

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Kyiv
Pecherska
Lavra



Russians Destroying
Famous Ukrainian
11th Century
Cave Monastery

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Russians Closing Ukrainian Monasteries

We have in our possession documentary reports that the famous Ukrainian monastery at Pochaiv, Pochaivska Uspenska Lavra, is suffering from persecution and is in danger of being closed down. The most recent report about these persecutions dates to October, 1966.

The persecution with the intention to close the monastery started in 1961. First, all the monks were called to the KGB Center for interrogations. KGB Major Korsanov, several captains and lieutenants participated. The interrogations usually began with threats such as: "Leave the monastery! Enter civil professions. Lavra will be closed anyway!" However, the police soon found out that mere threats will not induce the Ukrainian monks to leave their monastery. Therefore, monks like Senior Deacon Pavlo were thrown out of the monastery against their will.

As of the present all the senior monks and senior deacons are under arrest or deported to places from where they are unable to keep in touch with the monastery. All the property of the monastery has been confiscated and the remainder of the monks has been thrown out. Militia is posted on all the roads leading to the monastery and the pilgrims are turned back. If someone reaches the monastery by trails of backroads he is thrown into a psychiatric clinic established in the monastery inn. There these people are questioned and sometimes even tortured. Despite the persecutions and punishments, the stream of pilgrims to the Lavra is uninterrupted. This great attachment of the Ukrainian population of the whole region is the reason why the Russians have not been able to close the Pochaiv Uspenska Lavra officially.

Liquidation Of The Kyiv Pecherska Lavra

Since the 11th century the greatest sanctuary of the Ukrainian people, the Grotto Monastery *Pecherska Lavra*, which includes many churches, beautiful icons and paintings, and very many mummified relics of Saints and monks, has existed in the vicinity of Kyiv. For more than 900 years, *Pecherska Lavra* was the centre of religious life in Ukraine; it was the retreat and refuge of the Ukrainians in hard times of Ukrainian history, and ever since its erection, it has been highly respected as a place of pilgrimage for all Ukrainians. But ever since the Bolsheviks seized power in Ukraine, they have had their eyes on the extinction of *Pecherska Lavra* as a religious refuge. This they did gradually, piecemeal, as it were, in order not to provoke the most consecrated feelings of the Ukrain-

ian people too bluntly, for this could have become dangerous. First, the abbots were arrested one after the other, and the monastery grounds and the church treasures were confiscated. But the monks remained together; they formed an agricultural cooperative and cultivated the poorest soil, which was designated for their use. Eventually, however, even this soil was taken away from them, and the monks were accused of having hidden valuable church objects; most of them were arrested and deported. The rest were expelled from this district. In this way the Bolsheviks finally got rid of all the monks.

The Bolsheviks turned the Kyiv Grotto Monastery *Pecherska Lavra* into a museum, in which the holding of divine services is prohibited.

Young Generation In Uproar

Ivan Dziuba is an outstanding contemporary literary critic in Ukraine. He first appeared on the national forum in the late 50's, printing a series of reviews in periodicals and newspapers. Dziuba, 36, was born in the village of Mykolaivka, Donetsk oblast, in the Donets basin. He graduated from the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute and completed post-graduate studies at the T. Shevchenko Institute of Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. S.S.R. Afterwards, he joined the editorial board of the periodical, *Vitchyzna*, (Fatherland). In 1959, in Kyiv, a collection of his literary reviews was published in book form entitled *Zvychna liudyna chy mishchany* (Common man or bourgeois).

At that time Dziuba befriended Vasyl Symonenko, whose fame started to rise rapidly. Their friendship soon became not only personal but spiritual-ideological. Symonenko was a poet who wrote on current problems of primary national and social acuteness. He opposed despotism, totalitarianism, atheism and Russification of Ukraine. But most of all he fought Russian chauvinism and colonialism in Ukraine. Symonenko died in 1963, at the age of 28, and the causes of his death seem somewhat unusual, suggesting that, perhaps, his life was shortened by modern medical means at the disposal of the colonial over-lords...

Symonenko's diary has been published in *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York, Summer, 1966, v. 22, no. 2. An article about him appeared in *The Ukrainian Review*, London, Summer, 1965, v. 12, no. 2, written by Wolfgang Strauss. Another article by the same author was published in the same periodical, Winter, 1965, v. 12, no. 4. An extensive study by A. Bedriy, entitled *Vasyl Symonenko — Troubadour of Ukraine's Freedom* was printed in *ABN Correspondence*, Munich, January-April, v. 17., no. 1—2. Another study of Symonenko's poetry was published in the same periodical under the title: *He Had No Time to Waste*, written by Ihor Shankovsky (Nov.-Dec., 1966, v. 17, no. 6). In this article a full translation of the poem *The Prophecy of*

1917 is found. The poem, *The Obelisk of Granite* was translated by Nestor D. Procyk (*ABN Correspondence*, Aug.-Oct. 1965, v. 16, no. 4). W. Strauss also wrote on Symonenko in *ABN Correspondence* (June-July, 1965, v. 16, no. 3). A good article about him appeared in *Le Nouveau Rhin Francais*, Colmar, March 17, 1965.

The influence of Symonenko's talented verse has been growing continuously since his death. Ukraine, in 1965, was a powder keg, sizzling with national, social, cultural and economic conflicts. Moscow's henchmen were brutally suppressing every spark of Ukrainian revolutionary behavior. They arrested, tried, sentenced and deported a large number of Ukrainian literary, educational and professional people. But, of course, they were unable to crush the national phoenix, which rises again and again after temporary setbacks.

In such an atmosphere Symonenko's 30th birthday (2 years after his death) was commemorated in the capital of Ukraine. At this commemoration ceremony the upper echelons of the Russian occupational regime, the ideological, propaganda, educational and security specialists were present. Their participation was intended to check any emotional outbreak stemming from Symonenko's fiery verse.

The main speech was appropriately delivered by Ivan Dziuba. Dziuba's tremendous courage, coupled with his insight into Symonenko's ideas, are almost beyond immediate evaluation. The import of his speech should be viewed as a generalized panorama of the struggles and conflicts going on in Ukraine. We leave to the reader the task of analyzing and criticizing it.

The Ukrainian monthly, *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh* (London, Jan., 1967, v. 22, no. 226, p. 36) reported that Dziuba's speech was never published in the official press of the Ukr. S.S.R., but was copied and distributed illegally throughout Ukraine and abroad. Copies reached the Priashiv region of Czecho-Slovakia, and from there it was transmitted to Western Europe.

A few notes may be useful to the reader

on persons and works mentioned in Dziuba's speech.

Oleksander Dovzhenko (1894-1956) was the most outstanding Ukrainian movie producer. During 1918-20 he fought actively in the ranks of the Ukrainian national army. At the beginning of the 1930's he was deported to Moscow, from where he was permitted to return in 1952.

Ivan Franko (1856-1916) was one of the greatest Ukrainian novelists and scholars.

Lesia Ukrainka (1872-1913) was the great Ukrainian dramatist and poetess.

In his speech Dziuba mentioned several of Symonenko's poems. *The Thief* depicts typical Ukrainian individualism, the mentality of private ownership; moreover, it is a sharp indictment of Communist justice and economic totalitarianism. *Obituary* is a stinging satire on the utterly exploitative Soviet-Russian economic colonialism in Ukraine. In *Ballad on Happiness* Symo-

Ivan Dziuba

Speech commemorating the 30th birthday of Vasyl Symonenko, delivered January 10th, 1965, at the Republican Building of Literature in Kyiv.

December and January have passed for us under the sign of Vasyl Symonenko. On the first anniversary of his death a posthumous collection of his works "Zemne tiazhinnia" (The Earth's Gravitation) appeared. Unfortunately, not all the best poems of V. Symonenko were included in it, even though they circulate widely in manuscript copies, and the ones that were included were not always printed the way they came out from the author's pen. Nevertheless even in this shape the collection gives extraordinary material for extended discussion about the problems of our social life and our literature. Especially, if the work of Vasyl Symonenko is taken not as a unique and isolated event, but in connection with all modern, present-day poetry.

I underscore the latter not by accident. It can be foreseen that all kinds of attempts will be made to cut off Vasyl Symonenko from the whole process of creation of new values, which during the last few years has taken place in modern Ukrainian literature, and to contrast him with the rest of the young poets in order to beat them down with his name. Since it is part of our tradition to subdue the living by the dead . . . Have not those who baited Dovzhenko during his life started to use his name in their fight against all new, honest works? Have not they tried to protect with his authority the "authority" of varnishing of reality?

And now we have heard from a highly placed critic that Vasyl Symonenko is "the only mature poet among the young". It is clear why he is "the only mature poet" for that bonze: because he is dead and cannot answer that man as he

nenko gives us a picture of the very hard and unpromising economic livelihood of the Ukrainian people, as well as of the virtual slave status of the Ukrainian lower classes.

Finally, Dziuba spoke about Lina Kostenko, a talented young poetess, born in 1930.

Several weeks after Ivan Dziuba delivered his "epoch-making speech" on Vasyl Symonenko, he was arrested, tried and sentenced. Details on this trial are lacking, but at the same time mass-arrests of professionals, scholars, educators, artists, etc. took place throughout Ukraine.

There is no doubt that Symonenko's poetry and Dziuba's powerful speech reveal the independent Ukrainian national spirit, trying to free itself from the bonds of foreign domination.

A. W. Bedriy

deserves; the man is counting on such "unanswerability". But the esteemed bonze is mistaken. Let him read Symonenko's poems. There a great deal is said about him, said with annoying incisiveness. And from our side, let us remind you that those young poets whom the critic considers "immature" were the examples and inspiration for Symonenko, as he is now an example and inspiration for all of us.

No, the work of Vasyl Symonenko will not be torn apart from the living and joyous process of creation of Ukrainian literature. Only in connection with this process is it completely comprehensible, and in its turn, provides a great source for the characterizing of this process. This is not the time nor the place to speak in detail about all the problems that are stemming from it. I would only like to point out three factors, which I feel, are exceptionally instructive in this "lesson", which was given to us by Vasyl Symonenko.

First, Vasyl Symonenko started from shallow maxims but arrived at philosophical, political thought, to the creation of ideas, to poetry, as an arena for independent thinking. From the popular journalistic moralizing to the high publicism, to political lyricism of the school of Shevchenko. From simple syllogism he went to heartfelt fullness and emotional beauty. And that path is very instructive and at the same time it points out what great strength and opportunity was lost in our literature; since the majority of young poets did not start and are not starting from a lower level than did Vasyl Symonenko, and definitely have no less "spontaneous talent". Therefore, many of them could have become like Symonenko, but only a few are becoming like him. The remainder are not going up but rather down. How many, right before our eyes, have diminished in stature, have become commonplace and their talents declined! What is the cause? There are many reasons, of course, but here we will name only two.

In the first place, when a person speaks with a full voice, his voice gets stronger; but when he trains himself to whisper, that "whisper" becomes his normal tone of voice. Vasyl Symonenko courageously spoke the truth, and the truth alone made him greater and greater. A poet needs space for the "application of the energy" in order to multiply his strength. And who narrows that space for himself, who is not using his full potential, who is not straining the muscles to the limits and always, his muscles are unnoticeably becoming weaker, his strength is lessening, he is losing weight. There is a medical term called "lazy heart". Many of our poets have lazy souls, lazy consciences.

In the second place, Vasyl Symonenko was a cruelly self-critical person and never satisfied with himself as regards big and not petty things. He had too high a conception of literature, too lofty ideals and criteria to remain satisfied with what he had accomplished. When his first book appeared, everybody praised it, everybody was admiring it, but Vasyl talked about it rather ironically. He already did not like it, because he had outgrown it. Today he too was greater than yesterday, and tomorrow he would become greater than today. This valuable ability of constant self-advancement, growth, self-improvement, the desire for knowledge, cruel discipline, self-education, that is one of the good lessons of Vasyl Symonenko for us all. Speaking without exaggeration, ninety per cent of Ukrainian literary men lack these virtues. Because of that, they are not going up, but are sliding down.

Second. It is no secret that Vasyl Symonenko is most of all a poet of national idea. Anybody who will read his book, will see that it is this idea that forms a

dominant factor in his poetry. It is true, that Leonid Mykolayovych Novychenko, who at this moment is sitting behind the presidium table, assures us that the concepts, "national idea", "national consciousness" are now unlawful and illegal, anti-modern and anti-Marxist. I would advise him to tell that to the Chinese Communists, or to the Italian Communists, or the English Communists, or the Polish Communists, or for that matter to the Russian Communists. Or let him tell that to Karl Marx himself, who speaks about all those national matters, "national feeling", "national shame", especially in his correspondence. All those passages, if they were quoted now, without forewarning who said them, would have such an effect that many would have to be revived by water. Of course, national idea exists and will exist. It is real for us today and it means a concept of a fully sovereign state and cultural existence for a Ukrainian socialist nation, of a fullness and sovereignty of her national contribution towards the general cause of peace, democracy and socialism. This idea lies at the foundation of Vasyl Symonenko's poetry. It dominates it.

But this is why I am saying it: the primacy of national idea brings with it very often the danger of indifference to other ideas; in some it kills the interest towards other problems of the human spirit. There have been poets, there were even whole literary schools, that became stale and monotonous because they were forced by historical circumstances to devote themselves wholly to the national idea and they lagged in many instances behind literary schools that did not have the necessity to dwell on the primacy of the national idea. But there are precedents in history of a different kind, when the national idea does not squeeze out but catalyzes the infinity of other universal human ideas. It is the deeper interest in the national idea and the dedication to it that leads also to the secret-most depths of other social and spiritual needs. Good examples of this are to be found in Shevchenko, Franko, Lesia Ukrainka; we find them in Sandor Petöfi and Schiller. But speaking of Ukrainian literature, it has not been found in many in the past and still is not found. Symonenko belonged to those who felt a strong bond of the national idea with all the values, common to mankind, with the concepts of human dignity, honesty, and conscience; with the concept of personal and social ethics and justice. It is these very concepts of dignity, conscience, and justice that led him to the national idea, a renewed understanding of Ukraine.

Once Dostoevski inquired: "Would you agree to building world harmony upon one and only one tear of a single, innocent child?" In the same spirit we also ask: can there be "world harmony", can there be universal society, can there be justice common to mankind, the achievement of which requires the smallest injustice towards any one nation, in this case the Ukrainian nation? No, that kind of society and that kind of "harmony", established on such foundations, cannot exist. This is why the national question is bound together by thousands of tiniest threads, with the most intimate questions of the human conscience. This is why, given a high understanding of it, it can inspire also the contemporary poet with the universal meaning and pathos of self-sacrifice. These aims were achieved by Vasyl Symonenko. This is proved by both his published and unpublished works.

And finally, the *third* factor. By this I mean the moral lesson of civic ethics which was given to us by V. Symonenko.

There are epochs when the decisive battles occur in the field of social morality

and civic behaviour; when even elementary human dignity, withstanding the brutal pressure, can become a strong, rebellious, revolutionary force. In my opinion, our age belongs, to a great extent, to such epochs.

It happened historically in such a way that a great part of our problems consists in the discrepancies between word and deed, theory and practice, plans and reality, in the decline of social morality and degeneration of public life. And, correspondingly, a considerable part of our task lies in the eradication of these discrepancies and in the establishment of a high level of public activity, the raising of national-political life. But here we are handicapped by the huge and dull force of inertia, indifference and civic demoralization, which was born with the era of Stalin and is nourished today, on one hand by unrestrained official hypocrisy, and on the other hand by that melodramatic skepticism which has become a favourite and "fashionable" retreat for those who run away from difficult civic duty, who run away because of laziness, because of fear and blindness; it is fed by the miserable skepticism of the philosophizing slave who wants to fool himself and pretends that he is so enchanted with the play of paradoxes, that he is not aware of the yoke around his neck; that skepticism that with all its modern and everchanging, spicy apparel can be equated with the old wisdom of an intellectual serpent: "Fly or crawl — the end is inevitable, everyone will be buried in the ground; everyone will turn into dust."

This is why perhaps nothing today can be of greater significance than a high level of public conduct. People are not waiting for anything as much as they are waiting for the living example of heroic public conduct. People need this example because they need the assurance that even today such heroic action is possible and that today it is not fruitless, and that today, as always, "insanity of the courageous is the wisdom of life". Therefore, today, perhaps more than ever, it is possible and it is necessary to fight.

This is where the main lesson of Vasyl Symonenko is found. Personal adherence to principle, uncompromising stand and calm courage were joined in him with high and binding social consciousness; human dignity and self-respect, human honesty and conscience were to him the main prop of social life. His works reflected the rise of new self-consciousness among the Ukrainian youth, where through the layers of past ages are growing the shoots of perennial greenery and youth of human dignity, human freedom and independence, invincibility and inexhaustible human spirit "that spurs the body to the struggle", that calls one to stand by his nation and to make that the meaning of his life.

Such was the lesson given to us by Vasyl Symonenko by his works and by his whole moral and social personality. Now a question arises; can we learn the lesson ourselves? And in this respect I am personally alarmed and saddened by nothing else but our "unanimous" love of him, Vasyl Symonenko.

It appears that today Vasyl Symonenko is loved by all. He is loved by the "general public" and by high-ranking officials. He is loved by *Literaturna Ukraina*, edited as if it were a wall-newspaper of a district branch of militia, and he is loved by the doctor of philology, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Secretary of the Union of Writers of the USSR — Leonid Mykolayovych Novychenko. And all of us together love Vasyl Symonenko very much. Some are so blind in their love (or perhaps because of their humility)

that they are not aware that it is of no use for them to love him, since they did not walk the same path with Vasył during his life, they will not walk the same path after his death. And one wants to beg them: "Be big-hearted, don't love Symonenko!" But they are not such disinterested people as not to love him. They are shrewd; they will go on loving him because they know that with hatred one can only kill the living, but with love one can kill even the dead. But anyway, we should convince them that it is not in their interest to love Symonenko, because he may, even from the other world, kick up such a row yet that it would take them a long time to disown him.

At the time when they signed brave public letters to the newspapers protesting against the cutting down of Christmas Trees at the time of the New Year, Vasył Symonenko was troubled by the cutting down of other kinds of trees. And he was troubled even more by the following phenomenon: Even when nobody was cutting the tree, and it was surrounded by highly-qualified gardeners, for its cultivation funds were provided from the already overtaxed national budget, it still was withering. People passing by it wondered and said; "It seems the tree is of such poor stock that it is drying out by itself". The philosophers were explaining: "No, the tree is not bad, it has equal rights, but such is the law of history!" And at the same time, far from the human eye, under ground, the roots of the tree were undercut utilizing all the earth-digging machinery.

At the same time when they were great realists who know well what is permitted to do and what is prohibited, which is the winning side and which is the losing side, which way the famous wheel of history was ordered to turn and which way it is not permitted to turn, and they imagined the wheel to be like a windlass in the mine that is being rotated by horses blinded from going in circles, and the immediate driver as personal plenipotentiary of History itself who transmits its table of commandments by a whip; at the time of their mercenary sobriety, V. Symonenko was a hopeless Don Quixote in the words of Lesia Ukrainka. He refused to acknowledge the so-called "historical gap" as the "real gap" and demanded something impossible: "Let Americas and Russians be quiet when I am speaking with you". And it is obvious with whom he was speaking. And all this, oh, how impossible and hopeless from the point of view of the educated and all-wise sucking-pig that knows very well the laws of history and in good conscience has sucked the political wisdom from a mechanized trough. And how ironically and how nobly it will squeal when it hears, let's say, the following:

"My nation exists, my nation will always exist!

Nobody will scratch out my nation!

All renegades and strays will disappear,

And so will the hordes of conquerors-invaders!

You, bastards of satanical hangmen,

Don't forget, degenerates, anywhere:

My nation exists! In its hot veins

The Cossack blood is pulsing and humming".

The authorities are not used to such words. Also our easily frightened patriots are not used to them.

At the time when they were reassuring us that the most sacred civic faith was the belief in Shchedrin-type town governors, and the greatest act of public wisdom

was to stand before them at attention, Vasyl Symonenko wrote otherwise:

“Tremble, murderers! Think, toadies!
Life does not fit upon your last . . .”

At the time when they were praising and entertaining themselves with novels on the occasion of each consecutive “measure” that should have, very shortly, made the collective farm workers very happy, but for some reason turned out to be sclerotic, V. Symonenko wrote his “Thief” and “Obituary” to the maize cob that died at the central storage point.

We have a category of poets who are swaggering about their peasant background and on those grounds consider themselves great “moujik democrats”. They make it their duty “to glorify common working people” with all kinds of clever verbiage. One will call the poor collective farm worker, Prometheus; one will name him Hercules, and another one will find a dozen of Antaei in his village. And at the same time they are very proud of their noble-mindedness, as if saying: Look, how well we are able to give honour to the people. But the fact that those Antaei and Promethei were getting meagre pennies for their work, had no right to a pension, and have no passports to the present day, did not disturb the people’s lovers and they did not care whether the people wanted these empty, and lavishly paid for “respects”, or whether the people wanted something else.

These matters were understood in a different way by Vasyl Symonenko, when he wrote his “Ballad on Happiness”.

At the time when a certain “good man” in the Kremlin officially divided creative intelligentsia into “clean” and “unclean”, and in fulfilment of this sinister joke the literary janissaries threw themselves into the task of perfecting the lists, who should go to paradise and who should go to hell, V. Symonenko wrote the poem “Punishment” — about the happiness to be thrown out of paradise.

No matter how long one would continue the comparisons, it is clear that not only all parallel lines will never cross one another, but a straight and a curved line will never cross. Of course, it does not mean that the curved line cannot become a straight line. This does not mean that someone has a right to love Symonenko and someone else does not have that right. Not at all. But V. Symonenko is not an opera tenor who for his performance could be applauded by all, with the same excitement and without “consequences” to their conduct, from a philosopher to the embezzler of public property. V. Symonenko was poet of a definite idea, and he who declares his love of him thereby takes upon himself definite obligations. It is completely proper not to profess Symonenko. But it is improper to shed tears over Symonenko today while tomorrow those same tears from those same eyes splash on the denunciation of Lina Kostenko, composed with a heavy heart for *Literaturna Ukraïna*. It is improper to say today that one has been moved by Symonenko’s book, while tomorrow the same person, as he did yesterday, will sniff out and bait Symonenko’s principles in Ukrainian literature: will project one’s subjective fear as an objective law of nature and demand the same from others, using one’s position, authority, and knowledge not for the support of honest trends in literature but in order to throw a flair of intellectuality on one’s very mercenary functions of a literary guard.

In short, such people should be told: you are pouring tears over Symonenko, you assure us that you love him, then learn from him to be human, and not the informers and hypocrites about whom Shevchenko said:

“Oh, vain and cursed breed,
When will you perish?” . . .

New Statesman

London, 16 Dec. 1966

WRITERS IN REVOLT

(Excerpt)

A significant case earlier this year was that of the Ukrainian writer Ivan Svetlichny and the critic Ivan Dziuba. They were accused of smuggling out to the West a number of poems by Vasyl Symonenko, who died not long ago. He had attacked the political muzzling of Soviet writers and deplored the social conditions of Ukrainian peasants. This case came to an inconclusive end, but Dziuba was later found ‘undergoing treatment’ at a police hospital. Probably as a result of protests, he has been released, but will not be able to resume his literary work.

LETTER TO THE HOLY FATHER

January 27, 1967

His Holiness Pope Paul VI, Vatican

Your Holiness:

With great sadness and deep grief we received the news of the private audience which Your Holiness will grant to the highest representative of godless bolshevik dictatorship, which persecutes millions of the believers in God, especially Christians, in a manner worse than Diocletian and Nero, which has destroyed in the past and is still destroying thousands of priests, millions of innocent children, women and elders, even more — whole nations because of their faith and the desire for freedom.

Our churches are systematically ruined; our brothers and sisters are still persecuted because of their belief in Christ. Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Auto-cefalous Churches, in order to exist, had to go into the present-day catacombs. In the like manner, the Communist tyrants are persecuting Christian as well as other Churches in the enslaved nations.

When Your Holiness will shake the hand of a mass-murderer and a persecutor of the Christians the world will become poorer because it has lost the bastion and the standard bearer of the ideological, uncompromising struggle against genocide, human hatred and against the kingdom of the anti-Christ.

We, the militant Christians, on this and on that side of the Iron Curtain awaited a word of encouragement and confirmation from Your Holiness in our holy war for the Kingdom of God on earth, for the Fatherland, for the freedom and dignity of the human being created in the image and likeness of God. Our people thirst for peace, but peace and freedom in justice, God’s peace, which if necessary, has to be won by sword.

We will never extend our hand towards godless tyrants and warring atheists.

We beg Your Holiness to receive our sincere words, in a fatherly way. In humility we pray to Our Lord to make our persecuted nations victorious in this struggle against the anti-Christ, and we beg to include our suffering martyred nations in the most somber prayers of Your Holiness.

In the name of the militant Christians in the enslaved nations

We remain devoted to Your Holiness in Christ

*Ctibor Pokorny, Chairman of the
Organization Commission of ABN*

*Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the
Central Committee of ABN*

A BIG DECEPTION

WHO IS THE MAIN ENEMY?

A big deception is taking place before our eyes!

The riotous "Red Guard", consisting of Chinese rowdies, is shocking the world, while suddenly and unexpectedly, the main enemy appears to be disappearing from the scene. Nonetheless, it is this very enemy, which has presently fallen into the background, that possesses the most modern weapons, i e., nuclear weapons; the most dangerous long-range rockets and an army perfectly equipped with conventional arms. It is precisely this enemy, moreover, that holds sway over a whole pack of satellite tyrants, and has the most consolidated and strongest Communist Party in the world. Suddenly and unexpectedly, however, the whole world seems to have forgotten the former danger of a world war, a nuclear war, which has already threatened the world with total annihilation several times, notably during the Cuban crisis. Quite suddenly and unexpectedly, the whole world seems to have forgotten the strengthening of Russian influence in Africa, Asia and South America and the complications in Berlin. Forgotten is Berlin, 1953; Budapest, 1956; forgotten are the bloodily suppressed revolts of the Ukrainian political prisoners in Russian concentration camps, the mass strikes and riots in the cities and industrial centres of Ukraine, with the mass murder of thousands of demonstrators in Novocherkask — all of which took place between 1953-66. Quite suddenly, the latent threat of the Russian empire has disappeared from the scene; at a time, namely, that the Vietcong is receiving its main, real support from Moscow, while Peking continues to make empty declarations of help. They are Russian ground-to-air missiles that are bringing down US planes in Vietnam, while Peking is losing one card after the other on the international plane. Let us but recall

India, Indonesia, Africa and Latin America, and on the other hand, let us point out that during the 23rd Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the head of the North Vietnamese Communist Party delegation declared, that for the North Vietnamese Communists, the USSR was the second fatherland.

It begins to appear as if the official Western world no longer knows what it is about; or, to put it another way, is behaving in an irresponsible way. According to the West, Red China is supposed to be the main enemy — this Red China that is industrially undeveloped, and which, in the event of a war, would not be in a position to offer the United States serious resistance, if National China (Chiang Kai-shek) were taken into consideration and Red China's real inability to face the US, provided the US pursues a sensible liberation policy.

But let us put these considerations aside for a moment and turn our attention to the not-very-distant past. It will become apparent that there is a parallel between the present situation and the situation of 1939.

Without change, the strategists and organizers of revolutions are sitting in the Kremlin, namely, those who plan and implement the conditions of revolution in the so-called cold and so-called hot wars, as well as peripheral, civil, "national and anti-colonial" wars. This staff of strategists and organizers does not change its character, no matter how many heads fall, whether that of a Beria, a Malenkov, Bulganin, Molotov, Zhukov, Khrushchov, or even that of a Prezhnev.

Before continuing, permit me to make one further obvious comparison: the difference between Moscow and Peking is only a question of *How* (and not whether) the freedom-loving world — as they call it, the "bourgeois world" — is to be buried most quickly.

Now, let us recall the year 1938, that is to say, the year that Moscow, realising the inevitability of war, began to flirt with Berlin. The Russian plan was clear: the axis powers were to shed their blood against the Allies as long as possible, while Moscow, laughing up its sleeve, would know how to make the best of the situation when the time came. By signing a non-aggression pact with Germany in August 1939, Stalin prompted Hitler to come forward against England. For two years England and Germany shed their blood in war, while Moscow, without firing a shot, stepped forth and "cashiered" entire countries in East Europe as its booty.

In 1941, when Germany began its preventive war against Russia, anticipating Stalin by two or three months, it became clear that Moscow was now planning to play its English card. In 1939, Moscow did not want to open its hand with this card, for the simple reason that England had refused to consent to the occupation of the Baltic countries.

As a result of its alliance with the Allies and as a result of Roosevelt's betrayal of European and Asian nations, Moscow won World War II politically, and took almost the half of Europe as its spoils. Hard upon these conquests, Moscow imposed its concepts and its system on the Chinese mainland and on other freedom-loving countries of Asia.

Already during the last war, the Russian fifth columnists obtained secrets of the new weapon from the Allies. A further weakening of the West was brought about by the betrayal of atomic secrets by Fuchs and Rosenberg, and by Hiss and White. Hard upon the ending of military action against Germany and Japan, Moscow began the Cold War against the West, completely reshaping its methods in terms of modern warfare in the atomic and ideological epoch.

How does this situation compare with the present?

Is there really a "yellow" danger?

Relentlessly, it is impressed upon us that a "yellow danger" threatens the world; in short, the white race must guard itself against being swamped by the yellow race. This is a well-known, threadbare phrase, which stems from Kaiser Wilhelm II. According to this thesis, necessity apparently forces us to join hands with the Russian empire against Red China to save the white race. Those who preach this thesis, however, refuse to see that East Germany, Poland, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Georgia, Turkestan, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and other countries, are not under Red China, but under the heel of Russia. Suddenly, we are to defend ourselves against the enemy of tomorrow, who does not even stand before our gate, while the enemy of today is to be forgotten. But that's not the worst of it: we are not supposed to fight today's enemy, not to make his position more difficult. In view of the danger which allegedly threatens the Russian empire, we are to consolidate the Russian bloc through diplomatic action with Moscow, in order, then, to save ourselves from Red China. Hundreds of commissioned and non-commissioned books appear, in which the "Red-yellow Chinese danger" is painted in the blackest colours, with the intent of winning friends for Russia by representing her in pure colours, in order that — God forbid! — her empire will not go to pieces. It must be saved immediately, for by saving it, the world will be saved from the Red-yellow avalanche. It is even possible that the cunning Russians have persuaded President Johnson to take this view, so that, now, it is even thinkable that he really does have a secret understanding with Moscow not to attack Russia, but China, which is to be destroyed as the "common enemy". In the meantime, the Moscow bosses are laughing up their sleeves at the naiveté of men such as Ros-

tov, Mehnert, Rusk, Kennan and Lippmann.

Doesn't this remind us of the non-aggression pact between Stalin and Hitler, concluded in 1939? Prompted by that cunning Khrushchov, and later Kosygin, Kennedy and later Johnson committed themselves more and more to fight the "yellow peril" in its Red garb, in which Moscow was allegedly neutral.

Increasingly the United States is being drawn onto the Red-Chinese front, thus weakening its European front, which is becoming more and more accessible to an attack from Moscow. Moscow is very much interested in seeing the US become engaged in military conflicts against Red China, and even more, in seeing it get entangled in far-off peripheral wars, with which it will not be able to cope. The reason that the United States cannot win is to be sought in the fact that the US does not understand the essence of the *Ideological Epoch*, the essence, that is to say, of modern warfare: which means, to rely on national liberation revolutions, on the strategy of revolt, on the explosion of the Russian empire and the Communist regime from within, on the destruction of the prison of nations and partition into independent, national states, as well as on the destruction of Communism from within and in its roots.

Otherwise, at the decisive moment, Moscow will come to the aid of Red China, just as it presently comes to the aid of Ho Chi Minh, and together, both will try to defeat America, which will have been weakened by the Chinese masses. In the event that the United States should risk an atomic war against China, then Moscow, at the most unexpected moment, will set an atomic war against America in motion. And once again, the maxim — when two are at each others throat, a third party is profiting — will be confirmed. In this case, Moscow. Moscow has a far-reaching strategic plan, which is not in the least bit connected with the winning of future Congressional elections. Moscow's strategy is primarily concerned with — as Khrushchov put it and Mao re-

peated it literally — burying us. It appears tragicomical when the State Department will appeal to Moscow with the request to intervene in the fight for Vietnam.

He is greatly deceived who is of the opinion that Moscow fears a swamping of Russia by Red China. Red China can expand to the south and south-east; it does not necessarily have to expand to the east or north. Southeast Asia and Indonesia are far less populated than China. From these vantage points the Chinese could push forward to Australia, New Guinea and New Zealand, since, though as large as China geographically, these three areas together have a population of ca. 15 million only.

After they have built up their atomic weapons, the Red Chinese can begin a conventional war in Southeast Asia. This will draw the West into war and cause Russia to join hands with Peking. There would be another possibility in the event that Peking should come into the possession of hydrogen bombs. As Mao publicly stated, China can risk the loss of 100 million people, for, in view of the fact that she reckons with a population of one and a half billion by the year 2000, this would not constitute such a great loss for her. A criminal type like Mao is not at all humanly moved by the idea of annihilating the population of the West, with Moscow as his co-helper. The catastrophic consequences of the radioactive rays of the hydrogen bomb, the after effects of which will last for decades, leave him cold. Moscow of course is well aware of all this. But Moscow is playing for big stakes and its moves have been winning up to now. The trouble is that the West doesn't see it. The official West's anti-Russian front is already inactive. Public opinion is already being prepared for the collaboration of the West with Russia against the "common enemy". It wasn't until a few years later that Churchill realised that "we slaughtered the wrong pig" — Hitler instead of Stalin, in other words. By this he did not want to say that he should have joined an alliance with Hitler against Stalin; he merely wanted to stress the greater danger of Moscow for the

Free World; with a sensible Allied policy, Berlin would not have had a chance to win, even if it had been in the same camp with Stalin. In any case Stalin was by no means so naive to join hands with Hitler in an armed fight, for he perceived immediately that Hitler was fighting a losing battle.

