homicide squad closed its investigation in the case of the exile Croatian politician Nahid Kulenovic, who was murdered on June 27, 1969 in his apartment in Munich. The case can be considered as solved. On the basis of concrete evidence and testimony by witnesses a warrant for the arrest of Ivo Galic, 38, an alleged migrant worker from Yugoslavia, was issued. However, he could not be taken into custody since he disappeared from the Federal Republic of Germany.

In connection with this case the Munich

daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported the following:

"The investigation by the homicide squad revealed that he (Galic) lives in Yugoslavia again. Some of the questioned witnesses testified that Galic is now holding a job with the security service there. Although agreements for extradition of certain types of criminals exist between the Federal Republic and Yugoslavia, nothing could be undertaken in this case... The murder of Kulenovic, the son of a one-time Croatian Minister, has, no doubt, a political background."

American Writer Urges Revolt By Captive Nations

Mrs. Bernadine Bailey, Chicago author of 94 books, including "The Captive Nations: Our First Line of Defense," last night called for a major overhauling of American thinking and dealings with Communist nations.

Speaking on the radio forum of Clarence Manion, Mrs. Bailey said the Communist party is dedicated to domination of the world. She rejected coexistence and nuclear war as ways of dealing with Communism.

She Wants Revolutions

"The third alternative, and that's the one I propound here, is the explosion of the whole system, the break-up of Communism completely" thru revolutions of captive nations, she said.

These peoples "are so anxious to have their own national life again that they will explode the whole system if we could just help them a bit," she said. She advocated that when captive nations have

wars of liberation the United States should give them food and money, but not necessarily arms, and help them in many other ways.

School Teaching Eyed

She urged an end to aid to Communist nations, such as Yugoslavia; an end to trade with them, or at least no expansion of it; and halting teaching in schools which leads some to think socialism is moral and will bring a Utopia. She urged withdrawal of recognition of Communist governments, such as that of Poland, but spoke for recognition of governments in exile.

She also contended that after the Cuban missile crisis missiles were never removed as the Communists agreed, and the end result merely is that Communist Cuba is guaranteed there will be no attack by the United States of another nation in the western hemisphere.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE.
November 17, 1969

"Human rights are limited only by the rights of another human being, since there are three different forms of existence:

- 1) the individual,
- 2) the national 'collective' at that time, i. e. the totality of all individuals of one nation, who live at a certain time within a state,
- 3) the nation, that historical presence, which is beyond the centuries, with deep roots in the past and with an infinite future.

All three have rights and duties. The right to life. And the duty not to endanger the right to life of the other two. The ancient Greeks lived not only through their bodies, however athletic they were — only ashes are left of them — nor only through their material wealth, but they continue to live through their civilization. A people lives in eternity through its spiritual values, through honour and culture. Thus the leaders of the nations have to judge and act not only according to the physical or material interests of a nation, but to take account of its historical line of honour, its eternal interests. Thus, not bread at any price, but honour at any price."

(from *The Iron Guard* by Corneliu Z. Codreanu)

Book Reviews

Suzanne Labin: *Le Petit Livre Rouge — Arme de Guerre* (The Little Red Book — A Military Weapon), Paris, 1969, pp. 255.

A very interesting book by an unusually talented French authoress, Madame Labin, has been published recently. She has already written many books about the true face of Communism, in particular Communism outside Europe, which were intended for the Western reader who, we are sorry to say, is unable to follow the subversive play of Communism — in this case Chinese Communism of Mao Tse-tung. The authoress was able to visit all the countries about which she is writing in her numerous publications and to analyze the whole subversive movement of militant Communism in Asia, Africa, and North and South America. She has participated in a series of conferences in these countries and therefore her interpretation of the nature of Communism and her emphasis of the particular danger from Mao's brand of Communism should be read with great care.

The recent events in the Western world and the students' revolts of May 1968 in Paris are often identified with Communist propaganda of the Red Chinese dictator and are a grave memento for the Western world which often views these as yet sporadic but bloody outrages of the Chinese Communists with unforgivable indulgence. Madame Labin calls Mao Tse-tung an unequalled "pharaoh-rebel" who is striving to provoke revolutionary disturbances in almost all parts of the free world.

Concluding these few remarks about Madame Labin's valuable study of Chinese Communism we wish her much success in her crusade against Communism as practised in Peking as well as in Moscow.

V. Chernivchanyan

Mihail Sturza: *THE SUICIDE OF EUROPE*, Western Islands Publishers, Boston-Los Angeles, 1968.

This book by the former Foreign Minister of Rumania, Mihail Sturza, was a success. Published in the Autumn of 1968, the first edition was completely sold out in two months' time. A second edition is being printed at the moment.

This extraordinary success is all the more remarkable, since it was achieved without the advertising facilities of the large publishing houses. The interest aroused in the reading public derives from the point of view adopted by Mr. Sturza in his exposition of the Rumanian tragedy.

While all European historians limit themselves to interpreting the time between the two world wars through external developments, through the phenomena of European history, Mr. Sturza alone penetrates into the basic causes of the world-wide disequilibrium at that time. He is an historian of the depths of our time, which he exposes as the Communist conspiracy created by Marx, which has today acquired considerable power. Both the enslavement of Rumania and that of all Eastern European nations was a result of the operations undertaken by this conspiracy, whose victims included the Rumanian nationalist leader Corneliu Codreanu and led Rumania to the catastrophe of August 23, 1944.

This new historical perspective, illustrated by an extraordinary narrative talent and helped by a wonderful style, enralls the reader from the first page on and prevents him from ever putting the book down again.

As though a detective of history by vocation, Mr. Sturza follows step by step the plans of the Communist Russians between the two world wars and indicates how many famous figures and how many nations and countries, one after the other, fell into the trap set for them. G. C.

President Of ABN Visits Branches In Australia



The meeting of the Central Delegation of ABN, Sydney, Australia, January, 1970. From left to right: Mr. Mencinsky (Ukraine), Mr. Kosharsky (Ukraine), Mrs. Sakne (Latvia), Mrs. Looveer (Estonia), Mr. Dragan (Ukraine), Mrs. Stetsko (Ukraine), Dr. C. I. Untaru (Rumania), Mr. Stetsko (Ukraine), Mr. Olechnik (Byelorussia), Mr. Lovokovic (Croatia), Mr. Kedys (Lithuania).

Incorporated into the Russian empire of terror and darkness the suffering and weeping country cannot express its pain. But you, you are free, to express its well-known suffering. You are here to tear down with courage and intelligence the Iron Curtain and the curtain of complicity and cowardice established in the West by the Communist conspiracy. God has rescued you and chosen you to bear witness to the distress of an abandoned people. Your voice is to proclaim to the West that for 25 years an atrocious genocide has been committed against our nation. You are to accuse not only the previous murderers but also the present-day leaders, who are only carrying on what was begun.”

Horia Sima (from “A Quarter of a Century Since the Bolshevist Invasion of Rumania”)

In A Common Front Against Communism And Russian Imperialism



On the island of Quemoy, December, 1969.

From left to right: Senator Dr. Parviz Kazemi (Iran); ABN Delegation - Mrs. S. Stetsko and Mr. Y. Stetsko (Ukraine), Mrs. E. Rodze (Latvia); Deputy Commander of the fortress of Quemoy; Mrs. Cleaver (Australia); Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer (Germany).

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Lenin's Infamous Centenary



An object of protest demonstrations by AF-ABN in New York, April 18, 1970

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Lenin's Crimes Against Humanity

After the so-called Marxism-Leninism has foundered in theory and practice in all parts of the Communist sphere of power, the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth is now serving as an occasion to upgrade him as the prophet of a new, world-moving creed and even as the founder of a humanitarian epoch. It is only too understandable that the Kremlin is taking refuge in this expedient, in order to keep the dwindling belief in a Communist future still alive and to polish up the hopelessly marred reputation of the Communist system. What is surprising is that the hectic glorification of Lenin is today also finding a response in the Free World. The Secretary-General of the United Nations on this occasion even went so far as to claim that Lenin's ideals were embodied in the charter of this world organization, which amounts to saying that today Lenin's bequest could serve as a guiding principle in the efforts being made for peace, equality and understanding in the world!

The fatal error which is spreading in the Western democracies on the occasion of the Bolshevik memorial celebrations for Lenin must not, however, remain unrefuted. Even the Russian philosopher *Berdyayev* once stated that the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 was nothing more than a creation of the Russian spirit, Russian mentality and social ideology. Thus legitimate status is being given to Lenin from a competent source as the executor of the messianic Russian idea of world conquest and to Bolshevism in fact as a modification of traditional Russian imperialism. Dostoevski, in his turn, praised the Russian national idea as the expression of true humanity, able to lead mankind into a happier future.

At the Eighth Bolshevik Party Congress Lenin made the informative statement: "The proletarian movement in Poland is taking the same course as ours and is equally directed at the dictatorship of the proletariat, but not in the same sense as here in Russia. There are circles of workers in Poland who are being intimidated by the claims that the Muscovite, Great Russians, who have always oppressed Poland, wanted to bring into Poland their Great Russian chauvinism in the disguise of Communism." By saying this Lenin is admitting the existence of a latent national rejection of Russian domination under Communist auspices and is indirectly hinting that this is to be forcibly pressed onto the rest of the world.

Lenin rescued the tsarist empire, then in the throes of dissolution, through his delusive ideas, by replacing tsarist absolutism with a sublimated Bolshevism. To seduce the people and nations, oppressed within the tottering Russian empire, he used hypocritical slogans such as: "Full and effective guarantees of political freedom, promised hypocritically by the tsar! — Elimination of all laws limiting freedom of speech, conscience and the press, and forbidding trade unions and strikes! — Elimination of all institutions oppressing these freedoms! — Summoning of a truly general constituent assembly, protected by the free, armed people! — Real and full freedom for the oppressed nationalities! — Handing over of all arable land to the peasants! — Support for the measures taken by the peasants themselves to procure for themselves land! — Setting up of revolutionary peasant committees in the whole country!"

Today everywhere in the world the view is being spread that Lenin had advocated the right of self-determination of the nations, and as a basis for this his following act of lip-service is quoted: "Self-determination of the nations oppressed by Russia, including separation" (from the Russian empire). But the second part of his formula is suppressed, which says that this might only follow with the agreement of the "whole Russian proletariat." Lenin also made two further reservations against the realization of the right to self-determination of nations: "The solidarity of the proletarians beyond the state frontiers is more important than the different classes within a nation", and further, "Even if this right to self-determination must be granted, then it still doesn't follow that this right is to be always automatically and under all circumstances respected." These reservations implicitly contain the idea of the existence of a power factor, which according to individual discretion grants the right to self-determination but can also refuse it. Obviously Lenin had in mind in this nothing other than the domination of the Russian nation and its imperialist messianic role.

Although Lenin followed the course of the Russian policy of world conquest adopted by the tsarist empire, yet the latter was exceeded by far in scope and brutality by Bolshevist world aggression. What a difference, for example, between the expansionary practices of the tsarist minister Count Witte and the imperialist intervention of Stalin in Manchuria! Today Brezhnev and Kosygin are putting into practice the old sea power policy of tsarist Russia, and its drive towards the Mediterranean, to the Indian Ocean and in general to the domination of world seas.

The unprecedented terror system in the Russian empire of Bolshevist stamp is in fact founded on Leninist doctrine. It is a system rightly characterized by Trotsky with the observation: "The party apparatus is taking the place of the party itself, the central committee the place of the whole party organization, and finally a further dictator the place of the Central Committee." Thus Stalin's rule of terror was only the practical realization of Lenin's ideas.

No less characteristic is Lenin's view of art. Dominated by brutal utilitarianism, he deigned to make the following statement: "Art is for me an intellectual appendix, and after its importance for us as propaganda has been exhausted, we will get rid of it." But even more informative: "Are we to feed a minority with fine cakes, as long as the mass of workers and peasants have no black bread?" The present treatment of poets and artists in the Soviet Union is basically nothing more than a practical application of this very view of Lenin's.

Since Lenin's time the first place in any decision of the Communist leadership has been the advantage of the Soviet Russian empire. The dictatorship of the Russian Communist Party, the total subordination of the Communist regimes outside the Soviet Russian empire to the interests of the Communist headquarters in Moscow are decisive proof that in the end it is not the interests of the so-called world proletariat which count, but only of those who aspire at Russian world domination.

Thus Bolshevism presents itself to us in reality as a synthesis of Communism and Russian imperialism. The whole Bolshevist system today, including the then

Cheka (secret police), which cleared the way for Stalin's rule of terror, in reality directly originate in Lenin's doctrine. It was the fulfillment of Lenin's programme that brought with it in the course of the last fifty years the mass extermination and elimination of enemies of the regime and of Russia, which cost millions of lives.

Through deceptive slogans, naked force and even open military aggression Lenin not only restored the tsarist empire already in the throes of dissolution, but at the same time created the basis for further conquests of foreign peoples and lands. After years of bloody fighting he succeeded in destroying with armed force the national independence of Ukraine, the Caucasian peoples, Turkestan, Byelorussia and many others.

When Trotsky's plan for a push forward into the Central European countries failed, this is due not least to the heroic Ukrainian National Army, commanded by President Symon Petlura, which in years of fighting kept the forces of the Russian Red Army in the country. Thus both the fall of Bela Kuhn's Communist rule of terror in Hungary could be brought about, Poland rescued from the armies of Tukhachevski and the Communist revolts in Bavaria, Hamburg and Berlin suppressed by national German forces.

The Bolshevik empire created by Lenin was able in consequence of the Second World War to be expanded to new countries with the help of the Western Allies, and today threatens all the rest of the world with atomic weapons. Only the resistance and the urge towards national freedom of the nations oppressed in the Russian colonial empire today stops the heirs of Lenin from making decisive attempts at conquest against the still free parts of Europe and the world.

Thus it is unprecedented cynicism, when now the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth is being celebrated everywhere in the free world in memory of the greatest tyrant, perpetrator of genocide, despiser of mankind and religious persecutor of all time. This amounts to deriding the millions of victims of barbaric collectivization, the organized starvation of peasants in Ukraine and in other countries, the victims of concentration camps and prisons, where millions of fighters for freedom and believers in God as well as spiritually creative people lost their lives.

When at long last even memorial plaques are being unveiled in the West for Lenin, then the proverb turns out to be classically true: "Only the most stupid calves honour their own butchers themselves!". In view of this spectacle one must really wonder: is the intimidation of the West by Moscow so successful that it wants to dig its own grave morally and politically?

In conclusion let us quote from the *US Congressional Record* of April 30, 1970, page E 3082, for the peoples of the remaining free part of Europe, chosen by the heirs of Lenin as the next victims of Bolshevik aggression.

“Yes, Lenin would have been proud to see how “mother Russia” has advanced in the 52 years . . . like a large bloated parasite feeding off the blood and sweat of Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Cuba, and now is reaching out over the Mediterranean to snuff out the life of tiny Israel, and thereby ensnare the whole Arab world. Today Russians are in control of all the administrative positions in the U.S.S.R., in the universities, behind desks, while the colonial non-Russian republics, are providing the man-power and natural resources to fuel this gigantic machine of oppression. Yet, in spite of Lenin’s extensive and serious criminal record, the U.N. educational division, UNESCO, has authorized a symposium on Lenin in April, 1970 to greet the centenary of his birth in 1870, and empowered the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva to hold a special meeting as a memorial for the ‘humanist ideas of Lenin’ and the ‘significant practical and theoretical contributions of Lenin, prominent humanist, to the development and realization of economic, social, and cultural rights’.

By authorizing a symposium and a special meeting for the glorification of Lenin, the U.N. has trampled upon the misery of the people enslaved by the Communist tyrants, and especially those of the captive, non-Russian peoples in the USSR; has perverted the concept of peace, freedom, humanity and justice into monumental, perfidious, hypocrisy; and has become a willing accessory for the promulgation of red fascism.

What a travesty against history!

That any organization — other than communist — attempt to prostitute education by peddling Lenin as a humanist is an insult to the civilized world community. Shame on the U.N.! Shame on UNESCO!

Freedom to Nations! Freedom to Individuals!”

“The War in Vietnam is chiefly engineered by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People’s Republic of China, this association constituting the Moscow-Peking Axis. Notwithstanding their nationalistic and racial rivalries, their present cooperation and collaboration is as inseparable as their Socialist beliefs; and no self-respecting military strategist would think of establishing his war plans on the possibility that these two Socialist powers would, within the foreseeable future, begin to fight each other beyond the game of tug-o-war being staged on their common frontier for the benefit of a trusting American public, who are unfortunately deceived as to the true state of Sino-Soviet relations.

“Therefore, the idea of a Sino-Soviet split, or rift, must be regarded as a myth conjured up by the propagandists of the Leftist-Liberal Socialist Establishment in order to obscure the sharpness of vision of the Anti-Communist-Socialist Movement in this country, by creating false hopes that would ultimately result in a breakdown of a proper defensive (or offensive) strategy against the Communist-Socialist aggressors. The Moscow-Peking Axis is permanently and inseparably united in an ironbound alliance within which both regimes are working together for the Socialist conquest of the entire world.”

The Victory in Vietnam Committee, New York

Silent Masses Must Protect Freedom

The Paris peace talks, aimed at putting an end to the war in Vietnam, have made little headway in the past year, and yet the United States already has started pulling out its troops from the Vietnam front. The new Asian policy of President Nixon is that nations in Asia must rely on their own strength, individually or collectively, for their own defense and that although the United States will continue to provide military and economic assistance, U.S. troops will not be committed to combat missions in the future. Despite such accommodations, the anti-war forces in the United States are resorting to demonstrations and other means in their attempt to force Washington to make endless one-sided concessions. We know for sure that anti-war demonstrations have varied meanings and backgrounds and cannot be regarded altogether as products of Communist instigation. But there is no doubt that the international Communists, being experts on "people's war" and "united front" tactics, are now putting their schemes to work in the United States.

I very much admire President Nixon's recent call on the great silent majority of his fellow Americans to rise and support his stand. We can already see the results of initial steps taken by this great force. I have always advocated that silent masses must be organized for common endeavors. This is also what WACL has been striving for. In fact, all the freedom-loving and righteous silent masses of the world should rise valiantly for action and contribution and channel their strength into a massive march to protect freedom. If these people were to think only of their own interest and to be content with their momentary tranquility, they would soon find themselves deprived by the treacherous Communists of what little freedom they now have.

In view of the current world situation, I am deeply convinced that the efforts of the World Anti-Communist League today

must be directed to the silent masses of all the nations. We should urge them to stand up and join hands with experienced anti-Communist fighters. This must be done as soon as possible. A torrent of freedom-fighters must be formed for action in three respects.

First, all the people of the world must be made to understand that while their desire for peace is a legitimate one, peace should never be sought at the price of momentary accommodation or permanent subjugation. Justice and lasting peace cannot be obtained through compromise with and concession to the Communist aggressors. The Communists pay attention to nothing but force and strength. They all are good at peace offensives and negotiations. No one, therefore, should entertain the illusion that peace can be obtained through negotiation with the Communists. Likewise, no free world negotiator dealing with the Communists should step aside from his stand at the conference table and let the enemies gain what they cannot achieve on the battlefield.

This principle must be foremost in the consideration of the free world representatives now conducting talks in Paris. They must not deviate from the goal of ultimate independence and freedom for the Republic of Vietnam. We must not let Saigon fall into the trap of a coalition government. The United States should not withdraw its troops from Vietnam prematurely, or we all will face serious consequences. The U.S. government must take further steps to win the support of the silent American majority. Washington must be prepared to fulfill its promises and carry out its sacred peace-preserving mission even when peace talks come to a dead end.

The recent second landing of men on the moon has convinced us that mankind now has adequate capability to realize the ideals of universal brotherhood and world family. The question, however, is that the Communists can never be expected to halt

their aggressive moves and give up their ambition to conquer and enslave mankind. Under such circumstances, free men naturally cannot slow down in their fight to protect their own life and freedom. This is the reality involving the two world camps today. We cannot deceive ourselves with an illusion that confrontation is over. Instead, we must face the cold reality squarely and take effective countermeasures to eliminate aggression and slavery and to usher mankind into a new era of peace, freedom, progress and happiness.

Second, we must strengthen the people's belief that freedom ultimately will prevail. We must help the people get rid of any inclination toward appeasement and isolationist disposition. We should make them bring forth their moral strength in a renewed fight to secure and protect freedom.

The world has now entered the space age. Man has made tremendous progress in his endeavor for freedom, scientific creation and the harnessing of nature. We should be confident that we can do equally well in countering aggression and eliminating the slave labor systems. We can no longer tolerate the idea of men being treated as animals and driven around as slaves in a never-ending state of toil and persecution. Therefore, the ultimate goal of our fight must be the tearing down of the Iron Curtain and the complete liberation of the enslaved peoples.

The free world must not remain an on-looker in the face of the Iron Curtain peoples' life-or-death struggle for freedom and against slavery. Instead, the free world must provide them with positive and effective spiritual and material support. The Iron Curtain peoples must be assisted in their effort to heighten a surging tide of anti-Communism. If they can check and strike the enemy from within in response to actions from outside, the Iron Curtain can be torn down without the danger of a world war or a nuclear holocaust. Freedom will ultimately triumph and man will have a solid foundation for long-lasting peace and order.

Third, we must redouble our effort in establishing a joint international anti-Communist front. Regardless of religion, race, nationality, region, occupation and sex, all the forces of the world representing freedom should be joined together. There must be quick responses to calls. There should be effective mutual assistance. All must act as one in a positive fight to safeguard freedom. This united force should also be directed toward the evil forces of Communism. The Communist world must be torn apart and shattered.

Such a joint international anti-Communist front may take time to emerge and grow full-fledged. But the World Anti-Communist League must strive for that goal from all possible directions. Anti-



Dr. Jose Figueres F (right), Former Vice Chairman of the First WACL Conference, has been elected President of Costa Rica. In the picture he is being welcomed by Dr. Ku Chang-kang (left), Honorary Chairman of WACL, at Taipei International Airport in September 1967.

Communist unity on the people's level must lead to unity on the government level. Mutual economic assistance and cultural intercourse should bring about cooperation and unity in the political and military fields. Regional security organizations should be enlarged as a worldwide mutual defense organization. This step by step process will eventually lead to the formation of a joint international anti-Communist front. Our unwavering conviction is that free world nations united as one will surely triumph in the fight against Com-

munist, while they may fail if they fight individually and separately.

Such unity is most needed in Asia where the Communists are most rampant. Our major mission in this area today should be the establishment of a regional security organization for Asia and the Pacific. This way, we can jointly defend ourselves and effectively smash the Asian Communists' aggressive moves and subversive attempts. As we strive along this line, we will be paving the way for a worldwide mutual security system.

B. Osinsky

Our Answer To Peaceful Coexistence

The building up of our own forces, the common coordinated revolutionary liberation action, systematic preparation of armed uprisings — psychological, political and military; the disintegration from within of the Russian empire and the Communist system — this is our answer to so-called peaceful coexistence of the free world with the world of tyranny.

Outside this empire, in the free world, it is necessary to mobilize the anti-Russian and anti-Communist forces which see in the policy of so-called peaceful coexistence the threat to the free world and are turning their attention to the importance for the still free world of the struggle for liberation of the subjugated nations.

The extension of territorial conquests and political influence by Russia into the sphere of the still free world is a consequence of so-called peaceful coexistence.

We are living on a volcano. In particular because some groups in free societies have renounced their inherited national ideals and traditions, the feeling of the social and national justice within their own nation, the idealistic principles of life, and have accepted idolization of the Mammon with its cult.

I shall now deal briefly with methods used by Moscow and Communism for decomposition of the still free part of the world.

Decomposition is the preliminary condition for guerrilla warfare strategy or a

sudden attack from outside. For the time being the methods of decomposition are the following: penetration by agents, quislings and traitors into the life of the sovereign nations, into all spheres of public life, into state administration, political parties, television, theatre, cinema, universities, schools and even Churches so that by deceit, blackmail or bribery the Russian style of internationalism, the decline of patriotic attitudes, the establishment of the creed of materialism, the cult of money, luxury, demoralization, narrow egoism and hedonism can be spread.

Hence our task: to concentrate our attention upon the young generation, which should be brought up in the spirit of the old heroic traditions of our nations, the idea of patriotism, social justice, heroic humanism, and should imitate our great historic personalities as against the symbols of the world of hostility — Lenin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara.

To start our own positive actions, we should encourage our youth to demonstrate on the streets of cities to show their solidarity with the subjugated nations and to defend their own traditional values.

To accept the challenge of the pro-Communist elements at the universities for the defense of idealistic values, to counteract the nihilistic contents of the mass media of propaganda, and to defend true and real values.

To support within all the Churches and in religious life in general, trends which are against dialogues and coexistence with atheist Moscow and Communism.

To work for a change of policy by the free governments in the direction of adopting the policy of liberation.

To advocate the discontinuation of all relations with USSR and the Communist regimes, the more so after the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia and the cruel persecution of the cultural workers of the subjugated nations, especially in Ukraine from where we have received a large amount of documentation published recently in two books in England: *The Chornovil Papers* and *Internationalism or Rus-sification?* by Ivan Dzyuba.

To initiate parliamentary debates about Russian colonialism and the situation in the subjugated countries.

To help the subjugated nations to fight Moscow on the territories of its domination and in the countries in which Communist dictatorship rules and enslaves other nations (as for example Croatians who aim at their independence).

To try to get facilities in this and other countries for systematic or occasional radio transmissions to the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

To organize in the free countries:

a) Study groups and seminars, not only on so-called Sovietology, i. e. the systems and doctrine of lies and deceit, but also on the subject of the national revolutionary movements of the subjugated nations, so that the young generation becomes aware of the active forces fighting Russian imperialism and Communism behind the Iron Curtain and feels encouraged by them. And above all the young generation should firmly grasp the fact the USSR is a Russian empire, and not a monolithic state, and that, for instance, Yugoslavia or CSSR is a conglomerate of nations.

b) Mass meetings of youth with speeches and lectures about the problems of the sub-

jugated nations, methods and ideas of the struggle against Communism and Russian psychological infiltration in the free world.

c) Means for the publication in Western and Eastern languages of works which circulate secretly or illegally in the subjugated countries and give evidence of an increasingly growing liberation movement.

To consider the ideology of national liberation as the main motivating power in the age of decolonization and the basic precondition for the social liberation and the defeat of Communism, as the system of total enslavement of human beings.

To launch a campaign of information about ways and means of combating Russian aggression in the free world, enlisting its help for the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, pointing out the advantages to the free nations to be found in the liberation struggle.

To seek support of official representatives of the various nations, parliamentarians, and the public opinion of the free nations.

To impress upon the conscience of all nations the importance of the fact that every nation, including all the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union, in the satellite countries and Yugoslavia, i. e. nations with ancient cultural traditions in Europe and Asia have the same right to their own state independence as have other peoples in the world.

How can one explain the reluctance to declare similar rights valid for the nations imprisoned in the Russian empire which systematically enlarges its territories by new subjugations of European and Asiatic countries?

Why should the era of Western colonialism come to an end while Russian colonialism flourishes in Europe and other continents?

Attacks On Ivan Dzyuba Continue

Dmyterko's attack on Ivan Dzyuba was followed by yet another one which appeared in Molod Ukrainy of September 10, 1969 under the title, "In Spiritual Emigration". It was signed by B. Chalyi, Ya. Yarmysh — writers; L. Stefanovych, V. Prokopenko, L. Hubaryeva, V. Konyukh, V. Maryanyn, B. Mashtalyarchuk, V. Melnyk — journalists. Its full text follows.

In the August 5, 1969 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* we read an article entitled "Position in Battle" about a writer who found himself on the other side of the barricade. The article dealt with the activity of Ukrainian literary critic Ivan Dzyuba and the shameful acts he has committed which can hardly be considered accidental or to have been carried out impulsively on the spur of the moment. The matter had to do with definitely proven, premeditated positions maintained by I. Dzyuba over a long period of time. To put it frankly and directly, it was a question of betrayal of the lofty ideals of our people and of their famous Soviet literature. It was treason, carefully concealed by I. Dzyuba under the worn-out cloak of a self-appointed protector of spiritual values and achievements which he persistently defends from Lord knows whom.

The moral downfall of I. Dzyuba, his desertion and the hypocritical nature of the platform onto which he has stepped, have been conclusively exposed. What prompted us to write was not merely the desire to show once more to our readers a true portrait of I. Dzyuba, the turncoat writer; that fact is clear to everyone. We feel that it is necessary to add something to this portrait, because the bourgeois press, by graciously allowing I. Dzyuba to express his views and by praising him to the high heavens, portrays this writer as the mouthpiece for the thoughts and needs of Ukrainian youth, attributing to him an almost Messianic role among it. As if competing among themselves, various bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist publications glorify I. Dzyuba as the "noted representative of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia", the author of "masterpieces of political writing", "the exponent of the thought of the contemporary Ukrainian generation", its "leading spokesman", and so on.

Is it perhaps true that Ukrainian youth has in I. Dzyuba a secret idol? Could it be that this entire multi-millioned group, with its ambitions and creative aspirations, is out of step and should turn to follow its "new spokesman" as quickly as possible?

The reading of I. Dzyuba's body of work in a series of enemy publications provides ample proof of the fact that he has openly exchanged his literary critic's pen for a dirty brush and taken to preaching long bankrupt "little theories", which he raises to absolutes, on the independence of the artist from society, on art about and beyond classes, on national exclusiveness and national self-isolation.

I. Dzyuba knows perfectly well that his writings are very far removed from the principles of social realism, the party spirit, and the national character of our literature. But this is the only way in which he can win fame — a fame which in our opinion is of very poor quality of the well known variety.

This is why I. Dzyuba exerts himself in the columns of the Munich nationalist monthly *Suchasnist* (Contemporaneity), in OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) organ, *Ukrainskyi Samostiynyk* (Ukrainian Independist), in the organ of the "Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics" — *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News) (USA), in the "League for the Liberation of Ukraine" organ — newspaper *Homin Ukrainy* (Echo of Ukraine), in the newspaper of Bandera's followers — *Shlyakh Peremohy* (The Path of Victory), etc.

To cover his tracks I. Dzyuba pretends to be a fighter for Marxist-Leninist ideals which have allegedly been forgotten and perverted by someone. However, in doing this, he falsifies and attempts to revise classics of Marxism-Leninism, interpreting them to please himself and his kind publishers, cunningly changing and misrepresenting facts.

The method is not a new one and has been adequately discredited. For over half a century various Dontsovs and Stetskos, Dobryanskys and Rakhmannys, by switching masters and repainting their flags for a bowl of "soup", have been founding various stillborn "leagues" and "unions of Ukrainian hetmanites", squabbling over illusory maces, "presidencies", and slandering our way of life. The writer I. Dzyuba has now joined this little-esteemed, to put it mildly, group. A man who lives on Soviet soil, works in a Soviet establishment, and simultaneously exists in spiritual escape from his native land.

Having gone over to the camp of the nationalist traitors, the remnants of those who faithfully served Hitler's fascists — such as one of his present extollers Olynyk-Rakhmanny who today serves those who pay the most — I. Dzyuba has no doubts whatsoever, and in fact has become their partner. He has associated himself with those benevolent publishers about whom the Soviet poet Vasyly Symonenko so angrily wrote:

"Mother — Ukraine spat blood
Into your faces
And your masters! . . ."

These are the people whom I. Dzyuba has joined and under whose faded banners he has taken his place!

Pitiful are the forces of the yellow-and-blue press; each gain made by Soviet press; each gain made by Soviet Ukraine in economic and cultural building, each achievement, sticks in their throat. Just as it is impossible to shut out the sun with the palm of hand, so it is impossible to deny our achievements and triumphs. Even their neighbors, emigres like themselves, even the Philistine living abroad who is ever hungry for sensation, are now less and less inclined to believe their senseless, naive, and obvious lies.

Just as the OUN loudmouths seemed to be running out of steam, along came I. Dzyuba and obligingly offered them his services. In studies and articles he continued the same topic, but in a somewhat different verbal packaging. Thus a man who was educated in Soviet institutions, who lives

in our society, and even holds membership in the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, became a yes-man to the bitter enemies of our Homeland. Thus a Soviet literary critic, whose civic duty was to elucidate in our press the contemporary literary process from the standpoint of party spirit and national character, a man who should be taking part in the construction of national socialist culture in Ukraine, became a commentator of Munich *Suchasnist* (Contemporaneity), (a play on the word "contemporaneity" which is also the name of a Munich monthly — Ed. Note) rather than of our own, Soviet one. He entered the wild field of the trident press to serve the vultures of anti-Communism. For this they burn incense around his name and give him full honors.

Therefore it is pointless to search for a more exact evaluation of this writer's point of view, a more convincing characterization of the true motive underlying his activities. After all, we are well aware how bourgeois publishers usually react to works written on Marxist-Leninist principles; the attitude of anti-Communists of all ranks to these works is widely known.

It is a truism that when a person is praised by his enemies, he is doing something wrong. Obviously I. Dzyuba is aware of this truism. However, he remains silent. What is this — deafness? Indifference? His life's credo?

Soviet Ukrainian writers participate actively in the building of Communism, in realizing national hopes and aspirations. Their better works have become the ideological weapons of our people, the national treasure of our land. Masters of culture are united by their deep devotion to the sacred Leninist ideals, their filial love to their socialist Homeland. Each one has marked his position in the ranks; each strives to do as much as possible for the people.

I. Dzyuba does not wish to understand this. He does not defend class or Communist positions; he does not serve our society. He has cut himself off spiritually from it; he has become a stranger in his own land.

All of us who write this letter are indignant over the unworthy behaviour of I. Dzyuba who even now remains a member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine. Formally a member of this authoritative organization, he is acting in a way which contradicts the high calling of a Soviet writer. It would be interesting to find out what the Union of Ukrainian Writers thinks about this?

As far as our youth is concerned, I. Dzyuba is very far from being the spokesman for its moods and likes, no matter how the nationalist press, striving to make this come true, blabber on about this. Our youth which has been reared on Communist ideals and which in its creative work is building its glorious future, has nothing in common with I. Dzyuba.

“March For Victory In Vietnam”



On April 4, 1970, the “March for Victory”, organized by a special committee headed by Rev. Dr. Carl McIntire, was held in Washington, D. C. Over 50,000 people from all parts of the USA attended. It was the biggest demonstration in the history of the USA which openly condemned the Communists and adopted a resolution calling for victory over Communism in Vietnam as well as all over the world and freedom and independence for all Captive Nations.

AF-ABN took active part in the march. The following National Divisions made up the AF-ABN group: Azerbaijan, Bulgaria,

Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Estonia, Hungary, Rumania, Ukraine and others. The group was led by Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, who was also one of the speakers at the open air rally.

Reporting about the event on April 5th, *The New York Times* wrote:

“Perhaps the most colorful marchers were the ‘American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations’ from New York. Dressed in Cossack and East European costumes, they carried flags of their native countries and signs condemning Soviet oppression.”

Enslaved Peoples Under Communism

In theory and action Communism is but a mythology shielding the worst form of totalitarianism and imperio-colonialism in the history of mankind. The more we concentrate on the approximately one billion souls in the captive nations, the more we can appreciate the pressing need of unity and solidarity in freedom, not only among the still free nations of the so-called non-Communist world but also, and equally important, with the one-third of humanity in the captive nations.

Make no mistake about it, the World Anti-Communist League, with fertile and vigorous Asian origin, has developed into an essential instrument focused upon the huge family of captive nations as the natural and formidable ally for world freedom and peaceful global community of independent and sovereign nations. To be sure, much remains to be done, but those whose freedom is in immediate danger and under the shadow of constant totalitarian threat are in the best experiential position to positively advance the supreme cause of world freedom in order to preserve their freedom and indirectly that of the numerous other members of the Free World geographically removed from the battlelines of freedom and thus myopically indulgent in their domestic complacencies. Leadership in truth and moral fortitude is an enduring power in itself, capable of attracting and magnetizing every other form of power in the Free World.

There is an old Spanish proverb that warns: "A handful of common sense is worth a bushel of learning." We are almost forced to acknowledge that there is nothing worse than a learned and educated fool; and we have our dose of this species in the United States as no doubt you have in your respective countries. We can perhaps forgive them for being unable to perceive the subtle and indirect aggressions undertaken by both Peking and Moscow in Asia, the

Middle East, Africa and Latin America, not to mention the United States itself, but it is plainly unforgivable in these clearly crass and overt cases.

Yet, with a modicum of common sense and not too much required learning, the average citizen of the Free World can think all this through in terms of the steady aggregation of captive nations since the early 20's: and fifty years of proliferated Red totalitarian and imperial rule are but a minute in historical time. Without oversimplification, but with the guiding thread of essentiality, all he need do on a global map is to first encircle in red the Russian area encompassing Moscow and Leningrad, and then in concentric form the non-Russian area from Byelorussia and Ukraine to Azerbaijan to the old Far Eastern Republic, then the Baltic states, then Central-South Europe over to North Korea, mainland China and North Vietnam, finishing for the moment with a red spot covering the island of Cuba. This is the expansive Red Empire, which began in Moscow and in terms of ultimate, determining power today rests on Moscow for its survival.

As President Nixon recently stated, the non-negotiable issue in South Vietnam is the right of national self-determination and independence of the free Vietnamese. What he unfortunately did not say, and which explains much more, is that the United States cannot honorably afford again the addition of another free nation to the long list of captive nations. Too many patriotic and knowledgeable Americans still recall the sell-out at Yalta and elsewhere of several East European nations by the Harrimans and other diplomatic undertakers. And you can rest assured that if the present Moscow—Havana—Peking—Hanoi propaganda assault upon the U.S. leads to any serious internal disturbances, the reaction following World War II will look like a stroll in the park. The domino theory, which has been accurately but nar-

rowly applied to this quarter of the world, will reach its full bloom of historical application to all the captive nations since 1917.

That this occasion will necessarily arise, sooner or later, I have absolutely no doubt. The sprawling pattern of Red psycho-political warfare, as seen now in Asia, in the Middle East, in Latin America and in the United States makes it as certain as the sun rising and setting tomorrow. In preparation for this occasion as well as in coping with our immediate problems, it behooves us to workably grasp the organic concept of the captive nations, understand the dominant trends in the Red Empire, appreciate "the bind" in which the Free World finds itself, and develop a solution to this bind.

Remember always, where necessity pinches, boldness is prudence. But to exercise prudent boldness demands also a guiding concept. Despite the worldwide publicity that was given to the U.S. Captive Nations Week Resolution 11 years ago and the annual reports on it since, it is amazing how relatively few in the Free World comprehend the concept. On the other hand, Moscow, Peking and the Red satraps perceived its significance quickly and vehemently. The continuing responses to my current work, *The Vulnerable Russians*, show a grave deficiency on this score in the Free World. To offset this somewhat some months ago I managed to have another resolution sponsored and passed in the U.S. Congress, providing for the publication of a House of Representatives Document on the Captive Nations Movement. This forthcoming publication, made possible through the efforts of Representatives Daniel E. Flood and Edward J. Derwinski, should aid in the advancement of the basic captive nations concept.

The U.S. Congressional Captive Nations Week Resolution defines the broad concept of the captive nations clearly and succinctly. The captive nations are those that in the past fifty years have been overtaken and subjugated by Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism and its several totalitarian offsprings. Quite plainly, how all of the Red

present came to be what it is, regardless of rifts and squabbles, is the answer as to *who are the captive nations*. To enumerate them accurately and historically, *one must begin in 1917, not in the 1940's or later*. The first international wars and aggression waged by Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism under the deceptive guise of Communism were against independent states and nations like Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and several others that are now imprisoned in the Soviet Union. The second wave of this imperialist aggression reduced Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania to captivity in the early 40's and the third wave in the later 40's enslaved a whole new group into the growing family of captive nations, namely, Rumania Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, part of Germany, Poland. Inspired, assisted and trained offsprings of this Red tradition of conquest and domination of peoples dropped the totalitarian curtain about the peoples of Yugoslavia, mainland China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba in this and the decade after.

If the domino process has ever been at work, it certainly and unquestionably has been in the methodical Red conquest and aggregation of captive nations. If one fails to understand this process, executed largely and basically through the whole panoply of psycho-political warfare techniques, he then does not know the history of Eurasia these past fifty years. Any appreciation of the fundamental distinction between the captive nations — the exploited peoples themselves — and the Red totalitarian states is completely lost on him. It is this working distinction, implicit in the very concept of the captive nations, that has cast profound fear in the professional propagandists of the Red states. More, an inability to see this organic process of politico-military conquest from 1917 to the present beclouds also the important truth as to the chief enemy of the Free World.

Yes, I'm well aware that many of my dear Asian friends honestly disagree with the logical and factual determination of the Soviet Union — more precisely Soviet Rus-

sian imperio-colonialism — as this chief enemy. In one sense they are not wrong when their immediate danger of a proximate and aggressive Red China is properly and justly weighed. No matter where, sheer survival for freedom is an incomparable, conditioning force. But there is a more general truth affixed to the global framework which we must face with equal awareness and perspective. And that is the primacy of the Soviet Russian enemy. In the broader global framework and on the basis of historical evolution itself, let us not forget the fundamental Soviet Russian contributions that have been made to the training, economic and military equipment, and the apparatus of the so-called Communists on mainland China, to the formation and equipment of the North Korean army and the tragic Korean war that ensued, and to the totalitarian and mini-imperialist Hanoi regime, an aid which has protracted the Vietnam war more than any other Red totalitarian factor.

Concerning the war in Vietnam, which really involves three fundamental factors — they are, the seventeen million captives in North Vietnam, the aggression by totalitarian Hanoi backed essentially by Russia, and the valiant endeavor of the patriotic and nationalist South Vietnamese not to be forced behind the Red totalitarian curtain — this simple conflict could have been over three or four years ago if it hadn't been for the circumstantial combination of sophisticated Soviet Russian aid and America's complete misconduct of the war.

In making this charge, believe me, I am not siding with the human boils and carbuncles of American society, for even the healthiest of organisms are capable of such poisonous excesses. The virtual and overt traitors of freedom in the U.S. meaning specifically the professional pacifists, the melodramatic and poor imitations of mid-19th century Bakuninists and Elanquists, who ignorantly spout Marxism, the ridiculously bearded Trotskyists, the basically ignorant and scant minority of students, and many naive clerics and so-called liberals, always pawns for the professional

Red revolutionary who manipulated this species in the 30's and is repeating it now, are of course political warfare fodder for Hanoi, Peking, Havana and Moscow. Like the Russians, they want "peace" or "mir" too much, and we cannot but wonder what peace they seek.

Nevertheless, we in America have so far failed in coping with what some call revolutionary warfare and what is really Russian-developed psycho-political warfare as applied in Vietnam. The so-called Vietnamization of the war in Vietnam could have been accomplished years ago, in fact during the Eisenhower period. What was required was a psycho-political warfare concept extending, into North Vietnam and buttressed by American armed logistics. Regrettably we still don't understand this type of warfare, which today extends even to the terrain of the United States itself. If anyone is to be charged with a specific irresponsibility in the United States for this institutional incapacity, it is Senator Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee. He and the ever-blundering Harrimans have for years opposed and sat on the Freedom Academy measures in the U.S. Congress which are purposed to equip Americans and their allies in the ways and means of this type of warfare. This is by no means an unfounded charge: it can be easily documented and justified. Its tragedy is that it involves other peoples, including the captive people of North Vietnam and all others in the extensive Red Empire.

Nationalism In The Captive World

By the very nature of realities prevailing in the captive world, conditions of psycho-political warfare are always extensive and omnipresent. It has been truly said, "In a free country there is much clamor with little suffering; in a despotic state there is little complaint, but much grievance." In the Soviet Union, which Alexander Solzhenitsyn has accurately described as a "sick society", the dozen and more captive nations are being subjected to a new wave of political repressions, cultural genocide, religious oppression, imperio-colonialist economic exploitation, revived MVD opera-

tions, and concentration camp consignment. All this and more in the sweep of Russian consolidating moves for Moscow's expanding Cold War operations in Asia, the Middle East, and the Western Hemisphere.

In mainland China, North Korea and North Vietnam the captive peoples are under the worst conditions of totalitarian tyranny, economic privation, and dehumanization left in the train of a grotesque "cultural revolution", guerrilla war activities on the Korean peninsula, and a war of aggression by Hanoi. In captive Cuba similar forms of Red exploitation of the people prevail as that unhappy island is being rapidly transformed into a Russian base for continental political warfare. And in Central Europe the Russian rape of Czechia and Slovakia confirmed again the oppressions and imperio-colonialism imposed on the captive peoples in that area.

Among the numerous forces at work for freedom in the captive world, the most dominant is the indomitable force of nationalism. This natural force means national self-determination and independence, economic freedom and opportunity, cultural progress and a respectful place in a peaceful community of independent nations. Expressed in many ways, this persistent force is rampant in the Soviet Union; it is manifested daily in Central Europe; it permeates all of Asia; it is the basis for Cuban resistance and hope. As the record well shows, *nationalism is the greatest insurmountable obstacle to Red totalitarianism and Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism.*

"The Bind"

Whether viewed from the East or the West, efforts to win less powerful Red states from the direct or indirect control and influence of the powerful Soviet Russian center will come to naught so long as this center is afforded psycho-political sanctuary within the substrate empire of the Soviet Union. This truth is the clear lesson of the Czecho-Slovakian tragedy. The free governments in the West clearly found themselves in a bind. And they will continue to be in this bind unless a radical

shift is made in policy toward the captive nations within the USSR.

The Brezhnev doctrine further substantiates this truth. In essence, a contemporary version of traditional Russian imperialism, this doctrine can be applied by Moscow to any Red state in the West or in the East: even to ostensibly socialist states in the Free World, all for the goal of insuring the security of the mythical commonwealth of socialist states. This doctrine is in itself a confession of intent and also weakness. This fundamental weakness is represented by the existence and struggles of the captive nations.

Problems And The Solution

An old French adage teaches us, "the weakness of the enemy forms a part of our own strength." The captive nations in the aggregate constitute the foremost weakness of the totalitarian Red Empire. As such, they are one of the most essential parts of our Free World strength. The more we concentrate on the captive nations, the more we intensify the weakness, the insecurity and the doom of all Red governments. But to advance along this sure road toward world freedom and the avoidance of a general hot war, citizens of the Free World must scotch certain misconceptions and wishful thoughts.

The first misconception is about the captive nations themselves. The captive nations concept must be clearly understood. The family of captive nations extends from Central Europe into the Soviet Union out to Asia and over to Cuba. Second, it is a species of wishful thinking to believe that any genuine detente is possible with the vast Red Empire. The dynamics of history, greased with the victories of Red totalitarianism and the worldwide network of Red psycho-political warfare, simply do not favor this. Wishful, too, is the misleading notion of spheres of influence, a sideline of the containment policy. It not only compromises principle with its accommodationism but also is unrealistic and self-defeating. Our enemies don't pour billions of investment into Cold War operations for physical exercise and self-enjoyment.

Contrary to absurdities witnessed in some places of the Free World, including the United States, the youth, the workers and the intellectuals in the captive world know what it means to be deprived of freedom. With their grasp of the real and true values of human existence, these captives of Red totalitarianism are today freedom's most trusted allies; tomorrow they shall be its sternest guardians.

The eventual solution of the titanic struggle in this century rests not with military arms, but rather with the effective linkage of the forces of freedom in the non-Red world with those of all the captive nations, particularly those in the huge concentration camp called the Soviet Union.

The forging of this link with the genuine NLF's and their tremendous legions behind all three Red curtains can only be effected through the means of psycho-political penetrations that are indispensable to the deterrence of a hot general war. The captive nations are our formidable allies, and had we sensibly tapped this resource in North Vietnam, the war there would have been over long ago.

Fortitude is the mean between fear and rashness. To fight adequately for freedom means to constantly display fortitude in will, determination and honor. The captive nations ceaselessly show this fortitude. Free men can't afford to do less.

400 Demonstrators Protest Dinner Honoring Lenin



Ukrainian Students' Club at the University of Toronto, together with other ethnic groups, and the Edmund Burke Society staged a demonstration to protest a banquet in honor of Lenin's 100th birthday held on April 3, 1970 in Toronto, Canada. Toronto Daily Star, The Globe and Mail, The Telegram, Kitchener-Waterloo Record and other papers gave extensive coverage to the event.

Plan For Vietnam Victory

Situation: The conflict in Southeast Asia is taking place

(a) in Korea

(b) along a single front ranging from the Mekong Delta and Saigon through Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, to the West of Mount Everest, down to the delta of the Ganges.

Laos is the hub of the Eastern portion of this front, Calcutta may become the hub of the Western portion.

Red China is capable of stepping up its guerrilla activity and intended to exploit a possible Communist victory in Vietnam by attacking in Southeast and South Asia.

Red China is building a huge supply base in Yunnan, to prepare and conduct large scale revolts in Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Burma. New roads are under construction leading from China into the Communist held parts of Laos, and from Yunnan towards India. The command post of the entire Southeast Asian Communist revolt is in Kunming.

Solution: Asianization (not Vietnamization) of the war in Vietnam.

1. Deploy Korean, Chinese and Thai forces to Vietnam, to win the war as speedily and conclusively as possible.

2. If necessary, redeploy U.S. ground forces withdrawn from Vietnam to South Korea. Augment South Korea's naval, air, and counter-insurgency forces.

3. Close part of Haiphong and other transshipment points of foreign supplies to North Vietnam.

4. Construct large East-West highways astride the Communist supply routes from North to South Vietnam.

5. Conduct military spoiling operations North of the Laos pan handle.

6. Deploy Thai troops to Laos, Chinese troops to the South Vietnam mountains, Korean troops to the DMZ and along the Western border of South Vietnam.

7. Step up economic pacification with substantial support to be given by Japan (including participation in road construction).

8. Institute an Asian program for the economic pacification of Calcutta.

9. Strengthen and enlarge SEATO counter-subversion and insurgency center.

10. Institute joint Asian psychological warfare operations and set up a joint news reporting center to report on the events along the entire Asian front.

Disunited, Southeast Asia will fall, and national China and South Korea will be in trouble.

United, the front from Korea to India will stand.

United States' support to the new strategy is mandatory.

The conditions of U.S. withdrawal of ground combat forces should be amended: these forces should be withdrawn at a pace consistent with the Asianization of the conflict.

Byelorussians Condemn UN's Commemoration Of Lenin's Centennial

On March 13, 1969 the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights has adopted a resolution calling on its members to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin), former leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party and former head of the Soviet Russian Government, as a great "humanitarian". This celebration took place on April 20, 1970.

The Byelorussian people is enslaved by Soviet Russia today and is unable to tell freely of its past and present experiences under Communism and to express its opinion on the humanitarianism of Lenin. Therefore, we would like to express an opinion on behalf of the Byelorussian people.

As a theorist of Russian Bolshevism, Lenin appeared as a decisive defender of the integrity of the Russian empire. In his program, prepared for the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks), Lenin acknowledged the right of the non-Russian nations to self-determination, including separation from Russia. However, he was only granting the right of separation but not real separation. Lenin was against separation of the non-Russian nations from Russia. His position was to hold them inside the borders of the Russian state and to convince his own party members to take the same attitude.

After November 7, 1917 Lenin showed utmost hostility towards the liberation of all the non-Russian nations, oppressed in the Russian empire. The Declaration of Rights for the nations of Russia, accepted by the Bolshevik Government, was a repetition of the national policy as previously formulated by Lenin in the program of the Bolshevik Party.

The First All-Byelorussian Congress consisting of 1,872 representatives convened in Miensk on December 15, 1917. This was a national Byelorussian assembly, whose aim was to decide the future statehood of Byelorussia. The Russian-Bolshevik

delegates were in a small minority. They were unable to influence Congressional decisions. The Congress has chosen independence for the Byelorussian state. On December 17, 1917 the Russian Red Army dispersed the Congress by orders of the Soviet Russian Government.

During the ensuing war the Council of the First All-Byelorussian Congress proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic on March 25, 1918. In opposition to this independent Byelorussian state, Lenin ordered the creation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). This fictitious state, as well as its government, was created by the Soviet Government in Moscow. The proclamation of the BSSR took place on January 1, 1919 in the city of Smolensk which was conquered by Russia.

Later, the Soviet Russian Army conquered most of Byelorussia. Concluding a peace treaty with Poland in Riga in 1921, Lenin, without the representatives of the BSSR, divided the territory of Byelorussia as follows: The BSSR was allotted the territory of only six counties of the Miensk district, with a population of approximately 1.2 million. Poland was given approximately 100,000 sq. km. of Byelorussia with a population of approximately 4 million. Approximately 250,000 sq. km. of Byelorussian territory with a population of over 9 million were annexed directly by the Russian SFSR. This partition of Byelorussia and the subjugation of her people existed until Lenin's death. In such a way Lenin brutally suppressed the hopes of the Byelorussian people for self-determination and independence, and turned it into a colonial people of Soviet Russia.

By introducing his own totalitarian Communist regime into Byelorussia, Lenin deprived the Byelorussian people of all its human rights and freedoms, the rights recognized by the Western world at this time, and proclaimed earlier by the Byelo-

russian Democratic Republic. These rights were: freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of worship, freedom of economic activity, freedom to elect one's own government, freedom to choose one's habitat and to travel abroad, immunity of home, independence of the judiciary, etc. In Byelorussia, freedom of activity was given to the Bolshevik Party alone, which was executing orders from the central government in Moscow. The leadership of this party in Byelorussia was composed of non-Byelorussians. It was a reliable instrument for domination of the Byelorussian nation.

The constitution of the BSSR, as well as the USSR, guaranteed in writing most of the above-mentioned freedoms. However, these constitutions exist on paper only in order to mislead the foreign public opinion. In reality the Bolshevik Party is using such policies which are suiting its aims, completely ignoring the existing constitutions.

Lenin was responsible for the brutal tyranny of the governing Bolshevik Party superiors. His government, hypocritically called the "workers' and peasants' government", as well as the Central Committee, included neither workers nor peasants.

The Bolshevik Party represented a new ruling class of the fascist type. It used unlimited and merciless exploitation of the working people. Starvation and shortages of all necessary articles existed in reality during Lenin's rule. Only the members of the Communist Party were supplied through special exclusive distribution stores, inaccessible to the rest of the population.

This oppression was possible only by the use of mass and ruthless terror. In this field Lenin showed extraordinary ability. He organized the Cheka (Extraordinary Committee — Secret Police) headed by the notorious F. Derzhynsky. This mill of death had no other predecessor in modern history. In comparison with the Cheka the infamous tsarist security service (Okhranka) was a very liberal institution. The surveillance by police was raised to systematic denun-

ciation of each person. The Cheka kept an accumulative file on all. A new crime was discovered in which each person became a suspect — the potential enemy of the Soviet Government. The mass arrests of innocent people as these potential enemies, the relentless savage abuse and torture of imprisoned individuals, who were admitting the non-committed crimes, the shooting of people en masse without trial — all this, as a sword of Democles, was hanging over the defenseless population, murdered by Lenin's bureaucrats, immune to any responsibility.

Lenin is the father of Russian Bolshevism, that same Bolshevism which is oppressing the Byelorussian people for over 50 years. This period is the most severe and tragic period in the whole Byelorussian history. During this time Bolshevik Moscow annihilated over 6 million Byelorussians. But, at the present time, using systematic Russification, deportation of Byelorussians to Siberia, and colonization of Byelorussia by Russians, the Moscow Government is attempting to remove the separate Byelorussian nation from the globe completely and to transform it into a part of Russia. This genocide is a direct result of the Leninist national policies applied towards the non-Russian nations of the USSR.

Svetlyana Alliluyeva, the daughter of J. Stalin, recently made this public statement, "... all of this did not begin with my father. So many people think that he invented the system, the dictatorship, the police, the spying. But he didn't. He inherited it all from Lenin."

Lenin projected the conquest of the entire globe by Bolshevism. He designed a universal USSR, of course, under the hegemony of Soviet Russia. This design is used by the present government of Moscow as a current program of realization. Soviet Russia is giving top priority to the development of her own military power, and is gradually realizing the testament of Lenin on the conquest and enslavement of the remaining independent countries. The subjugation of nations of central Europe after

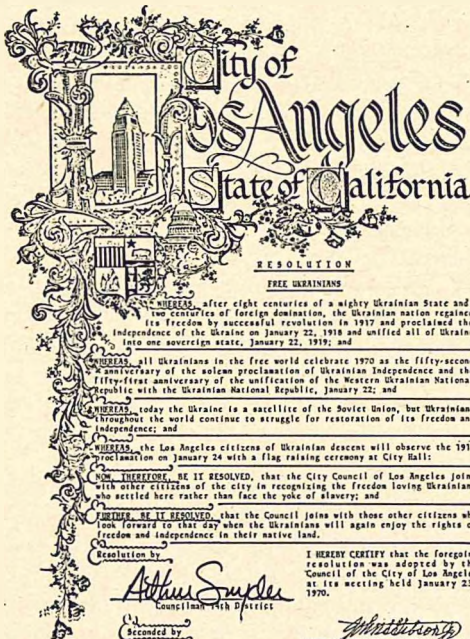
the Second World War, the Communist expansion in Greece, Korea, Vietnam, the recent military invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, all these are the concurrent steps leading towards the realization of the expansionist plans designed by Lenin.

We are assuming that the proposal to commemorate the birthday of Lenin in the United Nations was initiated by the representatives from Soviet Russia, or by her subservient countries-satellites. The real aim behind this diversionist maneuver is to disorient the nations of the free world, and to make them more vulnerable to gradual absorption by Moscow.

We would like to call the attention of the free world to the fact that this commemoration would be a most cynical humiliation of the idea of humanism. It would be a public mockery of human rights as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations. It would demonstrate a flagrant injustice expressed by the free countries towards the Byelorussian nation, which was conquered, oppressed and suffered heavily under Lenin's terrorist rule, as well as under the rule of the present government of Soviet Russia, inspired by him.

Byelorussian Congress Committee of America
John Kosiak, President

**Mayor And City Council Of Los Angeles
 Commemorate Ukraine's Independence**



**City of Los Angeles
 State of California**

RESOLUTION
FREE UKRAINIANS

WHEREAS, after eight centuries of a mighty Ukrainian State and two centuries of foreign domination, the Ukrainian nation regained its freedom by successful revolution in 1917 and proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine on January 22, 1918 and unified all of Ukraine into one sovereign state, January 22, 1919; and

WHEREAS, all Ukrainians in the free world celebrate 1970 as the fifty-second anniversary of the solemn proclamation of Ukrainian Independence and the fifty-first anniversary of the unification of the Western Ukrainian National Republic with the Ukrainian National Republic, January 22; and

WHEREAS, today the Ukraine is a satellite of the Soviet Union, but Ukrainians throughout the world continue to struggle for restoration of its freedom and independence; and

WHEREAS, the Los Angeles citizens of Ukrainian descent will observe the 1970 proclamation on January 24 with a flag raising ceremony at City Hall;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the City Council of Los Angeles joins with other citizens of the city in recognizing the freedom loving Ukrainians who settled here rather than face the yoke of slavery; and

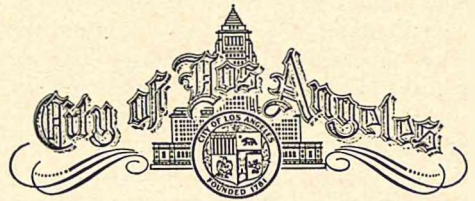
WHEREAS, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Council joins with those other citizens who look forward to that day when the Ukrainians will again enjoy the rights of freedom and independence in their native land.

Resolution by
Arthur Suxler
 Councilman 4th District

Seconded by
John Kosiak
 President of the Council

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the foregoing resolution was adopted by the Council of the City of Los Angeles at its meeting held January 23, 1970.

John Kosiak
 President of the Council



PROCLAMATION

Ukrainian Day

WHEREAS, after eight centuries of a mighty Ukrainian State and two centuries of foreign domination, the Ukrainian Nation regained its freedom by successful revolution in 1917 and proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine on January 22, 1918; and

WHEREAS, all Ukrainians in the free world celebrate January 22 as the 52nd Anniversary of Solemn Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence; and

WHEREAS, today the Ukraine is a satellite of the Soviet Union, but Ukrainians throughout the world continue to struggle for restoration of its freedom and independence; and

WHEREAS, on January 24, Los Angeles citizens of Ukrainian descent will observe the 1970 proclamation of independence with flag raising ceremonies at City Hall;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Sam Yorty, Mayor of the City of Los Angeles, do hereby proclaim January 24, 1970 as **UKRAINIEN DAY** in Los Angeles and urge all citizens to recognize the valiant efforts of Ukrainians to restore freedom and independence to their native land.

Sam Yorty
 MAYOR



John Kosiak
 Councilman 4th District

ATTEST:
Rev. E. Layton
 City Clerk

Tito Continues To Deceive The West

Each year the Belgrade Government of Communist Yugoslavia is celebrating November 29th as a state holiday. This presumable state holiday is only one of many tricks, inventions and deceptions practised by the Belgrade Communists in the past 25 years in order to deceive their naive Western friends and to mislead the honest public of the world.

The master of Communist Yugoslavia, Tito, as one of the principal agents of international Communism, cunningly performs special duties in world affairs. The Yugoslav Communists, headed by Tito, are deceiving the public of the free world by making it believe that the Yugoslav Communist Party was the factor which with its own strength created the multi-national artificial state-structure called Yugoslavia.

For this purpose a handful of Communist Party members and their sympathizers secretly met at Jajce on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia on November 29, 1943 and proclaimed this day a "miraculous" date, which in worldwide Communist propaganda became identical with the foundation of the present Communist state of Yugoslavia.

However, it is a well-known fact that at that time the Independent State of Croatia was in existence and that in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, the president, the government and the parliament were to be found. There also existed the Croatian Armed Forces which at that time numbered about 300,000 well-armed soldiers, imbued with exceptional patriotic and fighting spirit, who bravely defended the independence and the territorial integrity of the Croatian state.

At that time, in that part of Europe, there was no trace of any Yugoslavia, except, perhaps, in the fantasy of certain individuals.

True, there existed guerrilla bands of Communist partisans, in their majority

composed of non-Croats, led by Tito. Similar cases can be found in our days in certain free and independent countries of the free world. However, these partisan groups were hiding in the forests and in inaccessible mountainous regions. Although they were receiving abundant help from Soviet Russia and her democratic allies of that time, they nevertheless did not dare to engage in open battles with the Croatian Armed Forces, nor were they capable of holding out for a long time in any part of the Croatian state. Only under the cover of darkness were they able to attack villages and small towns secretly, carrying out sabotage, planting explosives and bombs, setting fires and committing blood-thirsty murders, as Communists and their guerrillas are apt to do in those countries where they appear, using these ruthless and cruel methods in order to spread fear among the unarmed population.

Therefore, present Communist Yugoslavia was not created by a handful of Communist partisans during the secret nocturnal meeting at Jajce in 1943. As it is generally known, Yugoslavia was created at the famous Yalta Conference (Feb. 4—11, 1945). This Yugoslavia was neither created by Tito nor the Communist Party on the battlefield.

Yugoslavia was formed by the representatives of Great Powers which were war allies: the United States of America, Soviet Russia and Great Britain, who at the Yalta Conference accepted the demands of their ally, the Communist murderer Stalin. All this happened without asking the Croatian people and against their will, and also against the wishes of the other five peoples and many national minorities living in that part of South-Eastern Europe. The Croatian people, like all these peoples, were unjustly included in the present Yugoslavia and handed over to merciless international Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism.

The ill-famed Yalta Conference showed to the entire world that the Croatian people were handled like a simple trade ware, although the American President, Woodrow Wilson, in his famous articles, which were made known in January 1918, solemnly promised that in the future this will not and should not happen.

Referring to all this once more, we want to inform the honest and democratic public

of the world that November 29th is not a date which can have any political importance for the Croatian people, or any state-judiciary and obligatory meaning. We want to point out again that this date is one of the numerous propaganda lies and deceits used by the Communists in order to extend and fortify their rule all over the world.

Yuriy Voloshyn

Russian Strategy: Strike First

Despite the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and a renewed effort at disarmament talks in Finland, Western intelligence reports that the Soviet Union has not only NOT slowed down its military buildup, but has, in fact, increased its production schedule of offensive weapons. The Soviet navy is modern, and rapidly closing the tonnage gap with Western powers. Its space program seems designed to exploit the military potential in controlling the stratosphere. Its nuclear balance sheet is rapidly attaining parity, and, at the current rate of production, is expected to exceed the U.S. shortly. And now, during Senate ABM hearings, Senator Jackson has gone on record with information that the USSR is definitely developing a first-strike capability. ICBMs are "zeroed in" on American missile silos and air bases.

The puzzling size of Soviet megatonage on its nuclear warheads is militarily practical only when considering the type of force required to penetrate "hard" American silos . . . many of these are already obsolete in that they are not "hard" enough to withstand Soviet multi-megaton impact.

Many in the West delude themselves by asserting that the Soviet Union's suspicion of Western motives, and, consequently, its desire simply to attain military parity is

the sole obstacle in productive disarmament talks. Therefore, the logical conclusion would be to ease up on Western armaments, and allow them to catch up.

However, if the USSR is simply interested in maintaining a "balance of terror" so as to forestall nuclear blackmail by Western powers, why "zero in" on missile sites and air bases? Assuming, as the argument goes, that the U.S. would launch the first missile, surely it would be a complete waste for the Soviets to retaliate on empty silos and bomberless air bases. The only effective deterrent for the Soviet Union to forestall a first-strike by the U.S. would be to hold the populated urban and industrial centers hostage. Only if U.S. cities were to be in danger of total annihilation, would the U.S. be unwilling to risk a "preventive war" against the USSR.

On the other hand, if the *USSR* intends to strike *first*, it is perfectly reasonable to strike at American ability to retaliate; i.e. — by targeting the missile silos and air bases. An additional benefit in leaving American cities and industry intact is that the richest prize in the world, the American industrial complex, would then be available for Russian control and exploitation. After all, who needs a burned, depopulated crater where once thriving America and free Europe used to be?

Tenth Anniversary Of Two Croatian National Heroes

Death puts great men in historical purgatory: they become greater or they vanish. Dr. Ante Pavelic and Dr. Aloysius Stepinac are becoming greater every year since their death and the Croats all over the world commemorate their anniversary with undiminished adoration and love.

There are few national leaders who were so hated by the Communists as the Poglavnik of the Independent State of Croatia. The future president of the Croatian state was prepared to defend the thousand-year-old Croatian culture against Bolshevism. Stalin was still very far, but his disciples were visible all over Europe. In Croatia they numbered under a thousand "comrades", but in Hungary Bela Kuhn announced the things to come and the Serbian royal dictatorship was a seminary for the New Class of the Balkans. No wonder that the son and daughter of the Great-Serbian Foreign Minister Nincic and the son of the owner of *Politika* (the leading Serbian newspaper) were in the first ranks of the Yugoslav Communist Party. After Stalin's decision of 1928 that the Communists should fight for a future Communist Yugoslavia and territorial unity, became evident to Dr. Ante Pavelic that this adversary was not the small Serbian fraction but the global Russian-dominated Communist conspiracy. The liberals and democrats in the West were the natural innocents and ideological allies of the "Revolution".