In view of the alleged Red Chinese danger, the anti-Russian front in the West is being gradually dismantled. Even a politician like Adenauer has lost his head, when he maintains that Moscow has become peace-loving. And de Gaulle has lost his political bearings altogether, insofar as he vacillates between Moscow and Peking, and owing to his resentment against America, absurdly recommends a direct capitulation to the Vietcong.

Epoch of national revolutions and civil wars

The main error of the West lies in the fact that its leading men have not grasped the essence of the epoch in which we are living: this epoch of national revolutions and civil wars, of insurgent strategy — not massive, armed-technical attack. In this atomic era there are really only two possibilities: complete destruction or “primitive” warfare — the former is based on technical-military methods of warfare, including atomic weapons, raised to its highest potential (methods, in short, which belong to the complex of older warfare); the latter is based on the modern methods of the new epoch, namely, liberation wars and insurgent revolutions from within (cf. Vietnam; Hungary, 1956; East Zone of Germany, 1953; revolts of Ukrainian political prisoners in concentration camps, 1953-59; mass street clashes in Ukraine, 1959-66). The second possibility aims at victory without the use of atomic weapons.

I do not want to compare the British people, whose cultural and well-known moral principles I respect, with the Russians. But it is worthy of note that even without revolution, and in any case without

precipitating any world-crisis worth mentioning, let its empire disappear, when the pressure of centrifugal forces became invincible. France gave up Indo-China and Algeria, and even if France had had atomic weapons, it would not have used them against the rebellious Algerians and Vietnamese, for the simple reason that atomic weapons are double-edged swords. Moscow, for instance, could not have employed atomic weapons against the Hungarian revolutionaries, or against the Ukrainian or Turkestanian revolutionaries, for Moscow itself would have been ruined by radioactive fallout. This is precisely the saving grace of these weapons: they can also turn against those who produce and employ them. Dismissing the suggestion of an unconditional surrender — this absurdity which was hatched out by the confused Roosevelt — there is still one possibility of averting an atomic war. If the demand were made that the Russians must confine themselves within their own ethnographic boundaries, where they can live their own way of life but will not be allowed to occupy foreign countries, then it is also conceivable that they would not at all necessarily have to employ atomic weapons. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that non-Russians, who are also in charge of atomic weapons, constitute the majority in the Soviet army. In the rocket department, this is precisely the case: the Russians are too stupid to operate these complicated weapons, so that they have to be operated by the far more intelligent Georgians or Ukrainians.

I am well aware of the fact that our independence can only be achieved by a bloody clash with the Russian nation, but I am also convinced that this will take place without the use of atomic weapons, for the simple reason that an atomic war would be suicide for the Russians themselves. In the Soviet army, not only Russians are in control of atomic weapons. In the event that a Russian would drop a hydrogen bomb on Kyiv, a Ukrainian will also be found who will drop a hydrogen bomb on Moscow. Even if the latter would not take place, the radioactive fallout would

not only seek out Ukrainians and come to a halt at the Ukrainian border. In short, the Russians are not immune to radioactive fallout. When the Russians boast that they dominate and overpopulate our cities, then it is to be assumed that an atomic bomb will find them in our cities also.

Four hundred thousand American soldiers cannot cope with the Vietcong. We pose the question: Wouldn't the Americans have to admit, that in the event of the outbreak of simultaneous revolutions in Ukraine and the other subjugated countries, the Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples with American support (just as the Russians are presently supporting the Vietcong), would defeat the Russians? It goes without saying that if the Americans had not guaranteed the Russian occupiers a status quo in Hungary, in October, 1956, but had come to the aid of the Hungarians, the revolution would have been a success. *The solution to the Vietnam problem is not to be sought in Vietnam, but in Ukraine*, in the national freedom revolutions in the Russian empire, and in the national-social revolution on the Chinese Mainland, ignited by the landing of troops from Free China; moreover, in the escalation of the liberation war and the liberation revolution to North Vietnam and to North Korea, in revolutions against the tyrants located there. This is the way to victory, and not the fight for the 17th parallel in Vietnam and the 38th parallel in Korea, or for the preservation of the Berlin Wall. Not the fight to maintain the status quo. Ideas are not subject to duty. Ideas do not stop at any border. The idea of the unity, indivisibility of the nation cannot be destroyed by foreign power. The goal which Ho Chi Minh has set, fascinates even a part of the South Vietnamese, who desire an all-united, independent "anti-Communist" Vietnam; whereas, the Americans offer them only a piece of the living nation. One cannot win, when one does not have the will to win; one cannot win, when one fights only for partial goals, which are in contradiction to the conception of united totality of the nation, and, in some cases, even to sovereignty. Incidentally, I sometimes

ask myself, seeing that some Western circles have already been of the opinion for years that the "yellow danger" is so dreadful, why haven't National Chinese troops been allowed to land on the Chinese Mainland and to open a front against the Red Chinese army? We have incontestable proof that the majority of the Chinese people is for a National Chinese government, as was proved by the 12,000 Chinese who went over to the side of National Korea, when they perceived that the National Chinese were supporting National Korea during the Korean war. In this connection let us recall that year for year, National China celebrates January 23rd as *Freedom Day*, precisely in honour of these fighters of the Red Chinese army who chose freedom.

If it is really the desire of some official Western circles to liquidate Communism in China and if they really fear the "Red-yellow danger", then, I ask, why didn't they allow General MacArthur to deliver a blow against the Red Chinese in the interior of the country? Failure to do so, was merely aiding the Korean Communists!

Furthermore, I ask, if these circles believe in a serious, long-lasting Russian-Red-Chinese feud, then why were they afraid to exploit the numerous opportunities which offered themselves to liquidate Communism in China — an act, as they say, which would have afforded Moscow the greatest pleasure. If, in their opinion, Moscow has become the deadly enemy of Peking, then there was no reason to fear an atomic intervention on the part of Moscow, which, to repeat, would have been most happy to see Mao's regime, which is allegedly Moscow's deadly enemy, liquidated. If the China lobbyists in the State Department really have such a fear of Mao, then, one is inclined to ask, why don't they support Chiang Kai-shek, instead of having General Marshall issue an ultimatum to negotiate with Mao (which was ideologically prepared by the Communist Latimore), in which the State Department "proves" that Mao is a completely innocent, agrarian reformer, just like Fidel Castro.

Why did General Marshall harass Chiang Kai-shek with requests to open negotiations with Mao, whereby the disintegration of the army was stepped up and a "people's front" was created. When Chiang Kai-shek finally realised how matters stood and broke off negotiations, it was too late; the army was already disintegrating and the generals had been partially corrupted, by the Americans and the Communists. The blame for Mao's victory cannot be put merely on the "Mandarins"; General Marshall, together with Latimore, were just as responsible. And how is the transfer of Japanese weapons to Mao's army, after Japan's capitulation in Manchuria to be explained?!

Misjudgments, or a conscious striving to bury the West?

When one views the following in retrospect - the development of world events; the true character of the present world situation; the "misjudgments" of the American CIA with respect to their appraisal of Castro and the failure of the hapless, courageous Cuban revolutionaries in the Bay of Pigs, who were deserted into the hands of that cannibal Castro, and finally the withdrawal of military support for the revolutionaries by the weeping Kennedy — when one takes all these factors into consideration, then one feels compelled to ask himself, whether anyone in America is really concerned about the victory of Communism and the burial of America?! The "misjudgments" occur too frequently! And the "misjudgment" of the murder of President Diem, the consequences of which any schoolboy would have been able to foresee? In this connection we must point out that Diem put Vietnam in order and was carrying on a victorious fight against the Vietcong. When we were in Vietnam during Diem's rule, we traveled to Dalat without police protection, and now the US ambas-

sador, Lodge, can't even walk out of his palace without police protection!

Something is rotten here. Someone dearly wishes and is preparing for America's defeat. The alarm must be sounded. We fully support President Johnson's strong hand policy in Vietnam, but we ask why Diem was not given this kind of support, instead of being liquidated? We are not, however, in agreement with President Johnson's aims, which are so limited that they cannot possibly lead to victory. President Johnson exclusively pursues only those American objectives, which are determined by Rostov and Kennan according to their judgment, but neither Vietnam's, nor our objectives are taken into consideration, notwithstanding the fact that the war is being fought for Vietnam and for some other higher purposes. The State Department is fighting for a permanent fixation of the division of the world into two camps — a fight which neither furthers our aims, nor does it serve the purpose of the freedom-loving forces of the world. These are merely the aims of certain circles in the United States and for the present also in Moscow.

At the same time Moscow is enlarging its sphere of influence in other ways and by other means, i. e., modern warfare means civil wars, peripheral wars, Communist Parties on the spot, satellite governments, divided nations, neutrality, African pseudo-nationalism, "anti-colonial" and pacifistic movements, various kinds of partisan warfare and the use of various other kinds of combat formations. In this way Moscow places the West under continuous pressure, without, however, creating a direct provocation, a direct *casus belli*, which, from historical experience, we know to be the only means of causing Western nations to take up arms against the main enemy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that one has reservations about US aims in Vietnam. The United States should not only pursue its own aims, but should also take the interests of the subjugated peoples into consideration. We, and all liberal-minded and noble forces in the world, are by no means

bound by Yalta, Teheran, Potsdam or Casablanca. We are for the integral freedom and national independence of all the nations subjugated by Moscow and Communism. The United States is merely for the preservation of the status quo. Hence, there is a principal disagreement between us and the State Department. On the other hand, a complete agreement exists between our liberation conception and the US Congress resolution on the enslaved nations and their liberation (Public Law 86-90/1959). The State Department completely disregards this law of the American Congress.

In the question of policy with respect to Russia and Red China, there are also great differences of opinion between us and President de Gaulle, who, as far as French policies with Moscow and Peking are concerned, also makes basic mistakes, which sometimes appear to be dictated more by his emotional attitude towards the United States than by a rational, political analysis of the situation. It may well be that General de Gaulle does not agree with President Johnson, but to flirt with tyrants and mass-murderers over the head of a freedom-loving state, which has done so much for the victory and liberation of France, appears to me to be ungrateful. We by no means approve of President Johnson's policies with respect to the Russian empire and regard them as catastrophic for the United States itself and for the Free World; but we would never think of comparing this leader of the freedom-loving American nation with the tyrants Kosygin, Brezhnev and Shelepin, or Mao. In the shadow of the American sword, at least France, as well as West Germany, can eat their bread in peace, and drink beer and champagne . .

President de Gaulle's attitude with respect to Vietnam is not in the cause of freedom, when he demands that American troops be withdrawn, but does not demand that Soviet rockets be taken away from North Vietnam and Ho Chi-Minh's troops from South Vietnam.

Everything has its limits. De Gaulle's position promotes the aims of the Communists and not those of the Free World. If General de Gaulle is really interested in

putting a stop to the war, even at the 17th parallel, then he must exercise pressure, not on the United States, but on Ho Chi-Minh, Mao and Kosygin. For years President Johnson has been calling for negotiations, but Ho Chi-Minh always refuses to negotiate. Does de Gaulle want to see the capitulation of the United States, the capitulation of freedom? With his speech in Cambodia and elsewhere de Gaulle did not serve the cause of freedom, but a cause inimical to the Occident, namely, Communism. De Gaulle's blind hatred of the United States, owing to the insult he received at Roosevelt's hands, should not be pushed so far by a statesman that he can no longer distinguish between the cause of freedom and his own resentment. We recognize the national aspect of de Gaulle's policies, which we have already singled out earlier, and we do not want to withdraw anything of what we said.

In all likelihood we will have to cross swords with the State Department, where our friends are by no means sitting, many times in the future. But this will never give us cause to place the freedom-loving leaders of the United States, like Johnson and Eisenhower, notwithstanding all their faults, in the same boat with tyrants like Brezhnev, Shelepin or Mao.



AFABN Celebrating Captive Nations Week in New York, in July, 1966.

Courage To Capitulate

It is impossible to avoid being satirical, yet we cannot merely remain silent about the unbelievable events taking place all around us. There was a time in the past when political groups within a given country would unite to form a coalition government with the prime purpose of resisting and above all DEFEATING the enemy. It has never been the aim of spiritually great nations to unite in order to capitulate! At present, however, this is precisely the shocking situation we are witnessing — union for capitulation!

We are not out to protect the interests of Germany, but are concerned primarily with the fight against Bolshevism, the fight against Russian imperialism; and it is from this point of view that we evaluate the present German politics. Comments in the world press, especially that of Germany, and other mass media on the likely policy of the newly formed coalition government in Germany have caused us to take an opposite standpoint, a position which we think should have been accepted by Germans and other freedom-loving nations as well. We are not particularly interested in Germany, yet it serves as an example of the West's READINESS to capitulate. What then is the point? When the coalition government was first formed in Germany, all media influencing public opinion cried in unison: "The two united parties — Christian Democrats and Socialists — together will have greater courage to capitulate before Moscow than either has on its own." This means to recognize the colony of Russia, the so-called GDR (German Democratic Republic), as a state, to form diplomatic ties with all the satellites of Moscow recognizing the GDR as an independent state and a great many other things.

It is not our purpose to enumerate the terms of the capitulation 'treaty', but rather to consider the outlook of the freedom-loving world and its cries of capitulation 'together', by a collective effort, by the "undaunted" decision of the crowd, the mass, the mob.

Contrary to 99% of the world's press, we favour the opposite course of action. It is that course taken by Churchill, who according to old Anglo-Saxon tradition, mobilized his country not for capitulation but for victory. He formed a coalition government which was to lead to victory and proclaimed to his nation: "I promise you only sweat, tears and blood, but we shall be victorious".

The present situation in Germany, entirely different from that of Britain under Churchill, did not arise purely by accident, for is the position of Washington in Vietnam any different? President Johnson desires the support of both political parties, not for an unscrupulous battle against tyranny but for making arrangements and compromises with tyranny.

In order to stifle the voices of opposition to capitulation, the decadent forces of the world encourage everyone, *en masse*, to follow them: "Let us capitulate together; we shall silence those that protest with cries of "Fascist", "war-monger", "new McCarthys" and "MacArthurs".

Why, then, is there not one voice to speak out for a policy diametrically opposed to those of the past, a policy of unconditional opposition to the pressures of Moscow and to the powers preaching coexistence and capitulation? Policies politically supporting freedom movements, policies supporting a world-wide antibolshevik front, policies actively supporting the realization of freedom for

the oppressed nations. A policy along these lines was accepted by the U.S. Congress (Captive Nations Week Resolution), but not in the German Parliament. If it were adopted by the German Government it would place the U.S. Executive in a difficult position, exposing its tendency to attach little importance to acts passed by its own Congress. Germany, however, could utilize the act of the U.S. Congress as backing to avoid the risk of being called "war-mongers" should it accept the policies listed above. Moreover, France should be encouraged to end its game with Moscow in return for all-inclusive armament of Western Europe, thereby uniting French political wisdom with German economic potentiality and organization. Also France should be compelled to allow entry of Britain, with its art of politics making it at one time the world's greatest empire, into the European Common Market in order that Britain too may aid in mobilizing the powers of free Europe with eyes turned towards the suppressed nations for they remain the key to present world strife. Moscow is fighting to retain them within its yoke and to add still others to its empire. Washington may remain silent about them, yet the shadow of the oppressed nations falls on the world, for they, as was indicated in the resolution put forth by the ABN in Korea, provide economy, technology and, saddest of all, human energy for future domination of the world by the tyranny of Moscow. The situation in Vietnam is in no way different.

Wishes for the new German Government from the Occident flow in unison with those from the world of tyranny: now finally Germany can capitulate with no blame placed on one or the other party, for now both are in one pot! This unbelievable situation goes so far that not one voice is heard to ask — does the road to freedom lie in capitulation? How many times has the West made concessions to Russia and still failed? Russia understands only one language, the language of force! At present the West hopes to win using the language of appeasement and breakneck concessions. This can never achieve the desired result, but the world appears too dazed to recognize this fact and any sobering voice raised in protest is ignored. *Quo vadis*, Occident?

Yet I shall never stop repeating the unchangeable truth: Russia must be destroyed!

And I shall never stop repeating the eternal truth of the warriors: only an uncompromising struggle with Russia will lead to victory. I shall never stop repeating the world-wide call of victory: "Kyiv against Moscow!" — the BASIC CONCEPT of the struggle of the world of good against the world of evil, "St. Sophia against the Kremlin!" the battle cry of victory!

Z. K.

Hoc signo vinces!

FREEDOM FOR HUNGARY

From the Declaration by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation in the name of the free Hungarians living in Great Britain on the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution.

The subjugated nations keep asking the free world: how long will it continue to ignore the presence and build-up of Soviet armed strength in the heart of Europe? For more is involved than Communist police states and blundering mismanagement imposed on ancient European nations who deserve better. The situation is as appalling as it is a source of danger. The Western powers cannot

escape their responsibility, both morally, as well as under international law. Their signatures under the Yalta Declaration on Freedom for the Liberated Nations or under the Peace Treaties which guarantee human and political freedom for the nations concerned, their votes cast in the General Assembly of the United Nations for the restoration of freedom to Hungary, oblige them to seek the implementation of those pledges!

Hungarians today can only reiterate the principal demands expressed during the revolution ten years ago:

1. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.
2. The immediate release from prison or detention of all political prisoners held in Hungary or the Soviet Union.
3. The internationally guaranteed right for the people of Hungary to choose for itself, by means of free elections, the system of government under which it wishes to live.

There can be no double standards in world politics. International order, if it is to secure genuine peace, must be in harmony with Divine Law; moral obligations cannot be disregarded, otherwise peace will have been built on the shifting sands of opportunism and expediency.

No power can ever buy its own security at the price of bartering away the freedom of other countries in the vain hope of a lasting agreement with that centre of world Communism, Moscow, which is still striving for world mastery. East and Central Europe, now subjected to Soviet domination, is at least as important an area for the defence of the free world as South-East Asia. Governments which ignore this fact only deceive themselves and their own peoples.

Hungary is daily giving the answer to those who claim that the Communist regime has become so much more acceptable. The Hungarian nation is expressing its feelings in a tragic form of passive resistance.

Hungarians only demand such rights as are enjoyed by any free nation, old or newly emerging ones. That is the right to live in its own way and according to its own freely expressed will. Surely, such a demand does not endanger world peace. Only the denial of national freedom may do so. The suppression of Hungary's freedom led to a violent eruption in October 1956. The embers of discontent are glowing in the ashes. The surface is quiet but the rumblings of bitterness are clearly audible in Hungary as well as in other East-European countries under Soviet-Communist domination.

In honour of the sacred memory of those thousands of Hungarians who gave their lives not only for their own but also *your* freedom ten years ago, we ask all Governments in the free world, we appeal to everyone who values his nation's and his own freedom: spare no effort to restore to Hungary its liberty and rightful place in Europe! This is as much in the interests of the free world as it is its debt of honour to a nation which has always defended its European heritage. The people of Hungary did so in 1956 when it fought for its own freedom as well as for Western civilization and earned for itself a place of honour in the community of free European nations!

We appeal to you to support our demand for

FREEDOM FOR HUNGARY!

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

Lenin viewed many nations only as potential economic colonies and had no intention of allowing them to organize their own independent life. He said: "... the civil war cut us off from grain districts like Siberia, the Caucasus and the whole of Ukraine..." (82)

Richard Pipes commented:

Moscow had never given up its claim to Transcaucasia, and on a number of occasions had made it clear that it regarded the separation of that area only as temporary. The importance of the Caucasus for Russia was, in the first place, economic. A book published by the Soviet State Publishing House in 1921 on The Caucasus and Its Significance for Soviet Russia pointed out that this region had provided pre-revolutionary Russia with two-thirds of its oil, three-fourths of its manganese, one-fourth of its copper, and much of its lead.

Lenin admitted the actual Russian conquest of other nations, and did not claim that these nations accepted the Soviet forms of government and aligned themselves with Russia of their own will: "Wide territories have been conquered in Siberia and Ukraine, where there is no proletariat like the proletariat of Moscow, Petrograd and Ivanovo-Voznesensk..." (83) One Russian observer described the policy of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan as "feudal exploitation of the broad masses of the native population by the Russian Red Army man, colonist, and official." (84) Lenin recognized Russia's need of Turkestan simply as a source of cotton: "The only source of supply is Turkestan, which was only recently conquered from the White Guards..." (85) Summarizing the Bolshevik policy toward the Moslem nationalities of the former tsarist empire, Richard Pipes said:

The Revolution, therefore, brought to the Moslem areas not the abolition of colonial-

ism, but colonialism in a new and much more oppressive form... The classes which in Russia proper constituted the lower orders of society, formed in the eastern borderlands a privileged order, which itself was engaged in exploitation and oppression. (86)

Lenin also confirmed that the Caucasian "Soviet Republics" were organized with political and military support from the Russians: "The Soviet Republics of the Caucasus obtained political and, to a small extent, military assistance from the R.S.F. S.R." (87) He understated the facts, however, because these republics were created not only with Russian support but they were the exclusive product of the Russians, for the absolute majority of the population in the Caucasus opposed Bolshevism. Hugh Seton-Watson wrote on this question:

In Azerbaijan, where the Moslem population was very hostile to the Bolsheviks, and their support came from the Russian or Armenian workers of Baku, Soviet policy had to some extent the character of russification... Georgia was ruled by Georgian puppets appointed in Moscow... exponents of Bolshevism in the Moslem areas were mostly Russians, and the policy carried out in the name of the Communist Party was a policy which favoured the Russian minorities at the expense of the Moslem majorities. (88)

This eminent scholar continued:

... a Communist regime was not chosen by the non-Russian nations, European or Asian, Christian or Moslem, but was imposed on them by the superior force of the Russian state, which was in Communist hands. (89)

The sovietization of the Caucasus and Northern Asia, in other words, was identical with russification or — in still plainer

language — it was Russian imperialism. The best argument for Seton-Watson's conclusion is supplied by none other than Lenin himself:

The war which we won on the military front must be followed by a bloodless war. The situation is, that the more we were victorious, the more there proved to be such regions as Siberia, Ukraine and the Kuban. In those regions the peasants are rich, and there are no proletarians, and if there is a proletariat, it is corrupted by petty-bourgeois habits. (90)

He admitted not only that whole peoples were hostile to Bolshevism and that the only tool of the Bolsheviks were the Russian people, but also spoke of the nations in the contemptuous manner of reactionary tsarist style, calling them 'regions'. (Under the tsars subjugated nations were divided into gubernias, administrative provinces, without indicating the existence of separate nations.) On another occasion he indirectly confirmed that in all the non-Russian countries a national resistance was active against the new aggressor, and even confessed that the proletariat of those nations was nationally-conscious rather than internationally class-conscious, thus aligning itself on the side of their own national forces. To quote his own words on this subject:

The more of Siberia, the Kuban and Ukraine we conquered, with their peasant population, the more difficult the problem became, and the more heavily the machine moved, because the proletariat in Siberia is small, and in Ukraine is weaker . . . There can be no question about the fact that the proletarian element in the Ukraine is difficult compared to the proletarian element in Petrograd, Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, not because it is bad, but owing to purely historical reasons. (91)

The same thoughts are expressed more clearly by Hugh Seton-Watson:

In Central Asia Russian domination was still more striking. In the steppe lands inhabited by Kazakh and Kirgiz nomads, the instruments of Bolshevik rule, as of Imperial rule, were Russians . . . Russian Com-

munists in Turkestan were regarded as heirs to the Tsars: Russians supported them, while non-Russians distrusted them, and when possible fought them. . . the whole of Central Asia was split up into a number of federal or autonomous republics. The ostensible purpose was to remake frontiers on lines of ethnic division. The real aim was to exalt dialect into languages and tribes into nations, in order to divide the Central Asian Moslems against each other, and link the divided lands separately to Moscow. (92)

63. Jonathan Cape, London, 1942, p. 42

64. See *Izvestia*, May 25, 1918

65. Alfred L. P. Dennis, *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia*, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1924, p. 114

66. *Izvestia*, January 28, 1920

67. *Izvestia*, January 7, 1918

68. *op. cit.*, p. 124

69. *From Lenin to Malenkov*, *op. cit.*, p. 125

70. According to R. Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 159

71. *The Formation of the Soviet Union*, pp. 167-8

72. Ia. A. Ratgauzer, *Revoliutsiia i grazhdanskaia vicina v Baku*, 1 Baku, 1927, p. 168

73. Stepan Shaumian, *Stat'i i rechi (1908 — 1918)*, Baku, 1924, pp. 224—225

74. *Wireless News*, Moscow, April 28, 1920; *Izvestia*, April 29, 1920; Alfred L. P. Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 209

75. "Azerbaijan Commemorates its Independence" in *ABN - Correspondence*, Munich, v. II/No. 5 — May 1951, p. 4

76. Alfred L. P. Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 211

77. *Ibidem*, pp. 213—224

78. According to Dr. M. H. Erturk, "Turkistan's Immortal Fight for Freedom" in *ABN - Correspondence*, v. IV, No. 1/2, Jan./Febr. 1953

79. *ABN - Correspondence*, v. VI, No. 5/6 May/June 1955

80. *Svobodnyi Turkestan*, Tashkent, No. 9, 25, January 1918

81. *Svobodnyi Turkestan*, 4/19 March, 1918

82. "Speech on the Food Tax", 1921, v. 9, p. 152

83. *my italics*, "Speech at the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Textile Workers", 1920, v. 8, p. 234

84. G. Safarov, *Kolonial naia revoliutsiia (Opyt Turkeстана)*, Moscow, 1921, p. 86

85. *my italics*, "Speech at the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Textile Workers", 1920, v. 8, p. 236

86. *Richard Pipes, op. cit., p. 191*
 87. "To Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Daghestan and Gorsky Republic", 1921, v. 9, p. 203
 88. *From Lenin to Malenkov, op. cit., p. 86*
 89. *my italics, ibidem, p. 88*
 90. "Report of the Central Committee of RCP (B) at 9th Party Congress", 1920, v. 8, p. 94
 91. "Economic Development", 1920, v. 8, p. 224
 92. *op. cit., pp. 87—88*

(To be continued)

THE JEWISH POGROMS IN TSARIST RUSSIA

The Russian emigré press has been trying to transfer the terrible Jewish pogroms in old Russia to other provinces of the Tsarist Russian empire and to lay the blame on others.

We have already expressed ourselves on this subject and demonstrated how matters really stood and supported this with historical facts (see *ABN Correspondence*, no. 9/10, September 1959).

Now we should like to introduce a new witness; the integrity of his statements is beyond question. He is the leading Russian Social Democrat, P. A. Garvi, whose *Memories of a Social Democrat* appeared (in Russian) in New York in 1964, published by the Organization of Russian Social Democrats. The author has since died in the USA.

In his book P. A. Garvi relates on page 588 how in Moscow in October 1905, after the burial of the Jew Bauman, murdered by the nationalist reactionary Black Corps (*Chernosotentsy*), the latter began

"... to shoot the unsuspecting students and workers returning from the funeral in masses."

He continues, "This treacherous affair was the continuation of Bauman's murder and the beginning of a pogrom war which raged in Moscow for some days. Meanwhile the bloody wave of pogroms rolled across the whole of Russia, as if on instructions."

"It is true that Moscow did not suffer the lot of towns with a significant Jewish population like Odessa, but even what was seen in Moscow in those few days filled the hearts of all, even of those who did not support the Revolution, the simple respectable middle classes, with contempt and indignation.

"The participation of the police in putting on 'patriotic' pogrom demonstrations was almost completely open."

Thus the events of the period according to P. A. Garvi.

Here it must be mentioned that these same *Chernosotentsy* murdered many Jews just as brutally as they did Bauman. Thus the Jews Herzenstein, member of the *Duma*, and Yollas, a political commentator, were later killed in St Petersburg (Leningrad).

These ultra-reactionaries were united in two organizations: *Soyuz russkogo naroda* (Union of the Russian People) and *Dvuglavy Oryol* (Two-headed Eagle). The leaders of the first of these were *Duma* deputies Purishkevich, Samislovsky and Markov, of the second the notorious Dubrovin. The latter published the newspaper *Russkaya Znamya* (Russian Flag), a disgusting journal.

They were not only haters of all that was not Russian, but simply misanthropists who dreamed of Russian domination. Their worthy successor was the Russian Lenin with his Russian Bolshevism, with its contempt for mankind and knowing only force.

N. Imeri

M. Gorkey:

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

ON EXTENDED OBSERVANCE OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

(Resolutions passed at 12th APACL Conference in Seoul)

I. Felicitations and Act of Cooperation with the Freedom Studies Center, Boston, Virginia, USA.

Whereas the Freedom Studies Center was dedicated on September 25, 1966 in Boston, Virginia, USA; and

Whereas the objectives and purposes of the American Center closely parallel those of the Freedom Center in Seoul, Republic of Korea; and

Whereas it is absolutely necessary to broaden all facilities in the Free World devoted to instruction in psycho-political warfare against Red subversion and infiltration;

Therefore, be it resolved,

That the Twelfth APACL Conference extends its warmest greetings and felicitations to the

U.S. Freedom Studies Center, and in particular to its leader, Mr. John M. Fisher, President of the Institute for American Strategy. APACL expresses also its maximum spirit of cooperation and hopes for the closest possible relations in the successful development of this new Free World educational institution, dedicated to victory over Communist imperio-colonialism.

II. Expanded observance of the Annual Captive Nations Week and Creation of a U.S. Congressional Committee on the Captive Nations.

Whereas the annual Captive Nations Week Observance in the 3rd Week of July has progressively expanded not only in the United States but also in other countries, such as the Republic of China, Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany and others; and

Whereas the capitals of the Red Empire have consistently denounced this observance and fearfully look upon this event as a repeated catalyst for anti-Communist resistance and alertness, as well as a deep thorn in the side of deceptive Red propaganda; and

Whereas Free World concentration on all the captive nations — in Central-South Europe, in the Soviet Union, in Asia, and in Cuba — is an ever necessary activity in the Cold War;

Therefore, be it resolved,

That all Members and Observers of the Twelfth APACL Conference proceed with plans for the Ninth Observance of Captive Nations Week next July 16-22, 1967 in their respective countries. Also, the National Captive Nations Committee in the United States stands ready to assist in advising on this observance and, given printed material, it will publicize the events in the United States. And be it further resolved that APACL in conference in Seoul, Republic of Korea, expresses its innermost sentiments and hopes for the creation of a U.S. Congressional Committee on the Captive Nations, which would greatly help our many peoples under Red totalitarian rule.

III. United Nations Debate and Investigation of Sino Red-Soviet Russian Imperio-Colonialism.

Whereas the late American President, John F. Kennedy, in 1961 called for a great debate in the United Nations on imperio-colonialism, a call yet to be heard by the U.N.; and

Whereas the pressures of Red Chinese and Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism continue unabated in all parts of the world; and

Whereas these pressures, executed through subversive, infiltrative, and takeover tactics, constitute the main source of peril to world peace and order;

Therefore, be it resolved,

That the Twelfth Conference of APACL transmits to the Secretary General of the United Nations its consensus for a full-scale debate on Sino Red-Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism and the conduct of an investigation into Soviet Russian conquests since 1918 and into Red Chinese expansionist drives.

FROM LETTERS TO ABN

11th June 1966

Dear Sirs,

We have received from time to time your periodical ABN Correspondence. The last issue we received is for May-June 1966.

We write to state that this periodical is of immense interest to us in our work and propaganda against Communism. The several articles are well written, thoughtful and full of facts and information. Our circle reads this copy with equal enthusiasm and advantage.

Hence we write to ask you not only to continue sending us this publication, but if possible to send us fifty (50) copies at a time, as we wish to distribute them among the members of our circle.

We also wish to inquire whether you can send us copies of all publications in English published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 200 Liverpool Road, London N. 1. We can review the same in our publication

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and send you and the publishers copies of the issues in which such reviews appear.

We also wish to inquire whether you could send us through your good-will one large and a few small statues of Our Lady of Ukraine, together with copies and pictures, novena cards and other literature regarding this powerful Saint.

In Ceylon the Catholic population is only 9% out of 12 million. Hence we are pursuing a vigorous campaign and propaganda to secure increasing numbers of conversions to our faith.

Any help you can give us in this regard will be gratefully appreciated. We may add that any literature and publications you can send us regarding your country, population, history and other matters of general interest to enable us to get a closer understanding of your country and its problems. We need not emphasize our concern for the liberation of your country and its people from the Communist yoke.

Valentine S. Perera
Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League
(Ceylon Chapter)

P.S. We would be quite willing to act as your representatives in Ceylon. We can stock your publications for inquirers from this part of the world.

Dear Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko:

We would greatly appreciate it if you could send us the ABN Correspondence, regularly. The Clarin is a mass-circulation weekly newspaper, published in Elizabeth, New Jersey. It has a wide, sophisticated readership, however, in the entire metropolitan area and in many states on the Atlantic sea coast. We have found your magazine highly original and therefore we think that the contributors and editors of The Clarin will gain added insight into contemporary events. Also, we'll have the opportunity to share the knowledge of events and interpretations commonly omitted by the larger pluralistic-conventional minded publications.

Very truly yours,
L. G.
The Clarin

December 1966

Dear Delegates to the 12th APACL
Conference:

The great success of the 12th APACL Conference was made possible with your cooperation and dedication to the cause of peace and freedom. It was so heart warming, gratifying and rewarding that I was given the honor of serving as a host to such distinguished delegates from all over the world and also as the Chairman of the Conference which became a milestone in our anti-Communist movement by expanding the APACL into the World Anti-Communist League.