During the war over one hundred red and pink agents were hidden in Zagreb in the offices of the official German newspapers, protected by the Wehrmacht, and the chief of the Gestapo was a member of the Communist Party. The Fascist generals, such as Roatta and his helpers, distributed arms and food to the Serb Communists and opened the doors of their occupation zones whenever it was possible to destroy the Croats.

Alone, between these false friends and internal enemies, the Poglavnik stood erect as the Croatian mountains. He called the

Croat Sabor in 1942 when all over Europe the parliaments were closed. He protected the traditional values and inspired heroism as the normal way of life of his Ustasas and of the whole Croat youth. They saw in him the reincarnation of the old Croat kings and virtues. Today he seems more and more a mythological hero of the Croat insurgents who never stopped fighting. More than a hundred different groups were organized after 1945 in the Croat lands which spring up anew over and over again when annihilated.

Today Poglavnik is a mythical figure all over the world where the Croats live. There is no nationality fighting Communism which does not find inspiration in this classical figure of a hero and a leader and there is no doubt that under his moral leadership all the future struggles for independence of Croatia will be carried on. His published works are read and understood today better than ever. There is no doubt that Dr. Ante Pavelic had entered the Croat national Pantheon.

The other outstanding personality is the Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Dr. Aloysius Stepinac, who was held up as an example for all fathers and mothers of America by the late Francis Cardinal Spellman, who constructed a school bearing his name in the State of New York. Pope Pius XII saw in him a saint and a martyr. During the war when nobody could protest, Stepinac protested. After the war when nobody could confess, Stepinac confessed. He never denied his Croat nation, his Catholic faith, his human and Christian love. Before his Communist judges he declared that he would be a scoundrel if he denied the will and the right of his nation to be independent and free. No wonder then that the true faith and true patriotism cannot respect the Monsignori drinking tea with the commissars and that there is no Croat in the world who does not feel profound veneration for Cardinal Stepinac. The Church was founded and will resist on this type of character and martyrs.

Rumanians Observe Sad 25th Anniversary

This is a year when many countries will be marking significant 25th anniversaries.

March 6 was a sad day for Rumanians. It was on that day in 1945 that the Soviet Union, breaking every promise and violating every agreement, installed a puppet regime and made the country a satellite.

At a time when "negotiations" are replacing "confrontation", it is perhaps pertinent to recall the events that took place.

In June 1941, Rumania, under the military regime of Marshal Ion Antonescu, entered the war on the side of the Axis.

By 1944, as the tide turned, leaders of Rumania's democratic opposition were maneuvering for a separate peace. They sent emissaries to Cairo to negotiate. The great fear was occupation and Communization by Soviet troops.

The vast majority of the Rumanian population, composed of landed peasants, despised Communism.

The Kremlin tried to allay these fears when on April 3, 1944, Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov said: "The Soviet government declares it does not pursue the aim . . . of changing in whatever manner the existing social order in Rumania."

Similar promises were made by the United States and the United Kingdom.

On Aug. 23, 1944, King Michael of Rumania overthrew Antonescu, ordered a ceasefire and formed a coalition government which included some Communists as a courtesy to the approaching Russians. The Communist Party was insignificant with some 800 members in a population of 20 millions.

Rumania switched sides, entered the war against Germany, collapsed the Nazi front in the Carpathians and maintained between 16 and 20 divisions. It was the fourth largest allied army in Europe.

It soon became evident, however, that the Kremlin had no intentions to keep its promises. Under the Armistice Agreement, which gave the Soviet Union a major voice in Rumania, they began a campaign of

systematic exploitation, chicanery and sabotage.

The situation was discussed at Yalta where President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Marshal Stalin met in February 1945 and it was agreed that the major Allied Powers would "assume a common responsibility in helping establish in the liberated and satellite nations of Europe governments broadly representative of democratic elements in the populations."

The ink was hardly dry on the Yalta agreement before Stalin violated it.

March 6, Deputy Foreign Commissar Andrei Vishinsky flew into Bucharest and amid threats, blustering and thumping of the table, forced King Michael to sack his cabinet and accept one selected by Moscow under the leadership of Petru Groza.

With little or no support from the other great powers Michael found resistance impossible.

It was a non-representative, undemocratic cabinet made up of Communists and hastily-organized splinter groups that were working hand-in-hand with the Reds.

This was recognized at the Potsdam conference in August 1945.

British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin complained that in Rumania "one kind of totalitarianism was replaced by another."

The rest is history.

Soviet Russia and her puppets violated every agreement, every treaty and promise and transformed Rumania into a Russian colony. A savage regime sent millions to prisons and labor camps, where they died like flies.

The rights granted by the 1947 Peace Treaty and the United Nations Charter were and still are denied the Rumanian people. The economy was ransacked by the Russians and grossly mismanaged by their Communist stooges.

Today much is heard about Rumania's "independent" foreign policy, but the country is still in the grip of the most ruthless police state in the Balkans.

Can The Soviet Union Survive The Year 1984?

(Excerpts)

(Andrei Amalrik is a prominent intellectual living in the Soviet Russian empire who is aware of the existence of Russian imperialism towards many neighbouring nations and the reactionary nature of the tyrannical and oppressive Soviet system.)

There are basically three reasons that impel me to write. First, an interest in Russian history. Nearly 10 years ago I wrote a work on Kievan Rus; for reasons that had nothing to do with me I was obliged to interrupt my research work on the beginnings of the Russian state. Now, however, I am hoping that, as a historian, I shall be recompensed a hundredfold for this by becoming a witness of its end. Second, I have been able to keep a close watch on the efforts being made to create an independent social movement in the USSR which in itself is highly interesting and merits some kind of preliminary assessment. Third, it has frequently been my lot to hear and read about the so-called "liberalization" of Soviet society; these reflections can be briefly formulated as follows: at the present time the situation is better than 10 years ago; consequently, in 10 years' time it will be still better. I shall try here to show why I disagree with this.

As it appears, in the course of approximately five years, from 1952 to 1957, a special kind of revolution at the top occurred in our country . . . Apparently, however, the "revolution at the top", by shattering Stalin's monolithic creation, made it possible also for some kind of movement to develop in society and by the end of that period there began to be discernible a new force independent of the government. It can roughly be called a "cultural opposition" . . . This movement was directed not against the political regime as such but only against its culture which, however, the regime itself regarded as a component part of itself. The regime, accordingly, fought against the "cultural opposition" and in each particular case won a complete victory: the writers "repented", the publishers

of underground magazines were arrested, the exhibitions were closed down and the poets were dispersed. Nevertheless, a complete victory over the "cultural opposition" was not to be achieved; on the contrary, some of it gradually merged itself into official art and thereby became modified, but by also modifying official art it to some extent survived, if by this time, to a considerable degree, as a cultural phenomenon. The regime reconciled itself to its existence and, as it were, ignored it, thus depriving its oppositionism of the political element which the regime had attached to it by fighting it.

Meanwhile, however, from the inner depths of the "cultural opposition" there emerged a new force which took its stand not only against official culture but also many aspects of the regime's ideology and practice . . . this force was given the name of "samizdat" . . .

Nevertheless, "samizdat", like the "cultural opposition", gradually gave birth to a new independent force which can now be regarded as a real political opposition to the regime or, at any rate, as the embryo of a political opposition. It is a social movement that has given itself the title of the Democratic Movement . . .

. . . It can be said that over the last 15 years at least three ideologies on which opposition is based have crystallized: "genuine Marxism-Leninism", "Christian ideology" and "liberal ideology". "Genuine Marxism-Leninism" considers that the regime, by perverting or distorting Marxist-Leninist ideology for its own purposes, is not guided by Marxism-Leninism in its practices and that, if our society is to be restored to health, there must be a return to the true principles of Marxism-Lenin-

ism. The "Christian ideology" considers it necessary to return in the life of a society to Christian moral principles, which are interpreted in rather Slavophil terms, with a claim for a special role for Russia. Finally, the "liberal ideology" ultimately envisages a transition to a Western-type democratic society which, however, would maintain the principle of social and state property.

All these ideologies, however, are distinctly amorphous; . . . they represent the views of a small group of people . . .

The Democratic Movement, as far as I am aware, includes representatives of all three above-mentioned ideologies . . . all its participants take for granted at least one general objective: the rule of law, founded on respect for basic human rights.

The number of adherents of the Movement is, generally speaking, just as indefinite as its objectives. It numbers several dozen active adherents and several hundred who sympathize with the Movement and are prepared to support it . . .

Altogether 738 persons signed their names to various collective and individual protests. The professions of 38 are unknown. If we take the number of those known, we can compile the following table:

Academics	45 per cent
Artists	22 per cent
Engineers & technicians	13 per cent
Publishing employees, teachers, doctors, lawyers	9 per cent
Workers	6 per cent
Students	5 per cent

If this social breakdown is taken as typical of the Movement, it is clear that academic circles form its basic support. However, by virtue of their special kind of work, their position in our society and their style of thought, academics seem to me the group least capable of purposeful activity. They will be quite willing to "reflect", but extremely indecisive in action.

Further, it is obvious that in broader terms the intelligentsia constitute the basic strength of the Movement . . .

. . . in all countries a group of persons with medium-sized incomes, practising pro-

fessions that call for a considerable amount of training, require a certain amount of pragmatic and intellectual freedom for their activities and, like every property-owning group, the rule of law. In this respect it represents the basic stratum of society on which any democratic regime is based. As I see it, such a class is in process of being formed in our country, one that could also be described as a "class of specialists . . ."

Thus there is an influential class or stratum of society on which a democratic movement could, seemingly, be based; there are, however, at least three inter-related factors which will strongly counteract this trend.

. . . First, the systematic removal from the life of society of the most independent and most active of its members, which has been going on for decades, has left an imprint of greyness and mediocrity on all sections of society — and this could not fail to be reflected in the "middle class" which is once again taking shape. Secondly, the section of this class which most clearly realizes the need for democratic changes is also that which is at the same time pervaded by the "skin-saving" idea that "anyhow there's nothing we can do about it" or "you're just beating your head against a wall", in other words, a kind of belief in one's own impotence vis-à-vis the regime. The third factor has not so clearly emerged but is very interesting.

As is well known, the class of people in any country who are most disinclined towards changes and, in general, to independent action of any kind are the government officials. And naturally so, since each official feels himself to be much too insignificant beside the government machine, in which he is merely a cog, for him to demand of it any kind of changes. On the other hand, he has been relieved of all social responsibility; he carries out instructions, as that is his job . . . For an official the concept of work is replaced by the concept of "job". In his office he is an automaton; outside it he is passive . . .

In our country, since all of us work for the state, we all have the psychology of

officials — writers who are members of the Writers' Union, academics employed in government establishments, workers or collective farmers — just as much as KGB or MVD officials. Naturally, the so-called "middle class" is not only no exception in this respect but in their case, as I see it, precisely because of their middle social position, such a psychology is highly typical. Many members of this class also are simply functionaries of the Party and government machine and they look upon the regime as a lesser evil by comparison with the painful process of changing it.

Thus we are faced with an interesting phenomenon. Although there already exists in our country a social group which might be able to comprehend the principles of personal freedom, rule of law and democratic government, which has a practical need for these, and which already furnishes a basic contingent of members to the emerging democratic movement, nevertheless in the mass this group is so mediocre, its thinking is so "bureaucratized" and the section of it which is intellectually most independent is so passive, that the success of a democratic movement based on this social stratum appears to me highly problematical.

It has to be said, however, that this "paradox of the middle class" is curiously combined with a "paradox of the regime". As is well known, the regime underwent very dynamic internal changes in the five years before the war, but subsequently the regeneration of the bureaucratic elite proceeded along bureaucratic lines through the selection of those who were most obedient and compliant. This bureaucratic "negative selection" of the most obedient members of the old bureaucracy and the exclusion from the ruling caste of those who were bolder and more independent has produced, each time it occurred, a new generation of bureaucratic elite of a weaker and more indecisive type. Having become accustomed to obey orders without demur and not ask questions, in order to gain power, the bureaucrats, once having gained

power, possess a brilliant capacity for keeping it in their hands, but have no idea whatever of how to use it. They themselves are not only incapable of thinking up anything new but in general they even regard any kind of new idea as an assault on their own rights. We have, apparently, already reached the sad point where the concept of power has no connection either with a doctrine, or with the personality of the leader, or with tradition, but only with power as such: no government institution or position has anything at all behind it except merely the realization that the function in question is an essential part of the existing system. Naturally, the sole purpose of such a regime, in internal politics at any rate, must be self-preservation. That is just how it is. The regime has no wish either "to restore Stalinism" or "to persecute members of the intelligentsia" or "to render brotherly assistance" to those who do not ask for it. It only wants everything to go on as before — authorities to be recognized, the intelligentsia to keep quiet, no rocking of the system by dangerous and unfamiliar reforms. The regime is not on the attack but on the defence. Its motto is: don't touch us and we won't touch you. Its aim: let everything be as it was . . .

Of course, a regime in such a quasi-stable condition needs to have a definite legal form, based either on tacit comprehension by all members of society of what is required of them, or on written law . . . There was, besides, the "decor" of the laws, from which the officials always picked only whatever was needed at any given moment . . .

. . . This rather slow movement in the direction of the rule of law was very greatly impeded by the fact that, in the first place, the government itself, for various reasons of current policy, promulgated edicts and orders which directly contradicted the international conventions that had just been signed and also the approved bases of Soviet legislation: secondly, the turnover of cadres occurred within extremely narrow limits and inconsistently, and came up against the lack of an adequate

number of administrative officials who understood the concept of the rule of law; thirdly, the professional egotism of the administrative officials led them to oppose anything that might in any way limit their influence and abolish their privileged status in society; and fourthly, the very idea of the rule of law had hardly any roots in Soviet society and was in blatant conflict with the officially proclaimed doctrines of the "class" approach to all phenomena.

... This had generated yet another ideology in society, possibly the most widespread one; it can be termed "the ideology of reformism". It is based on the view that by means of gradual changes and frequent reforms and by replacing the old bureaucratic elite by a new one with greater intelligence and more common sense a kind of "humanization of socialism" will take place and a dynamic and liberal system will emerge in place of a rigid and oppressive one. In other words this theory is based on the belief that "common sense will prevail" and "everything will be fine", which is why it is so popular in academic circles and, in general, among those who are not badly off even now and therefore hope that others too will realize that it is better to be well-fed and free than hungry and enslaved. I think it is also in terms of this naive point of view that all the American hopes connected with the USSR are to be explained. We know, however, that history, and Russian history in particular, has by no means been an unbroken victory for reason and that the whole history of mankind has not in any way revealed steady progress.

In my opinion, however, the point of the matter is not even so much that the degree of freedom which we enjoy is still minimal as compared with that needed for a developed society, and that the process of this liberalization is not only not being accelerated all the while but is even, at times, being palpably slowed down, perverted and turned back, as that the very nature of this process obliges one to doubt its ultimate success. It would seem that liberalization presupposes some kind of deliberate plan, gradually introduced from

above through reforms or other measures so as to adapt our system to contemporary conditions and lead it on to a radical regeneration. As we know, there was, and there is, no such plan; no radical reforms have been, nor are being, carried out — there are merely a number of disconnected efforts to "plug the holes" somehow or other by different kinds of "restructuring" of the bureaucratic machine. On the other hand, liberalization could occur "spontaneously" — as the result of continuous concessions by the regime to society, which would have its own plan for liberalization, and of continuous efforts by the regime to adapt itself to the storm of changing conditions all over the world; in other words, the regime would be a self-regulating system. We find, however, that even this is not the case: the regime regards itself as the acme of perfection and so deliberately does not want to change its ways either of its own free will or, still less, by making concessions to anyone or anything. The current process of "the widening of the area of freedom" would be more correctly described as one of the growing decrepitude of the regime. To put it simply, the regime is getting old and cannot now suppress everybody and everything with the same vigour as before... If we consider the current "liberalization" not as the regeneration but as the growing decrepitude of the regime, then the logical result will be its death, after which anarchy will follow.

If, then, one looks upon the evolution of the regime as analogous with the process of entropy, the Democratic Movement, which I analysed at the beginning of my article, would be regarded as an anti-entropic phenomenon... in my view, its social basis of support — the "middle class" or, to be more precise, a part of it — is too weak and internally to beset by contradictions for the Movement ever to be able to engage in a real face-to-face struggle with the regime, or, in the event of the regime liquidating itself or of it collapsing as a result of mass disorders, to become a force which could succeed in organizing society afresh...

As I see it, no idea can ever be put into practice unless it has, at least been understood by the bulk of the people. Whether because of its historical traditions or for some other reason, the ideas of self-government, of equality under the law for all and of personal freedom — and the responsibility that goes with these — are completely incomprehensible to the Russian people. The average Russian will discern, even in the idea of pragmatic freedom, not the possibility of securing a good life for himself but the danger that some clever chap or other will make good at his expense. The very word “freedom” is understood by most people as a synonym of the word “disorder”, as an opportunity of executing with impunity some kind of anti-social or dangerous actions. As for respecting the rights of an individual as such, such an idea simply evokes bewilderment. One can feel respect for force, authority or even, ultimately, for intelligence or education, but that human personality of itself should represent any kind of value — this is a preposterous idea in the popular mind. As a people we have not experienced the European era of the cult of human personality; in Russian history personality was always a mean, never in any sense an end. The paradoxical thing is that the actual concept “period of the cult of personality” came to mean with us a period of such humiliation and suppression of human personality as even our people had never before experienced. In addition, the idea is constantly being propagated of seeking in every possible way to oppose “personal” to “communal”, clearly stressing the utter unimportance of the former and the grandeur of the latter. Hence, any interest at all shown for “the personal” — natural and inevitable — has acquired unnatural, egotistical forms.

... The Russian people has, as can be seen from both its past and its present history, at any rate one idea that is apparently positive: the idea of *justice*. A government which thinks and acts for us in everything must be not only strong but also just; all must live justly and act justly.

That is something worth being burnt at the stake for but never for the right to “do anything you like”. However attractive, though, this idea may appear, when one makes a careful study of what lies behind it, it represents the most destructive aspect of the Russian’s psyche. In practice, “justice” is motivated by the wish “nobody should be better off than me.” This idea is motivated by hatred for everything that is outstanding, which they make no effort to imitate but, on the contrary, force into conformity with themselves, by hatred for any form of life that is more elevated or dynamic than their own...

While the old forms of social structure both in town and countryside are being definitively destroyed, new ones are still only being formed. The “ideological basis” on which they are being built is extremely primitive: there is the aspiration for material prosperity (from the Western point of view, highly relative) and the instinct of self-preservation... It is hard to make out whether the bulk of our people have, apart from these purely material criteria, any kind of moral criteria — “honourable” and “dishonourable”, “well” and “badly”, “good” and “evil”, the supposedly eternal principles which constitute the restraining and guiding factor when the mechanism of social compulsion starts moving and an individual is abandoned to himself. I have formed the impression, possibly a wrong one, that the people do not have or almost do not have such moral criteria. Christian morality with its concepts of good and evil has been dislodged and effaced from the popular conscience and efforts have been made to replace it by “class” morality which can be formulated more or less as follows: good is what at the present moment is required by authority. Naturally, this kind of morality and also the implantation and the instigation of class and racial discord have completely demoralized society and deprived it of any really permanent moral criteria.

Similarly, Christian ideology, which in Russia was generally of a semi-pagan, and at the same time state-departmental, cha-

acter, (This is not the place to talk about it, but the fact also deserves to be mentioned that Russia took her Christianity not from the dynamic and developing young Western civilizations but from the rigid and slowly expiring Byzantium, and this could not but leave a deep trace on the future of Russian history.) died out without being replaced by Marxist ideology. "Marxist doctrine" had been far too often trimmed and re-trimmed to meet current requirements for it to become a live ideology. At the present time, the more bureaucratized the regime gradually becomes, the more of its ideology it loses. But the need for some kind of ideology is forcing the regime to look for a new ideology, namely, Great Russian nationalism with its inherent cult of force and expansionist ambitions. A regime which such an ideology must have external and internal enemies that are not so much "class" enemies, e. g. "American imperialists" and "anti-Soviets", as national enemies, e. g. Chinese and Jews. This kind of nationalistic ideology, though it will give the regime support for a time or so, is, however, highly dangerous for a country in which Russians form less than half the population.

Well then, what does this people with no religion and no morality believe in and what is it motivated by? It believes in its own national strength which other peoples must fear and it is motivated by the realization of the strength of its own regime of which it is itself afraid . . .

It should, however, be noted that there is still another powerful factor that works against any kind of peaceful reconstruction and is equally negative for all levels of society: it is the extreme isolation in which the regime has put society and itself; its isolation not only from society and of all levels of society from one another but, above all, the extreme isolation of the country from the rest of the world. It engenders among them all — starting with the bureaucratic elite and ending with the lowest levels — a rather surrealist picture of the world and their place in it. Nevertheless, the more this state of affairs helps

to keep everything unchanged, the sooner and the more decisively will everything begin falling to pieces when the confrontation with actuality becomes inevitable.

On the question as to how long a regime can go on existing, it is interesting to adduce some historical parallels. There exist possibly at the present time some at least of the conditions that led at the time to both the first and the second Russian revolutions: a caste-ridden and immobile society; the rigidity of the governmental system which had openly clashed with the need for economic growth; the bureaucratization of the system and the creation of a privileged class of bureaucrats; national dissensions in a multi-national state and the privileged position of particular nations... Why every case of internal decrepitude should coincide with excessive abitiousness in foreign policy is hard for me to say. It may be that, on the contrary, the ease with which any internal opposition is suppressed creates an illusion of omnipotence. Possibly the need, derived from internal policy aims, for having an external enemy induces such inertia that it becomes impossible to stop — particularly since every totalitarian regime becomes decrepit without itself noticing it. Why did Nicholas I have to wage the Crimean War, which brought about the fall of the system he had himself created? Why did Nicholas II need to have wars with Japan and Germany? The regime that now exists, oddly enough, combines in itself features of the reigns of both Nicholas I and Nicholas II and, in its internal policy, even of Alexander III...

The problem of China needs to be considered in detail. Like our country China has experienced a revolution and a civil war and, like us, has made use of Marxist doctrine to consolidate the country. As with us also, the more the revolution has developed, the more Marxist doctrine has increasingly become a camouflage which more or less concealed national-imperialist aims . . .

As I see it, the Chinese revolution is passing through the same stages: the international period has been replaced by the

nationalistic and in the logic of events this must be followed by external expansion.

... the relentless logic of revolution will lead China into a war which, as the Chinese leaders hope, will solve the country's difficult economic and social problems and ensure her a leading position in the contemporary world. Finally, too, China will regard such a war as a national revenge for the age-long humiliations and dependence forced on her by foreign powers. The basic hindrance in the way of achieving these world aims is the existence of the two present-day super-powers—the USSR and the USA. However, they are not joined together in opposition to China and are themselves antagonistic to one another. This is, naturally, taken into account by China which launches verbal attacks equally against "American imperialism" and "Soviet revisionism of social-imperialism"; the real conflict, however, and the possibilities of an outright clash are much more likely to develop between China and the Soviet Union.

... in contradistinction to the USA, Russia is a much more dangerous rival which, as a totalitarian state with expansionist tendencies, may in one form or another strike the first blow. (China was already able to appreciate the methods adopted by its "ally-enemy" during the so-called period of "eternal friendship", when the USSR, taking advantage of the economic and military dependence of China, did its utmost to subordinate her completely to its influence and, when it failed to do so, completely cut off economic assistance and then tried to play on the nationalism of the small nations in China.)

To begin with, China wanted to achieve her aim by "peaceful absorption" of the USSR and, after the victory of the revolution in 1949, proposed uniting the two countries in a single communist state. Naturally, the threefold numerical superiority of the Chinese would, if not immediately then gradually, have secured them a commanding position in such a state and, more

important, have immediately opened up to them Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia for colonization purposes...

... Reckoning five years as the minimum and 10 years as the maximum time-limit, we may conclude that war between the USSR and China will start sometime between 1975 and 1980... So the Soviet Union will find itself involved in partisan warfare over a vast territory stretching along both sides of a seven-thousand-kilometre frontier... the Soviet Union will have to cope in this war with difficulties which formerly were usually the very difficulties which its enemies had to tackle.

In the first place, the actual methods of partisan warfare, beginning with the seventeenth century, were always methods adopted by the Russians against compact armies that had invaded their territory and were almost never practised against Russian armies invading cultured Europe. Secondly, from the very outset the Soviet armies will have to cope with enormously extended lines of communication, since the war will be waged on its frontiers, thousands of kilometres away from the main economic and demographic centres. Thirdly, the Russian soldier, while frequently inferior in the cultural sense to his enemies, usually surpassed them as regards undemandingness, sturdiness and endurance, whereas these advantages, which are so important in partisan warfare, will be on the side of the Chinese. Finally, also, since the arena will be the Far East, Siberia, Kazakhstan, or the Chinese regions bordering them, the war will be waged in thinly populated areas or in those inhabited by non-Russians, which offers wide possibilities for partisan penetration and, on the other hand, presents difficulties in supplying large technically equipped armies.

All this, in any case, means that the war will be long-drawn-out and exhausting with no speedy victory for either side... as China intensifies her power and influence, there will also be an increasing inclination in the USA to seek agreement with China, and American liberals will begin to find that the regime of Mao and his successors

has just as many attractive features as the regimes of Stalin and Khrushchev... I believe, therefore, that a rapprochement with the USSR will only have any meaning to the USA when serious moves towards democracy occur in the USSR...

Apart from individual benefits, such a "friendship", taken overall, based as it would be on hypocrisy and fear, would bring the USA nothing but fresh difficulties such as resulted from the collaboration of Roosevelt and Stalin. Collaboration takes for granted mutual reliance one on the other, but how can one rely upon a country which over the centuries has been distending and disintegrating like sour dough and discerns no other tasks facing it. Genuine rapprochement can be based on a community of interests, of culture, of tradition and on mutual understanding. No such thing exists. What common link is there between a democratic country with its idealism and pragmatism and a country without beliefs, without traditions, without culture or the skill to do a job? The mass ideology of such a country has always been the cult of its own strength and immensity, and the basic theme of its cultural minority has been to enumerate its weaknesses and alienation, a vivid example of which is Russian literature. Its Slav state has been created in turn by Scandinavians, Byzantines, Tartars, Germans and Jews — and it has in turn destroyed its creators. It has betrayed all its allies as soon as it found the least advantage in going so; it has never taken seriously any of its agreements and has never had anything in common with anyone.

Nowadays in Russia one can hear such remarks as: the USA will help us because we are white and the Chinese are yellow. It will be most regrettable if the USA too adopts such a racist attitude. The one real hope for a better future for the whole world is not a race war but interracial collaboration, the best example of which could become relations between USA and China. Unquestionably, as time goes on, China will considerably improve the living standard of her people and will move for-

ward into a period of liberalization, which, in conjunction with her traditional belief in spiritual values, will make China a remarkable partner for democratic America...

After the Second World War the USSR was able to set up along its western frontier a network of neutral states, including Germany, and thus ensure its security in Europe... The USSR, however, by pursuing the Stalinist policy of territorial expansion and of increasing tensions, widened its sphere of influence to the utmost and thereby created a potential threat to itself. Since the situation that prevails at the present time in Europe is being maintained only by the constant pressure of the USSR, it can be assumed that, as soon as this pressure weakens or is reduced to naught, considerable changes will occur in Central and Eastern Europe.

Evidently, as soon as it becomes clear that the military conflict between the USSR and China is assuming a protracted character, that all the Soviet forces are being switched to the east and that the USSR will be unable to defend its interests in Europe, Germany will be reunited... a reunited Germany with a sufficiently strong anti-Soviet orientation will produce a completely new situation in Europe.

Obviously, the reunion of Germany will coincide with a process of "desovietization" in the East European countries and will considerably accelerate that process... Moreover, some countries at any rate, such as Hungary or Rumania, will immediately adopt a clear-cut pro-German orientation. Obviously the USSR could prevent this only by a military occupation of all the East European countries so as to create a kind of "rear" for the Far Eastern front, but in reality such a "rear" would end up as a "second front", i. e. a front with Germany which would be helped by the peoples of the East European countries — something that the USSR could no longer accept... In a word, the USSR will have to pay up in full for the territories grabbed by Stalin and for the isolation it has been plunged into by the neo-Stalinists. The

most important events for the future USSR will, however, take place inside the country.

Naturally, the start of the war with China, which will be portrayed as the aggressor, will evoke an outburst of Russian nationalism — “We’ll show them” — and will, simultaneously, hold out some hopes for non-Russian nationalism. Later on, both these tendencies will follow, the one a declining, the other a rising, curve. Actually, the war will go on for a long time without having any direct effect on the emotional perceptions of the people and on the routine way of life, as was the case during the last war with Germany, but all the while demanding ever newer sacrifices. This will gradually engender increasingly deeper moral weariness with a war that is waged far away and for no known reason. Meanwhile, economic difficulties, and especially food supply, will begin to be felt all the more acutely, since in recent years the standard of living has slowly but steadily been rising. Since the regime is not lenient enough for discontent to assume any kind of legal form and so find release, and at the same time not brutal enough to exclude the actual possibility of protests, sporadic outbursts of popular discontent and local revolts, for instance about shortages of bread, will begin. They will be put down by the use of troops which will accelerate the collapse of the army. (Naturally, they will make use of the so-called internal troops, possibly of a different nationality from the population of the places where the disorders will occur, which will merely intensify national differences.) As the regime’s difficulties increase, the middle class will adopt an increasingly hostile attitude, as it feels the regime is incapable of coping with its tasks. The defection of the allies and the territorial claims advanced in the west and east will intensify the feeling of isolation and hopelessness. At the same time there will be an extreme intensification of nationalistic tendencies among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, above all in the Baltic countries, the Caucasus and Ukraine, and thereafter in Central Asia and along the Volga.

Meanwhile, the bureaucratic regime, which will be unable by its habitual half-measures simultaneously to wage a war, solve the economic difficulties and suppress or satisfy public discontent, will retreat further and further into itself, lose control over the country and even contact with reality. A heavy defeat at the front or some major outburst of discontent in the capital — strikes or an armed clash — will suffice for the regime to collapse. If, of course, by this time power has been completely transferred to the army, a regime thus modified would carry on for some time longer but, if it failed again to solve the most vital, and in wartime the most insoluble, problems, it would collapse in even more terrible fashion. If I have been correct in forecasting the beginning of war with China, this will occur sometime between 1980 and 1985.

Obviously, a democratic movement which the regime has by repressive action prevented from gathering strength, will be incapable of taking over control itself, at any rate sufficiently long enough for it to settle the problems facing the country. In that case the inevitable “de-imperialization” will be an extremely painful process. Power will pass into the hands of extreme groups and elements and the country will begin to disintegrate in an atmosphere of anarchy, violence and intense national hatred. In such case the borders between the young national states which will begin to emerge on the territory of the former Soviet Union will be extremely difficult to determine; there may be armed clashes and this will be exploited by the USSR’s neighbours and, of course, by China, above all.

Possibly, though, the “middle class” will nevertheless prove to be sufficiently powerful to retain control in its own hands. Then independence will be accorded to the various Soviet peoples by peaceful agreement and some type of a federation will be set up, similar to the British Commonwealth of Nations or the European Economic Community. Peace will be concluded with China, which will also have been weakened by the war, and the conflicts with European neighbours will be settled on mutually

acceptable terms. It is even possible that Ukraine, the Baltic Republics and European Russia will enter an All-European Federation as independent units.

... I have no doubt that this great eastern Slav empire, created by Germans, Byzantines and Mongols, has entered the last decades of its existence. Just as the adoption of Christianity determined the date of the fall of the Roman Empire but did not save it from the inevitable end, so Marxist doctrine has delayed the break-up of the Russian empire — the third Rome — but has been powerless to avert it. But, although this empire has always sought to achieve the ultimate in self-isolation, it would hardly be right to consider its destruction out of context with the rest of the world.

It has become a commonplace to look upon the basic direction followed by contemporary development as a scientific advance and to regard total nuclear war as the basic threat to civilization. And yet even scientific progress, which is yearly consuming an ever larger proportion of the world gross product, may be transformed into regress and civilization may perish without the need for such a dazzling outburst as the explosion of a supernuclear bomb.

Although scientific and technical progress is changing the world literally before our eyes, it is really based on a very narrow social basis; and the greater the scientific successes achieved, the sharper the contrast between those who achieve and exploit them and the rest of the world. Soviet rockets have reached Venus and yet in the village where I live they harvest potatoes by hand. This should not be regarded as a comic comparison; it is a rupture which may deepen into an abyss. It is not so much a matter of how to gather in potatoes as that the thinking level of the majority of people does not rise above this "manual" level. As a matter of fact, although in economically developed countries science demands not only more and more resources but also more and more people, the fundamental principles of contemporary science are understood in reality by an insignifi-

cant minority... the economically developed countries constitute a numerically small proportion of the world's population. Furthermore, even in those countries the "city" is surrounded by the "village" — a village in the real sense of the term or by yesterday's village inhabitants who have only recently moved into the cities. And even in the cities the people who are directing present-day civilization and who stand in need of it form an insignificant minority. And, finally, in our domestic world the "city" is also surrounded by the "village" subconsciously — and the first shock dealt to our customary values will be felt by us immediately. Does not this very gap constitute the greatest potential threat to our civilization?

The threat to the "city" on the part of the "village" is all the more powerful in that in the "city" there is a noticeable tendency towards an ever larger degree of isolationism at a time when the "village" is aiming at organization and unity...

In the meantime, we are told, Western futurologists are worried by the very fact of the growth of the cities and by difficulties which arise in connection with the headlong pace of scientific and technical progress. Apparently, if there had been a science of futurology in Imperial Rome where, as we are told, people were already building six-storey buildings and there were children's merry-go-rounds driven by steam, fifth-century futurologists would have been foretelling for the following century the construction of 20-storey buildings and the industrial utilization of steam engines. As we now know, however, in the sixth century goats were grazing in the Forum as they are doing now below my window in the village.

April/May/June 1969

Moscow, village of Akulovo

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The Foundation Of Society According To The Law Of Nature And The Essence Of Power

(Conclusion)

Due to the constructive instinct, the will of the normal human being can only be directed towards constructiveness in a polar manner. Any endeavour to form a polarity between will and destruction would go against the law of complementation, and thence, against sound feeling, against "reason", "common sense", against "sound human understanding", or better, against the intelligence of a sound human being. A person who destroys everything in reach must himself come to destruction. He is no normal human being. If, now, the will of the normal human being can in the end always be set towards construction in a polar manner, i. e. towards the good, the possibility if not the necessity of destruction lies on the way to it. The problem here concerns the question as to whether such destruction is in the right proportion to the construction. How can a person live without destroying food in its original form by eating and drinking? How can a person attain money without destroying the financial status of others? How can a person build houses without destroying trees, stones, etc., at least in their original form? As long as such destruction is in the right relation to the wilfully aspired constructive aim, the will's deed is justifiable, can be approved of. The strength of mankind, therefore, lies in the fact that it knows how to balance this proportion correctly, or possesses sufficient strength to balance it. Weakness exists however, when it neither knows how to balance this proportion, nor possesses enough strength to do so. The French in 1940 kept their capital and great parts of their country from destruction, as such a destruction could not have brought them nearer to victory. The greatness and ethical strength of Ludendorff lay in the fact that, in order to maintain his country in its substance, he demanded an armistice the moment he saw no possibility of a decisive German victory. Some lack the intelligence and strength of will for the

correct assessment and upkeep of the proportion between destruction and construction, whereas others possess it and put it into practice. The moral evaluation of a person, therefore, extends to his attitude towards the relationship between means and ultimate purpose, whereby the application of the means must not violate ethical law. Murder, robbery and plunder brandmark also heroes of revolutions as criminals.

Kaul's theory on the will is of importance to jurisprudence in that — at least in German criminal law — the motive and purpose of a deed can be considered as a foundation upon which the penalty can be gauged. By way of exception, they have also been made by law into an element of proof for the offence (e. g. Par. 263 Book of Penal Law). Fundamentally, criminal law covers not the whole complex of morality and direction of will, but only that action of the will which, in every individual case, corresponds to the deed punishable by law or one which is, according to sound public opinion, deserving of punishment, if the fundamental idea of a penal law applies to the deed; that is, if by application of this penal law, justice can be helped to victory (sub. par. 2, 170a and 276a Book of Penal Law). In essence, it is not relevant whether the perpetrator has violated the law from lack of resistance, that is from weakness, as defined by Kaul, or from wanton evil as hitherto supposed. Criminal law, in general, estimates the deed only to the point of the performance of the offence standardized by law, thus not taking into account the direction of will. He who steals in order to give money to the poor is punished in spite of this. He who commits treason in order to achieve what is, in his opinion, a better constitution of the state, is nevertheless punished. The motive and purpose are taken into consideration only as far as gauging the penalty is concerned. On the other hand, Kaul's theory of will is of great importance since

the delinquent is no longer to be considered as an evil, strong-willed man, whose strong will is to be broken in order to achieve an improvement, but as a moral weakling, whose moral strength must be increased if an improvement is to be expected. The chief function of criminal law, however, is protection of the community from the criminal or trespasser of the law.

The much disputed problem of power lies finally within polar social tensions.

The true meaning of the term power needs to be clearly set aside from the accidental in the type of commission, authorization, privilege, fitness, qualification, whether temporary or lasting. Commission and authority represent the relationship between commissioner and commissioned, or between the authorizer and authorized. Privilege, fitness, qualification are characteristic of their owner. Power, on the other hand, envelops the combining force produced by the polar tensions between the services. So power is an effective functional relation in the sense of the atomic model.

So, even if commission, authorization, fitness, qualification or such lie individually at the root of a service the substance of power still does not reside in them as an accidental element. Only the effective service produces the polar tensions, which bring into existence the power relation.

Christianity has brought the understanding of the power problem as the natural foundation. Many parts of the New Testament deal with it explicitly. "He of you who will be the most distinguished, should be the server of all", says Christ.

Accordingly, the spirit of power lies unequivocally in service. True, good and useful service comes from thinking and acting out of interest or love. Service means the giving out of strength and assumes the existence of giver and receiver. Service is, therefore, the relationship between two units, by which strength is given from the one to the other. Power lies in the fact that the giving unit fuses with the receiving unit through the giving and taking relationship. The more intense the fusion, the greater the power. The extent of power is in proportion to the range of service.

In the Gospels, the generally accepted highest law of power is at the same time widely distinguished from the manifest forms of force practised on their people by certain despots of this world. Truly, here also lies a tension between two units, but this tension is different and admittedly of an opposite nature. The condition is reversed, so that instead of power, in the default of service, physical suction of force results. It will not give in service, but take in exploitation. Whereas in the case of power based on service a flooding back of given-out energy occurs and these accumulations, through the service of organized restitution, make organic growth possible, so that on the side of power emission always considerably exceeds conception, the opposite is true in the case of force.

It is not a matter of two natural laws having equal rights, namely, that of power and that of force, but of the ever same intolerance of a natural law in progression of movement. Every resistance and every reversion in the struggle against natural law becomes not stronger but only weaker because already notionally, natural law is only such since it represents the strongest standard. Every case of force that is not based on service is therefore in the end inferior to natural historical power which is based on service. That is progression in natural law, which itself, like everything in existence, consists in motion.

Within this progression lies also the power characteristically based on service, brought about by the application of legal duty like, for instance, the execution of a rightfully valid court decision. Still, such enforced measures represent the execution of a power of lesser grade, since it is inferior to the voluntary performance of a predominant effective power. Thus, that power of the Church, the State and the person which fulfils its duty voluntarily out of conviction, may attain the highest degree of its progressive function.

The well-known exclamation of Stalin's, "How many divisions has the Pope, then!"; therefore shows great ignorance. A rule

which is supported by the force of divisions and bayonets is unstable and hitherto doomed to failure. Herein lies the inferiority and the difference from true power.

Power based on service means surplus accomplishment, in which its existence is secured. This does not mean only a knowledge of what is required but also the adjustment and covering of the requirements, including the demand for organization and the demand for justice. If power does not accomplish any surplus output, the condition reverts simultaneously. It is therefore certainly no coincidence that the idea of sovereignty of the people arose. Whereas force is the reversion of power, sovereignty of the people is a crippling of despotic force, without the state, according to natural law, being re-established. Thus the so-called cycles of certain forms of government come into being, which are fundamentally nothing else but successive declarations of bankruptcy of force-relations resulting from reversed or crippled power-relations. It is the progression of the deficient, one blunder being fought by another; only in the chaos of ultimate trouble the maturity for the disposing law of nature is once more attained.

Power is the disposing principle of na-

ture as proved by the theory of the atom. Polarity bound to energy is the essence of well-disposed construction of spiritual and material being. The energy of the stronger one flows away towards the weaker. The power of the positive unus (of the protons, of the nucleus of the atom, etc.) lies in the service it renders in the emission of energy to the negative uni (electrons, etc.) and the disposing principle of connections. In this disposing principle lies one of the characteristics of power and the serving, excess energy of the positive unus. It would be equally wrong to misinterpret the disposing principle of the positive unus or to discover it in the plurality of the negative uni as to misinterpret the disposing principle of the ruling power, discovering it instead in the sovereignty of the people. Serving the people is the purpose of the State. Service is, among several achievements, the greater and higher achievement, which is therefore called power.

The Christian doctrine of power, whose essence is service, a service characterized by love, that is, by constructiveness as the ethical fundamental law, is thus fully confirmed by the law of nature, as clearly expressed by the theory of the atom.



Mrs. Ulana Celewych, President of Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. and Member of the Presidium of the Chicago AF-ABN Branch (center) presenting Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley with literature, including ABN Correspondence, during activities protesting UN celebration of Lenin's Centenary.

New Russian Imperial Law Permits Handcuffs And Shooting At Prisoners

On July 11, 1969, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law which amends the 14th Article of the USSR Constitution dealing with trials and sentences. The law applies to the whole territory of the USSR. It consists of 49 sections and sub-sections. The so-called deputies of the Supreme Soviet passed it without making any additions or changes.

As a rule persons convicted for the first time should serve their sentence on the territory of the republic where they lived prior to committing the crime. Those who had been convicted previously, "as well as convicted foreigners and stateless persons are taken to places especially reserved for these categories, regardless of the republic on whose territory they were prior to the arrest or where they were convicted."

Court sentences dealing with imprisonment, forced labour and so forth "are to be carried out by the organs of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) of the USSR and the MVD of the union republics".

The general public of the USSR "is to participate in the re-education of the convicted and has control over the activities of the institutions where the convicted are confined. The forms of the public's participation in re-education of the convicted is established by the legislative organs of each republic of the USSR."

"The correctional-labour institutions are correctional-labour colonies, prisons and educational-labour colonies" — the Russian terminology avoids the words "concentration camps", which all these colonies are in reality. Children and young people who have not yet reached 18, are to be confined only to the educational-labour colonies. The all-union MVD is responsible for sending the convicted to the places of their confinement. Before this the convicted can also be kept in an isolation ward. Those with a light sentence or those convicted for the first time must be kept separately from criminals and in general those who are serving time for "serious

offenses" or those who were convicted before. In camps and prisons women and children must be separated from other groups, hence also separated from the father, if he is also convicted.

"Convicted foreigners and stateless persons, as a rule, are to be kept in colonies in isolation from Soviet citizens."

"The educational-labour colonies are divided into the following categories: general regime, intensified regime, severe regime and settlement colonies. For anti-state activities women can also be confined to the colonies of special regime..." In prisons there are two categories of imprisonment: general and severe. The severe regime should not last longer than 6 months.

Children's and adolescents' educational-labour camps are divided into two regimes: general and intensified.

"The convicted — deprived of freedom, should as a rule serve his sentence in the same camp or prison." The transfer of a prisoner to another "colony" is permissible in the event of sickness or for some special reasons. Each individual case is examined solely by the imperial MDV.

Those who reach their 18th birthday while in prison or in the educational-labour colony are automatically transferred to the "correctional-labour colony", or to a harsher regime in a prison.

"All convicts wear the same type of clothing; they can be searched at all times; their mail is censored, and parcels are examined" (§ 19). Money or valuables found by the prisoners become "the property of the state". Those who are confined to the severe regime are allowed a 30 minute walk a day under guard. All prisoners must work, but they receive various "rations": under severe regime — minimal. Those imprisoned in the educational-labour camps can receive up to 6 parcels a year, others — only 3 parcels: "the number and the weight of packages depends upon the regime in the colony and the code of the union republic."

The number of visits by relatives is restricted by all sorts of directives, points and paragraphs. In the special regime colonies, for example, only two visits a year are allowed; when a prisoner is performing his work norm, is behaving well, and is "re-educating" himself the number of visits can be increased.

"Those given prison sentences are forbidden to receive any kind of parcels, packages or gifts." All convicts can receive Soviet newspapers, periodicals and literature without restriction — through the book distribution network. In the educational-labour colonies there are no restrictions as to parcels, Soviet newspapers and literature. On the average those convicted can write one letter a month. "One is allowed to correspond only with relatives."

"He who does not work, does not eat." Those confined to the correctional-labour colonies are to be used for hard labour — in other words this is a modern system of slavery, sanctioned and established by the colonial government.

Those convicted have no right to a leave. Their professional rank will not be taken into consideration after their release. Years of work in camps or prisons will not be included in figuring out the retirement age, etc. All persons who, while in the "colonies", were thrown into the camp jail or an isolation ward, or were placed in a special "penal regime", "must be given food in reduced quantities". Norms of nutrition and the day-to-day material provisioning for the people who are deprived of freedom are set by the Council of Ministers of the USSR."

Article 39 says that for resistance to the MVD-KGB agents in the "colonies" or prisons and other offences of the prisoners "they can be handcuffed" or made to wear "submission shirts".

When prisoners attack, prevent or hinder the KGBists or other persons in "performing their duties" or "are attempting to flee" Article 39 permits the use of fire-arms against them.

Chapter 6 of the new law speaks about "deportees, sent to do hard labour, without being deprived of freedom..." Such deportees have a right to choose their place of deportation, with the exception of the regions which were closed to them by the courts. The court also determines what percentage of their wages will have to be handed over to the state throughout the period of their deportation. "Deportees without loss of freedom" have neither the right to change their place of settlement nor work.

Paragraph 49 notes that people who have served their term but did not exhibit any particular qualities of "re-education" are to be supervised by the organs of the militia after their release from imprisonment. "The order of implementation of the administrative supervision over persons who have been released from places of confinement is to be determined by the legislative organs of the USSR and the union republics."

Izvestia of July 12, 1969, reported that after reading the draft of this inhuman colonialist law one of the "female deputies" to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow said that "the whole structure of life of Soviet society is very humane". The above law, as all others, was accepted unanimously. With the new law the old regulations of the tsarist regime with concentration camps, deportees, handcuffs and the shot in the back of insubmissive prisoners for "an attempt to flee" have been reinstated on the territory of the modern Russian empire — the USSR.

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ABN-EFC-APACL Activities — A Threat To The Russian Empire

The truism that the Ukrainian national liberation movement is becoming the vanguard of the world crusade for the liquidation of the chauvinistic Russian colonial empire and the reestablishment of free and sovereign states of all presently enslaved nations is being recognized even by Moscow's leaders.

One of the main propaganda organs of this slave empire, *New Times*, which appears in eight languages, in its issue of January 27, 1970, published a long article by Alain Guerin entitled "Web of Anti-Communism". It certainly reveals Moscow's nervousness and the conviction that it can no longer ignore the activities of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the European Freedom Council.

The article presents national freedom-fighters as a negative, reactionary and immoral force, a gathering of murderers, mercenaries of "imperialist" intelligence services, etc. All the positive aspects of their struggle, as for instance their fight for the liquidation of the Russian empire, for the establishment of free states of the subjugated nations, for the destruction of the reactionary, tyrannical and non-human Communism, are being carefully concealed.

This article shows that the ABN, the APACL (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League) and the EFC (European Freedom Council) are on the right track. All these organizations are categorically and uncompromisingly combating the Russian, Maoist and Titoist empires. All of them are striving for the restoration of state sovereignties by all the peoples of Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa and for the overthrow of the Russian genocidal yoke. All of them are combating Communism, as a doctrine and as Russia's fifth column. All of them favor the flourishing of religion and a social order based on the full exercise of human rights, social welfare for all, and the system of peaceful and secure community of free national states.

In view of the despotic Soviet-Communist order, people all over the world are

endorsing the slogan of ABN: "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" For this reason Moscow is sounding an alarm among its janissaries, fifth columns, and subversive and ruinous elements throughout the world, calling on them to defend the tottering Russian prison of nations by combating the inevitably rising new world trend of national anti-Communist liberation movements.

Moscow's servant, this certain Alain Guerin, nevertheless understands that the main danger to the Russian empire and Communism stems from Ukraine and her thousand-year-old capital, Kyiv, which is becoming the symbol of a modern "Carthaginem delendam esse" — the Russian empire must be destroyed! Russia fears most the unconquerable love for freedom and the Christian spirit found among millions of the Ukrainian people. She fears the spirit of the great freedom-fighters — Symon Petlyura (President of the Ukrainian Independent State), murdered by a Bolshevik agent in Paris (1926), Evhen Konovalets (first Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), murdered by a Russian agent in Rotterdam (1938), Taras Chuprynka (Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), killed in battle in Ukraine (1950), and Stepan Bandera (leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement), murdered by Moscow's assassin in Munich (1958).

Moscow is beginning to fear the new world freedom crusade being organized by statesmen like President Chiang Kai-shek of Free China, Ivan Matteo Lombardo (f. Italian minister), Ole Bjorn Kraft (f. Danish Foreign Minister), Stjepan Hefer (Head of the Croatian liberation movement), John Graham (British journalist), but most of all Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN and Head of the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

What the author is still trying to conceal is the recently established World Anti-Communist League (WACL), which has the support of several Asian governments and

the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and which is attracting new members every year, while its publications, especially *The WACL Bulletin*, are championing the cause of liberation of the nations enslaved by Russia.

Moscow is becoming jittery because of the fact that the President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, is concerned with the freedom struggle of the subjugated nations. The *New Times* even remarked that Yaroslav Stetsko was allegedly seen with Mr. Nixon during the 10th Conference of the APACL, held in 1964 in Taipei, Formosa.

Russian Crimes Against Ukrainian Freedom-Fighters Documented

Les Ecrivains Contemporains, a magazine published in Monaco, devoted its entire December 1969 issue (No. 158) to the study by Dominique Auclères entitled "Le Crime Parfait de Bogdan Stachynsky" (The Perfect Crime of Bogdan Stashynsky). On 26 pages (with 7 illustrations) the author shows the Russian methods of combating those who are engaged in Ukraine's struggle for liberation. It is exemplified by the case of the KGB agent Stashynsky who assassinated the Head of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Stepan Bandera, as well as Dr. Lev Rebet, upon direct orders of A. Shelepin, the one-time chief of this terror organization. The detailed account of this terrible political crime perpetrated by the Russian imperialists came to light at the trial of this agent in Karlsruhe, West Germany. Madame Auclères paints a very realistic picture of this significant aspect in the work of the Russian imperialists.

Everyone, reading French, who is interested in the problem of liberation of the enslaved peoples from the Communist Russian prison of nations is urged to read this important documentary.

Present-Day Concentration Camps — The Same As Stalin's

The *AFL-CIO Union News*, published in New York in several languages, carried

At the end of the article, Moscow attempts to compromise the struggle against the Russian empire by associating the NTS, the Russian emigre organization working for the preservation of the "one and indivisible" Russian empire, with this world freedom movement, to make it appear that this struggle is not conducted against Russian imperialism but solely against Communism. But the elimination of NTS influence from APACL, WACL, EFC and ABN is concealed by Moscow.

The said infective article is one more proof that the national revolutionary liberation forces are on the right path.

A.W.B.

an article on Soviet concentration camps in its February 1970 issue. Its author, Paul Barton, confirms that the concentration camps in the Soviet Russian empire are as terrible today as they were under Stalin (and Lenin — ed.) He distinguishes five groups of prisoners: 1) People who were sentenced under Stalin to 25 years of imprisonment, as for example, the Ukrainian writer and linguist Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, whose unenviable life is reproduced on the basis of the book *The Chornovil Papers* (McGraw Hill, New York, 1968). 2) Members of the subjugated nations who were sentenced for their national liberational activities. In this group, to which the Russians never belong, he includes primarily Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Jews, Crimean Tatars, etc. They comprise the largest group in these slave labour camps. As an excellent documentation on these nationalist freedom-fighters Mr. Barton again suggests *The Chornovil Papers*. 3) The individuals who criticized or opposed the regime, but who did not work for the disintegration of the Soviet Russian colonial empire. To this group belong such people as Daniel, Siniavsky, Ginzburg, Galankov, etc. They are treated much better than those in group two. 4) Those persecuted for strong religious beliefs and practices. 5) Criminal elements, who also became a menace to the colonial regime.

A. W. B.

Eleventh Congress Of The Bulgarian National Front

The Bulgarian National Front held its Eleventh Congress on March 7—8, 1970 in New York. On the evening of March 7, the Bulgarian Liberation Day, dedicated to the heroes of the 25-year resistance against Communism and for the liberation of Bulgaria, was observed. The celebration was opened with the American and the Bulgarian national anthems and an invocation of the Bulgarian Diocesan Prelate in Exile, H. E. Bishop Kyril. The speakers on the occasion included Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of BNF, who delivered the opening address; Mr. Peter Millspaugh, Special Assistant to President Nixon; Con-

gressman John Murphy; Mr. Laszlo Pasztor, Director of the Heritage Division of the Republican National Committee, who brought greetings from Vice President Agnew and Mrs. Slava Stetsko of the Central Committee of ABN in Munich, W. Germany.

The evening was attended by delegations of all AF-ABN National Divisions, many American guests and over 800 Bulgarians from the USA and Canada. Distinguished Americans and AF-ABN members were awarded special medals. The Ukrainian, Hungarian and Bulgarian dance groups provided the entertainment.



Recipients of awards. Sitting (l. to r.): Dr. Nestor Procyk, President of Ukrainian AF-ABN Division; Dr. Gabor De Besenney (Hungary); Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Central Committee of ABN; Ataman Ignat Bilij (Cossackia); Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of BNF; Hon. Judge Matthew J. Troy, Chairman of N.Y. Captive Nations Committee; Hon. Hamilton Fish, President of "Operation Freedom"; Mr. Laszlo Pasztor, Director of Heritage Division of the Republican National Committee. Standing (l. to r.): Mr. Antony Nasic (Croatia); Mr. Kornely Wasyluk (Ukraine); Mr. Volodymyr Mayewsky (Ukraine); Mr. Aristide Nikolae (Rumania); Mr. Michael Spontak (Ukraine); Dr. Alexander Sokolyszyn (Ukraine); Cap. Zoltan Vasvary (Hungary); Dr. Carja (Rumania); Dr. Anatol Pleskachewsky (Byelorussia); Mr. John Kosiak (Byelorussia); Mr. Luzian Reicherzer (Croatia); Mr. Miro Gal (Croatia); Mr. Robert Bruekner (Germany); Dr. Austin J. App (Germany); Cap. Arslan Bek (North Caucasus); Mr. Rahim Babaglu (Azerbaijan); Mr. Charles Andreanszky (Hungary).

On March 8, the Congress adopted a resolution condemning the Communist oppressors in Bulgaria and all the other Captive Nations, demanding strong measures for stopping Communist aggression on the international and the American level and acknowledging the necessity of a united anti-Communist front between the Bulgarian and all the other Captive Nations.

At the end of the Congress a new Central Committee of the Bulgarian National

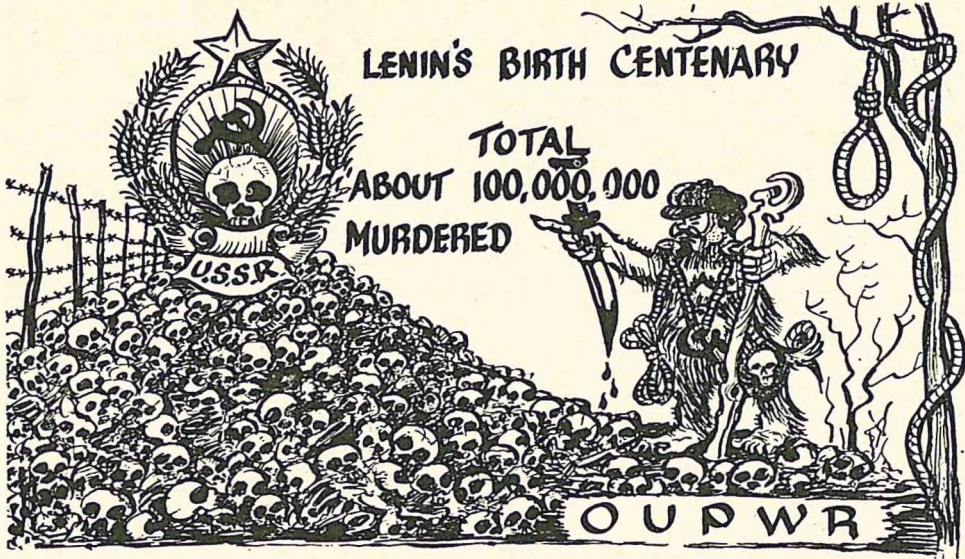
Front was elected unanimously as follows:

President — Dr. Ivan Docheff

Vice Presidents — Dr. George Paprikoff and Mr. Angel Gandersky

Directors — Ivan Galaboff, Dr. Angel Todoroff, Col. Raicho Raicheff, George Petroff and Miro Gergoff

Controllers — Tzony Gradinaroff, President; Peter Foteff and Peter Nikoloff, Members.



Lenin's Birth Centenary

You will be hearing quite a bit this year about Lenin and his "humanism" . . . his concern for the toiling, oppressed masses. Be carefull! These are lies!

. . . His sole concern was violent revolution to save and expand the Russian empire.

The particular kind of psychopathy that had taken possession of Lenin would, in contemporary psychology, be diagnosed as megalomania. Traces of it can be found very clearly in his childhood, and, after several nervous breakdowns, terminated in a brain hemorrhage. As a child he was rejected by his peers because of his mocking, arrogant attitude and ill-tempered intolerance. A biographer has described him at this time as . . . "cruel by nature. As a boy, he liked to shoot at stray cats, or to break a crow's wing with his airgun." This cruelty was to exert itself a thousand times more strongly, when he ordered his Red troops to "pry bread from the peasants with bayonets", and to apply the "most drastic measures" in destroying the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Caucasian, Baltic, and other national republics that had declared their independence of the Russian tsarist empire in 1917—18.

(From a leaflet distributed by the Washington Branch of AF-ABN during the "March for Victory in Vietnam", April 4, 1970.)

Against "Cultural Exchange" With The Russian Tyrants

Enjoy yourself, for you're going to spend an evening with music . . .

But remember . . . *The Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra is an arm of the totalitarian Soviet Russian imperialistic government . . .*

Try to enjoy the modern Bartok . . .

But remember . . . *His native Hungary's suppression, the subjugation of Ukraine, invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland's Poznan, Tibet's massacre, the persecution of ethnic Jews, and the list is endless . . .*

(From a leaflet distributed by the **Ad Hoc Committee of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, Buffalo, N. Y., February 6, 1970.**)

What Lies Behind The Visit Of The Red Army Ensemble?

The Red Army ensemble has come to this country for propaganda purposes. It is a window dressing for the savage persecution and suppression of freedom of dozens of non-Russian nations in the USSR and the "satellites".

The Soviet Army is an instrument of the totalitarian Russian Communist government which is every bit as imperialistic as its predecessor, the autocratic regime of the tsars. It has brutally crushed in blood and tears freedom aspirations of many East European and Asian nations since 1917 when the tsarist empire fell and many formerly subject peoples proclaimed their national independence.

In 1917-1922 the Red Army invaded Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Cossack lands, Idel-Ural, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Siberia, Turkestan, the Far Eastern Republic, and restored the Russian empire almost to its former extent. Invasions and occupation were accompanied with murder, arson, rape and robbery. Thus in February 1918, in Kyiv alone, 5000 Ukrainian civilians were murdered by Russian Communist troops just because they were Ukrainian patriots. Millions were murdered during the War of Reconquest of the Russian Empire. Ukraine alone was invaded thrice before being finally overcome in 1921.

Between the wars the Red Army collaborated closely with the Wehrmacht and

after the conclusion of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939, the Red Army, in collusion with Nazi Germany, invaded Poland and occupied Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia. Shortly afterwards it enslaved Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and helped to deport hundreds of thousands of the enslaved people to the concentration camps of Siberia. In 1939-40 the Red Army "heroically" invaded the small Republic of Finland and annexed parts of its territory.

In 1933 the Red Army helped to blockade Ukraine and to requisition food from Ukrainian peasants. This resulted in a famine which took 7 million Ukrainian peasants as victims. And now the Red Army troupe has the cheek to sing Ukrainian folksongs!

At the beginning of the war with Nazi Germany in 1941 the Red Army fled in panic before the advancing German troops and millions of conscripts, especially from the non-Russian nations of the USSR, surrendered with their arms, because they refused to fight for Stalin, Communism and Russian imperialistic policies.

The so-called "liberation" of Eastern and Central Europe in 1944-45 resembled the invasion of the hordes of Genghiz Khan. Murder, rape and robbery were encouraged by the top Soviet leaders. Many people remember the bloody suppression of the uprising of the East German workers in 1953, the massacre of Budapest in 1956 and the recent invasion of Czecho-Slovakia.

(From a leaflet distributed by the **Ukrainian Information Service** London, April 1970.)

News And Views

"Mother Russia"

Those who may have thought that Stalin's play on his people's patriotism was only temporary (as a result of the war), will have to be corrected. Russian nationalism, which was brought back to life during the war at Stalin's command, became stronger and more violent in the course of the years. And today it represents the most ruthless imperialism that can presently be found in the world, even though it has a Communist label.

The "blood and soil" nonsense, by which Russian nationalism is nourished, can be found in particular in the periodicals *Molodaya Gvardiya* and *Nash Sovremienik*. The roots of this nationalism, represented in these periodicals, are to be found in the movement of "Narodniks" in the past century. Again we learn that there is nothing higher, nothing more sacred than the Russian soil and the valiant Russian people. At least once in every century Russia is said to have won a war, which, in turn, has promoted humanism a bit . . .

The two said publications are very right in pointing out that it was only possible to extend Russian power far into Western Europe after the patriotic war against Hitler, and thus to attain new prestige, and great influence and power.

The reader may add to this in his mind, that the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia also falls into the category of the honorable achievements of Russian imperialism.

According to Russia's nationalist period-

icals, the Soviet Union's present power derives from the ancient historical task of "Mother Russia", which consists in leading Slav countries. Indeed, the Brezhnev doctrine was never transcribed more clearly! And the Czechs and Slovaks now know what Pan Slavism in Communist disguise has brought to them.

Of course, the segment of European press which everywhere and forever hopes to see political relaxation, with respect to the nationalist "derailment" takes comfort in the fact that the periodicals committing them have no influence and that therefore everything will be all right.

Peter I lies proudly in his grave. His Communist successors have made Russia even greater than he ever managed to. The tsar of all the Russians has eternal life, even if in different shapes.

Karl Kern, *Volksbote*

Soviet Russia Is Not Being Threatened

If anyone has reason to feel threatened, it can only be the free part of Europe. The Soviet Union has grown strong and it has not only taken over, but also considerably increased the power and the expansion policies of the tsarist empire. One of its objects of expansion is the Atlantic Ocean. It is forced to this by its geographic situation, if it wants to exist as a world power. And the first obstacle is the Federal Republic of Germany. Therefore this country is considered to be troublesome and will be defamed. Herbert Ewert, *Die Welt*

Hungarian Officer Escapes To Italy

At the beginning of April 1970, a 25-year-old Lieutenant of the Hungarian Air Force, Sandor Zoboki, escaped from Hungary to Italy in a Soviet-built jet plane, type MIG 15. He asked for asylum in

Italy. The same day three more Hungarians escaped to Italy. They took advantage of a tourist trip to Yugoslavia, crossing the Italian border in secret.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

EAST GERMANY

5000 Political Prisoners In The Russian-Occupied Zone Of Germany

At present about 5000 individuals who were sentenced to a number of years of imprisonment on political grounds find themselves in correctional institutions and prisons of the Russian-Occupied Zone of Germany, the so-called "German Democratic Republic". Among them are anti-Communist freedom fighters and people who were unsuccessful in their attempts to flee to West Germany. In the detention center at Cottbus around 300 prisoners are held who were convicted for attempts to flee the country. Many of them have sustained serious shot wounds.



RUMANIA

Trade In Humans Continues

Communist Rumania had concluded a deal with Israel, whereby Rumanian Jews will be allowed to emigrate in exchange for Israeli oranges. The rate is said to have been fixed at one ton of oranges per one Jewish emigrant. The applications of some 70,000 Jews are presently being processed by the Rumanian authorities with a view to their emigration.



SLOVAKIA

Demonstrators Attack Police

In a village in Slovakia a protest demonstration broke out following the arrest of a priest. The official reason for the priest's arrest was that "in spite of warnings by state officials, he abused his priestly function by engaging in illegal activities." In the course of the demonstration, the demonstrators attacked a police patrol.

Activities Of Slovak Nuns Curtailed

The Church's situation in Slovakia has worsened again as the result of the Russian occupation. People are afraid that the Communist regime will again resort to the same methods used prior to the Dubcek era.

A memorandum by Slovak nuns to the Prime Minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic is characteristic of the present situation. In this memorandum the nuns protest against a vast limitation on their activities.

The activities of the nuns in Slovakia are restricted to the following areas: a) sanatoriums and nursing homes for feeble-minded people, b) charitable homes for aged priests and nuns, c) health care according to the rules of the Ministry of Health — probably only in lunatic asylums.

On the other hand, the nuns are forbidden to engage in the following: a) activities in institutions for the aged, b) social work in families and communities, c) teaching of religion, d) handling of parish households, e) accepting novices (while young people who were already accepted are to be released), f) acquiring property for the order.

Revue Theatre Closed In Bratislava

The Ministry of Education and Culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic ordered the closing of a popular cabaret and revue theatre "Tatra Revue" for provocation of the Russian invaders.



UKRAINE

Sentencing Of Priests

Bishop Vasył Velychkovskyy* who had been arrested by the KGB on January 27, 1969 had been subsequently tried and convicted to three years' imprisonment.

It was recently revealed that other priests and laymen also appeared at the trial, either as witnesses or as co-defendants. They included the following priests: Rev. Dr. Yosyp Kladochny, a former member of the Redemptorist Order, Rev. Evstakhiy Smal, Rev. F. Kurchaba, Rev. O. Manko, Rev. Roman Bakhtalovskyi, Rev. Mykhailo Chebruka and Rev. Dmytro Lebyak.

From among the laymen the following appeared at the trial of Bishop V. Velychkovskyi: Ivanna Sytko, O. Kos, V. Sterniyuk, Stefania Protsyk and Olha Borbuliak, some as witnesses and others (Ivanna Sytko) as a co-worker of Bishop Velychkovskyi.