Our common task has never been an easy one nor can we reach our goal in the immediately foreseeable future. The accomplishments of the 12th APACL Conference

have certainly strengthened our means to achieve our ends. Given unity and dedication of the free peoples, which were so eloquently evidenced throughout the Conference, there is every reason to believe that the WACL can become what is expected of it.

Please accept our deep appreciation and admiration for your visit to Korea, devotion to our common cause and contribution to the successful conference, inspite of our inadequate preparation and many inconveniences.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Chung Yul Kim
Chairman

The 12th APACL Conference
APACL Korea Chapter



Photo from Toronto Banquet (17th of September, 1966)

From left to right: His Excellency Bishop Isydor, Mr. M. Sosnovsky, Mr. V. Archer, Mrs. M. Star, Hon. Paul Theodore Hellyere, Minister of National Defence, Mrs. I. Yaremko, Hon. J. Ben, M. P., Hon. Y. Stetsko, Minister I. Yaremko, Hon. M. Star, M. P., Dr. R. Malashchuk, Mrs. V. Archer.

NEWS AND VIEWS

World Anti-Communist League Initiated

Report of the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) Seoul, Korea

The visit of the US President L. B. Johnson coincided with the opening of the 12th APACL Conference. The city of Seoul welcomed the American President and the delegates to the 12th Conference of APACL with large posters. It is quite some time now that Asians are not the only participants in this Conference, which is held annually. Twenty-one member-delegations from the following countries were present at this year's Conference: Australia, Ceylon, National China, Hongkong, India, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Macao, Malaya, New Zealand, the Philippines, Pakistan, the Ryukyu, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam, and of course from Korea. The following national and international anti-Communist organizations sent observer delegates: The American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, All American Conference to Combat Communism, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Assembly of Captive European Nations, International Committee for Information

and Social Activity (CIAS), the Byelorussian Liberation Front, International Conference on Political Warfare, Committee of One Million, Free Pacific Association, the International Committee for the Defence of Christian Culture, Ukrainian Youth Organization, Korean Residents in Japan, National Captive Nations Committee, National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS). There were also observers from Belgium, Chile, the Congo (Leopoldville), Denmark, Italy, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden and France.

ABN was represented by four representatives: Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of ABN; Mrs. Slawa Stetsko (M. A.) editor-in-chief of the ABN Correspondence; Mr. Alexander Olechnik (Australia), who spoke in the name of the Byelorussian Liberation Front; and Mr. Irynej Mykyta (Australia), representing the Ukrainian Youth Organization (SUM).



The Third Committee at Work

Among the delegates were senators, congressmen, Presidents of Parliaments, former Prime Ministers, Ministers, generals, diplomats, writers, editors, etc.

For three days the Conference participants lived in the Badoo Hotel, where President Johnson's press conference was also held. The Conference itself was convened on November 3, 1966 and continued through November 9. The sessions were held in Walker Hill Hotel, where the delegates also stayed.

The main topics of the 12th APACL Conference were:

- 1) How to deal with the acute danger on the part of Red China
- 2) Means and ways to the liberation of the subjugated peoples
- 3) Establishment of an anti-Communist World League

The representatives of the subjugated peoples and the delegates from free Europe, as well as several delegates from North and Latin America, focussed the attention of the Conference on the danger, which is just as acute as the Chinese danger, of Russian-Bolshevik colonialism, and on Communist activity in the Western world.

Korea's diplomatic corps and leading personalities of Korean life took part in the opening of the 12th APACL Conference. The opening speech was held by Korea's President, H. E. Park Chung Hee. In addition, speeches were held by the Chairman of the League, General Kim (Korea); the President of the APACL China Chapter, Ku Cheng-kang, and the President of the Philippine Parliament, Cornelius T. Villareal, who was also President of APACL for 1965.

The work of the Conference was dealt with in plenary sessions and in committees. In the five plenary sessions which were held, the chief delegates of all the delegations expressed their positions on the above-mentioned topics of the Conference. Four Committees were formed to deal with the resolutions, which were proposed either by member-delegations or by observer-delegations.

The first Committee, which was presided over by the Hon. Ku Cheng-kang worked

out and passed nine resolutions, the most important of which were: Resolution to condemn Communism and Russian and Chinese Communist colonialism and imperialism; Resolution to protest against the planned admission of East Germany to the United Nations; Resolution to activate the fight against Communism in Cuba; Resolution to activate the fight of National China and America against Red China.

The second Committee, which was presided over by Dr. V. Thamavit (Thailand) and Mr. E. C. E. Hill (New Zealand) passed five resolutions, of which the following are the most important: Resolution calling upon all APACL member-organizations to have competent and reliable offices of their respective countries submit an annual report on Communist strategy and tactics in their countries, followed by a report on the countermeasures which were taken and with what results; Resolution to establish a new centre for the exchange of information and a close cooperation among the African and Asian peoples.

The third Committee, which was presided over by Congressman Bagatsing (Philippines) and the ABN delegate A. Olechnik, dealt with measures to fight Communism and the liberation of the subjugated peoples. This Committee passed the following important resolutions: Resolution on the annihilation of Communism and the liberation of the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism, resolution on the persecution and Russification of youth by the Soviet Russian regime, proposed by the Ukrainian Youth Organization (Mr. Mykyta) and the resolution proposed by the Byelorussian Liberation Front (Mr. Olechnik) on the support of the peoples subjugated by Russian colonialism.

The fourth Committee wrote up the resolutions which were passed and the declaration of the 12th APACL Conference. During the Conference, the super-Committee, which was presided over by Senator Breen (Australia), also worked out the Charter of the World League. It was resolved that the next APACL Conference would also be the 1st Conference of the World League. The World League is to be

formally established in Taipei, in 1967. The Charter in question was taken over by the Asian League as one of APACL's projects. The non-Asian national and international organizations, that is to say, their delegates, are to accept this Charter in Taipei, in 1967, and decide upon the distribution of the offices within the World League. The Secretary-General's Office, which was established in Korea, is to concern itself with the preparatory work for the founding conference of the World League which will be held next year.

It was a pleasure to note, that some members and observers, who, either through lack of knowledge or false information, had formerly declared their solidarity with the Russian conception, were now completely on the side of the subjugated peoples, that is to say, they declared themselves against Russian imperialism in every shape and form. The subjugated peoples received especially strong backing from the Japanese, Italian, Turkish, Danish, and — as always — Chinese representatives. The subjugated peoples' cause also received considerable understanding from the representatives from Thailand, Malaya, Saudi Arabia and the Congo. Latin American and a number of the North American delegates declared, under the leadership of Prof. Rowe, their solidarity with the ABN conception.

At the last plenary session, the Hon. Ku Cheng-kang (National China) was elected President for next year, and the Hon. Chung Yul Kim (Korea) was elected Secretary-General for the World League. Prof. Dr. Hernandez (Philippines) will continue as Secretary-General for APACL.

The Conference of Youth representatives of the various Asian countries was held at the same time as the APACL Conference. The young participants passed several resolutions and addressed a manifesto to the world's youth. The Ukrainian youth was represented by the Ukrainian emigrant in Australia, Mr. J. Mykyta.

Before and after the Conference

Before the Conference, from November 1 to November 3, 1966, the participants

were shown around the country: the cities, the memorial cemetery of the United Nations, where soldiers who sacrificed their lives for freedom in Korea are buried. The greatest impression made upon the ABN delegation was a tremendous youth demonstration with more than 150,000 participants in the city of Pusan. Everywhere they went the participants of the APACL Conference were welcomed with flowers, posters and flags, on the street, in schools and in factories. Industrial centres, electrical works, churches, museums, hospitals, in which the wounded of South Vietnam were being treated, were visited. The Koreans, who have a strong sense of organization, were very hospitable throughout the country.

On November 3rd, the delegates placed a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier. Receptions were given by the Korean President, Park Chung Hee; the Chairman of APACL, Chung Yul Kim; the Prime Minister of Korea; the Chairman of the ruling Republican democratic Party; the Mayor of Seoul; Korea's Foreign Minister; the President of the Parliament, and others. Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko were also the guests of the Korean heir to the throne, Lee and his wife. Princess Julia is of Ukrainian origin, born in America.

The Conference participants paid a visit to the Freedom Centre, which plays a very important role in Asia in the training of anti-Communist cadres. An original film on South Korean troops in action in South Vietnam was shown. The delegates were also able to get an insight into the economic standing of the country. A visit to the Panmunjom area, the border area between North and South Korea, was especially impressive. The 26th division demonstrated tactics in partisan warfare.

On the invitation of the Japanese delegation, Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko, traveled from Seoul to Tokyo, where Mr. Stetsko held a speech on Ukraine and Japan viewed historically. The Japanese demonstrated great interest in the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union — the discussion following the speech lasted several hours.

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION AND STEPAN BANDERA COMMEMORATED IN NEW YORK

In October, 1966, Ukrainian and Hungarian Divisions of American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations commemorated the Hungarian Revolution and the Murder of Ukrainian Leader, Stepan Bandera. To this end Charles Andreanszky, Secretary General of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations issued a short statement which reads:

"We commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution to remind all Americans and other nations of the free world how, on October 23, 1956, on the streets of Budapest, the Hungarian freedom fighters rose up against the totalitarian system of Moscow's colonialist imperialism and Communism. They fought for liberty and national independence and were ruthlessly crushed and massacred by Russian tanks, airplanes and armored divisions, while the free world looked on silently and raised no helping hand to the overpowered freedom fighters.

Also in October of this year, we observe the 7th Anniversary of the tragic death of a leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, who was viciously murdered on October 15, 1959 in Munich, Germany, by a member of the Soviet State Security apparatus directed, at that time, by Alexander N. Shelepin, who is now Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers, member of the Presidium and until recently a Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party, USSR."

To commemorate these two historic events, the Hungarian Division and the Ukrainian Division of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. conducted a series of activities in New York City on October 16th, 22nd, 23rd and 29th.

The program of the activities was as follows:

On October 16th there was an automobile cavalcade demonstration through the streets of New York City, commencing from

First Avenue, between 36th and 38th Streets, at 4:30 p.m.

On October 22nd the Hungarian Freedom Fighters sponsored a banquet at the New York Hilton Hotel at 7:30 p.m.

On October 23rd there was a religious service at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City for all those who gave their lives for freedom on the streets of Budapest, and also for Stepan Bandera. This Vesper Service was held at 4 p.m.

On October 29th there was a rally at Central Commercial High School, 214 East 42nd Street, New York City, at which there were several short speeches by distinguished guests, and an authentic documentary film showing the Hungarian uprising. Afterwards the participants marched to the Soviet Russian United Nations Mission for picketing. The rally commenced at 4:30 p.m.

The purpose of the foregoing events was to draw the attention of all freedom-loving Americans and the whole free world to the ever increasing menace of Communism, and to remind them that in these days of so much talk about peace and justice, about freedom and national self-determination, there still exists the single, vast, totalitarian colonial empire of Moscow.

"I am Ashamed to be in the Party" Extraordinary Writers' Meeting in Warsaw

When Tadeusz Konwicki ("Modern Dream Book"), one of the two Polish authors who had been invited to Munich by the *Biederstein Verlag* just about two months ago, arrived late and could not hold his lecture in the Slavic seminar at the University of Munich, no one had the slightest notion, that he had been held up by a highly embarrassing hearing in the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party. Neither at the reception, given in his and the others guest's — Arthur Mied-

zyrzecki ("Adam": Congress of the Floriculturists) — honour by the publishing-house, nor in his private intercourse with his German colleagues, did Konwicki give the slightest intimation of what had taken place prior to his departure. That he, as well as other guests from Poland who spent some time in Munich at the end of November, had entered a protest with the Central Committee against the exclusion of the writer and philosopher, Leszek Kolakowski, from the Party, was learnt only after their departure.

In the meantime an extraordinary meeting of the Party organization was held at the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers' Association, which dealt with the case of Kolakowski and the Party writers who had protested against his exclusion. There would have been no need for Konwicki to hurry: He would not have been allowed to participate in any case. Along with six other signers of the protest, he has been deprived of the rights of a Party member for the time being.

Notwithstanding the fact that the most active writers were not present at this Party meeting, the head of the department of "Art and Culture" in the Central Committee, Krasko, who was to put the group "back in line", did not achieve any success. On the contrary — those present attacked the stand taken by the Party leaders, both towards Kolakowski and towards the protesting writers.

Excited scenes occurred in the course of the meeting which lasted more than 5 hours: "I am ashamed to be in the Party!" exclaimed the old writer, Stefan Wygodzki, who has been a Communist for forty years. The Party leadership has obviously forgotten just how devastating dictatorial measures are to the cultural life.

The female writer and publicist Jadwiga Sikierska, who, during the Stalin era, was imprisoned in the Soviet Union and who was rehabilitated in 1956 — also a member of the Party for over 40 years — disputed the right of attending high Party officials to speak in the name of the entire Party: "Not you, but we are the Party!" Just as the signers of the protest, the assembled

Party writers refused to renounce Kolakowski's appearance on the 10th anniversary of the Polish October. "I support every word which Kolakowski said about the present situation in Poland," one of the younger writers declared. The almost 30-year old well-known literary critic and publicist Alicija Lisiecka, who made a detailed study of Kolakowski's influence on Polish intellectual life in her last book, also protested against the Party leadership's proceedings against the philosopher.

The Warsaw writers were especially indignant over the way in which Party secretary Zenon Kliszko had "punished" the old worthy novelist, Igor Neverly. At a kind of hearing during which he was showered with reproaches, Neverly, one of the 21 signers of the letter to the Central Committee, simply handed in his Party book. As far as the Party line is concerned, he is no longer to be brought to book. But Neverly has a son, the well-known and popular playwright, Abramov. So, the case was quite simple — Polish theatres were forbidden to put on Abramov's plays. One of Abramov's plays, which had been playing in Warsaw with great success, has been removed from the programme since Dec. 4. "Such methods are reminiscent of family incarceration, which so far we have known only from Hitler's practice," it was stated at the Warsaw Party writers' meeting.

Only two participants of this extraordinary meeting — both editors of the weekly *Present Times* — supported the commissioner of the Central Committee. It is expected in Warsaw that the Party leaders will find means with which to dissolve the Warsaw branch of the Polish Writers' Association. Whether they will make friends among the intelligentsia by this step, is to be doubted.

Roman Karst, the Polish Germanist, who became especially known by his articles and lectures on Franz Kafka, and for which he was run down by the East Berlin "cultural pope" Alfred Kurella, withdrew from the Party following the Warsaw writers' meeting. In a letter accompanying his returned Party book, he writes that he no

longer wanted to be in a Party in which there was no room for a Leszek Kolakowski. At the end of November Roman Karst was to participate in the European meeting at the University of Munich, but he did not receive the necessary permit to leave Po-

land. Following his return from a longer trip to America, the novelist Kazimirz Brendys ("Letters to Mrs. Z", and "The Defence of Granada"), learning the results of the meeting, also handed in his resignation from the Party.

The Sunday Telegraph, January 3, 1967

UKRAINIANS DEPORTED BY RUSSIANS

by Christopher Russell

Sunday Telegraph Correspondent on
Communist Affairs

A large group of Ukrainian intellectuals who staged protests against the "Russification" of the Ukraine have been arrested and deported to the Mordva region, East of Moscow. Many of them are in the Potma penal camp, where Mr. Gerald Brooke, the London lecturer, goaled for subversive activities, is held.

Ukrainian organisations in the West have now received the names of 20 of the people deported.

The list includes several students, writers and scientific workers from the cities of Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lutsk, Odessa and Ternopol. Some reports place the total number at 70.

Longest sentences

Among the deportees those who received the longest sentences are: Bohdan Horyn, literary critic and art expert on the staff of the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art — four years.

Myhailo Horyn, his brother, a psychologist from Lviv — six years. Svyatoslav Karavansky, a poet, translator and journalist from Odessa, who spent 13 years in a concentration camp under Stalin, has been sent to serve the rest of his 25-year sentence.

Opanas Zalivakha, a journalist and book-illustrator, has been sentenced to five years.

Myhailo Masyutko, a literary critic who is already a pensioner, is serving a sentence of six years in a camp.

Three of those arrested in 1966 are now known to have been set free. They include a woman, Maria Zvarichevska, who worked in the Historical Archives in Lviv.

Nothing is known of the present whereabouts of three of the arrested men. They are Mikola Grin, who worked in the Institute of Geophysics in Kyiv (sentenced to three years); Gereta, who was on the staff of the Ternopol Museum (four years); and Chubaty, who taught at the Ternopol music school (four years).

Banned articles

All the deportees were sentenced under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code for "agitation or propaganda aimed at undermining or weakening the Soviet regime."

They were said to have read, copied or distributed works banned by the Soviet censor, including articles and pamphlets about the present state of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature and culture.

Among the demands put forward by the group was that Ukraine should be accorded equal status with all the other republics of the Soviet Union and that in particular the Ukrainian language should be recognised as the official language of Ukraine.

In their trial at Lviv the accused demanded to be tried in their own language, Ukrainian, and won their point. The trials were accompanied by popular demonstrations and widespread interest throughout Ukraine.

Confirmation of the arrests and trials and of the extent of discontent in Ukraine was provided by an unexpected source. Two Ukrainian poets, Ivan Drach, 30, and Dmytro Pavlychko, 37, appeared as members of the Ukrainian delegation at the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Admitting the arrests, Ivan Drach told Ukrainians in America: "This is a very painful question for us and for me personally because some of my friends were among those arrested."

Drach said that the arrested men had criticised the Russians' treatment of Ukraine and the "Red Fascism" they claimed prevailed there. But he thought that the Soviet Government was not so weak that it had to arrest and deport such people, who had defended their native culture and mother tongue.

Wave of protest

No word of the wave of protest in Ukraine or of the repressive measures taken has been allowed to appear in the Soviet press.

The U.S. Congress Calls For Freedom For Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia

An Important Resolution Adopted by both Houses of the United States Congress

House Concurrent Resolution 416 was adopted by the House of Representatives by a record vote of 298 yeas to no nays on June 21, 1965. This Resolution was unanimously passed by the United States Senate on October 22, 1966.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation; and

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural, and religious development; and

Whereas the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been forcibly deprived of these rights by the Government of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union, through a program of deportations and resettlement of peoples, continues in its effort to change the ethnic character of the population of the Baltic States; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence; and

Whereas there exist many historical, cultural, and family ties between the peoples of the Baltic States and the American peoples: Be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the House of Representatives of the United States urges the President of the United States —

(a) to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and

(b) to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto In Munich

From December 13 to 16, 1966, the President of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent, Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, visited Munich as a part of his world trip, to hold important political talks with leading representatives of ABN.

Admiral Botto is an old friend of ABN. For years ABN has closely cooperated with him and with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent to achieve common political aims.

On December 14, Admiral Botto held intimate talks with the President of the Central Committee of ABN, Jaroslav Stetsko; the President of the Peoples' Council, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky; the editor-in-chief of the ABN Correspondence, Mrs. Slawa Stetsko (M.A.); and the Chairman of the Organizing Commission, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny. The spirit of the talks was very cordial. The talks clearly expressed a complete agreement between the two large international anti-Communist organizations on how the immediate tasks

in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism are to be performed.

The President of the Inter-American Confederation visited the editorial office of the Ukrainian weekly *Schlach Peremohy*.

On December 15, a meeting with Admiral Botto was held in the Central Office of ABN. In addition to the Central Committee members of ABN residing in Munich, several friends of ABN attended the meeting. Exile representatives of the following peoples attended: Bulgarians, Croats, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs, Ukrainians and others. Admiral Botto offered those present his views on the present world political situation. He devoted considerable attention to questions concerning the foundation of the Anti-Communist World League. His report was followed by a lively exchange of views and information.

Admiral Botto also held informative talks with the Rector of the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, Prof. Dr. Orelezky. The President of the Inter-American Confederation granted an exclusive interview to the editor of the weekly *Volksbote*, Wolfgang Strauss.

Admiral Botto left Munich for Paris on December 16. His further destinations were London and Lisbon.

ABN ACTIVITIES IN 1966

In 1966, ABN was again politically active in a large number of ways. Only the most important events are to be mentioned here.

At the beginning of 1966, Jaroslav Stetsko travelled extensively both in North America and South Western Europe.

In the USA President Stetsko conferred with leading representatives of the "American Friends of ABN". These talks led to valuable initiatives and successful actions. A new ABN branch was established in Washington, D.C. In the United States President Stetsko gave a number of talks, and in press conferences expressed his view on current world problems; in addition he spoke privately with important politicians, congressmen and senators.

In Canada, the President held talks with

the former Canadian Prime Minister, Hon. John Diefenbaker, with Foreign Minister, Hon. Paul Martin, Defence Minister, Hon. Paul Helliier and other prominent political personalities. In Montreal, Ottawa, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto President Stetsko participated in ABN meetings. In all cities of the United States and Canada which he visited, President Stetsko received favourable press reports.

On his return trip the President of the Central Committee of ABN participated, together with Mrs. Slava Stetsko (M.A.), in the international Congress of the International Committee for the Defence of Christian Culture, in Lisbon. On the forum of this important organization, Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko represented ABN's views. Mrs. Stetsko gave a talk on the fight of the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

In Madrid, Mr. Stetsko talked with various Spanish ministers and with exile representatives of Bulgaria and Rumania.

The meeting of the Central Committee of ABN which was held on May 6, 1966, was attended by Prof. W. Shajan, the chairman of the Ukrainian Council for Culture and Education in London. He gave an informative talk on the political activities in London.

On May 22, 1966, ABN's long-standing Secretary-General, the Georgian Prince Niko Nakashidze, died. The international press reported on his death, and many Ukrainian, German and English-language newspaper and periodicals featured detailed articles on the Prince.

As in the past, the American Friends of ABN organized impressive demonstrations on the occasion of Captive Nations Week.

On July 13, 1966, the official voice of the US Congress, *Congressional Record* printed *in extenso* the speech by Congressman Dulski, which he delivered on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence during a commemoration organized by the Ukrainian delegation in the American Friends of ABN, in Washington. On July 25, 1966, the *Congressional Record* printed *in extenso* a speech by Congressman Hor-

ton, which he delivered in Rochester on July 23rd, on the occasion of a banquet given by the American Friends of ABN.

Upon his own request, Mr. Valentine S. Perera, President of the Ceylon Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) was appointed ABN representative in Ceylon by the Central Committee of ABN.

Count Stivala, a leading representative of the Anti-Communist League in Malta, visited the ABN centre in Munich, in August. President Stetsko and other leading representatives of ABN conferred with Count Stivala.

During July and August, 1966, Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko were in England. They held meetings discussing the work of ABN with the London ABN co-workers. Mr. Stetsko also called a meeting of the London ABN delegation, in which almost all national delegations are now represented. At a press conference President Stetsko expressed his views on current questions with respect to the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. The Ukrainian delegation of ABN and the Ukrainian Association of Journalists gave a cocktail party in London, which was attended by representatives of the embassies, the diplomatic corps, the press and sympathetic English personalities. Speeches were given by Mr. Stetsko and by the Vietnamese ambassador in London. Mr. Stewart-Smith, the editor-in-chief of the English monthly *East West Digest*, the voice of the Foreign Affairs Circle, invited Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko to a talk, and later printed an extensive report in his periodical on the activity of ABN's President in England, and on President Stetsko's views on various current political questions.

On the initiative of the ABN branch in Ottawa, demonstrations were held, protesting against the persecution of writers in the Soviet Russian sphere of power. In October of 1966, the Central Committee of ABN published a 4-page leaflet protesting against the suppression of free thought and the persecution of writers and artists in the USSR. This leaflet was distributed to all subscribers to *ABN Correspondence*, to all ABN-representations, delegations,

and friends of ABN, as well as to all leading personalities of international, public, political and cultural life.

In October, 1966, Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Rome) visited the ABN centre. The former Italian Minister was the organizer of the anti-Communist conference in Rome, 1962. With ABN representatives he discussed questions pertaining to the formation of an Anti-Communist World League.

As every year, so also in 1966, an ABN delegation participated in the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist Leagues (APACL) Conference, which was held at Seoul. The members of the ABN delegation were as follows: President Stetsko, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Mr. Alexander Olechnik (Australia) representing the Byelo-Russian Liberation Front, and Mr. I. Mykyta (Ukrainian Youth Association, Australia). Mr. Rama Swarup, ABN representative in India, was also present. All resolutions proposed by ABN were accepted after prolonged discussions and attacks from the Russians and their friends. It was resolved that next year the 13th APACL Conference, which is to be held in Taipei, shall also be the 1st conference of the Anti-Communist World League, in the foundation of which ABN is playing also an important part.

In December 1966, the President of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent, Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, visited Munich in the course of his world trip. He held discussions with the leading representatives of ABN on the intensification of co-operation between the two organizations.

Owing to its activities in the past year also, ABN was a target of many mean attacks and slanders in the Soviet press. The Soviet Russian rulers feel the effects of ABN's political fight, and they react to it accordingly.

In summery, it can be said that ABN's influence was again consolidated in 1966 through new contacts and connections, which were established by active participation in conferences, meetings, talks, demonstrations, etc. ABN has found friends

everywhere, friends who declare their solidarity with and support ABN's just cause. In Asia — Japan, National China and Korea — particularly strong increase of sympathy towards ABN could be felt — the same holds true for the APACL Conference. In the Federal Republic of Germany also ABN's ideas got a firmer footing — which was confirmed by the great success of the ABN rally in Dortmund in May 1966. Representing the Central Committee of ABN were Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, who both delivered speeches.

CANADIAN LEADERS SUPPORT UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

On September 17, 1966 a 50.00 dollars a plate banquet was held in Toronto, Canada on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of the renewal of Ukraine's independence. The banquet was sponsored by *Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement* and was held at the King Edward Hotel. 530 persons participated. The following dignitaries were sitting behind the honorary table: *His Excellency Isydor*, Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Toronto, *Rev. Minenko* — representing Archbishop Mykhail of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Diocese of Toronto, *the Hon. Paul Helier*, Minister of Defense, several federal and provincial legislators, provincial and city officials, former federal minister of labor and the current Conservative minority leader in the House of Commons, *Hon. Mykhailo Star* and the Minister of Citizenship and Provincial Secretary, *Hon. Ivan Jaremko*. Among the Ukrainian guests the honorary seat belonged to *Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of the Central Committee of ABN, *Dr. Roman Malashchuk*, President of the League for Ukraine's Liberation, *Evhen Malaniuk*, the well known Ukrainian poet and writer, *Prof. Dr. E. Vertyporokh*, head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Canada and many others.

Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko delivered the main address. He pointed out the actuality of the ideas for which Ukrainians fought

25 years ago, namely, for independence of Ukraine and other nations enslaved by Russia and Nazi-Germany. When one imperialist and tyrant was liquidated as the result of World War II, another, a much greater and more dangerous one stepped into his shoes and captured half of Europe. Today, in the view of Mr. Stetsko, the establishment of a world-wide front against Russian imperialism and colonialism is of prime importance.

On September 20th, the Hon. Y. Stetsko arrived in Winnipeg. He delivered one lecture at a mass meeting of Ukrainians, entitled: "Christian Kyiv against Moscow". On September 21st Mr. Stetsko visited *His Excellency Metropolitan Maksym* of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, *His Excellency Metropolitan Ilarion* of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and *Mr. Stepan Dziuba*, Mayor of Winnipeg. On September 22nd a 25.00 dollars a plate banquet was held at the Hotel Marlboro. More than 300 persons participated and a 100 were turned away because the hall was filled to capacity. Large delegations of Latvians, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Portuguese, Greeks and Japanese as well as representatives from neighboring towns took part in the banquet. They were from Regina, Saskatoon, Fort Williams and Port Arthur. The Federal Government was represented by *Hon. Dag Everett*, while *Hon. Fedir Klym* represented the Premier of Manitoba. Also the Mayor of Winnipeg, *Hon. Ivan Dziuba* personally conferred honorary citizenship of Winnipeg upon Mr. Stetsko.

The next stop of Mr. Y. Stetsko on his way to Seoul, Korea was Edmonton, where a mass banquet was given in his honor on October 23rd. An extensive interview with Mr. Stetsko was published in the *Edmonton Journal*. Another one was broadcasted over the local radio and T.V. stations. More than 400 persons participated in the banquet. The Alberta Province was represented by *Minister A. Holovach*. Other representatives came from the Baltic peoples, Croatians, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, *Hon. M. Luchkovych*, M. P. and

the delegations from various provincial towns.

In all three centers, Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton the ideas of ABN proved to be very popular.

Large Ukrainian Demonstration in Paris

From May 28 to May 30, 1966, large demonstrations and celebrations in honour of the Ukrainian Commander-in-Chief in the Ukrainian war of liberation in 1918-1920, *Symon Petlura*, who was murdered by the Bolshevik agent, *Schwarzbart* in Paris 40 years ago, were held in Paris. A large number of Ukrainians from all the free countries of Europe took part in this demonstration. Following a divine service, approximately 1500 people marched to the grave of the murdered President of Ukraine, *Symon Petlura*; red roses were placed on Petlura's grave and the Ukrainian Youth Union took an oath to continue to work and fight for the realization of Petlura's ideas with all their might.

During the march leaflets were distributed among the Parisian populace, describing Petlura's life and the fact that for fear of the resistance movements of the Ukrainian people, Moscow had its agents murder the Ukrainian resistance leaders, *Petlura*, *Konovalets* and *Bandera* in emigration. The Moscow-Bolshevik embassy in Paris feared that the Ukrainians would stage a violent demonstration in front of the embassy, and they called upon the French police to prevent such a possibility.

Protest against Terror-measures in Ukraine

Recently, all Ukrainian institutions, organizations, unions and societies in the entire Free World published statements in the Ukrainian, as well as in the foreign press, protesting against old and new terror-measures by the occupiers in Ukraine. Sharp protest was directed against the persecution and arrests of rebellious writers (i. e., *Svitlytshny* and *Dziuba*), students, indeed, the entire Ukrainian intelligentsia, against the destruction of valuable monuments of Ukrainian culture, churches and

artistic works, against arson in Ukrainian libraries, against persecution of religion and the closing of churches, against ruthless Russification, against suppression of Ukrainian literature, press and the Ukrainian language, and suppression of every form of freedom. In this connection interpellations were submitted to the Parliaments of the United States and Canada, and public demonstrations were held.

Hon. F. Horton for Liberation of the Subjugated

Hon. Lester L. Wolff, US-Congressman commended to the attention of the House of Representatives the speech by Hon. Frank Horton, delivered before the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Rochester, N.Y. The speech was published in extenso in Congressional Record 1966.

US-Congressman Hon. Frank Horton said: "If we compare where freedom stood at the close of World War II and what its status versus Communism is today, the contrast is frightening indeed. The shadow of Red conquest has fallen over vast new areas of the world. Ten years ago, when the Free World failed so dismally to answer the call of Hungary, it became clear that the United States intended only to contain Communism, but that we would not stick our necks out to free peoples who were already captive.

"As former citizens of the nations of Eastern Europe, who can recount first hand what life is like under the boot of Red power, Americans of Eastern European derivation should make it their primary task to educate the American public about the realities of Communism — about barbed wire, about the need for complicated papers and passports to travel only a few miles, about censored news media and about controlled education. It is not enough to repeat over and over the evils of Communism among yourselves.

"Captive Nations organizations and nationality groups like those many of you are active in must work together in this task of re-educating Americans.

"We must demand that the Communist masters in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe act now to free the peoples held captive in these countries. The Red masters must recognise and respond to the desire of their peoples to be free, just as the colonial powers have freed their colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. If we are to have a peaceful world, these demands must be heeded. For as long as there are human beings living in closed societies under censorship and oppression, there will be turmoil and conflict among nations."

Against Extradition of Croats

On May 30, 1966, the Croatians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Balts, Slovaks, Hungarians and Rumanians put on a large protest demonstration against the decision of the Canadian Immigration Office, according to which two young Croatians are to be sent back to Communist Yugoslavia.

ABN Rally in Dortmund (May 14th 1966)

The ABN Rally was organized by a committee consisting of the national representatives of the Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Serbians and Ukrainians. About 700 people took part in the rally which was named "Day of the Nations" and was divided into two sections, namely the political and the cultural.

The meeting was opened by the Ukrainian representative, Mr. Stefan Tovarnycky. Prof. E. Durcansky, former Slovakian Foreign Minister and President of the ABN Peoples' Council and Mrs. Slawa Stetsko were speakers. There followed a speech of welcome by the CDU Member of Parliament for Dortmund, and the suggested resolution which ensued was greeted with applause and accepted.

Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish and Ukrainian dancing groups occupied the cultural section of the evening. An Estonian student sang songs from her home country and accompanied herself on the accordion and a Ukrainian sang Ukrainian songs to a

guitar accompaniment. Mr. Scharko from Munich played on the *Bandura*, the national instrument of Ukraine, with vocal accompaniment.

A press conference of the speakers took place before the rally, and simultaneously with the rally there was a press-exhibition of the national groups in exile.

The participants were not only citizens of Dortmund, but also came from Düsseldorf, Essen and Duisburg. There were unfortunately few Germans present, as a large meeting of expellees took place in Bonn on the same day.

A film was made of the rally and the cultural events.

Memorial Service in Honour of Corneliu Codreanu

On November 30, 1966, a memorial service in honour of the founder of the Rumanian Legionary Movement, Corneliu Codreanu, was held in the Saint Nikolaus Church in Munich. Together with 13 leading members of this Movement, Corneliu Codreanu was shot on November 30, 1938.

Corneliu Codreanu once said: "Two worlds stand opposed to one another. On the one hand, the national revolutionary states, which are fighting for the defence of the Cross and a centuries-old civilization; on the other hand, Bolshevism with its accomplices, which are fighting for the liquidation of nations and the destruction of Christian civilization."

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Against the destruction of cultural-historical values

An article entitled "The Preservation of Historical Monuments" by *M. Ju. Brajchevsky* appeared in the journal *History of the USSR*, No. 2, March/April, 1966. In this article the author laments that for more than 30 years, old and artistically precious churches, monuments and buildings have been barbarically and recklessly destroyed by Soviet authorities and institutions. The author cites the following as examples: alone in *Kyiv* the following venerable and very important cathedrals and churches have been destroyed: 1) *Mykhajlivsky Golden Cupola Cathedral* from the 11th century (inside this cathedral, mosaics and frescoes from the 11th century were to be found), also the bell tower and other buildings of important Ukrainian Baroque architecture. 2) The Trinity Church from the 13th century. 3) The Church of the Blessed Virgin *Pyrohoshcha* (in *Podol*) from the 12th century. 4) The *Nikolaus Pechersky Cathedral* from the 17th century. 5) The Epiphany Church from the 17th century, which is connected with the Ukrainian war of liberation in that century. 6) The Complex of *Mezhyhorsky* (between two mountains), end of the 18th century, a work by the famous Ukrainian architect *A. Melensky*. 7) Bell tower and other buildings of the *Kyrylivsky Monastery*. 8) The famous fountain, *Samson in Podol*, mid-18th century.

We want to mention only the most important cathedrals and churches which were destroyed in other towns and regions: Old, wooden Cossack church from the 18th century in *Syniava*, district of *Kyiv*; the Cathedral in *Witebsk*, Byelorussia, from the 12th century; wooden churches of uni-

que value in *Wytegra*, in *Turchasove* and in *Bjela Sluda*.

35% of those buildings and monuments of unique artistic value, which up till now enjoyed legal protection for the preservation of ancient monuments in Ukraine, have been robbed of this protection (among others, the castle in *Bily Kamin*, district of *Lviv*, 17th century); wooden churches in *Potylych Homlovez*, *Jelove*, *Nehovets*, etc.

These destructions are carried out under the pretense of the fight against religious prejudices; their destruction is justified by contending that it is in the interest of atheist propaganda to destroy ecclesiastic buildings and everything connected with religion.

The destruction of Ukrainian cemeteries

Since 1930, not only countless cultural places, churches and monuments have been destroyed by the Bolsheviks, but cemeteries also have been barbarically uprooted in most of the cities, towns and villages of Ukraine. Alone in *Kyiv*, the Bolsheviks destroyed the old cemeteries: *Askold*, *Shchekavytsky*, *Florovsky* and those of more recent years: *Kirylivsky*, *Svirynsky* and *Vijskovy*. All old monuments, chapels and similar historical erections, some of which had great historical and artistic value, were also destroyed. Moreover, the graves of the most important Ukrainian personalities, writers, poets, politicians, etc., were totally destroyed. Crosses and figures of the Virgin Mary, which the rural population had erected along country roads and overland routes from ancient times, have been almost totally removed, mostly at night.

Withdrawal from the Russian Orthodox Church

The Orthodox Church, which is directed by the Russian Patriarch *Alexei* and which is, moreover, strongly influenced by the Bolsheviks, is more and more rejected by the people. Recently, leaflets printed by a secret organization, which calls itself "Brotherhood of Orthodox youth," found their way to the West. In these leaflets it is stressed that young Christians are not attached to the Moscow Patriarchate, because this ecclesiastical office is controlled by the "godless state power, and as long as this ecclesiastical office is not free, its duties and obligations must be carried out by us, the young devotees."

The young "Christian Brothers" also sharply attack the Bolshevik regime, "not only because of its persecution of the church, but also because it spreads only hunger, wrong and amorality." Furthermore, they write: "The enemies of Christ make various discoveries in the field of physics and chemistry, but they plunge the people deeper and deeper into evil, hunger, starvation, misery, lawlessness, prostitution and other forms of immorality. But Christ will emerge victoriously, and his persecutors will be dealt the same fate as the herd of swine possessed of evil spirits which was plunged into the Tiber Sea. You, Orthodox Christians, cross yourselves and march forward in the way of Christ, in the way of divine Truth! To action!"

In conclusion, let it be pointed out that in a communication addressed to the Greek Patriarch *Athenagoras*, the Moscow Patriarch *Alexei* declared that he did not acknowledge *Athenagoras'* annulment of the blasphemy against the Pope and against the Catholics.

New ways of the Russian Orthodox Church

According to reports which have reached us from behind the Iron Curtain, the Kremlin is attempting to implement its new plans with respect to the extension of its diverting activities in the Near East with the help of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Leningrad Metropolitan *Nikodym* was empowered to send five monks from the USSR to the *Panteleimon Monastery* located on the Athos mountain. This was a way of applying pressure on Greece by the Soviet Russians. The Soviet monks had to accept Greek citizenship. To add force to the Russian plan, Bulgarian monks were also sent to this monastery from Sofia.

The former Ukrainian Catholic priest *Eugen Juryk* (now *Nikolai*) was appointed the Orthodox bishop in *Lviv* (West Ukraine). He spent many years in prison and deportation. On April 24, 1966, the formal opening of a Council of the Orthodox Church of the entire USSR took place in the St. George Cathedral, in *Lviv*. Among others, 6 important church dignitaries of the Orthodox Church, headed by Patriarch *Alexei*, came from Moscow. They took up quarters in the "In-tourist" hotel, and they also appeared on the street in their ecclesiastical garments. Rumours were spread in the city of *Lviv* that the Council was convened in connection with the visit of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, *Gromyko* to Pope *Paul VI*. The main task of the bishops and novices who took part in the Council was to confirm the "voluntary" union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church, and to take a stand with reference to the Vatican's recommendation — to guarantee toleration of Catholics in the USSR.

Purpose — amalgamation of peoples

The following is an excerpt from an article by *Nebrasov* entitled "Employment of productive forces," which appeared in the Moscow *Pravda* of April 19, 1966.

"The main emphasis and the main direction of a rationally and scientifically-based distribution of productive forces lies in the establishment of the right economic proportion between the economic areas of the European and Asian parts of the USSR. 75% of the population and the majority of production goods are to be found in the European areas and in the Urals, while 90% of the fuel and 60% of the

hydrodynamic sources, as well as 70% of the timber and other riches of the state are found in Siberia and the Far East. The most valuable raw materials are located in the northern, bleak areas of *Siberia*, in *Kazakhstan* and other parts of the East. These facts must be taken into consideration and productive forces must be rationally distributed among leading production branches, in connection with the task of creating a material-technical basis of Communism."

Moscow's real intent, of course, is to resettle large numbers of Ukrainians and Byelorussians, together with Russians, in the eastern area of the USSR, for one thing to create a unified Russian people, and for another thing, to build up a certain security against Chinese aggression.

Self-criticism of writers

During the 23rd general conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Secretary of the board of directors of the Writers' Union of the USSR declared: "The Party supports those writers who take an active critical stand towards everything which seeks to check our progress, towards everything which hinders the quicker and better realization of great tasks."

The celebrated Bolshevik writer *Sholokhov*, expressed himself even more clearly with respect to the condemned Soviet writers and revisionists, *Synavsky* and *Daniel*: "If these good-for-nothings with bad consciences had lived in the 20's, when one was not protected by sharply defined articles of the law, but was directed by revolutionary justice, their case would have been much different."

The delegate from Moldavia, *Bodiul*, called the attention of the delegates to the fact "that those factors which promote the general national tradition and tendencies of the Soviet society and practically bring about the amalgamation of nations, are not sufficiently illuminated and exploited." To be sure, he did not expressly mention Russification, but the delegates knew well enough what he meant.

At the conference of the artists of the city of Kyiv, the young writers and artists who have dared to go their own way and have sought new forms of artistic expression, were reproached and condemned. A report on this conference appeared in the journal *Kultura i Zhytia* of March 27, 1966. "The necessity of a more concrete and deeper ideological attitude of the artist and writer was discussed. There are collective organizations among us in which Party instruction is still unsatisfactorily handled."

Ukrainian books behind the Iron Curtain

The collected novels and stories of the important Ukrainian writer *Andrij Chajkovsky* were published by *Kameniar* in Lviv.

A collected edition "Talk of the Century", in which all the works of Ukrainian writers in Czecho-Slovakia on *Taras Shevchenko* were published, was brought out in Priashiv. In the near future the collected works of the Ukrainian poet, *Bohdan Antonych*, will also be brought out in *Priashiv*.

The Warsaw publishing house *NNO* brought out a book by the Polish author *K. Slawinsky* entitled *Chreshchata*, in which the battles of Polish troops against Ukrainian insurgent units under the command of *Khrin*, are described. The book is published by the Polish Ministry of Defence.

Literaturna Ukraina of April 19, 1966, reports that in a large library, No. 50, in *Odessa*, there are a large number of many different books to be found, but hardly any in the Ukrainian language, though *Odessa* is the largest port of Ukraine.

"Socialist Society"

On the 12th and 13th of May, 1966, a conference of the public prosecutor's office of the USSR was held in Moscow. The public prosecutors of all the Union Republics, countries, districts and cities, as well as the leading personalities of the Soviet jurisdiction, of the Secret Service and of the entire Soviet apparatus which holds the

Soviet citizen in its claws, participated in this conference.

The speakers stressed that it was absolutely necessary "to strengthen the fight against rowdiness and against other premeditated crimes, as well as against inexcusable negligence, and against the production of poor-quality products."

Catastrophic cases in Ukraine

According to *Tass* two catastrophic fires occurred in the coalmines in *Luhansk* in May of 1966; the second of these spread into a large underground fire. Many miners lost their lives in these fires, but the exact number was not released by *Tass*, though it was pointed out in the report "that the Party had expressed its heartfelt sympathy to the families of the victims."

The Black Sea port of *Novorossiysk* and the vicinity was hard hit by a hurricane, which caused numerous fires and considerable damage. A strong whirlwind also caused considerable devastation in the district of *Krasnodar* and destroyed large areas of grain and orchards, and tore a large number of roofs from houses.

Eternal problem-child — agriculture

At the end of May, 1966, a conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held in Moscow to discuss the agricultural problem, a problem, in short, which is a constant headache to the Soviet rulers. At this conference the First Secretary of the Party, Brezhnev, let off steam about the catastrophic situation of agriculture in the entire USSR, but especially in Ukraine. He pointed out that the non-black soil farmland, of which there are approximately 50 million hectares, yielded 8.2 centners of grain per hectare — in other words, a miserable yield, also in this year, notwithstanding the fact that it was not a drought-year. For the purpose of comparison, we want to point out that precisely the same farmland in the West yielded the following quantities per hectare: Canada, 14 centners; United States, 18 centners; the Federal Republic of Germany, 36 centners, and

other West European countries, 30—40 centners per hectare.

To be sure, the necessity of making a fundamental change in Soviet agriculture was discussed at the conference, but the only reform which could really help would be to return the farmland to the farmers, for only in this way, will the farmer have a greater interest in increasing the yield. But the Bolsheviks could not afford to do such a thing, for it would mean the end of the Bolshevik regime in the entire USSR.

Revealing Letter

The Ukrainian *J. Sakruta*, who is presently living in Argentina, published in the Ukrainian emigration press a letter which he recently received from his brother-in-law, who is living in Ukraine. This brother-in-law spent many years in deportation and was made into a cripple as a result of torturous treatment; his health has been completely ruined. Some time ago he returned to Ukraine; not to his native village, however, but to a Ukrainian city. He sent the letter to *J. Sakruta* by a circuitous route and requested to have it published. "I am writing openly in this letter because I no longer fear anything. I won't live much longer anyhow, even if the letter should fall into the hands of the wrong people."

The letter-writer tells about the inhuman treatment and mass-murder of the Ukrainian soldiers who fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks after the battle in the vicinity of *Brody*, on July 22, 1944. His two brothers who succeeded in escaping from this prison after the battle joined up with the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army); it wasn't until 1959 that they were killed in a battle against the MVD. Another acquaintance was killed in 1960 in a battle with the MVD.

"We are living here in the greatest misery and distress: there is a shortage of everything. Terrorism has become somewhat milder, but it continues to exist in a concealed form. But our people are no longer afraid as they sometimes were in the past,

for they are no longer deceived by lies and propaganda. What is written here about the capture and sentencing of thieves and criminals is not at all true; those who are arrested and condemned are not thieves and criminals, but members of the OUN-Bandera group. Nor are we taken in by what is written here that newspapers and publications of the Bandera-followers in emigration are in the service of foreign states. We know that they are carrying on a bitter fight against the occupiers and are slandered and attacked by the enemy for this reason. But it won't do them any good. Our people are silent for the moment, but this silence is merely the calm which precedes the storm.

I cannot understand why the peoples of the Free World do not undertake a crusade against this prison of nations, to eradicate it from the surface of the earth; for it also threatens those peoples which are still living in freedom."

Ecclesiastic life

In numerous letters to their relatives in emigration, Ukrainians describe the present conditions of religious life in Ukraine. Most churches were closed by the Bolsheviks and only few priests have survived the persecutions. The remaining priests are gathered together in collective vicarages, which are visited by the people from the surrounding area to be married in church, to have their children baptized, to make confession and to ask the priest to bury a deceased.

It must also be pointed out that employees and workers in the service of the state are immediately dismissed if they marry in church. Schoolchildren who dare to go to church are also irrevocably expelled from the school. This also applies to children in the first grade, if they go to church with their parents. These dismissals take place by secret oral order, though there are no written laws.

Demonstration in Kyiv.

On May 22, 1966, the AP Press Agency sent a report from Kyiv entitled "Ukrainian Nationalism".

'In spite of cold rain several hundreds of people came to the capital of Ukraine to demonstrate silently the resistance of Ukrainian nationalism against Moscow. They placed flowers under the monument of the 19th century poet, Taras Shevchenko, who had called upon his countrymen to free themselves from Russian rule.'

Defamation Campaign against a UPA Officer

The news comes from Stanislav (Ivano-Frankivsk) region of Western Ukraine, that a trial will soon take place of an officer of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Lieutenant Oleksa Tchumak-Hryva, before a Russian Bolshevik court.

A long time before the trial, in April 1966, the Bolsheviks herded up the population from the surrounding area to Mykulychyn, in the Nadvirna district, to attend a meeting. At this meeting the members of the area committee of the Communist Party slandered Ukrainian nationalism, calling it 'bourgeois and anti-national'. They warned the people present against the members of the underground movements and said that these people were still alive, were holding fast to their ideology and continued to calumniate Soviet reality. Those present were forced to pass resolutions, in which they asked the Soviet court 'to punish Hryva severely'.

UPA units were in combat with the Bolshevik *Kovpak* troops in this area, where Lieutenant Tchumak-Hryva was active, and here also the Russian political Commissar Semen Rudnyev was killed. Lieutenant Tchumak-Hryva is accused of having killed Bolshevik scouts and paratroopers in an engagement on April 5, 1944, at the village of Kosmach, in the district of Kosiv.

A Political Economy Lesson in Ukraine

The April 16, 1966 issue (No. 88) of the newspaper *Radianska Ukraina* gives a description of a lesson in political economy in the Pedagogic Institute at Ismail, in Moldavia, as described by a chance Soviet visitor:

'My appearance in the class in the middle of a lecture did not disturb in any way the usual kind of student activity. The students, of both sexes, sitting around between whole barricades of cases, coats and books, continued undisturbed their previous activities. Everyone was holding lively conversation with the next girl; one girl student was reading with enthusiasm art literature, another was translating French and English texts, and hardly anyone was taking notes on the lecture. And the lecturer, A. J. Mesentsev, was meanwhile reading his lecture on 'Socialist Ownership of Means of Production — the Economic Role of the Socialist State'. He once interrupted himself to make the following comment to the students:

'Personal property is not being liquidated among us. For example, no one else is ever allowed to wear my suit.'

The students suspected the chance of some diverting amusement, and overwhelmed the lecturer with questions: How is that true? Mesentsev quietened the noisy audience with the assurance that this was nothing terrible, it was 'a law, which will even stay so'.

I learnt that the only lecturer for Political Economy in this institute, Mr. Mesentsev, was a zoo technologist (technical zoology), for his specialised training was of this kind. This reminded me of a main character in a satirical short story of the writers Ilz and Pyetrov, who 'had ended a course in tailoring and sewing with the title of building expert'.

Tissue Paper Letters from Peking produce Unrest

In the units of the Russian occupation army in Eastern Germany and Poland, as well as in the units of the Polish Army and in the barracks of the Soviet garrison in Lviv, in Western Ukraine, in which Ukrainian recruits are trained, Russian military security organisations have discovered propaganda leaflets from Peking, printed on thin tissue paper, which have been the cause of great unrest, fear and worry among the Russian general staff and authorities.

The leaflets, composed in good Ukrainian, Polish and Russian, have different texts and contents, to suit the country to which they are directed. The Ukrainian soldiers in the Soviet or Polish army are reminded that there was once an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state, and that Ukraine must become once more a sovereign, independent state, as was demanded more than a hundred years ago by the greatest Ukrainian poet, Shevchenko. In the Russian text it was claimed that the Moscow party officials were stopping the highest Soviet generals from carrying out a proper policy. In the Polish texts the Soviet Union was reproached with helping, by their treaty made with Hitler, to carry out the attack on Poland, as well as with retaining their share of the booty. The Poles were incited to take nationalist action.

The leaflets appeared at the same time in different garrison towns, e. g. in Wuensdorf, in the Teltow region, in tank divisions in Anhalt, Neustettin, East Prussia, in Lodtz, (Polish garrison), Lviv (Ukrainian units) and others. Feverish investigations to discover the perpetrators and the manner in which the leaflets were distributed are up to now without success.

Military potential of the USSR in Central Europe

According to reliable sources there are approximately 2 million Soviet soldiers stationed in Central Europe; they constitute 100 divisions with 21,000 tanks; 5700 cannons, 2200 fighter-planes, 355 warships, of which 90 are submarines and 60 are swimming rocket launching platforms.

In the Cafes — No Coffee

Recently, some Soviet Ukrainian newspapers made efforts to publicise their staff members. When one of them falls ill or proves to be incompetent, his successor is announced as follows: Now XY has become our correspondent in Odessa or Dnipropetrovsk. Please read his reports in this or the next issue.

The new staff member of *Radianska Ukraina* in Zaporozhje made his first appearance with a report in *Radianska Ukraina* of Oct. 8, 1966, by which he not only won the readers' sympathies, but also proved to be a clever observer. Among other things, he reported on the difficulties with which worker's and employees are faced in their efforts to enjoy their leisure time meaningfully. The clubs, founded for this purpose, had lost their attraction. Usually they show films, which had already run in the movie theatres and which everyone had already seen. A "cup of hot coffee" had become the number one problem. There were a number of cafes in town, but they were open only until 9 P.M. and sold any number of things, for example Borshch, Schnitzel etc. — with the exception of coffee. The correspondent describes his own experience. He stopped in at the cafe "Summer" with the desire for a cup of hot coffee, which, however, he could not get. It is customary with the cafes to cook the coffee for the entire day in the mornings, and then it is served cold, weak and tasteless. "Why do you need hot coffee?" the waiter asked the correspondent in astonishment. "We don't have hot coffee". But the correspondent insisted on hot coffee, whereupon he received the following answer from the chief of the cafe: "Don't get nervous fellow citizen, even little children know that cold coffee can be turned into hot coffee. You will be served at once." The correspondent explained to him that he was glad to forego it, as he wanted freshly made coffee, and that he had no other choice than to leave the cafe.

Increased Interest in Ukrainians Abroad

In the historical journal *Ukrainskyj istorychnyj zhurnal* No. 8, 1966, an article appeared by N. S. Gurladi, entitled "On certain tendencies of bourgeois falsifications regarding the nationality policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Ukraine". The author states that a number of research institutes in the West were

dealing with problems on Soviet Ukraine, and with the Ukrainian question as such. He goes on to say that "in the United States of America, in the Federal Republic of Germany and in England numerous monographs appear which falsify the history of the national republics, in particular of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic." The author continues to deal with some such works which appeared in the United States or in the Federal Republic of Germany. His polemics are directed against the following authors: the American, R. Sullivan (*Soviet Politics and the Ukraine*. 1917—1957), the late English expert on the East, W. Kolarz (*Communism and Colonialism*), the German professors B. Meissner and G. Wagenlehner, and others. The author appears especially "allergic" to Kolarz's thesis that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was pursuing nationalistic and colonialistic policies with respect to the Ukrainians, Moslems and Byelorussians. Prof. Boris Meissner is criticised for presenting a false picture of Soviet policies concerning the future of nations by maintaining that the aim of Communist re-construction is the amalgamation of all nations and peoples in a Soviet nation of the Russian stamp.

Kommunist Ukrainy No. 8, 1966, published an article by W. Sarbej, entitled "Bourgeois-nationalist falsifiers of Soviet Ukrainian Historiography". This article was chiefly directed against the exile Ukrainian scholars Prof. O. Ohloblin and Mrs. Polonska-Wassylenko, who is living in Munich. A group of younger Ukrainian scholars was also subjected to criticism involving a whole range of problems of Ukraine at the present time, as in the past.

Two world-famous scholars living in the United States, the orientalist O. Prizak and the authority on Ukrainian literature D. Reshetar, were severely attacked. Finally, mention must be made of a violent attack, which appeared in *Literaturna Ukraina* of July 22, 1966, against the Ukrainian writer W. Kravtsiv, who is now living in the United States.

In Favour of the National Tradition

In *Literaturna Ukraina* of Sept. 30, 1966, the Ukrainian writer B. Antonenko-Davidovych, one of the few Ukrainian intellectuals who survived Stalin's terror and long years of imprisonment in concentration camps, advocated the cultivation of national traditions, or, as he put it, the "obligations to the past and to the future". He cited the late Soviet Ukrainian poet Maxim Rylskyj, whose plan it was to revive the memory of various historical places, personages, etc. Most of all he was thinking of the traditions of the Ukrainian Cossacks. He suggests, for example, that streets in Ukrainian cities should be named after famous Cossack leaders. All this was of great educational importance, and the solution of this problem was — in Antonenko-Davidovych's words — "our obligation towards future generations". This reawakening of national traditions, breaking with the nihilistic attitude towards the past of one's own nation, could already be discerned during the past months among the younger Ukrainian intelligentsia. It appears that the discussion has reached a point at which the regime must follow suit and must reach a decision — one way or another.

Another important event in the cultural life of Ukraine was the announcement that from 1967 on, a new academic bimonthly *Movoznavstvo* (linguistic journal) will appear. Since Stalin's terror measures in 1937, there has not been a publication of this nature. The journal is to deal with basic questions concerning the Ukrainian language. Furthermore, modern problems will be dealt with, for instance, semantics, interconnections between language and thought, interrelations between various languages, structural peculiarities of the Ukrainian and other languages, etc. In addition articles are to appear from Germanic, Romance, Russian and Slav languages. Of interest is also the announcement, or to put it more precisely — the expressed hope that also problems of oriental languages will be discussed in the journal. Ukraine has a great tradition in this field.

A peculiarity of the Soviet Ukrainian Komsomol press is the attempt to glorify Soviet spies as a part of the education of the youth. In the Ukrainian Komsomol publication *Molod' Ukrainy*, a number of articles appeared on this subject. Worth mentioning, for example, is the glorification of a spy in Tsarist times, who then succeeded in penetrating secrets of the imperial and royal Austro-Hungarian general staff. The publication touches upon the patriotic *leitmotif* of the Tsarist agent. His name was Colonel Marchenko, who was involved in the notorious imperial and royal Colonel Redl affair.

The stories of espionage heroes before World War I are paralleled to similar ones in recent times. The same Komsomol publication of July 18th and 19th, 1966 featured a skilfully written report on the "Abel-accomplice, Lonsdale". In this report the memoirs, which recently appeared in London, were discussed. *Molod' Ukrainy* especially emphasises the fact that Ivanovych Abel, a Soviet military intelligence agent who "ingratiated" himself with the German counter-espionage during the war, was sent to the USA via the Federal Republic of Germany with espionage commissions from the Soviet Union in 1950. In the report Lonsdale's activities in England are discussed; among other things, it is maintained that he succeeded in winning a member of the Federal intelligence service as an informer during his activities in the United States.

All these "stories", of course, have a motive. On one hand, the purpose is to sharpen the youth's political alertness and, on the other hand, to demonstrate the Bolsheviks' superiority in this field also. By appealing to the innate adventurousness of youth, the glorification of spies serves as an incentive. Many factors seem to indicate that the Party will soon try to inculcate concepts like "Soviet patriotism" in its efforts to re-educate the young people.

"Flying Saucers"

The Comsomol newspaper *Molodj Ukrainy* of Sept. 3, 1966 dealt with the problem of "flying saucers", which has excited many people. In Ukrainian they are referred to by the abbreviated initials of the term "unknown flying objects", *NLO*. *Molodj Ukrainy* states that, according to reports, "flying saucers" were seen also in Ukraine two years ago. The editors requested all persons who had seen them to describe their observations in detail and send them in by mail.

Moscow's offensive against non-Russian languages

At the time when the Chairman of the Association of Writers in Ukraine, Oles Honchar, declared: "The language of the people is the greatest national treasure, and it is the duty of all of us, including the government, to protect it," the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR issued an edict "Concerning additional measures to improve the works in general secondary schools". This edict is actually directed specifically against non-Russian languages in the USSR and raises the Russian language to a privileged position. *Radianska Ukraina* of November 19, 1966, interpreted it as follows: "The number of pupils in a class in a general-educational school is to be 40, in grades 1-8; and 35, in grades 9-10/11. In the village nationality schools the following is to be maintained: The Russian language classes in the grades 4-10/11 with more than 25 pupils will be divided into two sub-groups." And then: "An organizer of extra-curricular activities, having the title of assistant-director, shall be introduced into the faculty of secondary schools."

From the above quotation we can conclude the following: First, better methods of instruction of the Russian language have been secured by law. Russian will be studied in smaller groups. Also, there will be twice as many teachers of the Russian language as of the non-Russian languages. Second, the Russification process will be intensified for the organizer of extra-curri-

cular activities shall have the task "to cultivate revolutionary and labour traditions of the Soviet people" among pupils and "to develop in them a high feeling of Soviet patriotism" by means of the Russian language.

Fighting Ukraine is praising her hero

Reports are reaching us by round-about ways from Ukraine, that support the observations of Western correspondents concerning activities and the heroic death of the legendary fighter, Antin Oliynyk, and indicate that a myth is being formed around the heroic personality of this brave Ukrainian, even before his death.

For 23 years the Ukrainian patriot and avenger, Antin Oliynyk, individually conducted an active struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism in the territory between Kyiv and Rivno. Allegedly he liquidated between 50 and 75 administrative and Party functionaries. The very mention of his name or of his pseudonyms "Mriya" and "Hindu" makes Soviet-Russian authorities in Ukraine shudder. A large number of special security detachments and army troops were deployed for years, combing forests to track down this legendary fighter for the freedom and happiness of the Ukrainian people.

At last, an incident helped the occupation forces to seize Antin Oliynyk, but even then he killed several scores of Communist "specialists".

These news items are infiltrating through the Iron Curtain, in the form of ballads and songs created and transmitted by the populace, glorifying Antin Oliynyk, the most recent hero of Ukraine in the struggle against Communist-Russian tyrants. The news of his brutal execution has been carefully withheld from the Ukrainian people by the authorities.

(According to *Kanadiyskyy Farmer*, Winnipeg, Canada, no. 44, Nov. 5th, 1966)

Agitation against the Byelorussians

Following the condemnation of Synyavsky and Daniel, the Soviet critics faithful to the Party line, initiated a sharp

campaign against the Byelorussian writer, *Vasyl Bykov*. The main charges against him were: a low assessment of the morals of the Soviet army in World War II, lack of patriotism, an attempt to disparage the "courageous heroism" of the Red army, and finally, the betrayal of the fatherland, which he is said to have done in the publication of his monthly *Novi Mir*. The critics demand his expulsion from the Union of Byelorussian Writers, and moreover that his writings should not appear in Soviet journals and other publications.

The system of two languages is being more and more used in the Byelorussian Republic, namely, the Byelorussian and the Russian languages. In television programmes a lecturer is to speak only Russian, and those who wish to hear his lecture in the Byelorussian language, have to buy a special apparatus and have it installed in their television sets. The apparatus is very expensive.

The editor of *Novi Mir* published an article in this journal in which he paid tribute to the deceased "Russian" writer *Anna Akhmatova*, a native Ukrainian, for her steadfastness in pursuing her own literary course independently of the Bolshevik Party, notwithstanding the many attacks which were directed against her. "Her bravery must be honoured."

Resettlement in Tadzhikistan

Komsomolskaya Pravda of May 31, 1966, reports that in Tadzhikistan the people living in the mountainous regions are to be forcefully resettled in flat areas and valleys, where they will have to work in kolkhozes, sovchozes and factories. As an explanation to this resettlement, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan, *Dshabar Rassulov* declared: "There are processes in motion in *Tadzhikistan*, the aim of which is to liquidate small agricultural firms in order to develop the productive forces of the cities and the larger kolkhozes and sovchozes in the flatlands."

Suppression-methods in Hungary

It is reported that in Hungary, employees, particularly intelligent office employees and workers, have been dismissed from their jobs in large numbers. Suspicion of political unreliability is the reason for these dismissals, though, to be sure, other reasons are given officially.

There are an increasing number of cases in which visas for tourist trips abroad are not issued, particularly to engineers and MDs, for it very often happens that these specialists do not return to their native country. It is worthy of note that some former AVO employees (Secret Service) from the Rakosi period, have been rehabilitated and are performing the same duties which they performed before the revolution of 1956.

Prison Conditions in Rumania

(Conditions for political prisoners 1955-64), a factual report compiled by Amnesty International, London, 1965, 28 pp.

This report gives a thorough and realistic description of the conditions for political prisoners in the Rumanian People's Republic in the years 1955-64, in other words, even during the so-called "liberalization" of Communist order. For this very reason, the compilation and publication of this report is especially valuable as a contribution towards a realistic and critical appraisal of "liberalized" Communism in the Soviet Russian sphere of power.

The fact itself that there are political prisoners in a "liberalized" Communist order, should be enough to open the eyes of many naive people in the Free World. And the carefully investigated and established conditions under which even today many political prisoners in a "People's Democracy" have to live and suffer, should more than destroy any illusions of "liberalized" Communist dictators and of "peaceful coexistence" with Communism.

This report by Amnesty International is an indictment of Communist-imposed order.

Dr. C. P.

Book Reviews

The Grand Design:

A European Solution to German Reunification

by Franz Josef Strauss, Publ. by Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London

Dr. Strauss made a name for himself in world politics already at the time when the West, with its policy of force, still knew how to meet the cold war effectively. The qualities of leadership which he demonstrated as Minister for Defence in the successful reconstruction of the new German Army within the NATO framework, predestined him, in the eyes of many people, even at that time as the most fitting successor of Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Adenauer.

However, this task also had its serious disadvantages. In the eyes of all opposing forces and groups, it stigmatised the German Minister for Defence, both nationally and internationally, as an enemy of peace and conciliation; who, at an opportune moment, was to be politically wiped out. When this came about, not only his inner political and personal opponents celebrated the success. It became a symbolic victory of a potential new alliance of East and West, which sought a return to the Washington-Moscow Yalta politics through the coexistence policy, which operated one-sidedly in favour of the Soviet regime.

Since that final victory, however, it has become more and more evident from world-political developments, that even the coexistence policy which was pursued in accordance with Kennedy's conception and dynamics, could also mean a return to liberalisation illusions. The so-called liberalisation leadership became a fiction to that extent to which the potential alliance with the Soviets became a betrayal of freedom and led to the systematic playing into the hands of the Soviets in every conceivable way.

This realistic analysis of world politics also constitutes the point of departure for the author of *The Grand Design*; from this perspective he discusses how the present leadership crisis of the West can be coped with, how NATO can be correspondingly reformed and how Europe can again become an indispensable partner in the fight for freedom and progress in the struggle of nations and international power groupings.

Dr. Strauss' analysis and the conception deduced from this analysis prove that he is not only capable of maintaining his political position of leadership as the unchallenged state chairman of the CSU, but knows how to apply this leadership with renewed vitality in all-German and all-European spheres of influence.

In this forthright statement of his political views, Franz Josef Strauss, the former German Defence Minister, proposes an entirely new solution to the problem of German reunification. He outlines the present European situation and advocates a fresh approach to the postwar problem of Germany's place in Europe by proposing that the latent danger of a final settlement of Germany's frontiers be absorbed in a long-term plan to set up a United States of Europe. This federation would include the Eastern countries now under Communist domination, and would involve a reorganization of the NATO Treaty to make a United Europe an equal nuclear partner with — rather than a military protectorate of — the United States in a Atlantic Alliance. In relation to his far-sighted plan, Dr. Strauss deals with a number of specific present-day topics: Germany's national aspirations in the light of the Hitler régime and post-war guilt, the significance of the Gaullist movement, and Britain's ambiguous position in relation to the Common Market and the future of Europe. A. S.

Anti-Kosygin Demonstration Favourably Reported In The British Press

On February 6, 1967 Soviet Premier Kosygin arrived in London to pay an official visit to Great Britain. He was met by hundreds of demonstrators protesting his arrival. The British press gave extensive coverage to the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Baltic demonstrators.

The Times from February 6th reported on the protests at the Soviet Embassy. It said: "Two dozen men carrying placards paraded silently in Bayswater Road, London, for two hours yesterday over Mr. Kosygin's visit to Britain, which begins today. They walked up and down in front of the entrance to Kensington Palace Gardens, a private road, which leads to the Soviet Embassy.