In the indictment, Bishop Velychkovskyi, as well as all the other priests, were accused of anti-Soviet propaganda by means of the Christian faith, of membership in the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and of holding Divine Services in that same rite. According to the Communist press, the act of indictment clearly states:

"Half way between the gas range and the sink . . . Velychkovskyi made an altar, hung old sheets around it, just in case, and declared half a kitchen as the Greek Catholic Church."

The accusation further states that Bishop Velychkovskyi had been tried because "he again started to engage in hostile activities, and under the guise of religious sermons

began to slander the Soviet reality."

The indictment also says that the same lies against the Soviet government were spread by other priests in their conversations with the faithful or through diatribes. Father Roman Bakhtalovskyi is accused of allegedly "trying to tell the young people what to do . . . in his diatribe about the YCL (Komsomol). With laments and hysterical screams you are calling Komsomol an atheist organization and are urging the young people to drop out of the Komsomol and to join the Greek Catholic Church. There allegedly purity and blessing are to be found."

From the above it is clearly evident that the proceedings against Bishop Velychkovskyi, staged by the Communists, were a trial of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, which is headed by Bishop Velychkovskyi. The formal accusation, disregarding the Communist propagandistic and flippant expressions, distinctly states that the defendants are tried for religious activities, for performing religious rites, for serving Masses, and so forth. And finally, this trial resulted in a conviction for Bishop Velychkovskyi and those who cooperated with him, that is, priests and laity.

The question involuntarily arises: Why had no worldwide protest action been initiated by the proper authorities in Rome?

*) See *ABN Correspondence*, March-April 1969, p. 16, May-June 1969, cover, and November-December 1969, p. 17.

Sociedade Brasileira De Defesa Da Tradicao, Familia E Propriedade Sponsors Anti-Communist Activities Throughout Brazil



In November 1969 Masses for victims of Communism were held in 23 cities of Brazil. 4000 people jammed the Sao Paulo Cathedral including representatives of peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism.

Book Reviews

Suzanne Labin: *Praktiken der politischen Kriegführung* (Experts of Political Warfare), Munich-Vienna, 1969, rev. ed., 172 pages. Original title: *Il est moins cinq*, publ. by Editions Berger-Levrault, Paris.

Madame Suzanne Labin, President of the "Ligue de la Liberté" and "Conférence Internationale sur la Guerre Politique", has so far published 16 books in several languages. She specializes in the field of propaganda and political and psychological warfare of Communist Russia and China and proposes counter-measures to be adopted by the free people.

The proper perspective of the political and psychological warfare in the confrontation between freedom-loving people and Soviet Russian despotism and totalitarianism is brought to the forefront the very beginning: "The crucial days for the Western civilization have arrived: the issue is life or death." (p. 7) The author's main concern is to show the *tremendous danger* to the free nations arising from the *political warfare of the Communist power* centered in the USSR. This topic takes seven chapters, while the response, "Possibilities of Our Defense" is summarized in the eighth chapter. The conclusion is quite pessimistic: "The fifth phase of the downfall will be the general defeat of the Democracies: the Communists will bring democracy to its downfall in its own domain. We have presently arrived at the fifth phase." (p. 170)

However, the author inadequately explains the source of Communist dynamism: "Communism is a system of totalitarian rule", (p. 84) which stems from "a very small minority" (p. 17). It will be useful to remember, to the contrary, that when elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly were held in late 1917, the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and its ally, the

Left Wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party gained half of all votes in the ethnographic Russian territory. (M. Popov, *Narys istorii KP(b)U*, Kyiv, 1931, p. 121) According to Lenin's work, "Elections to the Constituent Assembly and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", written in December 1919, the Bolshevik Party polled absolute majorities in this election in the central Russian regions. In those same elections, the Bolsheviks received between 1 and 5 per cent of the votes in Ukraine, the Baltic states, the Caucasus and Central Asia (Turkestan). Lenin was correct when he said that without the support of the majority of the Russian people the Bolsheviks would have never gained power in Russia since "there can be no question of any successful Communist constructive work." (V. I. Lenin, "On the Significance of Militant Materialism", 1922) Since 1918 not one non-Russian nation which was previously enslaved in the Russian tsarist empire accepted the Soviet-Communist system voluntarily. Ukraine, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, and others were all conquered and "sovietized" as the result of Bolshevik-Russian aggression.

That Communism is a cover-up and a tool of centuries-old Russian imperialism and chauvinistic genocidal messianism is proved by documentary books, written by authors who live under the Soviet-Russian yoke: Ivan Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), *The Chornovil Papers* (New York-Toronto, McGraw-Hill, 1968), *Revolutionary Voices* (Munich, ABN Press Bureau, 1969) and Andrei Amalrik's "Can the Soviet Union Survive the Year 1984?" (in *Monat*, Hamburg, November-December 1969 and *Survey*, London, Autumn 1969).

A. W. Bedriy

Hon. Michael A. Feighan



Hon. Michael A. Feighan, a Democrat, is running for reelection to the U.S. House of Representatives from the 20th Congressional District in Ohio. Born in 1905 in Lakewood, Ohio, he is a graduate of Princeton University (A. B. degree, 1927) and Harvard Law School (LL.B. degree, 1931). He was a member of the Ohio State Legislature, 1937—40, serving as minority floor leader in 1939—40. First elected to the U.S. Congress in 1942, he has served there ever since. He is a ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary, chairman of House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, member of Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression (83rd Congress).

The Congressman voted for every progressive and humanitarian law that passed the House of Representatives in the past 27 years. He is a leading American authority on the enslavement of the non-Russian nations in the Communist empire and their struggle for national sovereignty and independence. He is the originator of the Act to create a Commission charged with defining and setting guidelines to regulate the distribution of obscene and pornographic materials, which has now been enacted into law. Mr. Feighan is the author of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act.

The Hon. Michael A. Feighan received among others the following honorary awards, citations and degrees: the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Phoenix by the King of Greece, in recognition of outstanding services (1946); a testimonial from United Hungarian Societies of Cleveland, Ohio (1955); "Vigilant Patriotic Honor Plaque" by All-American Conference to Combat Communism (1959) and Vigilant Patriot Recognition Award for 1963 and 1964; the Cross of Knight Commander of the order of Merit by the President of the Italian Republic; a plaque by AF-ABN; Certificate of Honorary Membership by the Ukrainian Association for Victims of Russian Communist Terror (Toronto, Canada) (1960); he was made a Brother Slovenian by the Organization of Slovenian Anti-Communist Veterans "In grateful recognition for uncompromising stand against all forms of Communism and devoted work for the cause of all Enslaved Peoples of Eastern Europe" (1963); a citation from United American Croats (1964); a Freedom Award by Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation, Inc. (1965); an award from The Slovak League of America (1966); "Grande Officiale" in the Order "Al Merito della Repubblica", bestowed by the President of the Italian Republic (1968).

New Publications

The Gun and the Faith

Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Russian Rule

A Brief Survey by

W. Mykula, B. A. (Lond.), B. Litt. (Oxon.)

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By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C. B., C. B. E., D. S. O.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Martyrs For Humanity



Kateryna Zarytska

(photo before imprisonment)

“Women-martyrs Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husyak and Halyna Didyk are in the Vladimir prison under guard. All of them have been condemned to 25 years’ imprisonment. For what offences?... In the period of the occupation they organized Red Cross committees with the aim of helping the Ukrainian anti-Fascist movement – the insurgents from the UPA. And for this the women are rotting in prison. Not in camp, but in a stone grave – in prison.”

Svyatoslav Karavanskyi

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Red Cross Volunteers In Russian Jails

In recent years Ukrainians living in the West learned the horrible news that not only former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) are languishing in concentration camps and jails of the Russian empire for over 20 years, but also nurses, the workers of the medical corps of the UPA. They were the organizers of the Red Cross for the insurgents, thus helping the seriously wounded. Had it ever happened after the First or the Second World War that the victor convicted members of the Red Cross to hard labor? The women did not fight with arms in their hands against some army but only performed a humanitarian function of caring for the wounded at the front. No civilized man would ever dream of condemning the performers of such acts, but, to the contrary, would express his admiration.

But, regrettably, this matter is not treated that way by the caretakers of the Russian prison of nations. This is the more outrageous, since the leaders of the USSR in their propaganda — both internal and external — are shouting at the top of their lungs that their country is allegedly the most civilized, the most just and the most humane country in the world. What is the true meaning of their “humanism” can be seen in the fact that Red Cross volunteers with the UPA — Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husyak — were sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment.

Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, who was also convicted to 25 years of slave labor for defending the Ukrainian culture, mentions these three martyrs in his work which appears in *The Chornovil Papers*. He writes:

“Women-martyrs Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husyak 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. Have they served the Germans? No. Have they performed acts of subversion or espionage? No. Where is their guilt to be found, then?”

Then Karavanskyi goes on to enumerate their “criminal acts”:

“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 movement — 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 another place Karavanskyi condemns the barbarous 25-year prison term which is still in force in the USSR. He says that the state has magnanimously pardoned all those “who put their hands to the mass extermination of Soviet citizens” in 1937—39 during the reign of Stalin. Karavanskyi then asks: “Why is there no such pardon for the Ukrainian women, Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husyak, who were sentenced to 25-year prison terms?” And to this he adds: “At one time N. S. Khrushchev condemned the inhuman execution of a pregnant female revolutionary in Albania; in view of this, is it possible to approve the detention of women for 18 years or more in a stone grave?”

The reasons for Karavanskyi’s indignation are obvious to all civilized men — no matter on what continent they happen to live. They are also going to be indignant at these inhuman and cruel deeds. But these acts fail to arouse the indignation of the Russian heirs of Herod and Nero, Stalin, nor Brezhnev, nor

Kosygin, as they failed to anger Khrushchev who dethroned Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

At the same time we would like to recall another convict, Volodymyr Horbovyi, an old, half-blind man with a broken leg, who is languishing in concentration camps and prisons of the USSR for over 20 years, in spite of the fact that he is the citizen of CSSR, and about whom there were rumors that he had been released through the efforts of Amnesty International.

We call upon all freedom-loving people of the Free World, and in particular upon the women, to initiate a broad campaign for the release of these three Red Cross workers, as well as other women. In major cities petitions should be signed and sent to such international organizations as the International Red Cross, the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg, as well as other political and humanitarian institutions and organizations, with main emphasis upon the barbarous conviction of these innocent women. The world knows about these martyrs already, but we should do our share to help them to live out the few years still remaining to them in freedom and not in a stone grave.

It is mandatory that all ABN branches initiate mass protest actions — demonstrations, picketing of Russian embassies in the Free World, and so forth. Other patriotic organizations should participate in these actions as well. This is the moral obligation not only of the Ukrainian communities in the Free World but of the whole freedom-loving mankind.

Plans To Kidnap Y. Stetsko

The following was reported from Paris by the French Press Agency: "Recently the German police has arrested Heinz Gerull, the head of a department in the German Senate in Berlin, for espionage activities on behalf of the USSR. He specialized in infiltrating anti-Communist organizations and for this reason had taken part in the conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, which took place in Taipei in 1964.

"His arrest is connected with a plan to kidnap two leading, well-known Ukrainian personalities, Yaroslav and Slava Stetsko, the inspirators of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), who live in Munich."

According to reliable sources Heinz Gerull was a long range Russian agent. As an MVD (Ministry of Internal Security) agent he was fictitiously arrested in Berlin, allegedly convicted to 25 years in prisons and concentration camps, and sent to Vorkuta, where he served as agitator among German prisoners. During an uprising of prisoners in Vorkuta he denounced numerous German and other prisoners to the MVD. Spending five years in Vorkuta, he was released as the result of Chancellor Adenauer's efforts on behalf of the German prisoners.

After his release, as someone who had been persecuted by the Russians, he assumed a high-ranking position in government circles of Berlin. He became active in anti-Communist organizations, and enjoyed the confidence of many, all the more because of the post which he held in free Berlin, in particular during the time when the present Chancellor of W. Germany, Willy Brandt, was the Mayor of West Berlin.

Terrorism Of The KGB

May and October are months of terror and assassinations carried out by Moscow. Symon Petlyura died at the hands of Moscow in May 1926, Evhen Konovalets — in May 1938. The span of time between these two murders is exactly 12 years. In 1950 Roman Shukhevych met heroic death in a battle against the army of the MGB. The span of time between the last two deaths again 12 years. What an odd coincidence!

In October of 1959 Shelepin organized the death of Stepan Bandera.

Terror is applied to frighten the fighters for freedom and independence of their nations. Terror of the KGB abroad is also supposed to create panic in the international circles so that they, in their fear would in turn create difficulties for fighters for the rights of a nation and of a human being. Moscow is afraid of our heroes even after their death. When in Munich in 1969 the Ukrainians and their friends commemorated the 10th anniversary of the death of Stepan Bandera, the KGB attempted to hinder them by all possible ways and means.

ABN recently used many ways and languages, among them German, to further information about the crimes and deceit of one of the greatest killers of nations and imposter of all times and peoples, the teacher and master of Stalin (to the shame of the Free World in some places Lenin was solemnly remembered as a "humanist"). This in all probability also upset the KGB. The exposure of Lenin as a mass criminal and the creator of the worst terroristic system of rule of all times and nations hurts Moscow very much.

The organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in the whole world — OUN and ABN are using mass actions, demonstrations and foreign news media to show the world the real face of Lenin! *Shlyakh Peremohy* belongs to those organs, which spread the truth about Russia, about the empire and about the man who used unheard of terror and deceit to rebuild it.

A whole sea of blood was shed upon the orders of the executioner and tyrant Lenin, the teacher of Stalin. The Ukrainian nationalists do not only refuse to stop their eye-opening actions in this direction in the Free World, but they turn to their revolutionary forms with more intensity. In the masses and youth lies the secret of future radical clashes. Revolutionary impetus and a revolutionary character is measured in terms of courage and risk in the battle against the enemy! There is a front against the enemy in the whole world, because Moscow is suppressing the whole world! We should reply bravely and in a dignified manner to the terrorism of the enemy! Words are no longer enough! The storming of the Russian Embassy in Ottawa or London or New York caused a resonance in the world and in Ukraine. If the KGB thinks that it can frighten the nationalists with poisonous gas bombs or other terroristic methods it has again made a miscalculation.

Our youth will make sure it answers this Russian terrorism wherever it has the opportunity. How terrifying our ideals and our actions in the Free World must be to Moscow when it wants to use bombs to seal our lips! Their efforts are in vain! Lemyk and Danylyshyn or famous commanders and fighters of the UPA and the combatants of OUN have not died out. The revolutionary OUN is not only proud of its past traditions but it is no less proud of its heroic present. Members of the revolutionary OUN living in Ukraine and in the whole Russian empire, no matter where they are, are organizing a battle against the Russian invader, and Moscow cannot subdue them or destroy them because in doing so it would have to destroy the whole Ukrainian nation, something which neither Stalin nor his master Lenin were able to do.

Moscow can threaten the nationalists, it can kill those it is lucky enough to kill, but it cannot subdue the indestructible spirit of the revolutionaries — nationalists. Neither bombs nor murders will do any good; the nationalists will continue to try to reach

their cherished goal — a Sovereign, United Ukrainian State and the destruction of the Russian prison of nations. The instigator of murders, Shelepin, should remember that the Supreme Court of a free country confirmed the fact that Shelepin will not escape the sentence he earned. The nationalist revolutionaries have always accepted and replied to the challenge of the enemy in the same way as the vanguard of a nation when it finds itself in a war against the occupant. Ukraine finds herself at war with Russia.

How shameful it is for the free part of Germany to allow the unveiling of commemorative plaques for the man who formed the most terrible colonial empire, part of which is Ulbricht's (enslaved) part of the country! Shame to the tyrants — the usurpers, and not respect by the conquered or enslaved!

The Ukrainian nationalists are conscious of the fact that the judge between Ukraine and Russia will be steel and blood! And this truth is the directive for all the actions of the Ukrainian revolutionaries.

The day will come when a memorial is built in Munich, where Stepan Bandera, who fought for freedom of nations and individuals, met his heroic death! The commemorative plaques (which are the witnesses of the shame of the free part of the world) in honour of Lenin, the tyrant and killer of nations, the master of Stalin, who with his crimes against humanity cast the despot Hitler into the background, will disappear.

The time will come when the free people will mention, with feelings of shame, the confusion which has seized some parts of the Free World for only "the most ignorant calves honour their slaughterers". . .

Gas Bombs At ABN Headquarters in Munich

On May 15, 1970 three gas bombs were placed by unknown persons in the building housing the ABN Headquarters, the Press Bureau of ABN, the editorial offices of the Ukrainian newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohy* and the Ukrainian printing shop at Zepelinstr. 67 in Munich. *Shlyakh Peremohy* is an organ of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which is one of the founders of ABN. One of the bombs was placed at the entrance to ABN offices, the other two at the entrance to the administration office of *Shlyakh Peremohy*.

Although the culprit (or culprits) has not yet been found, there is no doubt that he acted on orders of a Communist organization. Two attacks have already been made in the same building before in order to intimidate the people working there for ABN and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. But we shall not be influenced by such acts of terror and shall not deviate from our path. These acts are a further proof of the embarrassment caused by our work to all Communists.

Telegram To President Nixon

On behalf of fighting Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism I express our admiration for your firm decision to fight Communism without compromise and assure you of our full support.

Perhaps God has chosen you as world's liberator from Russian and Communist barbarity.

Yaroslav Stetsko

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

General Prapass Charusathira, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior (Thailand)

Communist Aggression In Southeast Asia

The peace that we are trying to maintain is given to us as a Natural Right. We know that all people desire not only basic survival but also a life of happiness. The basic factors for such a life include not only materialistic necessities but also the need to enjoy freedom in choosing the manner in which one wishes to live. It has been clearly demonstrated that people cannot enjoy this freedom in any of the countries ruled by the Communists. The kind of peace that the Communist leaders always claim to maintain is therefore only nonsense. The proof that the Communists can never win despite their efforts at war is shown in the examples of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, the failure of the Communist Party in Indonesia, the North Korean attempts against South Korea, and the bloodshed and battle in Vietnam.

But because of this, the question of how the people of the Free World should join together to fight against Communist aggression, sabotage and infiltration still exists.

This question is especially urgent here in Southeast Asia which is situated on the border of Communist China with its population of 750 million. This is the biggest problem that we free Asians are facing at present. It is impossible for us to fight this, our worst enemy, individually. To do so, we have to join together. We have to unite our strength and solve the problems among us Asian people by ourselves. Therefore, the organization of a yearly conference here in Asia is most helpful for reviewing our problems and ways to solve them by studying past experience in order to discuss measures which the APACL can take to resist Communist aggression. At the same time, as a result of these discussions, members may find new ways for the APACL to more effectively implement its anti-Communist programme.

In Thailand, Communist aggression is not anything new. It started in 1923 and has continued up to the present. The Communists, however, have never been successful in their attempts. But there is evidence that Communism in Thailand is supported by Communist China. At present, Communist subversive activities are not yet very widespread. The only two areas of danger are those sections of the northeastern and southern regions of Thailand where Communist base camps are located. The Communists have naturally chosen to act in these two regions because they are aware of the geographical and political weakness of the areas.

At present, the Government has been carefully formulating a development programme, including an overall security plan, to improve economic and social conditions in the northeastern and southern regions. The result of these efforts to stop the Communist menace has been the gradual failure of the Communist attempt to take over these areas. However, the present situation still indicates the continued intent of the Communists to endanger neighbouring countries. Lasting peace in Asia can never be obtained as long as the Communists continue to menace and subvert Thailand and its neighbours.

Islamic Principles Incompatible With Communism

Notwithstanding the political stability in Iran and the fact that our government does not allow any treacherous and subversive measures in the country and while Communist activities are banned by laws, still on one or two occasions during the last ten years, it has been found that some small groups of Communists have in vain tried to pursue their satanic aims clandestinely, but fortunately such events are insignificant and I can proudly declare that the plight and threat of Communism have come to an end in my country, as Iran enjoys absolute order and security from aggressive ideology or subversive activity of any kind both internally and externally. Our government is vigilant so that when last year a small group of them was discovered, they were prosecuted and convicted.

This is another proof that the enemies of our freedom are everywhere. So our constant duty is to watch them and not give them any occasion to benefit from our weakness in the realization of their aims.

As I have reported in previous conferences, the government of Iran has put forward a program of reforms for the benefit of all classes of the population in order to combat the false Communist propaganda and assure the welfare of the nation.

The result of such activities in the field of economy is the steady economic growth of 10 to 12% per year, during the past three years, the stability of national currency and the increase of the number of government and private enterprises in the fields of agriculture, industry, mining and other branches of the economy, supported by political stability of Iran in the trouble spot of the Middle East.

The Second International Asian Trade Fair, held in Teheran from October 3 to 24, 1969 in which more than 40 Asian countries and countries from other continents participated, was a tremendous success and over

a million dollars worth of transactions were concluded there for the benefit of the participants of the fair.

Especially the Far-Eastern countries, like Japan, Korea, the Republic of China, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Australia, India and Pakistan were largely and honorably represented at the fair. I saw with much joy that the collaboration among our peoples is steadily growing. My satisfaction had also a personal character, since throughout the years I brought my humble contribution to the friendly relations of our countrymen with the people of those Asian countries.

This close collaboration among our nations, their solidarity for freedom is in my opinion the sole remedy to assure our strength to meet the challenge of Communist subversion whose only aim is the destruction of our liberties, the conquest of our lands and the domination of the entire world, the result of which will be the reign of civil forces and the extermination of material and moral assets of the entire humanity.

In conclusion, I am glad to report on the meeting of the heads of Islamic states in Morocco with the good purpose to strengthen between them the ties of spiritual solidarity recommended by the Islamic Doctrine, which in future will be a strong buttress against Communist ideologies and activities in Africa, the Middle East and the Asian countries, as Islamic principles of respect of individual rights are incompatible with Communism in every respect.

May I also add that our Sovereign has had a significant role in the above meeting of the Islamic Chiefs of States and has offered his support to the future formations of the said congregations, to insure peace and solidarity among the Moslems.

The Year Of Chuprynka Vs. The Year Of Lenin

On March 5, 1950 on the field of glory in battle against the MVD troops in Bilohorshcha near Lviv died the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, Head of the Supreme Executive of the OUN and Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (HVR).

With his death the most heroic period in the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) came to an end, a nationwide uprising terminated. But the revolutionary liberation struggle did not cease. It assumed new forms, adopted new methods and became more intensive, designed for an extended period of time and with the aim to prepare not only the national liberation revolutionary insurrection in Ukraine, but simultaneous coordinated uprisings of other nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and the satellite countries. The most striking trait of the second period of the revolutionary liberation struggle in the last quarter century are mass uprisings, strikes and actions of prisoners in concentration camps, which characterize the liberation drive of that time until 1959. At about that time we entered the third stage – the intensification of the revolutionary struggle in Ukraine with the help of demonstrations by workers, students, armed clashes with the Russian occupation forces (Novocherkask, Donbas) and the unusual heightening of the ideological and cultural struggle of the young intellectuals, poets and artists of Ukraine against the Russian and Communist world of ideas. Two worlds stand in opposition to each other distinctly and clearly: Kyiv vs. Moscow, as two opposing poles.

The basis for the contemporary epoch was created by the heroic epic of the OUN-UPA, which were lead from 1942/43—1950 in Ukraine by Taras Chuprynka

(Tur, Lozowskyj). Of course, our revolutionary liberation struggle stems from and is based on the traditions of the Liberation Struggle of 1918, as well as on the whole history of our heroic struggle for our national identity, for the sovereignty of our nation in its own land and for the development of all its creative forces and potential.

What made the figure of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces so strong? He had great passion for the army, for the expansion of military forces. From this angle we must view the entire growth through the decades of this unusual figure in the modern history of Ukraine. This however does not preclude his other outstanding attributes: a politician-revolutionary of high quality, a statesman, a strategist of the all-round national liberation political revolution, and first of all a remarkable leader-strategist of the modern-type of warfare: the insurgent-guerrilla warfare.

The modern age is at the same time the age of ideology and the age of thermo-nuclear weapons. It would seem that these are two opposing tendencies in the development of the world. On the contrary, in the ideological struggle which is being waged in all corners of the world it is impossible to use the all-destructive thermo-nuclear arms to achieve victory of these or other ideas, whether good or bad. From this stems the only solution: the guerrilla-partisan strategy. In its basis lies the ideological and political strategy to captivate by definite ideas the broad popular masses, the peoples, which serve as the basis for this type of strategy. General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka grasped the meaning of the age by his great intuition of a military strategist and politician, a statesman and a revolutionary. He expanded the nationwide revolt to unheard of proportions. In his public statement in Rome on one occasion, Josyf Cardinal Slipyi, who at that

time lived in Ukraine as a free man, gave the size of this army as half a million strong, which was engaged in battle against the aggressor. General Chuprynka, whose *nom de guerre* had become legendary, being aware of the general trend of the epoch, merged the national idea with the social idea into one indivisible whole. Under his able leadership, the OUN, the initiator of the UPA, began to place strong emphasis on the social aspects of revolution. UPA defended the versatile interests of the nation and the individual. It fought for the socio-economic interests of the people, defended them against forced deportation by both Germans and Russians to do slave labor, took away grain contingents which were collected by means of terror, etc., hindered attempts to draft our people into the Soviet army or the German slave auxiliary units. Stressing the socio-political elements, C.-in-C. of UPA and the Head of the Supreme Executive of the OUN from 1943 placed the national political liberation in the forefront, for he was conscious of the fact that with the assumption of power by the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian territory, social liberation will take place simultaneously and social justice will prevail. The UPA-OUN were practising what they preached. They were building a state on territories conquered by Ukrainian arms, and where the power of no occupant penetrated. There all branches of full-fledged state life were developed.

From a historic aspect one can speak about two revolutions which were unusually similar: the period of Khymelnytskyi and its successor, the revolution initiated by the OUN-UPA, manifested in particular in the period of nationwide rising of the UPA when it had been commanded by General Chuprynka. Two great epochs, two revolutions. The latter was just set in motion by the OUN-UPA and is waiting for its triumphant end. The ideas of the great statesman Mazepa and the social reformer Paliy were being put into life by the leader of the Ukrainian national and social liberation revolution of our times – Taras Chuprynka.

The foreign-policy aspect of this revolution was a two-front war of OUN-UPA. The anti-German war which began on June 30, 1941 and the continuation of the anti-Russian one became a great signpost for other subjugated peoples as well: to unite in a common front against both aggressors: Germany and Russia. As a member of the Ukrainian State Government of 1941, in the capacity of Assistant to Defense Minister General Vsevolod Petrov, who has won fame in the Liberation Struggle of 1918, Roman Shukhevych was the co-creator of the Historic Act of 1941. The general was conscious of the fact that without the armed forces there can be no talk about the renewal of statehood. He built them up by first becoming the commanding officer of the Legion of Ukrainian Nationalists (DUN) which was temporarily created within the framework of the German army in order to train cadres for his own independent army of the future. This was really the case. When the Germans failed to live up to the conditions for creating military units within the framework of their army, without the swearing of allegiance to Germany or the Führer, but with an oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian state, Roman Shukhevych cleverly transferred in various forms the well-trained cadres of DUN into the underground, thus immediately creating a backbone of our two-front army – the Armed Forces of Ukraine – the UPA.

Roman Shukhevych was a fanatic of the armed forces. He was their moving force in the OUN Executive as well as their untiring organizer together with his future Chief of Staff of the UPA, Gen. Dmytro Hrytsai and his successor after the latter's heroic death, Yu. Hasyn. This apotheosis of the armed force permeated the whole being of the General, the Leader of the Revolution. As a leading member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) he stresses the importance of military struggle at every opportunity. Personally, he is unusually courageous, but at the same time cool and calculating, systematically planning each military deed or action, a leader-revolutionary. As a young member

of UVO he is participating in the most heroic deeds of UVO of military nature against the representatives of powers occupying Ukraine. Unafraid to take risks, a brilliant performer and at the same time a great conspirator, he is always successful. As a military secretary for the Regional OUN Executive in Western Ukraine he plans, organizes and performs the most dangerous military operations, which were always great successes for the OUN-UVO, which at that time became the military arm of the OUN. Roman Shukhevych, in his youth one of the greatest fighters at the services of OUN-UVO, in the style of Zhelyabov-Perovsky-Kybalchych was never uncovered by the occupying power, although the acts which he performed himself or which he organized within the framework of UVO or later OUN-UVO received worldwide publicity as deeds of UVO-OUN. He was silent as a great anonymous fighter. He remained anonymous as the leader of the Ukrainian Revolution — as the Head of the Supreme Executive of the OUN (Tur), C.-in-C. of the UPA (Taras Chuprynka), Chairman of the General Secretariat of UHVR (Lozovskyi), initiator, together with the late Rostyslav Voloshyn, of the First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples in November 1943, which served as the organizational basis for ABN. Only after his heroic death on March 5, 1950 on the field of battle with the Russians, did his name become known to the whole world. His modesty was unprecedented. He, the Commander-in-Chief of the greatest insurgent army of World War II, did not care about military ranks of any kind. Only after Stepan Bandera had placed this matter on the agenda of the UHVR, were Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief, and D. Perebyinis, the Chief of Staff, raised to the rank of general.

Roman Shukhevych as the Regional Commander of OUN in Ukraine, in the so-called General-Governorship (GGU) and at the same time a military secretary of the Supreme Executive of the OUN was in the heart of the organization of the Marching Groups of OUN — this political

army of the brave, which together with the cadres throughout Ukraine has inspired the broad popular masses and has included them in the struggle against the occupying powers. He had an uncommon sense for the practical and revolutionary in principle. He was one of the creators of the great strategically-political and militarily-insurgent plan of action for various situations which could prevail in Ukraine during World War II.

He liked the military trade above all and had a deep political understanding of it. He wanted to unite deeds and ideas. When spring set in in Carpatho-Ukraine in 1938, he appears there after illegally crossing the border and begins to expand the Carpatho-Ukrainian "Sich" (army) together with Col. Kolodzinsky-Huzar who was the Chief of Staff of the "Carpatho-Ukrainian Sich" which was heroically defending the independence of the Carpatho-Ukraine. Roman Shukhevych belonged to the order of knights of the type of the late Zenon Kossak, who upon demands of the German Consul at Khust that our army in Carpatho-Ukraine capitulate, answered in the style of the Roman Cato: "There is no such word in the Ukrainian dictionary".

Imprisoned several times by the Polish occupation regime and in 1936 sentenced to four years' imprisonment for membership in the OUN at the trial of the Regional Executive of OUN in West Ukraine, that is, at the trial of Stepan Bandera and his associates, maintaining complete secrecy and great attentiveness he did not provide any material evidence which would bring to his conviction for military acts. In prison he was a good friend and companion, who always rose in defense of his fellow-prisoners-companions and kept everybody's spirits high by his cheerful disposition, sense of humor and daring in his relations to the prison guards.

Rarely are generals and commanding officers good politicians and statesmen. Roman Shukhevych belonged to those exceptional figures, not only in our history, who possessed the elements of a military

strategist, a politician and a statesman. What is more, among the leading individuals associated with our revolution at that time, he was the most conciliatory in relation to other political parties and groupings, although he never crossed the boundary line of revolutionary-political adherence to principles . . . On the other hand, he was very strict and inexorably just, determined and energetic, the qualities which a leader and a commander of the revolution had to possess. He found practical application for the revolutionary-liberation concept of ABN, as the only possible and realistic road to liberation, without foreign intervention and foreign legions . . . The great UPA raids into the countries neighboring on Ukraine, including the Caucasus in 1949, were proof of his orientation upon the simultaneous coordinated national liberation revolutions and uprisings.

Widespread political activity among the soldiers of the Soviet army and the armies of the satellite states, his own radio station in the Carpathians, negotiations and treaties with other underground armies, as for example the Polish Home Army, or with the General Staff and the commanding generals of the Hungarian Army as well as the Rumanian government which wanted to save itself before the Russian hordes, all testified to the political far-sightedness of Roman Shukhevych and in particular were proof of our expanding power, of the revolutionary potential of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian statehood proclaimed on June 30, 1941, continued to exist under the protection of UPA arms on the Ukrainian territories controlled by it. The functions of the arrested State Government were taken over by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) created in June 1944 for that very purpose and it was conducting negotiations on the basis of inter-state relations between Ukraine and her neighbors. At that time Ukraine existed as a real fact and became a factor of present force, for the world reckons only with force.

What a great force it was is attested by death in battle with the UPA of the German — S. A. Chief of Staff, General Lutse, the Russian Marshall Vatutin, the Vice-Minister for Military Affairs of the "people's" Poland, General Walter Swierczewsky. What is more, in May 1947 three states, the USSR, CSSR and Poland, have signed a military pact calling for mutual destruction of the fighting Ukraine, the UPA-OUN. A pact of three Communist states against the fighting Ukraine, including Russia, which was one of the victors in the war with Germany. The OUN-UPA-UHVR was such an explosive force and the front of the subjugated nations (ABN) mobilized by them against the Russian occupying power, including the UPA raids into East Prussia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia and other countries, that it threatened to topple the empire and its Communist regime from inside. Russia was more sure of victory over Germany, which was not driven by any ideas which would inspire the peoples, only conquest, while Ukraine was bringing revolutionary ideas which inspired our whole nation as well as all the other subjugated nations. The First Conference of the Subjugated Nations in 1943 called on all the subjugated peoples of Europe and Asia to unite in a common front against both tyrannies. It condemned the common front with one tyranny against the other tyranny, but called to a common struggle against all kinds of tyranny. It was a historic signpost to the Allies as well, who lost the Second World War in a political sense, being in an alliance with Russia. Russia became afraid of the revolutionary potential of Ukraine, of the great improvisation of our nation, the nationwide insurrection, the UPA, and its mobilizing ideas, which knew no boundaries and transgressed Ukraine's frontiers and encompassed the whole subjugated world of nations and individuals under Russian rule.

(To be continued)

The Real Lenin

On the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, celebrated in April by the Communist world, millions of words were spoken and written glorifying and praising the Communist ruler, "the father of the Russian Revolution."

He was proclaimed a hero and a benefactor, the Messiah of Communism.

What was Lenin really like?

Was he — as depicted by some biographers — the moderate, humanist revolutionary — who in contrast to his successor Stalin — made his goal in life to improve the lot of the underprivileged, the workers and peasants?

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Many people who knew him and worked with him say Lenin was an unscrupulous, ruthless tyrant, an oriental despot, utterly deprived of morals, hungry for power and insensitive to the suffering of others.

Marxist writer Maxim Gorky accused Lenin in 1917 already, of callousness towards workers and peasants.

"Lenin behaves towards the masses of the people like a veritable pitiless lord of the manor," Gorky said.

Born in the Volga town of Simbirsk of a bourgeois family, Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov — to be known as Lenin — was the son of a God-fearing tsarist school official. He became revolutionary at the age of 17 and was for years in trouble with the police. He was exiled to Siberia and after his release lived abroad for a number of years. In the spring of 1917, when the Russian revolution broke out after the overthrow of the tsar, Lenin was in Switzerland.

With the Germans' consent, he travelled back to Russia together with Leon Trotsky, another revolutionary, and began to work to overthrow the Kerensky regime.

By cunning, trickery and sheer ruthlessness, Lenin succeeded to seize power and emerged as the head of a Soviet government. He proceeded immediately to consolidate his power trampling over foes and friends alike.

A revolutionary leader must have complete control over his followers, he said.

Terror and violence were his credo.

Not a single problem of class struggle has ever been solved in history except by violence, Lenin said.

Revolution demanded a pitiless onslaught and bullets not only for conservatives and reactionaries, Lenin said, but also for the liberals and hesitant socialists.

When fellow Bolsheviks, appalled by his policies, objected he turned against them. He caused the killing of millions of people including workers and peasants.

A lawyer by profession Lenin despised legality or the law as an instrument of social organization. What he created was not a government through law, but by discretion.

There was no such thing as being moral or immoral, Lenin contended. Morality was a bourgeois *invention*. Whatever served his cause was moral, he said.

No one else contributed so much to the establishment of the present Russian empire as did Lenin.

Though he opposed imperial Russia of the tsars, he never advocated the break-up of the Russian empire. On the contrary, as far back as 1903 Lenin said that he would do anything in his power to prevent "the falling apart of Russia."

When some of the non-Russian countries broke away after the fall of the tsar in 1917 and declared themselves independent, it was Lenin who sent troops to bludgeon them back into the fold.

This was the man whose memory is being praised.

"Fanatic . . . cold, like a steel blade . . . with no compassion," said Lenin's friend Vladimir Woytinsky.

Stalin was no perversion of Lenin, said Leon Trotsky. He was the inescapable consequence of Lenin.

"It was not Stalin who created the apparatus," Trotsky said. "But the apparatus created Stalin."

"MY TESTIMONY"

Marchenko was confined to the Russian concentration camps in the years 1960—1966 and in 1968. Therefore his testimony is up-to-date and proves that concentration camps in the so-called USSR continue to exist (contrary to Red Russian denials) in all their horrible forms. In the very introduction to the book the author gives evidence of his own sufferings: "Hunger, sickness and, in particular, the awareness that there is no possibility to combat evil, have led me to despair. I was ready to throw myself upon the prison guards with one single aim: so that they would kill me — and thus to put an end to myself."

Since, according to the author, the main body of prisoners is made up of young Ukrainian men and women, who are conducting themselves with heroism and unusual stoicism while confined to the Russian concentration camps we would like to quote several passages dealing with this subject.

On p. 34 Marchenko writes: "On the way to the concentration camps new prisoners were brought: Ukrainian nationalists. All of them were no more than 25 years old. I liked Mykhailo Soroka very much. He was very calm, well-intentioned and completely unbroken spiritually..."

On p. 36 Marchenko says: "Here — in Mordovia — there are more dogs for one man than in the Caucasus for the whole herd of sheep... Statistics of any kind are useless here: Ukrainians and Balts live here behind barbed wire for so many years that their number has already been forgotten. The older ones — almost skeletons — have remained here for they were joined by their younger relatives."

On p. 45 we read: "Don't dream of freedom, said an older Ukrainian with a gorgeous mustache to a newcomer. Of course, I do not want you to stay here so long. But reality is grim.' All the older ones agreed with what the Ukrainian had said."

A different horror picture is painted on p. 98: "... in the bathhouse (even though it was cold) they began to shave us. They shaved the head and with the same razor also the beard and the mustache, since in prison such 'ornaments' are prohibited. When the old Ukrainian with a long mustache saw this he almost began to cry: 'I am 65 already, but I had the mustache since I was a young lad.' This Ukrainian refused to let himself be shaved. Then several prison henchmen caught him by the arms and shaved him clean... For his 'rebellion' this Ukrainian received an additional ten days in the camp prison."

On p. 133—134 the author describes how a certain taskmaster began to shout and curse the mother of a young Ukrainian. Her son Mykola, just returning from the field, saw his mother in tears and began to defend her saying: "Get away from my mother, you drunken pig!" The taskmaster then turned on Mykola with abusive language and roughed him up. Mykola then took his father's hunting rifle from the house and killed the taskmaster. As the result the 18-year-old Mykola was sentenced to 25 years of concentration camp for "the terrorist act", since terror is allegedly a political crime... Mykola attempted to escape from jail, but was caught. He met a Ukrainian freedom-fighter, Vasyl Puhach, 25. His mother was suffering in Mordovia: she was sentenced to 25 years in a concentration camp. Vasyl Puhach's mustache was also shaved off. Both Ukrainian youths — Mykola and Vasyl — were very nice people. And this is a very valuable trait in the midst of moral decay so common in the concentration camps. When Mykola received meager parcels from home (a great deal could not be sent) he always shared them with his cell-mates... Mykola asked someone to write a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (to Brezhnev perhaps) on his behalf, but was told that his petition will bring no results since Moscow

turns a deaf ear to all petitions and explanations.

On p. 239 we read about other atrocities perpetrated in Russian concentration camps: "One prisoner who had been in Mordovia since 1949 told me the following about the deputy head of a prison, someone named Shved: Shved took part in mass executions. In those days imprisoned Bandera followers were taken to the forest, allegedly to cut wood. However they were all shot under the pretext that they wanted to flee. Therefore everyone in camp knew very well that when you are taken to the forest to cut wood, you will be definitely executed. For this reason the prisoners refused to go to the forest. Then Shved personally executed all those who refused to go." On that same page Marchenko maintains that Ukrainians complained about their treatment by the Russians.

On p. 275 the author describes the tragic fate of one Ukrainian family and emphasizes the following: "In the late 40s a relatively young man, Yosyp, lived in the Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanislaviv) oblast with his mother and sister. At that time an armed guerrilla struggle was waged throughout Western Ukraine and therefore many Ukrainian peasants were hiding in the woods. Allegedly Yosyp's uncle took part in the guerrilla movement. Once, when Yosyp was in the house of a friend, his own house was surrounded by the Russian Red Army troops. Through the window one could see how sub-machine gunners tore

into the house where Yosyp's sick old mother was lying. Yosyp saw how the Russians tied his sister's hands and together with the sick mother put her on a truck.

Yosyp forgot this horrible scene for a moment, but instead he took a good look at the Russian officer who was carrying out arrests in the village. All arrested Ukrainians were driven into a barn, where they were given neither food nor drink. In a short time Yosyp found out that his mother died and his sister was deported to Siberia. After this Yosyp left home. He did not join the guerrillas however, but went to town to get a gun in order to kill that Russian officer who destroyed his family. When that same Russian was performing the same type of punitive operations in other Ukrainian villages, Yosyp came close to him and killed him on the spot, together with his aid, a sub-machine gunner, who did not have a chance to kill Yosyp. Yosyp Klymkovych was sentenced to 25 years in a concentration camp. He is there to this day.

Marchenko emphasizes that in Mordovia there is an unusually large number of Ukrainians and Balts (p. 288). When they are visited by their relatives they must speak Russian so that their conversation could be understood by Russian guards.

Excerpts from the book *Moi pokazaniya* (My Testimony) by Anatolii Marchenko, published by "Free Press", Paris, 1969, pp. 365.

ABN Visitors

Mr. Arvo Horm, Secretary-General of the Baltic Committee, which is cooperating with the Swedish organizations which are members of the European Freedom Council, visited the Central Committee of ABN on May 4th and 5th in order to discuss joint activities in the Scandinavian countries.

On May 12th, Mr. Dumitru Danielopol, an American journalist and expert on European questions, was guest of our Central Committee. In a lively discussion views were exchanged about the present world situation. Mr. Danielopol writes for several US newspapers and is a regular contributor to *ABN Correspondence*.

Leninism-Bolshevism — A Russian Imperialistic Movement

Two falsehoods are widespread in the free world concerning the nature of the Leninist-Bolshevist movement. The first maintains that the Leninist movement was an "international conspiracy" of a relatively small group of people, who usurped power in Russia and from there established a "Leninist empire" or a communist empire. The other fictitious theory is the thesis that the Leninist movement opposed and combated Russian imperialism and nationalism and that the majority of the Russian people do not support and never did support Lenin's movement. Both of these "big lies" are being spread mostly by so-called non-revolutionary Social-Democrats. They see in the Leninist movement solely a dictatorial party tyranny, which used the "good" and "benevolent" Marxist theory in order to build a one-party empire.

The truth is that from the beginning of his political career until his death V. I. Lenin was a Russian messianistic imperialist, who cleverly used the Marxist theory. His movement was from the first a typical Russian movement in the cloak of an internationalist proletarian movement. This movement originated in the depths of the Russian national culture, i. e., it was rooted deeply and organically in Russia's imperialistic past. It gained the support of the Russian masses and came to power on the bayonets of a large Russian following, which very quickly after gaining state power in Russia received the approval and support of the majority of the Russian people.

In his early work, "Who Are the Friends of the People?", written in 1894, Lenin expressed the thought that the Marxist movement can be successful in Russia only on the condition that it works in the interests of the whole Russian people. Therefore, it must work on the premise of preserving the "indivisibility" of the Russian tsarist imperialist state and the goal of full assimilation of the conquered non-Russian nations by the Russian nation.

In the next work, "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democracy", 1897, Lenin showed that for him the Russian theoreticians S. G. Nechaev and P. N. Tkachev were more important authorities than Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as far as the establishment of a Russian socialist-communist movement was concerned.

In 1899 Lenin wrote the statement "Our Program", in which he stressed: "We believe, that an independent elaboration of the Marxist theory by Russian Socialists is imperative, for this theory presents only a general guiding principle, which must be applied differently in England than in France, in France than in Germany, in Germany than in Russia." (According to W. Scharndorff, "Moskaus permanente Säuberung", München, Olzog, 1964, p. 15) Lenin was working out a synthesis of Marxism and the Russian national movement. In other words, he was Russifying Marxism.

In 1900 he wrote the work "Urgent Tasks of Our Movement", in which he argued: "Social-Democracy is a combination of the labor movement with socialism... The whole history of Russian socialism has so brought it about that the most urgent task of the day is to fight against the autocratic government to win political liberty." (V. I. Lenin, "Selected Works", ed. by J. Fineberg, New York, International Publ., v. 2, p. 11) Marxism became adapted by Lenin to the interests of the "indivisible" Russian empire. We notice the formulation of the theory of a new Russian movement: "...we combine all the forces of the awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries into a single party that will attract all that is virile and honest in Russia." (Ibidem, p. 14) His main concern was not the establishment of a Marxist class (proletarian) party in Russia, but the establishment of a Russian national movement, which accepted some Marxist theorising, which was useful to the Russian national interests.

He stressed "the great historical mission: to emancipate itself and the whole of the Russian people from political and economic slavery." (Ibidem, p. 13)

In the "Introduction to the pamphlet 'May Days in Kharkiv'" (1900) he wrote: "This organization . . . must unite the Socialist teaching and the revolutionary experience accumulated during lessons of many decades of Russian revolutionary intelligentsia with the teaching of the labor environment..." ("V. I. Lenin ob Ukraine", Kyiv, 1957, p. 183—4) The anti-tsarist Russian revolutionary forces formed the actual movement, while Marx's theory formed "a general guiding principle."

In 1902 Lenin openly clashed with the orthodox Marxists on the matter of Russia's messianistic role. He believed that this idea should be the main motivating force of the Russian Marxists. He expressed it in the work "What Is to Be Done?": "The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark not only of European but also of Asiatic reaction would place the Russian proletariat in the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." ("Selected Works", ed. cit., v. 2, p. 50) Hence Lenin channelled Russia's expansionist energies through Marxist concepts.

The carriers of Marxism were to be nationally-motivated Russians: "Calls for terror and calls to give the economic struggle itself a political character are merely two different forms of evading the most pressing duty that now rests upon Russian revolutionaries, namely, to organize all-sided political agitation." (Ibidem, p. 96-7) He instructed his followers to get organized as a Russian party and not as a non-national party, although non-Russians were gladly admitted into its ranks. These people should become the new Russian elite and not just the leaders of one class or section of society: "The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the

people it affects... We must 'go among all classes of the people' as theoreticians, as propagandists, as agitators and as organizers... we are obligated to expound and emphasize *general democratic tasks before the whole people...*" (Ibidem, p. 99—102) "...it is necessary to conduct the widest possible political agitation among the masses, an agitation that deals with every phase of Russian absolutism and with every aspect of the various social classes in Russia." (Ibidem, p. 132)

Lenin's primary aim was to establish a single "all-Russian organization of revolutionaries..." (Ibidem, p. 183) which meant an imperialist organization, for "all-Russian" in contemporary terminology referred to the "indivisible" Russian tsarist empire which was a colonial empire of Russians who conquered neighboring nations — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Turkestanians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and others. He continued: "An organization... will be ready for *everything*, from protecting the honor, the prestige and continuity of the Party in periods of acute revolutionary 'depression', to preparing for, commencing and carrying out the *national armed insurrection*." (Ibid., p. 187) National Russian tasks were always in first place.

The work "What Is to Be Done?" explains more than anything else the inevitability of Lenin's break with Plekhanov, Axelrod, Martov and all those Marxists, who were more internationalist, more class-oriented, more evolutionaries than Russia-first politicians, Russian imperialists, Russian messianists. No wonder then that as time went on, the majority of Russified non-Russians leaned toward the "Mensheviks" who as Russian imperialists were not so ruthless as the "Bolsheviks", while the majority of those Russians, who were chauvinists, colonialists and imperialists, leaned toward the Bolsheviks, although the "Westernized" Russians (synonym for "liberalized" Russians) preferred the Mensheviks. On this basis any real student of Russia could have predicted that

in the competition for influence among the Russian people, the Leninists would eventually triumph, because they were better and more truly Russian. The mentality and culture of the Russian masses was (and remains) such that they always follow the most radical and maximalistic, chauvinistic and imperialistic leaders more readily and enthusiastically than the moderate and sophisticated leaders.

In the quoted work Lenin wrote: "...the role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory." (Ibidem, p. 48) His movement must have a better-worked out theory of the Russian elite than either the tsarist elite or the utopian Marxists. Lenin rejected the whole rationalization of the tsarist Russian elite and accepted a modern, a much more advanced and perfected ideology for the new Russian elite, namely, the theory of the "international proletarian revolution" led by its vanguard forces, the so-called Russian proletarians. However, he categorically rejected the introduction into his, Russian, movement of any Western cultural concepts, like democracy, individualism, toleration, peaceful methods, etc. He outlined these views in "The Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks" (1902): "The struggle against the political police requires special properties, requires conscious revolutionaries, requires the establishment of a strong centralized fighting organization of revolutionaries." (W. I. Lenin, "Über den Parteaufbau", Berlin, Dietz-Verlag, 1958, p. 39) Such an organization has necessarily to exclude any democratic, political or organizational concepts: "the so-called democratization of the party organization is only an empty and harmful play" for "in reality no revolutionary organization ever carried through a general democratization." (Ibidem, p. 67) Lenin's organization was to be formed along traditional Russian political and cultural lines, but with Marxist rationalization.

The synthesis of Russian motives and Russian organizational forms with Marxist reasoning comes clearly to light in the ar-

ticle "Relentless War on the Social-Revolutionaries", written in the crucial year, 1902: "...in the Russia of today only that party can be really revolutionary and truly socialist which *fuses socialism with the Russian working class movement...*" ("Selected Work", ed. cit., v. 2, p. 194)

When the division of the RSDLP occurred at its Second Congress in the summer of 1903, Lenin's views on the new Bolshevik movement were already and finally formulated. That year should also be considered as the actual date of the birth of the Leninist movement. He himself expressed this point when he wrote: "Now, the advanced spokesmen of Marxism in the neighboring country, while attentively watching the political evolution of Europe and strongly sympathizing with the heroic struggle of the Poles, nevertheless frankly admit that St. Petersburg has become a much more important revolutionary centre than Warsaw, and the Russian revolutionary movement possesses today greater international significance than the Polish movement." ("The National Question in Our Programme", in "Selected Works", op. cit., v. 2, p. 326) In his opinion, his movement appeared on the international arena as a national movement and allegedly achieved international significance only due to its national power.

While the Mensheviks or the so-called democratic socialists were speculating about the evolution of the economic system from capitalism to socialism according to Marx's doctrine, Lenin was concentrating his attention on the problem of saving the Russian empire by means of a new theory. In the above-mentioned work he wrote: "We included in our draft Party programme the demand for a republic with a democratic constitution that would among other things assure 'the recognition of the right of self-determination to all nationalities contained in the state'... Social-Democracy, as the party of the proletariat, considers it to be its positive and principal task to advance self-determination of the working class within each nationality rather than the self-determination of peoples and na-

ationalities. We must always and unconditionally strive to achieve the *closest* unity of the proletariat of all nationalities..." (Ibidem, p. 322) This work includes all the ingredients of the new, Leninist, Russian imperialism: the preservation of the indivisibility of the Russian empire, the trick with the "democratic constitution", the verbal acknowledgment of the right of the enslaved nations to "self-determination", the principle of combating those forces within the enslaved nations, which placed as their main goal the liberation of their respective nations from Russian genocidal colonialism, the decomposition of the enslaved nations by means of class warfare, and the establishment of Russia's fifth columns in the enslaved nations through an international organization, totally obedient to his Russian Bolsheviks.

The course of events during the revolution of 1905 in Russia vindicated Lenin's principles. Lenin's biographer, Jean Marabini, came to the conclusion that, "As Lenin predicted, the defeat of the liberal bourgeoisie separated them for ever from the Socialists, who from now on will purge all the soft elements from their ranks. From this moment the Bolshevik revolution can be foreseen." ("Lenin", Wiesbaden, Rheinische Verlags-Anstalt, p. 245) And Lenin himself confessed: "The Russian proletariat will not forget this lesson... We, the Social-Democrats, should and must go separately from revolutionaries of the bourgeois-democracy, protecting class independence of the proletariat, but we should go hand in hand in the matter of the revolution, in order to strike direct blows at tsarism, repulsing the troops, attacking the Bastilles of the damned enemy of the Russian people... the proletariat of the whole world is looking now with feverish impatience upon the proletariat of the whole of Russia... The heroes-proletarians of Petersburg are now an example to all." ("The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia", 1905, in "V. I. Lenin ob Ukraine", Kyiv, 1957, p. 238—241)

During the decade following the 1905 Revolution Lenin was hammering out his

own Russian imperialistic movement, at the same time attacking all his opponents. He outlined two "deviations": the left and the right. The "left" deviation comprised the Marxist utopians who did not care for Russian imperialistic and messianistic goals. The "right" deviation included those Russian imperialists and chauvinists, who were rejecting or renouncing the goal of a world proletarian revolution and were willing to forget the Marxist ideology as a cover-up of Russian national goals altogether. Lenin's typical view is contained in the following statement, expressed in 1907: "it is quite natural that Marx and Engels should have the most fervent faith in the Russian revolution and its great world significance." ("Preface to the Russian Translation of Letters by J. F. Becker, J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx and others to F. A. Sorge and others", in "Selected Works", op. cit., v. 2, p. 735) Russians were allegedly the leaders of the world proletarian revolution.

The year 1910 was the low point of Lenin's power; the intellectuals crossed over to the Mensheviks, who were orthodox Marxist utopians, while the realists and opportunists went over to the camp of the so-called legal Marxists, or minimalists. At that time Lenin's greatest friend was Maxim Gorki, about whom he wrote: "Gorki is undoubtedly the greatest representative of proletarian art... Gorki is an authority in the domain of proletarian art — that is beyond dispute." ("Notes of a Publicist", in "Selected Works", ed. cit., v. 4, p. 36) Jean Marabini characterized Gorki as follows: "Wherever he should stay, for Gorki there is only one reality — Russia." ("Lenin", op. cit., p. 282) And Lenin later on reminisced: "I loved Gorki more than anyone else." (Ibidem, p. 277)

In the next few years Lenin consummated the formative period of his party. In the work "The Situation in the Party", written in July 1911 he mentioned for the first time the need of party purges, and then he argued: "decisive is the question of work according to the party line or hostile to the party." ("Polnoe sobranie sochine-

nii", Moscow, 1960—3, v. 10, p. 468) In these phrases we perceive the final break with the Mensheviks or all the socialist utopians, as well as all such Russian Marxists who did not want to accept the rule of the Leninist Russian elite. "The sixth party conference of January 1912 at Pra-

gue should be regarded as the end of the theoretical foundation of the party..." (W. Scharndorff, "Moskaus permanente Säuberung", op. cit., p. 29) At that time Lenin named the new party in accordance with its contents: "the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)".

The European Freedom Council in Defense Of Political Prisoners

The Executive Board of the European Freedom Council (EFC) met in Munich, West Germany on May 29th and 30th, 1970. Its members are President Ole Bjorn Kraft, former Danish Foreign Minister; Chairmen Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and Ivan Matteo Lombardo, former Italian Minister of Foreign Trade; Madam Suzanne Labin, Chairman of the International Conference of Anti-Soviet Psychological Warfare; John Graham, Chairman of the British League for European Freedom; Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer, former German Federal Minister, and other outstanding European leaders.

The Board discussed the world political situation, in particular the situation behind the Iron Curtain in the countries subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states, as well as organizational problems of EFC.

The Executive Board adopted a number of resolutions dealing with "The Year of Lenin", exposing Lenin as one of the most cruel tyrants and perpetrators of genocide of all times and nations, defended the fighters for freedom and independence of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, expressed its full support to President Nixon of the USA for his Indochina policy, in particular his action in Cambodia, and reached a decision on the upcoming EFC Conference. The resolutions of the Executive Board are published below. They have been sent to the following press agencies: DPA, AP, UPI, Reuter and others. This texts of the resolutions accepted by the Executive Board showed unanimity in all essential points of the representatives of the free part of Europe and the subjugated nations.

The Executive Board members visited the ABN Headquarters, as well as other offices located at 67 Zeppelinstr. in Munich, took a joint picture with our staff and expressed their admiration for their endurance and bravery in view of the fact that the KGB is trying to terrorize the Ukrainian fighters for freedom by their poisonous gas bombs and assassination attempts.

During their Munich stay, the members of the Executive Board of EFC also visited the site where Stepan Bandera, the leader of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), had been killed by a KGB agent.

RESOLUTIONS

(Adopted at the Executive Board Meeting of the European Freedom Council, Munich, May 29th and 30th, 1970)

On The Persecution Of Freedom Fighters

In the Soviet Russian empire, terrorism against the subjugated nations is being relentlessly applied in every domain and mainly in cultural life. Prisons, concentration camps, lunatic asylums are the actual destination and the only perspective open to intellectuals, poets, writers and other fighters for freedom who are not meekly subservient to the Communist regimes and to Russian imperialism.

The EFC voices its protest and condemnation against these continuous violations of human and national rights and calls upon the public opinion and Parliaments of the Free World and upon such organizations as Amnesty International, International Commission of Jurists (Geneva), European Council (Strasbourg), the United Nations, the International Red Cross, to assist the fighters for freedom repressed and persecuted in the Soviet Union, and to require the release of the political prisoners languishing in the Soviet "golags" and jails.

For The Cause Of Humanism

V. I. Lenin elaborated a "Summa" of political warfare theories for the purpose of destroying existing civilizations and replacing them with a Russian type of totalitarian, tyrannical, inhuman rule called Communism.

V. I. Lenin personally ordered the execution or exile of millions of innocent human beings for no other reason than their ethnic origins, the class of society they belonged to, their education, their cultural heritage, their religion, their dedication to the belief that all Nations — large and small — have the right to national independence and their people to self-determination.

V. I. Lenin had inaugurated terrorism and violence as the fundamental elements of keeping power in spite of the will of the people. His epigons are following Lenin's tenets and example with unflinching and evil determination. Lenin's theories and schemes for communizing and subjugating the whole world have plunged mankind into a state of permanent conflict, of unmitigated violence, of tension and insecurity, of war-scare and actual suffering from the engineering by Communism of national, social and civil wars.

UNESCO, an organ of the United Nations, has adopted at the request of Lenin's successors and implementators of his theories and plots, a resolution which would proclaim V. I. Lenin a "great humanist". This inconceivable resolution is the most outrageous challenge to Truth and to History.

The EFC appeals to the Member Nations of the U. N. to condemn and repeal the efforts aiming at portraying Lenin as a "humanist", and — in the interest of freedom and justice — to expound the truth about the theories, plans and actions by Lenin and his successors and imitators.

The EFC recommends that actions of protest should be promoted in the Free World, for exposing the crimes of Lenin and of the Russian imperial system created by him. The national liberation struggle for national independence and human rights of all the subjugated nations should receive all-round support from the freedom-loving world.

On Cambodia

The EFC welcomes the courageous and far-sighted decision of the President and the Government of the United States to assist Cambodia in its efforts to stand against the aggression of the North Vietnamese Communist regime, dutifully supported by Soviet Russia and Communist China.

The entry of US forces in Cambodia not only served the defense of this country, of South Vietnam and the whole of Southeast Asia, but is also a pledge to defend freedom in the whole world.

As we firmly believe in the indivisibility of freedom we consider the action taken by the U.S.A. and the South-Vietnamese forces as a necessary step to support the fight for freedom wherever it avers to be necessary.

The struggle against Communism in Cambodia and in South Vietnam is our struggle as well; its goals indentify with our own goals.

The Centenary Of Lenin's Birth In Sydney

The ABN Delegacy and the Captive Nations Week Committee in Sydney, Australia took steps to ensure that the evil nature of Lenin's teaching and activities be exposed.

On April 17, 1970, Mr. D. Darby, MLA, read his address at Sydney University at 1:00 p.m and again at 7:15 p.m. He was supported by Mr. E. Wilson from the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and by Rev. Laing from the Ex-Servicemen League. The meetings were chaired by Mr. G. Ferrow of the University's Liberal Club.

On April 19th, a very successful meeting took place in Ukrainian Hall, Lidcombe. The meeting was under the chairmanship of Dr. Untaru, President of ABN for Australia. The guest speaker was the Hon. W. Wentworth, MHR, the Minister for Social Services. Several other speakers took part and the resolution condemning Lenin's teaching, Russian imperialism and the UN shortsightedness was read.

On April 22nd a demonstration was successfully organized at Martin Place, in front of the offices of the UN. Its purpose was to protest against the action of the UNESCO in recognizing Lenin as a humanitarian and 1970 as Lenin's Year. The demonstrators marched through the city with placards, distributed leaflets and burned the effigy of Lenin in Prince Alfred Park.

Several newspapers and television gave publicity to the events. In all leading Australian papers articles were published condemning Lenin and his anniversary.

R. Dragan

Archbishop Velychkovskyi In Komunarsk

Archbishop Velychkovskyi is to be found in the town of Komunarsk in the Voroshylovgrad oblast.

Croats Protesting Genocide

The Croatian Liberation Movement headed by Dr. Stjepan Hefer has issued a declaration on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Yalta Agreement, by which Croatia was forcefully incorporated into Yugoslavia, and genocide committed near Bleiburg where over 300,000 Croats, both members of the military and civilians, were extradited to the Yugo-Serbian Communist guerrillas headed by Joseph Broz Tito, the Secretary-General of the Yugoslav Communist Party, after having surrendered to the British military command near Bleiburg, Austria, in the middle of May 1945.

On the same occasion the Croatian Liberation Movement also appealed to U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, demanding that free elections be held in Croatia under the auspices of the UN so that the Croatian people can choose the form of government under which they want to live.

LENIN A "HUMANITARIAN?"

In the past I had a tendency to dismiss certain accusations against UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), and especially the one which equated this organ of the UN with the propaganda machine of the Soviet Union. Such allegations, I thought, were unfounded and alarmist in nature. Today I am not so sure. What prompts me to reassess this situation is the recent resolution adopted by the Human Rights Commission of UNESCO. This resolution, adopted on the occasion of Lenin's Centennial, pays tribute to Lenin, the "outstanding humanist", for his practical and theoretical contributions "to the development and realization of the economic and social rights and in the field of culture." The resolution goes on to note Lenin's humanistic ideas and contributions in the domain of the rights of man. The spirit and content of this resolution, in my eyes, undermines the authoritative nature of UNESCO. This resolution disregards all historical facts and attempts to create a myth as well as cloak Lenin in the garb of legality. The real nature of this modern "humanist" is presented to us by Svetlana Alliluyevna, Stalin's daughter, in her book *Only One Year*. Here, she states that "Lenin laid the foundation of the one party system, terror, and the destruction of all those who differed in thought." Further, "he was the father of everything that culminated with Stalin."

In the United States we have a tendency to associate human rights with democracy. Lenin was not a democrat although he claims to have founded the "super democratic" party. This party is so "super" that no other parties are allowed to compete with it or disagree with it. The Communist Party, the "super-party" is intolerant of any opposition, it is the party of the "socialist democracy" and according to Lenin there is no difference between "socialist democracy" and dictatorship. The Communist Party of the USSR then is the

sole guardian and interpreter of all the teachings of Lenin. On this occasion, only on this occasion, we may consider this body "authoritative" when we talk about the "great democrat" Lenin. In its Thesis the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR declared that Lenin was against political freedom, free speech, press and assembly. All these basic rights were treated by him from a class standpoint. Only the "dictatorship of the proletariat", of which Lenin and his immediate friends were the most prominent members, had the right of expression in keeping with the principle of "democratic centralism". This "dictatorship of the proletariat", according to Lenin, is limited by no law or nation. (This is exactly the reason why the Soviet Constitution is not workable.) Democracy as Lenin interpreted it left no room for Parliamentarianism. Lenin's creation is a police state whose only claim to power is supported by brute force and terror.

Lenin, the "humanist", was the prophet of terror. He felt that a dictatorship without terror could not survive. To carry his plans into action he created the CHEKA (Extraordinary Commission-Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya), and gave it arbitrary rights in dealing with "counterrevolutionaries". Turning to the courts of justice Lenin urged them not to refute terror but "legalize it". Writing to Kursky, the National Commissar, he urged a revision of the law which would allow the widest application of the death penalty. Thus during the period of "War Communism" the CHEKA killed 2,300,000 enemies of the revolution. Many executions were carried out on the direct orders of Lenin. One night Lenin asked Dzherzhinsky, head of the CHEKA, to tell him about the number of "counterrevolutionaries" held at the latter's prison. There were 1,500. At Lenin's orders all were executed. In August of 1918 he ordered Evgenia Bosh to carry out mass terror against the "kulaks, priests, and white guardists". This was repeated

again in that same month in Nizhny Novgorod. To those who were hesitant about accepting the use of terror as an instrument (Martov and Chernov) of policy he said "Let the servants of the white guardists pride in the fact that they are against terror, we will state the truth, we cannot get along without it".

A humanitarian, in my opinion, is a man of peace. In his teachings, Lenin urges continuous conflict. He is the apostle of war and chaos. In answering "what is the dictatorship of the proletariat?" he says, "It is war, one that is more cruel, enduring, and more stubborn than any of the previous wars". In the name of the proletariat Lenin is willing to fight a protracted war and destroy one-third of the population of the earth if necessary. But conflict has many phases. Civil war is one of Lenin's favorite instruments. In 1914 he wrote "our watchword is civil war". "Socialism", according to Lenin, "cannot advance without civil war". The importance of this principal tenet of Leninism was felt in China, Korea, and now Viet Nam and the United States.

A humanitarian is a man of ethics. Lenin taught his followers that "in politics there are no ethics, only the end result". A close study of Lenin will reveal that he was an opportunist. The state that he created adheres closely to the main tenets of his ideology. In the 52 years of its existence it has not missed an opportunity to take advantage of its ideological opponents. The crimes perpetrated by this state, in the name of Lenin's teachings, cannot be measured. If the system established by

Lenin reflects his "humanitarianism" then why are one billion people dissatisfied with this system. There is ample proof that disaffection does exist otherwise why would such great "architectural feats" as the Berlin wall exist or why would military "maneuvers" into Hungary or Czechoslovakia be necessary.

The UNESCO resolution, so unfortunately accepted by a supposedly responsible international agency, is a myth-making piece of nonsense. This myth was initiated in Moscow where in preparation of Lenin's Centennial hundreds of thousands of stories, paintings, poems and works of "art" are in preparation. On April 22, the day of Lenin's birth will undoubtedly be a national holiday. Standing on the mausoleum of the great "humanitarian" his successors will salute the greatest (in number) army in the world. Shown also will be the great achievements of the Leninist system — new tanks, rockets and other "defensive" weapons. Forgotten will be the millions of victims of this system. (The most conservative estimate places the number of victims at 40 million while other estimates place the number at about 72 million.) Although UNESCO mentions Lenin's achievements in the "field of culture", we'll allow Lenin to speak for himself: "Culture? We are revolutionaries, as far as I am concerned, I will not hesitate to proclaim myself as a barbarian." His assessment of himself is quite accurate. The assessment of UNESCO is not. If Lenin is a "humanitarian" then our next candidate should be chosen from Nero, Caligula, Stalin or Hitler, all great "humanitarians".