"The men were representatives of the Ukrainian Committee in London. The placards demanded "Freedom for Enslaved Ukraine", and accused Mr. Kosygin of being "Stalin's Helpmate".

"More than 1,000 exiles from east Europe marched through the centre of Bradford yesterday to protest against Mr. Kosygin's visit. At a meeting afterwards the exiles passed six resolutions condemning Soviet domination of their homelands."

February 7th *The Times* published a half page picture of the demonstrators and their placards across the street from the Claridge.

The Evening Standard of February 6th included a large picture entitled: *Banners . . . boos — for K's cavalcade*. It shows how "Banner-waving and booing, anti-Russian demonstrators greet Mr. Kosygin as he and Mr. Wilson arrive at Claridges." The following posters are evident:

RUSSIA — CONCENTRATION CAMP OF NATIONS! MOSCOW BETRAYS EVERYONE! CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM! FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE!

In an article entitled *Kosygin Flies In*, the *Evening Standard* reports:

"At Claridges a crowd of more than 300 saw the Russian Premier arrive shortly after 12:30.

"As Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Wilson stepped from their car they were greeted by some loud boos and jeers from nearly 100 banner-waving demonstrators who had gathered an hour before their arrival.

"One banner called for 'Muscovite jailers' to release British lecturer Gerald Brooke, held in a Russian prison."

Similar picture was published in *The Evening News* of Monday, February 6th showing a few more placards:

KOSYGIN IS STALIN'S HELPMATE! RUSSIA STOP PERSECUTING UKRAINIAN WRITERS!

In an article entitled *Banners and Boos Greet Kosygin in London Today . . .*, *The Evening News* writes:

"Soviet leader Mr. Kosygin flew into a fog, then drove into demonstration today. Scores of demonstrators waited outside Claridges for Mr. Kosygin's arrival. They paraded on the pavement opposite the hotel bearing banners with slogans like: "Abolish Slave Camps," "Freedom for Ukraine" and "Russia is the Biggest Colonial Empire"

There was only one banner saying: "Welcome Mr. K."

It continues: "Mr. Kosygin was met with a storm of boos and whistles from the 300 strong crowd. The booing went on as Mr. Kosygin climbed out of his car, turned, waved to the crowd and walked hurriedly into the hotel."

Pictures of the protest group and appropriate comments were also found in *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and many other newspapers in Great Britain and abroad.

The Ukrainian Information Service printed a special press release with details about the imprisoned and deported Ukrainian writers, scholars and professional people. It also issued documents showing that a tremendous wave of Russification is forthcoming in Ukraine, but the population is showing strong resistance. Perhaps, this campaign will restrain Western statesmen from trading and befriending the Communist-Russian enslavers of nations!

Anti-Kosygin Demonstration In London On February 6, 1967.



ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

March 1917



The Break Up of the Russian Colonial Empire Is Not to Be Stopped

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Western Alliance With The Subjugated Peoples Needed

Our prognosis has proved correct

We regard it as our duty to subject the foreign policy of the United States to a critique, for our prognoses have proved to be true, as a matter of fact, more than once. Let us but recall our explanation of 15 years and more ago, to the effect that in the atomic era, revolts constitute an alternative — at that time, the press, the politicians and many others of different shades and colours, laughed at us. But we witnessed one revolt after another: in the East Zone of Germany, in Hungary, in the concentration camps, and later, in Vietnam and in Cuba — in short, it turned out that our military, political and strategic prognoses were right. Our conception of the modern conduct of war has been widely acknowledged, even by such highly qualified men as Liddell Hart, Prof. Teller, General Fuller and others.

With respect to this, Liddell Hart wrote: "The atomic bomb is neither a good policeman, nor a good fireman, nor a usable border station. It is also a questionable means of suppressing a revolt; it can prove deadly for both sides . . ." *

Prof. Teller, who made valuable contributions to the creation of the atomic bomb, wrote as follows: "The United States will have to train guerilla units, if it wants to win in bush-fighting . . . These units would have to be armed with small "clean" atomic weapons, which are necessary for a limited atomic war. But the final victory will depend upon the people for which we are fighting . . . *It must be on our side . . . It must take up arms and attack the enemy, which our partisans will have dispersed . . . The battlefield of a limited atomic war (I believe that the author has the use of limited, tactical atomic weapons in mind. — S. O.) will not become a wasteland . . . But we can only*

win such a war if the people of the country in question are on our side . . ."

Moscow also, and Marshal Sokolovsky are aware of this danger. Sokolovsky knows where the Achilles' heel of the empire and Communism lies. Since he is at a loss to defend the Soviet Union in the event of internal revolt, he plans — as a means of intimidating the West — the following: "To achieve the most effective results in the shortest time in a future war, the Soviet war machine and that of the Socialist camp will have to apply its full military force from the first moment on, literally, in the first hours and minutes. As far as weapons are concerned, a third world war will be fought with rockets and nuclear warheads. Accordingly, the strategic rocket troops will be of supreme importance in the war machine, whereas, the other parts of the armed forces will be fundamentally changed. The final victory, however, will be won as a result of the joint efforts of all parts of the armed forces . . ."

From these reflections of Marshal Sokolovsky, it is clearly to be seen that Moscow is afraid of a drawn out war, for it is aware that the fall of the empire and the destruction of the regime will come from the inside.

But the French sociologist R. Aron is right when he writes in his book *War and Peace*: "If the Soviet bloc should convince itself that it possesses an incontestable superiority, either in terms of the passive or active means of deterrence, then the danger would be deadly."

At present, the situation appears to be as follows: the USA has become entangled in peripheral, hopeless wars, whereas, it was not even capable of coping with Cuba. Now, it is going through the same thing in Vietnam, whereby, the possibility of a

direct confrontation with Red China becomes more and more real. And to top it off, on the advice of men like Kennan and Rostov, the United States is making efforts to secure a non-aggression pact with Moscow — just as Hitler did, while Stalin rubbed his hands in glee . . . In short, not only the West's "active", but its "passive" means of deterrence are becoming more and more lame; in short, the perspective danger of Moscow looms larger and larger, though the internal situation in the Russian empire, owing to the enormous intensification of the offensive resistance, has become hopeless. But this, the West does not at all take into account. *Ceterum censeo* — Moscow's power lies in the weakness of the West's political ideas, in its lack of a clear perspective, as well as in its failure to grasp the contradictions and irrationalities of the Russian empire and of the regime; furthermore, it is a grave mistake on the part of the West to refuse to exploit the revolts within the empire.

"Russia's weakness is our strength," said General Fuller, "but her strength is our ignorance." He further writes that "the psychological centre of gravity of the Soviet Empire is to be sought in the hearts of the subjugated peoples within the USSR and behind the Iron Curtain. Further, it should be borne in mind, and it seldom is, that this psychological "bomb" is as great a deterrent to the Soviets resorting to actual war as the hydrogen bomb itself." (*The Conduct of War* — page 352)

What solution does the State Department have to offer to the world crisis and the threat to mankind? When it became apparent, during a talk with a high official of the US State Department that my line of argument was having no effect on the prejudices of his attitude, I posed a question bordering on desperation, namely, how did the United States conceive of subduing, that is to say, of defeating Communism? With a disarming naiveté, this high-ranking man answered: "*The liquidation of Communism is not at all a part of the plans of the USA.*" This explanation brought our talk to an abrupt end.

The political conception of the State Department

Notwithstanding the above, I pose the question: How does the State Department conceive of victory? how does it conceive of the fight against Communism, when it does not even want to hear anything against Russian imperialism, which, indeed, it takes under its protection!? Moscow knows what it wants. Moscow has a plan and it acts according to this plan.

The political conception of the West does not go beyond peaceful coexistence, which was foisted upon it by Moscow, on Lenin's inspiration. It does not go beyond "evolutionary liberalization of the regime," democratization — or, to state it in general terms, not beyond the conception of converting the devil to the belief in God. In fact, it sometimes appears that the conception of the West reads as follows: "Let Moscow swallow as much as possible, then maybe it'll choke." Indeed, it appears to me that this is the real political conception of the State Department. Whether this conception is to be regarded as a responsible one, is another matter; but reduced to a simple formula, it is very likely as I stated it!

Otherwise, how is it to be explained that it is constantly repeated in the West that the Russian empire, or as it is called — the Soviets — has ceased to constitute a danger. It appears to be completely forgotten that Russia's borders have extended far beyond those of 1939, that Moscow's "way of life" — Communism — dominates the Chinese Mainland, half of Europe, numerous countries of Asia, Cuba, and other areas. In addition, we have to take into account Moscow's political influence and military maneuverings in various continents, then, for the first time in history, "the visit" of Moscow's naval force in Alexandria (Egypt) — and consequently, its presence in the Mediterranean. Even the Empress of Russia, Catherine II's wishes to build up Russian influence in Latin America appear to be in the process of realization, cf. Vene-

zuela. Through the Communist Parties which are subservient to it, through fifth columnists, and thanks to its political weight, Moscow is in a position to make itself felt in every continent and in every matter that is somehow of importance in the world — as a matter of fact, more forcefully than the largest empire of yesterday — Great Britain — could. Moscow influences the revolts of the negroes in the United States. Moscow is present everywhere, but according to Rostov and Kennan, indeed, according to Senator Fullbright, Moscow's influence is on the wane... Hence, according to this view, it would appear that the best advice is — to capitulate to Russia altogether in all parts of the world; let it grab the whole world, then it will choke, for it would not be capable of digesting all that which it will have robbed. It sometimes appears to me that the so-called "Brain Trust" in the United States must have reached such conclusions in the process of formulating its policies. As a matter of fact we have even heard the view expressed that it would not be so bad if West Germany also were to be occupied by Moscow, for in that case, Red Berlin would get involved in a conflict with Moscow, similar to the Moscow-Peking conflict. If one pursues this view a bit further, one would have to conclude that some Americans must be of the opinion that a Red America would more likely fight against Moscow, if Washington would become Red, than the national Americans...

Such a perverse line of argument on the part of America's and the West's gravediggers would find its logical conclusion in the following statement: "In defiance of the Russians, we agree that after they have succeeded in occupying the whole world and have arrested and imprisoned all the freedom-fighters of the West, they will have difficulty in guarding all these imprisoned people and will, moreover, begin to suffer pangs of remorse owing to the murder of fresh millions of the "bourgeois", the "fascists," and "agents of the Vatican and Wall Street." And a time will come when it will be too boring for them to hold

us confined in prison, or to murder us, and their pangs of remorse will become intolerable — then, owing to our endurance in suffering, we will conquer the Russians." Do not think that these are fantasies on my part.

S. King Hall, an important politician and publicist, who began his career as a high-ranking Marine officer, wrote such absurdities and such nonsense in his book "To win the war in peace" (1958). I am quoting from the German edition; but perhaps there is a purpose in repeating this stupid nonsense. "Do you believe, my critics ask me, that Khrushchov, or anyone of his successors, would be afraid of occupying England — for fear of the consequences?" "Yes, I reply, I believe they would be afraid if we could succeed in carrying out the necessary preparations. I mean that it would be possible to make the occupation of Western countries by Russian troops very dangerous for the Communists — in the psychological sector. I am of the opinion that it would have to be thought out very carefully. In any case I am convinced that psychological deterrence is more important than the deterrent effect of hydrogen bombs..." "The first condition of my resistance without the use of force is that it must be psychologically thought out... The basis of psychological resistance and also the attack on the whole moral position of the occupiers depending upon it, lies in the conduct of every single individual, who, as long as he lives, must not renounce his right to be a free man, but must stand up for his principles with his conduct and his character in every way possible..." "Civil resistance is not based on armed power, but it is nonetheless offensive from a psychological point of view..."

"We should defend the idea and spirit of democracy," the author writes, "indeed, by passive resistance, for resistance by sabotage or terror, etc., would only mean the continuation of organized military resistance..." The author is of the opinion that every form of physical resistance in the atomic era is nonsense. Therefore, his direct advice is to capitulate to Moscow, and

"by passive resistance, to show Moscow what we can do . . ." *O sancta simplicitas!* There are still old, naive numskulls to be found in the Free World! If they were merely numskulls! But I am not of the opinion that Rostov and Kennan, Latimore and Lippmann, belong to this category of naive simpletons . . .

Such perspective capitulations to Moscow are recommended by those men who no longer believe in the world of ideas of the West, who have lost the belief in their own truth and are merely impressed by what comes from the East — *ex oriente* — but not by the creative conceptions which stem from the underground of the East, but by that which comes from the Kremlin or from Mao's palace . . .

What do we have to suggest to the West?

Nothing more than what we declared during World War II and during the two decades since then. A common front consisting of the free nations of the world, led by the United States, together with the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia and Red China, *against both tyrannies* — Moscow and Peking — with the intent of bringing the empire to ruin and disaster, and of destroying Communism from within. We are for the realization of the idea of national, independent states of all the peoples subjugated by Russians and Chinese Communists, for the freedom of individuals, respect for all of his rights, for human dignity and social justice.

We suggest the landing of National Chinese troops on the Chinese Mainland in the perspective of a war, which we hope will be neither very difficult, nor of long duration, but which, in any event, would be better than an atomic war. We suggest the escalation of the war of liberation to North Vietnam and North Korea, as well as to the entire world which is presently subjugated by Communism.

The idea of the unification and independence of Vietnam will enthuse the masses of both South and North Vietnam and activate them to a holy war for the unity

and sovereignty of the nation. We suggest the formation of a bloc of the threatened Asian nations, but they themselves must decide upon the expediency of their war activities. The United States should only help when called upon, but should not decide in advance.

We suggest the support of coordinated and synchronized national revolutions in the Russian sphere of power, in conjunction with the determined resoluteness of the United States. We further suggest, if it should prove absolutely necessary, the threat of an atomic war against Russia. In this connection, however, it must be highly emphasized that only industrial centres having political and military importance on the Russian ethnographic territory, i. e., Moscow, Leningrad, etc., should be threatened with US atomic bombs, and never a city or an industrial centre on the territory of the subjugated peoples, i. e., Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and others. Of course, in principle we are against any form of nuclear war at all.

In his book *The conduct of war* (London, 1964, pp. 352), the highly gifted military theoretician, General Fuller, writes precisely to the point, precisely in the sense of the principles which we have been representing for decades. "Therefore, in the Cold War, the psychological centre of gravity of the Soviet Empire is to be sought in the hearts of the subjugated peoples within the USSR and behind the Iron Curtain. Further, it should be borne in mind, and it seldom is, that this psychological "bomb" is as great a deterrent to the Soviets resorting to actual war as the hydrogen bomb itself. Russia's weakness is our strength, and her strength is our ignorance; no man realizes this more fully than Nikita Khrushchov . . ."

The eager efforts of the West to put an end to the Cold War at all cost by no means constitute the precondition of the West's success in the Cold War. On the contrary, fuel should be added to the Cold War in all possible ways. The Russian empire and the Communist complex must

be attacked politically, economically and psychologically, and it must be borne in mind that within the Russian empire, there are countless millions who are on the side of the West, despite the fact that the West has forgotten them and casts them to the tyrants as victims. In short, it has not the least interest in their fate. The road to victory is through a reorientation in terms of the subjugated peoples, and not by frantically holding to the tyrants and their despotic governments, as well as to the occupiers of the countries conquered by them. Where are the dozens of radio and television stations, the dozens of infiltration points, which were set up and directed by us to have our ideas transmitted through them? For decades we have been repeating the same thing: many are pro-West: the peoples subjugated in the USSR, the peoples in the satellite countries, in Asia and in Europe, the Chinese are on the side of the West, the Vietnamese, the Koreans, the Tibetians, Mongolians, Turkestanians and countless others. But the West has no use for them, whereas Moscow, which has only fifth columnists in the West, executes fantastic wonders with their help. Isn't it time to examine this situation very carefully?

We want to give a direct answer to one other question. Let us assume for a moment that there really is a dreadful "Red-yellow" danger, or really a "yellow danger", which has to be averted to save the world from being swamped. We ask whether a prison can be defended with the prisoners confined in that prison, under threat that otherwise another prison would be set up in its place in their country? Prisoners have never defended their prisons. On the contrary, they break out of prison without regard to the risk that perhaps death or an even worse prison awaits them. The Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians will never defend the Russian empire against a Chinese attack; on the contrary, they will rise up against the Russian prison of nations and against the Red-Chinese avalanche. They will carry

on a fight against both sides. In no case will they take up arms against the anti-Russian front to save "the unity and indivisibility of Russia." We by no means have in mind to exchange our fetters. We do not want to defend the Russian fetters to keep ourselves from being placed in Red-Chinese fetters!

Don't the Allies want to learn a lesson from World War II!? Millions of soldiers of the Red army escaped to the German side, though they could not expect any good from the Germans, in view of the fact that the German government did not recognize our statehood. And the revolutionary elements of Ukraine and other nations began a *war on two fronts* against *both* tyrannies, the Russian and the German. The same will be the case in the future. The Russians were trying to win over the Ukrainians to their side by fictive palliations; for instance, they set up a "Ukrainian front" and established a "Foreign Ministry of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," introduced the "Khmelnitsky Order" in the army, and promised to form a "Ukrainian Soviet army." The Russians prompt the Ukrainians to write Ukrainian patriotic poems and songs (i. e., "Love Ukraine" by Sossiura), and the Ukrainian SSR has been accepted as a member by the United Nations.

Can anyone deceive himself into believing that the Ukrainians or Turkestanians, Georgians or Lithuanians, Byelorussians or Hungarians, will defend the Russian prison of nations and peoples against the Red Chinese avalanche? Is it at all possible that the Hungarians or Ukrainians, the Poles or Georgians will ever be able to forget the terrible mass-murders in Budapest or in Vinnitsa, the mass starvation of 1932-33, and the genocides of 1937-38 and 1945-1950, Katyn or other places where murders and tortures were carried out?! No subjugated people trusts the Russians; no subjugated nation will ever defend the prison in which it is confined against foreign invasion, no matter who the invader might be. On the contrary, it will fight a war on

two fronts against both foes, just as it did in World War II.

The only possibility and the only solution to this situation is: the destruction of the Russian empire and the establishment of independent, national states of all the subjugated peoples, which, worthy of this great and holy cause, tenaciously and determinedly, in friendly alliance with one another and in military and all other forms of alliances with the West, will defend their freedom and independence against any new occupier — also against the possible occupation by Red China. But we must stress this point again and again: a prisoner will never defend his prison, but will make use of every opportunity, whether rational or not quite so rational, merely to free himself from his confinement.

Incidentally, if the United States has indeed suddenly and unexpectedly become afraid of Red China, then why doesn't it help Chiang Kai-shek to initiate a preventive war, in the form of a civil liberation war. Just as before, Chiang Kai-shek greatly desires to land his troops on the Chinese Mainland. Even a 6th grade schoolboy would have been able to foresee that sooner or later Red China would have an atomic bomb! Today, Mr. Rusk declares that troops cannot be landed on the Chinese Mainland because Mao possesses atomic weapons — but yesterday, Mao did not have any atomic weapons! To be sure, one always has an excuse handy. The main cause of all this is: the division of the world into two blocs, and no desire to crush Communism and the Russian empire; on the contrary, a desire to help the Russian empire and Communism to spread. Were not President Truman and General Marshall able to foresee the meaning of Communist domination on the Chinese Mainland?! Chiang Kai-shek had the situation in China well in hand. Why did the United States help to overthrow him? Why did it promote Mao's seizure of power? And after this first, crude, criminal mistake, why didn't the United States make use of any other opportunity to overthrow Communism in

China? Why did it choose instead to do away with the great MacArthur and to liquidate the far-sighted attitude and plan of MacCarthy, who purged American authorities of its Latimores, Hisses, Whites and Rosenbergs? But these mistakes are repeated again and again: witness Cuba, where Fidel Castro was held to be a democrat and a modest social reformer. I refuse to believe that those people, whose duty it was to know what Castro was really up to, were not aware of the real situation. If we, who live thousands of miles from Cuba, who have access neither to research institutes, nor to special foreign agents in China, were nonetheless capable of seeing Castro, as well as Mao, as Communist guerilla leaders, then how is it to be explained that the United States, with its unrivalled possibilities of obtaining information, did not see it? We are to believe that President Truman did not know who Mao was. And we are to believe that President Eisenhower did not know who Fidel Castro was. If this was really the case, then we ask how such leaders in the ranks of the American political elite can lay claim to the political leadership of the world?! If the President's advisers give him such information, then we should like to ask: "*Who are these advisers? Whom do they serve, Moscow or Washington?!*"

Now, a new speculation already offers itself: Moscow has to withdraw at least a part of its troops from Germany and Poland, for Soviet border troops in Siberia and Turkestan have to be strengthened against Red China. The US is also strengthening its troops in Asia against Red China. Hence it appears that interests agree. The danger of an attack from Red China brings the USSR closer to the West. However, these calculators don't seem to realize this simple truth, namely, that neither Mao nor Kosygin is so naive as to have the USA stand by as a laughing third party, which will liquidate both the USSR and Red China after they have exhausted themselves in a war against one another. . . . "The cleverest of the clever" resolutely declare that Red China could never come

closer to the United States because it belongs to the yellow race, whereas Russia can more easily relate itself to the US because it belongs to the white race.

But who is it that incites the negroes against the whites? Is it Russia or not?! The mentality of the peoples of the white race is foreign to Russia. And Japan and China, with Confucius and Sun Yat-sen, with their ideals of freedom, stand closer to the peoples of the white race than Russia, with its ideal of crushed individuality, a kolkhoz man, in contrast to the private-ownership mentality of a Chinese or Japanese farmer; and the Japanese and the Chinese respect for tradition, ancestry, the heroism of the kamikazes and samurais . . . Furthermore, it must be remembered that the world is divided into nations, not into races. Most of the wars have been fought between peoples of the white race, and not the white race against the yellow, or another race. Japan fought a 10 year war against yellow China, but the matter of race was of no importance. It is the nation that matters.

Spiritually, culturally, philosophically and socially, Russia is another world, which is fundamentally foreign to the peoples of the white race, as well as to the peoples of the yellow, the black or the red races. Aggressive godlessness has nothing in common with the yellow race; the yellow race never excogitated godlessness. On the contrary, there is no other people which would be more tolerant in terms of religion than the Chinese. Aggressive godlessness was instilled into the Chinese Communists by Russia, by Communism. In this matter, not even Marx went so far as Moscow, which murdered millions of people because of their belief in God. I as a Ukrainian feel culturally more related to the world of the high, social ethics of Confucius, as well as to the world of heroic Shintoism, of the cult of ancestry, than to the nasty principle of Tolstoy — “don’t resist evil”, or to the apotheosis of a criminal, or to the Idiot of Dostoevsky. “All people must become Russian, above everything else,

they must become Russian. Since all-inclusive humanity is a Russian national idea, every single individual must become, above all, a Russian . . .” (quoted from the journal of a writer, F. M. Dostoevsky, 1878, No. 6).

“Why is the future conquest of Asia necessary for us? What have we to do with Asia? We need Asia because Russia lies not only in Europe, but also in Asia, because the Russian is not only a European, but also an Asian. And more than this: Perhaps we entertain greater hopes for Asia than for Europe. I will even go a step further: Asia is perhaps the most important road for our future destiny.” (quoted from the journal of a writer, F. M. Dostoevsky, 1881, No. 1). Dostoevsky was not a Communist, but he was a Russian messianist.

He declared the position not only of Bolsheviks, but of every individual Russian. He is fundamentally in error who thinks of signing a pact with one tyranny against another — he will never be victorious, as the history of all time teaches us. Empress Catherine II supported the left elements in West Europe against the “God-embalmed” European monarchs, who regarded this as a desecration at that time. With respect to means and measures, Russia is not very particular, whether a Lenin, a Peter I, a Kerensky, a Khrushchov or a Kosygin is at her head. Only a front against *both* tyrannies, simultaneously active, can save the Free World. If the West does not want to suffer a defeat, as it did in World War II, it must form an alliance with the subjugated peoples. World War II is not yet over; it is still being fought, albeit in a non-conventional form . . .

**) The majority of the quotations are translated from German editions of these works.*

The Enslaved Peoples Not To Be Confused With Their Subjugators

With mixed feelings, the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism have taken cognizance of the new West German government's foreign policy, specifically, its foreign policy towards the so-called "East bloc countries."

Among the peoples dominated and exploited by Russia (both in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries), there is a general astonishment that the present government of the free part of Germany — without convincing reason — has suddenly begun to seek to establish diplomatic relations with the Moscow-subservient, Red puppet governments of the satellite states.

It is not at all clear just what Bonn hopes to achieve with this foreign policy. A reunification of Germany? Does the Bonn government really think that Moscow will voluntarily — without the application of foreign or internal pressure — give up such a precious booty, namely, the Soviet-Russian occupied zone of Germany? Historical experience with Russian imperialism contradicts such an assumption.

It is the general opinion of the subjugated peoples that the reunification of Germany in freedom is intimately connected with the liberation of the enslaved nations.

Be that as it may, the large majority of the subjugated peoples is troubled by the fact that the German Federal government, not only does not do anything for the liberation of these peoples, but is prepared to establish diplomatic relations with the Communist puppet governments in the satellite states, thereby giving these Moscow-subservient governments the appearance of legitimacy. Indeed, the present Bonn government goes even further. It confuses the peoples subjugated by Moscow and Communism with their present Communist suppressors — as if these were their freely elected rulers.

How can any other explanation be given to the statement by the present Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Kiesinger? He speaks of a friendship or reconciliation with the East European peoples, and hard upon this, of the aspirations of his Cabinet to establish diplomatic relations with the "East bloc states." Or how can any other explanation be given to the statement by the present Foreign Minister of the German Federal Republic? On the occasion of the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Rumanian Communist puppet government, he attempted to represent the friendship between the German and Rumanian people from the historical point of view to be found in official Communist history books, namely, that the Rumanian people were occupied during World War II and then liberated by the Communists and their collaborators. Didn't the Russian Red army introduce Communism in Rumania as well as in the Soviet occupied zone of Germany by force!?

How would the Germans feel, for instance, if a non-Communist government would confuse the German people with the Communist Ulbricht-government? Or how would they feel, if their recent history were to be interpreted in terms of official Communist history books?

Bonn's foreign policy with respect to Slovakia is especially aggravating. Apart

from what has already been mentioned above, the Slovakian people have other pertinent reasons to be disappointed by West Germany's foreign policy.

In the case of Slovakia, it is not only a matter of a planned diplomatic recognition of a regime which was imposed upon the people, as in other satellite countries, but the recognition of an artificially-created state, namely, Czecho-Slovakia; in short, Red-Czech foreign rule over Slovakia!

In Slovakia, a general disappointment is to be noted, owing to the German Federal government's apparent neglect of Germany's international obligations to Slovakia. The Slovakian Republic was recognized *de jure* by Germany. Moreover, Slovakia was an ally of Germany (and other states) in the war against Soviet Russia.

The Federal German government's declaration of its foreign policy programme in the Federal Diet was regarded as an unfriendly act towards the Slovakian people and its right to sovereign statehood by the broad majority of the Slovakian people. The Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany also spoke of a "Czecho-Slovakian" people at that time. But such a people does not exist! But in Slovakian circles, this regrettable statement is not regarded as inadvertency, but as an unfriendly attitude towards Slovakia's will to independence. It is assumed that by this the Chancellor of the German Federal Republic wants to question the right to self-determination of the Slovakian people, in the hope of winning the dubious favour of the Czech Communist rulers.

As a consequence of its new foreign policy, the German Federal government has lost some of its prestige among some of the subjugated peoples.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

Activities Of The American Friends Of ABN



On December 10, 1966 the New York Branch of AF-ABN organized the second Folklore evening of the Captive Nations. It consisted of dances, songs, costumes, and customs of Albania, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Estonia, Hungary, North Caucasus, Slovakia, Ukraine and other nations represented in AF-ABN.

Religious Persecution In The Soviet Union

When Khrushchov became the dictator of the Soviet Union, he attempted to gain popularity by rehabilitating some of Stalin's victims, and by releasing some of the political prisoners from the time of Stalin's dictatorship. He did this apparently to disassociate himself from the evils of the former regime. But it is worthy of note that not a single case is known of any of the thousands of churchmen physically liquidated by Stalin being proposed for rehabilitation. This means that Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Kosygin have not said a single word against Stalin's inhuman outrages against religion. Instead of improving the situation, the new leaders have invented new and more powerful methods of handicapping religious activities, and of leading people from religion and its principles, in spite of the fact that, according to the Soviet constitution, "freedom of religion" exists in the Soviet Union.

At the XXII Party Congress in 1961, great emphasis was laid on the continued expansion of the materialistic philosophy of life and the extermination of the so-called remnants of religion.

In the report presented by the Central Committee to the Congress, Khrushchov said: "A Communist upbringing assumes that the mind is freed from religious prejudices and superstitions, which still prevent some Soviet citizens from making full use of their creative power. We need a carefully designed and harmonious scientific-atheist system of upbringing, embracing all races and groups, which will prevent the spreading of religious views, particularly among children and young people."

The new principles laid down by Khrushchov at the XXII Congress in the struggle against manifestations of religious belief are still valid, and will probably remain so in the near future, since Brezhnev and Kosygin at the XXIII Party Congress in April 1966 gave no new instructions, and did not once touch upon the struggle against religion. On the other hand,

Brezhnev, during his speech, made a number of allusions. Of these the following may be mentioned: "It is the opinion of the Party that the continued development of the Marxist-Leninist theories is a very important task; it is a necessary condition of the continuation of the building up of Communism. In this work the social sciences must play an important role, and the Party has always had high hopes of these sciences and attributed great importance to them." Or: "A rise in the level of ideological training among young people and an enrichment of the form and content of this work are the most important tasks of the Party and the Komsomol organizations. The training of young people in Communism is a keen weapon against bourgeois ideologies . . . The Komsomol must intensify its work among children . . . The struggle against bourgeois ideologies must be carried on without compromise."

N. N. Rusakov (*Pravda*, 1 April 1966) exclaimed indignantly: "We can no longer tolerate idlers and people who undermine discipline at work. They must be treated severely. The time is ripe for a revision of the laws. We need a law stipulating harsh punishment for people who wish to live at the expense of others." Rusakov's attacks were largely against those who thought they had the right to stay away from work during religious festivals. This has been, as we shall see, opposed by legislation.

During Stalin's days priests were persecuted openly; they were physically liquidated and prevented by brutal methods from practising their religion. The regimes of Khrushchov and Brezhnev-Kosygin have renounced such methods, but have, instead, created new systematic methods, above all by passing new laws and introducing a scientific-atheistic training, etc., measures which are now being continued and which really make religious activities even more difficult than previously.

Last year great importance was attached to atheistic training in schools, where, na-

turally, no religious instruction is allowed, not even in the first grade. Many articles on atheism are published, especially in teachers' periodicals and in magazines read by people engaged in child supervision outside the home. For a long time, children between the ages of 12 and 16 years have been organized in the schools in "young atheist" groups. Access to higher education is made more difficult for young people who profess religion.

In the school periodical published in Estonia, *Noukogude Kool* (Soviet School), No. 1, 1965, we may read, in an article by J. Taliste entitled "Training in atheism begins on the first day at school", the following: "There usually arise in conjunction with the subject 'The New Year approaches' certain problems of how much can be said in the first grade about Christmas, or in spring about Easter. Naturally, much depends on local conditions. When we are concerned with regions where religious traditions have been preserved, everyone, but especially teachers, must fight against them, give Communist information in their surroundings and among pupils." Taliste goes on to say: "Well-planned, joyous feasts must be arranged when children get their first marks, become October Children and Pioneers. Success depends on how well and systematically education and upbringing are co-ordinated."

Formerly Christians were allowed to congregate in their churches, and Jews in their synagogues, etc. There instruction might be given in religion. But such gatherings were under strict supervision, especially when young people were concerned. It was quite common, for instance, for young Jews to be persecuted when they left the synagogue; they were cross-examined, and they found it difficult to obtain work, etc.

But it was reported recently that, on March 18, 1966, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet passed a new law restricting religious activities even further. The collection of money was strictly forbidden both outside and inside places of worship. Printing and distributing religious books were forbidden earlier, but now brochures,

letters and communications on religious subjects are also prohibited. It is now strictly forbidden to organize religious meetings, processions and other manifestations "that might disturb public order". The new law makes the instruction of minors in religion illegal, and forbids any person from leaving a place of work or a school on religious grounds, at Christmas and Easter, for example.

The new law alters paragraph 142 of the Criminal Code, which stipulated "reformatory labour" for a maximum of six months "for breaches of the law governing the separation of church and state". The penalty may now be up to three years confinement.

The above quotations should give a slight idea of the new training for atheism, according to which all citizens working in education of any kind must make propaganda for atheism, i. e. against religion, if they are to keep their posts. Otherwise they may, according to the law, be dismissed and even punished, since they are regarded as reactionary elements and enemies of the regime. The above quotations show, however, something still worse — now war has been declared on all parents and homes where religious convictions are kept alive.

Another, and no less important attack on religion is also the following: Worldly, atheistically inspired so-called ceremonies are performed, equivalent to the Christian baptism, confirmation, wedding and burial services. What may happen to those who are not satisfied with these ceremonies, but stick to the Christian vows may be illustrated by the case of Aime Tarve, as reported in *Noorte Hää*. According to this newspaper, she was expelled from the Association of Young Communists for her "erroneous attitude to life, the collective and her comrades". This attitude was manifested in the following way: "On May 18 at 6 p. m. Aime Tarve and Rein Lũke were married in the civil registration bureau in Tallinn. An hour later, however, they were in the vestry of Charles' Church. The same rings as those placed on their fingers at the registration bureau were now

handed to the priest, and to his question, 'Are you prepared?' they answered firmly, 'Yes'.

So-called family bureaux have been organized. Their "purpose is to see that atheistic ceremonies are established in every home".

Although priests and other church workers must be loyal to the existing order, it does not follow that the existing order must be loyal to them. K. Vimmsaare, in a brochure entitled "On the ideology of the Lutheran Church today", published in Tallinn in 1963, writes as follows (p. 17): "The political attitude of the clergymen in the Lutheran Church has developed in a special way in Soviet Estonia, where the victory of socialism has been complete and definitive. As a consequence of the liquidation of private ownership of the means of production and the exploiting classes, the social roots of religion have been torn up. Great changes have taken place in people's minds . . . thanks to the work of education performed by the Communist Party, the great majority of the workers in our republic have been freed for ever from religious prejudices. Even the people who still believe in God and attend church are changed. Most of them play an active part in the life of our country and do their civic duty to their socialist fatherland. Church leaders have realized that fundamental changes have taken place, and most of them are loyal to the power of the working classes." The author continues on page 18: "The changes in the political attitude of the priests are not, therefore, reflected in the religious ideology they spread. Further, changes occur differently in political and religious convictions. Radical changes may take place in political views; one may renounce a reactionary political attitude and take up a sensible, loyal position. Religion, on the other hand, cannot be altered radically. However it is altered; it still remains fundamentally a reactionary, anti-scientific philosophy. To change religious activities fundamentally would mean the liquidation of religion. For that reason, changes in religious ideology cannot be equated with the

changes which have taken place in the political position of church functionaries."

From this it is clear that it is not enough for priests to be loyal to the regime. They are regarded as "non-workers", for they are active in the sphere of the church, and religion is a reactionary phenomenon, and its preachers are therefore reactionaries. They are prevented from working in homes, among youth groups, etc. They are not allowed to hold any other post. They are taxed heavily on the incomes they get, which are the voluntary rewards given for their services.

When this is borne in mind, it is only natural that priests are becoming fewer in the Soviet society, and that the number of believers is declining, too, because of fear of the future and the risk of losing their means of livelihood.

This may be illustrated by comparing data on the churches in present Soviet Estonia and in the free Republic of Estonia. In the Lutheran Church of Soviet Estonia there are now (in parentheses are given the figures for the free Republic prior to 1940) 1 bishop (2), 110 clergymen (260) and 150 congregations (250); in the Soviet Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church, 1 bishop (3), 55 priests (138), 6 deacons (23) and 98 congregations (156). The number of churches is also greatly reduced, since most of them have been demolished or are now used as concert halls, dance halls, cinemas, etc.

The various church congregations in the Soviet Union are under a profane committee for religion in the Soviet Union, which in reality has the right of decision in all important matters.

This information, taken from Soviet sources, gives a concrete picture of religion. There may be differences between results achieved in the struggle against the different Soviet republics, but the existing laws for combating religion are nevertheless the same everywhere in the Soviet Union.

That the Church still survives and can go on working under such conditions is nothing

less than a miracle, a miracle that cannot be destroyed, nor made unnecessary by violence, by the propaganda spread by well-trained atheists, atheistic-scientific

training or by atheistic ceremonies. The number of priests and congregations is declining, but the Church and religion remain and will survive.

Ukrainian Cardinal Josef Slipy

On February 17, 1967, the Ukrainian Cardinal, Josef Slipy, will celebrate his 75th birthday in his Roman exile. After having been secretly ordained bishop on Dec. 22nd, 1940, he was appointed assistant to the Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytsky. He succeeded the Metropolitan to the archiepiscopal see of Lviv, when the Metropolitan died on All Saints Day in 1944 (it is generally assumed that he was poisoned by the Soviets).

In April 1945, Msgr Slipy, together with 4 other bishops and a large number of priests, was arrested under the pretence that the Catholic United Church of Ukraine was an organization of foreign agents. Nikita Khrushchov, who at that time was government commissar in Ukraine and who, moreover, has the death of many million Ukrainians on his conscience, personally directed the eradication campaign. The young Bishop Romzha was killed in a "traffic accident": a tank ran over him, and then he was beaten with rifle butts until he was dead. The exarch of the Ukrainians in Germany was arrested in Berlin. Poland extradited two Ukrainian bishops. More than 1,400 priests were incarcerated, 500 went into exile and 1,000 were forced to join the Russian Orthodox Church. The 3,040 vicarages were illegally incorporated into the Orthodox patriarchate of Moscow. Hundreds of priests and 10 bishops were either murdered or died in prison camps.

Cardinal Slipy is the only bishop who survived the terror. In 1946, he was sentenced to 8 years' forced labour; his sentence was renewed in 1954, because he was still unwilling to bow down to Moscow. In 1959, he was offered freedom on condition that he would forego his pastoral office. He refused once more and was sentenced a third time. From letters and eye-witness reports, we know how he was humiliated and tortured in the Soviet Russian concentration camps. It is said, that his arms were broken and that for years he was forced to clean the prison toilets. Only he himself, however, knows the full truth about the martyrdom of his fellow-bishops, priests and the faithful, as well as the horrifying history of his more than 18-years of daily suffering in the prisons and prison camps of the Soviet Union. He has never said a single word about it.

At the opening of the Council Msgr Slipy was not present; while two observers of the Russian Orthodox Church, which is nothing but an executive organ of the Communist Party, were allowed to be present at the Council. This was too much for the Ukrainian refugee bishops. In the name of 245 killed and imprisoned bishops, 61,000 missing priests, and millions of murdered and deported Catholics behind the Iron Curtain, they protested. The consequence was that on February 10, 1963, the Metropolitan Josef Slipy, marked by suffering and deprivation, was given his freedom. Since then he is a silent reproach to his persecutors and an involuntary obstacle to the ecumenical approach to the church of Moscow. For never can the Catholic Church obtain peace with this Orthodox Church at the cost of the betrayal of 5,000,000 united martyrs and faithful of the Ukrainian Church. We should like to ask all those who feel united with the Ostpriesterhilfe (Help for the Priests of the East), for a warm prayer for the 75-year old Cardinal and his sorely afflicted people.

(Ostpriesterhilfe, the Echo of Love, N. 6/1966)

Croatians In Defence Of Christianity

From the declaration by the Supreme Committee of the Croatian Liberation Movement on the occasion of the agreement between the Holy See and the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We must point out that the Communist Government of Belgrade in fact did not grant any special, wider, and bigger rights of freedom to the Catholic Church in Croatia, now occupied by Communism. Moreover those rights which the Communists recognize in their Constitution for all religious communities in Yugoslavia, and consequently, for the Catholic Church too, and which would be of advantage to it, are not at all mentioned in this agreement published in the Protocol of June 25, 1966.

We protest that this agreement limits the activity of the Croatian Catholic priests exclusively to their priestly duties "within the religious and Church frame and that the Holy See promised not to allow the priests any activity which is regarded by the Yugoslavian Government as "misuse" of the Church's and priestly functions in aims which would have a "political character". By these limitations, the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10th December, 1948, to which every person and all members of the human race without distinction are inalienably entitled, are in fact diminished and even denied to Croatian Catholic priests. The Croat Catholic priests are hurt by this decision, not only as citizens who are entitled to equal fundamental rights just as all other persons, but also as sons of the Croat Nation who have the right and duty to listen to the "pulse of their people" as it was said by the great Cardinal and Martyr Dr. Aloysius Stepinac. Therefore, it is their duty to help their people and collaborate with them in the realization of their just demands of freedom, social justice, and State independence.

We must point out too, that the Croatian priests always stood at the side of their people not only in the preservation and defence of the Holy Faith of Christ, but also in the defence of the Croat national and State rights and liberties. The Croat priests suffered great sacrifices and gave their lives for expressing such points of view and doing such work. The martyrology of Croatian priests through the centuries of Croat history is well known. Nevertheless, we mention here only that terrible martyrs' period (especially for the Croat priests) in recent times which is similar to the martyrs' epoch of the first Christians.

During and after World War II Croatian Catholic priests and monks were terribly persecuted, cruelly and beastially tortured and killed by the Serbo-Communists who, up to the present day, rule Yugoslavia, and who made this agreement with the Holy See.

It is well known: the condemnation and imprisonment of Cardinal Dr. Aloysius Stepinac, the tortures of the Croatian bishops Dr. Simrak, Dr. Carevic, and Dr. Cule, and the assassinations committed after beastial tortures of more, than four hundred Croatian priests, monks and nuns.

The Communists, as expert deceivers, try to accuse their victims, especially the Croatian clergy, and deceive the public opinion of the free world, by means of this international document, as if the Communist Belgrade Government needs the help of the Holy See against Croatian "terrorist" priests.

Pope Pius XII stressed in one of his Encyclicals that anyone who wants to save the Christian civilization cannot collaborate with Communism in any enterprise whatsoever.

For the Supreme Committee of the Croatian Liberation Movement

Dr. Stjepan Hefer, President

January 1967

Fifty Years Ago

Soon the 50th year since the overthrow of the Tsarist regime in the Russian empire will be over. The general tendency is to interpret the March Revolution as a social revolution only because the Bolshevik revolution that followed in November of 1917 established Communism, which overshadowed the already implemented national revolutions of the non-Russian peoples in the Tsarist empire with Marxist slogans and phrases. Anxiously, the world watched the implementation of theoretical Communism in a state that was least suited for it, for, according to Marx, only a highly industrialized state (which Russia was not at that time) was ripe for Communism — and almost completely failed to take cognizance of the national liberation fight of the non-Russian peoples in the Tsarist empire. The national revolutions of the non-Russian peoples were virtually lost in the barrage of Bolshevik-Russian propaganda.

It is a historical fact, however, that only the Russian people wanted and implemented a social revolution, while all the other non-Russian peoples — above all, the Ukrainian people, in the Tsarist empire — were primarily interested in realizing a national liberation revolution, having, of course, social components.

Within a few days of the overthrow of the Tsarist regime on March 17, 1917, a conference attended by the representatives of the Ukrainian political parties and civic organizations was held in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, during which the Ukrainian Central Council was set up. The famous Ukrainian historian, Mychailo Hrushevsky was entrusted with the chairmanship of this Council. Though this newly-formed Ukrainian Central Council had neither sovereign power, nor recognition by the provisional central government in Petersburg, it took on the attributes of a Ukrainian autonomous government from day to day. In April of 1917, an all-Ukrainian national congress with 1500 delegates was convened. This congress completed the Central Council with representatives of the various areas of Ukraine. It was followed by the 1st Soldiers' Congress in May, and by the Peasants' Congress and 2nd Soldiers' Congress in June.

The first power struggle between the provisional central government in Petersburg and the Ukrainian Central Council came about in June 1917, when the Russian central government prohibited the 2nd Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress in Kyiv. Notwithstanding this injunction, the congress was held — indeed, 2000 delegates attended. On this occasion the Ukrainian Central Council issued its first manifesto. What follows is an excerpt.

“From this day forth we will determine our life alone. The Ukrainian people has the right to determine its own life in its own country. Life in Ukraine will be regulated by Laws which will be enacted by a general people's representation, to be elected in general, equal, direct and secret elections. All laws regulating life in Ukraine are valid only when issued by a Ukrainian National Assembly.”

Three weeks later, on June 16, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Council issued its 2nd manifesto and appointed the first Ukrainian government (General Secretariate). The provisional central government in Petersburg, the power of which, in the meantime, had passed from the constitutional democrats to the socialists (Mensheviks), made an effort to restrict the powers of the Ukrainian government. It did not succeed, however.

In the Russian army, which, like the Russian empire itself, was multi-national, the consequences of the Revolution were similar. The military units, which until this point had been fairly uniform, were spontaneously broken up into national groups; the soldiers' councils in the units were organized from a national point of view, especially in those units which were composed to a large extent of non-Russians. Pressurized by the military units and the demands of the Ukrainian Central Council, the provisional government was partially forced to allow the separation of Ukrainians into national military units. Other non-Russian peoples succeeded in obtaining similar rights, but to a far less extent. The two Ukrainian Soldiers' Congresses offer incontestable proof of the national character of the Revolution.

The war against the central states continued. With their demagogic slogans on social reforms and their promises to end the hated war, the Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) under Lenin, gained more and more ground among the Russians. Following its thwarted offensive on the front the provisional central government lost its footing entirely, and in November 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power.

Two weeks subsequent to the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia, on November 20, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Council declared in a 3rd manifesto that Ukraine was now a Ukrainian National Republik. Lenin refused to accept this declaration of independence and demanded the establishment of a Soviet government in Ukraine. Upon the Ukrainian Central Council's refusal to comply with Lenin's demand, Moscow began a war against Ukraine. In light of this action, the Ukrainian Central Council announced in its 4th manifesto on January 22, 1918, the complete independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, by which Ukraine was entirely separated from Russia.

Ukraine was now a Ukrainian National Republic. Lenin refused to accept in Brest-Litovsk on February 9, 1918. Somewhat later, Soviet Russia also made peace with the central states and *recognized Ukraine as an independent state*. But it wasn't long before Soviet Russian troops again marched into Ukraine and reconquered the country in a drawn-out war. However, the state independence which had been fought for and won by the Ukrainian people could no longer be done away with by Soviet Russia, which was forced, at least in form, to allow the continuation of the Ukrainian state, i. e., as the Soviet Ukrainian Republic.

The fight for the independence of the Ukrainian people continues to the present day. Over the years the form and the extent of this fight has changed, depending upon the world political situation and the situation in the Soviet Union — but the fight has never let up.

The reborn Ukrainian state that emerged from the Revolution 50 years ago, dependent solely upon itself without any help whatever from abroad, was not able to defend itself against its predatory neighbours, Russia and Poland. The German and Austrian occupational forces, which were marched into Ukraine upon the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, were solely interested in an economic exploitation of the country. They made not the least effort to strengthen the young state politically; on the contrary, they abolished democratic order in Ukraine. The entente, especially England and France, supported the Russian White army, which, just as the Soviet army, waged war against Ukraine. With

French help even Poland managed to take possession of West Ukrainian territories.

Nor did the Ukrainian problem meet with more considerate treatment in World War II, for Hitler was solely interested in gaining Lebensraum for his master race in the East. Upon the German retreat, Soviet Russia took possession of the remaining areas of Ukraine. Notwithstanding this, the Ukrainian people's will to freedom and independence remained unbroken.

In November of this year, the Soviet Russians will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Near and far the propaganda machine will be run at full speed: parades will be held; military troops will march past; empty phrases on the brotherhood of all peoples of the Soviet Union will be heard proclaiming the inseparability to all eternity with the Russian people, etc. etc. In the face of all this, however, it must be clearly impressed upon Russia and the Free World, that the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, above all the Ukrainians, are steadfastly pursuing one goal and one goal only, namely, the reestablishment of the independence that was achieved 50 years ago and later brutally suppressed by Soviet Russian imperialism. This goal is being pursued with all possible means at every opportunity that offers itself. R. D.

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN FRIENDS OF ABN 1967

On February 19, 1967, at the Commodore Hotel in New York City, the Annual Convention of the American Friends of The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was held. There were delegations representing the following nations: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossakia, Croatia, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, North Caucasus, Slovakia, Ukraine, and a delegation of the Youth Corps-U.S.A.

The Convention was opened and conducted by the *Chairman, Dr. Ivan Docheff*. The opening speech was made by the *President Dr. Nestor Procyk*. The officers of the Executive Board: *Chairman Dr. Ivan Docheff, Secretary-General Charles Andreanzsky* and *Treasurer Vladimir Pielesa*, presented their reports on the Organization's past activities. Proposals were made for future activities, emphasizing action programs including a mass parade during Captive Nations Week; active participation in the ABN International Conference in Montreal; a massive protest rally in Washington, D. C. on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution this coming October; and other events.

The Resolution Committee made its report, in which it presented a series of Resolutions for nationwide proclamation, including: a request for the establishment of a stronger anti-Communist anti-imperialist policy, on the part of the United States, against Russian imperialism in the interest of a free world and directed towards the liberation of the Captive Nations.

The new Executive Board was elected by acclamation, as follows:

Chairman: Dr. Ivan Docheff - Bulgaria; *Vice-Chairmen: Walter Budziak* - Ukraine, *Miro Gal* - Croatia, *Dieter Schroeder* - Germany, *Michail Spontak* - Ukraine, *Nikola Stoyanoff* - Bulgaria, *Anatoli Pleszczewsky* - Byelorussia, *Elmer Lipping* - Estonia; *Secretary-General: Charles Andreanzsky* - Hungary; *Administrative Secretary: Theodore P. Jennings* - United States; *Treasurer: Vladimir Pielesa* - Byelorussia

As National Representatives to the Executive Board, two Directors were appointed from each Nation as follows:

Dr. Fuad Muftija and *Mr. Jek Martini* - Albania, *Col. Raicho Raicheff* and *Mr. Kolu Kondoff* - Bulgaria, *Mr. Sergei Kosiuck* and *Mr. George Naumczyk* - Byelorussia, *Mr. Jerry Colic* and *Mr. Lucian Reicherzer* - Croatia, *Ataman Ignat Bilyj* and *Mr. Wasil Myroshnychenk* - Cossakia, *Miss Frederika Tanner* and *Mr. Edward Dirrick* - Estonia, *Mr. Thomas Seibert* and *Mr. James Lowe* - Germany, *Mr. Ernest Hoka* and *Mr. Rudolph Beigelbach* - Hungary, *Mr. Ashlambeq Shakman* and *Mr. Kadir Natho* - North Caucasus, *Mr. Metod Balco* and *Mr. Thomas Veteska* - Slovakia, *Dr. Alexander Sokolysbyn* and *Mr. Askold Skalsky* - Ukraine, *Mr. Edward Dempsey* and *Miss Margaret McLoughlin* - United States

In addition to the membership of the Presidium elected by the previous Convention of 1965, namely:

President Dr. Nestor Procyk - Ukraine; *Vice-Presidents Mrs. Ulana Celevych* - Ukraine, *Cap. Ante Doshen* - Croatia, *Eng. John Kosiak* - Byelorussia, two new Vice-Presidents were elected: *Dr. Gabor DeBessenye* - Hungary and *Dr. George Paprikoff* - Bulgaria

Anti-Russian Tendencies In Bulgaria

Bulgaria is almost always considered to be the most promising and faithful satellite of Soviet Russia. This allegation will remain true to fact as long as the Bulgarian Communist government will keep the present situation in its hands. However, not enough attention is paid to the aspirations of the entire Bulgarian nation and also to the very strong anti-Russian tendencies which have stirred the minds of the Bulgarian society — these trends were often undervalued and almost forgotten. Though these inclinations may be hidden, they, nevertheless, are found in Bulgaria and they manifest themselves in a very grave economic situation, which may be attributed to the incapability of the Bulgarian management, as well as the economic exploitation of the country by Soviet Russia.

The Economic Situation

The five-year-plan, upon which the economy of the country rests is helplessly beating its wings. The chances for economic development of the country have diminished greatly. They no longer talk of "a great leap forward". The cost of living is increasing very fast and arouses fear. Salaries are not keeping time with the rhythms of life and are very low. The purchasing power is inadequate. The prices of consumer goods on the market are very high in relation to income. Often long lines are found in order to buy the most vital consumer products, for example, meat, cheese, fruit and vegetable, etc. which are indispensable victuals. To wait long hours in order to buy beans or onions is as common as to wait a whole afternoon to purchase two tickets to the movies to see a Western film, which was formerly censored, but has now been issued a permit.

Thus, long lines are an integral part of the external appearance and everyday life in Communist Bulgaria. The following anecdote is heard on the streets of Sofia: "In 1980 a little boy asks his grandmother, 'Tell me, grandma, what is a line?' To

this grandmother answers: 'A crowd made up of many people who in 1966 wanted to buy meat, my dear.' 'But what is meat?' asks the little boy."

But be careful! The imprudent telling of one of these political stories, which grow like mushrooms after the rain may cost you two or three years in prison, if not more. By the special order of the Ministry of Defense, all military personnel are forbidden to listen to and to transmit these anecdotes. One very popular jazz singer, Alexander Nikoloff, more widely known under the name of Sacho Sladoura who could be compared with Johnny Halliday of France, received a hard prison sentence because he told and spread political jokes. A short time after his imprisonment he was found hanging in his cell. Did he hang himself? Did he commit suicide? These are the questions that the teenagers of Sofia are asking.

However, let us return to the economic situation in one of its most significant aspects. The cost of building material (with which the regime propaganda prides itself so much) went up 40% during the last three years, and its quality is poor. This fact is generally attributed to sabotage and inefficiency which are widespread in industry, and not to the incompetency of construction workers.

The forms of sabotage, which are closely related to the outlawing of strikes, are varied and their causes without number. Among other things it should be mentioned that dissatisfaction with low pay is a dominant factor.

Economic Ties with Foreign Countries

In its economic ties with the outside world the Bulgarian government orients itself more and more to the countries of Western Europe. The German Federal Republic, which in reality does not have diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, has a lion's share of these ties. As a traditional buyer of Bulgarian products Germany

assumes a forefront. A large number of Bulgarian factories were built by German technicians with German machinery.

The decision of the COMECON, which has become the common market for Eastern countries, and the exceptionally low prices for which Bulgaria is obligated to give many of its products to Soviet Russia, created great fear even in the Bulgarian government. Nevertheless, Russian machinery and equipment is sold to the Bulgarians at higher prices than in the world market; what is worse, the quality of these products is very poor. The absence of interchangeable parts often makes these machines completely unusable.

Social Politics

The worsening of the economic situation brings direct pressure to bear on the social politics of the Bulgarian government. As a result, the government has to introduce a certain liberalization of the regime.

Because of the pressing need for hard currency the Sofia government has built up tourist trade in Bulgaria, disregarding the fear of lowered prices. However, the make up of a Communist state, with its absolute planning, in addition because it is ungraceful and unyielding and deprived of all private initiative and improvised — is incapable of organizing the tourist trade which would bring beneficial results. On the other hand the ever increasing invasion of tourists, many of whom come from Western countries brings with it greater freedom of speech and well being for the Bulgarian population, disregarding the government's attempts to isolate the tourists from the population.

The Behavior of the Youth

The Bulgarian youth is breathing hard within the narrow and strict limits which have been imposed upon it by force. Dissatisfaction begins to bubble, but perhaps more than ever before and regardless of some apparent relief, the life of the country is strongly controlled by the state secret police. The number of spies and provocators was never so great. This again has created general displeasure and the atmosphere of widespread suspicion.

Internal Crisis in the Bulgarian Communist Party

The government which is hated by the population is very unpopular, for other reasons, it is hated even in the Communist ranks. Dissatisfaction originated in the midst of the Communist Party and manifested itself in the unsuccessful coup d'état of April, 1965.

After the ill-fated "putsch of the generals" many Communists were liquidated and even more of them were thrown into prison. The death toll reached several thousand and was painfully felt in the capital and the Mihailovgrad region, which was the bastion of the rebels.

From then on the crisis in the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has remained acute. It was rumored that the future president of the Council could be Boris Veltchev, the influential member of the Central Committee, or possibly Mitko Grigorov, the ideologist of the Party. However, the struggle of the different factions within the Central Committee is fierce and ruthless and therefore, it is almost impossible for a candidate of "transition" or "compromise" to go through.

In the end, who, when, and for what reasons will take the place of the present Premier Todor Jivkov, depends solely upon the decision of the Soviet Ambassador to Sofia. The Russians, since they were forced to intervene to choke the generals' putsch have not forgiven Todor Jivkov for this break — they wrongly supported him to the limits in relation to "K" and his politics. In any case they cannot afford a single false move, which would further complicate the crisis within the Bulgarian Communist Party. It is this very condition which has allowed Todor Jivkov to achieve relatively important tactical successes since the recent Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and to remain in the post of the President of the Council of Ministers; however, at the same time, he was forced to make important concessions: to align himself completely with the Kremlin's position in its misunderstanding

with Mao's China; to make important changes within the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Mitko Grigorov and Entcho Staykov were removed from the Politbureau and replaced by "hardened" Todor Pavlov and Tzola Dragoytcheva. They were expelled during the de-stalinization period but are known for their uncompromising devotion to the USSR. At the same time the admission of Pentcho Koubadinski to the Politbureau and the nomination of Ivan Adadjieff and Latchezar Avramoff as candidate-members of the Politbureau is symptomatic.

These changes have appeased the Russians and the left wing of the Party. However, they have in no way solved the internal quarrel.

The Politics of Equilibrium

In relatively flexible equilibrium the government allows liberalization on one hand: to dance the twist is no longer anti-national behavior; jazz does not undermine "the very basis of Communism". Coca-cola — with which little trucks are racing through the roads of Bulgaria — is no longer a forbidden drink. This drink has already lost its capitalistic halo. On the other hand, however, the government is tightening the screw as a declaration of its strong intention that the status quo must be maintained.

The Vietnam War

All over the country recruiting stations have been set up to recruit volunteers for Vietnam. However, at the present time it is only a manoeuvre for no one has yet been drafted to go to Vietnam. Nevertheless, something was done in this direction. It is whispered that the government would like to send certain military individuals who belong to the ranks of the opposition and the unwelcomed elements to Vietnam in the hope to rid itself of them at little cost. It is true that in a sense certain results were obtained: fear of being called as volunteers to Vietnam makes people more susceptible. On the other hand there are those who would like to join as volunteers,

in order to desert and to flee to the West.

Communism and Religion

The pressure of the regime upon the Church is also becoming more acute. Many monasteries and churches, which were considered as national pilgrimage centres — some of them have a thousand years' tradition (for example the monastery at Rila, founded in 946, or at Batchkovo, founded in 1083) — have been closed to the faithful. They were converted into museums, tourist centres and amusement areas.

The state has completely taken over the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

Communists Discover Nationalism

To conceal economic bankruptcy, the government tries to turn the attention of the population away from it by all possible means, including national slogans, which, since the Communist seizure of power in Bulgaria, have been tabu.

The question of the "separated brothers", that is, Bulgarians in Macedonia and Thrace, who at the present time live under Yugoslavian and Greek domination, is discussed everywhere, especially among the younger people (civil as well as military) and also among the young cadres of the army. Under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party the Macedonian Committee has been established. Little by little, national slogans are becoming a part of official policy in Bulgaria.

Sofia and the Example of Budapest

The Bulgarian people are becoming impatient with its obsequious satellite status. Of course, it is impossible to wait for any broader outcomes. A Bulgarian is prudent in character; he is patient and knows how to wait. The example of the tragic self-sacrifice of Hungarians who were left to the mercy of the Russians is still very fresh in the minds of the Bulgarians. However, he is inaccessible to Communist ideas, which he does not understand and which do not correspond with his mentality of small proprietor. He waits!

Russification Of The Baltic Peoples

The goal of Socialism is not to bring peoples closer together but to fuse them into one. (Lenin, Collected Works, XIX)

The official Russian party history proclaims that it was the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership who delivered the Russian peoples from bondage under the Tsar. But as the Communist Party had consolidated its power, it took over the russification policy of Tsarist Russia, and continued the efforts to fuse the other subjugated nations with the Russian people.

"The leading position in all the regions of Russia belongs by right to the Russians. All the nations living in Russia are children of a single mother — Great Russia — and the Russian people is their elder brother."

These words were uttered by the Governor General of Turkestan, Kuropatkin, in August 1916, after he had crushed the national uprising in Kazakhstan, and his words can also characterize the Soviet policy of nationalism.

"The great Russian people, the leading and most elevated nation in the Soviet Union, is the consolidating element in our family of peoples", it was proclaimed, for example, in 1950 in the ideological periodical of the Communist Party, *Bolshevik*. And in *Voprosy Filosofi* (Philosophical problems), 1948, one could read that "the responsible historical mission the great Russian people must fulfil within our brotherhood of peoples is fully appreciated and acknowledged by all the peoples of the Soviet Union."

The terminology has changed somewhat during the years. While Russia in the time of the Tsar was "Mother Russia", it is now, "our great common Fatherland", and instead of "children of one mother", the expression, "The Soviet peoples under the leadership of the Russian nation" is fashionable. But the goal has remained the same and cannot be mistaken; as in the Tsarist Russia, the aim is still to fuse the enslaved

nations in the various federal republics (of which the largest is Ukraine with about 45 million inhabitants and the smallest Estonia with 1.2 million) with the Russian people (117.5 million). The intention is to allow the non-Russian peoples to be absorbed by the dominant nation. To achieve this goal, both direct and indirect pressure is brought to bear, as well as skilfully camouflaged methods of Russification.

To this it may be objected that it was Lenin who granted the non-Russian nations "liberation from Tsarist bondage," the right of national independence, and that this right is also categorically guaranteed in the Constitution of the Soviet Union. This is correct, but it must not be forgotten that Lenin made this promise at a time when 40 million inhabitants of Ukraine, and almost as many people in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Georgia and others recently liberated were in arms against the Bolsheviks, when the Balts were preparing open war to maintain their right to national sovereignty, and when Finland, which even in the time of the Tsar had enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, had finally severed ties with the Russian state. When all the non-Russian nations were rising in arms against Russian dominance, in whatever form it appeared, Lenin made his declaration of the right of national autonomy. In his earlier theories on the reorganization of the Russian state he had demanded that all ethnic groups in "Russia" should be assimilated with the Russian nation, and he accused the non-Russian socialists of "shamefully betraying the interests of the proletariat and instead collaborating with the bourgeois nationalists by demanding cultural autonomy for the minorities". (Collected Works, XVIII).

Lenin appointed Josef Stalin commissar for national affairs, the same Stalin who, when he became dictator of the Soviet Union, was to pursue the most relentless policy of extermination against the non-

Russians. Stalin liquidated the Volga German autonomous republic and transported 600,000 of its inhabitants to Siberia. In the same way he liquidated the Jewish autonomous region of Birobidzhan. The same fate overtook 25,000 Tatars in the Crimea, and 300,000 Greeks in South Ukraine and North Caucasia. The original inhabitants of Kazakhstan were also deported to Siberia. And it was Stalin, too, who ordered the first mass deportation from the Baltic countries hardly a year after the three independent republics had been forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. In 1932-33, he exterminated 6 to 8 million Ukrainians by means of an artificial famine.

Nowadays, the Soviet Union has stopped deporting complete national groups, and is using more "humane" but much more efficient methods of hastening the process of assimilation. The results already achieved with the new methods can be seen in the striking changes in the ethnic composition of the populations of the Baltic states.

According to the census of 1959, the results of which were published by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Moscow, in 1962, the population of Estonia was 1,197,000, whereof 893,000 were Estonians. The other 304,000 inhabitants, approximately 25 per cent of the total population, comprised immigrants from other parts of the Soviet Union, among them 260,000 Russians. According to the last census taken in independent Estonia (1934), non-Estonians made up only 11 per cent of the population.

In Latvia the proportion of Latvians in the total population has sunk, as a consequence of the immigration of people from other parts of the Soviet Union, to 62 per cent, and in Lithuania the Lithuanians comprise 80 per cent of the population (according to the census in 1959). It must be observed, however, that the greatest infiltration of foreign elements has been during the past ten years, i. e. during the time since the last census, mainly on account of the development of the heavy industry in Baltic countries within the framework of the Soviet-Russian planned

economy. All evidence suggests that the non-Baltic element in the Baltic states has now reached a considerably higher percentage than in 1959. Also the large army units stationed in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, not counted in the total population figures, must be included.

The data on distribution by age according to the census of 1959 show that it is the productive age groups, i. e. between 20 and 39 years that dominate among the immigrants. The Russian families usually have many children, and in the industrial centres, to which the main stream of immigrants is directed, the foreign element in the age range 10 to 19 years was 36 per cent of the total number already in 1959. Still greater is the foreign element in the youngest age groups, 0 to 10 years, namely, 50.4 per cent in Estonia and 57 per cent in Latvia; 35 per cent of the elementary and secondary schools in Estonia and almost half of those in Latvia use Russian as the language of instruction; their pupils are the children of immigrants.

The military authorities and the central administration recommend soldiers demobilized in the Baltic states to settle there. Industrial plants and government offices are obliged to find work for demobilized soldiers and obtain dwellings for them. All these soldiers are of non-Baltic extraction. The Baltic recruits are trained, as in the time of the Tsar, in distant parts of the empire. When they are demobilized they too are encouraged to settle down in the regions where they did their military service. There is no information about how many Balts really remain in these regions, but it is known, on the other hand, that demobilized Russian soldiers prefer to settle in the Baltic states, where the standard of living is still higher than in most other parts of the Soviet Union.

In addition to the immigrants who moved into the Baltic states of their own free will or on the encouragement of the authorities, there are in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania a large number of Russian party functionaries, industrial leaders, technicians, engineers, teachers, doctors, indeed even cashiers

and typists, ordered there by the authorities. The writers' associations in the Baltic states have, for instance, special sections for authors writing in Russian. Post, railway, merchant marine and air lines are all subordinate to central government offices in Moscow. The higher civil servants in the Baltic states are Russians, without exception, and Russian dominate the lower ranks.

Statistics show that the Baltic states are passing through a very rapid process of urbanization. In comparison with the period of independence, the urban population of Estonia has increased by 15 per cent, and in Latvia as much as 25 per cent. The urban population has grown mainly on account of population from other parts of the Soviet Union. The small town of Pärnu in southern Estonia may be taken as an example. Pärnu, which before the war was a popular seaside resort, had about 20,000 inhabitants during the period of independence. During the war it lost more than one-fourth of its inhabitants. Now Pärnu has a population of 40,000, of which 15,000 are Russians.

Many newspapers and periodicals are published in Russian in the Baltic states. The Russian group in the Baltic states has its own theatres, its own choirs — at the great song festival in Tallinn last summer there were 1,000 Russian singers from the town of Narva alone — their own sports clubs, and in addition to Russian primary and secondary schools there are also vocational schools where all tuition is in Russian. The strong element of privileged Russians among the population gives the Baltic states, which have always belonged to Western culture, a Russian character. This is stressed further by the fact that streets and squares, libraries and other cultural institutions have been given Russian names. Industrial plants and government offices, which are subordinate to the central administration in Moscow, have signs in Russian; postal-orders, post marks, forms, etc., are all in Russian.