From Letters To ABN

Dear Mrs. Stetsko:

May 12, 1970

On April 12, 1970 I attended at Hunter College a day of mourning to protest Lenin being named as humanist by the United Nations and we had a very fine meeting in the Auditorium of Hunter College at 2:30 P.M. followed by a public meeting near the United Nations. I was one of the speakers and we spoke through a microphone from the roof of a bus hired as a platform to denounce Lenin being declared a humanist. Pater Koltyne, an Orthodox priest, a Cuban exile, a member of Victory in Vietnam Committee — a YAF young man, and myself spoke at this rally which ended at 7 P.M. with prayers and songs in Slavic languages.

**Rev. Raymond J. de Jaegher
New York**

BOLSHEVISM'S FIFTH COLUMN

Leon Uris's novel *Topaz*, published by the Kindler Publishing House, lies before me. A thriller, exciting, but at the same time a politically important work. With great penetration and factual knowledge, the author describes the inexorable total war waged by the Bolshevik underground — the Fifth Column — against the West. Control lies in the hands of the Bolshevik diplomatic representatives; they are camouflaged by a few professional diplomats, all the other staff, including the domestic staff, wear in Moscow the uniform of officers of defence troops, in part with high signs of rank.¹⁾

The Fifth Column, whose task it is to prepare the way for world revolution in all countries still free from Bolshevism, comprises three divisions:

1. The Communist parties of the whole world. The main strength of Bolshevism lies in the fact that it is not only a political organization, but a community of faith. The believers in this faith feel themselves to be soldiers and are ready for any sacrifice and for any foul deed for the victory of the world revolution, including betrayal of their own country.

2. The second group of the Fifth Column comprises the "left-wingers", that is, all elements who sympathize with Bolshevism, without being members of the Communist party — the fellow-travellers. All the left-wing intellectuals, whether university teachers or "students", who at the moment infect the Western universities, are working consciously or unconsciously for Bolshevism. Moscow's agents take over their activities and then control them for their aims. Those politicians in the West also belong here, who dance attendance upon Moscow — while at the same time the Russian tanks are shooting at demonstrators against Bolshevik tyranny and almost every day murders take place on the Berlin Wall. Which of all these misguided people

is a fool without a party, and which a Bolshevik agent, cannot be decided very easily.

The largest part of international mass media also belongs to the fellow-travellers of Bolshevism. Any information on Bolshevik cruelty is dismissed as being trivial or passed over in silence. The West-European citizen must be lulled to sleep, must be "educated" to become a weak-willed or even a ready victim of the world revolution. What happened in the prisons and camps in Soviet Russia and its satellites — the tortures, the starving of political prisoners exposed to a slow death — all this is avoided if possible.²⁾ On the other hand, any attack on Bolshevism by the authoritative part of international opinion "make-believe" is most strongly condemned. Spain, South Africa with Southern Rhodesia, Greece, South Korea, South Vietnam, Wallace's party in the USA, lately even the anti-Bolshevist policy of Israel are declared the work of the devil.

3. To the third group of the Fifth Column belongs the unprincipled rabble from the ranks of businessmen who are working for Bolshevism for money — the homo economicus of the West, who notes Russian orders on the largest scale, even takes orders for vital war supplies. Directly after the attack on the CSSR, large numbers of goods were exhibited at the Leipzig Trade Fair. Lenin foresaw even this phenomenon: "If I want to hang a capitalist, I will always be able to find another ready to sell the noose." Adenauer unleashed a storm of indignation when he imposed an embargo on vital war exports to Soviet Russia.

The Fifth Column can point to extremely important series of partial successes for itself, for decades. The mass of people are addicted to the delusion that Bolshevism is not as bad as the "narrow-minded" Communist victimizers and cold-war warriors always claim. Those in power in the

West still continue to believe in the possibility of a relaxation of tension — unteachable fools. Also numerous leading clerics of all Christian religions have been taken in by Bolshevism and have let themselves be actively employed on its behalf. This is also true for the previously exclusive orders such as the Jesuits. The Vatican is satisfied with exhortations to peace without any real substance.

What Bolshevism means for mankind, how its effectiveness appears, how inexpressibly cruel in its lack of hope the lot of man is in Bolshevik slavery, is only suspected in the West by the smallest number. There is even a tendency to glorify the bestial regime. Alexander Solzhenitsyn describes in his book: "The First Circle of Hell"³) the life of Soviet political prisoners in a "Privileged" work camp for highly-qualified experts: a new "load" of scientists has just been delivered from a normal work camp. From their dialogue with the old occupants, this is reported: "When you are taken to the dining-hall, fill your stomachs . . ." "How much bread do we get here?" "400 grams white bread, there's black bread on the table". "Excuse me, on the tables?" "Yes, on the tables, you can take away as much as you like . . ."

"For 52 years I have been in the world, survived the most serious illnesses, married beautiful women, had sons, received academic honours, but I have never been so deliriously happy as today! I won't be made to go into the cold water tomorrow morning! The warden won't beat the prisoners! What a great day! I am at the peak of my life!" (pages 15-17) Two professors in this privileged camp try to define the expression "happiness" from their memories of the normal working camp. "Think of the thin, watery oats or barley groats without a single speck of fat! Can you say that you ate it, that you drank it or swallowed it? You partook of it with secret trembling; you received it like a dinner, as Yogis receive the prana. You ate it slowly; you ate with the tip of the wooden spoon; you ate it completely absorbed in the process of eating, in thinking about food, and food spread over your whole body like nectar,

you are trembling with the sweetness which expands for you in these badly cooked grains and the dismal wetness in which they are floating about. So you live for six months, perhaps twelve and you have not really eaten anything — can you compare that with roughly gobbling down a chop? (pages 45-46) and all this is taking place in 1950 and 1960!⁴)

And the Western generation without any relevant experience is accepting Bolshevism — "Grandfather's picture of Bolshevism" of the revolutionary time, as it still lives today in the imagination of the older generation, has been dead for a long time . . . the present population has a favourable attitude to the Soviet state. The parents of children who speak like this have obviously not understood how to pass on their experience to the younger generation, and to eradicate the tissue of lies put out by the mass media.

There are undeniable signs that the governmental systems of all Western democracies are riddled with Bolshevik agents. If anyone hasn't yet understood this, he should after reading this book grasp that McCarthy was right in his investigations of the American governmental apparatus for Bolshevik agents — the howling of the massmedia was the thanks this clear-sighted man received. And some men of genius raised to the rank of a taboo through receiving the Nobel Prize, of the calibre of Einstein, gave their "blessing" to this agitation.

The Bolshevik agents seem today to teem in the Western democracies like maggots in rotten meat.

And now the Bolsheviks have set themselves two tasks of the first magnitude: the destruction of NATO and the alienation of Western Europe from the USA, also in a human respect.

As long as Bolshevism exists, peace in the world is not possible, while the reunification of Germany remains only a slogan for election propaganda. The destruction of Bolshevism must be the most urgent task of that part of humanity which for the present is not lucky enough to be free. My suggestion: throw out all diplo-

matic representatives of Bolshevik governed countries: close the frontiers hermetically and declare a "cold war". Internally: smoke out the Communists and the Fifth Column in all their forms; the highest sentences for any mercenary spirit who tries to trade with Soviet Russians.

(*Nation Europa*)

- 1): Read on this Penkovsky, Oleg, *Secret Records*, Droemer, Munich, and Wynne, Greville, *The Man from Moscow*, Goverts, Stuttgart, 1967. Penkovsky was the Russia colonel who made the desperate attempt in 1965 to warn the West about Bolshevism, and who had to pay for it with his life.
- 2): On torture in Mao's prisons, see report of

the priest Dries von Coillie (extracts in *Epoca*, February 1966, p. 20) That today once more after the temporary period of "de-Stalinization" people disappear and are tortured can be read in the book by Wynne mentioned above.

- 3): S. Fischer, 1968
- 4): On this subject read also Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*; Krasnov N. N., (son of General Krasnov, author of the novel *From Tsarist Eagle to Red Flag*), *Hidden Russia*, Kranich Pub. Co. Berlin, 1962; Mackievicts, Joseph, *Tragedy on the Drava*, Bergstadt Pub. Co., Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, Munich, 1957. Schollmer, Joseph *The Dead Return*, Report of a doctor from Vorkuta. Kiepenheuer and Witsh, Cologne and Berlin, 1954.

Medical Punishments For Political Prisoners

In May 1963 Vladimir Bukovsky was arrested and charged with possession of two photocopies of "The New Class", an anti-Communist book by Yugoslav author Milovan Djilas. He was tried in absentia, sent to the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute and declared insane. That December he was transferred to a prison asylum in Leningrad, where he spent, in his words, "15 months of hell."

"There were about 1,000 men in the asylum, political prisoners and insane murderers", says Bukovsky. "The sick raved, the healthy suffered."

Doctors were technically in charge of the inmates, but the real masters were brutal turnkeys and prisoners trusties, criminals from the regular part of the Leningrad prison.

"Only the crafty survived", Bukovsky says. "You had to be nice to the guards, you had to make friends with them, you had to bribe them. Otherwise they can beat you until you're nearly dead and tell the doctors you misbehaved. Or they could recommend medical punishment."

The worst was medical punishment. Bukovsky describes three methods:

On the recommendation of a trusty or turnkey, doctors would inject a drug that produced severe stomach cramps, fever, intense pain and a temperature of 104.

The sickness lasted two or three days and left the inmate very weak.

Another drug reserved for serious misbehavior induced sleep and dulled the brain. Inmates were punished with 10 days of daily injections. They woke up as human vegetables. Some regained their senses after two months, others did not.

The third punishment was the canvas bandage. An inmate would be tightly swathed in wet canvas from neck to toes while others in his ward were forced to watch.

"The canvas shrinks as it dries. It is not a pretty sight." Bukovsky wasn't smiling now. "They usually do it for only two or three hours."

(According to *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland, Ohio, May 18, 1970)

The Slovak People True To Christianity

According to the latest poll conducted by the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava among the Slovak citizens, 71% of the 4.5 million inhabitants of Slovakia are religious, 14% are atheists and 15% are indifferent to religious problems. 80% of these 71% are Catholics. It is remarkable that 58.7% of the 18—24 age group are said to be religious, although they have been exposed to the atheist Communist propaganda all their lives.

The Economic Problems Of Turkestan

Soviet Views on the Question: "Turkestan as Model" for Developing Countries

Up to now much has been written and discussed by the parties concerned (developing countries, Western powers and Eastern Bloc) about the problems of developing countries. It could be seen in this that the Soviet Union tried by every means to make its own ideas accepted in the question of the path of development to be followed by developing countries. The Soviet leaders are anxious to bring to the fore their theory of the "Socialist way of development." Turkestan, in particular the Uzbekistan SSR, is to serve as a model for this way of development. The Soviet leaders are of the opinion that the "economic achievements" in Turkestan can be considered as a kind of "attraction" for developing countries, to make their views accepted, for the geo-political position, the climatic conditions, the oriental way of life, the nature of Turkestan's landscape and the cultural similarity of the population with the nations of the Orient create the conditions for this.

Lenin was of the opinion that the "establishment of correct relations with Turkestan was for the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic — without exaggeration it can be said — of gigantic, world-wide and historic importance" ¹⁾. On every occasion the Soviet leaders repeat this "forecast" by Lenin, if it is deemed necessary for Soviet Union's action abroad. Stalin was also of the opinion that Turkestan had to be developed into the "beacon light of the Soviet system in the Orient." Soviet Russia fully understood from the beginning of its rule in Turkestan that Soviet influence in the Orient could be borne by Turkestan.

N. S. Khrushchov dared, after 1953, to use Turkestan for every aspect of Soviet foreign policy propaganda. In this way this country became the show-window and centre of Soviet propaganda for the developing African and Asian countries. The

Soviet leadership thinks it can make the Soviet path of development understandable to the developing countries by giving prominence to the "economic achievements of the Soviets" in Turkestan. It represents its measures of economic policy as the only way towards quicker development. Today the "colossal economic miracle" in Turkestan is spoken about everywhere. Thus the problem of the economy of Turkestan has become an international matter, for this land of the Soviet Union in particular is given to the developing countries as a "model".

The Soviet leadership has advocated up to now various ideas in the problems of the Turkestan economy. This can be recognized from the numerous declarations of the Soviet leaders. Thus, for example, at the end of December 1957, the director of the Institute for World Economy of the Soviet Union, Arzumenjan, declared in Cairo:

"The Soviet Union and a number of other countries in the socialist camp have been following the path of nationalization of trade and industry, the way of planned application of profit and distribution of the national income in the interests of industrialization. The path followed by the socialist countries presupposes the liquidation of private property in the means of production and the changing of the latter into state-run concerns and cooperatives. The experience of history has shown that this way is quicker and more effective... Only thus has it been possible to convert the previously undeveloped regions in the Soviet Union, the former marginal areas of the tsarist empire, in which no industry was present, into industrial republics, which can rank economically with countries such as France, Italy, and Japan" ²⁾.

This "model way" of Soviet socialism also had to justify the theory of "transition to socialism without going through the ca-

pitalist stage of development”, for which Turkestan was to serve as an example repeatedly. Soviet authors hold the following ideas on the problem of the “development of socialism” in Turkestan:

“The study of the experience gained during the socialist and Communist development of the Soviet republics in the Orient forms a basis for the following results:

1. The legality of the socialist revolution and of socialist development, which was also mentioned in the declaration made during the consultations between the representatives of the Communist and Workers’ parties of the socialist countries (1957), is also employable in the developing countries.

2. In the socialist development in the Soviet republics of the Orient there are those specific features which can repeat themselves in the period of transition in the undeveloped nations from pre-capitalist conditions to socialism.

3. In the socialist development of the Soviet republics in the Orient there are also those unique features which through both the peculiarities of the period of historical world development and the individual, specific peculiarities of this and that nation, as a result of concrete historical conditions and national peculiarities”³).

The Soviet Turkestan experts and propagandists for the developing countries go even further and remark in one of their publications:

“The success of the nations of the Soviet Orient⁴), like all nations of the USSR and the people’s democratic countries, has shown that there are no such nations in the world and there cannot be, which are not capable of achieving great economic and cultural success if the power lies in the hands of the working masses under the leadership of the great Communist party... the success in the development of the economic and national culture of the nations of the Soviet Orient has an effect on the minds and morale of the patriotic and democratic elements in the countries of Asia and Africa”⁵).

Khrushchov in particular was especially anxious to make Soviet economic policy in Turkestan popular with world public opinion. He said before the Plenary Session of the UN in September 1960 in New York:

“We are proud that by reason of the experiences undergone in the former frontier areas of Russia (Turkestan, Caucasus and Siberia — author) it has been shown that it is possible even in the Oriental countries for underdevelopment, poverty, disease and ignorance to be completely overcome in the course of a generation, and to rise to the economic level of developed countries”⁶).

Khrushchov said on March 21, 1961 in Alma-Ata:

“The nations of Asia and Africa view the republics of the Soviet Orient with special pleasure and know that socialism has opened the way earlier to speedy economic, political and cultural progress for the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan”⁷).

He dealt once more with the question of the “attraction” of Turkestan and stated on September 30, 1962 in Ashkhabad:

“I often meet foreign Muslims. They say that the life which they see in our Oriental republics is the envy of their peoples. That is true”⁸).

Khrushchov declared on May 11, 1964 at the National Assembly of the United Arab Republic in Cairo:

“All nations, all the republics of our multi-national state are anxious to ensure in fraternal cooperation the development of their economy and culture. Let us take Uzbekistan as an example. Its fate in the past was similar to Egypt’s. Uzbekistan was a colony of tsarism, a country of poverty, of diseases, of people deprived of rights and oppressed. Even nails were imported from afar into Uzbekistan, since no industry had developed here. And now? There are now in Uzbekistan more than a hundred branches of industry present. It exports its products into 54 countries of the world. Today four times as much energy is produced in Uzbekistan as in

the whole of Russia before the revolution...

"The example of Uzbekistan, as well as that of other Soviet republics, confirms that socialist democracy is a tremendous motive force for progress" ⁹⁾.

It must be noticed that Khrushchov's appearance in Cairo left behind it a great impression in the Arab area regarding Turkestan.

Khrushchov came to Turkestan for the last time in August 1964 and almost got into a rage regarding the Chinese action against the Soviet Union — China stated that the Soviet Union was not an Asian power — emphasizing on August 16, 1964 in the city of Frunze (= Fishpek) before the Supreme Soviet and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Kirghizian SSR the following:

"They (the Turkestanis — author) live in the actual centre of Asia, in the Soviet republics of Central Asia, which have become beacon-lights for all the nations of the Orient. Here is being shown how a new life is to be developed on the basis of Communism... Soviet Asia lives, has developed, advances and gives the nations an example for the development of the new life.¹⁰⁾

Even Khrushchov's successors, Brezhnev and Kosygin came to Turkestan in November 1964 and advocated the same views as Khrushchov, emphasizing that the "path of development in Turkestan was applicable to the developing countries." It must be recalled that none of these statements by the Soviet leaders remained within their sphere of power and existed only for the use of the Soviet Union, but these declarations were widely distributed abroad, especially in Asia and Africa.

If such declarations by the Soviet leaders were meant merely for propaganda, one need not have any doubts about them and not quote them here. The Turkestan question, however, had an undermining effect, after the Soviet Russians tried, and today are still trying, to put into effect their propaganda ideas about Turkestan. No authoritative body, either in the developing countries or in the West, tried to counter-

act the Soviet claims with precise information. Among the Western powers the opinion was held that the generous economic help given by the West, led by the USA, to the developing countries, would easily overcome or at least make ineffective the small economic assistance provided by the Soviet bloc, that is, it could diminish the influence of the Soviet bloc. But it turned out that the Soviet leaders knew how to add ideological ideas to their economic assistance, in which Turkestan was produced as a "show-window". The Soviet leaders had the opportunity of appearing, thanks to Turkestan, credible in the developing countries. The sign "Turkestan" became a means for making Soviet ideas accepted in the developing countries, after the Soviet Russians tried and are still trying at present, to appeal to the people in the developing countries through various ways.

From Soviet sources we learn that, for example, the Uzbekistan Society for the Cultivation of Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries has taken up contacts with 86 countries in the world, including 53 from Asia and Africa. It has more than 700 foreign correspondents from the ranks of the nations of Asia and Africa¹¹⁾. In the course of the years between 1954 and 1966 more than 40,000 public figures from Asia and Africa were invited to Turkestan. These included kings, presidents, heads of government, foreign ministers, ministers, experts in all branches of the economy, authors, trade-union leaders, teachers, journalists, local government politicians and representatives of youth organizations, etc. The irrigation scheme in the "Hunger Steppe" (= Mirza Chol) alone has been shown to more than 50 foreign delegations. In the years 1957—63, 105,300 copies of various publications on Uzbekistan's development were sent abroad from Uzbekistan. The society mentioned above maintains direct contacts with 25 newspapers and periodicals abroad. Since 1962 the periodical *Soviet Uzbekistan of Today* has been appearing in Russian, Arabic, English and French. An illustrated chron-

icle on Uzbekistan is also published monthly, which is regularly sent to the developing countries as illustrative material.¹²⁾ Since October 1964 books with 50 titles, including "The Uzbekistan SSR in Facts and Figures", "The Irrigation System in Soviet Uzbekistan", etc. have been published, and distributed free in the developing countries. These books were published in English, French, Russian, Arabic, Urdu and Persian. About 20 documentary films on development work are being shown at the moment in the developing countries. More than 3,500 Turkestanis are working as experts, trained in every respect, in the developing countries, as part of Soviet development aid.

The Soviet leaders also send industrial products from the Soviet republics in Turkestan to international exhibitions, to show in the Asian and African countries themselves that an Asian country such as Turkestan can reach such progress in somewhat more than 45 years on the socialist path of development and become an industrial country.

The concentrated efforts of Soviet Russians to portray Turkestan as a "Potemkin village" for their ideas in the developing countries, has finally lead so far that Turkestan has become the meeting place of various congresses, seminars and other meetings. Full of pride, even rightly so, the Soviet press reports the successful holding of 17 congresses, conferences and seminars, in the period from 1958 to 1966 inclusive in Turkestan¹³⁾. Such meetings served to turn public opinion in the Asian and African countries towards the Soviet Russian point of view, especially in the question of Turkestan's economy.

Notes:

- 1) V. I. Lenin, Sočinenie. Vol. XXX, page 117.
- 2) A. Arzumjan, SSR i ekonomičeskie otnošenija meždu stranami Azii i Afriki. "Sovremennyj Vostok". Moscow 1958. No. 3, pages 19—20. Cf. also Baymirza Hayit, Kommunistischer Kolonialismus, "Politische Studien". Munich 1961 No. 134, page 376.
- 3) M. Džunusov, Meždunarodnoe značenie opyta stroitel'stva Socializma i Komunizma v respublikakh Sovetskogo Vostoka, in "Družba narodov i socialističeskiy internatsionalizm", Tashkent 1961, page 148.
- 4) The expression "Soviet Orient" has been considerably employed in the Soviet Union since 1920. It is principally used to mean the Soviet republics in Turkestan, Tataristan, Bashkiristan. This expression is used in the further sense to mean also the Soviet republics of the Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia).
- 5) Minuja Kapitalizma. O perekhodakh k Socializmu respublik Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana, Moscow 1951, page 245—46.
- 6) "Kizil Ozbekistan", September 25, 1960, page 3.
- 7) "Pravda Vostoka", March 26, 1961.
- 8) "Pravda Vostoka", October 2, 1962
- 9) "Pravda Vostoka", May 13, 1964
- 10) "Sovetskaya Kirgiziya", August 18, 1964.
- 11) "Ozbekistan Kommunist", Tashkent 1964, No. 8, pages 79—82.
- 12) "Ozbekistanda ictimai fanlar", Tashkent 1964, No. 5, pages 21—70.
- 13) These conferences were: 1) Asian-African Film Festival in August 1958; 2) Conference of Authors of the Countries of Asia and Africa in October (see: B. Hayit, "The Spirit of Tashkent", Cologne-Düsseldorf 1959); 3) International Seminar of the Cooperative Systems of Africa and Asia in September 1959 (*Kizil Ozbekistan*, 1. 9. 11., 13, 15—16. September 1959); 4) International Seminar for caracul-producing countries of Asia and Africa in March 1961 (*Pravda Vostoka* March 10, 1961); 5) International Seminar for Trade Unions on the subject: "Openings for Workers to Education and Culture" in April 1961, under the theme: "All countries should learn from Uzbekistan" (*Pravda Vostoka*, April 9, 1961; *Kizil Ozbekistan*, April 28, 1961); 6) International Scientific Conference for Experts of Cotton Cultivation of the Countries of Asia and Africa, in April 1961 (*Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*, April 11, 1961); 7) International Seminar for the Cooperative Systems of the Countries of Asia and Africa in July 1961 in Dushanbe (*Kommunist Tadžikistana*, July 11, 1961); 8) International Forum of Doctors on the Question of Combating Tropical Diseases in September 1961 (*Kizil Ozbekistan*, 6 and 14 September 1961); 9) International Seminar for Cotton Experts from Asia and Africa in May—July 1962 (*Kizil Ozbekistan*, 14 July 1962); 10) International Seminar of Hydrologists and Geologists of the

Countries of Asia and Africa in May—September 1961 (*Pravda Vostoka*, May 30, 1962); 11) International Women's Conference of the Countries of Asia and Africa, in September 1962 (*Kizil Ozbekistan*, 4, 9 September 1962); 12) International Seminar on the Question of Land Development in May 1964 in Alma-Ata (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, June 6, 1964); 14) International Seminar of the Countries of Asia and Africa on the subject: "The Role of Industry in the Development of the Economy", September-December 1964 (*Pravda Vostoka*, 23 September 1964); 15) International Seminar

on the Problems of the Rail Systems of the Countries of Asia and Africa in April 1966 (*Sovet Ozbekistani*, April 23, 1966); 16) International Seminar of the Countries of Asia on the Problems of the Elimination of Illiteracy, in May 1966 (*Pravda Vostoka*, May 5, 1966); 17) International Seminar of the Countries of Asia and Africa on the Problems of the Settlement of Nomads, in Alma-Ata and in Frunze in September 1966 (*Socialistik Kazakistan*, 13 September 1966, *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, September 14, 1966).

New York Demonstration To Protest Lenin's "Humanitarianism"

On the initiative of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a mass demonstration was organized

on April 18, 1970 in New York City in front of the United Nations to protest its honoring of Lenin as a humanitarian on the occasion of his 100th birthday.

The demonstration was preceded by an auto caravan through the main streets of the city with stops in front of the United Nations, the Russian U.N. Mission, the Plaza Hotel and other important points where speeches were made.

The mass demonstration, which lasted for three hours, was attended by more than 2,000 people led by Ukrainian women wearing mourning dresses and carrying large signs illustrating the terror in the Russian concentration camps. Hundreds of other signs were also displayed. The national flags of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, Estonia, Rumania, North Caucasus and other subjugated countries were carried by AF-ABN organizations.

A protest rally conducted by Prof. Chyrovsky was held as part of the demonstration. Among the speakers at the rally were Prof. Wowchuk (Ukraine), N. Y. attorney, Mr. Piznak (Ukraine), Dr. I. Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, and Mr. Charles Andreanszky (Hungary).



The Communist Aggression In Asia

In the wake of the alleged American plan of their troop withdrawals from Vietnam and repeated statements made by the American leaders to the effect that there would be no more direct U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam-like war in Asia in the future, it is time for Asians to rely on their own resources and cooperation among the countries of the region in their struggle against Communist aggression. It is all the more pressing in the face of the ever-increasing Red Chinese menace, particularly toward the Southeast Asian countries.

Needless to say, the preservation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea itself in the face of Communist aggression and its rehabilitation and reconstruction since the cease-fire, have been achieved through the military and economic aid from our allies of the free world, particularly the United States of America. However, it cannot be denied that firm determination of the Korean people to fight against Communist tyranny and terrorism has undoubtedly been the important factor.

Based on the experience of the people of the Republic of Korea, I would enumerate the most effective ways of halting Communist aggression aside from the military aspect as follows: 1) the political stability and social order; 2) economic development and the improvement of the people's standard of living; particularly during the past 8 years under the strong and able leadership of President Park Chung Hee. Realizing that the above-mentioned factors have rendered the North Korean Communists' dream of taking over the whole Korean peninsula hopeless, they had become desperate and, in recent years, have increased and accelerated their activities of subversion and infiltration in the south in a futile attempt to disrupt the stability and prosperity of the free part of Korea. To counter these subversive and infiltration activities on the part of the Communists, the Republic of Korea has since two years ago

set up a self-defense system throughout the country by creating a Reserve Corps, mainly of the veterans of the Korean War. This has been proved very effective.

The Korean War was only a part of the international Communist scheme of conquering the whole world. However, in Asia, the hard core and source of Communist aggression is Red China. Once their ambition was thwarted in Korea, they launched a new aggression in Vietnam. They also instigated the Pathet Lao elements into war in Laos; now they have begun subversive activities and infiltration in Thailand.

I believe that we Asians, should not only prepare ourselves in each individual country to fight against the Chinese Communist threat but also rally among ourselves in the free Asian countries to render moral as well as material support for each other as one united force of the Free World. To recover mainland China is a responsibility of the Free World as a whole. But the main burden lies on the shoulders of the Chinese themselves. The question is whether the Free World is really determined to let the Chinese Nationalists do the job with a free hand while lending them necessary moral and material support. In this respect, I am heartened to recommend to both the governments and people in each individual country to consolidate their determination to fight against Communist aggression.

Some people in the Free World contend that Red China is invulnerable because of its vast area, enormous population, huge military establishment and totalitarian controls. Too many Free World leaders seem to think that if they ignore the China problem it simply will disappear, that if they let day after day pass without war, all is well and good. Such passivity may suffice for ordinary people who are not concerned with affairs of state, but similar shortsightedness is a fatal weakness in leaders, their own nations and the entire Free

Russians Realizing Tsarist Dreams

After the June 1969 Moscow Conference, these developments have been noticeable:

1. The USSR has lost its monopoly of leadership in the Communist movement. Communist parties are divided into many factions: pro-Russian, pro-Chinese, and a third group advocating participation in legal government by seeking accommodation with leftist socialists (Italian).

2. The Moscow Conference has accepted the possibility of diverse tendencies in Communism. This calls for important policy readjustments especially with regard to Western European Communist parties. To accept many tendencies is to accept polycentrism.

3. The schisms in the Communist world are becoming serious with the Sino-Soviet conflict and the aggression in Czecho-Slovakia. These two issues have damaged the prestige of Communist parties vis-a-vis the working class.

The above situation has greatly affected the Soviet Union. The Sino-Soviet conflict has made the Russians worried about the menace threatening at their very door: millions of troops have had to guard the Siberian borders, many rocket launching sites, many tanks have had to stay ready in Outer Mongolia. The impending war strains the people's mind and distorts the economic reconstruction program. In preparation against the Chinese threat, the Soviet government returns to an inflexible policy toward the liberal elements within the Soviet Union and toward its Eastern and Central European satellites. Thus, their writers and scientists have been accused of being "reactionaries", and there was the Czech affair as a warning for Rumania and Yugoslavia. But because of this

return to the tough line, there have been symptoms of undercurrent protests which, in turn, push the Soviet Russian government toward a more totalitarian course of action. Also, because of this return to the tough line, the Soviet Union has lost part of its influence with the general public in Western Europe. The Communist parties in France, England, the Netherlands, and Belgium are cast in an embarrassing position.

As for Red China, after the Cultural Revolution, the party apparatus and the government structure were shattered, and there has been a lack of experienced and loyal cadre to lead the people. To dissimulate this weakness, Mao Tse-tung has put out intransigent slogans against the United States and especially the Soviet Union. Red China uses the pretext of looming external aggression to justify a dictatorial policy toward the followers of Liu Shao-chi. She also aggravates the Russian danger in order to demand from the people and the cadre more efforts and sacrifices, more austerity and deprivation. A series of economic failures has forced Red China to adopt a verbally tough line in order to conceal her fiascos. China is a long way off from having the capacity to cause trouble to the Soviet Union. Knowing that the Soviet Union has many reasons to avoid war, Red China overdoes in her bluffing. Recently, perhaps because Mao's opponents have weakened and Mao has recaptured the leadership of the Party (after the 9th Party Congress), the Chinese government has adopted a mellower attitude and has left the door ajar for talks on "peaceful coexistence" with the great powers. Red China now seems to be bent toward a more conciliatory posture in international relations so that she could have time to handle her domestic problems.

While the Communists are hard-pressed with their problems, what activities have the Free World countries engaged in?

First of all, one can say without hesitation that it is regrettable that the Free World has made no effort to exploit the opportunity. Most countries, such as France, England, Italy and Japan, are engulfed in domestic intrafighting or economic difficulties. Only the United States is in a position to thwart Communist ambitions. For more than 20 years now, after World War II, the United States has always had to play the role of an international policeman, interfering in Korea, Africa, Santo Domingo, and Latin America. The U.S. has made great sacrifices in terms of men and materials. Because of its wish to contain Communist encroachments in Southeast Asia, the U.S. has had to participate in the Vietnam war. However, the American government has kept to the policy of limited intervention and limited war. Because this policy has yielded results in Korea and Santo Domingo, the U.S. has hoped to limit the war in Vietnam, while waiting for a change of policy on the part of China and Russia. The American intervention in Vietnam has been afflicted with this basic miscalculation of half-way intervention and lack of confidence in the fighting capacity of the Vietnamese people and armed forces. Because of this policy, it has lost 39,000 young men and billions of US dollars. The internal struggle within the Democratic Party in the US and the fight between the latter and the Republican Party have enabled the Communists to instigate the anti-war movement, which in turn makes the American people impatient with the war. President Nixon has no other alternative than adopting a troop withdrawal program. Also, to have means to patch over social discrepancies and to fight against racial discrimination, the American President has to cut military spending and decrease the number of overseas bases. The new policy is that the United States will help only those peoples that have the capacity to help themselves by making contributions to the anti-Communist struggle.

In short, the U.S. did not make anything out of the schism in the Communist world. It has furthermore retreated and changed its policy.

While the U.S. is moving backward, the Soviet Union is forging ahead. The great dream of the Russian tsars was to conquer the Mediterranean. At the present time, the Soviet Union has influence in Algeria, Somaliland, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Libya. The Mediterranean is no longer the monopoly of the Free World powers. Some day, the Italian government may possibly fall into a coalition between the Socialist leftists and the Communists. Maybe, at the time, the Gibraltar pass will also become useless and the Sixth Fleet of the U.S., even stationing in the western part of the Mediterranean, will no longer be able to maneuver at will. The Soviet Union is also wedging into the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. Indonesia owes Russia billions of rubles. Russia is also gaining influence in India. Mrs. Gandhi is openly supported by the Communists. The Soviet Union is gaining many diplomatic successes. If the United States does not wake up, the Communists will, I am afraid, surpass it and be in a better position to exercise influence everywhere with the "peaceful coexistence" slogan.

In the fight against the Communists, the basic condition is to form a World Alliance. The Free World countries have to forget their contradictions and their jealousies in order to join forces in the fight against Communism. Poverty and discrepancy in wealth, racial and national discrimination, the greed of the rich nations toward the poor nations, these injustices are props to the Communists.

In order to fight Communism, the United States, England, France, Germany and Japan must have a common program to help in earnest the underdeveloped countries. To eradicate all inequalities is the only way to deprive the Communists of their opportunity.

RECENT DOCUMENTATION

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

Detroit-East and Hamtramck Branch

*The Honorable John D. Dingell
Representative from Michigan*

March 12, 1970

Dear Representative Dingell:

The world commemorated the Year 1968 as the "Human Rights Year". A conference was held in Teheran under the auspices of the United Nations Human Rights Commission; rather than denouncing the Soviet Union for its complete disregard for human rights, this commission awarded the representative of Soviet Ukraine an award for his country's efforts on behalf of human rights.

This year, we see from the press, the United Nations is again involved in an effort to get the world to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the birth of such "great humanitarian" as Lenin. It was he who laid the groundwork for the creation of the greatest prison of nations which the world has known. It was he who propagated the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was he who advocated the use of any means, no matter how ruthless and abusive they might be of the basic human rights, to achieve "the end".

The result of Lenin's teaching can best be measured by the millions of victims of famine created by the so-called experiment in collective agriculture in the thirties; which in fact, was a disguised attempt of genocide. It is reflected in the millions of innocent victims who perished in the greatest complexity of concentration camps the human race has ever seen.

Even today, where supposedly the Stalinist type of terror has come to an end, we have examples to the contrary. Attached please find an appeal of a great humanitarian, a great jurist — Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, who has spent almost twenty-two years of slave labor while experiencing the "great humanitarian system of justice" in the U.S.S.R. We respectfully appeal to you Sir, to use your good office and intervene on behalf of Dr. Horbovyi through the appropriate office of the State Department and the United States Representative to the United Nations. We feel that all Americans should be aware of the true face of the U.S.S.R. Therefore, we request that you also enter the attached appeal in the Congressional Record.

*Sincerely,
B. Fedorak
Chairman*

Human Rights Violations In Ukraine To Be Placed On UN Agenda

On January 27, 1970 Congressman John R. Ravick submitted the following concurrent resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President, acting through the United States Ambassador to the United Nations Organization, take such steps as may be necessary to place the question of human rights violations in the Soviet-occupied Ukraine on the agenda of the United Nations Organization.

Horbovyi's Appeal Cited In Congress

In his remarks to the US House of Representatives on March 11, 1970, Hon. John R. Rarick of Louisiana condemned the fact that this year the United Nations Organization is honoring Lenin as the "great humanitarian". To expose this Soviet-Russian humanism he cited the appeal for justice from Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, a jurist who had been imprisoned in a Russian concentration camp in Mordovia for the last 20 years without a trial, and an appeal from the Americans for Freedom of Captive Nations, which is published below.*

(See *Congressional Record*, March 12, 1970, p. E 1922—24.)

Americans for Freedom of Captive Nations Los Angeles, Calif.

Hon. John R. Rarick,
House of Representatives.

Dear Sir:

Point One of the Gromyko resolution for a world security system, presented to the United Nations on September 19, 1969, calls for withdrawal of all troops from occupied territories and discontinuation of all measures to suppress liberational movements. If, the USSR is the freedom loving nation she professes to be, then she should set the stage and practice what she preaches.

It is time for the United States of America to go on the offensive and unmask the true imperialists and colonialists by exposing the Soviets for what they are.

The rights of the Captive peoples to self-determination and free election should be steadfastly supported by the United States government, of which you are a legislative member. These rights are in line with the Atlantic Charter and other international agreements. The United States government should continue to make clear to the rest of the world that the violations of these agreements by the Russian Communists are a major cause of world tensions today. The United States government must be more than anti-Communist minded; the United States government must be positive and affirmative in opposition to the basic philosophy, politics, and practices of Communism.

We ask you to put forward every possible solution which would lead to the liberation of the Captive Nations.

Both major political parties have committed themselves to the liberation of the subjugated nations. But, unfortunately, the word "liberation" is used more as an electioneering slogan than as a carefully thought-out foreign policy that is vital to the United States' own national security. In reality, what the United States says and does encourages or discourages the spirit of liberation.

We ask you now to act on behalf of the rights of the enslaved nations now illegally dominated, exploited, and controlled by the Russian Communists — those enslaved nations listed in the *Congressional Record*. Worldwide attention has been diverted from the plight of the Captive Nations. As a consequence, the enslavement of the Captive Nations is being accepted as the status quo on a de facto basis.

Due to the failure of the United States and the Free World governments to insist that the status of the enslaved peoples be included in the United Nations agenda, the Russians are winning a victory to maintain the status quo by default.

* See **ABN Correspondence**, Nov.-Dec. 1969, p. 18-20

The Russian Communists are trying to break the will to resist of the people of the subjugated countries. We must not, by default, or in any other manner, assist the Russian Communists in their determined efforts to break the will to resist of the enslaved peoples.

Ponder the words of Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, in a speech to the Supreme Soviet, July 10, 1969:

“To take a more sober view is to recognize that it is impossible to keep foreign areas seized as the result of aggression and that they should be returned to those to whom they belong.”

We urge you to speak up for the enslaved peoples and hope that you will speak for the sake of freedom in Eastern Europe, Cuba, and elsewhere in the world so that the true freedom respecting citizens of the world will no longer have to hear the empty words of all the Gromykos all across the world.

Millions of Americans await your action.

Avo Piirisild
Executive Secretary.

Bernard W. Nurmsen,
President.

Fellow Ukrainians!

October 15, 1969 marks the tenth anniversary of the tragic death of the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle — Stepan Bandera.

On October 15, 1959 a revolutionary, a leader of OUN, who dedicated his whole life to the service of the Ukrainian people and its struggle for the Ukrainian United Independent State, had been assassinated in Munich, West Germany.

No matter how hard had the enemies tried to cover-up the traces of their crime, they could not do so, for at no time had anybody been able to hide the truth. The enemies felt that by killing S. Bandera, they would be able to destroy the Ukrainian revolutionary forces, to crush the love for freedom and the spirit of the Ukrainian people. They killed S. Bandera, but they failed to kill the Ukrainian idea of independence, to destroy the freedom-loving spirit of the Ukrainian people.

Who is the assassin? The assassin is Bohdan Stashynskyi, a native of the village of Borshchovytsi near Lviv. For years he had been trained for this crime by the organs of the KGB. For the performance of this murder the Supreme Soviet of the USSR awarded the criminal the order of the Red Flag. The then head of the KGB of the USSR, Shelepin, personally presented this order to Stashynskyi. But the assassin realized that having performed the task assigned to him by the KGB, he is of no further use to them and they will try to liquidate him as a witness to a crime. For this reason he decided to take advantage of the last opportunity, fled from East Berlin to the Federal Republic of Germany and there handed himself over to the hands of the law. At the trial in Karlsruhe, Stashynskyi disclosed to the whole world who trained him, who financed his training, whose hand directed him and who rewarded him for the perpetration of his crime. Stashynskyi exposed the lie, spread by Soviet propaganda, that Stepan Bandera perished by the will of Oberländer. The government of the USSR and its KGB were anxious for S. Bandera's death.

S. Bandera died, but the struggle did not cease! The struggle for the Ukrainian United Independent State is continuing and will persist until its triumphant end!

Glory to Ukraine!

(Text of the leaflet by the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) distributed secretly in Ukraine.)

News And Views

Religious Freedom In Russia Is Unlikely, Expert Believes

Americans are naive to think that Communism is mellowing and coexistence can develop to the degree that there will be religious freedom in Russia, the Iron Curtain countries, or any Red nation, in the view of a distinguished Bulgarian clergyman who knows the oppression of Communism only too well.

He is the Rev. Haralan Popov, now overseas director of Underground Evangelism.

"It's a great lie fabricated only for Americans", said the Rev. Mr. Popov of the idea that there is a liberalizing trend in Communism which could lead to peaceful coexistence. "It's worse in Russia now than it was under Stalin. There are at least 244 Baptist pastors in prison now."

The Rev. Mr. Popov himself was released from a Communist prison in his homeland only minutes before New Year's Day of 1963. He had served 13 years of a 15 year sentence meted out during a "show trial" of Christian leaders when the Reds took over in 1948.

The slender, nearly bald clergymen who speaks Russian and English fluently had been the pastor of the second largest church in the nation and vice president of the Evangelical Alliance of Bulgaria.

While in prison, he helped form the underground church because the government had placed Communist officials in charge of the visible church. He has continued his work with underground churches throughout the Iron Curtain countries since he fled to Sweden.

The greatest hope for Christianity in those countries is the underground church, according to the 62-year-old Bulgarian whose organization has distributed 187,000 Bibles and New Testaments behind the Iron Curtain in six years. It hopes to distribute 180,000 more this winter.

"God works in marvelous ways", he said in reporting that there are now 3½ million people in the underground church in the USSR. *A great many of them are young people "despite the fact that it is against the law for anyone under 18 to belong to the church and it is very dangerous."*

"It has not happened through public preaching", he explained, "but through person to person evangelism."

And there are the radio programs, produced by his organization and other church groups. "The radio is a powerful weapon. Through it sermons are getting in thousands of homes."

The biggest problem for the new Christians has been getting Bibles. And that has been the main thrust of his Underground Evangelism organization.

The Rev. Mr. Popov is concerned that religious leaders in this country and elsewhere in the free world — particularly France and Italy — are deceived by Russian church leaders and those from other Communist countries in such organizations as the World Council of Churches.

He contends that, while there are many true Christians in the visible church, *most of the leaders are tools of the state placed there by the Communists. And he believes those leaders are selling Westerners a bill of goods about toleration of religion under Communism.*

He would be pessimistic except that he believes that *"the church does not depend on Communism for its existence, but on God. They cannot destroy His church."*

"And if we give the world to the Communists (which he views as a possibility as a result of the fear of another war and naivete), then Christ will come again to save His church", Popov said.

Adon Taft, Religion Editor of THE MIAMI HERALD

"Murder Incorporated; The Criminal Case Of Shelepin"

This is the title of an extensive article by Gerhard Breitburg which appeared in the Jan./Feb. 1970 issue of *Deutschland Magazine* (published by Deutschland-Stiftung). The author discusses the attempts by the head of the German Trade Unions (DGB), Heinz Vetter, to bring Alexander Shelepin, the head of the Soviet Russian "trade unions" on a nationwide visit to West Germany. In view of Shelepin's proven association with criminal acts, which he perpetrated on West German territory toward Ukrainian national freedom-fighters while in charge of the KGB in the 1950s, the author calls Vetter's attitude "double morality" since the Federal Republic of Germany is a constitutional state and when a public figure in this state does not want to preserve the rule of law, he acts unconstitutionally and immorally.

While for Heinz Vetter, Shelepin is just a colleague in another trade-union grouping, the latter's goal is quite different: "He wants to utilize the trade unions of the world in the service of Communist world revolution." (p. 9) This, in reality, is the goal of Soviet Russian imperialism.

Mr. Breitburg contrasts the German position with the position of US trade unions, which "disassociate themselves expressly from such a politically inconceivable position" of the Russian unions, which are the tools of interventionism and international subversion. At the same time he praises the head of AFL-CIO, George Meany, for being a "convinced anti-Communist."

The author argues that Shelepin should not be invited as guest of the German trade unions. Instead he should be served with an arrest warrant on the basis of evidence that he planned and directed murders which were executed on sovereign German territory.

The whole gruesome story of KGB assassin Bogdan Stashynsky is reproduced, which came to light with his defection to the West on August 12, 1961 and his admission of having murdered the head of the Ukrainian national liberation move-

ment, Stepan Bandera, and Dr. Lev Rebet. Then the author discusses the "gigantic defamation campaign" initiated by the Russians in their attempts to accuse innocent people of these murders, as for instance, Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer, f. German Federal Minister, a certain German named Stefan Lippolz and the late Dmytro Myskiv, a close associate of S. Bandera. All these lies were exposed by Stashynsky's confession at his trial in Karlsruhe at the Supreme Federal Court. The Court found that "the political leadership of the Soviet Union, which is proud of the history of the Russian people, is a member of the United Nations and maintains regular diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic, considered it appropriate to execute murders by poison on the sovereign territory of the Federal Republic. Thus political murder is institutionalized by the Soviet Union."

Finally, Mr. Breitburg points out that a defamation campaign is constantly being carried on in West Germany against Ukrainian anti-colonialist struggle. As an example he cites an infamous "Monitor" television program of February 13, 1967, which was aimed at compromising the organizations united in ABN and covering-up the Titoist assassinations of leading Croatian freedom-fighters, living in West Germany.

The article "Murder Incorporated" deserves high praise for defending the truth, exposing the crimes perpetrated by Soviet Russian imperialists and supporting the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russia.

A. W. B.

Indian M.P.s Against Russian Invasion Of CSSR

Dr. Malkote and 55 other members of the Indian Parliament have published an appeal to the world public, in which they protest against Russia's armed intervention in CSSR to quell the efforts for independence of the Czech and Slovak peoples. Referring to the invasion they say: "Indians generally and the Parliament of India in particular reacted strongly to this violation of international law and morality."

Global Disorganization Of Western Democracies

Western Democracies are at war in Asia. But they do not have the chance to win it. The governments, in the USA or Australia, do not seem to know the necessity and legalities of psychological warfare. The result is: "The war is lost at the home front." This development was predicted by the Vietnamese writer Truong Chin in his book "The Resistance Will Win". It appeared in Hanoi in 1961.

Ships under the British flag openly trade in Haiphong (the North Vietnamese port). After having unloaded arms and munition of Russian origin in Haiphong, Polish ships enter Australian ports from where they carry a cargo to Europe at reduced rates. Australian troops, however, fight against North Vietnamese troops, armed with Russian weapons, in South Vietnam. Haiphong is the biggest reloading point for fresh supplies for the North Vietnamese army fighting against American soldiers.

Russia and Red China train terrorists whom they smuggle into Rhodesia, South Africa, and Mozambique, with the intention to create the same chaos, as they caused in the Congo, in Nigeria, in Sudan and in other places. But the Free World leaves it to Portugal to defend the front of Western civilization against the guerrillas of the Communist world with a minimum of equipment. And for this Portugal receives nothing but kicks and criticism from its so-called friends, the NATO states and the USA.

(The Hungarian newspaper *Nemzetör*, Munich, Vol. 13, No. 12, December 1969)

Russia's Ancient Dream

The present conflict between Egypt and Israel has, in the eyes of the world, the general aspect of a racial and religious war, although the existence of the state of Israel is the heart of this human dramatic situation. But reality exceeds this by far. In the center of the problem stands the ancient dream of an influence on the world's largest oil reserves supplying Europe, and of a new field for conquest in the

direction of the Pacific Ocean and East Africa. For the Russians the conflict between Israel and the Arabs is an event sent from heaven, as it helped them in resuming their conquest of the Mediterranean. Peace in the Middle East depends today on the rigorous embargo-decision of the four great powers. Should the Soviet Union continue to refuse to accept an embargo, then the S. U. will be unmasked by this.

L'AURORE

Resurgent Nationalism

"Despite the attachment of the Baltic republics to the West, if a confrontation ever develops between the Russians and the subjugated non-Russian nations it may be most likely in Ukraine. In part, this is due to the sheer size and population of Ukraine. With 47 million inhabitants and a territory of 232.000 square miles, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic ranks as the fifth largest European member of the United Nations, where it has held a separate seat since the world organization was founded. But the Ukrainians' intense nationalism is also firmly rooted in cultural and economic achievements. Kyiv was the center of medieval civilization and Ukrainians are also the heirs to a highly refined literary culture developed in the nineteenth century. Economically, moreover, Ukraine is self-sufficient. Besides being one of Europe's principal granaries, it is rich to the point of abundance in iron, coal, oil, manganese and titanium.

"Though on paper all fifteen of the Soviet Union's republics enjoy the constitutional right of secession, Ukraine would doubtless be the most capable of standing on its own feet as an independent nation. Perhaps it is the consciousness of this fact which makes Ukrainian nationalists so intransigent — and the Soviet authorities so quick to stymie their activities. Basically, Ukrainian nationalists object to the official distortion of the Ukraine's history and the de-emphasis of its language in urban schools — as well as the economic directives from

Moscow which force the republic to concentrate on heavy industries to the neglect of the more profitable production of consumer goods.”

Newsweek, January 12, 1970

Maoist Precepts Of War

- The greatest art is to break the resistance of the enemy *without a fight*. — The direct fight on the battlefield is necessary, but only indirect warfare can secure and consolidate victory.
- Everything good in the country of your opponent must be ruined and undermined.
- Involve the ruling class in criminal undertakings: undermine their respect and position, expose them at the right moment to the disgrace of their fellow citizens.
- Use also the cooperation of the lowest and most repulsive creatures.
- Use every means to disturb the work of the enemy government.
- Spread quarrels and lack of unity among the subjects of the enemy country.
- Incite the young people against older people.
- Interfere with the equipment, the supplies and the order of enemy forces with all means.
- Paralyze the wills of the enemy soldiers through sensuous songs and wild music.
- Send out whores to complete the work of ruin.
- Render valueless all enemy traditions.
- Be generous with offers and gifts to buy news. Do not spare money at all, for money so invested brings in rich interest.
- Place secret scouts everywhere.

Only a man who has such means available and knows how to use those means which cause demoralization and quarrels everywhere, is a sword for the ruler and a pillar for his state.

The 21 Conditions Of Lenin

At Lenin's insistence the Second World Congress of the Comintern (19. 7. to 7. 8. 1920) decided on 21 conditions for the acceptance of Communist parties. From these resulted the dictatorial claims to leadership of Moscow and the total subjection of the individual parties or sections. Some of the most important of these conditions are as follows:

1. The whole propaganda and work of agitation must bear a really Communist character and be in accordance with the programme and the decisions of the Comintern . . . press and party publications must be under the control of the party chairman . . .

3. Communists are under obligation to create a parallel illegal system of organization everywhere, which in the decisive moment will be of help to the party to carry out its duty to the revolution . . .

6. Commitment to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism . . .

16. All resolutions of the Congress of the Communist International as well as the resolutions of its executive committee are binding for all parties belonging to the Communist International . . .

17. . . the Communist International has declared war on the whole bourgeois world and all yellow Social Democratic parties . . .

21. Those members of the party who refuse to follow the conditions and principles set by the Communist International are to be excluded from the party.”

"Important Vietnams"

Many Vietnams! This is the slogan of Che Guevara which has been adopted by the Marxist and Anarchist revolutionaries who are motivated by a virulent hatred of the economic, political and social systems of the United States and who are working energetically to destroy this country.

Two such "Vietnams" are the racial war which is being waged from the ghettos to the universities and from the churches to Congress, and the student war led by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The strategy is to involve the "establishment" in many separate conflicts and to erode American power and will.

Two "Vietnams" that are frequently overlooked are the intellectual and spiritual battles that are raging. These battles often precede military, economic, and subversive conflict. Karl Marx wrote his devastating critique of capitalism before Marxism and Communism became formidable political and military powers; Lenin wrote "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" in 1917, and today its doctrines unite and direct the enemies of the United States in the "Anti-Imperialist Front"; Marcuse wrote "Eros and Civilization" before the streets of Haight-Ashbury became filled with deluded youngsters who regard their bodies as mere "instruments of pleasure." If the intellectual and spiritual battles are lost, total collapse soon follows.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is fighting on the intellectual and spiritual fronts. We are active in the colleges, universities, and high schools. Our weapons are words impelled by reason and fact. Our targets are the minds of the young of all nations.

To some, these seem secondary. The battles lack the excitement of the political rally, the subversive investigation, and the street confrontation. Consequently financial support tends to flow to the more visible struggles.

I believe the intellectual and spiritual battles are basic. If they are lost, all is lost.

CAMPUS REVOLT SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

The description of the "revolutionary bomb" and the ways in which this bomb is triggered and used would be sterile unless it led to suggestions for practical measures to abort the explosion of the bomb and to defeat the plans of the destroyers. All the foregoing leads to the important question, "What can we do."

TREATMENT

Treatment must be specially designed for each element included in the revolutionary bomb. Since the groups included have different doctrines, motives, and objectives, a different form of treatment must be designed to meet the specific needs of each group. These specific forms of treatment may be suggested by the slogans:

- (1) Expose, isolate, and erode the core.
- (2) Negotiate with the partisans.
- (3) Reason with the reformers.
- (4) Retrieve the alienated.

EXPOSE THE CORE

The doctrines and objectives of the destroyers appeal to only a minute fraction of those in the body of the bomb and to an even smaller fraction of the public at large. The success of their program depends upon their ability to mobilize large groups of people and incite them to action while obscuring their real purposes. This task is much more difficult if these real purposes are clearly presented to those who are being incited to illegal activity.

The best way to expose the destroyers is to publicize their doctrines and plans as presented in their own literature. All radical movements face three problems: a) Teaching, informing, and directing their own members and adherents, b) Protecting

their own ranks from the seductive doctrines of competing radical sects, and c) Winning converts to the cause.

To do these things, it is necessary to publish literature designed for members and potential members. In this literature they must set forth clearly, not only the tactics of any program, but also explain its long-range implications. They must present basic doctrine if prospective converts are to be won and consolidated.

This requires the group to speak truthfully even if its own doctrine teaches the virtue of deception. A gang of confidence men engaged in a vast program of deception must have a system of internal communications to coordinate the deception. An individual member must know what lie he is expected to tell in a given situation.

Reading the radical press is like eavesdropping on the internal communications of the group. It provides powerful weapons with which the destroyers can be exposed.

THE RED ARMY SONG

(May be sung to the melody of "Volga,Volga")

*We are the Red Army troupe
Celebrating quite a coup,
Singing, warbling: "Tra-la-la"
To the English bourgeois.
Jolly fellows that we are,
Following the bright red star,*

*We have sung now many a song
Between Moscow and Wimbledon.
Lenin's corpse and Marx's smell
Lead us forward, so farewell!
Khrushchev led us till he fell,
Stalin shows us road to hell.*

*Our hands are clean of blood,
We have washed them well in suds,
Never mind the Fleet Street bark,
We are hurrying back to Prague.
Czechs and Slovaks love in fact
Our songs of grace and tact.*

*Budapest remembers still
Our tunes of tender thrill.
At the walls of East Berlin
Moscow melodies do ring.
From the Elbe to Sakhalin
Tank crews "Volga, Volga" sing.*

*(From a leaflet distributed by the Ukrainian Information Service,
protesting the visit of the Red Army Ensemble to Great Britain.)*

*Where we put our boot — we stay.
Nations welcome us, all gay.
Those that don't . . . Ah, never mind!
Shut up, dirty fascist swine!
There are places in which we
Cannot be so brotherly.*

*In Ukraine they rose anew,
So we had to shoot a few.
Some had got it in the head,
Some were sent to camps instead,
There to sing of Lenin's care
For humanity's welfare.*

*And though millions were slain
That is their own fault again,
For every place and continent
Is our sacred fatherland.
Be it London or New York,
Paris, Tokyo or Cork,*

*From Lenin's tomb to the Moon —
Mother Russia calls the tune.
Join us in a hearty song,
Pick up shovels, come along
Dig to order, fall in queue,
Do help us to bury you!*

April 1970.

B. H.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



BULGARIA

Trouble With Tourists

Bulgarian Reds find tourism a double-edged sword. Western visitors bring much needed hard currency but they also tote ideas and examples that have the Communists worried.

A candid report on Bulgarian tourist resorts, published recently by a sociologist, Mois Semov concludes that Bulgarians in contact with Westerners have become aware that their visitors enjoy a higher standard of living.

They live in better places than Bulgarians can afford; they have good clothes and more money to spend. This, says Semov, constitutes good "propaganda for the higher standard of living in the major capitalist countries."

It also produces doubt among Bulgarians regarding their own system, Semov says, and stirs up "feelings of admiration for what is foreign . . ."

Bulgarian efforts to increase tourism have had a marked success. Their number increased from some 200,000 in 1960 to 2.1 millions in 1969.

But contacts of Bulgarians with "bourgeois ideology" have had demoralizing effects. Semov accuses his *countrymen* of greed, profiteering, *larceny*, currency violations, national nihilism (a scornful attitude towards Bulgarian holiday-makers), the cult for hard currency and loose morals.

"Such negative phenomena are conditioned both by characteristics in the development of human consciousness and by some element in the socialist basis and superstructure of our society," he says.

That's a fancy way of saying that more than 25 years of effort have failed to produce the perfect Communist specimen.

The greed of the population, for instance, Semov says, is due to the fact that Bul-

garian society as a whole suffers from insufficient production, low remuneration of labor and the consequent insufficient material security.

The greed for money in general has recently been transmuted into greed for hard currency because it is only with such currency that Bulgarians have access to high-quality Western products sold in the *special* tourist "Corecom" shops.

Should Bulgaria abandon tourism?

No, says Semov, because this would eliminate an important source of hard currency at the same time as the "bourgeois influence" which would be economically disastrous.

Instead, he says Bulgarians must raise their standard of living to close the gap with the Western visitors, make highclass Western goods available for Bulgarian currency and surpass capitalist economies so that Bulgarian currency is equal or greater in value than Western currency.

OK. Let's see him do it!

Dumitru Danielopol



HUNGARY

Identity Cards At 14

In Hungary the age limit for carrying identity cards has been lowered from 16 to 14 years of age.

The I. D. card, to be shown to the police upon request, contains the address as well as the school attended by the holder. Should he already be working, then his present and former places of employment, as well as other information, are listed.

The Budapest newspaper *Magyar Közlöny* defended this innovation by referring to the police statement that in 1968 more than 1,000 serious crimes were committed by young persons. The innocent should have nothing to fear, said the paper, while the I. D. card should at the same time help the police in making the questioning of others easier.



POLAND

Trials Of Intellectuals And Students

In the fall of 1969 in Poland five students were given prison sentences of up to 3 years for attempting to smuggle pamphlets against the Polish Communist government from Slovakia over the Tatra Mountains. The names and sentences follow: Bogusława Blaffert — 3 years; Eugeniusz Smolar — 18 months; Wiktor Naporski and Ireneusz Szubert — 1 year; Sylvia Poleska — 8 months.

In February of this year a trial of the following intellectuals began in Warsaw: Maciej Kozłowski, Jakub Karpinski, Krysztof Szymborski, Malgorzata Szpakowska and Maria Tworkowska. They were accused of having illegal ties with foreign countries and of being engaged in activities hostile to the Peoples Republic of Poland.



RUMANIA

Rumanian Penal Code Is Unusual

What would you say about a law that can sentence anybody, anywhere, for anything?

Not possible?

Such a law exists. It is the new Rumanian Penal Code of 1969 which superseded the 1936 penal code.

It is one of the harshest, most comprehensive and *loosely* worded laws in existence.

"Offenses" against "state security" carry the death penalty and a total loss of property not only for Rumanian nationals, but also for foreigners or stateless persons no matter whether they live in Rumania or elsewhere.

This covers a lot of territory. Under the law "state security" includes every kind of information, political, military, transportation, commercial, financial, religious, economic, scientific, scholastic, etc.

In other words it is at the discretion of the Rumanian authorities to prosecute

anyone anywhere who has carried on any activity that they might consider detrimental.

Nonsense? Don't be sure. You are probably subject to it if you have ever expressed any doubts or criticism about the Reds in Eastern Europe.

The law is explicit. It includes people "...meeting together ...to carry on an activity of 'fascist' or 'anti-democratic' character" (the quotes are mine) or of any other activity through which an alteration of the socialist order is aimed at..."

In Communist terminology "fascist" and "anti-democratic" means, in fact, any activity which the regime considers dangerous to its existence. The law covers anyone who has ever been critical anywhere of the regime.

Communist Boss Nicholae Ceausescu has thus forged a "legal" weapon to purge or liquidate anyone he considers dangerous.

The law goes even further.

"The carrying on in public of propaganda of fascist character no matter with what means is punished with prison sentences of between five and fifteen years," it says.

How convenient.

The new code hangs like a "sword of Damocles" over the head of every correspondent, broadcaster, businessman, visitor or traveler to Rumania who might voice a criticism against the regime.

It also weighs on Rumanians traveling abroad — artists, exchange students, sportsmen, etc. anyone who might plan to return to their homes and families.

Is this the "reform" we've been led to expect in Rumania?

Dumitru Danielopol

Party Directives To Historians

Rumanian Communist Party Secretary CEAUSESCU addressed the presidium of the new Academy of Social and Political Sciences and explained what the regime expected from the country's historians. Firstly, Rumanian history, he said, should be portrayed within the context of world history. Secondly, "essential themes of

Rumanian history" from earliest times up to present-day "socialist" Rumania should be traced boldly and historians should not allow themselves to be sidetracked by departures from the main stream. They were told that they would have to follow clear directions in their research, as it was essential that the new history should reflect a harmonious and unitary system. In other words the Rumanian Communists would like the country's history to be re-written in such a way as to make the present regime appear to be the natural and legitimate outcome of centuries of evolution.



Strike To Protest Closing Of Church

At one time in the village of Tukholka in the Skole district of the Lviv oblast, the head of the collective farm and the chairman of the Village Council were extending the area of the collective farm's storehouse and ruined the sculptured iconostasis in the church. Both the church and the iconostasis are architectural monuments. In 1969 the Society for the Protection of Architectural Monuments decided to restore the church and the iconostasis. Since funds and manpower were unavailable, the society turned to the local population for help. The people and the society reached an agreement with the restorers to the effect that after the completion of the work the church will be allowed to open and that a Mass would be said on the feast of Our Lady (September 21) (the day of the parish fair). After restoration with voluntary help from the peasants, representatives of the district government (in Skole) and of the oblast categorically denied the right to open the church for services. Instead they decided to turn it into a museum. Plaster busts of K. Marx and V. Lenin had already been brought. The people understood this deception and protested. They placed another lock on the church door and nobody showed up for work at the state farm. For 16 days schoolchildren and their teachers

attended the state farm's cattle. In order to save the flax crop all employees and office personnel from the district's central office were sent out to pick flax and milk cows. As late as October 5, 1969 nobody had harvested the oats or dug potatoes even though the time for harvest had passed and snow had been falling in the mountains. Details of militia and the KGB had come from Skole, Stryi and Lviv. The spontaneous strike frightened the authorities. Representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and of the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Party arrived to investigate the case. The KGB searched for the instigators of the strike, but because they did not exist, they arrested three persons who seemed to them to be suspicious. Every day groups of agitators went from house to house and tried to talk the people into going back to work; they begged, threatened and some even got it in the ribs. Day and night loudspeakers warned the people about the intensification of repressions. Only on the 17th day did the people begin to return to work on the state farm. The outcome: the church remained closed, but so did the museum. A peasant delegation from the village of Tukholka went to Moscow to see Patriarch Alexei, and although they waited for a long time they were not received by Patriarch Alexei or his aides. Only some secretary declared that they have no need for a church in the village of Tukholka.

New Trials

From January 20 until February 10, 1970 a trial of the former members of the underground, Andriy Ilkovych Demchshyn and Konstantyn Konstantynovych Luts, from the village of Vilkhovets in the Bibrka district, was held in the cultural center in Bibrka. The former was allegedly a county leader of OUN since 1949, the latter a policeman during the war. They were accused of murdering village activists and military men. Since 1945 they were hiding together with falsified documents, but in

1969 they were arrested and sentenced to 15 years.

On January 5, 1970 a trial of Stepan Stepanovych Bedrylo was held in Lviv behind closed doors. The defendant was a staff member of the Economics Institute at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR. He was sentenced to two years for disseminating underground literature.

New Conviction For Karavanskyi

Ukrainian writer Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, who has become known to us through underground literature which was smuggled to the West from Ukraine, has finished his 25-year term of imprisonment in the Vladimir prison. Now his sentence was extended for another five years. His crime was to be found in the fact that he wrote articles in code, between the lines of a newspaper, which he then illegally sent to his wife. In one article he demanded that peace be established between the East and the West; in another he reported on the massacre of Polish officers in Katyn by the Russian army during the Second World War.

This item was carried by an American newspaper, *The Washington Post*, and was reprinted by a German newspaper, *Münchener Merkur*, on April 29, 1970.

A Trial In Dnipropetrovsk

From the 19th to the 27th of January 1970, I. Sokulskyi, N. Kulchynskyi and V. Savchenko were tried in Dnipropetrovsk behind closed doors according to Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR. Only the mothers of the defendants, the correspondents of several newspapers and the KGB were allowed to attend. The sentence was read publicly. They were accused of 1) writing and dissemination of "An Appeal to the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" (Sokulskyi admitted to have been the author of the appeal which defended those who were dismissed from work for their defense of Ukrainian culture and protests against forced Russification); 2) circulation of "Report from the Beria Reservation" by V. Moroz; 3) distribution of an article "Soviet Economy" by academician Agranbergian;

4) reprinting of a passage from Milner's book "Slovaks and Ukrainians" (his books were published in the USSR, and the above book received a favorable review in the press); 5) the safekeeping (by Sokulskyi) of an unsent petition to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, entitled "In the Post of Tsarist Satraps"; 6) his own poems (Sokulskyi); 7) utterances on the national question and the entrance of troops into CSSR.

The prosecutor demanded a 6-year prison term for Sokulskyi, 4 years for Kulchynskyi, and 3 years for Savchenko (who was still free during the investigation). The court sentenced Sokulskyi to 4½ years (severe regime), Kulchynskyi to 2½ years, Savchenko to 2 years, conditionally for the period of three years.

The Russian terror in Ukraine continues. But it is not going to break the fighting spirit of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for liberation.

Inevitability Of War Stressed

The population of the USSR is being persuaded that war is inevitable. The USSR troops have entered Mongolia. A new district has been created in Kazakhstan. All college graduates are drafted into the army for two years. All specializations are called, both single and married men. Enlistment offices are verifying the data of all those eligible for military service and those who have not been taken off the military register. The militia is checking passports of the population. The experts maintain that the USSR is ready to return 35,000 sq.kms. of territory so that the Chinese would again become such friends as before, but the Chinese say: "First return the territory, and then we'll talk about friendship and non-aggression."

The USSR is getting ready for war with the West. The Middle East is making the relations between the USA and the USSR more complicated. The Russians are trying to liquidate the front with Peking.

Book Reviews

Peter J. Babris: *BALTIC YOUTH UNDER COMMUNISM*, Research Publishers, Arlington Heights, Ill., 1967, 351 pp., maps.

It must be recognized that the Baltic peoples trace their history as far back as five thousand years ago. They were subjugated for many years and became free and independent states in 1918. They were able to develop their cultural and economic life until the Russian occupation of June 17, 1940. In August the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "admitted" the three Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — as the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Soviet republics. The Russian occupation of the Baltic states was marked by mass deportations of Balts to Siberia. Between 1940 and 1955 90,000 Estonians, 250,000 Latvians and nearly 400,000 Lithuanians were deported, purged or killed. The process of Russification is in progress in the Baltic states just as in Ukraine, Byelorussia and other non-Russian subjugated nations. The Baltic states were colonized with Mongolian and Russian settlers.

In ten chapters the author presents the resistance of the Baltic youth to Soviet Russian imperialism and Russification and its desire to preserve its national feeling and identity. A.S.

Hellmut Andics: *RULE OF TERROR; RUSSIA UNDER LENIN AND STALIN*, Original title: *Der große Terror*. Translated by Alexander Lieven. New York, Holt, Rhinehard and Winston, 1969, 208 pp.

The author is an Austrian journalist and observer of European history and politics for many years. In five parts and sixteen chapters the bloody half-century of Communist Russian terror is presented beginning with the Bolshevik conquest of power until Stalin's death in 1953 and after. The Russian Bolsheviks used terror in order to take over political control of the Russian

tsarist colonial empire. The primary role of CHEKA, GPU, NKVD and KGB with their purges, deportations and destruction of undesirables is examined. After the Second World War, the Soviet Russian terror was extended to the satellite states such as Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and others. The builders of those institutions of terror were "the great humanist and humanitarian" Lenin and his follower, the bloodthirsty Stalin, the butcher of Ukraine and other non-Russian captive nations of the USSR.

This book tries to explain to the reader the causes and techniques of Russian terror and how the system of terror can continue to exist until the captive nations revolt and destroy the last existing colonial empire — the USSR, and form their free and independent states. A.S.

W. Mykula: *THE GUN AND THE FAITH; Religion and Church in Ukraine Under the Communist Russian Rule*, London, Ukrainian Information Service, 1969, 48 p. + 37 plates.

In the above publication Mr. Mykula outlines the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, concentrating on the period under Communist Russian occupation of the last half century. A short chapter is added on the general Bolshevik attitude and policy toward religion and churches in Ukraine. The material gathered is based on documentary sources indicated in the bibliographic footnotes. The plates excellently portray the most important churches of both denominations and their most prominent bishops of the last 50 years. Short summaries on Protestants, Jews and Moslems in Ukraine conclude this survey.

All those interested in religion in the USSR, in particular journalists, politicians, churchmen and teachers of the free world,

should read this publication, for it shows that there is no single "religious problem" in the Soviet Union, and that the Russian imperialists are combating attempts by Ukrainians (as well as other subjugated nations) to practice their religion independently from Russia. Problems of religion and church in Ukraine are quite different from those in Russia. The primary reason for this is that they are two different nations with different attitudes on religion and the role of the church in society which go back for a millenium at least.

A. W. B.

W. Trembicky: *Flags Of Non-Russian Peoples Under Soviet Rule*, with contributions by W. Smith and K. Dzirkalis. In *The Flag Bulletin*, Lexington, Mass., Summer 1969, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 79—140.

This useful and needed publication of national flags and emblems of nations and peoples enslaved by Russia within the so-called Soviet Union gives information about Armenia, Azerbaijan, Don Cossackia, East Karelia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Siberia, Tatars, Turkestan, Ukraine and White Ruthenia (Byelorussia).

A short article on the history of the national flag or flags of each country is provided, followed by a bibliography. There are 16 colored reproductions of national flags: one for each country — Don Cossacks, Armenia, Daghestan, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Siberia, Tatars, White Ruthenia, and two for each country — East Karelia (and Ingermanland), Lithuania (different on each side), Ukraine (and Kuban Cossacks). There are also 23 sketches of flags and eleven national coats of arms.

However, the publication reveals some insufficiencies, which might be misleading for the non-informed persons. For example, nothing is said about the fact that the Kuban Cossacks are part of the Ukrainian people. The Crimea is also presented as a separate entity and not as part of Ukraine. However, it should be distinguished from the Crimean Tatars who constitute a separate national minority there with their own flag. Misleading is the name "Ru-

thenia" which is used without indication that it is an outdated name for Ukraine. With the name "Carpatho-Ukraine" "Ruthenia" is given as its synonym, which is misleading for the same name is also applied to the medieval Ukrainian-Rus state. There are many inconsistencies in spelling and transliteration: Lvov (Russian occupation name) instead of Lviv, Mohiliv Podishky, instead of Mohyliv Podilskyi, "barvi" instead of "barvy", "gerb" instead of "herb". In some places the name "Galicia" is used, in others "Halich" (instead of Halych).

A. W. B.

THE SOVIET THREAT TO EUROPE.

An Analysis of Soviet Potentials and Intentions by experts of six countries. Introduction by Lord St. Oswald, D. L., M. C., 1969, Foreign Affairs Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 78 pp.

The book contains the following contributions: Alstair Buchan: "The Communist Military Potential in Europe"; "From the American Point of View: What Can the Soviets Do in Europe and What Do They Want to Do?"; Ugo d'Andrea: "The Russians in the Mediterranean"; W. Wierda: "Central Europe — An Area of Vital Importance for Detente and Security in the Whole of Europe"; Georg Bruderer: "Some Aspects of the Soviet Union's Ideological and Psychological Warfare"; Adelbert Weinstein: "Wait — But Be Prepared". These contributions contain valuable information about the military potential of the Russian empire and its satellite formations. The authors of the book convincingly draw the readers' attention to the danger of Russian imperialism and Communism. Lord St. Oswald, D. L., M. C., among other things writes in the introduction of the book: "Is Europe destined, once again, to be the proscenium for a new world war? It is inadmissible to civilized thinking and logic to regard this as 'destiny'. To ignore the danger would be blinder still. In this short book, a number of thoughtful, eminent specialists in world affairs set down their considered view on the danger itself, and their opinions on how it can be met and contained."

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny



An ABN anti-Leninist demonstration in New York City, April 18, 1970. In the fore-front: young Ukrainian demonstrators with placards.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

10-30 Years In Russian Concentration Camps



Top row, from l. to r.: Mykhailo Soroka (59), Ukrainian; Volodymyr Leonyuk (38), Ukrainian; Bohdan Khrystynych (41), Ukrainian. Bottom row, from l. to r.: Jan Kapi-cins, Latvian, died in the concentration camp at the age of 52; Yaroslav Hasyuk (45), Ukrainian; Victor Kalnyns, Latvian.

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Political Prisoners In Russian Concentration Camps

An Italian organization "Europa Civiltà" published a series of portraits of prisoners, inmates of Camp No.17-a of the Dubrovlag in Mordovia. These sketches were done by political prisoner Yuriy Ivanov. Below we are publishing short biographies of prisoners whose portraits appear on our cover page.

Mykhailo Soroka, born in 1911. He was already tried by Poland for participation in the Ukrainian liberation struggle. In 1940 he was arrested by the NKVD and sentenced to 8 years. In 1948 he returned to Lviv but was again arrested and deported to Krasnoyarsk. He was subsequently arrested in 1952 and sentenced to 25 years in prison for membership in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Yaroslav Hasyuk, born in 1925 in Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivsk). In 1960 he was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for contacts with Ukrainian nationalist underground.

Volodymyr Leonyuk, born in 1932 in Brest-Litovsk. In 1951 he was given a 25-year term of imprisonment for his participation in the Ukrainian nationalist underground.

Bohdan Khrystynych, born in 1929 in Ternopil. In 1959 he was accused of participation in the Ukrainian nationalist underground and was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in camps with severe regime.

Victor Kalnyns was arrested in 1962 and accused of membership in "an underground anti-Soviet nationalist organization" on the basis of Article 66 (treason) and 67 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) of the Criminal Code of the Latvian SSR. He was sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp. Many Latvian intellectuals protested against his conviction, but to no avail.

Jan Kapicins — Latvian, born in 1917, was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment for participation in nationalist activities. He died on January 16, 1970 in Camp No. 17.



Ukrainians marching in the Captive Nations Week parade in New York City, July 12, 1970.

Dissolution Of The Empire — Not Just A Change Of Regime

Recently the "Program of the Democratic Movement in the USSR" made its appearance. It called forth many commentaries, raised many hopes, as well as brought about confusion and lack of agreement. Under conditions of subjugation of a given nation by a totalitarian imperial regime, it often happens that the primary cause of subjugation: imperialism, becomes obscured, and the regime, not the nation-oppressor, gets the blame. Consequently, in the time of the tsars the blame for the subjugation of Ukraine fell upon the regime: the tsarist despotism; now during Bolshevism it falls upon the new form of despotism. But the primary cause — the imperialism of the Russian nation — has been concealed.

The situation was much simpler for Ireland, for instance, which was formerly subjugated by England. England is a democratic country. Therefore while speaking about the national liberation struggle of Ireland, nobody would think anything else in relation to this struggle, except that it was an anti-imperial not an anti-regime struggle. Now under conditions of the totalitarian, Bolshevik regime in Ukraine, the supporters of the "one and indivisible Russia" are turning the attention away from the imperial regime, but instead are placing all the blame upon the form of government — totalitarianism.

Ukraine does not care whether Russia has a totalitarian or a democratic regime. We are interested in the establishment of a Sovereign, United Ukrainian State and the break-up of the empire, and not merely in the change of the political order in the empire. For some reason, many seem to feel that the change of the regime is going to solve the problem of the subjugated nations. On the contrary, England, France, Belgium and Holland were democratic countries at home, but this did not prevent the "mother" of the democratic world, England, from having the greatest colonial empire of the world. We are not trying to compare the British empire, which brought civilization and cultural benefits to the colonial peoples, with the barbaric Russian empire. We are only trying to emphasize that the struggle for statehood has no basic relation to the regime in a given mother country, for this struggle is being waged for the dissolution of the empire, and is not concerned with a mere democratization of the EMPIRE but with its destruction. And therefore our task is doubly difficult now, for some feel that in the event that "the democrats of Russia, Ukraine, and the Baltic region" will assume power in the Russian empire — the USSR — our national aspirations are going to be fulfilled, but this is not so. Our struggle for statehood is being dimmed by the quest for democratization, by the anti-regime struggle, at a time when an anti-imperial struggle is essential for us. Russia can have whatever regime she chooses: democratic, fascist, communist. This is her affair. Our problem is to drive Russia out of our lands.

Nothing veiled the national liberation war in Algeria or India, or the war of the Boers, for nobody tried to maintain that either the Boers or the Algerians were fighting for "democracy within the empire", for both England and France are democratic countries. In our case, our objectives are constantly being falsified.

Some seem to think that the realization of the "program of the Russian democrats" is going to solve the problem of the subjugated peoples. Under no circumstances. In the struggle against tsarism Lenin was already using deceiving slogans: "Self-determination including separation (with the agreement of the Russian proletariat)". Some Ukrainian socialists and other "democrats" fell for these anti-regime slogans. The Western world must understand that no "democratization" of the empire is our goal. Our goal is the dissolution of the empire. Therefore we have to overcome twice as many obstacles under conditions of the totalitarian regime: we have to point out that our struggle is basically a national liberation struggle, that is, an anti-imperial struggle, and for that reason also an anti-regime, anti-Communist and anti-totalitarian struggle. The situation is going to be saved and the solution provided not by the democratic system, but by the realization of the concept of the dissolution of the empire, which would automatically bring about the downfall of the regime, which is the creation of the Russian spirit and the form and means of national and all other kinds of oppression of the conquered nations. Therefore there is absolutely no reason to rave about "democratic reforms" and the change of regime or the national situation of the subjugated nations through "evolution".

In the contest with Russia (not with her regimes which change according to the needs of the empire) not the "road of peaceful, free evolution in a democratic society", but the road of revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated peoples, i.e. steel and blood, is going to be the judge between us.

The national liberation movement of the subjugated nations does not want to fuse at all into "a single unbroken stream with the general democratic movement" of the nation-oppressor, for the nation-oppressor can have a democratic order in its home country, and still oppress other nations with arms and violence. No democracy can save a subjugated nation, only its own power.

Let us not lull the nation to sleep by the mirage of the democratization of the empire. Let us overcome the illusion prevalent in the West that our struggle is identifying itself with the anti-regime struggle. Let us bring out what is essential: our struggle is an anti-imperial struggle, and for that reason, under conditions of de facto Russian occupation, an anti-regime struggle as well. Our road to liberation is through national liberation revolutions and not through peaceful evolution of the regime.

Prevent the death of those buried alive!

25 years in a stone grave — the Vladimir prison — for working for the Red Cross! — Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husyak, Halyna Didyk, martyrs for human and national rights! — Let's mobilize freedom-loving people of the world in their defense! — Let's rouse the conscience of the world! — Let's call on all religious, humanitarian, social and political organizations of the free world to speak up in defense of Red Cross workers and political prisoners!

Financial Independence – A Precondition To Independent Political Action

Our concept of liberation is based on a common front of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states and the destruction of the Communist tyranny. The national liberation revolutions and uprisings of the subjugated nations are the road to liberation.

An auxiliary front consists of the establishment of a world anti-Russian front of the freedom-loving, anti-imperialist, anti-Communist, patriotic forces of the world with the aim of all-round support of our liberation struggle inside the Russian prison of nations.

Today the battle-lines cut across peoples. Certain disoriented groups in almost every nation of the free world are fighting for Russian ideas. Deceived by the Russians some circles in the free world are seeking guidance not from capitals of their own countries, but from Moscow or Peking, as if they were the center of their hopes and an example to be followed. They are not conscious of the fact that by these actions they are digging graves for themselves, their freedom, the higher values of life, their nations.

Hence we are confronted with a question: why cannot the noble forces of the free nations of the world rise in support of our ideas, which spell salvation for mankind, when a part of the free world is supporting Moscow's criminal aims?

The purpose of our action in exile is to induce the free world to fight for our objectives, which are its objectives. We are working toward this end systematically and energetically.

In order to reach this goal we are organizing international conferences or participating in conferences organized by various groups in the free nations which sympathize with us; we are initiating and conducting mass protest actions against Russian terror in our subjugated countries, defending our subjugated peoples, political prisoners, fighting against Russophile and Communophile influences in the free world, demonstrating in front of Russian embassies and consulates, whenever an opportunity and a possibility present themselves, publishing periodicals, books, pamphlets, leaflets in various languages, in which we are exposing the real face of Bolshevism and Russian imperialism of all shades, informing the world about our revolutionary liberation struggle and mobilizing the freedom-loving forces of the world for a common anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik struggle for our goals and ideals.

We are active behind the Iron Curtain, ideologically and politically organizing the peoples for simultaneous national liberation revolutions and uprisings, distributing our publications in the native languages of the peoples, among various social groups, including the soldiers of the Soviet army, youth, intelligentsia, workers, farmers.

We are rendering support to the underground Churches, which are opposing the "church" of Aleksei, forcibly imposed upon them by the Kremlin.

The extent to which Moscow is threatened by our activities in the countries subjugated within the USSR and the satellite states is revealed in the articles

appearing in the Soviet press, periodicals, various kinds of books as well as in the publications of the satellite countries, Poland, CSSR, Bulgaria and others. *The Friendship of Peoples*, the central organ of the Writers' Union of the USSR, *The New Time*, a periodical devoted to foreign-policy propaganda, published in seven languages, attack the activities of ABN in extensive articles, since they fear its ideas, its actions, its struggle. They are not afraid of the weak. The Russian tyrants are only afraid of the strong. Even Shelepin did not dare to come to West Germany, although German leaders announced his visit. That criminal, convicted by the German Supreme Court, as an assassin, does not exhibit too great a courage.

Today ABN has become a symbol of international uncompromising struggle against the Russian prison of nations and the tyrannical Communist system. It is not important that here and there its existence is kept silent, but it is singularly important that there is a banner in the freedom-loving world, that there is a center of uncompromising action, upon which wholesome patriotic dynamic forces of the world, which aspire to topple the Russian empire and all types of despotism, and to build upon its ruins a just national and social order, can orient themselves.

The national principle of the organization of the world vs. the imperial, freedom of the individual vs. totalitarian slavery, social justice vs. exploitation and injustice — a new international and social order, built upon the respect for human and national rights — is the goal of our struggle.

The ABN is fulfilling its historic mission in respect to God, the nations and people of the whole world, when it focuses the attention of the world on the chief enemy and is a modern-day Cassandra who by words and deeds is untiringly reminding the world: the Russian empire must be destroyed.

There are forces both in the free world and behind the Iron Curtain which are trying to preserve it. The ABN has declared a life-or-death war on all of them — inside the empire and throughout the subjugated world as well as the free world — and is constantly and fearlessly conducting it. Nobody is going to turn it back from this road. Those fighting under the banner of ABN are not to be frightened by assassinations, kidnappings, gas bombs nor any other kind of terror. They are not to be broken or made to submit.

The whole freedom-loving world should support the concepts and actions of ABN, for it is its cause as well. The ABN cannot be directed unto false tracks by any kind of attempts, also because it has deep-seated support of the subjugated peoples, of its best sons and daughters. In its activities ABN rests upon its own strength and its own funds. ABN is conscious of the fact that independent policies can be pursued only while having its own financial base. Financial independence is a precondition to political independence.

Therefore ABN calls upon all freedom-loving people of the world and in particular upon the members of the subjugated nations, to create a financial base for its versatile activities and struggle in the subjugated countries and among the peoples of the free world.

Every two years the ABN appeals to its sympathizers in the free world to participate in the fund raising campaign to enable the ABN to continue its many-sided activities. The ABN has always received such support. At a time when the

dark forces of Russian evil are starting to corrupt the freedom-loving world and the Russian armed forces are consolidating their aggressive plans and are putting them into effect here and there, it is mandatory to mobilize the wholesome forces of the world as part of our plan and in our interest for the final victory over the Russian tyrants and Communist despots.

We have to increase our publishing activities in foreign languages, the foreign-language broadcasts, our action with the help of international conferences, manifestations, demonstrations, lectures, intensified diplomatic activity before the governments and parliaments of various states, before all kinds of interstate institutions, our activities inside the subjugated countries, including the increased transmission of radio broadcasts for them, supplying them with literature, sending it through various channels and the unfolding and intensification of the revolutionary liberation processes by various ways and means. For this reason it is necessary to strengthen our financial base.

ABN hopes that it will receive financial support from the freedom-loving people of the world and from the emigres of the subjugated countries.

We call upon the emigrants from all subjugated countries and other friends among the free peoples of the world to contribute to the ABN Fund. Our cause is your cause.

Freedom-loving peoples and individuals of the entire world, unite in the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism, for independence of nations and freedom for individuals!

1970

Central Committee of ABN

A. Amalrik Arrested

As could have been expected, the Russians could no longer stand the courageous freedom-loving stand by Andrei Amalrik. He was arrested in his home near Moscow, regardless of his protests that he was not guilty. The whole apartment was thoroughly searched and many of his manuscripts and other materials were confiscated.

Andrei Amalrik became known in the West when his work "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" was published in several periodicals and then as a book by Harper & Row. He had been arrested in 1965 and sentenced to two and a half years in exile. He recounts his experiences then in "Involuntary Journey to Siberia", a book soon to be published by Harcourt, Brace & World.

Amalrik's future fate can be easily foreseen: he will either be sent to a psychiatric clinic, where the KGB will try to destroy him morally and to ruin his personality, or else he will be sent to a concentration camp, where they will try to ruin his health and to isolate him from the world, or will force him "to repent" and to write panegyrics in praise of the present leaders of the USSR.

But nevertheless, Amalrik's forecast of the inevitability of the fall of the Russian empire and the reestablishment of sovereign states of all nations subjugated in the USSR has a concrete basis and will come true. He should be admired for his courage to say the truth, even if he will not be the same Andrei Amalrik after going through his latest ordeal.

For Ukrainian-Polish Friendship

A well-known Polish journalist, Juliusz Mieroszewski, wrote in the April 1970 issue of Kultura, a Polish periodical published in Paris, about the need for closer relations and friendship between Ukraine and Poland, so that in the event of war between the USSR and Red China it would be possible to break up the Russian prison of nations.

Defending the view about the necessity of Polish-Ukrainian friendship and cooperation and the Polish support of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian and other peoples subjugated by Moscow as a precondition to Polish independence, Mr. Mieroszewski is coming close to the concept of ABN. Therefore we are publishing his interesting ideas almost in full.

After the Second World War the arrangement of forces in Europe has changed to such a degree that the West European powers — England and France — ceased to exist, and the deafened and humiliated Germany is no longer a military threat to its neighbours.

The Russian empire, which expanded its influence and grew in strength, suddenly found itself face to face with the mortal threat from the Asian East. USSR's recent ally, Communist China, is quickly building up its military might and is now a central problem for Moscow, which has nothing to fear from the West. Hence Russia is searching for allies not against Germany, but against China. Thus the basic relationship of forces in Eastern Europe is changing.

We can see Moscow's feverish attempts to win the United States over to its side. With the same aim in mind, negotiations are being conducted with West Germany.

The broadly developed propaganda campaign against China in the USSR and the satellite states is directed toward the creation of a massive front of the peoples of East Europe against Peking. "It was one thing — writes Mieroszewski, to mobilize the public opinion of the Poles, Czechs, or Hungarians against the Germans, but it is quite another to look for allies against China in East Europe. It is not hard to imagine what are the attitudes of Ukrainian soldiers in the Far East. What should a Ukrainian be looking for under the Chinese Wall? It is well-known that Ukrainians are disturbed by the fact that a considerable portion of their national income is invested in Siberia."

What would be the reaction of the satellite states if the Russian-Chinese war would

break out tomorrow?

"In Warsaw they would say under their breaths that the Chinese are beating the *Katsaps* (a derogatory name for the Russians). The Poles would rejoice at every battle lost by Soviet Russians. As a people, we do not have any particular sentiment for the Chinese, but we feel a particular and almost general hatred towards the Russians.

"The peoples of the Soviet Union would react in a like manner. Why should the Ukrainian people shed its blood in a long-drawn-out war against China? What do the Ukrainians care about the Chinese, with whom they never had any misunderstandings?"

In this situation, with the passing of time "an unofficial, non-partisan but de facto agreement and understanding would begin to take shape" between the Ukrainians and the Poles, after the Russians numerically the largest peoples of Eastern Europe. "Of course, in the event of war, or a serious crisis, Russia would not allow any kind of a Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement, for this type of cooperation would involve over 75 million people."

In a protracted war with China, Poland could seem to Ukrainians a far more natural and more attractive ally than Russia.

The Poles, just as Ukrainians, do not have the least reason or national interest in shedding blood in the war with China, which could last for years. "A certain percentage of Ukrainians, as well as Poles, favour an understanding with Russia. But, should Russia's victory over China bring about the consolidation of the totalitarian government in the Kremlin and an even greater dependence of Poland and Ukraine

upon Moscow, as was heretofore the case, then it must be stated that the victory of Russia in China is neither in the interest of Ukrainians nor the Poles. We want to reach agreement with Russia, but not with Russia which is the prison of nations and the gendarme of Europe.

In such a situation (the war between Russia and China) Moscow would be aware of the fact that this Russian prison of nations could neither be smashed by the Tatars nor the Kirghiz, but this can be done by the Ukrainians and the Poles. Liberation movements on a larger scale in Poland and Ukraine, should Russia be engaged in China, could bring about a chain reaction which is difficult to control. For this reason one of the essential tasks of Soviet policy would be to set the Ukrainians and Poles at odds according to the principle of "divide and rule".

Russia could do this easily and cheaply. It would be enough to return Lviv to the Poles in order to cross out all chances of Polish-Ukrainian understanding. An official communique would appear to the effect that the party and state delegations of Poland and the USSR, after discussing the problem, have come to the conclusion that Lviv was taken from the Poles by Stalin in the period of "error and distortions."

The Poles would march into Lviv with unfurled banners and in the press many articles would appear on the subject of the return to the "ancient Polish territories."

In Ukraine riots would most probably occur, which would be crushed by the Russian troops. The Ukrainians would find themselves in a trap. On one side they would be faced with the hostility of the Poles, and on the other with the hostility of the Russians. Moscow would have achieved its important goal: the nipping in the bud of a potential possibility for a Polish-Ukrainian understanding.

From the Russian point of view, taking away Lviv from the Poles was a political blunder, for Lviv was the bone of contention between these two neighbouring states, which is in Russia's interest under all con-

ditions, not only in times of upheavals and crises. Stalin took Lviv in a treaty on the division of Poland, when he and Hitler did not take into consideration the rebuilding of the Polish state. Therefore I would not be surprised if the Russians — at a time of a less dramatic crisis than a war with China — would decide to give Lviv back to Poland in order to awaken hostility between Poles and Ukrainians. Should the national problem in the USSR become more acute — then it would be in the interest of Moscow to "buy" the Poles, but first of all to set them at odds with the Ukrainians.

Thus, at the moment favourable to us, should the Soviet Union find itself in the midst of domestic crisis, or even at war, our whole historic past would turn against us if Poland would not be able to take advantage of a historic opportunity . . .

Territory is an element of strength only to a certain degree. In my opinion, should the Poles take Vilnius away from the Lithuanians and Lviv from the Ukrainians under favourable conditions, then the position of Poland in relation to Russia would weaken considerably, for cities don't count as much as peoples. We are not concerned with the conquest of Lviv or Vilnius, but with the winning of confidence and friendship of Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Byelorussians. Now we have a favourable situation because Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Byelorussians hate the Russians. A wise Polish foreign policy should make use of this fact at a favourable moment. But should we jump into the boots of our ancestors of the 17th century, then perhaps we shall conquer Vilnius and Lviv but we shall not reestablish a healthy proportion between Poland and Russia. And this is what counts, **not one city more or one city less.**

Partnership always entails cooperation and rivalry. Russia will never recognize us as an equal partner, as long as we are not going to be her rival in the East of Europe. There is no need to enter into a partnership with anyone incapable of being a rival. This elementary principle can be equally applied to politics and to business.

"Someone might say that these are "illusions of grandeur", Jagailonian ideas and so forth. Nothing could be further from the truth. The time will come when Ukrainians, Balts and Byelorussians will have a chance to gain at least authentic autonomy, if not complete independence. Poland should support the interests of these peoples in Moscow and defend them from Moscow.

"It would seem that a logical argument could be made that we have no reason to sacrifice our interests for those of the Ukrainians; that we should not worsen our relations with Russia by 'advocating' the Ukrainian or the Lithuanian causes.

Rivalry was always the basis of the Polish-Russian relations and we have lost this rivalry not directly with Moscow, but only in Ukraine. We had nothing to offer to the then East European peoples except for exploitation and colonialism. Therefore the Poles speak about the Jagailonian idea with enthusiasm and Ukrainians and Lithuanians with disgust.

"We are not proposing a Polish-Ukrainian federation, and even less, a new march on Kyiv. But figuratively speaking, with Russia we can only win in Ukraine. At a favourable turn of events we can regain our status in relation to Russia, when the peoples which separate us from the Russian mainland are going to be sure of our friendship and support. This is neither imperialism nor a Jagailonian idea, but a simple, sound policy. A sound and farsighted policy is much harder to pursue than im-

perialism. The easiest, but with the most catastrophic consequences, is mini-imperialism, as for instance the conquest, at an opportune moment, of Vilnius from a small nation.

"Whether we are going to be equal partners of Russia is not going to be determined by the Russians, but by Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians and the Baltic peoples. If under a favourable combination of events, we are going to be able to convince these peoples that Poland has more to offer them than Russia, that our policy has nothing in common with imperialism or conquest, then we are going to regain our lost position in relation to Russia almost automatically. Seen from this angle, the giving up of our claims to Lviv is a fragment of our policy not in relation to Ukraine, but to Russia. We cannot permit Russia to set us at odds with Ukrainians, for our claims to Lviv or to Vilnius serve as water to run the mill of the Russian imperialistic policy.

"Independence in the Polish sense is independence from Russia. Excluding an atomic war — it is even hard to speculate on this subject — no other road to independence is open to us, except to regain Polish positions in relation to Russia. I feel that this goal cannot be reached in any other way than by winning friendship and confidence of peoples which separate us from the Russian mainland. The more prominent is the position of the Polish Ambassador in free Kyiv, the more regard will they have for the Polish Ambassador in Moscow."

Dr. Pokorny In USA

The American Friends of ABN arranged a dinner meeting in New York City on June 19, 1970 on the occasion of the visit by Dr. Ctibor Edmund Pokorny, Chairman of the Organizing Commission of ABN and Vice-President of the Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Council. Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, welcomed him on behalf of his organization. In his speech Dr. Pokorny stressed the importance for the Free World of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated

by Russia and Communism, and denoted the political conception of ABN as the only real alternative to that of Russian imperialism in world politics. His speech was followed by a general discussion at which everyone present participated. The talks were held in a very friendly atmosphere.

While in New York Dr. Pokorny participated at the First World Congress of the Slovaks. He also visited the central office of the Ukrainian national organizations and the editorial office of the Ukrainian daily "Svoboda" in Jersey City, N.J.

The Year Of Chuprynka Vs. The Year Of Lenin

(Conclusion)

At that time, side by side with the military pact of the three states, a bacteriological and chemical war was launched by Russia, through the MVD troops, directed personally by Khrushchov, against the fighting Ukraine, against the UPA, against our people, who supported the UPA-OUN. Children, women and old people – all of them were in the front lines in the struggle of the nation against Russia . . . Mass deportations, raids, provocations, Russian partisans at UPA's rear, supplied from the air, an avalanche of MVD troops, and the Russian divisions of the Soviet Army – all this was aimed at the destruction of the fighting Ukraine. This was the struggle of the heroic Ukrainian people, which has no equal in the history of the world, against the victor in a world war, thanks to the Allies, over such military power as Nazi-Germany had been.

The blood was spilt in streams . . . This army of the nation of heroes, as it was called by the great Commander-in-Chief in one of his orders "which has no equal in the history of mankind", next to which all Thermophiles are paling, was commanded by an unequalled strategist of the insurgent-guerrilla warfare, the most modern type of warfare in the thermo-nuclear age – General Taras Chuprynka. A great unifier of ideas and deeds . . . This was manifested even in his assumed name: the head of the Insurgent Center of the Central Ukrainian Territories in the 1920's was Hrytsko Chuprynka.

When the unconquerable population of the so-called Zakerzonnya (Lemky region) has put up such staunch resistance to the forced resettlement Stalin got frightened and stopped mass deportations from West Ukraine as well, for he feared that the flames of revolution are going to envelop the whole prison of nations. *And it was not the German bombers, but the Ukrainian liberation ideas which threatened to blow up the Russian empire from within.*

At the head of this fierce and heroic struggle in Ukraine and in the empire stood the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. He was opposing Stalin. In the versatile struggle in our native land he impersonated the gigantic struggle of the Ukrainian nation against the aggressive Russian nation. Chuprynka vs. Stalin, Kyiv vs. Moscow, St. Sophia and St. George vs. the Kremlin, Ukraine vs. Russia! The Red Russian partisans led by Kolpak, which were thrown at UPA's rear and against which the UPA had to fight while fighting the German occupants at the same time, did not help very much. The UPA defeated these Kolpak bands so that when the opportunity presented itself they were glad to march through some regions of Ukraine under the cover of darkness, fleeing in the wake of the brave army of Ukraine. The "raids" of the Red Russian partisans in Ukraine, were no more than random attacks of robbers-gangsters upon the daring population of Ukraine which supported the UPA-OUN. The "raid" of Kolpak and Co. looked like the stealing in of thieves and robbers to somebody else's house, who after stealing somebody else's property or killing a defenseless man in his sleep, were bragging about their thieving, gangster "courage". In the long-run the common combating by both the German occupants and the Russian ones with their helpers of the fighting Ukraine, the organized OUN-UPA, did not help either. Only after Germany had capitulated while the friendship with the Allies continued uninterrupted, and the activities of the OUN-UPA continued to expand and grow in strength, did Russia together with her allies, the CSSR and Poland, throw her forces against the UPA-OUN.

ABN against the Russian prison of nations of all colors! For its final dissolution into independent national states within the ethnographic boundaries of the subjugated peoples! Taras Chuprynka is pro-

jecting a new world on the ruins of the empire. He proposes and is striving for a new political map of Europe, Asia, and – the world, after the destruction of the Russian prison of nations and the Communist system.

And it is not an accident that we are putting forth a slogan: The Year of Chuprynka against the Year of Lenin! This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the heroic death on the field of glory of the leader of our liberation army and the defender of the most noble ideas of the nation and the individual, and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin – the founder of the most barbaric prison of nations and individuals, the greatest criminal and perpetrator of genocide not only of our day and age.

Chuprynka vs. Lenin in the historio-ideological cross section of our epoch in world dimensions – two symbols, two systems of ideas, two conceptions, two pictures of life. The world of truth, freedom, goodness, justice, human and national rights, the acknowledgment of man as a creature like unto God, a nation as the cornerstone in the construction of the world, the national state as the principle of organization of the new world, religion as the source of morality and the projection of the supernatural, eternal life – this is the world of General Chuprynka – against the world of deception, terror, arbitrariness, genocide, injustice and exploitation, the trampling of human and national rights, the downgrading of an individual and making him into a member of the herd, the world prison of nations and individuals, militant atheism and philosophical materialism, which does not acknowledge the immortality of the human soul – this is the world of Lenin. When the deceived and Bolshevik-infiltrated circles, even in the free world, are getting ready to celebrate Lenin's centennial, let us offset this, in this year of Chuprynka, by his image with its ideas, the ideas of the fighting Ukraine, the ideas of Kyiv, versus the figure of Lenin with his criminal aims, the aims of Russia, the aims of Moscow to

ruin and destroy the world of goodness and truth, freedom and justice.

Let us show Ukraine to the world, let us show our national underground Christian militant Kyiv, our St. Sophia and St. George, against Russia, against Moscow, against the Kremlin. Kyiv and Moscow – let them show themselves to the world in this year of Chuprynka in the cross section of the world ideological and many-sided struggle for two opposing concepts of life, for two opposing worlds.

At mass demonstrations or at any other opportunity let us carry banners with the name of Shukhevych-Chuprynka in contrast to the name of Lenin. Let the demonstrators with signs bearing the names of Chuprynka, Bandera, Petlyura, etc. clash in the streets of cities of the free world with those bearing the names of Lenin, Stalin, Marx, etc. which are the symbols of the world of crime and the downfall of man.

Just as the Zaporizhian Sich under Baida-Vyshnevetskyi was placed under the protection of Blessed Virgin Mary, so our army under General Chuprynka was placed under the protection of Mary the Patroness. In the early morning and evening all of Chuprynka's warriors gathered in prayer to their Creator begging Him for protection and victory of their just cause. Fighting against the armies of the godless Russians, our army had its own chaplains who fell in battle with the cross in their hands just as their companions, the soldiers, with arms in their hands.

Taras Chuprynka stood for equal rights for all citizens of Ukraine, regardless of race, religion and national origin, provided they are loyal to the Ukrainian government.

UPA defended the Jews, who were being annihilated by the Nazis. Hundreds and hundreds of OUN-UPA members were executed by the Germans for sheltering the persecuted Jewish population. UPA accepted into its ranks all volunteers, as for instance Jewish doctors, and anyone who wanted to fight for a Ukrainian state against Nazi or Russian barbarity. Creating national units within the framework

of the UPA, its Commander-in-Chief aimed at mobilizing the armed forces of other subjugated peoples into separate national armies against the Russian and German invaders. This was part of a plan of a common armed front of the subjugated nations. His proposal is applicable even today. The armed struggle will determine the fate of the subjugated nations, the fate of Ukraine. This is a firm guiding principle which was left to us by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine – General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka.

So few instances were recorded in history where the Supreme Commander remained with his army at the field of battle – and without leaving his native land died the death of a hero in the struggle with troops of the aggressor. “WE – the Command of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists – are remaining in our native land with our people”, wrote the Head of the OUN Command, Tur, in “The Declaration of the OUN Command after the End of World War II” – “to continue unchangeably our liberation struggle, without leaving our people . . .”

As the Commander-in-Chief of UPA, the Head of the Ukrainian Underground Government, in contrast to the puppet “Government” of the Ukr. SSR, the Head of the OUN Command in Ukraine, was dying near Bilohorshcha, on native soil, defending it against the brutal Russian

barbarians, an ancient example of Leonidas at Thermophiles stood before our eyes; we recalled for some reason Nelson in the battle of Trafalgar; we thought about a modern Ukrainian Svyatoslav who perished while defending his native land from the wild Pechenigs-Russians.

It is not known where the last remains of our Supreme Commander are to be found, for the Russian barbarians are afraid of him, even after his death. They are afraid that his grave would become a site of pilgrimage for thousands upon thousands in Ukraine. But to no avail. The time will come when the last remains of our modern-day Svyatoslav, who fell at the head of his warriors in the defense of his native land, will be found, and they will find their final resting place in the Ukrainian Pantheon, in our holy and eternal city of Kyiv. But before this happens, it is our sacred duty to fight against Russia at every opportunity, and with all methods, forms and means in order to revenge the death of our Great Heroes.

Long live the Sovereign, United Ukrainian State!

Death to the Russian empire of all forms!

Long live the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)!

Eternal glory to the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (UPA) – General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka!

Visitors At ABN Headquarters

In May ABN was visited by Miss Patricia Barham and Mr. Edward Delaney, both journalists from California. Miss Barham is a longtime columnist for the *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, now the *Herald-Examiner* and the author of several books. In 1951 she worked as war correspondent in Korea. Dr. Delaney, once imprisoned by Russian-Communist “saviours” in Czecho-Slovakia for having written anti-Communist articles, is the author of “Five Decades Before Dawn”. Now he is working on a book dealing with American and Russian relations since 1933.

Beware Of Moscow!

The Moscow treaty recently signed by West German Chancellor Willy Brandt is tantamount to the second capitulation of Germany. His justificatory declaration to the effect that his government did not surrender anything which had not been lost already is nonsense, for the world is not standing still and in a quarter century the political map of the world has basically changed to the advantage of the vanquished.

Germany is the first of the Western powers to recognize formally the status quo, i. e. foreign lands conquered by the force of Russian arms, crushed by the Russian boot. Here and there, declarations of Western statesmen touched upon the subject of frontiers of some countries. De Gaulle, for instance, declared himself in favour of recognition of the Oder-Neisse line, but this in no way related to the recognition of a general status quo. De Gaulle was rather concerned with the strengthening of positions of France's traditional friend and ally, regardless of the integral recognition of the status quo. Recognizing the present boundaries of Poland in the west, de Gaulle perhaps did not wish for the return of Western Ukrainian territories to Poland but wanted her to keep her present western boundaries, for it cannot be excluded that Ukraine is definitely playing some part in the secret dreams of de Gaulle.

The Germans — the adherents of SPD-FDP — have recognized the complete status quo of Russia's conquests, the division of Germany and the isolation of Berlin, with the hope of some unknown favour from the Russians for the gift which they presented to Moscow. The Scheel-Gromyko negotiations in Moscow were only to work out the artistic formulation of the second capitulation. If this is not understood by the Bonn diplomats, then they must either be naive or duped by "the grandeur of Russia", which always constituted a weakness in some Germans. Oh, Dostoevksy, oh, Tolstoy! — such depths — these are the sighs of a German burgher while admiring Russia-sphinx and brutal tyrant.

All negotiations and agreements are supposed to bring mutual benefits. What did the Germans get for this treaty? Nothing. In that event, it means capitulation. At present the German government is partly in the hands of former emigrants, who were either Communists at one time, or leftists. Schumacher, a long-time inmate of Nazi concentration camps, was against those who are now at the helm. Some of them clearly oriented themselves on Soviet Russia in opposing him. If the government had been in the hands of those who have gone through Russian concentration camps and had been anti-Nazi, they would have pointed to another force which could be their ally in the struggle for Germany's reunification in freedom. These are the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and earlier also by Nazism, which are now in the USSR and the satellite states. Political support of these nations would be an alternative to capitulation. All the more now, when Russia is threatened by Red China, when there are complications and a threat from the USA in connection with Israel and the Arab oil, when at least two new fronts against Russia are opening for the existence of the most important front: THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS, with Ukraine at the head, then Bonn chooses to capitulate. It is true that Germans made good soldiers, but God had punished them with unbelievable political naivette.

It seemed that the democratic, the so-called OTHER Germany is going to rectify Hitler's crimes in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic region, the Caucasus and so forth. Adenauer, who did not trust the Russians, and called Khrushchov "the butcher of Ukraine", made a start in that direction. But Adenauer's era came to an end. The Bonn government of SPD-FDP "is atoning" for Nazi crimes by accepting the conditions of subjugation by another tyranny — the Bolshevik one. Capitulating before the Russian imperialists, it is becoming an object of hatred among the subjugated nations, for it confirms and supports the policy of murder and genocide towards Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan and so forth. This is the same as the Hitler-Stalin pact. Only the Russian imperialists can be pleased with the affirmation of the status quo, but never the subjugated peoples. The Moscow treaty is an agreement against the subjugated nations. It is a treaty with the conquerors against the captives. The government of the USSR does not represent anyone from the subjugated nations, besides the Russian imperialists and their supporters, the Russian people. More than half of the population of the USSR is constituted by the subjugated nations, which are against the confirmation of the status quo of their subjugation by Russian oppressors. The Polish people are for the Oder-Neisse line, but not for the permanence of the Communist regime in Poland and not for the presence of the Russian occupation divisions on its soil. The Czechs also do not want to have Russian divisions on their territory, while the Slovaks wish to regain their independence. But the Bonn government had accepted all that the Russians wanted indiscriminately. The frontiers are to be inviolable; the subjugation is to continue undisturbed; the Russian divisions are to continue to occupy foreign lands. "They are renouncing all violence". But wasn't violence used in Ukraine, Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Turkestan, Latvia, Byelorussia or Bulgaria, and East Berlin? The Bonn government has forgotten all this. It has even forgotten about tens of divisions in East Germany, considering this colony a state and the forced division of the nation as "two states". At all costs it wants to ease things for the Russians in their conflict with Red China, and in particular with the USA in the Middle East and the Mediterranean Sea. That means that the United States cannot undertake anything on German territory, at a time when Russia is beginning to dominate the Mediterranean Sea and North Africa and can cut the supply of oil to Western Europe from the Arab lands and to offer "its own" from Azerbaijan or Ukraine. Germany is to enjoy the peace of a graveyard. It cannot constitute any threat to the Russian aggressors, while the Germans have to supply them with industrial products, in order to relieve the industry of the USSR and to convert it even more to a military status. No wonder that Brezhnev said that he is pleased with the "success". And upon being questioned during one radio discussion a Russian correspondent from *Pravda* said that Russia did not give in a bit and had no reason to do so. He was surprised that such a question could even be asked. How could Moscow make concessions? The Russian aggressor had never heard of such a thing. It is even beyond his imagination.

Bonn had entered the descending road of Russian blackmail. Whether Washington is going to look for something in Germany in the long-run remains to be seen. In any event the next Russian demand, as the result of the "renunciation of force" treaty, is going to concern the American, the French and the British

troops stationed in Germany. And the fact that human naivette, and German in particular, has no bounds can be seen from the fact that its government is stressing at every opportunity that its policies are supported by the USA, France and England. Is it possible that these countries are to be more concerned with German interests than the Germans themselves? At any rate both Nixon and Pompidou and Heath have delicately hinted at their displeasure with German capitulation, while the *Daily Telegraph* is systematically attacking the Bonn government for this treaty of capitulation.

In the event that secret agreements also contain clauses dealing with political exiles in Germany, then the Bonn government has really surrendered itself to the Kremlin gangsters and has lost even a chance of a change in attitude of the subjugated nations toward present-day Germany. For the Bonn government, the fate of the subjugated nations is the fate of *untermenschen*, who must continue to suffer in the Russian prison of nations. The invitation to frightened Shelepin to visit Germany at one time, is one of the numerous examples of this. Why then should the free world be concerned with the fate of Germans and the Berlin Wall? Not only Germans living in East Germany are human, but no less Lithuanians, Turkestanis or Ukrainians. After marching into Prague, Hitler said that he is just an advocate of his people and through his cruelty lost the fortune of his people as well. The present Bonn government is not even an advocate of its people, but it has handed over all cards to the Russians, and what did it keep for itself? A kind word of a Russian? Talk to a Russian, but keep your arms at hand! Bonn has forgotten about this! History was never a teacher of life.

B. Or.

AF-ABN At "Honor America Day" Observances, Washington, D. C., July 4, 1970



A large AF-ABN delegation, under the leadership of Dr. Ivan Docheff, composed of representatives from Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Estonia, Rumania, Ukraine and others, with their national flags and posters, participated at the religious service and march in honor of the American Independence Day.

Russian Concentration Camps Today

"Some people make the completely absurd claim that there are such things in the Soviet Union as forced labour camps" —

Nikita Khrushchov, 1960

I was often seized by despair in the prison in Vladimir. I thought even of attacking my warder, just to die, as other prisoners had committed suicide in this way before my eyes. Only one thing held me back and gave me the strength to continue to exist: the prospect that when I was free again, I could bear witness and relate what I had seen. The camps for political prisoners in the Stalin era have in recent years often been described and confirmed by documents. There is nothing to be said against this. It is only that these writings cause the impression, since they only speak of the past, that today nothing of the kind is happening or can happen. But that is not true. How many people who have disappeared are still prisoners! How many new victims come into these camps! In camps which are as terrible today as in Stalin's time — in some respects better, in others worse.

I do not think of myself as a writer and have written this report without literary ambition. During my six years in prison and in camps I have only tried to observe and keep what I observed in my memory. I have invented no single figure here, no incident. Every event, every fact can be substantiated by hundreds, sometimes by thousands. My friends and fellow prisoners could even report much more monstrous details and events than those which I describe here.

My name is Anatol Marchenko and I was born in 1938 in the small Siberian town of Barabinsk. My father worked for the railway, my mother did cleaning. Both are illiterate. I am of Ukrainian origin.

After eight years of primary school I became a building laborer and travelled about the whole of Siberia, wherever new hydro-electric power plants were being built. In Karaganda, in the Kazakh Soviet

Socialist Republic, I came into contact for the first time with the law. A fight broke out in our quarters. When the police came to restore order the main brawlers had already run off, but they grabbed everyone who was still there — including me. We were all sentenced on one single day, without anyone taking the trouble to find out who was guilty and innocent. So I received the first foretaste of Russian justice in the camps of Karaganda.

When I had been discharged, I decided to escape from the Soviet Union. I saw simply no other way. A young man, named Anatol Budrovsky, joined me and on 29 October 1960 we tried to cross the frontier to Iran. 50 metres from the frontier Soviet sentries picked us up.

The KGB (the secret police) kept me for five months in solitary confinement. Every day I was cross-examined by two men, who wanted in any case to have my confession that I was a traitor. But I didn't give in. Although they couldn't prove their accusations, I was placed before the court for treason.

On 3 March 1961 the Supreme Court of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic examined my case. For two days they placed the same questions to me, behind closed doors, that I had already been asked during the cross-examination. I disputed in my answers that I was a traitor to my country. But my comrade testified against me, to get a milder sentence for himself. I asked the court why they believed him and left out of consideration other eye-witnesses favourable for me. The answer: "The court decides itself which eye-witnesses are in order and which it can believe".

Budrovsky finally got two years because he had attempted to cross the frontier, whilst I received six years for treason. I was then 23 years old.

Only much later did it become clear to me that these people, by stamping me as a traitor, had destroyed not only six years

of my life, but my whole future. But then I felt only one thing: something had happened to me, which made a mockery of all justice, and I was powerless against it.

I was told I would be taken to a Kom-somol (Communist Youth Organization) building site. Shortly after I was sentenced the journey started. I went in a railway carriage in which convicts had been transported at the times of the tsars, and in the prison-vans of the KGB, which are called "black ravens". They have room for ten prisoners, but about thirty of us were stuffed in, so close that even a dead man couldn't have fallen.

We passed several intermediate stations: Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Novosibirsk. At the end of May, after being almost three months on the way, I reached Potma, the notorious camps in the Mordovia area, about 500 kms south-east of Moscow. Here an enormous area of land is covered all over with high barbed-wire fences, dotted with watch-towers; at night it is illuminated by search-lights and patrolled by soldiers with police dogs. Everywhere one comes across signs: "Halt! Entry Forbidden!"

In this region one sees more soldiers, officers and secret-police than natives and more dogs than in the sheep-breeding areas of the Caucasus. The statistics here are strangely out of balance. There are for example far more men than women. Ethnic groups are very unevenly represented. Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Turkistanis, Georgians, members of other nationalities have lived for years and decades in this complex of camps. They all fought for their national independence. From all parts of the Soviet Union children of present prisoners have come to be near their parents. The fathers and older brothers of many who are now performing their sentences, were also prisoners and are buried here.

Now I too would contribute my share to the Mordovian statistics.

Evening Bells

In Potma I was sent from the reception buildings into camp No. 1, a large assembly

of wooden huts behind barbed-wire. In one of the crowded huts I found a place to sleep and then received a straw sack, pillow and blanket. In the stores I was given a worn-out pair of black trousers, jacket and cap, vest, a padded coat, shoes and two sets of underwear — this was the regulation work suit.

Shortly afterwards the signal to eat was heard and I went after the others into the canteen. There were tables of rough boards close to each other and on both sides benches. The room was already full of people. It was very noisy. I joined a queue and gradually came to a counter, where I received a bowl with soup. The thin liquid was called "shchi", that is Russian cabbage soup, but it was a mockery of this national dish. The second course was a watery mash, at the most three spoonfuls. I swallowed it in less than a minute.

With time I noticed that our food was so carefully measured that it just kept us living. The daily ration was 2400 calories, including 700 grams of bread and 50 grams of meat. (The police dogs of the guards got 450 grams of meat.)

This diet was certainly much less than a man doing heavy work needed. But we didn't even get as much as we were allowed. When the meat was brought into the kitchen, we were horrified. It was blue and nothing but bones and sinews. If we got 15 grams of proper meat a day, we could say we were lucky. When the cabbage was delivered, — black, slimy and rotten — we couldn't guess at first glance what it was. In summer one could faint from the stink. A lot had to be thrown away.

Soon after my acquaintance with this food the camp director sent for me to his office. The room was small and clean. On a wall was hanging a picture of Lenin and on another one of Khrushchov.

He looked at my file and asked the normal questions: name, date of birth, the law under which I had been sentenced. Then he enumerated the camp regulations in dry, official tones. I had to work in the regulation dress. I had to take part in political instruction every Thursday. "The

prisoner is obliged . . . obliged obliged . . .” If I broke any of the regulations, I could forfeit the one visit of my family allowed every year, as well as my modest right to buy anything in the store, the right to receive food parcels or to write and get letters. Serious offences could bring me solitary confinement.

“Alright”, he closed, “tomorrow you begin doing work in the fields. You can go.”

In the hut the group-leader, himself a prisoner, found out how long I had to serve. When I told him, he said: “Six years, that’s nothing at all”. Others laughed too.

They wanted to know some more details about my trial. Had I received my sentence to read? I said no. “So they’re still doing it”, they said. Almost every one of them was, like me, examined behind closed doors and sentenced. “Of course there are also some who are tried in public”, they said, “but they are normal criminals, with misappropriation of money and so on”.

After the evening meal I took a walk through the camp. It was a warm spring evening. The grass was beginning to sprout. But very soon, even before it was really dark, the search-lights in the watch-towers went on. I went back to the hut and got my bed ready.

At ten I heard the “evening bells” — ten blows against a bit of iron. Even before the bells had finished, I could hear another bit of iron, far away in another camp, then more and more, even further away. I suddenly felt as if I could hear the same signal even from Moscow, from the clock in the tower of the Spaski gates in Red Square. In my imagination the bells from the Far East to the European frontiers resounded, from camp to camp, straight across the whole country.

A Plan of Escape

The next morning at half past seven, after we had been thoroughly searched twice, we were taken by armed guards through a sort of no man’s land to the work zone. In the fields red flags marked the area which we were not allowed to leave. I did

simple work such as planting cabbages, tomatoes, potatoes and carrots. But after a long day without a minute’s rest only a few of us had managed the required work quota. Anyone who hadn’t reached it or (in the judgment of the guard) had worked badly, was punished: he was put on a hunger ration.

During the first months I worked hard. We received the same pay as outside: between 70 and 75 roubles a month. But the free worker had only tax deducted. In the camp we paid taxes, of course, but also 50 % was charged for the maintenance of the camp. Of what was left, we had to pay a few roubles for the camp-dress and a further thirteen for food. (As a free man I had spent 50 roubles a month for food without being able to claim I had eaten well.)

As if in mockery notices everywhere in the camp cheered us up: “Save up and buy yourself a car!” We would be lucky if we had enough during our whole term of imprisonment to buy ourselves a suit and a pair of shoes on release. In the first month I was credited with only 48 kopecks (about 50 cents). In the next month, nothing.

I would have liked to have said: “To the devil with all this slaving away, even if they stick me in solitary confinement!” But I had long since firmly decided that, even if one could just about live in the camp, I was in no case going to remain behind barbed-wire. I was going to escape and had to find friends among the other prisoners and to find out all about the camp as exactly as possible. Perhaps I would find someone who would work together with me.

One of the first I got to know was Anatol Burov, a small, bald man in his thirties. When he was only two or three, his family was deprived of all its land and other possessions, because his father was considered a Kulak, a farmer. (During the forcible collectivization in the Thirties everyone who had two cows or refused to join a collective was given this title.) One spring a number of Kulak families were rounded up and taken down the Ob in a boat. After

a time they were simply put on an uninhabited island and told they had to fend for themselves.

The marooned families dug themselves mud caves and felled trees to build huts. Gradually the Burovs and the other expelled families worked more and more together. They built houses and cultivated the fields. Three or four years later the government boats appeared again, and the Communist officials were extremely surprised at the community which they found. "We thought you had died long since", they said. "But there it is. Once a kulak, always a kulak!"

A month passed, then came a division of soldiers. The land and possessions were again taken away from the families — "Not even a spoon was left to us". They were transported once again into an uninhabited region. When in 1945 Burov was enlisted in the army, he ran away, was caught and condemned to five years. After that he had made two attempts to escape. When I met him, he had been a prisoner for sixteen years.

I liked Burov and we agreed to build a tunnel. After we had got the help, with the greatest caution, of a third prisoner, we looked for a suitable spot. For digging we had the hours between the curfew at ten and the check-round at two a.m., and then again until it began to get light. But all our efforts were in vain. We dug first under our own hut, but after half a meter we hit water. In the following nights we tried in all the other huts — with the same results. But we were determined to escape and looked further.

But our strength was giving out. It wasn't easy to give up sleep for the most part of the night and then to work during the day on camp food. In June my ears became inflamed. I went several times to the doctor but I always received the same answer, that I had no fever and I was avoiding work. At the end of June I could no longer finish my work quota and got the usual punishment, solitary confinement.

In 1961 solitary confinement was in a normal hut, which was about 800 metres

from Camp No. 10 and had various large cells. Some were literally for solitary confinement, others held two, others even up to twenty. All the cells had bare boards for sleeping. On the door was a peephole. In one corner stood a rusty "parasha", a bucket as a toilet, as in every Soviet prison. For the regulation daily walk outside there was a small yard — without a single blade of grass, since the prisoners had at once eaten all that could grow there.

The main punishment in solitary confinement was the food. For breakfast we got a cup of hot water and the daily ration of bread, 450 grams. In the afternoon there was about a bowl of soup, in which a bit of rotten sauerkraut was floating, and in the evening perhaps a bit of stinking haddock, as big as a matchbox. And not a gram of sugar or fat.

Now even the normal camp food, on which we were half starving, seemed to us like a feast, and I waited for the end of my time in solitary confinement as for the end of my whole sentence. I was seven days in solitary confinement, and was so weak, when I came out, that I had to support myself on the walls. But I had to go to work the following day.

"Release Us from This Happy Existence"

As soon as I felt better again, Burov, I and our friend made a new plan of escape: a tunnel under a hut which was still being built. We chose an evening on which films were being shown in the open air. After the newsreel we were able to creep away unnoticed and met in the partly finished building. It was very dark.

While we were digging, now and again a beam from the search-light glided away over the hut. Every time we ducked quickly and waited until it disappeared. We dug about half a metre deep, but after twenty centimetres the water came. Again a failure! Suddenly Burov rushed in, — he had been keeping lookout outside. "The guard has just gone by the window!" he whispered excitedly.

Had they discovered us? We filled the hole quickly again, but when we stepped outside into the open, all at once the whole area was covered with light, as bright as

day. Completely blinded, we tried to hide but the guards pulled us into the light and pitched into us. These guards, from fear of being overpowered and disarmed, carried no pistols but each had a pointed stick. They also kicked our legs with the metal tips of the points of their boots.

"Murderers, slave-drivers!" shouted the other prisoners. The guards shot several salvos over their heads from one of the towers to intimidate them.

When they took us away, I held my head lowered and tried to protect my face with my hands and to stop the blows with my elbows. But after a short time I felt no more pain.

We were taken for examination before a major. Then they put handcuffs on us, dragged us to a special cell, where they put us against the wall and began to beat us again. Now we couldn't even shelter our faces with our arms. Finally the guards threw us on the floor and kicked us.

"This will happen to everyone" shouted the major again and again. "Think about it and tell the others what it's like when you want to run away".

After a time they removed our handcuffs and pulled us into another cell. There we lay for three or four days, bleeding, beaten up and hardly able to move ourselves. Sometimes the door was opened and food pushed in. But at first we couldn't even stand up to fetch it.

We were now in the special treatment area, in camp slang, "spesh". What wild animals were kept here, behind secure locks, heavy bars and all surrounded by rows of barbed-wire? They were people who had wanted to escape, resisted or several times not filled their work quota. Most of them were Ukrainians!

The cells in the "spesh" are not much different from those in solitary confinement. Here too the main punishment was hunger. But the prisoners in spesh had to work even harder than before as well. Anyone not filling his quota, had his even such meager rations reduced — and with less food one naturally falls further and further behind. One doesn't starve, but gradually loses all strength.

Men who are kept for years in spesh become complete animals. They forget what self-respect, honour and morality mean. In every cell there are one or two informants, who willingly report on the others, to get a bit extra or some other small advantage for themselves. Others, in complete despair, hang themselves. Or they cut their arteries at night under the blankets. Or they mutilate themselves.

While I was there, three prisoners decided to commit suicide. During the working hours they left the brick-works and went to the camp fence.

"Don't climb or I'll shoot!" shouted a guard from a tower.

"Please, do us a flavour. Release us from this happy existence!" — shouted one of the prisoners back and began to climb. When he was at the top, submachine-gun began to chatter. He was hit. His body remained hanging on the wire. The second climbed up and waited for the same fate. The sentry shot again. Then the third started. He was shot at. Later I was told that he wasn't killed. He had been seen in the hospital in Camp No. 3. Thus he had escaped from the "spesh" only for some time. The others for ever. They were Ukrainians.

(To be continued)

Members Of ABN Tour The USA

Prof. F. Durcansky, Former Foreign Minister of Slovakia, participated at the World Congress of Slovaks in New York.

Dr. B. Hayit, an outstanding Turkestanian intellectual, recently visited the United States where he popularized the cause of Turkestan's liberation struggle.

Message To The Subjugated Peoples

The Downfall of Empires

The general trend in the historical development of nations in our century is marked by a downfall of many colonial empires and an appearance on the historical scene, as their replacement, of nation-states. The supranational empires as an ideal of political entity, were replaced by a new and better form of political organization — that of nation-state.

The enslaved peoples of all continents, the ones with an old culture and political traditions as well as those without such a tradition, like some peoples of Africa, declared a persistent struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Some of them succeeded in their struggle and as a result of this, built up their nation-states on the ruins of former empires; some, however, are still fighting their prolonged struggle against the remnants of colonialism and imperialism. The victorious march of the national idea did not stop on the boundaries of the last and most despotic Russian colonial empire — USSR. All the efforts of this ruthless empire over the last 50 years to eradicate the slightest notion of freedom and independence among the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, did not prove successful. Despite mass terror, deportation and extermination directed mainly against non-Russian peoples of the USSR, the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Russian empire did not resign themselves to their tragic fate, their struggle did not diminish, but increased, as the new generation, which has been born and raised under Russian Communist domination, rejected the neo-colonial idea of the "Soviet Nation" and joined the fight against Russian oppressors and colonizers.

The National Liberation Struggle of the Enslaved Peoples

The struggle of the subjugated peoples for their national liberation is being waged throughout the USSR, be it their homelands or faraway places of their banishment or resettlement. One can say with

certainty, that virtually the whole structure of the Russian Communist prison of nations is undermined with dynamite of the liberation idea; the enslaved peoples are waiting for the right to light up the fire of anti-Russian revolution.

The struggle of the enslaved peoples is directed simultaneously against the Russian domination and the Communist exploitation and terror. The recent sentences against cultural workers in Ukraine and in other republics of the USSR, give evidence of the fact, that not only the exploited and oppressed peoples in general, but also the convinced and highly privileged Communists put up resistance to the Russian oppressors and demand freedom, human rights and justice for their respective peoples.

The forced Russification, which is conducted along the lines of the amalgamation of languages allegedly predicted by Communism, and the integration of peoples of the USSR, which is justified as being necessary for true internationalism — are evaluated by enslaved peoples as an endeavour of Russian super chauvinism and colonialism to build a new Russian colonial empire under the disguise of Communism and internationalism. There is also ready similarity between the Russian-Tsarist, and Russian-Communist empire builders. The tsarist expansion covered up its true imperialistic aims with slogans of liberation of the Orthodox Christians from the Turkish yoke, or unification of all Slavs under the Russian tsars; the Russian Communist imperialism tries to carry on its expansion even further than its tsarist predecessor. It doesn't speak about such limited goals as liberation of the Orthodox Christians or liberation of Slavs; the world-wide ambitions of new Russian imperialism require new global means to realize these enormous ambitions. Therefore Soviet Russian imperialism speaks loudly about liberation and unification of the working class of the world. The new means should serve to realize the ever-present old dreams, only

this time they have world-wide proportions.

The change of slogans and appearances did not influence the substance of Russian imperialism; it remained unchanged, though its aggressive plans and appetites grew enormously. Whereas imperialism of the tsars portended mostly over its immediate neighbours, the new modernized 20th century Russian imperialism became a menace to the whole world.

The only serious obstacle to the achievement of its aims is the advance of the national idea among the non-Russian peoples which is instrumental in the decline of empires and the emergence of the new political world order, based on the principle of nation-states.

The continuous struggle of the subjugated peoples is being carried on in all aspects of life: ideological, religious, cultural, sociological, economic and national.

The brutal efforts of Moscow to closely check all aspects of life of the oppressed peoples, is countered by these peoples with demands for freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and thought. The enslaved peoples also combat Russian militant atheism, which strives to convert a free human being into an obedient tool of the Russian oppressive regime. They demand full and unlimited spiritual life and fight for the preservation of their own national identity. They combat the Communist system and the Russian overlordship in every aspect of life. They fight for economic freedom and social justice.

The Russian Methods of Terror and Deceit

The growing resistance of the enslaved peoples is countered by Moscow with ever increasing terror. However, the enslaved peoples, and especially their new generation, do not fear the ever-present terror any more. After 50 years of oppression, exploitation and poverty and national and social slavery, terror has lost its intimidating power, which it had in Stalin's time. Even for the rank-and-file Communists, the smoke-screen of internationalism does not cover anymore the perfidious plans of

Moscow to destroy the enslaved peoples as distinct national entities. The process of amalgamation of nations into a single Soviet, i. e. Russian nation, is being realized by Moscow, by deprivation of the non-Russian nations of all means of existence and by turning once free peoples into slaves of the Russian state capitalism, characterized by its very own attributes of exploitation, brutal force and lawlessness. To counter these genocidal plans of Moscow, the progressive members of the enslaved peoples organize resistance and fight Moscow's plans regardless of terror. For them, the cause of national liberty, sovereignty and independence means more than their own security and happiness. The significant characteristic of their mental attitude with regard to their personal freedom and happiness could be found in a letter of the wife of Ukrainian intellectual S. Karavanskyi, sentenced to 25 years of hard labour. She writes to Soviet state prosecutor on behalf of her husband, stating, that the Soviet authorities should rather shoot her husband and thus terminate his sufferings, because he will never surrender himself to lawlessness and oppression. The bold, heroic individuals among the enslaved peoples openly show their peoples the way to freedom and human dignity. The struggle for freedom and independence spreads and becomes a sacred cause of millions.

There is no chance anymore to fool the enslaved peoples of the USSR with empty promises of future happiness under Communist rule; neither are they to be won by the "thaw" nor frightened by arrest, secret trials and deportations. For the last 50 years of the Russian Communist dictatorship deceit and terror became the sole means of governing. The ugly guise of Russian red-fascism was called — as ordered from above — socialism and internationalism. The terror of Lenin and Stalin was interchanged with NEP and de-Stalinization, the official declaration in favour of national languages of the peoples of the USSR, was replaced by the policy of Russification and "voluntary" merger of many

languages of the USSR into one single Russian language. The often advertised sovereignty of the Soviet Republics was and remained the outside cover for brutal and dirty practice of merger of nations. All these advances and retreats of Russian official policy were just different aspects and phases of advancing Soviet-Russian imperialism.

The Diversional Tactics towards Emigrés

In its dealing with other nations and the non-Russian emigrés in the free world, Moscow employs blackmail and deceit. To divert attention of the free world from its inner ideological and other contradictions and difficulties, and to conceal a growing resistance of the enslaved peoples, Moscow dispatches artist ensembles, scientists, poets, and writers to the free world, with the intention to create a favourable impression of the "great development" of national cultures inside the despotic red empire. Moscow's cultural offensive, supported by the subservient declarations of its quislings, made on behalf of the subjugated peoples, which they do not represent, should create an impression, that the non-Russian peoples of the USSR enjoy a happy life and political and cultural freedom.

Fortunately, with the exception of few dupes and fellow-travellers, the new deceit didn't have much influence and success. The news of recent arrests and secret trials of intellectuals in Ukraine and other suppressed countries exposed the Russian "cultural" deceit beyond repair. It became clear to everyone outside the USSR, who can observe and analyze, that Moscow dispatches abroad her most trusted individuals as representatives of culture and science of the enslaved peoples. The true representatives of our peoples are persecuted, put on trial behind closed doors and liquidated.