But the Russian policy — the russification of non-Russian republics — does not stop at this. Parallel with the unrestricted im-

migration of Russians and the external transformation, another process of russification is going on, well camouflaged, but even more dangerous. Efforts are made to influence the mentality of the non-Russian peoples in the desired direction.

Since the middle of the 1930's, more exactly since the Party Congress in 1934, the so-called bourgeois-nationalistic trends and deviations in the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union have been attacked unceasingly. By bourgeois nationalism is meant patriotism in non-Russian peoples, as expressed above all in the stressing of national individuality in literature and other cultural activities. Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine and the Baltic states, all of which, according to the Soviet Constitution, have been guaranteed the right of national self-determination, have been criticized for bourgeois-nationalist patriotism in their cultural life. But Russian patriotism and chauvinism are never attacked, nor are Russian authors and other intellectuals accused of similar deviations. Quite the contrary. All the smaller ethnic groups are exhorted to look up to the "elder brother", to model themselves on him, and even use his language to express their thoughts.

Brezhnev, the present leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, wrote in one of his articles (*Izvestia*, 30 Dec. 1962): "Life itself has led to many authors belonging to ethnic minorities expressing themselves not in their own language but in Russian, which we regard as an extremely positive phenomenon." At about the same time, the principal mouthpiece of the Soviet Union association of authors, *Literatura i Zhizn*, recommended to the non-Russian authors "to turn as quickly as possible from the narrow path of national literature to the broad way of Russian literature." Or expressed more bluntly, start writing in Russian instead of your native languages.

The intention is to allow Russian to replace the national languages of the non-Russian peoples, a goal which has been inherited from Tsarist Russia.

(To be continued)

Facts And Figures On The Russification Of Ukraine

During 1964, 341,186,000 copies of textbooks were printed in the USSR. Of these 258,591,000 copies or 75.8 per cent were in Russian. However, Russians compose only 54.6 per cent of the total population of the Soviet Union. Thus, for each 100 Russians there were 209 copies in Russian, while for each 100 non-Russians only 80 books were available in their native languages. In other words, non-Russian peoples received 2.6 times fewer books than did their Russian counterparts.

In 1964 204.5 million textbooks for general educational schools were printed in the Russian language, or 72.2 per cent of all textbooks printed. Thus, to each 100 pupils of general educational Russian schools 165 copies were available, but each 100 pupils of non-Russian schools received only 77 copies in their native languages, or 2.4 times fewer than the pupils using the Russian language. These statistics show the enormous discrimination in education toward the non-Russian peoples.

The non-Russians are discriminated against even further in secondary technical schools, universities and institutes. Of all the textbooks for secondary technical schools 94 per cent were in Russian, while there were only 54.6 per cent of Russian students. The textbooks for institutions of higher learning appeared in the ratio of 93.3 Russian to 6.7 per cent in the non-Russian languages. Thus, non-Russian students received 12 times fewer books in their native languages than in Russian. Basically, textbooks in non-Russian languages are published in language textbooks and literature textbooks concerning the non-Russian peoples. Even in schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction students are in a continuous process of Russification, because of lack of textbooks in the Ukrainian language.

The Russian tendency is to limit the

growth of professional people as much as possible in order to dominate them easier through cadres of Russian professionals. In 1966 there were 83,271 candidates for doctoral degrees in the entire USSR. Out of these, 56,323 persons or 67.6 per cent, were in the Russian SFSSR, although the RSFSR includes only 54.6 per cent of the total USSR population. Ukraine had 10,644 applicants or 12.8 per cent having 19.7 per cent of USSR's population. For each 100,000 persons in the RSFSR there were 17.2 applicants for doctoral degrees, but in Ukraine there were only 8 applicants for the comparable number of the population, or half as many as in Russia. Moscow's intention is clear: to limit the admission of Ukrainians to doctoral degrees, particularly in the field of research.

In 1964 there was a total of 565,960 scientists in the Soviet Union. Out of these 373,500 were Russians and 59,220 Ukrainians. For each 10,000 Russians there were 30.2 scientists, while for each 10,000 Ukrainians there were 17.4 scientists, or half as many as the ratio in Russia.

In 1960 out of all scientists in Ukraine only 43.3 per cent, or a minority, were Ukrainians in their native country. Out of the total number of Ukrainian scientists, one third was forced to work outside Ukraine.

Discriminatory practices prevail throughout the USSR in regard to admission to higher educational institutions. In the school year 1963-64 for each 10,000 of Russian people there were 161 students in the institutions of higher learning, compared with only 125 from non-Russian peoples, while there were only 118 Ukrainians, or 26.3 per cent less than Russians.

(Based on the article *Natsionalne pytannia v leninskij teorii ta praktytsi*, by D. Solovej in *Suchasnist*, no. 10, 1966)

Soviet-Russian Concentration Camps Today

The editors of this periodical received documents which prove that as of October, 1963 concentration camps exist in Russia, and reveal some facts about them. "There are such camps in the Mordvinian ASSR. The main camp is located at Pot'ma near Ruzaievka. There are about 22 camps in the area. For example camp no. 5 at Lepley is about 18—20 km. from Pot'ma. Another camp and hospital is about 15 km. from Lepley."

Forty persons live in a barrack. At the Lepley camp approximately 50% of the people are non-Russian nationals and 50% stateless or persons from outside the USSR. The concentration camps in the Mordvinian ASSR have no names, because, from the Soviet-Russian point of view, important and dangerous persons are confined there. Many inmates were transferred there from the Siberian camps.

The stateless are isolated from the citizens of the so-called Soviet Republics. The majority of prisoners are Ukrainians. Prisoners from the Baltic countries are second in number. For example, one Estonian was a former anti-Russian partisan, sentenced to 25 years in the concentration camp. His sentence was cut by 10 years but he was not permitted to return to Estonia. He had to live in the RSFSR. There was also a group of Rumanians . . .

"Ukrainian prisoners are united, keep solidarity and help each other . . . One Ukrainian prisoner, . . . from Kyiv, was transferred to the Mordvinian camp from Vladimir, where he served for 3 years in prison, and had to serve seven more years in the concentration camp. This was his third sentence. Altogether his sentences added up to 27 years. His last sentence was for listening to the "Voice of America" . . .

. . . A student from Kyiv, 26, was serving a 16 year sentence . . . A stateless person was sentenced because he was a Jehovah Witness. One of the prisoners was sentenced for connections with the Ukrainian nationalist underground movement. His family lives in the United States and states that he is still imprisoned. He was imprisoned either in January 1951 or January 1952. There were 40—70 people in the cell. Daily rations: 20 dekagrams of bread, soup; 30 dekagrams bread, "shchi" (cabbage soup), "kasha" (porridge); 20 dekagrams bread, soup, fish. He receives on subscription a Soviet Ukrainian newspaper from Kyiv "Radyanska Ukraïna". It is possible to send to him through the International Red Cross 2 kilograms of chocolate, 1 kilogram of coffee, half a kilogram of cocoa, half a kilogram of tobacco, half a kilogram of "ersatz" tea (that is not real tea, but a substitute, like dried lime blossoms, etc.), dried fruit, sometimes vitamins, and sometimes vitamins are not allowed, pens, pencils, 2 pairs of sun spectacles, socks.

It is possible to receive parcels after half of the sentence has been served. The parcels weighing 8 to 10 kilograms may be sent twice a year. His family came to see him and received permission to see him for two days.

It is possible to receive and send two letters per month in the Mordvinian camp. People with long sentences are sometimes amnestied after having served 12—13 years but the KGB usually tries to blackmail them into becoming KGB informers.

Russian Imperialism - Chief Enemy Of U.S.A. In Vietnam

Such is the conclusion in the leading article in the U. S. News & World Report of January 30, 1967. "Soviet Russia, not Red China, is turning out to be the major enemy of the U. S. in Vietnam . . . It is the Russians, who are furnishing the real sinews for major and prolonged war . . . The Russians now are investing close to 1 billion dollars a year in the war. With this billion and no real loss of life, they are helping to force the U. S. to wage a war that now is taking thousands of American lives and costing directly about 30 billion dollars a year. In the article a chart is produced which shows the growth of Russian military might in Vietnam: in 1955-64 — yearly average Dollar 35 million, in 1965 — Dollar 550 million, in 1966 — Dollar 700 million, in 1967 — Dollar 800 million."

"The big question" — says a top U. S. officer: "There no longer is any question about it — the Russians are at war with us in Vietnam in a very real sense . . . most of the trucks that move the needed supplies from North to South Vietnam, for example, come from Russia or her satellites . . . Most of our plane losses have resulted from the use of Soviet Russia's anti-aircraft guns, missiles or MIG jet fighters."

From another officer: "The Russian rockets and guns are directly responsible for mounting U. S. losses over the North. Almost 1000 SAM's have been fired at U. S. planes . . . Cost of the Russians in spent missiles: about 25 million dollars. Cost to the U. S. in planes alone: more than 1 billion dollar . . . The North Vietnamese Air Force now consists of 75 to 100 fighter planes . . . supplied by the Soviet Union. The MIG's are replaced by the Russians as they are lost in the fighting . . . Intelligence sources estimate there

are upward of 2000 Russian technicians working at air bases and at SAM sites. North Vietnamese pilots are trained in Russia and supervised by Soviet fliers when they return to Hanoi . . . the Russians have taught North Vietnamese to man approximately 350 SAM missiles and an estimated 3000 anti-aircraft guns. Other Soviet advisers help operate North Vietnam's industry, its coal mines and port of Haiphong . . . For the first time, Soviet helicopters are being spotted in North Vietnam. Russian cargo aircraft are also making an appearance. The North Vietnamese war machine runs almost entirely on Russian oil. In the past 18 months the Russians shipped in 300,000 metric tons. The Chinese provided almost none. All told, the Russians are said to be delivering 80,000 tons of goods a month to Hanoi . . . During 1966, an average of one ship a day reached Haiphong . . .

Tonnage by sea from all sources — Russia, China, East Europe and non-Communist countries — was estimated at 2 million tons in 1966. Of that, the Russian share was estimated at half the total . . . In the words of another expert: "The vital suppliers are the Soviets. If the flow of supplies from Red China were cut off, the Soviets would be able to handle the whole

Another senior officer adds: "It is clear what the Russians are up to. They want to keep us tied up in knots out here . . . The Soviets want Hanoi to win, and they are playing a very clever and cagney game." job . . ."

strategy for conquest of the world has not changed: to weaken the U.S. position,

Top analysts insist that Russia's basic wherever it can in the world, while the Soviets seek to strenghten their own."

M. Bakunin:

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

How The New Colonists Corrupt Lithuania's Youth

The Russian occupiers in Lithuania use every means at their disposal to break the morale of the population, with the intent of eventually winning them over to their side. Their main efforts are concentrated on the Lithuanian youth. The more than 20 years of Communist atheist education, bad examples on the part of the colonists, whose number is great and is continually increasing, has left its mark. Moscow has partly reached its goal in occupied Lithuania: a certain segment of the Lithuanian youth living under the yoke of Russian Communism has lost the high moral principles by which it was inspired during the time of its country's independence. The youth is sinking lower and lower. This fact can be ascertained from the following phenomena:

Children's disrespect toward their parents.

The Communist atheist and anti-national doctrine is based upon this creed, and education of the youth is orientated on this basis. The Communist school consistently indoctrinates the children, teaching them that only to the Party need they be faithful — not to their parents. They have to be equipped against their parents, especially if their parents should talk to them about religious, national and other non-Communist subjects.

Atheism is widespread among the youth, and is constantly on the increase. There are a number of reasons for this: the atheistic Communist education, the priests are not allowed to teach the children catechism, the young people are forbidden to attend church services, etc. The Communist Party, the absolute ruler in this subjugated country, attaches great importance to this, and it employs every means at its disposal in the fight for atheism.

Mixed marriages are on the increase.

Many Lithuanian girls marry Russians. The explanation for this is quite simple: young people from Lithuania are con-

stantly deported to Russia — as a matter of fact, as many as several thousand a year — as a consequence of which there is a great shortage of native marriageable men. To make up for this native shortage more and more colonists are sent into Lithuania — a process which has been going on since the Russian occupation of the country. But Lithuanian men also marry Russian girls and girls of other nationalities. This is especially the case with young men who are drafted and usually stationed somewhere in the wide expanse of Russia. There they get to know Russian or other foreign girls; they marry and stay there to live. The occupiers promote such marriages to keep Lithuania's youth far from home.

Divorces were introduced in Lithuania by Red Moscow; they were propagated by the Communist Party to give the population so-called Communist freedom. At present, there is a large number of divorces — especially among the young people. In former Lithuania such cases were almost unknown among the Lithuanians.

Since the occupation of the country illegitimate children are more and more frequent. Mothers of such children find a certain support from the Communist Party.

Indolence was unknown in former Lithuania. It is frequently to be observed under the Communist yoke.

Aversion to work and to service is to be observed everywhere, notwithstanding the fact that the Communist Party is constantly speaking of the increase of productivity. On the other hand, there is no talk of shorter working hours or increase of wages and salaries.

Indolence is a general phenomenon in all enterprises, factories, kolkhozes, offices etc. The most important reason for this is low salaries and wages. With the exception of high Party functionaries, the working population cannot meet its daily needs.

The prices for consumer goods are very high.

The colonists are mostly responsible for this indolence: they took their usual disinclination to work to Lithuania.

Property is no longer protected, whether public or private. In former days, there were hardly any thefts in Lithuania — both public and private property were safe. During Communist rule stealing has become the order of the day. Everybody steals: workers, employees, officials. Stolen food stuffs are used in the family, while other stolen goods are sold on the black market; for the money obtained practical things can be bought. Since everybody steals whenever he can, not all crimes come to the public's attention and to persecution. In the local usage the act of stealing is no longer called "theft". It is spoken of as "combining".

Who is unable to combine cannot live: The Lithuanian population justifies "combining" by the misery which came about through Russia's exploitation of the population, through the introduction of the Communist system, which is very unpopular in Lithuania, and through the influx of Russians and other foreigners from the Soviet Union into Lithuania, etc.

Not only public property is stolen. Among the youth cases of "combining" private property occur. The victims are older people, pensioners, etc.

As is well known "combining" is widespread in the so-called Soviet Union. The habit was also introduced into Lithuania by the colonists.

Alcoholism is widespread among the youth.

Since the subjugation of the country by the Russians, the population consumes more alcoholic beverages than during the time of independence. Not only adults but also the young men and women take to drink. In former Lithuania such cases were unheard of.

Young men and women drink, as they express it, to forget for a short time their cruel fate. How many of them have lost

their parents, sisters, brothers, who were arrested by the Russians, executed or deported to a forced labour camp in Siberia, where they met their death owing to the cold, hunger and unaccustomed heavy work, or on account of other unbearable conditions. They drink because they cannot build a future for themselves in their home country — deportation to Russia is constantly looming over them, etc.

Alcoholism, too, is in the interest of the occupiers, who are only too anxious to eradicate deep-rooted Lithuanian moral principles.

The young people are constantly looking to the West, though a thick Iron Curtain blocks their view. They like to hear Western music; they like to dance Western style; they like to dress in Western fashion, though clothing is very expensive in present-day Lithuania; they go to Western movies. The Communist Party's interference, by means of propaganda, in these matters is mostly without success.

Lithuania's youth is always patriotic.

It is against the occupation of their country by the Russians, against the exploitation through the colonists, against the colonization of their country, against the Russification of the population, against the incessant deportation of Lithuanians to Siberia and against everything which is Communist.

It was with great enthusiasm that the Lithuanian youth responded to the Revolution in Hungary in 1956. Disregarding the fact that the country was full of Red Army soldiers, policemen and agents of various kinds, thousands of Lithuanian students thronged the streets, shouting with joy over the determination of the Hungarian people, demanding freedom also for Lithuania, etc. — though they knew only too well that many of them would be arrested by the Russians and sentenced to various kinds of punishment.

As far as we know, similar things might be said for the youth of our neighbours — Latvia and Estonia — where the colonists are pursuing the same policies.

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

3. Strategy of the imperialistic war

Lenin's policy of rebuilding the Russian empire was realized by several means. The Russian people as a whole constituted the potential basis of human power, but the Russians living or residing in territories of the non-Russian peoples formed the spearheads of Bolshevik conquest. On the base of the Russian people there were organized political forces, the most important of which were the Red Army, the Bolshevik party with its means of ideological warfare and class warfare, the diplomatic staff with its methods, and the Cheka with its terror. As quoted by I. V-k (93) Lenin organized a special commission in Moscow to plan the conquest of Ukraine. This commission resolved:

The establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Ukraine, because of a small number of proletarians there, absence of corruption among the peasant masses, insignificant influence of the Communist Party, and, besides, because of a too strongly developed professional insurgent movement and national struggle, — is possible only with the means of Soviet Russia and the Russian Communist Party.

Thus in most cases, as we have already pointed out, the forces of Bolshevism in Ukraine and in other countries were organized from among the Russians.

It is an undeniable fact that *not a single country was conquered by the Russians without the military victory of the Red Army*. In this respect we fully agree with Lenin's dictum that "in the final analysis, great historical problems are solved only by force . . ." (94) According to Richard Pipes, Skrypnyk, a Ukrainian Communist, stated: "The army still remains a weapon of Russification of the Ukrainian population and of all minority peoples." (95) Bobrishchev-Pushkin, a declared anti-Bolshe-

vik, whom we have previously quoted when discussing Bolshevik successes in restoring the tsarist empire also confirmed that these conquests were "based on its own army" (96). We should also like to recall Lenin's appeal to the Russian army as the latter was leaving to conquer Ukraine: "get it with your bayonets!" (97) Undoubtedly Ukraine (98), Cossackia (99), Byelorussia and the Tatars (100), Azerbaijan (101), Armenia (102), Georgia (103), Siberia and Turkestan (104) — were all seized, at least for the most part, by force of Russian arms. Finland (105), Estonia (106), Latvia (107) and Lithuania (108) — were also invaded by Russian armies. The Bolsheviks did not capture these countries only because the war there was lost on the military battlefield. Consequently the decisive factor in the Bolshevik conquest of the non-Russian nations was military force.

In addition to the army, Lenin also used a well-organized combination of other means, namely ideological warfare, fifth columns, diplomacy, and terror. These means assisted the army by demoralizing the enemies, spreading disunity among them, organizing groups favorable to Russian conquest, and so forth. These political tools served to prepare the ground for the arrival of the Russian army and assisted its tasks by spreading Communist propaganda.

The primary ideological aim of the Bolsheviks was to increase the number of friends of Russia among the other nations. On this matter we have the testimony of Stalin. (109) Since both the Bolsheviks and the oppressed nations before the downfall of tsarism had the same aim, namely to overthrow the old imperial regime, the former tried to argue that unity in the previous anti-regime struggle should be preserved in postrevolutionary times. It was

Lenin's policy that "the recognition of the right of the nations oppressed by tsarism to free secession from Russia is absolutely obligatory for Social Democracy in the interest of its democratic and socialist task." (110)

On the grounds that the Bolsheviks "assisted" other nations in the destruction of tsarist oppression, Lenin created a myth that the Bolsheviks were the well-meaning "friends" of these nations and had taken upon themselves the noble mission of assisting these nations in their progress and development. According to T.A. Taracouzio:

The 12th Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party declared that the actual inequality of nationalities could be brought to an end only by effective and extensive assistance offered by the Russian proletariat to other backward peoples of the Union in the matter of their cultural and economic life. (111)

In accordance with this self-appointed mission the Bolsheviks claimed the right to enter other countries in pursuit of the remnants of tsarist forces. Thus they included in the category of tsarist elements all the forces which opposed the restoration of the Russian domination over their nations. On these grounds Lenin called his imperialistic aggression "a civil war". (112) The invasion of the non-Russian nations was carried out therefore not directly in the name of Russian imperialism but in the name of the destruction of tsarist remnants. The Bolsheviks did not formally wage war against Ukraine, for example, but against "the rule of the Ukrainian Kerenskys", (113) whom they regarded not as a Ukrainian national government but as agents of the Russian pre-Bolshevik (identified by them with pre-revolutionary) regime. In a similar manner Stalin formulated his reasons for Russia's recognition of Finnish independence. (114) He maintained that the Bolsheviks recognized it only temporarily while Finland was ruled by the bourgeoisie, which in his opinion did not represent the Finnish people and the Finnish proletariat in particular. Lenin complained in identical words that the Eston-

ians were still "oppressed" because they were passing through their Kerensky period. (115)

Another tactic was the class approach, which harmonized well with Marxist ideology and Russian imperialism. *Socialist (Marxist) ideology thus became a tool of Russia.* Every system hostile to Russian imperial interests was associated with the bourgeois class if it could not be identified with tsarism. The slogan of *civil war* was very consistent with the theory of *Socialist class conflict*. Therefore the *anti-bourgeois struggle* meant simultaneously the struggle against all forces which desired to liquidate the Russian empire. (116) The victory of the proletarian class was synonymous with the victory of the Russian imperialists. Lenin expressed himself very clearly on this point:

The Socialists of the oppressed nations . . . must particularly fight for and maintain complete, absolute unity (also organizational) between the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressing nation. (117)

He associated with the Marxist ideology the struggle of the Russians against the nations which liberated themselves from Russian imperialism:

Recent events in Ukraine (partly, also in Finland and White Russia, as well as in the Caucasus) similarly reveal a regrouping of the class forces which is taking place in the process of the struggle between the bourgeois nationalism of the Ukrainian Rada, the Finnish Diet, etc., on the one hand, and the Soviet power, the proletarian and peasant revolution in each of these national republics, on the other. (118)

The intention of this ideological reasoning was to cause internal division amongst the non-Russian nations:

The whole country, all the nations of our republic, has been divided into two great camps. One camp is that of the landlords and capitalists, the rich and their servitors, the state dignitaries and their friends, the commanders of the nation and the supporters of the war. The other camp is that of the workers and the toiling and exploited

peasants, the poor people and their friends . . . (119)

Lenin offered to some groups among the non-Russian nations which associated themselves with the Bolsheviks a morality of treason. These groups were expected to become the new Russian "fifth columns". The main foundation of Lenin's criminal morality was formulated, according to Hugh Seton-Watson, thus:

Official doctrine always mentioned two 'deviations' which should be equally avoided — 'Great Russian Power chauvinism' and 'local bourgeois nationalism'. The proletariat of each nation must oppose the policy of its own bourgeoisie. Thus, since — the Russian bourgeoisie had wished to keep the non-Russian peoples in subjugation to Russia, the Russian proletariat must insist on the right of these peoples to independence: since the bourgeoisie of the non-Russian peoples had wished to create separate states under their own domination, the proletariat of these peoples must insist on the necessity of union with the Russian proletariat in one socialist state. (120)

Lenin's ideological warfare against the non-Russian nations was founded on the Russian national culture and was directed against the culture of the non-Russian nations. He said: "If the 'little Russians' will not accept our morality, then at all cost we must loosen the foundations of their national traditions, and thus half of the work will be accomplished." (121)

The second class among the non-Russian nations beside the proletariat which Lenin intended to make subservient to Russian imperialistic interests was the peasantry. He endeavored to sever the ties which attached them to their respective nations and to *russify* them through the Socialist ideology of internationalism. He appealed, for instance, directly to the peasants of the non-Russian nations as if he regarded them as one of the Russian classes. (122) The same technique is evident in the manifesto of the "Kharkiv government", the purpose of which was to detach the worker and peasant classes from obedience to the Ukrainian national government and to

their own nation and, instead, demand their obedience to Russian policies. (123) The same approach is seen in Stalin's statement on Bolshevik policy toward Finland, the Baltic nations, Poland, the Caucasus, and others. (124)

The essence of Lenin's Russian imperialistic ideology consisted of *negating and rejecting the nationalism* of the non-Russian and of the Russian nations. As in the case of the Ukrainian and Finnish nationalism, so, too, in his attitude toward Polish nationalism Lenin expressed his hostility when he spoke in favor of a supra-national state under Russian leadership:

. . . the Polish Social Democrats were quite right when they attacked the nationalistic infatuation of the Polish petty bourgeoisie and pointed out that the national question was of secondary importance for Polish workers, when they for the first time created a purely proletarian party in Poland, and proclaimed the very important principle of maintaining the closest alliance between the Polish and the Russian workers in their class struggle. (125)

He favored "self-determination" for the workers of each nation, who should renounce their own national interests and serve Russia, although the program sounded like a unity of workers:

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 the self-determination of the working class within each nationality rather than the self-determination of peoples and nationalities. We must always and unconditionally strive to achieve the closest unity of the proletariat of all nationalities. (126)

Lenin preferred an internationalist to a nationalist ideology, by which he desired to break the national resistance of each nation, to destroy the identity and national affinity of each nation. Lenin applauded

national traitors in non-Russian nations who supported the idea of one great Soviet state under Bolshevik leadership:

The great historical merit of our comrades, the Polish Social Democrats, is that they have advanced the slogan of internationalism, that they have said: we treasure the fraternal alliance of the proletariat of all countries more than anything else and we shall never go to war for the liberation of Poland. This is their great merit, and this is why we have always regarded only these Social Democratic comrades in Poland as Socialists. But instead of saying that the Polish workers should argue in this way, viz., only those Social Democrats remain democrats who consider that the Polish people ought to be free, for there is no place for chauvinists in the ranks of the Socialist Party — the Polish Social Democrats argue that precisely because they find the union with the Russian workers advantageous, they are opposed to Poland's secession. (127)

Stalin seconded him in this:

Lenin taught that the proletariat of all nations first of all needed unification on the basis of international not national principle. Education of all working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the boundaries of a multi-national state, in the spirit of a friendship among nations, uncompromising stand against any manifestations of nationalism — such is our position on the national question. (128)

The Bolsheviks recognized nationalism as the most dangerous enemy of Russian imperialism. Eugenia Bosh, an outstanding Bolshevik leader in Ukraine, wrote in her memoirs that the chief aim of Lenin was to capture the slogan of national liberation and self-determination so that it would not become the flag of the anti-Russian forces but would be rendered harmless when controlled by the Bolsheviks. She wrote:

The proper line consisted in having evaluated the great weight of the national problem, wrenching this slogan, of greatest power and weight, of national liberation and national self-determination from

the hands of petty bourgeoisie, making it the proletarian slogan. (129)

Lenin devised a very ingenious but illogical scheme of controlling nationalism. He proclaimed that in each nation the right to form an independent state and to secede from a bigger state, if the latter was an empire, should be recognized. But in practice, he emphatically stated that steps should be taken to prevent this theory from being fulfilled. (130) It should remain an empty slogan with the purpose of controlling the nationalist movements which at the same time should be weakened and finally destroyed. He said:

. . . it is our duty immediately to satisfy the demands of the Ukrainians and Finns. We must guarantee them, as well as all the other non-Russian nationalities in Russia, full freedom, including freedom of secession. (131)

In other words, the word "secession" alone should be preserved but no nation should be allowed to secede from the Russian empire. In regard to the Polish nationalists Lenin was even more outspoken:

. . . what we in Russia do is to stress the right of secession for the subject nations, while in Poland we must stress the right of such nations to unite . . . We Russians must emphasize the right to secede, while the Poles must emphasize the right to unite. (132)

In a similar way he referred to the Finns: "We stand for giving Finland complete liberty; that will increase their confidence in Russian democracy, and when they are given the right to secede they will not do so." (133) He advised the Russians to speak as if they recognized the right of other nations to secede from the empire, but he also "advised" these nations to remain in the Russian empire. Stalin commented on Lenin's theory as follows:

Self-determination and secession, said Lenin, are a part of the general socialist world movement. In some concrete examples, as happened during the October Revolution in Russia, a part contradicts the whole; therefore, we categorically rejected separation of nations, having satisfied the

national desires by the right to secession. (134)

Lenin, then, elaborated the thesis that small nations should unite for their own benefit with large nations; he had in mind Russia as the "large nation":

The recognition by the Marxists of whole Russia, and first of all by the Great Russians, of the right of nations to separation, does not in the least measure prevent the agitation by Marxists against the separation of this or that oppressed nation, and the non-Russian Marxists should oppose this right and agitate for a state unity with the Russian proletariat. (135)

Independence should remain a fictitious ideal while in reality a new Russian empire was to come into existence. Lenin's ideological policy had the purpose of pacifying the nations inside the Russian empire, or at least prompting them to retain their friendly attitude toward Russia if they should be able to organize really independent states. (136) On the policy debate in regard to Ukraine, he openly declared himself in favour of the application of all means that would bring about the destruction of Ukrainian national independence. (137) His ingenious scheme offered the non-Russian nations equality with the Russian nation in one state. This would obviously be the empire of the Russians, since other nations would be forced into this state against their will, namely by the Russians themselves. According to Lenin

. . . complete cultural and political liberty for all the oppressed and disfranchised nationalities — the Russian people cannot win liberty for itself unless it fights for the liberty of the other nationalities. (138)

But this equality of all nations meant only provincial status and some administrative autonomy for the non-Russian peoples: ". . . when it calls for the self-determination of nations, our minimum program demands wide regional local government . . ." (139) Even such concessions were marked "minimum program", because the maximum program included absolute liquidation of all nations through the creation of one Communist (Russian)

society. Furthermore, even the "minimum program" was to be minimized. Stalin argued in the article *Policy of the Soviet Government in the national question* (140) that the task was "to overcome and liquidate isolation of the borderlands" (by which he meant non-Russian nations), to force them to believe in and love the 'center' (read Russia), because

. . . the Soviet government is not the government torn off from the people, — on the contrary, it is the only government of its kind, which arose out of the Russian popular masses and is native, close to all. It is inevitable that the Soviet government should become similarly native and close to the populations of the borderlands of Russia. (141)

In other words, Stalin demanded the complete Russification of the non-Russian nations. He continued:

The Soviet autonomy is not something abstract and fictitious, it should not be regarded as a hollow declaratory promise. The Soviet autonomy is the most real, most concrete form of unification between the borderlands and central Russia. (142)

In practice, autonomy was to be a temporary measure as a step toward the complete suppression of nationalism. Eugenia Bosh mentions instructions from Moscow to local leaders who were to include in the administration some people with Ukrainian-sounding names, "to elect" to powerless figurative state organs some "true Ukrainians" so that the non-Russian people should have no complaints to make about Russian domination. Stalin sent similar instructions to his subordinates: use the language of the locality in your approach to the natives, clothe party members and state functionaries in national costumes if it will help to subjugate the people, etc. (143)

The ideological warfare theorized by Lenin was carried out by his Communist Party. The task of this party was to organize puppet governments in non-Russian nations, which called themselves "Soviet Republics", and which immediately "petitioned" Moscow for support and recognition as national governments. Its second

task was to foment dissension among the non-Russian peoples, to divide them along class lines, to intrigue among various groups, to sabotage resistance, and to paralyze transportation and communication behind enemy lines. One example of this Russian Communist tactic was the formation of the "Kharkiv government" (144). Another was the Latvian Socialist Soviet. (145) Similar activities brought about the formation of Caucasian and Asiatic "Soviet Republics".

The governmental activities of these Bolshevik agencies were executed according to one master-plan, prepared in Moscow. The puppet governments immediately proclaimed their opposition to the national governments in each respective country on the grounds that the latter represented only a bourgeois class and not the people in general. They then appealed to Moscow with a declaration announcing their desire of peace between their respective country and Russia, and finally asked Russia for military aid, which in most cases was already forthcoming. Subsequently these "Soviet Republics" enacted all the ordinances and laws of the Russian "Republic", concluded treaties with Russia by which Russia officially obtained all the "legal" rights to govern the other nations, and after some time they "voluntarily" joined the "Soviet Federation".

One typical example of "independence" in Lenin's terminology was the above-mentioned case of Ukraine, which was brutally annexed by Russia whilst at the same time Lenin called Ukraine "independent". Similarly we can conclude from Lenin's policy toward the Baltic states, Finland, Ukraine, the Cossacks, Caucasian nations, and Asian nations, that he completely ignored the recognition of independence given by his government to those nations and endeavored to destroy such independence if it really existed. Stalin demanded the end of each "Soviet Republic" as a real independent unit in a letter of June 12, 1920:

For the nations which belonged to the old Russia our Soviet federation should

and must be viewed as the accepted road toward unity. These nationalities either never had their own states in the past, or lost them long ago. In regard to such a fact it will be possible without major difficulties to realize among them our centralistic Soviet federation. (146)

We see that the "Soviet autonomy" was really a bridge to complete elimination of any independence of the various nations.

Finally, the last major instrument of Lenin's foreign policy in the reconquest of the vanished Russian empire was terror. Lenin said: "We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we do so." (147) The infamous Hungarian traitor Bela Kun, who directed the terrorist measures in Ukraine, boasted about his achievements:

The decree of VCIK "about the red terror" helped us to liquidate the Ukrainian nationalist bandits in Ukraine. In the years 1921-1922 we surrounded Ukrainian villages with cordons of machine-guns, set fire to the cottages, destroyed with our machine-guns everything alive and dead, shot the old, sickly women, and children. (148)

Bela Kun is said to have shot about 25,000 Ukrainians. During 1921-1922, the Bolsheviks liquidated about 1000 Ukrainian students. In the Cossack lands Lenin's henchmen murdered about 5000 officers in the early months of 1918 alone. (149) A large-scale terrorist campaign was conducted for some time during 1918 in Finland and in the Baltic nations. Mass murders also occurred in the Caucasus and in the North Asiatic areas. According to Dr. Arin Engin, a member of the Turkish Academy, on February 11, 1918, the Bolsheviks "shelled Kokand and massacred hundreds of persons." After the Russian conquest of Turkestan "massacre after massacre and deportation after deportation continued for years on end." (150)

To sum up: we have established that before the October Revolution Lenin struggled to change the government without any attempt to destroy the Russian empire. After the Bolsheviks triumphed in Russia Lenin's foreign policy was directed

towards the restoration of the late empire, since all the nations of this empire had seceded and had proclaimed their state independence. For this reason he started a war with the newly formed states and gained a victory over some of them. The Russian people constituted the underlying potential of Lenin's power. The decisive factor in the conquest of the non-Russian nations was the Russian Red Army. The other means which he employed were ideological warfare, fifth columns, Communist party, diplomacy, and terror. The main ideological ideas were the Socialist ideology, the class struggle, anti-imperialism, and internationalism.