When deception fails to produce desired effects, Moscow employs blackmail and threats, the atom bomb threats including. Overemphasizing the Red Chinese menace to the Western world, Moscow endeavours to present itself as a bulwark of the West;

as such, it asks for privileged treatment, in particular a confirmation by the free world of its latest conquests and annexations in Europe and Asia. In case of a real threat to the USSR from China, Moscow expects to get assistance from the West, similar to the one it received from the West at the time of its conflict with its one-time ally — Hitler.

UN — The Defender of Slavery

As a member of the United Nations (UN) USSR uses to its advantage all the paragraphs of the UN Charter, which safeguard territorial integrity and the inviolability of boundaries of each UN-member and forbid to interfere in "internal" affairs of other states-members. Considering, that the USSR represents a forced accumulation of many nations, the UN Charter in fact safeguards and protects the last and the most brutal colonial empire. This role of the UN is also confirmed by one of UN publications; in one booklet published by UN funds, the emphasis is placed on equality and happiness of many peoples of the USSR and the well-known prison of nations — the Soviet Russian empire, is presented as a model multi-national state. Thus UN became a publisher of Russian Communist propaganda literature and convenient tribune for spreading of pro-Russian and pro-Communist ideas. The absence at the UN forum of any, even declarative, action on behalf of the enslaved peoples makes UN a defender of enslavement, exploitation and oppression of the enslaved nations, including its own members — Ukraine and Byelorussia. Making the most of its international position and taking advantage of the absence of any interest among the leading world powers in the tragic fate of the enslaved nations in the USSR, Moscow tries to use this strange international situation to its advantage and crush any resistance of the enslaved peoples as soon as possible.

The Task of Political Emigrants

The most important task of every political emigration is to assist its mother

country in attaining freedom and national independence. OUN appeals to the emigrants from all enslaved countries to form a united front in order to better assist their enslaved peoples in their struggle for independence. Living in the free world, the emigrants have every opportunity and should regard it as their sacred duty to speak for those, who cannot speak for themselves. However, their actions could be of any significance and importance, if they would be executed through a united effort of a united front. All the attempts of Moscow to implant discord or divide the emigrants along the lines of disputed boundaries between their respective mother countries, should be frustrated by our adherence to the ideas of ABN, which advance a true projection of a just society after the downfall of Soviet-Russian empire, and underline the necessity of a coordinated struggle of all enslaved peoples against the common enemy in order to make a new society possible. Under no circumstances should we let our enemies divide our peoples into satellites and non-satellites, into countries which are recognized and supported by different committees and those which are not, as any such division is detrimental to our common struggle and future success. An imperative of our liberation policy should be to give recognition and support to all enslaved peoples of the USSR and the satellite countries in their struggle for freedom and liberation. Such a policy is in complete agreement with our basic principles: "Freedom for individuals, freedom for nations." Only a guarantee — in principle and in action — of the right of every nation, be it small or large, to be free and independent — will unite us into an invincible force, which will annihilate the last colonial empire and thus liberate the world from a mortal threat of Russian imperialism and colonialism.

Separate Liberation — An Illusion

The solidarity of the enslaved nations in their struggle against Moscow requires a decisive rejection of any speculation for separate liberation of any oppressed na-

tion. We should reject liberation through the "liberalization" of the Bolshevik regime, or its "democratization", a liberation through an "evolution" within the USSR, or through an "accord between the East and the West". 50 years of existence of the Russian colonial empire in a form of the USSR disproves any such hopes and speculations. Never did Moscow voluntarily set any of the nations under its domination free! The history of Russian imperialism registered some cases, when Moscow was forced to abandon some of its conquests. At the first opportunity, however, it never failed to reconquer any abandoned country. As the fate of all nations under Russian domination is a similar one, so is their path to liberation. As proved by the Hungarian revolution, separate struggle of a single nation for its liberation enables Moscow to concentrate all its might on one adversary and crush it without much effort. On the other hand, a mobilization and employment of forces of all enslaved peoples at the same time and concentration of their blows on Moscow, enhances their chances for a final victory, and scatters Moscow's forces in all directions.

As the case of Czecho-Slovakia proves, no nation, no matter how friendly to Moscow, is secure and free as long as the USSR or any type of Russian empire exists. Likewise, no nation now dominated by Moscow, if set free by a chance of luck, could feel secure and free as long as there exists a Russian empire of any kind. Complete and lasting liberation of one and all the enslaved peoples of the USSR is possible only by total annihilation of the existing Soviet Russian colonial empire. Only complete dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire into national sovereign states and confinement of Russia to its ethnographical territory, will bring freedom, security and peace to all nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet-dominated Asia and help to establish a just peace throughout the world.

The Simultaneusness of Revolutionary Uprisings

The accumulation of nuclear arms and numerous armed forces at the disposal of

Moscow on one hand, and a dispersal of their speedy Russification and integration, on the other hand, makes simultaneous uprisings throughout USSR imperative. Only a fire of national revolutions lighted up simultaneously throughout the vast colonial empire, with active assistance of the free world, will prove impossible to be put out by the Soviet Russian fire-brigade. Only synchronized national revolutions throughout the USSR will be able to split the Soviet armies into national units and deliver into their hands the existing nuclear and other armament, thus bringing final disintegration of the Soviet Russian colonial empire.

There is also a great probability that nuclear armament will not be used against insurgents at all, because of the resettlement of the non-Russian people on Russian and the Russian people on non-Russian territories and the danger of nuclear radiation affecting all people of the USSR indiscriminately because of the closeness of the Russian territory to the non-Russian.

For a Global Fighting Strategy

National revolutions against the USSR will restore freedom and national independence to nations at present enslaved by Moscow, and will free all mankind from the uncertainty and threat of a nuclear holocaust. Years of cold war have proved beyond any doubt, that without total liquidation of the Russian colonial empire, there will be no peace in the world. While fighting for liberation of our peoples, we are fighting at the same time for a new and better world. World-wide consequences that will result from our victory over Russian imperialism will require a world-wide strategy and tactics to be employed by the enslaved peoples. Moscow's imperialistic plans should be countered by our anti-imperialistic national liberation policy, which advocates a new world order with nation-states as its main foundation.

Russian imperialistic plans of the supra-national structure of world USSR should be countered with our concept of free sovereign nation-states. The vision of the Or-

wellian supra-state, with its absolute rule of the few and the absolute dependence of the many, should be opposed by our concepts of majority rule, elected state authority, controlled and supervised by the people within its own nation-state. There exist plans to throw us into opposing camps of argument, to divide us and to identify us with foreign interests, while we are in the process of fighting for liberty and freedom. But we shall continue to combat these dangers by applying the principles and strategy embodied in the ABN.

The Russian Nation — Nation-Aggressor

The Russian people play a dominant role within the USSR. The Russians are the only ones among the peoples of the USSR that are not subjected to national oppression. Their language and culture are free to develop and flourish throughout the vast empire, and are implanted upon the non-Russian peoples by force. Under the guise of internationalism, the Russians are building up their colonial empire, employing national oppression against the non-Russian peoples indiscriminately, economic exploitation and biological extermination (genocide).

The contemporary Russian ruling class would not have been able to dominate many millions of non-Russians for half a century without receiving wholehearted support from the Russian people. Professing the national principle in the organization of world affairs, we recognize the right of the Russian people to live in its national state, provided it will renounce all its conquests and limit itself to its own ethnographic territory. Its refusal to abdicate its authority over all the non-Russian territories will cause grave consequences. Then the victorious liberation movement will call the Russian people to account for its support of Communism as the victorious allies did with the German people for its backing of the Nazis. Up till now, we could not register a single case where the Russian people would have declared itself against enslavement of the non-Russian peoples because there was no such case at

all. There is no evidence that the Russian people ever supported a just demand of the non-Russian peoples to be free and independent. The known demands of Russian intellectuals to their dictatorial government to introduce more freedom within the USSR, cannot be regarded as their support of non-Russian peoples in their struggle for their human rights and political freedom.

Likewise, there is no evidence of any support for just demands of non-Russian peoples among Russian emigrants in the free world. Both, Russian Communists and anti-Communists, ignore the vital rights of non-Russian peoples within the USSR and are interested in preserving and expanding their empire. The only difference between both groups is a formulation of a solution "of the nationality question within the USSR." The Russians from CPSU promote with all means at their disposal a supranational empire, Soviet by name and Russian by nature. The Russians from NTS for instance propose after the downfall of Communist regime, a Russian supnation as "multinational unity" by integrating all non-Russian peoples of the USSR. In other words, the Russian emigrants propose to exchange the Russian Communist fetters with their own Russian anti-Communist irons.

Russian emigre groups do not want to see the fact that it is impossible to subjugate the peoples of Europe and Asia with historic past when the peoples of Africa have obtained political independence. Western and in particular Northern Europe has long since given up the idea of far-reaching and multi-national empires, but the well-being of the population of these expanses is without comparison higher than the well-being of the population of one sixth of the globe which bears the name of the USSR.

The Russian emigration bears to a great extent the responsibility for the strange concept of an alliance of the Western world, especially the USA, with the USSR, as a counterweight to Red China, taking into consideration, first of all, the indivisibility and the security of the Russian Bolshevik

empire. The deceptive policy of Russian emigres has destructive influence on some insignificant, but opportunistic groups among the non-Russian emigres, who have doubts about the possibility of the downfall of the USSR. Of course, they are forgetting that without the dissolution of the Russian empire their countries cannot be liberated. The existence of the Russian empire and the liberation of the non-Russian peoples are mutually excluding concepts: either the dissolution of the empire and freedom and independence of the subjugated nations, or its preservation and the destruction of the subjugated peoples, followed by the subjugation of the free world.

The Disintegration of the Russian Empire — A Pressing Demand of Life

OUN and ABN unflinchingly stand for freedom and statehood of all subjugated peoples and for the final dissolution of the Russian colonial empire. Freedom and state independence for all peoples subjugated in the USSR and its satellites will come only as the result of the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire. We shall fight against any imperial Russia as long as the peoples subjugated by Moscow and all its satellites have not become free and independent. Free states upon the ruins of the Russian empire, set up in their ethnographical territories and tied together by voluntary alliances, will constitute the surest guarantee of security against all imperialisms, whether from East or West and will be instrumental in achieving complete stabilization of relations in the world, security and lasting peace. With the downfall of the Russian Bolshevik empire all other Communist "federations" — such as CSSR and Yugoslavia will also disintegrate and on these territories independent states will arise according to the wishes of the nations that inhabit them.

For a Common Front

We call upon the emigres of all subjugated peoples to unite in a common front in order to help our subjugated but unsub-

dued nations in the struggle for our rights, for human dignity, for freedom and state independence. Let their main task, their mission in life, be to help our nations achieve their rightful place in the world, by toppling the last, the most barbaric colonial empire. Only on its ruins can new, free life for our peoples begin. Victory can only be won in battle.

Long live the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations!

For national liberation revolutions of all the subjugated peoples!

For sovereign national states of the captive nations!

Freedom-loving peoples unite in the struggle against the biggest threat — Russian imperialism and colonialism!

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

*The Fourth Congress of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

Large Floods In Ukraine

The entire Carpathian region and the area adjacent to it has been hit by large floods. The West had been extensively informed about the extent of flooding in Rumania and Hungary, for the press of these satellite states is hoping to receive financial aid from the West which will not have to be paid back. But the world hardly knows about the extent of flooding in Ukraine, for the Russian occupying forces, out of motives of pride and chauvinism, are not reporting on it, even more so since it pertains to strictly Ukrainian territories. Russia does not want Ukraine to receive Western aid as well.

The floods, which lasted for several weeks in May of this year, assumed catastrophic proportions. News has reached us that at least 13 persons lost their lives due to the floods, and 16,000 were left homeless. They completely destroyed or heavily damaged 8,000 apartment houses and 160 industrial enterprises. Among other things, the flood damaged the pipe lines through which gas from Ukraine is brought to the CSSR.

There are reports that the region bordering on the Desna River in Northeastern Ukraine is also under water. The waters from the Desna covered dozens of villages, creating almost a sea. The flood came so unexpectedly that the people were completely taken by surprise. They saved themselves by reaching higher elevations from where they were picked up by helicopters or boats and taken to safer ground. Tens of thousands of hectares of newly planted fields were completely lost. Lost

were also countless heads of cattle and other property. The waters from the Desna even flooded the town of Chernyiv.

In some areas the overflowing of the Dnipro River also had the character of a flood. For instance, in the Obolon region only tree tops and the tops of telephone poles could be seen. The village of Pohreby near Kyiv found itself completely under water.

In the civilized world it is standard procedure that countries help each other in times of natural disasters. In the free world various relief agencies have been established for such purposes, such as the Red Cross, the relief funds administered by various religious denominations, special government funds and so forth.

Therefore it is an international crime for the Russian colonial government to keep silent about the terrible floods which occurred in Ukraine. The Russians are afraid of Western assistance to the Ukrainian population, even in times of natural disasters.

The irresponsible totalitarian regime does not even consider it appropriate to inform the world about its own relief measures and help to these regions. In the countries where the government is responsible to the people, it must report to the people on its actions, and governments are often exposed to heavy public criticism, if their measures are inadequate.

Therefore, the present catastrophe which visited Ukraine reveals the tragic state of a people which is languishing under the

yoke imposed by a criminal foreign tyranny.

These facts must be brought out before an international forum for judgement.

Dr. Ctibor Edmund Pokorný

Communist Document Refutes Prejudices Over The Slovak Republic

The Communist weekly "Nove slovo" appearing in Bratislava (Issues of August 14 and 15 1969) published the almost complete text of a previously secret document. It was a confidential report sent to Moscow by the presidium of the banned Communist party in Slovakia, dated July 1944, on the general situation in Slovakia. It is an important historical document, which refutes many calumnies — also those of Communist propaganda — made against the Slovak Republic founded on March 14 1939. It is a testimony not by supporters but by opponents of the regime of the independent Slovak state. The Communist party was banned in the Slovak Republic. This country was in a state of war with Soviet Russia. Therefore the authors of this historical document cannot be suspected of wanting to embellish the position in the Slovak Republic.

The following is included in the report made by the banned Communist party of Slovakia on the first period of the independent Slovak state:

"Despite the episode of the war against Poland, which had buried the friendly attitude towards Poland of some supporters of the Slovak People's Party, one can say that this period has been one of consolidation of the state, of international recognition (including that by the USSR) and of relative calm. After the Soviet-German treaty of August 1939 the majority of the population regarded the given circumstances, even if not as definitive, at least as long-term. Besides the Communists, there was no organized opposition... In this period it was already shown that Slovakia could enjoy a good economic independence. There was neither chaos in

Therefore we call upon all civic, religious and charitable institutions in the free world to take notice of these events and give direct aid to the Ukrainian population, which is also a victim of the flood.

the economy nor in the currency. The standard of living in no way declined".

"The majority of the well-to-do classes support the regime. Among the others considerable lack of clarity and perplexity prevails (perhaps among the Communists? — C. E. P.) The present time confirms Tiso's theory: Hitler didn't occupy Slovakia, the state proved itself... thus the state enjoyed respect."

On the economic situation during the second world war in the independent Slovak state the following is stated in the confidential report of the banned Slovak Communist party: "Economic problems were able to be kept well in hand, to the surprise even of people who were inclined towards the regime. Today (July 1944 — C. E. P.) there are in Slovakia relatively sufficient goods, supplies function on the whole, and in comparison with Bohemia, Hungary, Germany and Poland the best conditions prevail, and this as far as both real wage levels and the possibility of buying goods are concerned. The wages of employees have been often increased, enterprises enjoy numerous advantages in supply, and there can be no talk of a lack of basic foodstuffs.

"The Slovak crown is the best currency in European trade today, in the country it enjoys for the present complete confidence, people are still investing money. There is no rush to buy from food shops here, as can be seen in the neighbouring countries: signs of inflation are caused more by German pressure than by domestic conditions... Difficulties are caused by German requisitions, as a result of which Germany today owes Slovakia 6,000 million Slovak crowns. Food, cigarettes,

spirits, textiles, etc. are being smuggled out of Slovakia to Bohemia, Germany and elsewhere and privately exported. Slovak industry has undergone considerable modernization during a comparative boom recorded in this war, about 2,000 million Slovak crowns have been invested in equipment (within two years), which represents an enormous sum for Slovakia”.

The report in question comes to the following conclusions in evaluating the economic situation in the independent Slovak state: “On the basis of the experience of the last six years it can be said all in all that Slovakia is able, economically and financially, to exist independently, and she possesses today both the necessary resources — including technical ones — and the conditions necessary for production, for international competition”.

The confidential report of the banned Communist party of Slovakia says the following on the independence of the Slovak Republic: “Emigrants, that is, the ‘Londoners’, are either falsely informed about conditions, or they are intentionally falsely evaluating them. The fact remains that this state possesses an independence such as is possible for a small state and in particular in war.”

“The regime controls its own internal affairs. The economy is in the hands of Slovaks. Legislature, school system, etc. are also controlled by Slovaks. The German influence is large, but not so strong that that independence is only a stupid mask. The Gestapo made no single arrest of Slovak citizens during the whole five years in Slovakia”.

“German pressure is felt in inter-state negotiations — whether political or economic — but does not effect the small man in the street, nor even in public life. Hitler still today respects the independence of Slovakia and the German citizens have been behaving especially well”.

The report of the presidium of the Slovak Communist party considers the retention of the Slovak state as a possible solution after the victory of Soviet Russia, although with another, that is, Communist regime:

“If this state had a content and was under another regime, not to speak of changing its allies, one could raise no objections against it from the Slovak point of view. Therefore it is not surprising that here very serious movements have begun among honest people to change the regime, to give the state a socialist content (i. e. Communist — C. E. P.), but further to retain, the state as such — . . . It is the matter of a concrete judgment and the wish of a nation, in which form of state a certain people is to live, but form of state, area and language on the one hand and the political regime on the other — these things are different . . . It is unwise to play down the efforts to form a state of a small people (as is done in London”), even if state independence is achieved under a stupid political regime (‘stupid’ because it was Christian-Social and anti-Communist — C. E. P.). That hurts national pride”.

Stalin however did not worry at all about the national pride of the Slovaks and was not influenced at all by the reports and considerations of the leader of the Communist underground movement in Slovakia. Also the circumstance that Soviet Russia had given de jure recognition to the Slovak Republic on September 16 1939 hindered Stalin in his decisions concerning Slovakia. He considered the re-constitution of the Czecho-Slovak state formation as a better solution for Soviet Russia. He had already concluded in December 1943 an assistance pact with the London Czech exile government of Benes. This pact provided for the reconstitution of the Czecho-Slovak state formation, naturally within the Russian sphere of power. Accordingly in spring 1945 Slovakia was robbed of her state independence by the Russian Red Army, the Czecho-Slovak state formation reintroduced against the will of the Slovak nation and a “people’s democratic” regime dependent on Russia introduced there. Thus began the present tragedy of the Slovak nation.

“London” in this context refers to the Czech exile government of Benes-(C.E.P.).

Protesting The Visit Of The Red Army Ensemble



Winnipeg

An always active Branch of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Winnipeg, under the leadership of Rev. Semen Izhyk, organized a large demonstration against the Red Army Ensemble on June 18th. It was one of the biggest demonstrations ever held in Winnipeg. Besides the members of ABN—Ukrainians, Latvians, Slovaks and Czechs, a large number of participants consisted of Jewish students, enemies of the Russian empire. The Jewish group was led by Rabbi Goodman. 10,000 leaflets and 5,000 fictitious programs were distributed. The demonstrators gathered near the Winnipeg Arena at 6 p. m. Their signs read: "Russians go home", "Red Army — Symbol of Tyranny", "Down with Russian Imperialism", "USSR — A Prison of

Nations", "Long live free Ukraine", "Kyiv vs. Moscow", "You are not singers, but murderers", etc. The leaflets explained the reason for the demonstration: The Red Army is occupying Ukraine and other subjugated countries. The Jewish leaflets said that each dollar spent for the concert ticket helps the Russians to increase their armaments for further aggression.

In various instances, it came to clashes between the demonstrators and the public so that the police had to intervene. The demonstration ended at 8.30 p. m. It received wide coverage in the press, radio and the nationwide television network CBC, Channels 6 and 7.

On June 19th and 20th, Ukrainian students continued to hand out fake programs of the Red Army concert.

Sudbury

On the initiative of representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russia, Ukrainians, Croats, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Byelorussians and Canadians sympathizing with them, staged a demonstration against the Red Army Choir which gave a concert in the City Arena on June 15th.

Prior to the concert a special press release was issued which was distributed to the press, radio and television. 5,000 leaflets were handed out. A large ad sponsored by 21 organizations of nations subjugated by Russia and Canadian friends appeared in the *Sudbury Star* explaining the reasons for the protest. Every news media gave extensive coverage to these efforts. The concert's managers tried to sneak in the Red choir members through the back door. But even there a group of Estonian, Czech and Slovak women pelted them with eggs. Over 400 demonstrators participated. They were wearing black arm bands to symbolize the loss of the best sons and daughters of their nations, who fell in the struggle for independence. The demonstration ended with the burning of the Red flag. That

night the local television station reported on the course of the demonstration. Pictures and news of the demonstration also appeared in the press the next morning.

Windsor

The Red Army Choir appeared in "Windsor Arena" on June 13th. The day before a letter from Petro M. Mytsak, secretary of the local branch of SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association), was published in *The Windsor Star*, which exposed the true face of that choir and the infamous role played by the Red Army in subjugating and annihilating the Ukrainian and other peoples.

Before the entrance to the hall a group of SUM members from Windsor and of TUSM (Ukrainian Students Association) members from Detroit appeared with placards. The concert began much later than scheduled because of a "bomb scare". Nervous "singers" showered the young demonstrators with various epithets in Russian. *The Windsor Star* of June 15th carried reports of the demonstration and published two photos.

From Letters To ABN

Dear Mrs. Stetsko,

The international Communist situation is alarming me; it grows worse and worse for the democracies! The events in the USA are disturbing me in particular, as I see that huge nation — which should be our strongest and most reliable bastion in subduing Communism — faltering shamefully, showing a behavior not in keeping with the serious dangers threatening the world, and falling victim to undermining and demoralizing propaganda intending to split its population on matters of foreign policy.

In Brazil we have been fighting lately against a certain amount of so-called inside "revolutionary warfare", meaning assaults, thefts, kidnappings, attempts at instigating guerrillas in different parts of the country, acts of selective terrorism, and so forth.

Fortunately the Brazilian government is now facing the situation seriously and taking appropriate military and legal measures to curtail the subversive activities of the Marxist rascals. Better late than never . . .

I am pleased that prominent personalities met in Washington, D. C. some months ago and decided to install an "American Council for World Freedom", whose primary business will be to start a nationwide offensive to counteract the anti-war movement in the USA.

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, Chairman
Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

In Defense Of Persecuted Women

The Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. in the USA recently sent a petition to various international organizations engaged in fighting lawless persecution and protecting human rights, such as the Amnesty International, the International Red Cross and others. The petition urged these organizations to obtain the release from the Russian Vladimir Prison of Mrs. Kateryna Zarytska, Miss Halyna Didyk and Mrs. Odarka Husyak, the Ukrainian Red Cross volunteers who had been sentenced to 25 years, only because they cared for the sick and wounded members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Below we are publishing it in full.

The worldwide observance of the 20th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights in 1968 was highly praised in the free world. The general impression was one of confidence that human rights are respected everywhere. Unfortunately human rights have been, and still are brutally and incredibly violated in the U.S.S.R. through all the years of its existence. The year 1970 has been proclaimed by UNESCO as The Year of Lenin, to commemorate the centennial of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Ulanov Lenin who created the U.S.S.R. a police state, unchanged to this day. Lenin will be honored for his "humanistic ideas" as well as "new social-economic development". Let us hope that the millions of victims of Russia's inhuman rights and Lenin's barbaric ideas, will not be forgotten by mankind or buried alive by history.

We, the Women's Association of Ukrainian Liberation Front have no doubt that you are informed that Ukraine was incorporated into the U.S.S.R. by brute force and is a captive nation under the Russian imperial-colonial system. Human rights for Ukrainians are denied by Kosygin-Brezhnev, just as they were by Lenin-Stalin-Khrushchev. Russification, terror, arrests, deportation, forced atheism, use of the police system to control family and public life, are the order of the day.

About one-half million Ukrainian men, women, youth and children have been and are being arrested and held in Lviv, Kyiv, Lutsk, Rivne, Odessa, Ivano-Frankivsk, Khar-kiv chain prisons in Ukraine. There are also nearly one million innocents in chain concentration camps and hard labor camps such as Potma (36 camps), Kingir-Karaganda (16 camps), Norilsk-Dudinka, Ulan-Bator, Pechora, Vorkuta, Kulyma and Vladmir, east and north of Moscow.

Over two million Ukrainian youth, many of whom are skilled people, have been deported permanently to the wasteland of Kazakhstan, known as the "Soviet Virgin Land" and to Mordovian ASSR to work in the Russian atomic fields. Hundreds of thousands there have died and are dying from hard labor, climatic conditions, and lack of food and hygienic living facilities.

Among the multitude of Ukrainian prisoners, a high percentage are women who are serving extremely high sentences such as 25 years, whereas in the free world they would have received meritorious commendations for the acts they are "guilty" of.

Our entire organization and all the undersigned petitioners ask that your noble organization help three of those Ukrainian women who are imprisoned among the thousands of women inmates. They are:

KATERYNA ZARYTSKA, *daughter of a mathematician and professor of Lviv University. She was a Ukrainian Red Cross worker during World War II, sentenced in 1947 to 25 years at hard labor, presently in the Vladimir Prison.*

HALYNA DIDYK,

a teacher, organizer and worker of Ukrainian Red Cross, sentenced in 1950 to 25 years at hard labor, presently in Vladimir Prison.

ODARKA HUSYAK,

housewife and worker of Ukrainian Red Cross, sentenced in 1950 to 25 years at hard labor, presently in Vladimir Prison.

In our opinion, these women as all the others, are innocent. During World War II when the restoration of a sovereign Ukrainian State was proclaimed on June 30, 1941, the Ukraine government, with the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister, called upon Ukrainian citizens to help the state. During this short time of independence, the Ukrainian nation fell into conflict with the German and Russian armed forces. In time of crisis the Ukrainian Red Cross and its dedicated personnel performed miracles in giving service to the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and to the civilians as well. The Russian courts sentenced the three women mentioned above, not for crimes against the Soviet Union, but for the "crime" of carrying out duties as Red Cross workers!

We therefore, appeal to you to protect and defend these innocent women, and we call upon you to use your moral and practical influence to help bring about their release as quickly as possible.

Respectfully yours,
Women's Association for the Defense of
Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. U.S.A.

Estonian On Russian Imperialism

"Expansionism is not an innovation of the Communist regime. It is rooted in Russian history.

"Since the time of Ivan III (1462—1505) Russia has been the most persistent colonizing power of the world. In contrast to the British colonial system, which placed its main emphasis on the development of trade, Russian imperialism has always had as its principal objective subjugation combined with terror.

"Although the Kremlin is constantly denouncing 'capitalist imperialism', the Russian colonial empire has been enlarged considerably since 1917. About 200 million people in Eastern Europe alone have come under Soviet Russian domination and exploitation. Subservient Communist regimes have been established in Asia and even in the Western Hemisphere.

"Moscow's activities in the Mediterranean area are aimed at establishment of a Soviet hegemony in that part of the world with all its implications of Red imperialism and colonialism. But the strategic goals of these operations have a much more far-reaching aspect which should be clear to anyone looking at the map of Europe.

"There is no doubt that nationalism is potentially the greatest enemy of Communism and Soviet imperialism. We must recognize the force of nationalism which is gnawing away at the foundation of the Russian empire. Karl Marx called the Russian empire 'a prison of peoples'. It still is a prison of peoples, and naturally, these peoples will not be free before the prison walls come down. Soviet power has never been able to suppress entirely the deeply rooted nationalistic feelings of many nationalities in the USSR as well as in the occupied and so-called satellite countries.

"The identity of interests of the peoples enslaved by Russia and the peoples of the free world is based on the common understanding of freedom, justice and self-determination."

(Excerpts from a memorandum entitled "Soviet Russian Imperialism" by Mr. Ernst Jaakson, Consul General of Estonia in charge of Legation, New York, March 1970.)

Captive Nations Week Observances In Major U.S. Cities



Dr. Ivan Docheff addressing the rally at Central Park

In New York City, Special Committee, under chairmanship of Hon. Judge Matthew J. Troy, whose main sponsor is the Organization of the American Friends of ABN, under the leadership of Dr. Ivan Docheff, with the participation of the Catholic War Veterans under Commander Robert G. Goff; the Americans to Free Captive Nations under chairmanship of Mr. Mario Aguilera and other organizations, was responsible for the organization of the 1970 Captive Nations Week observances.

The Week was launched on July 12th with a parade along 5th Ave. to St. Patrick's Cathedral where a special High Mass was offered by Most Rev. Joseph Schmondiuk, Bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Stamford, Conn. His Eminence Terrance Cardinal Cooke presided. Rev. Raymond J. de Jaegher, a Catholic priest who was held captive by the Red Chinese, delivered the sermon. After Mass the parade continued to the Band Shell in Central Park where a mass rally was held. Over 2000 persons with national flags and signs participated. Mr. Charles Andreanszky was the master of ceremonies. The rally was opened with the "Pledge of Allegiance" to the American flag by Commander R. G. Goff. Hon. M. J. Troy delivered the opening address. Short speeches

were delivered by Dr. Ivan Docheff and Mr. Mario Aguilera. Attorney Michael Pizniak, Vice Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, was the main speaker. Proclamations of President Nixon and the governors of New York and New Jersey were read, and a resolution was adopted. Entertainment was provided by the Byelorussian Chorus "Kalina" conducted by Prof. J. Borisovets, the Rumanian quartet, and the Ukrainian dancers, directed by Mrs. Elaine Oprysko.

After the rally several hundred people marched through the streets of New York to the Soviet-Russian U.N. Mission at 67th St. and Lexington Ave., where a protest rally condemning Communism and demanding liberation of all Captive Nations was held. All T. V. and radio stations and the press gave full coverage to these events.

On July 19th another rally was held at the Island of the Statue of Liberty, which was attended by hundreds with their national flags and signs. Mr. Michael Pizniak was the master of ceremony. Hon. Matthew J. Troy, Mr. Mario Aguilera and Dr. Ivan Docheff addressed the gathering. Mr. Laszlo C. Pasztor, Director of the Heritage Division of the Republican National Committee of Washington, D. C., was the main speaker.

After the rally the participants marched to the Statue of Liberty where a wreath was laid in memory of victims of Communist terror.

In Philadelphia over 500 persons, with flags representing ten Captive Nations, gathered at Independence Mall for a rally to protest the plight of citizens of Communist-occupied countries. Featured speakers were Dr. Austin J. App, Chairman of the Captive Nations Committee, and Per-rin C. Hamilton, Secretary of Property and Supplies. A resolution was adopted by acclamation. After the rally a Captive Nations wreath was placed at the Liberty Bell. The rally was preceeded by a motorcade of 125 cars through the streets of Philadelphia.

In Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley issued a special proclamation condemning Russian imperialism and urging residents

to demonstrate their interest in the people imprisoned in the Captive Nations by their attendance in the programs arranged for the observance of the Captive Nations Week. The highlights of the Chicago observances were the parade down State Street in which representatives of most of the 28 nations honored participated, including the Coast Guard color guard, the Great Lakes Navy band and official guests, and a luncheon where Captive Nations-Eisenhower Proclamation medals were presented and the Lady of the Year was honored. Maj. Gen. Francis P. Kane, former commander of the Illinois National Guard was the principal speaker at the Luncheon as well as one of the recipients of the medal. Other speakers were Rep. Ray J. Madden (D., Ind.) and Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D., Ill.).

Colonialism East Of The Iron Curtain Must Go Too

(Excerpts from the address by Dr. Austin J. App, at the Captive Nations Week Rally, Philadelphia, Pa., July 12, 1970.)

The Christian colonial powers west of the Iron Curtain have freed virtually all their former colonies. Rhodesia, in Africa, is the latest to have declared its independence. No British tanks rolled in to mow down the patriots for freedom.

But behind the Iron Curtain not one of the twenty-two nations enumerated as enslaved in the Congressional Resolution has been liberated. Soviet Russia hypocritically pretends that its colonies are voluntarily federated in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But when in 1968, one of them, Czecho-Slovakia, tried to exercise a small measure of independence, Soviet-Russian tanks rolled in in August and Soviet battalions kept their guns trained to force the Czechs and Slovaks to remain Red colonies "voluntarily". In 1956 the same was done when the Hungarians wanted to be free; in 1953, when the people of East Berlin heroically aspired to freedom.

In simple terms, our observance today calls on free men everywhere to demand of

Soviet Russia and Red China that they free their captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain exactly the way the Western powers have freed their colonies in Africa and Asia.

The West must never stop reminding Moscow that more than thirty years have passed since Stalin shamefully ravished and subjected the Baltic nations, and killed the flower of Polish intelligentsia, 15,000 of them, at Katyn; more than forty years since he starved to death six million Ukrainians in order to subject Ukraine to colonialism; twenty-five years since he perjured the Atlantic Charter and enslaved Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, and half of Germany. The bosses of the Kremlin must be told day in and day out that Stalin is dead — but that instead of their liberating the nations he subjected to slavery, they have constructed the Berlin Wall. They must be told that the Wall of Shame is the first time in history that rulers have put up a wall and barbed-

wire entanglements, not to keep enemies out, but to keep their own people in, which reduces these Captive Nations to huge concentration camps!

We of the Captive Nations Committee do not ask for more than that our government turn Soviet-Russian propaganda about liberation pointedly against the Russians themselves. We only ask our government to accuse them honestly where they accuse the West dishonestly.

When for example in September 1969 President Nixon appealed "for the help of the U.N. members — including Russia" in negotiating a peace in Vietnam, how did Soviet Russia respond? With an insulting "Nyet". Within twenty-four hours Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko not only said Russia would not help, but called America's help to South Vietnam unjust and aggressive. Worse than that, he boasted that Moscow was proudly increasing its aid to North Vietnam to "liberate" the South Vietnamese from America! He called on the U.N. to demand the withdrawal of all troops from occupied territory and the "discontinuation of all measures to suppress liberation movements." (See *U.S. News*, Sept. 29, 1969).

But did our statesmen immediately turn around and demand that Soviet Russia make a start by pulling its troops out of occupied Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, and East Berlin, and the other nineteen countries named in the Congressional Resolution of 1959? They did not. They spent their energies lamely defending our part in protecting South Vietnam.

And this language, insulting to the United States, was used only a year after Soviet-Russian tanks had bloodily invaded Czecho-Slovakia . . . Could our statesmen not have said, if Soviet Russia sends material allegedly to promote liberation in countries that do not want it, then America will be ready to send aid to peoples who have proven that they want liberation — like the East Berliners, the Hungarians, the Czechs and Slovaks, the Poles and the Ukrainians?

But we would be content if our government and those of the other free countries, and our news media, would merely, at long last, speak up and demand liberation for the Captive Nations from Soviet Russia.

Even the tyrants of the Kremlin cannot forever resist concerted world opinion, when it is right, and when it is insistent.

Captive Nations Week In Sydney, Australia

Sydney mounted its 5th Captive Nations Week better and on a larger scale than ever before. The traditional 3rd week of July was duly observed by the permanent Committee. All kinds of mobilizing media, such as leaflets, TV interview by the President of the Captive Nations Week Committee, Mr. Darby, personal invitations and a motorcade through the city with placards, were employed. The aim was to inform the Australian public of the imminent danger of Russo-Chinese expansionism, which causes the free world to lose ground permanently, piece by piece.

After the march through the city with 1,500 participants, a public meeting took place in Sydney Town Hall. The meeting was inaugurated by the Boyan choir with its performance of "The March of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army". Very moving

was the scene in front of the grave of the victims of Communist terror, where Australian children promised allegiance to the children of the Captive Nations.

Alderman N. Shehadie, Deputy Mayor of Sydney, was chairman. The speakers were the Hon. J. C. Maddison, Min. of Justice, N. S. W., representing the Premier of N. S. W., the Hon. R. W. Askin, Senator F. P. McManus, DLP, the Hon. D. J. Killen, MP, Federal Minister for the Navy, Mr. G. Ferrow, Activities Officer, Sydney University Students Rep. Council, Mr. S. J. Urmonas, a Lithuanian who escaped from Siberia, and Mr. E. D. Darby, MLA, President of the Captive Nations Week Committee. Prayer was read by Rev. M. C. Harcourt-Norton. Motion was forwarded by Mr. T. F. Mead, MLA, and seconded by Mr. L. H. Irwin, MHR.

The local press, especially the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*, carried very complimentary reports of the meeting.

The crowning event of the Week was the International Cultural Festival, held at the Ukrainian Youth Hall, Lidcomb. Mrs. J. G. Gorton, wife of the Prime Minister, was

the guest of honor, and opened the Festival very warmly. Mr. Brian Davies was the compere.

This year the Captive Nations Week Committee introduced a very commendable innovation — the activities by students, who organized a kiosk at Sydney University, distributed leaflets and sold appropriate literature.

R. D.

The 19th CEDI Conference

On June 27—29, 1970 the 19th Conference of the European Center for Documentation and Information (CEDI) was held in Madrid, Spain. CEDI is an international Christian organization whose primary aim is to coordinate the activities of national centers, combat anti-Christian activities and spread freedom-loving Christian ideas.

Member delegations from Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, Sweden, Belgium and Greece participated in the conference. Delegations from the United States, the countries of Latin America and Ukraine were invited as guests.

The first session of the conference was chaired by this Royal Highness, Don Juan Carlos de Burbon. Other sessions were presided over by Alfredo Sanchez Bella, the Minister of Information, Archduke Otto von Habsburg and Marques de Valdeiglesias, President of CEDI.

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, Chairman of the Organizations of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Central Committee of ABN, also participated at the conference and delivered a speech at one of the plenary sessions. Other members of the Ukrainian delegation were Mrs. Slava Stetsko and Mr. W. Pastushuk.



ABN's President, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, addressing the 19th CEDI Conference.

News And Views

Inaccuracy And Omissions In Kerensky's Obituaries

In connection with the death of Alexander Kerensky, a one-time Russian leader, in the U.S. a number of obituaries appeared in the Western press. In these rather lengthy obituaries there is a total lack of information concerning the attitude and relationship of Alexander Kerensky, as Minister of Justice, as Minister of War and the Navy, and lastly as Prime Minister of the Russian Provisional Government in 1917, toward the non-Russian nations of the Russian tsarist empire and their struggle for national liberation and independence. I would like to recall that in late summer of 1917, Ukraine was in the vanguard of the emerging national states within the former Russian empire. On the initiative of the Ukrainian Central Council, a congress of peoples of the former Russian empire was held in Kyiv (the capital of Ukraine) on September 21 - 28. On this historic occasion, the congress adopted a resolution for the immediate transformation of the centralized Russian states into a federation of free national states. At that time, Ukraine was the leader among the non-Russian peoples in the struggle for national liberation. Kerensky had to come to Kyiv with his delegation to negotiate with the Ukrainian Central Council. The tactics employed by the Council in dealing with the Russian Provisional Government were followed by other national states. Later all of these had permanent representatives in Kyiv.

The Russian Provisional Government headed by Kerensky, following the old tsarist imperialistic policy, raised many obstacles to hinder the formation of the federation of national states, continuously violated agreements with the newly formed states, and refused to recognize the right to self-determination of the non-Russian peoples. Kerensky was unalterably opposed

to the establishment of independent national states. This is quite contrary to what some papers stated in the obituary, i.e., that the Russian Provisional Government headed by Kerensky was "liberal" and had instituted many freedom reforms.

By concentrating on subduing the national aspiration of the non-Russian peoples, Kerensky allowed Lenin's Bolshevik Party to overthrow the Russian Provisional Government (Nov. 6, 1917), and to seize power. Lenin and the Soviet of People's Commissars were much more deceitful than the Russian Provisional Government. They officially recognized the Ukrainian National Republic (Dec. 17, 1917), and its right to separate from Russia but at the same time they launched an aggressive war against Ukraine which lasted until its total occupation in 1922.

Kerensky, like other Russian emigre leaders, though he opposed Communism, he nevertheless steadfastly upheld the Russian empire and adhered to the "one and indivisible Russia" of the tsarist regime. This explains why Kerensky, later in 1943, when Hitler's Nazis threatened to dismember the Soviet Union, came to its defence with the following statement: "Russia, a geographical backbone of history, should exist in all her strength and power, no matter who or how he (Stalin - V.Y.M.) is ruling her. From this comes Miliukow's testament to us: to be on watchful guard of Russia — no matter what her name is — absolutely, unconditionally and to the last breath".

What is really tragic is that the Russian historical imperialism still finds support in high offices of the United States government, in the American news media, in the academic community and also in self-styled spokesmen of the left and ironically of the anti-Communist right. *V. Y. Mayevsky*

Stalin in Large Size

A new Russian film: new language settlement.

Since 1956 Stalin has not been shown to the Soviet film public. He has been completely excluded from history, which was naturally not right. For of course he existed in history and left his mark on it. This mistake has been "corrected" in the latest monster film; Stalin appears again. And in which role? As the infallible leader!

The era of re-Stalinization disguised and so to speak carried out with a "bad conscience" is almost finished in the USSR. It is now an open programme, in its methods, in content and now also in form.

The most recent Soviet Russian rehabilitation of Stalin follows in a five-part film series under the title "Liberation". The first two parts, "The Fiery Rainbow" and "The Breakthrough" have been finished and will be given their premier in the studio of Mos-Film for a private audience.

In the two parts shown, the most important war battles of the Red Army in 1943 are depicted, as well as the other world events of that year, such as the deposing of Mussolini, the Teheran Conference, the landing on Sicily, etc. Shooting had begun two years before, that is at the time when in the West Soviet Russian liberalization was regarded as an unstoppable historical necessity, without the Soviet public being informed of it. The two complete parts have passed the censor.

Already at the beginning of the first part of the film, "The Fiery Rainbow", a large-size Stalin appears on the Cinemascope screen. Next to him Marshall Zhukov and Generals Vasilyevsky and Antonov are bent over a map of the front. Stalin submits himself to their views and suggestions. Pipe in mouth, he walks up and down in the room for a while, reflects and then gives his real orders. His figure is especially rendered prominent in the first part. He personally leads all front commanders, organizes the whole war production, and defence of the country. Stalin proves to

be infallible, and thanks to his leadership the Red Army liberates one town after the other. As soon as the situation becomes problematic Zhukov and Vasilyevsky telephone Moscow, fly to Stalin and discuss the difficulty with him — and Stalin's solution is always right.

In the second part, "Breakthrough", the Teheran Conference is, among other things, portrayed in detail. Stalin "has the main say at this historic meeting. He dominates the picture. He is the one who sees the main matter and speaks about the opening of the Second Front. It is he who gives Churchill the right answer as soon as the latter tries to divert him from the main problems. The predominant impression is given that Stalin is the central figure of this meeting, the man in the centre of things, while all other figures stand in his shadow. Roosevelt is ill. He accepts the idea of a second front. Churchill has to bow to Stalin's arguments, after a sharp conflict with him, and yields".

Stalin also shows human tragedy in a great scene. The Germans want to exchange his son Yakov, whom they have captured, for Marshal Paulus, who came into Soviet captivity at Stalingrad. The offer is brought to Stalin. A superhuman struggle is mirrored in his face, while he walks up and down, smoking his pipe. Then he rejects it: "I am not only a father, but also a soldier".

Of course this glorification of Stalin is no coincidence. This work appears at the time when Stalin's image is being systematically corrected, including the military respects. The next logical step would actually be to bring Stalin's remains back to the mausoleum in Red Square, from where they had been expelled some years ago.

The re-Stalinization in the Soviet Union comprises both the re-introduction of Stalinist methods of government and the upward valuation of Stalin's person once more. This in itself is informative as an indication of the current domestic and

foreign political course (at least with regard to East European states). In this one becomes aware that Stalin's rehabilitation comprises an ever increasing area. If at first it was mainly a question of his military merit in the war, a positive judgment was soon applied to Stalin's economic, political and organizational achievements and lately even to, what seemed inconceivable some months ago, his role in Soviet literary and intellectual life.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the praise accorded to Stalin in the memoirs of military men soon after Khrushchov had been ousted and which has swollen enormously in recent months has firstly the approval of the present party leadership and secondly is intended as a mere prelude to a complete new valuation of the Stalin epoch. c.b.

A Demonstration In Moscow

The world press has recently reported about new persecution of Crimean Tatars. The *Münchener Merkur* of April 29, 1970, basing its story on the report of *Washington Post* Moscow correspondent Anthony Astretchen, carried the following item:

The Soviet Russian secret police arrested 160 Crimean Tatars in Moscow last week, before they could demonstrate their right to return to Crimea, during the celebration of 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

The Crimean Tatars were deported from Crimea during World War II for "collaboration" with the Germans. They were rehabilitated in 1967, but they were not allowed to return to Crimea. So far 200 Tatars, who were demanding their rights, were convicted and sent to concentration camps. The recently arrested 160 Tatars came to Moscow from Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and Northern Caucasus.

Other events, which were reported by the underground publications appearing in USSR, are as follows:

On April 7, 1970 the Supreme Court of Uzbekistan upheld the ruling of the local court that Petro Hryhorenko, a former major-general, is mentally ill. Hryhorenko had been arrested in May 1969 when he

attempted to defend the Crimean Tatars.

On April 17th, Ivan Yakhymovych was forced to undergo treatment in a hospital. Yakhymovych, who is a worker on a collective farm, had been arrested in March 1969, when, together with Hryhorenko, he tried to protest against the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia.

Writer Natalia Horbanevska was proclaimed insane after a medical examination. She was transferred to a psychiatric ward of a Moscow hospital.

Arkadiy Levyn was sentenced to three years' imprisonment by a Kharkiv court for signing a petition to the United Nations in May 1969 and a later petition in which he demanded the release of Hryhorenko. He was the fourth resident of Kharkiv who had been found guilty for such activity.

On April 21st, historian Pavlenko was convicted to seven years in a severe regime concentration camp for distributing leaflets which protested against the "revival of Stalinism". Three students received five years' imprisonment each for the same offence.

KGB Bosses — Shot By Freedom-Fighters?

Boris Sergeevich Shulchenko, aged 51. Major-General of the Soviet Army, First Deputy-Head of the Committee of State Security (KGB) in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. According to the Army newspaper *Krasnaya zvezda* (Red Star), he died "suddenly and unexpectedly".

Pyotr Filippovich Kalyuta, aged 59. Major-General of Police, party member since Stalin's purges of 1937, since 1955 Deputy-Head of the Committee of State Security in the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan and since 1960 First Deputy-Minister for Home Affairs. According to *Kazakhstanskaya pravda* he died after a "serious illness".

Vassiliy Melnikov, aged 48. Major-General, Deputy-Chief of Staff of the military units of the Ministry for Home Affairs of the USSR. According to the Army newspaper *Krasnaya zvezda*, the security officer died "suddenly and unexpectedly".

Nikolai Dementyev, aged 49. Colonel in the security service, head of department in the Ministry for Home Affairs of the USSR. He died, according to the railwaymen's newspaper *Gudok* (Steam Whistle) "in the exercise of his duties."

As we know from past experience high-ranking KGB officials often die "suddenly and unexpectedly", as the result of purges or internal conflicts among the imperial elite, or else they fall victim to assassination attempts or die in battle with freedom-fighters.

In the above-mentioned cases news reports hint that the men did not die of natural causes but rather that their death was caused by political or military motives.

Is The Underground Active In The Army?

The Western press had recently reported about opposition among the officers of the Soviet Northern Fleet. The news is based on reports in underground publications. Several of these officers were allegedly arrested and one executed. According to NATO circles, three officers had been arrested. They were accused of founding an underground organization, "The Union of Freedom-Fighters", with the aim to put the UN Convention on Human Rights into effect in the USSR.

WORKERS!!!

WILL THIS SCANDALIZE YOU???

WILL YOU KEEP QUIET ABOUT THIS???

Recently a leading SPD politician, the Chairman of the Federation of German Trade Unions (FGTU), Heinz Oskar Vetter, travelled to Moscow and made a visit of friendship to the Politburo member and chairman of the Soviet Trade Unions, Shelepin, at which closer relations between the Federation of German Trade Unions and the Soviet State Trade Unions were agreed on.

Over the rape of Czecho-Slovakia in August 1968 the Federation of German Trade Unions broke off relations with Moscow out of understandable protest. What has happened since then in Prague or in Moscow to justify the resumption of the broken-off relations???

Nothing!!! The Russian terror against Czecho-Slovakia has become increasingly stronger, Brezhnev and his Politburo are putting under tutelage and gagging with their doctrine of the "limited sovereignty" within the Soviet bloc all their enslaved satellites, just as in Stalin's time. This is rewarded by the Federation of German Trade Unions as "liberalization" with the resumption of relations and is thus stabbing in the back the exploited workers in the whole of the East bloc. What the workers in Eastern Germany think of the courting by the FGTU-Chairman of the Communist State Trade Unions (FDGB), Herr Vetter naturally doesn't want to know either.

Until recently Shelepin was Head of the Soviet Secret Service (KGB) and thus responsible in recent years for countless murders and brutalities. Shelepin himself gave the order for the murder in Munich of two Ukrainian exile politicians, Professor Rebet and Stepan Bandera. After the carrying out of the two treacherous murders on German (!!!) soil Shelepin honoured his murderous agents personally with the Order of the Red Banner. This action has been clarified into the last detail before the Federal Court: Herr Vetter cannot excuse himself by claiming he doesn't know he has taken up "friendly contacts" and close cooperation with a mass murderer at "high level".

Society for Constructive Policy
Amorbach, West Germany

The Greatest Naval Exercises In World History

For the first time not only in Russian history, but in history in general a fleet maneuver took place in all oceans of the world. This was the Soviet war exercise "Ocean", in which more than 500 ships of the Soviet Russian navy as well as strong air force units took part.

The main emphasis of these global strategic operations is formed by submarine chases, the combined action of strategic long-range missiles, and the operative threat to the important sea supply routes of the assumed enemy. All four Soviet Russian fleets (the Baltic fleet as well as the Black Sea, the North Sea and the Pacific fleets) were in action together with Marine units.

This presence in all oceans implies that Moscow must be devoting special attention to the sea-routes and straits leading to oceans, since the USSR, despite all its efforts, has up till now been refused admittance to oceans. Only on the geographically and climatically unfavourable North Sea coast does it possess direct connection to the Atlantic. The remaining European coastlines of the USSR and its satellites are marginal seas (Baltic Sea and Black Sea), whose approaches are in the possession of NATO states. Moscow's largest shipyard capacity is on the Black Sea and in particular on the Baltic. The Mediterranean, however, is also available to the Russian fleet, thanks to the bases taken over and built by the USSR on the North African coast.

The Baltic represents the maneuver centre of the Soviet navy. In Leningrad the largest warship-building capacity, with favourably situated feeder industries, is concentrated. In the Communist Baltic states there are in all ten large shipyards, twelve medium-size building and twenty repair yards.

In the event of war the Baltic Sea serves as a runway for supplies to the armies penetrating to West Europe. The so-called

Baltic fleet has the order to gain access to the Atlantic, to join up with the North Sea fleet and thus shut in Scandinavia. According to the nature and composition of the Baltic fleet and its satellite navies these forces are suitable for offensive operations. This is shown among other things by the especially high number of landing craft to support army operations. The amphibian transport capacity for an offensive landing with fully equipped troops is at the moment being further extended.

An important factor of Russian maritime strategy is formed by its merchant marine, which will have drawn level in tonnage with the largest merchant marines of the world in the mid-seventies. The number of Russian "research ships" however is as large as that of the whole world taken together. The Russian "fishing fleet" (which serves primarily military purposes) is estimated as the largest in the world.



A monument in Majadahonda, Spain, in honor of Ion Mota and Vasile Marin, two Rumanian patriots, who fell on Jan. 13, 1937 while defending Spain, Europe and the entire Christian world against the armies of the antichrist.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



ALBANIA

Albania Warns Of Russian Intentions

Albania's party secretary Hodja has warned that the Soviet Union is preparing to occupy Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania. Such a step, he said, would be essential before Russia could contemplate action against China. The Russians were using the Warsaw Treaty as an instrument for blackmail and hoped to achieve a peaceful occupation of Rumania, at any rate, by introducing their troops into that country with the excuse of joint military maneuvers. Once in, Hodja claimed, they could never be ejected. He accused the Russians of exercising a fascist and militarist dictatorship in their own country, and of attempting to impose it on other nations in Eastern Europe.

AZERBAIJAN

Purges

According to the Moscow newspaper, *Pravda*, G. H. Kyasimov, Secretary of the Regional Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, was dismissed from his post for "grave deficiencies in his work". Azerbaijan's Minister of Health, Vekilov, was also removed from his post. These dismissals were initiated by the new Secretary of the Party in Azerbaijan, A. Alyev, who previously served as chief of the regional secret police.



LATVIA

Soviet Flag Destroyed In Riga

The Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR sentenced the 20-year-old A. Misulavians of Riga to one and a half years of imprison-

ment for destroying the Russian imperial flag. The event occurred on November 7, 1969. At the same time female student E. Liepina received one year in prison. Students M. Binun, A. Burstein and I. Vilkov, who helped Misulavians and expressed solidarity with his action, were expelled from the university. Many more Latvians must have been involved in the anti-Russian activities, for there are reports indicating that many workers were dismissed from work in connection with these activities.



LITHUANIA

Persecution Of The Church In Lithuania

Recently the Russian occupation authorities arrested six Lithuanian priests. The reason for their arrest was a memorandum by a Lithuanian priest to Kosygin, defending ecclesiastical, human and national rights of the Lithuanian people. Among the arrested is Rev. Konstantin Ambrasas, the dean from Vilkaviskis, whom the occupation regime wanted to transfer to some obscure place long before the arrest. But the government received a petition with 1000 signatures, asking that he remain at his post. Only after some time did the MVD dare to arrest him after a long terror campaign directed against the faithful of the deanery with the intention of intimidating them. Father Ambrasas is widely known and loved throughout Lithuania. Therefore the occupying power decided to destroy him in order to stifle every national manifestation of that subjugated nation.

Three Lithuanian priests were sent to a mental hospital for mental and moral destruction. They are: Father Antanas Lesius, who was accused of cooperation with an anti-imperial liberation movement. His condition is hopeless, for he was tortured a great deal during an inquiry.

The second one is a Jesuit, Father Alexandras Markaitis, who had already been deported to Siberia twice and had been released in a ruined state. Some kind people took care of him for a time but the MVD ordered that he be sent to a psychiatric clinic for "treatment". This was done, of course, so that his presence among the people would not call forth indignation and hatred toward the occupying power for its crimes against humanity.

The third priest condemned to mental destruction is Father Antanas Mitrika. He was massacred by the MVD almost beyond recognition and then as a ruined man was transferred to a mental hospital in order "to turn" him into a "Soviet man".

As can be seen, the fate of all the people subjugated by the Russian Moloch is not to be envied, but the world continues to be silent about these enormous crimes.



RUMANIA

Moscow Increasing Its Squeeze On Rumania

On May 27, 1970, Rumania reached an agreement with the USSR on the construction of a nuclear-powered electric station in Rumania with Moscow's assistance. For some time Rumania had been negotiating with Western states on this matter. For this reason the present agreement means that Russian influence upon Rumanian economy is growing and that Moscow is gradually eliminating all opportunities for Rumania to conduct a more independent economic policy.

Official Price Increase

The Rumanian authorities have announced price "improvements" for foodstuffs of animal origin. The stress, of course, was placed on the government's paying higher prices for such products to the collective farmers. The announcement of a price increase to the consumer came as an afterthought. In effect, the cost of meat has been increased by more than 25 cents per

kilo as of June 1st. This new inflationary measure is accompanied by promises of better supplies. The Rumanians are told that by 1975 twice as much meat, milk and eggs will be available on the home market.



SLOVAKIA

Persecution Of Priests

The relations between the Catholic Church and the Communist regime in Slovakia have considerably worsened under the Russian occupation. The Communist press often carries articles against religion and attacks individual priests. Nationally-minded priests who are faithful to the Vatican are molested and persecuted for various reasons, just as in the Stalinist era. The Slovak nation, however, stands by its persecuted priests and demonstrates its aversion to this persecution, as was shown in an impressive way in the village of Zazriva. In this Slovak village, the population rioted to protest the arrest of the local priest. The Communist paper *Pravda*, which appears in Bratislava (Slovakia), wrote the following about the incident in its March 11, 1970 edition:

"Up to a short time ago Zazriva was a typical pastoral village... Some of the children do not go to school. What has happened? Nothing, really. The authorities have only arrested an obstinate breaker of the law: Albin Senaj, a Roman Catholic priest, who has succeeded in confusing a number of sheep entrusted to him, so that today they cannot see clearly where the truth lies. He slandered the constitution and called the Russian soldiers murderers, etc. His father was a member of the Hlinka Guard."

It seems that from the point of view of the Communist regime, and in particular of the Russian occupants, the arrest of the priest was legitimate. And how did the population react to it? The same report in *Pravda* continues:

"Immediately after his arrest his female guardians began to instigate the parishioners... About 1,000 people gathered in

the village and attacked four patrolling policemen. One of the policemen had to be taken to the hospital, the others were only beaten up. An increased number of policemen. One of the policemen had to crowd. Hysteria and fanaticism continued in the village.”



Persecution Of The Church In Ukr.SSR

The Lviv newspaper *Vilna Ukraina* (April 25, 26 and 28, 1970) carried a series of slanderous articles against the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine entitled “On the Road of Betrayal and Corruption. The Reactionary Role of the Greek Catholic Church in the History of the Ukrainian People.” The author of this invective treatise is Yu. Slyvka, an assistant professor and chairman of the department of history of the USSR at the Ivan Franko University in Lviv.

Yu. Slyvka rehashed all that had previously been written by Halan, Belyaev and the like, added a few primitive inventions, which is unfitting for an assistant professor, and the result was a dirty pamphlet in three April numbers.

It is clear that the author is in full agreement with the imprisonment of the Ukrainian bishops, priests and the faithful and the forced liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Yu. Slyvka attacks Metropolitans Sheptytskyi and Slipyi, ties in the OUN and UPA with the tasks of priests, attacks all bishops, the Union of Brest, the division “Halychyna”, and finally the Americans, the Germans, the Vatican, Fr. Nahayevskyi and so forth. He accuses priests in Ukraine — Fr. H. Soltys and Fr. A. Potochnyak — of “creating a sect of Uniates-Penitants”. They “and others state that the sect’s goal is to spread the Catholic faith throughout the entire world. In their pastoral letters they are threatening the Communists with ‘annihilation’ up to the third generation, and the non-believers with ‘early death’, talking

the people out of socially useful activity, out of joining the ranks of the Soviet Army, preaching cosmopolitan ideas, etc.”

In his attempt to attack the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priests Yu. Slyvka refers to such an “authority” as John Whir, at present a neo-Stalinist and a collaborator of Moscow, who returned to Canada from the USSR.

A “museum of history of religion and atheism” was recently established in Lviv. So far the museum has three departments — science and religion, the origin of religion, and the rise of Christianity. Leningrad’s museum of history of religion and atheism delivered many exhibits to the Lviv museum.

The attacks upon the non-Russian churches in Ukraine and elsewhere confirm the fact of the existence of these church formations and their vitality.

An Anti-UPA Play

A playwright of the older generation, party member Lyubomyr Dmyterko of Kyiv received a “socialist order” for a play entitled “The Trial of the Heart” in which the subject of UPA is treated somewhat differently as was heretofore done by the Bolsheviks.

The play’s action is taking place in Transcarpathia after World War II. The workers on collective farms are “happy”, in particular Halya, a member of the Komsomol, and Petro, a geologist. Even Vartstaba, an old Hutsul, who has seen a great deal in his life, is happy. The only one who opposes the Soviet government is the former “sturmführer” during Hitler’s times, Yozef Rohalyk, who according to information provided in *Literaturna Ukraina* of November 14, 1969, is “an irreconcilable and staunch enemy of the Ukrainian Soviet people.”

The new approach to the problem of UPA is seen in the fact that the author, a native of Kyiv, and the actors of the Lviv M. Zankovetska Theater are trying by this play to bring former soldiers and commanders of UPA to the side of the Russian occupation regime in Ukraine.

"Exposed in the play are forces which stood at odds with the Soviet government. These are the former UPA captain, Palyvoda", says *Literaturna Ukraina*, "who realized his mistake, served his sentence and is now honestly working as a bookkeeper, and his ex-fiance Marta, who returned from abroad in order to reactivate the nationalist underground, but who became convinced that her plans cannot be realized and came to the Soviet organs with a confession".

This, really, is the essence of the play "The Trial of the Heart" — to make in-submissive Ukrainians come to Moscow with a "confession".

Ukrainian Professional Tortured To Death

Highly skilled young Ukrainian professional, Herman Y. Benderskyi, died in the Kyiv KGB prison on January 12, 1970. Born in 1937, he worked as an artist for "Ukrreklyama" (Ukrainian advertising). He was tried for an unsuccessful attempt to flee from the Russian empire across the Danube to Rumania. But the Rumanian Communists handed him over to their Russian superiors. The KGB informed the victim's family that he allegedly committed suicide while in jail. However, we have every reason to believe that he had been tortured and died as the result.

New Convictions

At the end of 1969, the municipal court of Krasnodar sentenced Petrenko, a railroad machinist, to one year in prison for writing a letter to Defense Minister Grechko in which he criticized the government, the occupation of CSSR, conditions in industrial enterprises and Brezhnev.

On February 3, 1970 the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR invalidated the previous sentence of Bedrylo, an agronomist from Lviv. Not even his mother was able to attend the closed door session. He was accused of having circulated an appeal by seven previously arrested Ukrainian writers and leaflets about self-immolation of Makuhh. The defendant was re-sentenced on the basis of another article, and the term was lowered from 4 to 2 years. The indictment was based on the testimony of

Bohdan Chaban, at whose house a large amount of underground literature had been found during a search. (Chaban himself showed the hiding place to the KGB.) Chaban was released before the trial.

Accusations Against Dzyuba

The Kyiv branch of the Writers' Union of Ukraine accused Ivan Dzyuba of supporting nationalist positions and even of being an anarchist. All this pertained to his work *Internationalism or Russification?*, whose publication in the West serves as ammunition "for the enemies of the Soviet order and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists". The presidium of the Writers' Union of Ukraine approved the resolution of its Kyiv branch adding that Dzyuba's membership in the Writers' Union can be renewed, but he "as is fitting for a member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, should always adhere to the principles and tasks of this organization..."

Indestructibility Of Christian Faith

On August 25, 1969 a festival in honor of St. Mary was held at the monastery in Mukachiv.

According to eye-witness reports, such a large gathering of people cannot even be remembered by the oldest people. This eye-witness states: There is no power on earth which can destroy the faith of a man and of the Ukrainian people, for strong faith in God can bring down the greatest cliffs. The fact that those churches which are still opened are filled to capacity on Sundays and holydays provide an answer to the questions: Is it possible to kill the spirit in a people and is the struggle with religion bearing fruits?

Correction

In the May-June 1970 issue of *ABN Correspondence*, in the report on the Eleventh Congress of the Bulgarian National Front, pp. 42-3, among the newly elected officers of BNF, we inadvertently omitted Mr. Nikola Stoyanoff — Secretary, and Mr. Koliu Kondoff — Treasurer.

We apologize to our readers for this oversight.

Book Reviews

John Kolasky: *TWO YEARS IN SOVIET UKRAINE*, Peter Martin Associates, Toronto, Ont., 230 pp., \$ 3.95.

Behind the USSR's propaganda facade of a multi-national state united in the purpose of the socialist utopia lies the ugly truth: a totalitarian empire dominated, as always, by the power of the princes of Muscovy.

The truth is laid bare in "Two Years in Soviet Ukraine", a superbly documented analysis of Russian political, social and economic imperialism at work within the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

As an eye-witness and a trained researcher, John Kolasky illuminates his subject with vivid first-hand experience and remarkable documentation.

The result is a shocking, startling, almost unbelievable picture of heavy-handed imperialism at work.

This is Kolasky's second book exposing Moscow's domination of Ukraine. His first book, titled "Education in Soviet Ukraine", was published in 1968 and is now in its third printing.

Kolasky demonstrates conclusively that the Russians are engaged in a conscious, long-term program for the destruction of the non-Russian languages and culture.

He reports at first hand the gross and lawless behavior of the Russian carpet-baggers who rule the republics of the USSR for the benefit of Moscow.

He shows the impact and the effects of ruthless economic exploitation of Ukraine by the Moscow centralizers — and includes a shocking account of a virtually unknown workers' protest and the bloody military suppression that followed.

He analyzes the characters and careers of notorious Ukrainian collaborators such as Skaba, Bilodid, and others, who have risen to positions of power and wealth by outdoing their Russian masters.

He reveals the brutal corruption and venality of many of the men to whom the Russians have entrusted political and administrative power in the apparatus of the Ukrainian Republic.

And, more circumspcctly but just as convincingly, he describes the growing opposition movement within Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics — a movement which he believes will eventually result in the overthrow of Russian imperialist power.

"Two Years in Soviet Ukraine" is not simply the product of careful scholarly research. It is also an intensely personal first-hand account of one man's experiences, living, studying and travelling within the Soviet Union. John Kolasky had come to Soviet Ukraine as a student at the Higher Party School in Kyiv.

He describes vividly how his discoveries destroyed his illusions about the Soviet Russian system, how research and conversations revealed the truth, and how, as a result of his inquiries, he narrowly escaped imprisonment before his expulsion from the Soviet Union.

Few Westerners have experienced so intimately or understood so well the workings of the Soviet Russian system. And fewer still have written so convincingly of the truth that lies behind the facade.

Ernest Bauer: *GLANZ UND TRAGIK DER KROATEN. Ausgewählte Kapitel der Kroatischen Kriegsgeschichte.* (Splendor and Tragedy of the Croats. Selected chapters from Croatian military history.) Herold Publishers, Vienna-Munich, 1969, 107 pp.

Dr. Ernest Bauer, former professor at the philosophical faculty of the University of Zagreb (Croatia), deals with important chapters of Croatian military history. He shows the tragic fate of the Croatian people. "Among all the difficulties the Croats

had to endure in the past, the most severe one was probably the fact that in spite of clear-cut population conditions (at least before the wars against the Turks) they did not succeed in uniting this Croatian ethnic area politically as well. This ancient dream of every Croatian political leadership — it already existed during the first Croatian dukeships and the reign of the kings of the national dynasty in the 9th and 10th centuries — could never be fully realized in view of historical and geopolitical difficulties.”

In his book Dr. Bauer not only succeeded in describing the Croatian history of war in a generally understandable and interesting way, but also in surveying the general history of the Croatian nation. In doing so he only hints at certain problems and their consequences. He presupposes that the readers of his book have some knowledge of history. Thus, for example, when writing about Cardinal George Haulik, the first archbishop of Zagreb, he does not mention that he was a Slovak, probably because this fact is generally known to the Croatian public.

The above book discusses historical events which occurred prior to the end of World War I. It is a pity that the author does not write about Croatia's participation in World War II and about the fight of the Independent State of Croatia against Soviet Russia and Communism. At that time the Croats also defended Western civilization and that war as well had tragic consequences for the Croatian as well as for other European nations.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

Heinrich L. Sanden: *DIE WELT DER TAUSEND VÖLKER, Erkundungsreise in die Wirklichkeit.* (The World of Thousand Peoples, A Fact-finding Trip into Reality.) Druffel-Verlag, Leoni, 528 pp., 8 pictures, 7 maps, DM 26.50.

In his book journalist Heinrich Sanden reports on his round-the-world trip. He visited Egypt, India, Singapore, Hongkong,

Formosa, Japan, Columbia, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and South Africa. While his historical retrospects have more the character of sketches and fragments, his reports on his meetings with prominent personalities in the various countries provide a very good picture of the present problems in these countries. Almost everywhere people worry about the gravest mistake in American foreign policy which allows Communism, now threatening not only the USA, but also numerous other countries, to win.

A discussion he had with the President of WACL, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, in Taipei is especially impressive. Here it is fully recognized that everything praised as “Communism” actually is an “ideology hostile to nature” which “has to be exterminated, before justice, freedom and peace can be reinstated.”

No less interesting is the declaration of the former Commander-in-Chief of the Brazilian navy and now President of the Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, Admiral Carlos Penna Botto: “The only language understood by the Marxists is that of power. Wherever the plague of Communist slavery is noticed, it has to be defeated. There is no other recipe.”

The description of the inner political structure of the South African Republic, with its multi-national problems, is extremely informative.

Dr. Edmund Marhefka

Property Of Emigrés Confiscated

The Federal Parliament of the “Czechoslovak Socialist Republic” has passed a law according to which houses, apartments and other property of political emigrants fall to the state. Thus the Communist regime tries to stop the flow of emigrés to the West. This does not only concern illegal crossings of the border, but also cases, where people go abroad with official permission or on official business and then stay abroad.

Captive Nations Week Observances In New York City



An AF-ABN protest demonstration in front of the Soviet-Russian U. N. Mission in New York, July 12, 1970.



Wreath-laying ceremony at the Statue of Liberty in memory of victims of Communist terror, July 19, 1970.

New Publications

The Gun and the Faith

Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Russian Rule

A Brief Survey by

W. Mykula, B. A. (Lond.), B. Litt. (Oxon.)

Price: 6/— in U.K. or \$ 1.00

Order from: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.

200 Liverpool Rd., London N. 1

Kyiv Versus Moscow

Political Guidelines

of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

30 cents

In Defense of Humanism

The Case Against Myth-Creation in the U. N.

By Iwan Wowchuk

35 cents

Russia Is Not Invincible

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C. B., C. B. E., D. S. O.

25 cents

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BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Ukrainian students demonstrating outside the Consulate of the USSR in Montreal, Canada, on August 21, 1970 to protest Russian colonial oppression in Ukraine.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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„To Smooth The Path For The Spirit”

It is an indisputable fact that the young generation of Ukraine and other subjugated countries is going through a period of spiritual revival in the national, heroic and idealistic sense with unusual dynamism. It has always been and still is a fundamental error of the so-called Western Sovietologists to believe and to maintain that the young generation, born of parents who themselves have been born and raised under the Bolshevik yoke, has been raised in the foreign, Russian, Bolshevik complex of ideas and has adopted it. On the contrary! We are witnessing a stormy return to national traditions, to national dignity, to the Christian philosophy of life, and to the exceptional evaluation of eternal spiritual values. The primacy of the spiritual factor is a self-evident phenomenon to the young generation. It is a mistake to think that the dialectical and historical materialism has changed the spirituality of a generation. It is an outer covering which is falling apart under the pressure of internal, deep-rooted, national forces and newly revived traditions, while the national content emerges from under the foreign cover, which Moscow is incapable of killing. Overcome with panic Moscow is digging out the theory of three Rus peoples. Then again with all force it is intensifying Russian chauvinism and imperialism, in order to mobilize the Russian people against the subjugated nations. This however calls forth an adverse reaction in the young generation, which in the feeling of national dignity and pride confirms its national identity in the spiritual, cultural and political respect. The contradictions of the ruling occupation system are so obvious and so numerous that Moscow must get lost in them. Naked brutal force wants to close the lips of young people but they will not be closed. The nations are rising and are stressing their rights to sovereignty in every respect, not only by words but also by deeds. For the young people no Ukr.SSR is a “Ukrainian state”. They scorn such a state. It is this very attitude of the youth in Ukraine which was responsible for partially stopping the process of Sovietophilism among the emigre defeatists, as well as the praise of and the admiration for the Russian people. The fighting Ukraine showed the way to the emigres as well: hands off Moscow and its lying soul. The heroic national and patriotic concept of life, the struggle for the rights of nations and individuals, for human dignity, for pride in their past have enveloped the souls and the actions of the young people. They have entered the front of struggle for self-determination of their own nation, for its national state independence, for the dissolution of the empire. This desire has grown from the depth of the souls of the young people, from the national mystique, of which some in the West are afraid, but which young Ukrainians in Ukraine are openly espousing. They are not fascinated by the “Dniprelstans”, but they are troubled by the fact that the places reminding of the glorious tradition of Ukraine are being destroyed by the bureaucrats upon orders from Moscow for “industrialization”, “electrification” and other “hydroelectric stations” . . . And further, instead of constructing dams, fertile lands of Ukraine are being flooded upon Moscow’s orders. I recall when the Dniprelstan had been built 40 years ago and the rapids have been demolished, our “industrializers” were admiring this, while we regretted the destruction of the Cossack rapids on the Dniπρο River. And today? The contemporary youth, brought up and grown up in the age of industrialization, is cursing this destruction

of historic sites of Ukraine and the flooding of her fertile lands with Moscow's hidden aim — to change the face of Ukraine in every respect — just as we had done at that time. Industrial development is one thing, but the destruction of historical treasures of a nation is something else again.

For the young generation the Cossack State was not something or other, but a CHRISTIAN Cossack Republic. In the places where the Zaporizhian Cossacks settled, the Church grew as the voice of their spirit. In the face of the invasion by the “military governors — Peter's dogs”, they left everything behind, only taking with them “marching churches”, as told by a folk legend, and continuously struggled for the spiritual cultivation of a piece of foreign land. These daring heroes — writes one author in Ukraine — were not afraid of death and considered it a great honor to die in battle. They were not afraid of hell itself, and hellish tortures here on earth did not frighten them. Consequently, their faith could not have been born of the slavish fear of punishment by God-despot (the heavenly variation of an autocratic tsar). This was a religion of the free people. Their God was the God of freedom, truth and love. Leaving behind everything, they took with them their God . . . They lived by their CATHEDRALS. — Our nation — says the author — has never lived without the spiritual, and all its history, although today we know so little of it — lies in the basis of these words by Franko:

*And they will go into obscurity of ages,
full of grief and fear,
To smooth out the spiritual path as they go,
to die on the road.*

The nation's past does not disappear, we are thought by contemporary authors of Ukraine. The blood, heroically shed, does not dry up. It becomes transformed into a new form of spiritual energy. It gives birth to a man who has to put it into words. The past rises and flourishes in a genius.

Our nation — writes Herten about the Russian people — does not know its history. In our country an ill-fated uniform is carelessly covering the whole national life. And at the same time EACH VILLAGE in Ukraine has its own legend . . . The Russian people only know Pugachov and the year 1812 . . .

The Christian civilization, we are told by the authors of Ukraine, includes the chivalrous cult of honor, guaranteed by the highest value—the human life. A person could have played with life, but it could never play with the word of honor. They fought duels to protect the word of honor. They committed suicide after breaking their word of honor, and even the blood did not wash away the disgrace — it remained upon the descendants.

And the young author is reproachfully accusing our intelligentsia: what have you created — he asks — for your nation in exchange for the persistent agitation against religious beliefs and rites, old customs, traditions and holydays — that

is, all that which at one time had to be respected by a foreigner first of all, if he wanted to show his respect to the people?

The author repeats after a French historian: "Nationality, native land are the main things in the life of the world. When the native land dies — everything dies."

Youth — says the author — should be treated seriously, with respect and hope. Social problems have to be placed before it loud and clear in order to prepare the people who are going to take their weight voluntarily upon their shoulders. The young people must know that these are their problems, and nobody besides them is going to solve them, that they have to grow up to them and not to laugh and build for themselves the most simple model of the world, which in great comfort demands minimal efforts.

"Nationalism is a mandatory condition for progress of humanity; not only the nation suffers from its death, but humanity in general" . . . wrote P. Hrabovskiyi.

Shevchenko's "idealization of the past" is enveloping the young generation. That for which Shevchenko has paid so dearly has been worth it, for it began to revive in the people and a new type of an educated man came to being, who instead of the Russian history has chosen the Ukrainian history for himself. In spite of all prohibitions he grew up and Ukrainian history grew in him — and no one, besides the popes, says one author, is even thinking of cursing Mazepa for the fact that he would rather have the distant European and knight Charles XII as his ally, than a close barbarian, Peter I.

The cult of the Cossack Ukraine is alive, is being revived by our people . . . And there are reasons for this. More than one Ukrainian author is quoting the following (according to H. Petrovskiyi: "From the Revolutionary Past", p. 79, 1958):

"The study of 1652 by Archdeacon Pavlo Alepskiy about the literacy in Ukraine says that almost all domestic personnel, and not only the male personnel, but also their wives and daughters could read. The censuses of 1740 and 1748 say that in seven regiments of the Hetmanate, in the Poltava and Chernihiv provinces, there were 866 schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction for a total of 1094 villages. That is one school for every 746 persons. In 1804 an ukaz was issued forbidding instruction in the Ukrainian language. The consequences of national oppression have continued to be felt. The 1897 census showed that the least literate people in Russia were the Ukrainians. . . . At the same time, in 9 years 3,500,000 roubles have been collected as revenue in Ukraine, and only 1,760,000 roubles have been returned for various expenditures."

Young Ukrainians know these facts, for Lenin also quoted Petrovskiyi when he found it necessary for his hypocritical aims. Contemporary authors in Ukraine believe in the nation, in the eternal, in the mystical. We are speaking — says one of them — about the legend of eternity of people and humanity, for this is in the realm of faith, and not a fact which everyone is compelled to know. This legend was spun, carried and made to come true by the best — those who cared least about their physical self-preservation . . . What price did our ancestors have to

pay to implant in their children the humanistic ideals, beliefs, unselfish love for truth and for the God of their ancestors . . . The legend about the eternity of the nation has entered into our consciousness, as the highest reality. We are placing our best in the treasury of the immortal nation and are taking from it as much as one can. We are pouring ourselves into its sea as a drop, and are thinking of the eternity of the sea . . . The "CHRISTIAN COSSACK REPUBLIC" has lived without tsars and kings, with the election of the hetman and the chief, and fought with dignity for the glory and freedom with the mightiest states of the time. We can be proud of it almost in a filial manner . . .

Concluding our remarks, based exclusively on the ideas of Ukrainian authors of the younger generation, it is perhaps worth mentioning how absorbed they are in the mystique of the eternal, in the mystique of Kyiv, the mystique of Ukraine...

An old Cossack cathedral is sounding an alarm by the sound of the submerged bells. Mystique? says the author. Our divers have never found any. But with eyes and hands one does not always find the main thing . . .


Only churches — if cathedrals have been preserved, in which the spirit of our ancestors has immortalized itself, are the secret code of their message for the future . . .

And the people, speaking about the history of their village, tell that Shevchenko spent some time in their village, that there were great craftsmen, minstrels, interesting old bee-keepers . . . From its heroic epic the people was nevertheless able to preserve the spirit of the songs and the mystery of the legends . . .

And the people has not forgotten this too: in the past there were also bloody piles, and gallows, and hooks for ribs, and copper oxen, and expeditions, from which not even a half returned, and bloody battles, one after the other — but they continued to go and go in the name of freedom — for the FAITH of their ANCESTORS! These were people! They could not be brought to tears so easily, corrupted by pain and losses — they created the holy in spirit and voluntarily burned at the alter, where a new temple was to rise. Yes, yes. Rock grows without roots — only rock! And the sun nevertheless rises — and without seeds . . .

Can a nation vanish when it has a new generation which knows Shevchenko's testament and remembers Franko's words:

To smooth the path for the spirit!



*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

Masyutko Condemns Russian Repressions In Ukraine

To the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR

From citizen Mykhailo Savovych Masyutko, who is now in Camp No. 11, of the Mordovian ASSR

If a traveller, despite all categorical prohibitions was able to stay in one of the camps for political prisoners in Mordovia, of which there are as many as six, he would be extremely surprised: here thousands of kilometres from Ukraine he would hear clear Ukrainian language with all its contemporary dialects. In the traveller an unintentional question would probably arise: What is happening in Ukraine? Uprisings? Rebellions? How does one explain the high percentage of Ukrainians among political prisoners, which reaches 60, or at times even 70 %? If the traveller, soon after this experience, stayed in Ukraine, then he would soon find out that there is no uprising or rebellion in Ukraine. But then a new question would arise: Why is the Ukrainian language so rare in the Ukrainian towns and so frequent in the camps for political prisoners?

Judging by today's repressions in Ukraine, the impression arises that the organs of State Security of Ukraine are purposely ignoring the theory of Marxism-Leninism, are purposely hindering the building of a socialist society. But when one nevertheless admits the authenticity of the idea that the country needs a force which would counteract hostile external forces, then in that event the acts of these organs ought to have a completely definite aim and not be directed against the Ukrainian people.

In one of Myroslav Yovchuk's complaints (and altogether he has written 268 complaints!!!) he reveals the real reason for his repression. Yovchuk writes that the investigating organs soon realized from the proceedings of the inquest that he was not guilty of anything, but they approached the case according to the theory of probability: Yovchuk is a Ukrainian, and since in the view of the State Security organs, all Ukrainians, if they have not committed any crimes against the Soviet government, are bound to commit them, and therefore Yovchuk has to be convicted.

In 1962 the Lviv Oblast Court convicted a group of Khodoriv citizens on a fabricated charge, similar to the group of Koval-Hrytsyna, accusing them of nationalism and terrorism, even though there were no facts or concrete evidence of such activities by these people in the documents of the inquest. Nevertheless Mykola Protsiv was sentenced to be shot (and he was executed), Mykhailo Protsiv to 15 years of imprisonment, Drop — 15 years, Khanas — 12 years, Yosyp Nahrobnyi — 12 years, Kapitonenko — to 8 years of imprisonment.

An impression may be formed that only the Lviv KGB fabricates cases in this manner and only the Lviv Oblast Court in Ukraine dispenses terms of punishment so lavishly. But no. In 1956 in Kyiv (the capital of Ukraine) citizen Pavlo Kulko was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment; in 1960 in that same Kyiv a group of citizens was sentenced as follows: Yaroslav Hasyuk to 12 years of imprisonment, Volodymyr Leonyuk to 12 years, Bohdan Khrystynych to 12 years

of imprisonment, Volodymyr Zatvarskyi to 7 years, Yaroslav Kobyletskyi to 5 years of imprisonment. In that same Kyiv, the Tykhyi brothers were sentenced to 10 years each for the fact that they defended the lawfulness of the Ukrainian language.

In Ternopil in 1960 the Oblast Court sentenced Petro Strus to 10 years of imprisonment. In 1962 in that same Ternopil a group of citizens was sentenced as follows: Bohdan Hohus to be shot (changed to 15 years: 5 years in prison and 10 years in camps with severe regime), Hrytsko Kovalyshyn to 10 years of imprisonment, Volodymyr Kulikovskiy to 15 years, Pavlo Pundyk to 5 years, Palykhata to 4 years of imprisonment.

In Chernivtsi in 1962 Dmytro Kovalchuk was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment and Shershen to 6 years of imprisonment.

In Rivne in 1957 citizen Vasyl Kobryn was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. In that same Rivne Stepan Kurylyak was sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment in 1963.

In Lutsk in 1963 Yurko Sachuk was sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment and in 1957 citizen Danylo Shumuk was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment there, on the basis of completely false and provocative testimony. In that same Lutsk in 1962 the group of Shust and Romanyuk was sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In Donetsk in 1958 cit. Oleksiy Tykhyi was sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment. In 1963 in that same Donetsk the group — Bulbynskiy, Rybach, Trasyuk, was sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In Luhansk cit. Borys Kyyan was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in 1958.

In Dnipropetrovsk cit. Ihor Kychak was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in 1958. In that same Dnipropetrovsk cit. Andriy Turyk was given the death sentence in 1957 (later the sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment in camps with extremely severe regime). Even though Turyk was tried by himself, this did hinder in accusing him of organizational activity.

In Zaporizhzhya a group of citizens was sentenced in 1962 as follows: Volodymyr Savchenko to 6 years of imprisonment, Valeriy Ryshkovenko to 6 years, Yurko Pokrasenko to 6 years, Oleksa Vorobyov to 4 years, Volodymyr Chornyshov to 4 years and Borys Nadтока to 3 years of imprisonment.

In Sumy, Ivan Polozka was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment in 1960.

In Donetsk, in 1961 a group of citizens with journalist Hrytsko Hayovyi at the head, who was sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment, was convicted.

In Chernyhiiv in 1963 cit. Pryimachenko was sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment, and many, many others.

Most of these citizens were repressed in Ukraine at the time when the government of the Soviet Union declared that there are no instances of prosecution on political grounds. The organs of State Security and the courts of Ukraine usually accuse these citizens of conducting anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and other nationalistic acts. What is this anti-Soviet propaganda?

One can propagate some ideology, some scientific thought. Is there a Soviet ideology, or a Soviet scientific thought? No there is no such ideology, such scientific thought. In the Soviet Union the Communist ideology is the dominant ideology.

There is no Soviet propaganda, but propaganda of Communist ideas. Therefore, there can be no anti-Soviet propaganda either. The term "Soviet" expresses only a form of state government, and state government cannot be an ideology. Nevertheless this term was purposely and artificially introduced into the Code of the Ukr.SSR by the state jurists so that unfounded repressions could be formally justified.

What enters into the second part of the accusations against Ukrainian citizens — *nationalistic* propaganda (or activity)? By what code or laws does one explain indictment for nationalistic propaganda (activity)? There are no such laws. To the contrary, there is the Constitution of the USSR which guarantees the right of nations to self-determination; there is the Leninist nationality policy, which fully guarantees the right of nations to self-determination, unlimited, with complete withdrawal of troops of the annexing country, propaganda for separation, the resolving of national problems by way of a referendum of a whole nation.

Nationalism is the answer to existing chauvinism. When there is no chauvinism, there is no nationalism. Can there be nationalism of Albanians to the Rumanians when the Rumanians do not oppress the Albanians at all. "Any kind of national oppression provokes counteraction in the broad masses of the people, while the tendency to any kind of counteraction of the nationally oppressed population is a national uprising." (*Lenin*, v. XXII, 4-e Rus. Ed. p. 49). In Sukarno's book "Indonesia Accuses" which is officially published in the Soviet Union, which means that its ideas are accepted by Communist ideology, it is written: "Without nationalism there is no progress; without nationalism there is no nation. Nationalism is that treasure which gives a state the strength to strive for progress, gives the nation in question, the strength to defend its existence", said Dr. Sun Yat-sen (p. 108).

In 1956 in Norylsk and Vorkuta, in Karaganda and Dzheskagan, in many camps of the Far North and Siberia, numerous groups of Ukrainians-prisoners were sentenced because they tried to improve their living conditions. Those people who were not shot at that time, are still to be found in the camps of Mordovia now. Ukrainians who hardly make up 15% of the population of the Soviet Union, make up 60—70% in the camps for political prisoners. The Russians who make up 52% of the peoples of the Soviet Union, in the camps of Mordovia barely reach 10%. And if one excludes policemen and those sentenced for religious convictions, who can hardly be called political prisoners, then the percentage of Russians in these camps, will probably not reach more than one or two percent. The government of the RSFSR has taken care of its compatriots, but nobody worries about the fate of the Ukrainians. Of course not. In 1965 and 1966, when hardly any repressions were taking place in other Soviet republics, repressions were in full swing in Ukraine.

I, Mykhailo Masyutko, was arrested in Feodosia. (I was sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment.) All of us were investigated secretly and most of us were sentenced at secret trials. We were also accused of "anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda." It was to be found in the fact that during the search of our apartments, materials which were typed on a typewriter were found, in circumvention of censorship, which according to the laws of the Soviet government, should not exist

now. All materials which were confiscated from us by the investigating organs of the KGB are strictly national in character. They have the character of struggle for the right of the nation to separation.

In connection with the recent secret trials in Ukraine, in his petitions to the Prosecutor of the Ukr.SSR, to the head of the KGB of the Ukr.SSR and to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR, Ukrainian Soviet journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil wrote that he, together with the entire Ukrainian community, is indignant at such criminal actions of the organs of repression, that not to express his protest in view of these acts, would be tantamount to sharing in the crimes which are being perpetrated by the organs of repressions. Is it possible not to agree with this journalist? If the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR are holding the mandates in their hands not just for the sake of their own well-being, then they should not close their eyes to the highhandedness which is taking place in Ukraine. They have no right to fully surrender the fate of the Ukrainian people to the forces, which neither according to the theory of the building of socialist society, nor in view of practical experience in the building of a socialist society have a right to exist. And the fact how the deputies are going to respond to the burning problems of life of the Ukrainian people is going to be instrumental in the judging of their activities in the near future.

October 1966 — February 1967

Prof. Dr. J. Kitaoka, Secretary General of Japan Chapter of WACL & APACL

Security Of East Asia And Communist Infiltration In Japan

It is reported that the USA which has been the protector of free countries in East Asia decided not to send troops any more, and reduce the present force in East Asia. It is almost certain that if the USA reduces its army below a certain point, East Asian free countries will be invaded by Communist countries. First of all ROK* will be the target of Communist aggression. If the US navy retreats from East Asia, Taiwan will be invaded. And if Korea and Taiwan were occupied by Communist countries, it is probable that Japan will fall a prey to the Communist countries in some way or other, and the whole of East Asia will be dominated by Communists. In order to prevent such an unfortunate destiny there is no way left except the establishment of an East Asia Security Organization including Japan and supported by the USA. This is technically possible, if the USA commits itself to retali-

* ROK — the Republic of Korea

ate with nuclear weapons against an aggressor with nuclear weapons, and an East Asian Security Organization is a defensive alliance.

There are, however, many stumbling blocks in the way of Japan's participation in such a military alliance. The opposition comes from outside and from within. The opposition from outside, that is, from free East Asian countries other than Japan will be very strong, based on prejudice and misunderstanding that Japan may return to militarism again. But we can definitely assure the world that there is no possibility for Japan to go back to militarism again.

The opposition within Japan against her participation in any kind of military alliance is very strong. There are various kinds of opposition, which may be classified as follows:

1) *Those who want peace at any price.* The peace-loving spirit, or pacifism, more accurately speaking, war-phobia is pre-

vailing among the Japanese. There are many people in Japan who prefer surrender to the war of resistance.

2) *Those who trust Communist countries.* They think that even if ROK and/or Taiwan would be invaded and occupied by Communist countries, Japan will be safe. Since invasion into South Korea or Taiwan is for the unification of unnaturally divided countries, it does not concern Japan.

3) *Those who welcome Communist domination.* They are trying their best to get rid of the Japan-US Security Treaty and US bases from Japan. And whenever the chance comes, they try to overthrow free and democratic governments and establish a Communist (they may call it Socialist) government in Japan with as much as possible help from Communist countries. This is the attitude of Communists and Socialists. To them Japan's participation in an East Asia Security Organization is the most disgusting enemy of peace.

The special feature of Japan after World War II which makes such military alliance difficult and makes the opponents strong is the present constitution. It is generally believed that under the present constitution a military alliance is not allowed. Therefore, for Japan to participate in the East Asia Security Organization her constitution must be amended. And the principal power of opposition to the amendment of the constitution are the Communists.

The Communist Movement in Japan

When we describe the Communist Movement in Japan, we should classify it into the following 3 categories:

a) The Japan Communist Party or Yoyogi Sect of the Communist Party (Yoyogi is the name of the place where the Japan Communist Party's headquarters is situated). Recently, the Japan Communist Party ostensibly denied revolution by violence, and dictatorship by the proletariat, and advocated freedom and parliamentary democracy, and got support from neither the Soviet Union nor Red China (since March 1964 there was rupture with the Russians and since March 1966 with

Red Chinese). At the 11th National Congress on July 1-7, 1970 the above-mentioned strategic platform was confirmed publicly. These denials of violence and foreign support contributed to the increase in membership. Now its registered members are placed at 300,000, the circulation of the daily organ at 400,000, the Sunday organ at 1,100,000. The Japan Communist Party is the second largest Communist party in the free world, next to Italy, and larger than that of France. Although its parliamentary strength is only 15 seats in the House of Representatives, if we add the members of the Socialist Party, the Communists in the Diet are also the second largest in the free world.

No doubt, in the critical moment it will resort to violence and get support from the Russians and/or Red Chinese. And notwithstanding various mild platforms it continues to oppose the USA as an imperialist power and to advocate the abolition of the Japan-US Security Treaty and the closing of all US bases in Japan.

The Japan Communist Party has at least 30 front organizations and some of them (for example, the Democratic Youth League) have hundreds of thousands of members.

b) The Japan Socialist Party. This party is a grotesque group composed of Leftists and Rightists; the former are Marxists-Leninists, the latter are Democratic Socialists. At present the Party is dominated by Leftists. Therefore, it is essentially a Communist party. For (1) In the official platform it praises the Soviet Union and other Communist countries and is convinced of the ultimate domination of Communism all over the world. It welcomes such an eventuality. (2) Although it opposes revolution by violence and advocates parliamentary democracy, in the published documents, violence at the critical moment and temporal dictatorship are not denied. (3) It is very friendly with Communist countries, and it is generally supposed that it gets support in various forms from Soviet Russia and Red China, especially Red China. (4) It strongly opposes the Japan-US Security Treaty and the Self-Defense

Force of Japan. "Go home Americans!" "Young people, don't take guns" have been the most important slogans ever since it was founded soon after the War. At present it urges "Neutrality without armament", "Neutrality is to be guaranteed by four Powers (Soviet Russia, USA, Red China, and Japan)". All well-educated Japanese know well that such a neutrality is impossible or very precarious. Their true aim is to disarm Japan and get the power with the help of Communist countries (or country). (5) Until quite recently it endorsed the anti-Yoyogi Communists' violent actions as explained below.

We can conclude at present that the Japan Socialist Party is more loyal to Communism than the Yoyogi Japan Communist Party.

c) The Anti-Yoyogi Communists. There are many kinds or sects in this category. The best known and most active organi-

zations are university student organizations called "Zengakuren". The university student organizations were originally developed under the domination of the Japan Communist Party or the Yoyogi Communist Party. Even at present the most important sect of the student organizations is under the domination of Yoyogi Communists. Since 1958 leaders of the "Zengakuren" departed from the Yoyogi Communist Party, and they split into may sects. Some of them are anarchists, some are radical liberals, most of them are extreme Marxists-Leninists and openly advocate violence. All of them are strongly anti-USA. Some of them get a subsidy from Red China and the Japan Socialist Party. Since 1967 their violent demonstrations have erupted in the streets and universities. More than 140 universities closed from several days to over half a year. Numbers arrested, mostly university students, are as follows:

1967: 1,114, 1968: 5,547, 1969: 12,542.

Results of the General Election to the House of Representatives

The results of the December 27, 1969 General Election are as follows (compared

with the results of the previous election of January 29, 1967):

Political Parties	Members returned		Votes received		Percentage of votes	
	1969	1967	1969	1967	1969	1967
Liberal Democrats	288 (+14)	277	22,381,566	22,447,838	47.63	48.00
Socialists	90	140	10,074,099	12,826,103	21.44	27.88
"Komei" Party	47	25	5,124,666	2,472,371	10.91	5.31
Democratic Socialists	31 (+1)	30	3,635,591	3,404,463	7.74	7.41
Communists	14	5	3,199,030	2,190,563	6.81	5.44
Other parties	0	0	81,373	101,244	.17	.22
Independents	16 (--15)	9	2,492,599	2,553,988	5.30	5.50
Totals	486	486	46,989,884	45,996,570	100	100

Note: Numbers in the brackets are changed soon after the election.

One of the most important factors which caused the decrease of the Socialist Party is that it supported the violent Student Movement. For the same reason, the Communist Party and Liberal Democrats gained seats.

The "Komei Party" has greatly increased its strength. It is a religious party, a sect

of Buddhism, militant and obedient to the chief. The leading spirit is incompatible with Communism, but it is opportunist and easily moved by mass-communication. Therefore it opposes the Japan-US Security Treaty. It is easily swayed by Communists and Socialists.

The Democratic Socialist Party achieved

a slight increase. This party takes the British Labour Party as its model. Although it is moderate, it wants to expel American bases.

The Liberal Democrats increased their seats a little. Adding 14 members soon after the election, now they have 302 seats in the House. Liberal Democrats decreased their strength for these ten years, election by election, little by little; even a small gain is a great victory.

First of all, the dominant majority of Liberal Democrats is not stable. I will explain it by the example of the election for governor of Kyoto on April 12, 1970. Three parties, Liberal Democrats, Democratic Socialists and "Komei", combined supported Mr. Shibata ex-vice minister of local administration and were defeated by Mr. Ninagawa supported by Communists and Socialists by the difference of 144,900 votes, although the above-mentioned three parties got 274,895 votes more than the latter two parties on Dec. 27, 1969.

Quite recently another defeat of the majority party took place. On August 23, 1970, in the election of the mayor of Kamakura (the largest resort city and historical city) Liberal Democratic Party which has 20 out of 30 seats in the city council was defeated by the candidate recommended by the Socialist and Communist parties, getting only one third of the total votes.

In the coming election of the governor of Tokyo Metropolitan District, it is generally believed that Communists and Socialists combined can get the majority over all other parties, although in the general election to the House of Representatives and the local Legislative Assembly the above-mentioned two parties got a poor minority.

The Socialist Party which has lost so many seats, is now considering how to rebuild itself. The Leftists want to cooperate with Communists; the Rightists want to cooperate with Democratic Socialists. Although we can not predict the future, it is possible that the four present opposition parties will get together and try to abolish the Japan-US Security Treaty.

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese prefer peace, in-

dependence, liberty and democracy to violence and despotism. This is indicated by the fact that even the Communist who really want to get power by violence and foreign aid and rule by dictatorship pretend to support peace, liberty, independence and democracy and so far have gained popularity by such treacherous propaganda. It is unreasonable that highly educated people like the Japanese are deceived by such treacherous Communist propaganda.

Treacherous propaganda of the Communists is so strong in Japan, because 1) Communists are geniuses of propaganda and skillfully attract all those who are dissatisfied with present situation, 2) all legislation which restricted Communist movements before the War was abolished, 3) Communists were given key positions of propaganda, 4) Soviet Russia and Red China gave all kinds of help including huge sums of money, 5) anti-Communist propaganda has been poor.

Countermeasures to the Communist Movement

There are more than 50 anti-Communist organizations in Japan. Most of them publish periodicals. But compared with those of Communists all are very poor and their circulation limited.

The Japan Chapter of WACL and APACL is the international department of the Free Asia Association which was established in 1955 by Dr. Watanabe and other distinguished statesmen and businessmen. We publish the monthly organ *Free World* and many anti-Communist books and pamphlets. We urge the outlawing of Communist Party but so far we have not been successful. Although we have "an Act to Prevent Violent Activity", it is not effective and the Communists are very skillful in evading the application of this act.

Quite recently a new anti-Communist organization called the "International League for Victory Over Communism" (Kokusai Shokyo Rengo) was established. It has over 50,000 members and over 3,000 full-time anti-Communist fighters.

For Victory Over Communism



I spent 12 years of my youth in Russia, from 24 to 36 years of age. It was the time when they were establishing the totalitarian system of Communism from Lenin's era through Stalin's reign. When I first entered Russia, I saw in Moscow the lives of some hundreds of Russians who were dragged to the execution ground.

As the construction of Socialism was started by Stalin, more people were killed. He put 15 million peasants to death during the socialization of agriculture. In Ukraine, all the farmers of a village, including women and children, were gathered and machine-gunned to death. In order to destroy the private enterprises, Stalin slaughtered one million small entrepreneurs. He put to death 3 million laborers who had attempted to strike.

Like this, so many people were killed right in front of my eyes.

I was exposed to the danger of being killed myself. During my stay in Soviet Russia, we had only two years of peaceful time in the beginning and for the remaining ten years, everyday when I went to bed, I felt relieved by the notion that I had not been killed that day. But right after that notion, another was telling me

that I would be caught by the police that very night. After those ten years, when I finally got out of Russia, I took a deep breath of freedom and thought that I didn't have to be afraid anymore: nobody would come to kill me, and I could talk freely. I would even have given up my meals in exchange for this peaceful sleep.

Some ten years have passed since then. But the character of Communism has not changed at all. It is still depriving people of their lives whenever they are against the dictatorship of Communism. Those who criticize Communism are forced to hard labor or sent to the lunatic asylums, where they are killed with injections of poison.

The famous writer, Solzhenitsyn, sent an open letter to the Writers' Union last November, saying, "You promised freedom of speech to the people. Where has your promise gone? Man is reduced to a beast if he is tied with ideology and chains."

The Soviet Communist Party declared that in Soviet Russia, Socialism had been established already and there would be no more class struggle.

But what does a promise to give liberty mean, in that established Socialistic Society, when what they promised 50 years ago has not been realized yet?

Mao Tse-tung states that Soviet society has become bourgeois. Soviet Russia abandoned the goal of world revolution and replaced it by peaceful coexistence. Soviet Russia lost the will and the ability to execute the world revolution. Now the world revolution should be carried on by Communist China, making our country a beachhead with the determination that Asia will be its decisive battle.

On the other hand, Soviet Russia claims as follows. Our peaceful coexistence is not the peaceful coexistence of ideology. Peaceful coexistence is the most powerful form of class struggle in this nuclear age. Soviet Russia will give every aid to the Communists all over the world including military weapons. Communist China accuses us

of abandoning revolution. But we ask them to give us an example if there was any successful revolution without the aid of Soviet weapons. Even Mao Tse-tung's Communist China succeeded in its revolution with Soviet weapons.

These words were spoken by Khrushchev who is branded by Mao Tse-tung as the founder of revisionism. Khrushchev oppressed and killed the Hungarian people who rose in search of freedom. Soviet Russia did the same vice to Czecho-Slovakia.

The difference between Communist China and Soviet Russia, as Miss Castro clearly pointed out, lies in the fact that Communist China plans to carry out the world revolution today while Soviet Russia planned it yesterday. It is only the difference of today and yesterday. Besides, Communist China and Soviet Russia are tied by the common string of Communism, however hostile they seem to each other. Their goal is single —, and that is world revolution. We should never envisage such an optimistic view of a war between Communist China and Soviet Russia. Both of these countries intend to communize the whole of Asia. Although Communist China and Soviet Russia share the common goal, the status of the Asian countries is not the same. In particular there is a great gap between many of the Asian countries and Japan.

Here I want to mention that the Japanese feeling toward Communism is somewhat different. I am sorry to say that the major Japanese are less afraid of Communism than are the people of the Republic of Korea, the Republic of China and South Vietnam. This is not because Russia and Communist China do not try to communize Japan.

Mao Tse-tung said to the members of the Japan Communist Party: "The first Communist Revolution of the world was the Russian Revolution. It changed 'world history'. The second Communist Revolution was the Chinese Revolution. It, again, changed world history. The third Communist Revolution is the Japanese Revolution. It also will change world history."

Mao Tse-tung is not playing with his words. No one understands the significance of the Japan Communist Revolution more than Mao Tse-tung who seriously intends to make a "World Communist Revolution."

The Japan Communist Party has the same intention. If Japan is communized, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of China, the Republic of the Philippines, the Indonesian peninsula, the Republic of Indonesia, Burma, and other Asian countries will be communized.

The Communists say: "Our duty is to communize the whole of Asia by communizing Japan."

In Japan, besides the Communist Party, there is also a Marxist-Leninist party: it is the Japan Socialist Party.

The Japan Socialist Party recently has sent delegates to Moscow and Pyong-Yang, and issued a joint communique about the organization of "Asian Anti-Imperialist United Front."

The same delegates of the Japan Socialist Party are visiting Hanoi now. At the end of their journey, they are going to visit Peking, where they are to issue a joint communique as well.

Both Japan Socialist Party and Japan Communist Party have the same purpose. Nowadays the Japan Communist Party is in disagreement with the Soviet Union and Communist China; however they will soon reconcile. We can see the symptoms of their reconciliation. The Japanese Communist Party is to gather delegations of the Asian nations in order to participate at the anti-imperialist meeting in Asia. It's only a matter of time before the delegations of Communist parties of the Asian nations will come to Tokyo and have a meeting about the communization of Asia. However, few Japanese and American people are interested in such activities of the Communist parties. What will the future of the Japanese people be, should Japan be communized? What will Asia be, should Japan be communized? The people in the Republic of China, and the Republic of Korea, and South Vietnam know little about these problems. It is regrettable, that

we are holding WACL and APACL meetings now here in Kyoto, where Japan Communist Party and Japan Socialist Party cooperate to send members such as their governor and mayor. We can say the same thing about the governor of Tokyo.

As the Japanese delegates, we are terribly sorry about this fact. But what I want to stress is that this state is not a permanent one. The Japanese people are not aware of the threat of the Communist Party. Gradually the Japanese people are recognizing that threat.

The best example is the activity of the League for Victory over Communism which played an important and promoting role in the preparation of the 4th WACL and APACL meeting here in Japan.

The League for Victory over Communism is an organization:

- 1) Where young people play a leading part.
- 2) Where these youths are the representatives of the finest Japanese youth.
- 3) Therefore, people love and rely on the League for Victory over Communism. They expect much of our organization in the future.

4) Japan Communist Party tries to get 300,000 people as party members, and 200,000 for the Communist Youth League, while the League for Victory over Communism is going to count its member in millions before long.

Because of these reasons, I can guarantee you that the League for Victory over Communism will overwhelm the Communist Party in quality and quantity, in fighting capacity and influence.

We are proud of this fact which will certainly please you all.

The day will come when all Asian people, together with the people of North Korea, Red China and North Vietnam will hold meetings at Peking, Pyong Yang and Hanoi on a grand scale. Councils will declare victory over Communism, and bless the future of free Asia. At that time, people joining the Council will know from the museum of Peking that Mao Tse-tung once ruled Mainland China. They will know from the museums of Pyong Yang that Kim Il Sung once governed North Korea. They will know from the museums of Hanoi that once Ho-Chin-Minh governed North Vietnam. Let us unite our efforts to make that day come true!



Min. I. M. Lombardo (Italy), (center) and Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussia), (second from left) singing with Ukrainian delegates during the 4th WACL Conference.

Russian Concentration Camps Today

(Continuation)

The Tattooed

In the "spesh" I came across things which I would never have believed, if I hadn't seen them myself. The worst was the tattooing of some prisoners. I saw for example two men, who bore on their cheeks and forehead such as "Communists are murderers" and "The Communists are drinking the blood of the people". Another bore right across his forehead the tattooing: "Slave of Khrushchov".

These were mostly normal criminals, who had in prison aimed at getting into a political camp, on the mistaken assumption that life was more bearable there, work lighter and treatment more humane. Such people wrote a leaflet attacking the party, or sewed an American flag together out of scraps and hung it up visibly somewhere.

Of course they were quickly disillusioned, for in the political camp they had to starve more than before. They got into solitary confinement more often and were more often beaten by the guards. Sooner or later, and one or the other began to complain, until he noticed that it was pointless. And so they took refuge in other forms of protest, for example in tattooing, which they had learnt in camps for criminals.

In our hut in the "spesh" I saw a young man named Nikolai Shcherbakiv, whose face didn't contain a single empty space of skin. On one of his cheeks was tattooed: "Lenin is a murderer", on the other "Because of him millions have to suffer". Under his eyes was tattooed: Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Voroshilov — all murderers". His thin neck showed in black the outline of a hand seizing his throat. On the hand were the initials "CPSS" (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) and on the thumb "KGB".

In September the news went round the huts that Shcherbakiv had cut an ear off. Before he had tattooed a message on it.

Then he beat on a door, and when the guard opened the peephole, he threw the ear to him. On it was written: "Present for the XXIIInd Congress". He was a Ukrainian.

How do prisoners tattoo themselves? I have often watched it. A man pulls a nail from his shoe, or he finds a piece of wire and through rubbing on a stone with a lot of patience he makes it into a pointed needle. To get ink he burns a piece of black rubber mostly from old soles of shoes, and then carefully thins it down with urine. Now he can begin to prick his skin.

Why do these poor people disfigure themselves for their whole life? Anyone who does this to his face must have given up hope of ever returning to a normal life again. He must, as a camp song puts it, "seem to himself an eternal prisoner". I thought about Shcherbakiv. Why had he cut off an ear? For what purpose?

And yet I had caught myself thinking in moments of helpless despair: why not throw a piece of my body into the face of my tormenters? In such moments one doesn't ask: For what purpose?

Cell 54

I spent three months in "spesh" and a further fifteen days in solitary confinement. Then I was brought before a "people's court". Present were a judge, a few spectators, mostly camp staff, and two jurors, who represented the "people" — an elderly man and a woman. They were only a sham, with whom no one spoke during the whole trial.

When the judge began to ask questions, I declared that I refused to take part in this farce. Finally he announced that three years of my sentence in the camp would be replaced by three years in prison.

I was taken to Vladimir, a city about 175 kilometers east of Moscow, where the prison dated from the times of the tsars. The journey, once more with many other prisoners in a truck, lasted several days. At a station we were lined up in fives and marched in the middle of guards and dogs over a pedestrian bridge to the other side of the tracks.

A crowd of people had come together and observed the scene. "Where are you going, comrades?" They threw us several packets of cigarettes, even cigars and money.

Then an official came running up and shouted at the man in charge of us: "You've got orders not to make prisoners walk in broad daylight where they can be seen by anyone! You've attracted the public like a display of dancing!"

In Vladimir I was cross-examined again, I had to undress, I was thoroughly searched and finally got prison uniform and crockery. Then I was taken through a narrow corridor with cells on both sides. The warden opened the door of cell Number 54 and I went in to spend the next three years of my life.

The cell was small, four and a half by two and a half metres, and intended for five inmates. In the wall opposite the door was a small barred window, which was closed outside by a kind of shutter, so that only a little daylight could get in. On both side walls was a double bunk and a fifth under the window. Here there was also a large iron container with five compartments, in which each inmate kept his eating implements and ration of bread. In the middle of the cell was a small dark red table with iron legs screwed firmly to the ground and two small benches. And near the door there was of course the inevitable parasha.

The prison regulations were just about the same as in the "spesh". The most important difference was that we didn't work. From the time of awakening at six until the curfew at ten we weren't allowed to lie on the bed. Anyone caught doing

this got seven to fifteen days in solitary confinement. The whole day the warden walked inaudibly through the corridors in soft-soled shoes and checked us through the peephole.

What can prisoners do for sixteen hours? We could write — we could buy a writing pad of twelve pages every two weeks — but everything which was written was checked. Every cell also possessed a game of chess and dominos. We could borrow books and newspapers from the prisoners' library — two books each for ten days. But for starving people reading loses its charm after some time.

How torturing constant hunger is can hardly be described. Every morning we were awake long before being awaked, and thinking of the bread which now had to come. In the first two months in Vladimir one received a reduced ration of 400 grams. When finally the panel in the door opened, we were all standing there. Each one tries to find the largest bit, as if ten grams more could stop hunger. The more sensible broke their bread into three equal pieces for each of the three meals in the day. But some prisoners couldn't control themselves and ate the whole ration at once, even before they had gotten the rest of the breakfast — a few mouldy sardines and a glass of hot water.

It is unspeakably difficult to suffer hours on hours of hunger pains and also to know that there is a piece of bread in your small compartment! One thinks of it all the time. And sometimes one can't keep it up. One breaks a small piece of the crust off, pushes it into a cheek and tries to lengthen the enjoyment, like a child, sucking a sweet. But only too quickly has one eaten the crust.

Helpless protest sometimes drives prisoners to strange excesses. Some cut open their stomachs. Others shake ground glass into their eyes. A few rub sugar into grains (when they have any) and breathe them in, until they get abscesses of the lungs.

Often the most curious objects are swallowed. If the doctors in the prison

hospitals had collected the things taken from our intestines, it would be an astonishing collection: spoons, toothbrushes, bits of wire. They also frequently operate to remove tattoos. Their process was simple. They cut out the piece of skin with the tattooing, draw the edges together and sewed them up. I remember one prisoner who was so operated on three times. The first time they cut a strip off his forehead, which bore the popular inscription "Khrushchov's slave". Shortly after his return from the hospital he tattooed himself again on the forehead. The inscription was once more removed. And the same thing happened a third time. The skin of his face was so tight now that he could hardly close his eyes. We called him the "ever-seeing".

A Neighbour from America

One day we heard that the American U2 pilot Francis Gary Powers, shot down in 1960 over the USSR, had been released from captivity prematurely. The reason was, it was said, his sincere regret, his good conduct and the plea for clemency from his family.

There was a lively discussion on this in our cell. Powers had not done even a quarter of his sentence and yet he had been released! And us? We were obviously considered more dangerous than a capitalist spy! But we also wondered whether his discharge couldn't have more concrete reasons. Probably, we supposed, the Americans had caught a Soviet spy and Powers had been exchanged for him. Later I learnt that this had happened.

We knew all the time that Powers was in the prison of Vladimir with us. He had been brought here from Moscow in a car, not in a prison truck. Some prisoners had even seen him on his walks in the yard. They said he was wearing his own things, not the shabby prison clothing. He was shaved, not like us, who were scraped off by the hair-cutting machine, every ten days and his head was not shaved bald like ours.

Powers had a cell-mate, who shared his easy life. He was an Estonian or a Latvian, obviously an educated man, who spoke good English. He had been sentenced to 25 years; but he had been promised his freedom, if he followed certain orders. He was to entertain the American with talk about films, books and sport and to say as little as possible on life and customs in the Soviet Union. And he was to persuade Powers that he was being treated like all other political prisoners. If Powers were to notice through chance anything unfavourable, then his cell-mate had to give some plausible explanation or other.

Some of us hoped Powers would report the truth on this hell on earth when he had returned to his own country. But in vain. He hadn't got anywhere near the real prison life in Vladimir. A prisoner called Henady simply didn't want to believe at all. He disputed with his cell-mates that there could be two sets of conditions for political prisoners. When they laughed at him, Henady promised he would see this Powers and prove that he was right.

Some days afterwards a cell-mate said to the warder, Henady had swallowed two spoons. When the cell was then searched, the spoons were missing and Henady was taken to the hospital for X-rays. On the way Henady tore himself away from the amazed guards in the corridor where Powers' cell was, opened the peephole of the door of the American spy and pressed himself long enough against it to see everything closely.

After some time Henady was brought to our cell again, before he was taken off into solitary confinement. (The X-ray had shown that he hadn't swallowed any spoon.) He reported to his cell-mates that he had seen the American and what the others had said about him was true. Powers had his normal haircut, he wore a normal suit and seemed to be well fed.

Inspection

Once a day the prisoners were taken to a walk in the open air. One might have

thought that everyone would be beside himself with joy at the thought of getting out of the musty, stinking cell into the fresh air. But in the cold season of the year the warders had to drive us out with force. The temperatures were between minus 25 and 35 degrees centigrade, and we had only a short cloak over our cotton prison clothes, the cloth of which was threatening to fall apart from the excess of washing.

Besides we were all starved and emaciated and didn't have much bodily heat. We stamped our feet as we walked in a circle round the yard, and beat our arms. The doctors excused only those who couldn't walk at all. The old and sick sat in a corner near the fence the whole hour, huddled together and trembling.

When we went back into the cells, we couldn't get warm again. Even there it was so cold that we covered the teapot in a cloak or in a blanket, so that the contents didn't freeze. We wrapped ourselves up in everything we had, even in the mattress covers, which were really supposed to serve as bed-sheets.

It was the same with bathing. We were allowed to go to the shower-room every ten days. In summer we awaited the day impatiently, looked forward to the refreshing water and to the chance of being in the fresh air for a longer time. But in winter every bath-day was a torture. Anyone new coming to us counted on washing in hot water and being able to warm up. Nothing like it! The water was so cold that even a young man like me who had grown up in Siberia, had his hands become completely numb. And even in the shower room itself the walls were often covered with ice. Beside oneself with rage one stood around naked, while the cold bored through one's guts.

Why didn't we protest against such torture? Let me tell you a short story.

One day a high state official came on a tour of inspection into the prison and asked us if we had any complaints to make. We had none — we knew it was pointless. On the following day we met those from cell 79 on our walk round. Had the official

also been to them? He had been there. He had even been surprised and embarrassingly moved, because he had known one of the inmates of cell 79, a man named Stepan, a Ukrainian.

"Are you still here?" the official had called out.

"As you can see" replied Stepan. The official hesitated a little, and then left. Stepan told us that he and this man had spent two years in the same cell until the other man had been rehabilitated in 1956. How could one make complaints to a man with such experiences. He knew it all too well already.

"God will heal you"

Many "devout" people were also imprisoned in Vladimir. They have been sentenced on account of their belief: Baptists, Protestants, Jehovah's Witnesses, Ukrainian-Orthodox, Moslems. In the newspapers one could occasionally read of crimes by religious fanatics: of ritual murders, torturing of children and the like. I can't believe such stuff. I have met many of these people in camps and prisons, and they were all opponents of any force.

Comforted by their conviction that they were suffering for God and their belief, they bore their tortures more patiently than most. I heard them singing hymns, how the Redeemer had taken his cross on Himself, without blaming His enemies, for "holy love burned in Him". Although they all submitted to everything which did not go against their religion, they had been sent in large numbers, because they had not filled their work quotas or had refused to work on religious holidays.

The prison administration humiliated them as only it could. When one of these believers wanted to be brought to the doctor, he received the mocking answer: "Why a doctor? Go to your God — He should cure you".

And the days of fasting before Easter! We prisoners were all half dead with hunger. Nevertheless most of the "pious" obeyed even here the dictates of their be-

lief — even the command to fast. “You are lying” the warder said then. “You’re just pretending!” But many of these believers actually lived during the times of fasting from bread and water.

Now a few remarks on the mentally ill. The prisoners often said that there were no healthy or normal people in our prison at all. In view of the conditions under which we lived, it was in fact difficult to remain mentally sound.

In a cell in Vladimir some prisoners got hold of a razor blade and collected some paper. Then each one cut a bit of his own flesh off, some from the stomach, others from a leg. They threw the bits into a bowl, made a small fire with the paper and began to boil the flesh. When the warder noticed what was going on and rushed into the cell, the prisoners seized the half raw flesh, burning their hands, and stuffed it into their mouths.

I know it is hard to believe such a thing, but it really happened. Later I talked to such prisoners. The amazing thing was that they were obviously completely normal. One of them was Yuriy Paniv. On his body there was hardly a place without a scar, for he had cut pieces off of himself several times. And nevertheless Paniv in no way gave the impression of being a psychopath.

We often spoke in the camp about such events. If the person concerned was not really normal, then why were they in the camp? Even the Soviet law demands that abnormal people should be taken into an asylum or taken care of by their relatives. But if they were normal, what should one say about the living conditions which drive normal people to such acts?

Our society should think about these things. But only a few indeed know of these cruelties.

The Reward of Work

Completely unexpectedly I came to the camp again a year before the end of my sentence. Perhaps they needed room in Vladimir for new arrivals. In early summer I came to Potma and was put with

several others into Camp No. 7. We walked from the station in Sosnovka, surrounded by armed soldiers and dogs. It was nice to walk on a street, through small towns and villages, behind which we could see woods. Grass was growing at the side of the road. I hadn’t seen grass for two years.

We hardly got inside the camp fence before other prisoners crowded around us and asked who we were, how much time we had still to do and why. “You come from Vladimir?” they said. “People who have been buried look better!”

They took us to the canteen and I got a bowl full of noodle soup and a plate full of bread. “Eat, eat!” they urged us. The soup was clear and without fat. But it seemed to me that I had never eaten such good noodles even at home.

“Well, mate, is the soup at Vladimir like this?”

“No”, I assured them, “a portion here is like five at Vladimir.”

I emptied the bowl and they brought another. “Eat”.

So I came back to the world of the forced labour camp. Some things had changed since I had left. Wherever one looked, one saw photos of Khrushchov and quotations from his speeches. In the earlier camp we had worn a “Stalin hat”. Now we wore a black cotton “Cuba cap”. Even here, the prisoners joked, Nikita was doing everything to stamp out the Stalin personality cult.

After two years in prison I was in a miserable physical condition, but I had to start work again. I was allotted to a loading gang, which was to load and unload wood, coal and other material at the freight station. After I had unloaded a freight car, I thought I was unable to walk back to the hut, and next morning my whole body was covered in pain. I couldn’t walk upright and stumbled from side to side. The others laughed good-naturedly and pulled my leg for quite a while on account of my duck-walk.

With time I learnt all the work which occurred in Camp No. 7. Almost everything was done by hand, even heaving 62 ton freight cars up a 200 metre-long incline.

On paper we were "equipped with mechanical aids", but these were merely picks, hooks and a few boards for a ramp.

Almost all 3,500 prisoners in the camp worked in the large furniture factory. To this also belonged a sawmill and a foundry — the purest hell — where we made machine parts out of zinc, aluminium and copper alloys. The ventilation was broken, and we breathed in vapours and gases. We had to rush outside often to get some fresh air. In the polishing shop fumes of paint and acetone vapour hung in the air. We got headaches and attacks of giddiness from them and had to vomit.

Our work quota was impossible to fulfil. It was increased again and again and the wages lowered. In the polishing shop, where the radio cabinets were polished, the quota had amounted to six "Jugdon" radios per day; it was raised during my spell of work there to thirteen. In 1964 a worker had also to polish four television cabinets. The following year the number rose to six, although the work remained the same in each case. The polishing was done by hand with

the help of a cotton pad soaked in acetone, until the cabinet was shining.

But the worst in the work camp was not the slaving away, not even that we were working for starvation wages. We detested it because it was slave work, humiliating work, which fed official parasites, who did nothing but humble us.

Later, when I was discharged and free again, I often went by furniture shops and radio stores and looked at what was there in the window: here a very beautifully polished table, there a pretty toilet-bureau, and somewhere else there were the radio sets so familiar to me, on which I had worked.

One buys a television set for 360 roubles and sits in the evening enjoying the just reward of one's work, in a comfortable room. But these sets cost me and my fellow prisoners many hours of hard work. Look at the cleanly polished surface. Can you see the close-shaven head mirrored in it, the yellow, worn-out face, the black camp suit? Perhaps it is a former friend, someone you knew. *(To be continued)*



General view from the 4th WACL Conference

Let's Speak Up In Defense Of Our Prisoners!

Lenin was a faithful pupil of the Russian tsars in preaching and practicing unrestrained cruelty toward the nations subjugated by Russia and their liberation movements. So far nothing has changed in the Russian empire. Neither de-Stalinization, nor de-Khrushchovization, was intended to do away with terror as means of subjugating Ukraine.

A glaring example of Russian oppression of peoples and individuals is the suffering and at the same time heroic figure of M. Soroka, whom the Russian beasts are keeping in chains for almost 30 years now.

An excellent document in defense of M. Soroka is the testimony of another hero-martyr, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi. He says:

"M. Soroka, a victim of the Stalin lawlessness, is still languishing in Dubravlag. Arrested in 1940, he was sentenced for no cause to eight ears by the Beria gang. In 1949 after returning to Lviv, he was again arrested and deported to the Krasnoyarsk territory for the same thing as in 1940 — he was punished twice for one 'crime'. But there was no 'crime'. In 1957 the Carpathian military tribunal recognized his rehabilitation in respect to the case of 1940. Yet in 1952 M. Soroko was arrested for the third time, was accused of being involved in fictitious camp 'organizations'. For this 'sin' he was given twenty-five years. Supposing Soroka actually had participated in these organization — even then he would not merit such an inhuman term, for his 'crime' has three mitigating circumstances."

Karavanskyi exposes the roots of Soviet-Russian lawlessness:

"1. From 1940 to 1948 M. Soroka served his prison term without being guilty, and having lost faith in the justice of the juridical authorities he looked for justice in something else.

"2. The time when M. Soroka was serving his prison term was a period of lawlessness, and of the shameless extermination

of prisoners; underground organizations in the camps were a kind of self-defense.

"3. Neither the court nor the investigation established any concrete actions of these hastily produced 'organizations'."

Summarizing, Karavanskyi comes to terrible conclusions:

"Today, on his first conviction, Soroka is serving his twenty-sixth year in prison. And this is at the time when our legislation provides for fifteen years as the maximum term. Having served the full term, M. Soroka will have spent thirty-eight years in prison! And this after being tried only the first time!"

Four years have passed since Karavanskyi made these terrible revelations. But M. Soroka is still enduring great suffering in concentration camps.

We are going to repeat our slogans again and again:

Let's prevent the death of those buried alive! Let's wake the conscience of the world! Let's call on all institutions and organizations to rise, in defense of our Red Cross and political prisoners.

An Attempt To Flee The Russian Prison Of Nations

On June 22nd, 1970 the Associated Press reported that a group of twelve persons attempted to escape from the "proletarian paradise" by hijacking a Russian plane from Leningrad. However, security organs fouled their plans. Some of these people were allegedly of Jewish nationality, who wanted to emigrate to Israel, but were not permitted to do so. The others were fleeing for political reasons. The Leningrad edition of *Pravda* called these people a "criminal group". Had their flight been successful, it would certainly have turned the attention of the world public opinion to the colonialism and lawlessness prevalent in the USSR.

Not Opposition But Revolution!

Vasyl Symonenko and the Way of the Young Generation of Ukrainians Today

Seventeen years ago, in June and July 1953, hundreds of thousands of forced-labourers and political prisoners in the concentration camps in the territory of the Soviet Union, from the Arctic Ocean to the deserts of Kazakhstan on the Chinese border, from Sakhalin in the East to the Urals in the West, rose in rebellion. It was the first large-scale attempt by a revolutionary liberation movement since the end of the military operations of the UPA in early 1950, after the death of Taras Chuprynka. But this was not a strike in the conventional Western sense of the word, no rebellion for "bread and butter", but an extremely bold, fearless uprising from political motives on the national and proletarian front in the Russian neo-tsarist, imperialist colonial empire.

Who took part in it? Who were the leaders, the driving force? Those who took part were the members of all the nations and ethnic minorities in the USSR, at their head the Ukrainians under the leadership of illegal cadres of the OUN and the UPA. Evidence of this were the red and black flags over the disused winding towers of the Vorkuta coal mines!

What were the reasons for it then? What ideas lay behind the actions? What was the spiritual dynamite of ideas in the uprising? Was it neo-Marxism, fashionable in the West, Titoism? Was it capitalism or liberalism? "Luxemburgism", a "humane Communism?" Oh no. The people who were rebelling in 1953 were inspired by the idea of national and social liberation, by social revolutionary nationalism. Neither Communism nor capitalism, neither imperialism nor colonialism was their solution.

Some years later a young Ukrainian poet used his genius to express the moving ideas of the summer uprising in 1953 by comparing the struggle of the Ukrainians, the Latvians, the Estonians, the Poles, the

Hungarians, the Czechs, Slovaks and Lithuanians, the Turkmens and the Georgians, with the fight for freedom of the valiant Kurds: "The mountains call, bathed in blood / the stars fall to the earth / in the gloomy valleys, covered with wounds / a hungry colonialism pushes forward / Oh Kurds, don't waste your cartridges / but don't spare the life of the murderers! / Like a storm, with bloody sword / rush upon the mob of terror..." *Vasyl Symenko* was a young poet. He was neither a member of the UPA nor the OUN, and yet he was an ally of both movements, for Vasyl Symenko also lived and acted as a patriot, as an anti-imperialist, and as an anti-colonialist.

The role of poets and writers in the most recent history of the East European colonial peoples cannot be rated highly enough. They were the spiritual pioneers, the leaders of the vanguard in the peoples' revolution. I remember Janis Kupala in Byelorussia, Rainis and the Aspasiya in Latvia, Sandor Petöfi in Hungary, Mickiewicz in Poland, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko in Ukraine. Poets *and* revolutionaries, taking full part in the life of the people, not sitting in the ivory tower of pure aesthetics. Underground-fighters, forgers of verses, soldiers of the revolution, propagandists and agitators, demagogues, very often martyrs, victims in the cause of freedom — "Candidates for death on call"...

The symbol of the pre-revolutionary stage of the liberation struggle in Ukraine today is Vasyl Symenko. The intellectuals rebel *before* the workers and peasants go out into the street. First the spirit rebels, then the fist, the machine-gun enter into action. Vasyl Symenko saw himself as a part of the people. He championed the most-exploited class, the slaves on the collective farms, the serfs on the state-Com-

munist, state-capitalist farms of Russian agricultural slavery. He was born in 1935, the son of a peasant, in a Cossack village near Poltava, attended secondary school and then studied journalism at the Kyiv university. Afterwards he worked as the editor of a youth magazine in Cherkassy on the Dnipro, at the same time writing as a journalist, essayist, and author of children's books. He left two slim volumes of poems, one of which ("Bereh chekan", Shore of Waiting) was never allowed by the Soviet censors to be published.

Vasyl Symenko went through life with open eyes. He saw around him the opportunists, the cowards, sneaks, traitors, whom he hated more than death, banishment and the concentration camp! Shortly before his death he noted in his diary: "The loss of courage means the loss of human dignity, which I place above all else, above life itself. But how many people, so sensible, so gifted, saved their life by acting meanly and thus turning their life into a completely senseless vegetating. That is the most terrible."

And Vasyl Symenko still found a way to reach young people with his poems banned by the regime. Through the underground press! By hand, by the type-writers and duplicating machines of students and older school-children. From abroad, from UNO or NATO he expected no help. The allies of the Ukrainians are principally the Ukrainians themselves.

"From love of you I am sowing pearls in the human soul.

From love of you I think and create.

America and Russia, they are to keep quiet.

When I talk to you, O Ukraine!"

Opposition is too little, we want revolution: that was the motto in their lives and in their struggles of such men and women as Vasyl Symonenko. They did *not* practice the methods of the Russian atomic-physicist and Lenin prize-holder Zakharov ("Father of the Russian Atom Bomb"), who continuously wrote petitions and open letters to the Kremlin clique, without yet having seen the inside of a

concentration camp: no, the "Symonenkovists" chose the methods of Spartacus, Garibaldi, Petlyura, Bandera, Carnot, Danton, Washington, Cromwell, Gneisenau, Bolivar, De Valera, Andreas Hofer!

Vasyl Symonenko died on December 13, 1963 from cancer, allegedly. Perhaps also from a treacherous attempt on his life by the Russian secret police (KGB). We do not know. Russian colonial history is full of "mysterious deaths" of inconvenient figures . . .

Vasyl Symonenko could not experience the growing of the crop he sowed. He did not witness the establishment of a widespread network of Ukrainian underground groups and revolutionary underground parties of the youth, the workers, the intellectuals, the farmers, to name only a few: the Ukrainian National Front (UNF), the Unity Party for the Liberation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian League of Workers and Peasants (URSS), the Ukrainian National Committee. Vasyl Symonenko was not to experience the 21st of August either, the day of the brutal Russian counter-revolution in the fatherland of the Czechs and Slovaks . . .

He placed his hope on the youth, the coming generation of the fearless, the bold. In one of his last poems he wrote:

"We came into the world, to come into our heritage of glory,

Of deeds, of ideas, of honest welts,

From the fathers of great flaming glory,
Who protected truth on earth.

The heart, never shall it know, rest.

And our dreams shall catch up with the course of time,

But our youth, let it be so

That the world becomes jealous of them...!"

Today there is talk in the Western world about the recently arrested historian Andrei Amalrik, the author of the book in which Russia's defeat is prophesied in the event of a Russo-Chinese war. But in 1963 already Vasyl Symonenko foretold the death of the Russian imperialist empire, in his perhaps most spirit-stirring revolutionary poem, in the "Granite Obelisks":

"In the graveyard of shot illusions
There is no more room for graves.
Thousands of millions of beliefs: buried in
the black earth. Thousands of millions of
pieces of happiness: blown away into dust.
The people is already one single wound,
Like a beast of prey the earth rages, goad-
ed by the smell of blood.
But already every hangman and tyrant

Is being sought by his noose!
The oppressed, the persecuted, the kicked
to death
Rise and want to be the judge.
And their curses, rumbling in madness,
Crash down on dismembered, worm-eaten
fat bodies,
And trees will rock in their branches
All these commissars of crime and deceit..."

I. Vovchuk

Paradoxes

The Russian empire is full of paradoxes; all phases of life in it are paradoxes. The "Sovereign National Republics" are a great paradox too for all publications in native languages appear with an imprint in Russian "In Ukrainian" or "In the language" of some other republic. No lesser a paradox is the fact that in the empire where "a man is supposed to be the master" from Moscow as far as the "borderlands", if there is an element of freedom, it is not to be found in freedom but in concentration camps, to which most of the prisoners from the occupied republics are confined. Before A. Marchenko was to have been released from camp he was given this piece of advice in the office of a KGB chief: "Marchenko, you are going to be released soon. Remember that when you are going to find yourself in freedom you have to conduct yourself and think like all others. Freedom — is not a camp, where each has his own opinion."

This is quite interesting. To conduct oneself and to think "like all others" means to adhere to official rules and regulations, the so-called international principles. But life is rejecting and combating these principles, while the people, even if they accept them, are doing so for the occupant's sake. Georgians are ill-disposed and hostile toward the Russians. This had gone so far that in Tbilisi, they avoid speaking with Russian engineers at the factory.

The same attitude, or perhaps even more explicit, is displayed by the students in the Baltic countries. They write on black boards in lecture halls of the Riga Uni-

versity: "Russians go home". In Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk anti-Russian leaflets are given out. And at the Lviv University a professor, correcting an aspirant who is speaking in broken Ukrainian, says: "You are living on Ukrainian territory, then you should respect its customs, culture and learn to speak our language."

In Bashkiria the local population did not want to recognize a Russian married to a Bashkir woman, as its expert. They recognized her, but not him.

In January of this year, in a Tashkent court the leaders of Tatar resistance, I. Habay and M. Dzhepilov, have been tried. Speaking in his own defense, Habay did not repent but pointed to the wrongs suffered by the Crimean Tatars. The mean system, he said, takes away everything human from a man, while nations are turned into slaves of the great power. The second defendant demanded a return of lost statehood on their territory, where Tatars have created monuments of spiritual and material culture.

This is what living reality looks like under the mould of the official international principles, about which "the creatures and snouts" of Bolshevism are silent. From Riga to Ufa one can hear the rumble of peoples which do not want to accept the language of the "great Lenin", with whose help the policy of Russification is being pursued. The national rumble of unsubdued forces is becoming ever stronger. The foundations of the present-day Babylon, the greatest paradox of our age, are shaking.

To Court With Russian Genocide!

In recent years we have noticed that more and more Ukrainian peasants and workers are in the forefront of the struggle against Russian imperialism and chauvinism. And hand in hand with it, the persecution and annihilation of the leading peasant and worker activists among the subjugated peoples is growing rapidly.

The first to turn his attention to this phenomenon was Vyacheslav Chornovil. In his work* "Portraits of Twenty Criminals" he showed that Yaroslav Hevrych came from a peasant family: Ivan Hel — a peasant, Mykhailo Horyn — a peasant, Bohdan Horyn — a peasant, Panas Zalyvakha — a peasant, Evhenia Kuznetsova — from a working family, Oleksander Martynenko — a worker, Valentyn Moroz — a peasant, Mykhailo Ozernyi — a peasant, Mykhailo Osadchyi — a peasant, Ivan Rusyn — a peasant, Anatoliy Shevchuk — a worker. The great majority of Ukrainians who are persecuted by the Russian socialist occupation regime are of peasant and worker stock. Their only "crime" is their desire to live in their own Ukrainian sovereign national state with a just social order.

Precisely because of their worker-peasant origin, the imperial ruling clique headed by Brezhnev, is forced to use very refined methods towards the present Ukrainian group of fighters for national and social rights, so as not to compromise on the outside, the long since bankrupt Marxist theories.

One of the new methods thus used is the passing of "light" sentences over the persecuted, for instance "only" a five-year-term in camps of severe regime, instead of a 25-year-term as was the case in Stalin's time. When this term expires, then another five years are added on quietly. In this manner the same results are obtained — a practical expulsion of the freedom-loving, independent-minded individual, without publicity to the effect that the occupation regime is cruel, inhuman, despotic and so forth.

This happened to Valentyn Moroz. In January 1966 he was sentenced to five years of slave labor. Now he was given another five-year term, for no other reason than his unshaken and firm faith in the national and human rights of his people. The same thing happened to Svystaslav Karavansky, Archbishop Velychkovskyy and many others.

Another criminal method is to keep an individual in penal servitude, as if in a cage, without designating the term of imprisonment altogether. This method is aimed at obliterating all memory in the people living in freedom about the said person, as if he had disappeared from the surface of the earth long ago. Besides this, this method is supposed to kill in the prisoner all desire to become free, to reconcile himself to his fate and to turn him into a weak-willed, emotionless and passive being. In this category of heroes-martyrs are Mykhailo Soroko, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, Kateryna Zarytska and others.

To destroy the prisoner's faith in his ideals, to break him morally, as if to say that he will never be able to escape from the embraces of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", to discourage him from defending his rights and ideas is part of the plan of the brutes and tyrants. Each weakness of the knights is shrewdly used by the beasts of prey. In the case of a moral breakdown they transfer such a prisoner to a psychiatric ward and proclaim that he was never a sane man, that his ideas are unrealistic, false and sick. Then such a prisoner is shown publicly, in order to disillusion his associates or at least to make them turn against their friend.

Murder and genocide are a profession in the Russian KGB-run empire and the sole purpose in life. Therefore let us constantly struggle against this cannibalistic empire in the free world in defense of our knights, who are being destroyed by that criminal tyrant.

* In English published under the title: "The Chornovil Papers", McGraw-Hill, 1968

Where Were Zakharovs In 1953?

One has to be a recipient of several orders of Lenin in order to be called a member of the "opposition" in the USSR today and to escape the persecution from the side of the "dictatorship of the proletariat". Nevertheless, no true fighter for national and social freedom of nations subjugated by Russia can even dream of such tolerant treatment from the imperial regime. Thousands of such knights-fighters are today "populating" Soviet-Russian prisons and concentration camps.

To the members of the "opposition", who enjoy the privilege of freedom in the USSR, belongs, among others, an internationally known nuclear physicist — Andrei Zakharov, the inventor of the Russian nuclear bomb, and holder of the Lenin prize and the party ticket. He had sent petitions to the leading imperial chiefs numerous times with polite requests to release from jail certain individuals, as for instance Y. Medvedev or Gen. Hryhorenko.

He was joined by other Russian technocrats, as for instance, publicist A. Tvardovskiy and Ukrainian nuclear physicist Petro Kapuysya.

We are not trying to condemn the sincerity and courage and the humanitarian motives of Zakharov. But nevertheless the question arises: Why doesn't Moscow dare or want to arrest "dissident" Zakharov? Does the KGB really differentiate between the recipients of the order of Lenin and those who scorn such orders?

Such questions are completely justified, when we recall that in recent years a wave of arrests rolled over Ukraine, the victims of which were hundreds of intellectuals and nationally-minded activists from the ranks of students, intelligentsia, peasants and workers. They also wrote letters to various institutions in defense of justice and humanity, but for that they were persecuted and tortured all the more.

When we go back even further in our mind to 1953 when hundreds of thousands were deported to do forced labor in exile and to perish slowly, and when they organized general strikes in self-defense at Vorkuta, Kinghir, Tashkent and Karaganda, — where was the "brotherly" help of the Russian intellectuals then? What were Zakharovs, Tvardovskiy and Kapuysyas doing then? In spite of the fact that Russian intelligentsia knew about the great efforts of the Ukrainian people to liberate themselves, it was silent.

And finally, a third question: When last fall some Ukrainian henchmen of Russia and traitors launched a defamation campaign against Ukrainian literary critic and intellectual Ivan Dzyuba, why did not Zakharov and others like him, speak up in his defense, either then or now? He cannot defend himself by saying that he did not know about this affair, when people have heard about it in Toronto and Sydney.

Milovan Djilas, a native of Montenegro, writes in his last book, *Imperfect Society*, that Communism, regardless whether it is Russian or Titoist, is using violence in relation to the nature of man and to nature. Therefore it must be completely erased from the face of the earth. But is Zakharov combating it? Not at all. We know from his writings that he favors some "humane" form of Marxism-Leninism. But this is a contradiction in itself.

In contrast to him, countless Ukrainians, persecuted by Moscow, have become immune to the plague of Communism and are supporting non-capitalist, anti-Bolshevik nationalism.

In reality, as far as Zakharov is concerned, we have to deal with a modern-day Cadet (Constitutional Democrat) from the time preceding World War I. The Cadets did not want to liquidate the imperial

regime, but only to reform the then ruling tsarist regime. Their sole aim had been to attempt to "humanize" that regime with the help of parliamentarism, the vegetation of various political parties and so forth.

The present-day Cadets of the type of Zakhorov and Kapytsya are acting in a similar way. They are separated from the avant-garde of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Tartar, Byelorussian, Estonian and Turkestani intellectuals by their distinct treatment of the *nationality* question, which is also the cardinal problem of the imperial regime. All these non-Russians are uncompromisingly combating Russian imperialism, Russification, Russian genocide

and crimes committed toward the subjugated peoples. But they get no sympathy from the Russian "dissidents".

Zakharov, no doubt, is an anti-Stalinist. But is he at the same time an anti-imperialist? This is a crucial question. Anyone who agrees with the present borders of the Russian colonial empire, is consciously or unconsciously agreeing with the coming of future Stalinism, for one leads to another: imperialism — terror, colonialism — anti-humanism. Just as freedom is indivisible, so are evil and injustice indivisible. Zakharov's speculations are completely contradictory.

Dumitru Danielopol

Ousting Greece Pleased Reds

The withdrawal of Greece from the Council of Europe must fill Leonid Brezhnev with joy.

Any act that weakens the Western European community suits the Kremlin to a "T", and the Greek decision to quit the council rather than risk expulsion—doesn't enhance the security of anyone.

It's true that Greece remains in the NATO alliance, but a serious crack has appeared in the Western ranks.

With her strategic position in the Mediterranean, Greece is important to Russia. Since World War II the Reds have tried to grab Greece time and time again. A five-year civil war ended in the defeat of Communism thanks to the wisdom of President Truman who initiated his "Truman doctrine".

But Russia didn't give up.

Aided by a decaying democracy, corrupt administration and a determined Communist underground, the Russians schemed to subvert the political life in Greece.

By April 21, 1967 the colonels of the Greek army — all men who had fought

the Nazis and the Communists — felt that a Communist takeover was possible. The colonels seized power in a bloodless coup.

Most outraged by the success of the military coup was none other than Brezhnev who said in Karlovy Vary on Apr. 24:

"... the wires brought alarming news of a military coup in Greece... and thousands of the best sons of the Greek people have been thrown into prison."

The Greek people did not seem to share Brezhnev's alarm.

I was in Athens one month after the coup and found only a feeling of relief.

"The colonels are enjoying *general* popularity among Greek citizens fed up with inept, corrupt divisive parliamentary politics", I wrote in May, 1967.

Some *socialist* leaning countries of Western Europe, however, especially Norway, Denmark and Sweden were just as outraged at the military takeover as was Brezhnev.

"The Scandinavians worry about 'human rights' in Athens", I wrote at the time, "but they show little concern about real persecutions in the Communist countries."

Ceausescu's Policy — Pretence And Reality

What is the truth behind the legend around the name of Nicolae Ceausescu?

His alleged pursuit of a course independent of Moscow has evoked in the West admiration and even praise. The policy of defiance attributed to him is held as proof that, in spite of the clobbering of Czecho-Slovakia, it is still possible for an East European régime to follow a course of its own, and yet escape the ultimate sanction of the Brezhnev Doctrine—armed intervention—if only its leaders are as “subtle” as Ceausescu and, like him, out-byzantine the byzantines in the Kremlin!

A dangerous and, in the case of Nicolae Ceausescu, totally gratuitous assumption that must be queried.

Our people are still in the grip of a ruthless dictatorship, resting on the concentration of all power of the State, as well as of the Party, in the hands of one man—Ceausescu. The strictest control is imposed on the public expression of all free thought; youth is regimented, land is collectivised, and lurking in the background is the old secret police apparatus.

The mere absence of open terror must not be mistaken for liberty: the people still live in fear.

On all counts this is an intolerable situation. To offset it, the régime took recourse to a boisterous “anti-Russianism” and “patriotism” which, in view of the people’s traditional fear of Russia, required no special effort.

The ruling oligarchy exploits this fear, in order to induce a mood among the people to adjust to, and finally accept, the existing situation.

There is then a paradox in the Rumanian situation: the astonishing fact that the

preservation of a hated régime is presented to the people as the last safeguard against a still greater evil — a Warsaw Pact invasion.

We Rumanians, except the régime’s hangers-on at home and a handful of misguided or self-seeking elements among the exiles, are not impressed by Ceausescu’s tight-rope antics. Nor are we deluded by his hypocritical posture as fighter for national independence. Let it be remembered that hardly before President Nixon reached home from his state visit to Bucarest, Ceausescu was mindful enough to swear undying loyalty to the Soviet alliance.

When Ceausescu talks about national “sovereignty”, what he really means is sovereignty for the Rumanian Party in its relation to the Soviet Party—quite another thing. When Ceausescu insists on his pet “equality” stance, his main worry is to see his Pro-Consul status downgraded, but this is not our concern.

So much for the Rumanian David in mortal confrontation with the Russian Goliath!

The Rumanian people know from their own tragic experience at the hands of both the Russians and their Rumanian pro-Consuls, that there can be no question of any liberty, or of national rehabilitation, as long as they are denied the democratic powers to sack Ceausescu and all the lesser satraps, and freely decide the country’s future.

What our people need, and what is required, are policies designed to re-invigorate their will to resist, and renew their hopes for *fundamental* changes. In other words, to get going, and get to the roots of the problem.

Duke Don Carlo Stivala di Creta At ABN Headquarters

Duke Don Carlo Stivala di Creta, Minister of the Royal Order of the Crown of Crete, visited the Headquarters of ABN. The Duke, a good friend of ABN, has his residence in Valetta (Malta).

Nationalism Worries Moscow

Nationalism in the Baltic and the Caucasian countries represents an urgent and continually worsening problem for Moscow's leadership. A recent expression of Moscow's concern was contained in an article by P. N. Fedosev, the Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* (No. 4, 1970). Fedosev dealt with the problem of national sovereignty both as regards the "socialist countries" and, particularly, the Union republics of the USSR. Referring to "the advocates of 'absolute autonomy' and absolute national sovereignty", he charged that they "often swallow the rusty hook of nationalism."

A series of articles emphasizing the same line was published in the top theoretical Party journal. Thus, V. P. Mzhanavadze, the First Party Secretary of Georgia, writing in *Komunist* (February 1970), insisted on "the necessity of a consistent and irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of nationalism." He said that "survivals of nationalism may appear and sometimes do appear in the utterances and actions of some nationally limited people." Praise of the "great Russian people" was the leading motif of his article.

An almost identical terminology appears in the article by A. Sniekus, First Secretary of the Lithuanian-language theoretical Party monthly, *Komunistas* (June 1970). The only road for the Lithuanian people, he said, is "proletarian internationalism", i. e., closest dependence on Russia.

Against Agreements With Communist Governments

The foreign policy of the Willy Brandt government, or more exactly, its making of agreements with the Russian Bolsheviks and other Communist governments, is causing great unrest in patriotic and anti-Communist circles in the Federal Republic of Germany. They are anxious to enlighten public opinion on the dangers of this for-

eign policy and to draw attention to its consequences. They are holding mass rallies and organizing protest actions of various kinds against it. Some German patriots are even trying through the courts to force the government to give up its fatal foreign policy.

Solicitor Wilhelm Schöttler, a courageous fighter of Communist crimes and defender of the principles of constitutionalism, has already taken several steps with the legal authorities against the foreign policy of the present government of the FRG. He is also bringing an action against Chancellor Brandt and his government for breach of the constitution, because of agreements being made with the Red puppet government in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany.

For Freedom Of Baltic Nations

On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by Soviet Russia, the Baltic Committee and the representatives of the liberation movements of the East and Central European nations at work in Sweden directed an appeal to the free nations and their governments. They declared the following, i. a. in the appeal:

"We accuse those governing in the Kremlin of genocide in Central and Eastern Europe, as defined by the UNO Convention on genocide, which was ratified by many states, including the Soviet Union. In the course of the last thirty years at least 600,000 people have been liquidated in the Baltic states alone . . ."

The signatories of the appeal ask the free nations and their governments for "support for the Baltic nations in their struggle for freedom and their historical, political and moral right to independence and self-determination, for condemnation of Russian military imperialism and colonialism, and for pressure on the leadership of the Soviet Union" to respect human rights and the right of nations to self-determination.

The 4th WACL And The 16th APACL General Conferences

(From 15—20th September, 1970)

Kyoto, the historical town of Japan, was the sight of the big international event, which was the 4th WACL (World Anti-Communist League) & 16th APACL (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League) Conferences. The hosts were the Japanese delegation for WACL/APACL Conferences. The whole organization work was very efficiently performed by youth organization: International League for Victory Over Communism, under the leadership of Mr. Osami Kuboki.

In the Conference participated representatives from the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, National China, Congo, Costa Rica, Croatia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Germany, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Korea, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Macao, Malaysia, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Peru, Ryukyus, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, Uruguay, USA, Vietnam.

The A.B.N. was represented by its President, Mr. Y. Stetsko, and Press Office by Mrs. S. Stetsko and the following national representatives: Dr. D. Drennikoff — Bulgarian from Italy, Dr. A. Pshenichnik — Croatian from Canada, Mrs. Elga Rodze — Latvian from Australia, Mr. A. Olechnik — Byelorussian from Australia, Mr. E. Rigoni — Hungarian from France, Eng. Bezchlibnyk — Ukrainian from Canada and Prof. R. Dragan — Ukrainian from Australia.

Simultaneously a youth conference was organized, in which ABN was represented by Ukrainian youth delegation, 15 members strong, from Australia.

The theme of the Conference was "Mobilizing Forces of World Freedom". The cordial atmosphere contributed immensely to the success of the Conference.

During the Opening Ceremony the opening address was delivered by Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr, Chairman of WACL in Thailand, which was followed by speech of newly elected chairman, Mr. Osami Kuboki.

Messages from the Chiefs of States were received from: His Excellency John Gorton — Prime Minister of Australia, His Excellency Chiang Kai-shek — President of the Republic of China, His Excellency Park Chung Hee — President of the Republic of Korea, His Excellency F. E. Marcos — President of the Philippines, His Excellency Thanom Kittikachorn — Prime Minister of Thailand, His Excellency Nguyen Van Thieu — President of Vietnam, His Excellency Spiro Agnew — Vice President of U.S.A., speech by Mr. Okinori Kaya, former Finance Minister of Japan.

The congratulatory address of Prime Minister, Mr. Eisaku Sato, was read by Mr. Susumu Nidaido, Vice-Secretary General of Liberal Democratic Party of Japan.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (Republic of China), the Honorary Chairman of WACL, in his short speech greeted all the delegates.

At the First Plenary Session of the 4th WACL Conference, the report was read by the Secretary General, Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez.

The guest speakers were Miss J. Castro, sister of F. Castro of Cuba and Dr. Phan Huy Quat, former Prime Minister of Vietnam.

During the Conference the following committees dealt with the current problems:

Committee 1:
Developing Nations "Modernization and Communism"

Committee 2:
Developed Nations "Causes of Communization in the Developed Nations and Countermeasures"

Committee 3:
Nations threatened by Communism: "Actual Threat of Communism and Common Defense"

Committee 4:
Nations under Communism: "Concrete
Methods of Liberating Peoples under Com-
munist Regimes"

Committee 5:
Organization, Resolution and Communique

Committee 6:
WYACL "Actual Task and Effective
Measures of Anti-Communist Movement
by Youths"

During Plenary Sessions several resolu-
tions outlining the world anti-Communist
activities were adopted (see joint com-
munique).

The acme of this historically important
Conference was on the 20th September
1970, in Tokyo, where a Mass Rally with
over 30,000 participants was organized.
The main speeches were delivered by Sena-
tor Strom Thurmond (USA), Mr. Ryoichi
Sasakawa, President of the Japan Con-
ference Executive Committee, Dr. Ku
Cheng-kang — Honorary Chairman of
WACL, Report on the progress of WACL/
APACL Conferences by Mr. Masatoshi Abe

— Vice Chairman of the Japan Conference
Executive Committee, and a commemora-
tive lecture was read by Miss J. Castro.

Mr. Osami Kuboki read to the public
the Declaration of Peace.

Several receptions for the delegates were
organized, where the cordial hospitality
of the hosts was displayed. One reception
was hosted by Mr. Masashi Isano, Chair-
man of Kawasaki Heavy Industries, Dinner
Party was sponsored by Liberal Democratic
Party of Japan, and Reception hosted by
Mr. Osami Kuboki.

All delegates were very appreciative of
the skill and organizing spirit of the Ja-
panese hosts.

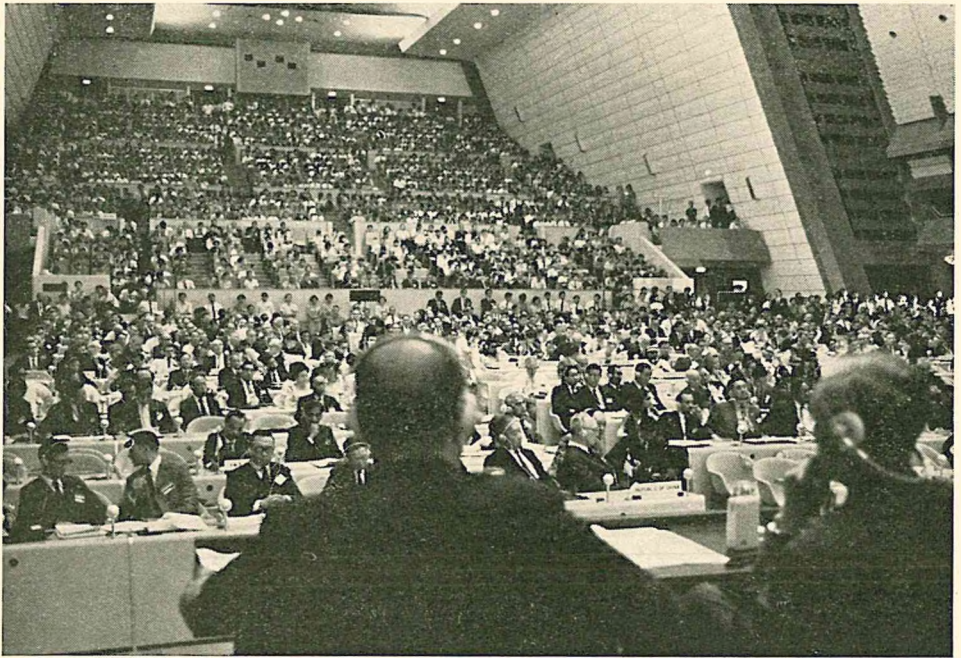
The delegates of the subjugated nations
in the USSR and the so-called "satellite
countries", were several times moved by
the highly sympathetic attitude and under-
standing on the part of Asian representa-
tives to WACL and APACL.

The Conference left in the hearts of
participants unforgettable memories of the
spirit of cooperation of freedom loving
nations.



Presidium of the 4th WACL Conference. In the foreground: Madame Suzanne Labin (France) addressing the delegates.

Joint Communique Of The 4th WACL Conference



PREAMBLE:

Communism is the source of much human suffering in the world today. For Communism is an evil ideology based only on materialism, to the exclusion of all spiritual values. This is why Communism brings only the subjugation of humanity and the destruction of human dignity under dictatorship. Now that the menace of Communist forces is expanding everywhere, our task is to fight and ultimately destroy it.

In this first year of 1970's, representatives of the World Anti-Communist League's 67 national and organizational member units and 29 observer groups gathered in Kyoto, Japan, September 15—17 for the League's 4th General Conference. The Conference theme was "Mobilizing the Forces of World Freedom."

With a profound understanding, and a high fighting spirit in the face of Communism, the participants brought their discussions to fruitful conclusions. Searching examinations of the many phases of the current world situation produced the following unanimous observations:

1. Confrontation has by no means ended. Communist forces, unless they are wiped out completely, will never give up their insidious attempts to enslave the whole of mankind;

2. Peace is what all peoples long for. But freedom is just as important a goal. We must continue to oppose peace through appeasement at the cost of freedom, for peace gained through compromise and capitulation cannot endure;

3. Free nations must recognize the futility of non-alignment, be under no delusion that national unification may be attained through negotiations, and desist from flirtations with the Communists.

As further elaboration of the main theme, "Mobilizing the Forces of World Freedom", important resolutions of the Conference specifically called for:

1. The unification of the masses of all countries in a joint effort for the victory of freedom;
2. The raising up of young people as a main force against Communist enslavement, and for participation in the fight to protect freedom;
3. The smashing of all Communist attempts at infiltration and subversion;
4. A victorious resolution of the crisis in Southeast Asia, preserving the freedom and independence of the Republic of Vietnam, and of Laos and Cambodia, and discarding any suggestion of coalition governments in that area;
5. An appeal to the United States to implement fully the constructive side of its new Asian policy;
6. The promotion of peace in the Middle East and a heightened vigilance against Communist Chinese attempts to incite new wars in the area;
7. Support for the efforts of the Latin American nations against Communism and Castroism, with a consistent record of broken pledges to the Cuban people;
8. The whole-hearted participation of the African nations in the fight for freedom and against Communist tyranny;
9. Encouragement of freedom movements among the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia and of their struggles for national independence and self-determination, and of the revolutions by the peoples enslaved in the Soviet Russian empire. Included are such liberation movements as those existing in Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, North Caucasia, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania and Croatia;
10. Call for support of the Republic of China's political offensive against the Red Chinese, and concrete measures to liberate the oppressed masses on the Chinese mainland, as well as implacable opposition to U.N. admission of Red China;
11. Call for support of the Republic of Korea's unification program for Korea, and to liberate the enslaved people of North Korea according to the U.N. resolutions;
12. The establishment of further regional security organizations to prevent further Communist aggression;
13. The mobilization of freedom forces and the establishment of a global anti-Communist united front.

The success of this General Conference shows that Japan is resolved to fight valiantly against Communist forces in the future. Particularly significant is the contribution of the young people of Japan as an active force in the nation's fight against Communism.

It is the unanimous view of the participants that the WACL Conference which has just taken place in Japan, bears witness to the continuing and increasing role of Japan in the world anti-Communist movement.

The WACL conferences are deeply indebted to the Japan Chapter for its excellent conference arrangements and its gracious hospitality. Heartfelt thanks go also to the Japanese government and people for their enthusiastic welcome of WACL delegates and observers.

Particularly impressive were the arrangements for the World Anti-Communist Rally in Tokyo on September 20.

The Conference has decided to hold the 5th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League in Manila in July, 1971.

Convinced of the bright prospects of the present decade, and of the inevitable trend toward victory, the World Anti-Communist League dedicates itself to the achievement of an era of peace and freedom for all men.

Resolutions Of The 4th WACL Conference

On Soviet Russian Colonialism And The Subjugated Nations

Whereas the present-day Russian imperialism is the continuation of the Tsarist one and liquidated the national state independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan and other nations subjugated in the USSR in 1920s, and during and after World War II forcefully annexed Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to the USSR and transformed other nations of Central and Eastern Europe (Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany, Rumania, Croatia and others) into its satellites. From this imperial base it has further expanded its aggressive plans and actions into Latin America (Cuba), Asia (Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Cambodia), Africa, earlier helping the Communist Party to come to power in China;

Whereas Bolshevik imperialism, fulfilling the dreams of the Tsars, may dominate the Mediterranean Sea, in particular the Middle East and North Africa, and building up its fleet almost to the size of the U.S. fleet, is now threatening Western Europe from the South, and with its submarines is penetrating the Indian Ocean and the waters of the U.S. and Canada;

Whereas Soviet Russian imperialism may block the delivery of oil from the Arab lands to Western Europe at any time, gradually turning Islamic countries into satellites and planning to carry out genocide against the state of Israel;

Whereas Soviet Russian imperialism, aiming to conquer the whole world, is systematically preparing Communist revolts in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, threatening Western Europe with nuclear

weapons, and at the same time corrupting free countries by class struggle, racial unrest, the so-called student revolts and ideological demobilization of the intellectual elite, in order to dominate them from within, as well as inspiring Communist guerrilla warfare and peripheral wars;

Whereas Russian imperialism hinders the reunification in freedom of Vietnam, Korea and Germany, aiming at their Bolshevization, and has conquered ethnographic Japanese territories, as a stepping stone to the Japanese mainland;

Whereas Russian imperialism is consolidating and intensifying the terrorist regime in the countries subjugated by it ever more, committing systematic spiritual Russification, Bolshevization and physical genocide on them in order to stifle the aspirations for freedom and state independence of the subjugated nations, crushing, for example, East German and Hungarian revolts and the uprising of the Ukrainian and other prisoners in the Russian concentration camps, as well as the struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks;

Whereas Russian imperialism is succeeding in each new territorial conquest or attempted Red aggression by threatening to use thermo-nuclear arms against the Free World;

Therefore, be it resolved:

The Fourth WACL Conference:

1. CONDEMNNS Soviet Russian colonialism and imperialism and its aggressive aims, wars and actions, Russification and genocide of the subjugated nations, national and religious, political and cultural subjugation, persecution and oppression,

economic exploitation and the stifling of free creativity of the intellectual elite;

2. STANDS for the reestablishment of national state independence and human rights of all nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states and supports their national liberation struggle;

3. CONSIDERS that through destruction of the tyrannical Communist system and the Russian empire from within, by way of national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples, it is possible to avoid thermo-nuclear war;

4. URGES the Free World to support the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea, the liberation of Chinese mainland, Cuba and all other nations subjugated by Communist tyranny, as well as the returning to Japan of its ethnographic territories conquered by Russian imperialists;

5. APPEALS to the governments of the Free Countries of the World to counteract by all possible means the ever-increasing Russian aggression, to liquidate Soviet influence in the Black and the Mediterranean seas, the Middle East, North Africa, the Indian and the Pacific oceans and everywhere else, outside their own ethnic territory where Russian aggressors have appeared or are yet to appear, to prevent the transformation of the Arab states into Moscow's satellites and Moscow's attempts to perpetrate genocide against the state of Israel, as well as to use all efforts to obtain the release of political prisoners — fighters for human and national rights — from the Russian prisons and concentration camps;

6. CONFIRMS that only through a) the rebirth of the heroic concept of life, faith in eternal human values, patriotism, the love of country and the realization of social justice, can Communist and Russian ideological subversion be defeated inside the freedom-loving nations of the world, and b) the common front of the free and the subjugated nations is it possible to destroy the Communist system of tyranny and the Russian colonial empire and to guarantee a lasting peace and security in the world.

On Persecution Of Freedom Fighters And For Release Of Political Prisoners

Whereas, the constant terror in the Soviet Russian empire towards the subjugated nations increased in every field of life, especially in cultural life, and neo-Stalinism flourishes;

Whereas, the prisons, concentration camps and lunatic asylums (General Hryhorenko) are filled with languishing intellectuals, poets, writers and other freedom fighters;

Whereas, in the concentration camps of Mordovia, poison is systematically added to the food of political prisoners, as proved by a letter written to the U.N. by three Ukrainian intellectuals (M. Horyn, I. Kandyba, L. Lukyanenko);

Whereas, even female Red Cross volunteers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, as for example the Ukrainian women K. Zarytska, H. Didyk, and O. Husyak, sentenced to 25 years, are languishing in the harshest prisons, like the Vladimir prison;

Whereas, people have been imprisoned for 25 years in concentration camps without a trial (i. e. a well-known lawyer, Dr. V. Horbovyi);

Whereas, others, though innocent, have been convicted to 25 years in prison (i. e. writer S. Karavanskyi);

Whereas, finally, the intellectual A. Amalrik, of French descent, born in Kyiv, has been imprisoned;

Therefore, the Fourth WACL Conference raises a voice of protest, and condemns this inhumanity and these most severe violations of human and national rights. It calls upon the entire freedom-loving world, especially upon the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the European Council in Strasbourg, the United Nations, the International Red Cross, and the parliaments and the public opinion of the free world, to assist the subjugated nations and the fighters for freedom and national in-

dependence. They should take all appropriate actions against Russian imperialism and Communism and enforce the liberation of political prisoners.

On The Cause Of Humanitarianism

Whereas V. I. Lenin developed elaborate political warfare theories for the purpose of destroying existing civilizations and replacing them with a Russian form of totalitarianism called Communism; and

Whereas Lenin put his theories into practice when the Russian empire disintegrated in 1917, thus replacing the old form of dictatorship with a new form of totalitarianism; and

Whereas the new form of Leninist totalitarianism is based on perpetual class warfare and violence, with a new Communist aristocracy, exploiting the working class, and a subtle form of Russian imperialism which is attempting to destroy the independence of all sovereign nations; and

Whereas Lenin personally directed the destruction of numerous newly-independent nations, which arose from the ashes of the Russian tsarist empire; and

Whereas Lenin personally ordered the execution or exile of millions of innocent human beings for no other reason than their national origin, their class by birth, their education, their religion, their dedication to self-determination, their belief that all nations large and small have the right to national independence; and

Whereas the Russian successors to Lenin have for the past 50 years faithfully carried out his plans of perpetual class warfare and violence, resulting in the murder of millions of innocent human beings, many millions more sentenced to slave labor camps, the dehumanizing of other millions of people through Communist police state methods, the destruction of national independence in more than a score of nations followed by the imposition of an alien regime loyal only to Moscow; and

Whereas Lenin's faithful successors conspired with the Nazis to cause World War

II and have since instigated a series of dehumanizing wars in Korea, in Vietnam, in the Middle East, in Africa; and

Whereas the brutalizing methods advocated by Lenin to break the freedom aspirations of nations and to destroy the spirit of patriotism in the nations forced into captivity by Moscow have been so violent as to produce a new type of hero of the oppressed, among which is General Taras Chuprynka, freedom fighter of Ukraine; and

Whereas the theories and evil plans of V. I. Lenin have plunged most of mankind into a state of perpetual war in which violence against the human race is openly practiced in all areas over which the new imperialism of Moscow rules; and

Whereas the UNESCO, in defiance of history and in the face of volumes of evidence indicting Lenin as the most criminal dehumanizer of civilized mankind, has, at the request of Lenin's successors, wrongly accepted a resolution which would declare V. I. Lenin a great humanist;

Now, therefore, be it resolved at the Fourth WACL Conference that appeals be made to the Member Nations of the United Nations to reject all the degrading efforts being made to characterize V. I. Lenin as a humanist and, in the interest of freedom and justice, the Member Nations of U.N. be urged to seize upon this occasion to expose the truth about the theories, plans and actions of Lenin and his successors.

On Defense Of Croat Freedom Fighters

Whereas in the last year several exiled Croat leaders and nationalist fighters for freedom and independence of Croatia were killed in the streets or in their homes in Western Europe by Yugoslav Communist Secret Police.

Be it therefore resolved that the WACL Conference solemnly condemn the Yugoslav Communist government for acts constituting international crimes which are also brutal violations of human rights.



Ukrainian students from Australia with an Indian delegate during a reception in Kyoto, Japan.

On Support Of The National Liberation Fight Of Ukraine

Whereas several Captive Nations have been subjected to a wave of political, cultural and religious oppression, genocide, economic exploitation, cruel secret police operations and concentration camps in Moscow and Peking empires, in North Korea, North Vietnam and other satellites;

Whereas Ukraine, *being in central position as a bulwark among Captive Nations*, has paid hecatombs of victims in resistance and liberation fight;

Whereas the importance of the revolutionary struggle for national independence of Ukraine, together with other Captive Nations, is frustrating Russian global plans;

Whereas Ukrainians imprisoned in Russian concentration camps, jails and psychiatric asylums are a reminder to the Free World of the plight of the Captive Nations;

Whereas the ultimate goal of our fight must be the tearing down of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, complete liberation of enslaved nations and re-establishment of their independent national states;

Whereas the Brezhnev doctrine further

substantiates the traditional Russian imperialism;

Therefore the Fourth WACL Conference resolves:

1. To direct actions against Moscow as the center instigating wars and turmoil.
2. To encourage Ukraine and other Captive Nations to fight for liberation and national independence by providing them with positive and effective spiritual and political support.
3. To recognize the right of Ukraine and all Captive Nations to national sovereignty and independence and liberty for all nations and individuals.
4. To support political, cultural and religious processes behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, which oppose tyranny and terror.
5. To protest against the persecution of religions, the destruction of churches, cultural monuments, libraries, against deportations, slave labour and tyrannical suppression of freedom in Ukraine and other enslaved countries.
6. To protest against the persecution of intellectuals, writers and scientists in Ukraine and other enslaved countries.

7. To work for a change of policy by the free governments in the direction of adoption of the policy of liberation.

8. To intensify the freedom crusade of WACL, APAFL, ABN and European Freedom Council, a serious threat to Moscow-Peking expansion.

9. To assure that in the case of a national revolution the free world would not see without appropriate action the crushing of said revolution by the Russians as it was the case in Hungary in 1956.

On Support To Nations Enslaved By Russia

WHEREAS Russia is the only colonial empire in existence which still continues to hold in the bondage of slavery many nations, including Byelorussia, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and many others, and

WHEREAS the said nations enslaved by Russia have been and are being not only enslaved, but also systematically persecuted to the point of outright extermination, and

WHEREAS due to the said Russian persecution and deliberate extermination, 7 millions of Byelorussians have been liquidated during the 50 years of Russian oppression of Byelorussia, and

WHEREAS the continuing enslavement and national persecution by the Russian colonial oppressors are in flagrant and gross breach and violation of the accepted and agreed to principles of freedom and independence as contained and detailed in the U.N. Charter, U.N. Resolutions and other Charters of Freedom, and

WHEREAS it is of utmost importance that the said principles of and the right to individual and national freedom shall apply equally to all nations of the world, and

Therefore

The World-Anti-Communist League at its 4th Conference in Kyoto, Japan, resolves to continue to provide all the possible assistance to the oppressed nations, and to use all the diplomatic and other means and media in order to achieve

speedy and complete liberation of all the nations enslaved and persecuted by the Russian imperialism and Communism.

To Promote World Youth Solidarity

Considering that the progress of human society, the harmony of international relations and the development of history and culture are contingent on the dedicated efforts of the younger generation in renovating the present world and creating more satisfactory conditions for the future;

Considering that the progress of scientific technology has generally elevated man's standard of living and man's level of education and, as a result, has enabled the young to grow, mentally and physically, under much better conditions than their ancestors;

Considering that the moral traditions of ages past have been under attack since World War II and that the younger generation, living in an era of transition, and facing this situation, feels embarrassed and lost, and thus indulges in questionable pleasures;

Especially considering that international Communists, by taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of disillusioned young persons, seek to employ every form of intrigue to indoctrinate them with misleading ideology and delude them into radicalism, violation of law, and self-degradation, in order to mentally disarm the youth and deprive them of reason, for the purpose of carrying out the Communist scheme of enslavement;

Resolves that, in order to awake the youth to the mission of the age and to alert them to rise against Communist deceitful strategems and to dedicate their full effort to the creation of a bright future of the whole of mankind, the following measures must be taken without delay:

1. Give positive support to the World Youth Anti-Communist League in promoting world youth solidarity;

2. Recommend to the World Youth Anti-Communist League that they carry on a regional visit exchange program and conduct a youth problem workshop for the

purpose of enhancing mutual understanding among the youth of various countries and cultivate a common idea on the anti-Communist movement and the idea of the national liberation of the subjugated nations;

3. Recommend to all just people of the world to attach importance to the trend of the mentality of the youth, give them sympathy and encouragement, and direct them to endeavor for the bright prospects of mankind;

4. Develop a humanitarian ideology on the basis of balance and harmony among knowledge, spirituality and reason, as a prime principle for the young to follow in developing a sound mind and body.

On 13th Observance Of Captive Nations Week In 1971

Whereas the U.S. Congressional Resolution on Captive Nations Week, which President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed into Public Law 86—90 in 1959, has been a major obstacle to the Communist objective of obtaining Free World acquiescence to the captivity of 27 nations in the Red Empire; and

Whereas this Resolution emphasizes the basic strategic importance of all the captive nations, including those in the Soviet Union, to the security of the Free World; and

Whereas the Resolution also symbolizes hope and encouragement to the one billion captives in Central Europe, the Soviet Union, Asia and Cuba in their eventual liberation and national freedom and independence; and

Whereas WACL, since its inception, has steadfastly upheld the annual Captive Nations Week provided by the resolution and many of its members, particularly those in Asia, have conducted the Week's observance to the detriment of Communist propaganda and objectives and toward the fulfilment of the aspirations of the captive peoples;

Therefore, be it resolved that all participants in the 4th WACL Conference make early preparations for the 13th observance

of Captive Nations Week in July, 1971 and that for the publication of their respective activities in the *U.S. Congressional Record* materials be sent to the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington, D.C.

To Help The Iron Curtain Peoples To Expand Their Struggle For Freedom

WHEREAS the anti-Communist slavery campaigns of Iron Curtain peoples of East and West struggling for national independence, freedom and democracy have gained sharpness and intensity in proportion to the degree of terroristic suppression and are now openly or secretly growing at an accelerating rate;

WHEREAS the Chinese Communists are spreading their anti-American struggles in Indochina and continuing to strip the Chinese mainland people of the fruits of their labor under the pretext of possible wars against U.S. and Russian imperialists, thereby provoking increasingly fiercer anti-Maoist and anti-Communist struggles of the people;

WHEREAS the anti-Moscow and anti-Communist struggles within the USSR and in East European satellite nations now subjected to Russian and indigenous Communists' oppression have won the widespread sympathy of all free nations and may touch off an anti-Communist movement unrestricted by national boundaries; and

WHEREAS the Russian and Chinese Communist schemes to use nationalism as a tool to divert the people's dissatisfaction has, instead of succeeding, combined with the Russian revival of Stalinism and the persistent Peiping line of belligerent militarism to cause the wider spread of antagonism and defiance;

BE IT RESOLVED, therefore, at the Fourth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League that:

1. All the free people of the world be called upon to support the Iron Curtain peoples' freedom campaigns and stage protest demonstrations before overseas mis-

sions of Moscow, Peiping and other Communist regimes;

2. All the public and private radio stations and other mass communications media of the free world be requested to give full play to their spirit of justice by voluntarily and continuously providing increasingly greater support to the Iron Curtain peoples' efforts to expand their freedom campaigns;

3. All the Chinese mainland people be encouraged to persist in their opposition to the Peiping regime's political oppression, military autocracy and economic plunder, while all the intellectuals as well as ordinary masses of Iron Curtain nations in the East and West be called upon to continue their staunch struggles against Communist regimes and form at an early date a united anti-Communist front that goes beyond regions, nations and classes; and

4. All the people fleeing from Communist oppression in East or West be received and given proper assistance.

On Kersten Plan

WHEREAS it has been proved that the champions of Communism want to dominate the whole world; and

WHEREAS the different captive nations have tried since 1917 to recover their freedom by various means without success;

Therefore, we suggest:

That the practical plans made out by Hon. Charles Kersten (MILWAUKEE, WISC.) and approved by the United States Congress should be revived and readapted to the present situation.

On The Soviet-German Treaty

Whereas 17 million Germans are being enslaved under a Communist satellite regime in the zone "East" of Germany occupied by 22 Soviet divisions, and the Moscow-treaty does not bring them any freedom;

Whereas the frontiers in Europe created by the Soviet Russian force including those dividing the two parts of Germany, are being recognized voluntarily and without any cogent reason in this treaty by the pre-

sent liberal-socialist government of the Federal Republic of Germany;

Whereas in the so-called "treaty on the renunciation of force" the Soviet government by no means renounces the military or political right of intervention into the Federal Republic by violence, according to the "Enemy States-Clause", clause 53 and 107 of the U.N. Charter;

Whereas de facto the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany is recognized as an independent and "sovereign" state by the present government of the Federal Republic of Germany;

Whereas in this treaty the German and the Soviet treaty partners bypassing over the peoples of the Soviet Russian empire are taking decisions as to the destiny of these peoples and thus the present German government recognizing the Brezhnev Doctrine leaves the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia on their own while they are fighting against Communist repression and leaves them as unprotected as the Germans under Ulbricht's rule; and

Whereas this treaty holds out the prospect of economic and technological support by the Federal Republic of Germany for the Soviet Russian oppressors;

Therefore, be it resolved that:

1. WACL condemns the repeated rush of Soviet-Russian imperialism into the heart of Europe.

2. WACL warns the free world that the signing of the Gromyko-treaty on August 12, 1970 in Moscow by the liberal-socialist government of the Federal Republic of Germany will enable the Soviets to carry on their sudden advance.

3. WACL calls upon the German Bundestag not to ratify the treaty.

4. WACL calls upon that part of the German people enjoying the freedom of the democratic Federal Republic of Germany to offer stout civil resistance against the signing of a treaty by misuse of its name, a treaty that betrays the suppressed nations and supports Soviet Russian colonialism.

5. WACL calls upon the free part of Germany to return to the active front-line of the defence of freedom against Soviet Russian and Red Chinese imperialism and to stand for the national interests of all Germans, especially for those being suppressed by East Berlin as well as for the international interests of the Western and of the Third World against Communist military dictatorships which are a threat for all of us.

6. WACL appeals to the Government of the German Federal Republic not to curtail the anti-Communist activities or limit in any way the political activities of emigres from behind the Iron Curtain.

On The Russian Threat In The Mediterranean

Considering the alarming presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean;

Considering that all the countries of the Mediterranean basin are under the direct threat of Communist expansion;



Considering that Greece is in the front-line for the defense and the security of this region;

Considering the prejudice against Greece in the European and Atlantic organizations indefensible and deploring all attempts to split N.A.T.O. and other Free World Alliances on grounds unrelated to security; and renewing its approval of the Greek government's struggle against Communist subversion;

Resolves that the presence of Greece in all European and Atlantic organizations is indispensable, and condemns the discriminatory and unfriendly attitude taken by some governments versus the courageous posture of Greece —, European bastion of the Free World.

Practical Implementation Of Conference Resolutions

RECOGNIZING that spiritual values and personal faith are basic to our anti-Communist programme, and

NOTING the success achieved by certain worthy organizations in distributing pro-freedom religious literature behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

This 4th WACL Conference resolves:

1. To recommend to all Chapters and supporting organizations that practical encouragement be given to such organizations as Underground Evangelism and Relief Action Committee.

2. That approved representatives be designated to meet all ships and visiting groups from Communist countries for the purpose of distributing freedom religious literature.

3. That efforts be made to establish a WACL Fund to provide finance for such distribution of free literature.

4. That to give significance to even the smallest spiritual witness or emphasis WACL member units be reminded that "it is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness."

Communique Of The 16th APACL Conference

The 16th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League was held in Kyoto, Japan, on September 18, 1970, immediately following the 4th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League. This year the theme of the Conference was "Promotion of an Asian and Pacific Regional Organization." In addition to representatives of APACL more than 20 member units, delegates from various other countries who had taken part in the WACL Conference were also present as observers. This was another lucid demonstration of the solidarity and ideological conformity of the two international anti-Communist organizations.

As an important regional body and component of WACL, this Asian league solemnly resolved to accept unreservedly all the resolutions adopted at the 4th WACL Conference and endeavor unremittingly for their first-priority execution and fulfillment.

The present decade will be a decisive period as to whether the world as a whole will be guided by freedom and justice or be dominated by the evils of Communism. Since the outset of this year Communist forces have increased their aggression in intensity and Asia continues to be the center of gravity of the world situation.

The Chinese Communists persist in asserting their violent revolutionary method reinforcing their assistance to the guerrilla struggles in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, India, Malaysia and so forth.

North Korea, advocating the integration of the Republic of Korea by force, has been fanatically engaged in war preparation for attaining her objective. Furthermore, North Korea, regarding Japan as a source of supporting force for the Republic of Korea, is intensifying her maneuvers through "Chosoren" (General Federation of North Korean Residents in Japan).

Further developments in this region will strikingly influence the rest of the world. Evidence today points to an impending major change for the whole of Asia, and

the emergence of a new situation favorable to the free world or the worsening of the present critical condition depends fully on the free nations' efforts toward a system of collective defense against Communism.

For these reasons, the APACL Conference decided to call upon free Asian government leaders to work for the immediate convocation of an Asian Security Conference so that all the nations in the region can join forces for the strenuous task of defending their own freedom and security and for the early establishment of an Asian and Pacific Regional Security Organization. The Conference earnestly hopes that the Asian and Pacific Council can actively promote this plan, expand its own scope of operation and persuade all the concerned nations to join the formation of free Asian defense.

In view of the Nixon Doctrine and the spirit of the U.S. President's new Asian policy, the conferees unanimously saw the need to urge the United States of America to provide effective material, operational as well as moral support for the attainment of the above-mentioned goal.

This means that America's plan to withdraw troops from Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, etc. should be carried out strictly in proportion to the pace of defense build-up activities in these countries. The security of the entire Asian region will be gravely endangered if U.S. troops are pulled out too soon or too fast.

The APACL Conference also decided to urge that continuing effective support be given to the heroic anti-Communist fighters of the Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia by the rest of free Asia and the free world. Nor should Asian Communists' schemes of aggression be permitted to materialize in the Indochinese countries.

Vigilance must be heightened against enemy attempts to create illusory hopes of peaceful coexistence with the Communists and therefore the Conference urges the so-called non-aligned nations of Asia to realize the danger of cooperating with Communist countries.

Equally illusory are the attempts to form coalition governments with Communists as is being suggested for the Republic of Vietnam.

Firm support must be given to the people behind Asia's Iron Curtain as well as the nations in the USSR and the satellite countries in their endeavors to launch revolutionary struggles to throw off the Communist regimes above them and regain their freedom and national independence.

Realizing that the Peiping regime is the source of all the scourges of Asia today, the APACL Conference is staunchly opposed to views advocating the admittance of Chinese Communists to the United Nations.

The Conference also decided that the 17th Conference of the Asian Peoples'

Anti-Communist League he held in Manila of the Philippines in July, 1971, immediately after the 5th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League.

APACL greatly appreciates the ardor with which Japan has brought this Conference to a successful conclusion and records its gratitude for the hospitality accorded.

APACL also notes with gratification the rise of Japan's silent masses and youth against Communism. The conferences are firmly of the belief that the APACL Conference in Japan, just as successful as the preceding WACL undertaking, has fore-shown a continuous and increasingly faster march of world freedom forces towards victory and glory in the '70s.

* * *

APACL RESOLUTION

On The Subjugated Nations And The Persecution Of Freedom Fighters

Being at all times committed to supporting the liberation struggle for national independence of all peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite states;

Condemning the terrorism against the subjugated nations which is still being applied relentlessly in every domain but specifically in cultural fields;

Be it resolved by the 16th APACL Conference:

1. That withdrawal of Russian occupation forces and outside domination be demanded from Ukraine, Caucasus, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Baltic states, East Germany, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Croatia, Bulgaria and all other subjugated countries so as to enable these nations to regain their state independence; and

2. That we voice our protest and condemnation against these violations of human and national rights and call upon the Parliaments of the Free World and all appropriate International Organizations to assist the fighters for freedom and national independence.

General Franco's Thanks

Upon the death of Marshall Munioz Grandez, the Chief of Staff of the Spanish Armed Forces, and the commander of the renowned Blue Division, which fought against the Russians, Yaroslav Stetsko sent a telegram of condolences to the Spanish Chief of State, Generalissimo Francisco Franco. On September 8, 1970 Gen. Franco sent Mr. Stetsko a cordial letter expressing his gratitude for our thoughtfulness with respect to this loss by Spain.

Also the Prime Minister of Portugal, Caetano, warmly thanked Y. Stetsko for his condolences on the occasion of the death of the great European statesman and the man who saved Portugal from Communism — Salazar.

Moscow Intensifies Its Attacks Upon ABN

The activities of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations are inflaming the Russian imperialists so much that they are beginning to use their "heaviest artillery" against them, i.e., the central organs of propaganda and blackmail. *Pravda*, the central organ of the Communist Party, has now joined in combating the ABN and its leading members.

One of the leading imperial experts in combating freedom-loving aspirations of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian emigres, Arkadiy Sakhnyn, published an article in the June 24 and 25, 1970 issues of *Pravda* full of lies, provocations, moral blackmail, defamation and similar terroristic tactics.

The title itself, "The Tulips of an Executioner" accurately corresponds to the mentality and morality of the Brezhnev-Shelepin clique, of which *Pravda* is the spokesman. The primary aim of the attack is to discredit ABN, to blackmail its leading members, to compromise the liberation movements, to force political emigres to keep silent or to discard the uncompromising revolutionary concepts in their policy of liberation. Hand in hand with these intentions, Moscow is now trying to take advantage of the susceptibility of the Brandt-Scheel government in West Germany, in order to influence it in such a way as to obtain the weakening or even complete abolishment of political organizations of exiles from nations subjugated by Russia.

This time an attack against ABN was launched by way of a brutal attack against one of the leading members of ABN, Col. D. Kosmowicz, President of the Byelorussian Liberation Movement. That ABN is the primary target of the attack can be seen from the fact that the article emphasizes Col. Kosmowicz's association with ABN several times, without even mentioning his Byelorussian nationality and his leading position in the Byelorussian liberation movement.

Of course, Moscow is accusing him of countless fictitious crimes, such as murder of the population, executions of "Soviet

people", collaboration with the Nazis, serving the enemy and so forth. But in addition to the stereotyped Bolshevik methods, new aspects can be seen. For example, the author of the diatribe himself allegedly visited the apartment of Col. Kosmowicz. His "visit" supposedly terribly frightened the colonel's wife. It goes without saying that this KGB agent intended to blackmail and to break our prominent Byelorussian friend morally.

Another new element is the fact that the action is being conducted on the interstate level. The author notes that he personally met with West German Minister of Internal Affairs, Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the subject of extradition to the Soviet Union of the so-called war criminals who are now living in West Germany, having in mind the leaders of ABN. Thus Moscow is trying to take advantage of the willingness of the free German government to make concessions in order to get as many of them as possible for itself.

These types of Russian provocations should be counteracted, unanimously and firmly, by all emigres from countries subjugated by Russia. Because this campaign was picked up by *Pravda*, and because international diplomacy is involved in it, ABN has become the object of an attack of the Russian policy of expansion toward West Germany. The propagators of the ideas of ABN have become the conscience of freedom-loving peoples and the grain of salt in the eyes of the perpetrators of genocide.

All German newspapers and periodicals are going to take note of this campaign of the Kremlin and of the article in *Pravda*, firstly because *Pravda* is received by all editorial offices, and secondly, because the German government is entangled in its anti-ABN action. The struggle for ABN will certainly become a struggle between the pro-Russian, defeatist and decadent forces and the national, patriotic and courageous forces, which are not going to break down under pressure of Russian blackmail.

Colonial-Imperial Elections In The USSR

On June 14, 1970 "elections" to the "Soviet of the Union" and the "Soviet of Nationalities", i. e. the two chambers of the "Supreme Soviet of the USSR" were held. In order to comment on these "elections" we will first cite an excerpt from the communique of the "Electoral Commission of the Ukr.SSR engaged with elections to the Soviet of Nationalities" which conceals the essence of these "elections". Among other things it says:

"The Commission has noted that the elections to the Supreme Soviet were conducted . . . under conditions of high political activity of the population and turned into a clear demonstration of unity of the Communist party and the Soviet people . . . the voters of the republic unanimously cast their votes for the candidates of the national Communist bloc and non-party candidates".

What is the purpose of these elections? Western commentators unanimously agree that Soviet elections have the purpose of formally showing that the USSR allegedly has a democratic order, as well as to provide an opportunity to publicize Communism and Sovietism.

However, these elections are of far greater significance for the Communist Russian imperialists.

The basic aim of these elections is to demonstrate to the world and to the subjugated peoples an indissoluble and allegedly voluntary fusion and unity between the non-Russian peoples and the Russian people. This in reality is one of the basic principles of Leninist imperialism. This fusion of "sister" nations is clearly visible on the outside, in the form of government of the USSR. On the basis of such "elections" Russia grants itself a "moral" and "legal" right to prove to the world that the peoples periodically confirm and give their mandate to the government of the USSR to conduct sovereign policy in their name. Let us remember that the concepts of law and order and the international

legal norms have deep roots in the free world and Russia is taking advantage of this cunningly and shrewdly.

The second important aspect of "elections" in the USSR is the imperial policy of genocide, or, as the Leninist terminology would have it, "the fusion of nations". The Russians are using the electoral comedy set in order to publicize the genocidal "Soviet people", the "Soviet man", that is, Russification, de-nationalization and assimilation. During the electoral campaign, a great propaganda campaign is launched in thousands of speeches, articles, meetings and broadcasts. They are calling from the rooftops about "the friendship of peoples of the USSR", about "the common front of all nationalities of the Soviet Union", and so forth.

It is in the plan of the Russian genocidal policy to transform Ukraine and all the other subjugated nations into the Russian provinces-colonies. The electoral campaign is to serve this purpose. The USSR is being compered to a one-nation state of the type of the USA or Switzerland, in which individual "republics" allegedly represent provinces, states or cantons. The concept of integrity and the component, subordinate position of the "republics" in relation to the USSR as a whole is drummed into the world and the subjugated peoples.

"The all-union elections" are also very significant in manifesting the all-powerful role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its absolute power in the USSR, the mono-party system, and the Leninist concepts of "centralism", "democratic centralism" and the "international" character of this Russian imperialistic party, since in Soviet "elections" only members of this party (along with so-called non-party candidates) have the right to run for office. All other parties are prohibited in the Soviet system. The forcing of people to vote for the candidates of this chauvinistic, colonial party, has the purpose of reconciling the subjugated nations with the

occupation regime, of making them accept the rule of this party and give up all aspirations of creating their own national political organizations.

Finally, these "elections" have an educational aim: to indoctrinate the subjugated peoples with the spirit of anti-Europeanism, Russian totalitarianism, anti-Christianity, anti-democracy. They are primarily directed against freedom-loving liberation nationalisms of the subjugated peoples.

It is also expedient to turn our attention to the official statistics of these "elections". Allegedly 84.8 million residents of RSFSR and 32.5 million residents of the Ukr.SSR took part in these elections, or for 153.1 million voters of the USSR more than half

were Russian. This fact proves that even if real democratic elections were held in the USSR, including secret balloting and freedom of parties, the Russians could easily win an absolute majority of votes and would always rule over other peoples.

For this reason the Ukrainian nation which wants to lead a free, democratic life, must completely wrangle itself, that is, liberate itself from all kinds of political and state ties with the Russian people. Therefore, Ukrainians reject in principle the whole system of Soviet government, with its "elections", as well as all ideas of a "democratic" alliance or federation of the non-Russian peoples with the Russian people.

A. Furman

New Liberation Manifestations In The Russian Empire

On June 15, 1970, twelve Soviet citizens were arrested in Leningrad, including Ukrainians and Jews. They were on their way to the airport to board the passenger flight AN-2. In all probability they wanted to hijack the plane to Finland. Their ages range from 19 to 45. They were not on vacation; they just did not show up for work that day. The names of some of them are known: Sylvia Kuznetsova of Riga, Alexander Marchenko of Kharkiv, Edward Kuznetsov of Riga and Yuriy Fyodorov of Moscow. It is also known that the three men mentioned above have served several terms in concentration camps. Their acquaintances, friends and relatives have been interrogated and some punished. In Leningrad the KGB arrested 6 persons, who sent a petition to the Secretary-General of the UN, U Thant, several months ago, asking his help in obtaining permission to leave the USSR. U Thant is silent to this day . . .

Profession of the Christian or Islamic faith is considered by Moscow to be a "criminal act". However Christianity (as all religion) is a priceless moral weapon against the atheistic and hostile to God regime of the Bolsheviks. The Russians and their henchmen were greatly surprised by

the poll conducted in Prague and Bratislava which showed, particularly in Slovakia, that the people there still find comfort in Christianity. 71% of the 4.5 million Slovaks are believers (Catholics, Protestants, Greek Catholics), and only 14% declare themselves downright atheists, and 15% indifferent to religion. These figures were provided by the Institute of Sociology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences after polling the population in the final quarter of 1969. The age distribution of those with religious convictions is as follows: 18 to 24—60%, 25 to 40—66%, 40 to 54—75%, older — 82%.

When speaking about the professions, then peasants and collective farm workers lead the way — 91% are Christians; workers — 73.4%; office workers (bureaucracy, aparatchiks, state and party officials) — 28%. It is interesting to note that among the collective farmers only 3% are atheists.

When in Slovakia 84.4% are anti-Communists and only 15% atheists, we could well ask: is it still possible to save the false Communist teaching? Surely not, when speaking about the young people. But in the USSR, the Communist and chauvinistic Russian teaching also has no prospects.

Poles About The OUN

(Ukrainian Nationalism Disturbs Polish Communists)

In recent times many articles, reports and even insignificant notices attacking the Ukrainian nationalists have appeared in the Polish press. This proves that the Polish Communists are annoyed by the activities of the Ukrainian liberation movement, by the influence of the ideas of this movement and in general by the timeliness of the subject matter connected with it. While analyzing these materials it becomes apparent that Russia is pressuring the Polish regime to attack Ukrainian nationalism even more. Furthermore, reaction does not stem solely from local initiative, but is part of a broad action on the territory of the entire sphere of power of the Russian imperialists, i.e. in the USSR and the satellite states.

In the said materials the OUN, ABN, UPA and their press organs in the free countries are being attacked.

Judging by the information supplied by the Polish press it would seem that armed Ukrainian underground is operating in Poland. It is to be found on Ukrainian ethnographic territories. At the same time, it is emphasized quite clearly that such actions are organized by members of OUN and UPA. These reports further state that such armed actions are taking place in an organized manner and that a larger number of persons is involved in them, a type of fighting unit or armed cell. It is clearly indicated that such Ukrainian activity is continuing since World War II. The Ukrainian movement is under the sign of the "nationalist trident". It is also stressed that in combating this movement the Poles are cooperating with the "Soviet government". "Bandera followers" are listed by name as participants.

One such activist was caught by the Poles. He had been a district leader up to 1944, and after the war allegedly found himself in Munich from where the OUN supposedly sent him to Ukrainian territories. He is to be tried shortly, and a prisoner from the Vladimir prison is to be

brought in as witness. In other words, he is either a Russian provocateur or a man morally broken by Russian terror.

In another article an attack is launched against ABN, which is purposely being called "the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations" with the intention to dull its anti-Russian, anti-imperialist edge. In enumerating the national groups which belong to ABN, the Russians are also included.

The European Freedom Council (EFC) is tied to ABN and it is said that EFC was created by the West German "Bundeswehr". It is clearly evident that the Russian bloc is afraid of the very idea of an organization of West Europeans, which would aim at giving help to the revolutionary liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Communism and Russia. Further it is confirmed that the moving force behind these two organizations is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

The Polish national-communists are afraid of the idea of a "European army" and the concepts of UPA, as if to say that a "European army would be based on the example of the UPA, which is being propagated by the OUN itself". According to these satellite writings, the herald of this "European army" is *Shlyakh Peremohy*, the Ukrainian weekly published in Munich.

The article's author, Wojciech Suliewski, surveys the UPA. He states: "In the years 1944—1948 the UPA was engaged in heavy fighting with the military forces of the USSR, the People's Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania". And further, visualizing the armies of the insurgent liberation forces of the subjugated peoples, numbering in the thousands, he says: "After analyzing these battles, the former staff officers of UPA are concluding that the experience of UPA is quite useful in training the Bundeswehr and other troops which make up NATO forces. As a counterweight to the Soviet partisans, the people's army of Yugoslavia and the Polish resistance

movement, the UPA historians are proposing their own concept of "nationalist-revolutionary struggle."

Further on in the article we notice the author's attempts to inspire in the Poles racial hatred and chauvinism towards Ukrainians and to portray the Ukrainians as Nazi agents and racists. He opposes the use of the term "the knights of the trident" to define the Ukrainian liberation movement. In other words, he opposes the Ukrainian nation as a whole, for whom the trident had been a national emblem as far back as the 11th century.

Suliewski notes that "in Munich, at Karlsplatz 8, the editorial offices of the monthly *Suchasnist* are to be found, an organ of the 'intellectual' OUN circles, whose former editor Ivan Koshelivets had ambition to play the same role as that played by Jezy Gedrojc of the *Paris Kultura*... Since several years, Koshelivets' organ joins in the work of ABN, which is

headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of the government created in Lviv on June 30, 1941".

"This ABN — continues the author — in recent years had organized two large conferences: in Manila in the Philippines and in Taipei, Taiwan. They were held in an atmosphere of calls to destroy the USSR and other socialist countries."

The article ends with a significant statement which proves that the activities of revolutionary OUN and ABN are disturbing the satellite regime in Poland: "It is expedient to know about all this, especially in Poland, where OUN and UPA have left behind them so many recently healed wounds."

In another article this same author is writing extensively about the Munich *Suchasnist*, compares it with *Shlyakh Pere-mohy*, and comes to the conclusion that *Suchasnist* is influenced by the "spirit of Bandera".

From Letters To ABN

Djarkata, May 25, 1970

I'd like to express my thanks for your small collection of books which I had received. These books will help me to understand your struggle to resist the Russian imperialists. We hope that you will succeed in your struggle to free Ukraine from the Communist Russian colonial yoke.

Recently, the Embassy of Communist Russia in Djakarta was about to hold a film-showing for one week. But our Chapter protested to our government, urging it to forbid the film-showing, because we feel that the film is a tool used to promote the Communist doctrine. Our government realized the problem and the film-showing was forbidden.

Between 1969 and 1974 our government is carrying out a national development program, particularly in the economic field. In our opinion, the Communists will make a come-back in Indonesia, if our people will remain poor and uneducated. In the period of development we hope that all countries of the Free World will assist us.

In 1971, general elections will be held in Indonesia. We have to see to it that the Communists do not infiltrate these elections.

Muhammad Buang Bc. Hk, M. P

Chairman of WYACL Indonesia Chapter

We have been receiving your magazine "ABN Correspondence" on complimentary basis during the last few years. We are pleased to inform you that your magazine has proved very useful and is a valuable addition to our Periodicals Department. We shall be extremely grateful to you if the same is continued in the year 1970 also.

*Jabalpur University Library
Jabalpur (M. P.), India*

Book Reviews

Lawrence Dennis: *OPERATIONAL THINKING FOR SURVIVAL*, Ralph Myles Publishers, Inc., Colorado Springs, 1969, 234 pp., \$ 5.95.

By operational thinking, the author, a respected journalist, an expert on economy and finance, and former diplomat, means the consideration of further results beyond the attempted goals. Especially instructive examples in the negative sense, are the two world wars. Out of the first resulted the economic crisis of 1929—1939, and out of the second the slow inflation with a debt of 346 million dollars for the USA (until 1967). From the wars "for the termination of all wars" resulted a permanent war against the danger of Communist world conquest and a matching rivalry in armaments. The author emphasizes that Communism expanded not because of its superiority, but because of the follies of Western statesmen. He sees no way of stopping the inflation, but sees in continuous armament a way of maintaining full employment and of avoiding an economic crisis. As an alternative to armament he suggests a vast welfare scheme to maintain consumption. Another, but unfortunately not mentioned alternative, would be intensive ideological research and an intellectual argument with the Communists by way of negotiations.

On the whole the book represents an extremely significant work, which urgently warns against the atomic war and its catastrophic consequences.

Dr. Edmund Marhefka

Ernst Jaakson: *SOVIET RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM*, Published by the Consulate General of Estonia in New York, N. Y., 1970, pp. 15.

In this essay the author, Ernst Jaakson, Consul General of Estonia in charge of

legation, draws the reader's attention, very impressively on the example of Estonia, to the danger of Soviet Russian imperialism. He says the following i. a.:

"When we come to the question of world peace, we realize that at the root of all the serious problems facing the free world today lies, in the final analysis, Soviet Russian imperialism."

"All Russian excuses for continued Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe are transparent for their lack of any real basis, except pure and simple Soviet imperialism and colonialism."

The author comes to the conclusion:

"The rulers of Russia are masters of deceit. Their scheming and Machiavellian plotting is aimed in many directions, but principally their strategy is concerned with the out-maneuvering and possible neutralization of all their opposing forces in the hope of eventually terrorizing the world into submission."

Birger Nerman: *FÖR BALTICUMS FRIHET. BALTISKA KOMMITTEN 1943—1968* (For the Freedom of the Baltic States) Picture editing: Arvo Horm, Kalju Lepik. Published by the Baltic Committee, Stockholm, 1969, 48 pages.

The prominent Swedish scholar Prof. Birger Nerman, a great friend of the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism, describes briefly in this booklet the 25-year activity of the Baltic Committee in Sweden, of which he is president. From his description can be seen that the Baltic Committee has carried out a full-scale activity for the liberation of the subjugated Baltic and other nations in the last quarter of a century. The booklet, which is abundantly illustrated with photos, has a documentary value.

New Publications

The Gun and the Faith

Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Russian Rule

A Brief Survey by

W. Mykula, B. A. (Lond.), B. Litt. (Oxon.)

Price: 6/— in U.K. or \$ 1.00

Order from: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.

200 Liverpool Rd., London N. 1

Kyiv Versus Moscow

**Political Guidelines
of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists**

30 cents

In Defense of Humanism

The Case Against Myth-Creation in the U. N.

By Iwan Wowchuk

35 cents

Russia Is Not Invincible

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C. B., C. B. E., D. S. O.

25 cents

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