93. *Visnyk*, v. 58, August 1953, p. 8
94. See *supra*, p. 47
95. *The Formation of the Soviet Union*, op. cit., pp. 280-1
96. *supra*, p. 52
97. See *supra*, p. 54
98. *supra*, pp. 55-6
99. *supra*, p. 58-9
100. *supra*, p. 61
101. *supra*, p. 62
102. *supra*, p. 64
103. *supra*, p. 64
104. *supra*, pp. 64-65
105. *supra*, p. 59
106. *supra*, p. 60
107. *supra*, pp. 61-2
108. *supra*, p. 61
109. See *supra*, p. 48
110. See *supra*, p. 27
111. *Soviet Union and International Law*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, p. 28
112. See *supra*, p. 49
113. See *supra*, p. 56
114. See *supra*, p. 59
115. *supra*, pp. 60-61
116. See *supra*, p. 49
117. "Socialist Revolution and Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1916, v. 5, p. 272
118. "Theses on Constituent Assembly", 1917, v. 6, p. 449
119. "Draft of Manifesto to Peasantry From the Second All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies", 1917, v. 6, p. 432

120. *From Lenin to Malenkov*, op. cit., p. 85
121. According to *Ostap Voynarenko, Do Novoi Poltavu*, Bulava Publ., New York, 1955, p. 20
122. See *supra*, p. 51
123. See *supra*, p. 56
124. See *supra*, pp. 59-60
125. "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, v. 4, p. 272
126. "National Question in Our Programme", 1903, v. 2, p. 322
127. "Speech on National Question at All-Russian April Conference of RSDLP", v. 5, p. 308
128. *Marxism and the National Question*, p. 19
129. According to *Vyzvolnyj Shlakh*, v. 118, August 1957, p. 901
130. See *supra*, pp. 50-51
131. "Aims of Revolution", 1917, v. 6, p. 243
132. "Speech on the National Question", v. 5, 1917, p. 308
133. *Ibidem*, p. 310
134. *Pytannia Leninizmu*, Kyiv, 1953, p. 43
135. "Right of Nations to Self-Determination"
136. See *supra*, p. 50
137. See *supra*, p. 56
138. "Boycott of the Bulygin Duma and the Insurrection", 1905, v. 3, p. 323
139. "Agrarian Program of Social Democrats in First Russian Revolution, 1905-07", 1907, v. 3, p. 248
140. *Pravda*, 226
141. According to *Visnyk*, v. 58, August 1953, p. 8
142. loc. cit.
143. *Stalin, Sochynenia*, v. 4, p. 358
144. See *supra*, p. 55
145. See *supra*, p. 61
146. According to S. Lenkavskyy, "National Policy of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine" in *Vyzvolnyj Shlakh*, v. 114, April 1957, p. 380
147. "Where to Begin?" 1901, v. 2, p. 17
148. According to D. Shaldiy, "Kryvavichnyci" in *Vyzvolnyj Shlakh*, v. 125, March 1958, p. 273
149. See *supra*, p. 58
150. "A Brief Survey of Russian Colonialism in Turkestan" in *ABN-Correspondence*, Munich, v. VIII, no. 9/10, Sept./Oct. 1957, pp. 8-12

An Unnecessary Fear

A group of students from Budapest went on a tour of the Soviet Union. In one city they noticed a large factory and asked the guide from "Inturist":

— What kind of factory is it?

— It's a tank factory, but we cannot visit it, sorry.

— It is unnecessary — answered one student, — we know Russian tanks very well! . . .

Communism Falling Apart

The focus of world attention is presently on Russo-Peking relations. Russia's Frankenstein — Mao's clique — is attempting to conquer his master while the master tries urgently to dominate once again his creation. Mao Tse-tung is fighting with Trotskyist tactics to achieve immediately a perfect Communist-Marxist society. Russian imperialism, on the contrary, is using more "reasonable", Stalinist, common sense tactics against Mao's emotionalist fanaticism. Late in 1965, Mao's right-hand man, Lin Piao, published a work about the "people's war" or guerrilla war, as the main method of "universal revolution of the village against the town". He refuted the thesis of inevitability of nuclear war. This type of "people's war", Mao and Piao would introduce into Laos, Thailand, India, etc. It opposes Russian participation in the Vietnam war, because the risk of nuclear war between Russia and USA would increase as the result of which these two super-powers would surely come to a compromise and turn the war into peaceful competition. The Mao-Lin Piao group, however, argues that the "people's war" must be conducted by each individual people with Chinese assistance, but not on the basis of exporting the revolution. Mao realized that his country is still underdeveloped industrially, and therefore unable to support total expansionism into Asia, Africa, and Latin America and to counteract the USA's nuclear might. All the aggressive adventures broke down (pro-Chinese Communist in Ghana, support of pro-Chinese Communists in Algeria and other Arab countries, and finally the fiasco of Leftist-Communists in Indonesia). In contrast, Mao favoured the "people's war" in Vietnam without radical increase of Chinese intervention and not the abrupt cessation of the war on the American-Russian terms of armistice along the 17th parallel.

Mao is the outgrowth of a foreign import of an imperialistic Russian power, whose

nature is non-Chinese. However, after Mao conquered China militarily, his master was unable to control him and the servant gained political independence from Russia. Mao urgently needs a new base of power, having lost the Russian base. This new foundation shall be the Chinese people. But two forces work against Mao's plan: on the one hand Russian imperialists endeavour to liquidate Mao's clique by installing another clique, subservient to themselves; on the other hand the Chinese nation and nationalism work towards the destruction of Communism in China and the reestablishment of an independent non-imperialistic state based on a national concept, according to ancient traditions and culture.

Both imperialisms, Russia's and Mao's, are enemies of all the subjugated nations, be they under Russian or Mao's, or under any other Communist domination. At the same time Moscow and Peking are steadfastly clinging to their imperialistic aims of conquering other nations in order to establish a Communist world-system. Simultaneously, the inter-Communist struggle is favourable to the rise of nationalist revolutionary forces in the enslaved nations. First of all, the imperialistic ideology of Communism is utterly demoralizing its adherents. Russian imperialists are sending military forces and elite political propagandists from their European possessions to the anti-Mao front, thereby slackening their totalitarian grip upon the enslaved nations. Russia is trying to save as much of its imperial position as possible by giving some autonomy to the non-Russian Communists and by creating friendly and peaceful relations with the Western powers. This detente is necessary for the period of the "Mao crisis" — till Mao is liquidated and replaced by a trustworthy satellite or a colonial regime.

It is hard to conceive a large-scale war between Russia and Mao, because Mao well knows that Russia has superiority in

arms. However, a guerrilla warfare can break out. Perhaps it has already started. Russia is supporting non-Chinese peoples and minorities under Mao's control, which will recognize Russian imperial domination over themselves and create opposition to Mao within the Chinese Communist Party. Russia is supporting autonomism against Mao's centralism, Marxist internationalism against Mao's alleged national deviation, and it even proclaims the need to liberate China from Mao's tyranny, in the name of self-determination, class struggle and cultural freedom. On the other hand Mao is supporting anti-Moscow movements among Communist cadres as a means of curtailing Russian imperialism in the world-Communist movement.

The Russian conflict with Mao has its pros and cons. There are signs that Russia is sending only Russian and politically trusted forces to regions bordering on China, not the regular army units which are composed of non-Russians. This means that the Russians do not trust the non-Russian troops. Mao's campaign against Russian imperialism might be increasing the anti-Russian forces among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. However, the negative side in recent trends is the pro-Russian attitude of most of the Western governments, which instead of supporting the liberation movements of the freedom-loving but enslaved peoples, prefer to con-

duct peaceful and friendly relations with Russia, allegedly favouring the defense of the "white race", "European culture" and the "sensible Russians" against the "yellow danger" and "Mao's radicalism".

Although, today, the West, from "liberal" governments to the Vatican, is swept by a mania to "build bridges to the East", more open-minded intellectuals will discern: (a) that the internal conflict among the Chinese Communists is reducing the alleged danger of the yellow race; (b) that the fall of Mao will immensely strengthen the Russian empire, which will then surely turn more militantly against the West, according to Lenin's prescription "through Peking and New Delhi to Paris and London"; and (c) that a prolonged Russia-Mao conflict will favour the rise of the anti-Russian national liberation forces of the enslaved nations.

In terms of the above analysis, it becomes evident that the best policy for the West, for the free nations, and for the subjugated nations is to favour internal conflicts among the Communists, not to ally themselves with any Communist power, and to support the non-Communist, anti-Russian forces in the subjugated nations of Europe and Asia, with the view of eventual complete destruction of all Communist regimes and Russian imperialism and the establishment of sovereign national states for all peoples within the USSR and outside it.

(awb)

Human Rights And Liberties Are Indivisible

A protest declaration signed by 33 French, West-German, Italian, American and English writers has been published in the London Times in defence of Andrej Siniawsky and Iulij Daniel, the Soviet writers who are being persecuted by the Soviet regime.

We hope that in the view of those notable Western intellectuals, human rights and liberties are indivisible, non-discriminating. Therefore, we feel that a similar protest note should be forthcoming in defence of the 70 or more intellectuals in Ukraine, each of whom is known by name, who were arrested, tried, imprisoned and deported by the Soviet-Russian occupational authority, solely on the grounds of their resistance to Russification and their endeavors to better the Ukrainian national culture.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Former Prime Minister Of Canada On Behalf Of The Subjugated Peoples

Ottawa. — On November 3, 1966, John Diefenbaker, leader of the opposition in the Canadian Parliament, spoke up on behalf of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. He interpellated Canada's Foreign Minister, Paul Martin, in connection with the latter's forthcoming visit to the USSR. Diefenbaker put the following question to Minister Martin:

"Mr. Speaker, now that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is preparing for a visit to the USSR — a visit, to be sure, which will be accompanied by our very best wishes — I should like to ask him whether he intends, in his talks with leaders of that nation, to remind them, in the name of the Canadian nation, that the USSR is obligated to fulfil the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, that is to say, to guarantee the right to self-determination to the subjugated countries — Ukraine, the Baltic and other states. I put this question to a Minister representing the Canadian nation. Whether he will do it?"

When Minister Martin gave an evasive answer, he was questioned by the leader of the conservative-progressive faction in the Parliament, Michailo Star, who put the following question to Minister Martin.

"Mr. Speaker, I have an additional question to address to the Foreign Minister. In view of the fact that the Soviet rulers cannot read thoughts, I should like to know whether the Minister will speak his mind openly, and whether he will demand from those rulers that they cede the right to self-determination to the peoples subjugated behind the Iron Curtain?"

Martin also evaded an answer to the question whether he would touch upon the problem of the peoples subjugated by Moscow in his talks with Soviet leaders. (Svoboda, Jersey City, N.J., Nov. 19, 1966)

Appeal To H. M.'s Government Not To Recognise Russian Conquests

RESOLUTION

passed unanimously by the Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society, held in Nottingham on Saturday, 21st January, 1967.

Forty-nine years ago, on 22nd January, 1918, the Ukrainian nation proclaimed to the world that it would exist as an independent and sovereign State. A year later, on 22nd January, 1919, West Ukraine was solemnly incorporated into the independent and united Ukrainian State. These acts realised the age-old dreams and aspirations of the Ukrainian people after centuries of foreign rule and oppression.

Members of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society, gathered in Nottingham on the eve of the 49th anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence take into account the following facts:

1) That the independent State of Ukraine was brutally destroyed and overrun by Communist Russian invading armies in the aggressive war against Ukraine in the years 1917–1921;

2) That the national and individual rights of the Ukrainian people have since been destroyed by the occupying power against all precepts of civil and international law; that the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic does not enjoy any of the rights of a sovereign State, but merely serves as a camouflage for the colonial oppression of the 45-million strong Ukrainian nation; that the Ukrainian people do not enjoy even the most elementary freedoms of speech, conscience, press and public assembly, they cannot organise themselves into religious, social, political, trade union, professional or economic organisations independent of the Russian Communist Party; that Ukrainians are

discriminated against in favour of the Russians in their own country;

3) That the Russian Communist government is conducting a policy to undermine and destroy the national entity of Ukraine by ruthlessly pushing ahead Russification of Ukrainian cultural life, education, language and literature; that the leading thinkers and patriots of Ukraine are persecuted, terrorised and punished by imprisonment or even by execution for defending the national rights of Ukraine, as witness the latest arrests and trials of about seventy Ukrainian intellectuals in 1966 — sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and deported to concentration camps;

4) That the Ukrainian people have not given up their aspirations for full national liberty and independence, but have steadfastly carried on a bitter struggle against the greatest odds and under the difficult circumstances of isolation from the support of the free world, as witness the underground struggle of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and other forms of resistance;

5) That the occupation regime of the Russian Communists has used the most inhuman methods ever devised to combat the resistance of the Ukrainian nation: the terror of the Cheka, GPU, NKVD, KGB, mass executions, deportation of millions of people to concentration camps, the wastes of Siberia and the "Virgin lands", man-made famines, cynical violation and distortion of law, ruthless exploitation of workers and peasants and enslavement of intellectuals;

6) That the present leadership of Communist Russia, headed by Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny continues without any significant change the same policy of Russian domination over Ukraine and other subjugated nations as was carried out by Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchov during the last fifty years and since the coming into power of the Communist heirs to the Russian Tsars.

The Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society RESOLVES:

1) To intensify its work in promoting friendship and understanding between the British and Ukrainian people;

2) To increase its efforts in furthering the cause of the restoration of the lawful rights of the Ukrainian Nation to existence as a free and independent State and equal partner in the European and world community of Nations;

3) To voice a most vigorous protest against the suppression of freedom of speech, press, conscience and assembly in Ukraine by the Soviet Russian occupation power; in particular against the arrests and persecutions of Ukrainian writers and intellectuals such as Ivan Svitlychny, Ivan Dziuba and seventy others arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in concentration camps after trials in Ukraine in 1966;

4) To appeal to Her Majesty's Government to undertake or support initiatives on an international scale to investigate Russian colonialism in Ukraine and other enslaved countries in order to ascertain the facts and to demand that Russia should honour her obligations as a member of the United Nations, to demand that Russia should disband its colonial empire, withdraw occupation troops from Ukraine and other countries so as to enable these countries to re-establish their independence and to elect their governments democratically under United Nations supervision; to demand from Russia fulfilment of her obligations under the United Nations Human Rights Declaration; and if these demands are not met to support international initiatives for the expulsion of Russia from the United Nations;

5) To appeal to Her Majesty's Government, in connection with the visit of the head of the Soviet Russian Government to this country, not to recognise him as the lawful representative of the enslaved nations over whom his government exerts power by means of violence and armed force as, for example, in Ukraine; not to recognise as lawful any Communist Russian

conquests since their coming to power in 1917; not to conclude any agreements which might prejudice the rights of Ukraine and other enslaved countries to their sovereignty and independence; to demand from the Russian Government the restoration of full freedom to Ukraine and other enslaved countries and full democratic rights to their citizens.

For the Anglo-Ukrainian Society
R. W. Vanston — Chairman
John Graham — Gen. Secretary

ABN WAS NOT MISTAKEN!

Frederick Duke of Westphalia on Marguerite Higgins' Vietnam Book.

Shortly before her death Marguerite Higgins wrote a book on Vietnam (*Our Vietnam Nightmare*, Harper & Row, New York). Like all those authors who are at present flooding the market with their desires to cast a little light into the jungle of Vietnam, Marguerite Higgins puts forward a theory; a theory which we do not enjoy listening to, for it is unpleasant. *The authoress gives evidence that there was no Buddhist persecution under the government of Diem in South Vietnam, that the Americans collaborated with the Buddhists against Diem, and, in particular, that after this the Vietnam became considerably worse — and this is the most unpleasant fact of all.*

Just recently the Buddhists have been demonstrating again. But the difference is that this time they have not been demonstrating against „Catholic oppression“ but against the Ky regime itself and against the presence of the Americans in Vietnam. The name which has for years come up in connection with such events is that of a Buddhist monk, Thich Tri Quang. He gave Marguerite Higgins a most revealing interview. When she suggested that his behaviour could only play into the hands of the Communists the monk replied. „If the Communists seize power, then this will be Diem's mistake, not ours.“

The authoress demonstrates that no Buddhist was imprisoned under Diem for practicing his religion. In her opinion those

who burned themselves did so as part of an organized plan and not voluntarily.

What is more Marguerite Higgins puts paid to the tale that the whole world wanted to believe in the Summer of 1963, that Vietnam is a land of Buddhists ruled by Catholics. Of Vietnam's 14-million population, 1,5 million are Catholics. The largest religious group is the Confucians, of whom there are 4 million, whilst the Buddhists number 3,5 million.

It is embittering to observe the horror of the mistake the Americans made when they ousted Diem. From August until September 1963 they gave Tri Quang asylum in their embassy in Saigon, but this was not the climax of this fatal collaboration. This came on 24th August 1963, on a Saturday when no one had stayed in Washington an account of the heat, and Roger Hilsman, advisor on far eastern questions, and Averell Harriman took the opportunity to disregard the opposition of the then Vice-President Johnson, General Taylor, and Defence Minister McNamara, who had all refused to have anything to do with the ousting of Diem. The contents of their fateful cable were quickly cleared by the various departments and dispatched to Saigon. This cable stated, among other things, that Diem should be pressed to drop his brother Nhu from office, to free the Buddhists, and to end martial law. This telegramme also received support through a wild report on the Voice of America that economic aid would be stopped. Thus Diem's fate was sealed.

Rheinischer Merkur

The Conference advocates the dissolution of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into independent, national, democratic states, based on the ethnographic boundaries of all the subjugated peoples therein; as well as the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the peoples in the so-called satellite countries, and also the dissolution of all artificial states created by coercion, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

(APACL Conference, Manila, 1965)

Leaders Of The Soviet Union Liquidate Themselves

(It can be seen from the following list)

Chiefs of Government of the USSR

- 1924—30 A. I. Rykov
shot 1938
- 1930—41 W. M. Molotov
“Enemy of the Party” 1957
- 1941—53 J. W. Stalin
“Criminal” 1956
- 1953—55 G. M. Malenkov
“Enemy of the Party” 1957
- 1955—58 N. A. Bulganin
“Enemy of the Party” 1958
- 1958—64 N. S. Khrushchov
“Enemy of the Party”?

Chairmen of the State Planning Commission

- 1928—32 G. F. Grinko
shot 1938
- 1932—35 W. W. Kujbyshev
1937 ostensibly the victim of a
medical murder
- 1935—37 W. I. Meshlauk
shot
- 1937—38 G. J. Smirnov
shot
- 1938—49 N. A. Vosnesenskij
shot
- 1949—53 M. S. Saburov
“Enemy of the Party” 1957;
missing
- 1953—55 G. P. Kosiachenko
missing
- 1953—55 M. S. Saburov
“Enemy of the Party” 1957;
missing
- 1957—59 J. J. Kusmin
missing

From 1959 to 1963 Khrushchov used four planning chiefs, A. N. Kosygin, W. N. Novikov, W. J. Dymshiz, and P. F. Lumako.

Ministers for Internal Security

- 1917—24 A. I. Rykov
shot 1938
- 1924—34 A. G. Beloborodov
missing
- 1934—36 G. G. Jagoda
shot 1938
- 1936—38 N. I. Jezhov
shot

- 1938—46 L. P. Beria
shot 1953
- 1946—53 S. N. Kruglov
missing
- 1953—53 L. P. Beria
shot 1953
- 1935—56 S. N. Kruglov
missing
- 1956—60 N. P. Dudorov
now the General Commissar
for the World Exhibition at
Moscow.

The Ministry for the Internal Affairs of the USSR was abolished on the 13th January, 1960.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (i. e. also General Secretary)

- 1922—53 J. W. Stalin
“Criminal” 1956
- 1953—64 N. S. Khrushchov
“Enemy of the Party”?

While the Heads of Government, Chairmen of the State Planning Commission and Security ministers are “burnt up”, in the truest meaning of the word, the picture of the Party leaders shows where the constant factor in the dictatorship lies.

Since 1917 there have been only three Party leaders. One of them is today the personified god of Communism, the second a criminal, and the third, leader of the Party up to the time of “Dekhrushchovisation”.

Secretaries of the Central Committee

- 1917—24
W. I. Lenin
N. N. Krestinskij
shot 1938
- J. A. Preobrashenskij
shot 1938
- L. P. Serbrjakov
shot 1937
- W. M. Molotov
“Enemy of the Party” 1957
- M. J. Michailov
shot 1938

J. M. Jaroslavskij
died 1934

W. W. Kuibyshev
ostensibly the victim of a medical murder 1937

J. E. Rudsutak
shot 1938

I. A. Selenskij
shot 1938

A. A. Andrejev
missing since 1957

L. M. Kaganovich
"Enemy of the Party" 1957

G. J. Jewdokimov
shot 1936

S. W. Kossior
shot 1939

N. A. Uglanov
shot 1938

N. A. Kubiak
shot 1938

K. J. Bauman
shot 1938

P. P. Postyshev
shot 1940

S. M. Kirov
murdered 1934

A. A. Zhdanov
ostensibly the victim of a medical murder 1948

A. A. Kusnezov
shot 1949

A. B. Aristov
removed from office 1960; ambassador in Poland

N. I. Beljajev
removed from office 1960; missing

D. T. Shepilov
"Enemy of the Party" 1957; missing

P. N. Pospjelov
removed from office 1960; Director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninism

J. A. Furzewa
removed from office 1960; Minister for Culture

N. G. Ignatov
removed from office 1960; Deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

A. I. Kirichenko
removed from office 1960; missing

N. A. Muchitdinov
removed from office 1960; missing

J. W. Spiridonov
removed from office 1963; chairman of the Union of Soviets of the USSR

Of the First Secretaries of the Party organisations of Leningrad, Kyiv, and Moscow, — with the mysterious death of Zhdanov excepted — all have been shot or missing, having been declared "Enemies of the Party".

Here is an example of the fate of the First Secretaries in the National Republics — the Kazakh SSR. Of the first Secretaries of the Kazakh Party, the following have been shot since 1921: M. M. Kostelovskaya, G. A. Korostolev, F. Y. Goloshchekin, L. I. Mirsoyan. Missing as "Enemies of the Party" are: S. Shayakhmetov, I. D. Yakovlev and in the diplomatic service, P. K. Ponomarenko.

Similar compilations can be made for the other constituent republics of the USSR.

Composition of the Communist Party of U.S.S.R.

Report from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. delivered by L. I. Brezhnev on March 29, 1966 reveals:

Composition of the C.P. of the Soviet Union (Percentages on January 1, 1966): Workers 37.8%, Peasants (collective farmers) 16.2%, Office employees and others 46%.

For nearly fifty years it was said that the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. was the real defender of the worker and the only party representing the worker. Now its First Secretary has admitted that workers represent only 37.8% of the membership of the C.C.C.P. The real name of the C.C.C.P. should be the "Bureaucrats' party of the U.S.S.R." because bureaucrats' represent 46% of membership under the official name — "Office employees". The majority of these "office employees" are directors of factories, departments, military officers, members of the K.G.B. (secret police) and paid officials of the Communist Party.

Anti-Kosygin Demonstration In London

The demonstrations and the protest campaign against the visit of Soviet-Russian Prime Minister Kosygin — the enslaver of scores of nations — were organized by emigrés from the Soviet Union, members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The Ukrainian group was the prime mover in these activities. It organized a mass letter writing campaign among the British people, addressed to Alexey Kosygin, protesting the recent deportation and persecution of over 70 Ukrainian writers, scholars and professionals. The demonstrators distributed 100,000 leaflets all-around London. Among other things the leaflets said: "Kosygin himself cannot entirely evade his share of the responsibility for the crimes of the Stalin regime. After all he was Deputy Premier of the government of the U.S.S.R. for 24 years, from 1940 till 1964, with only one short break in 1953 after Stalin's death. He did not protest or resign when Stalin ordered wholesale deportation of several small nations from their homelands to the wastes of Siberia. Neither did he do anything to prevent the bloodbath in Ukraine after World War II, when hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were slaughtered by Russian security troops for resistance to Moscow's rule".

The Latvian National Council in Great Britain also handed out leaflets which read in part: "During the visit to this country of Kosygin let us not forget that he heads a government which still continues to: deny freedom to democratic institutions, to the press and the spoken word within the Soviet empire; annihilate the basic human rights; subject the Baltic States to arbitrary occupation and exploit them shamelessly support Communist puppet regimes in satellite countries; employ its agents and vast propaganda machinery to stir up trouble in the West in order to accomplish Communist Revolution in the whole world.

The *Daily Telegraph* of February 7th in its column *Way of the World* replies to the allegations of the Communist paper, *Morning Star* that "Mr. Kosygin can look forward to a friendly reception from the overwhelming majority of people during his visit to this country." *Daily Telegraph* hopes that even though the British people have been told time and again "that the Cold War is over, that the Soviet Union is rapidly turning into a free and tolerant society and that the Russian Communist Government is our firm friend" the British public will remember that: "He (Kosygin) may not bawl and shout and hammer his shoe on the table and make rude remarks about modern sculpture (a pity, perhaps), he may be quiet, serious, modishly technocratic and a noted connoisseur of computers; but he is still the representative of a system which denies to its citizens by cunning and terror almost every freedom we take for granted here.

"He is still the representative of the Empire which as well as the non-Russian peoples conquered in Tsarist times, holds down by threat of force Poland, Estonia,

Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and part of Germany, to which might be added the Ukraine and other nations; an Empire equipped and prepared for further aggression at any convenient time"

The protest demonstration was also televised. Both the BBC and the ITV in their Sunday news coverage included reports about the demonstration and such placards as *FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE and RUSSIA — THE GREATEST COLONIAL EMPIRE* were clearly visible.

Also the British television and radio as well as French, Danish, German and Irish television and radio gave favourable reports on the demonstrations.

On February 6th the BBC in its program "24 Hours" included a seven minute interview with the representatives of six nations enslaved by the Russians, namely an Estonian, a Latvian, a Lithuanian, a Byelorussian, Ukrainian and a Jew.

The T. V. broadcasts though short were very informative and were seen by the majority of the British population.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

F. Zorndorf

Revolt Of The Youth

"The Communist system has not eliminated exploitation; it has merely given it a new twist. Marxism has become an ideology of the ruling Communist class, an ideology of naked power; moreover, Marxist dictatorship does not serve the interests of the working man; on the contrary, it serves solely the interests of the groups and cliques at the head of the government, which is disregarding of the proletariat." —

This condemnation, uttered in the 50th year since the Bolshevik seizure of power, does not stem from the pen of Milovan Djilas, Arthur Koestler, Isaac Deutscher, or any of the other exasperated and embittered anti-Communists belonging to the older generation whose political career found its opening under the *Communist Manifesto*. No, this devastating condemnation was not uttered by a "fallen angel" of the "old guard." Miroslav Kusy, the author, belongs to the young generation, educated and drilled in Marxism-Leninism, brought up in a Communist Slovakia.

That this young Slovakian philosopher should have reached this conclusion, notwithstanding his Communist indoctrination, is proof of the far-reaching spiritual change that is taking place in an especially active layer of the East European young intelligentsia. (Incidentally, this condemnation was not printed in the Western press, but in the Bratislava Communist Party organ *Pravda*. Undoubtedly, highly placed friends of this outspoken philosopher were instrumental in having this statement printed in this newspaper!) The revolt of "angry young men" to the dogmas and "rites" of Marxism-Leninism, is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating phenomena of our stormy, chaotic epoch. The battle cry of a Khrushchov — "We want de-Stalinization"

is no longer enough for the youth. Skeptical, not intimidated by Red tabus, imbued with civil courage, they apply the chisel of doubt to the ideological basis of the ruling system. The above-quoted lines from Miroslav Kusy are an indication of the results. Marxist ideology itself is questioned; it is by no means enough, the young Slovakian philosopher states, to throw over Stalin's personality cult. Freedom of discussion is what is decisive; in short, the re-introduction of democracy.

In East Europe "revolt of the youth" is no longer merely a hollow phrase; it depicts an actual situation, the gravity of which is not underrated by those in power. In the 50th year since the Bolshevik seizure of power, the ideological chain binding the regime and the young generation together, is weakening. Indeed, the weakening of this chain has created a vacuum, into which views, feelings and thoughts opposing and even hostile to Marxism are gushing. Underneath a seemingly smooth surface, the human lava of unsatisfied hopes, deep yearnings and radical demands, is brewing. This phenomenon is characteristic of all East European countries, not only of the so-called satellite states; it is to be observed in all countries in which a spiritual dissatisfaction is coupled with a reawakening and strengthening of national consciousness, that is to say, in the non-Russian countries. Happenings in Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia and Hungary have made this tendency clear.

Undoubtedly, the main impetus came from the Hungarian revolution in 1956! The pictures from Budapest, Gyoer and Mickolc showing students and teen-agers with machine-gun belts slung over their slender shoulders, hand grenades tucked

into their belts and submachine guns in their inexperienced hands, are still fresh in our memory. During the 13 days of revolution these young men and women and boys and girls, who replaced Stalin's Red Star with the red, white and green banner of national freedom, could call themselves the glorious victors over the fear-inciting eastern world power. At that time we heard of girls who poured petrol in the paths of Russian tanks and then set fire to it. We heard of 14 year old school-boys who jumped onto T-34s with flaming petrol torches in their tender hands — jumped to their death. Reliable eye-witnesses reported that thousands of Hungarian children took part in the fight. Magyar national pride and Magyar love of freedom took possession of the hearts of a youth that had been indoctrinated with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism during the 8 terrible years of the Rákosi regime. Then, suddenly, this volcanic explosion of the love of freedom, of the hatred of tyranny, of patriotism!" Either victory of defeat! There is no other possibility!" These words of the unforgettable Pal Maleter — also a member of the young generation — stood out clearly above all the deeds and thoughts of Hungary's heroic youth — then, in the autumn of 1956.

The youth's spontaneous participation in the Hungarian October Revolution gives sudden illumination to a process, which continues to the present day: the spiritual and political bankruptcy of Marxist ideology, which seeks its chief support in the rising generation. Into this spiritual vacuum the nationalism of one of the oldest civilized peoples of Europe, gushed forth. In its October 28, 1956 issue, *Shabad Nép*, the Communist Party organ in Hungary, had to confess, that the fatherland-love, which was to be felt chiefly among the youth, imbued this people's movement with the greatest force and passion. "It is time that we make it clear to ourselves that a large-scale *national* and *democratic* movement has developed in our country — a movement

that has welded our people together in one mind and one heart."

Just as in Hungary, the Communists in Poland, East Germany, the non-Russian Republics of the USSR, as well as in the other satellite states, did not succeed in mobilizing the youth wholly for their purposes and in possessing their hearts for Marxism. The most recent happenings in Poland and Ukraine offer sober substantiation to the facts of the case. A youthful resistance exists! In Poland and in Ukraine this resistance is characterized by an anti-Russian and anti-Marxist orientation. A distinct expression of Polish nationalistic resistance was the "Open Letter to the Party," which was smuggled abroad and published in the Paris "Kultura" publishing house, in 1966. Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski (the latter is the stepson of the late Communist Foreign Minister of the same name) were two of the authors of this letter. Together with assistants and lecturers at the Warsaw University — namely, Ludwik Haas, Romuald Smiekh, Kazimierz Badowski and Madame Zarzycka-Neugebauer, the daughter, of the former political chief of the army and present Mayor of Warsaw — they wrote the "open letter," which basically reiterates the main demands of the Hungarian youth of October 1956:

"Withdrawal from COMECON, that is to say, break with Soviet Russia and complete economic independence; withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact; revision of foreign policy, which has taken its cue from Moscow until now, reduction of the military budget; ousting of the Communist Gomulka regime." The young Polish authors of this open letter gave proof of their solidarity with all anti-Russian, democratic forces of the East bloc by condemning the Berlin Wall, the Cuban adventure, the bloody suppression of the revolts of June 17, 1953, Budapest 1956, Novochoerkask and Rostov 1962, Temir-Tau 1959, Vorkuta 1953 and Posen 1956. Gomulka knew of no better way of dealing with the recalcitrant young men than to bring them before the law and to have them sentenced. Kuron

and Modzelewski were brought before a tribunal. During the trial students demonstrated for their release — this led to additional trials and closer public surveillance. There is one process, however, that cannot be checked by Draconian sentences: the revolt of Polish youth that insists upon being *Polish* youth! Polish national pride is moving away from Gomulka — that former “National Communist” and his regime. Russia, Red colonial Russia, has become the target of the young patriots.

Even more impressive, because it operates on a broader basis, is the phenomenon of youth revolts in Ukraine, the second largest country in Eastern Europe after Russia. Here we witness a process that aims at the reawakening of the Ukrainian national consciousness. This process, which can also be designated as a “spiritual revolution,” finds its most active supporters in the young generation, among students, poets, publicists and artists. It gives no indication of slackening. This spiritual revolution can be looked upon as a stepping stone to political change. Let us not forget that 60 years ago and more, Bolshevism itself underwent a similar development!

Ukraine’s spiritual revolution, which is chiefly characterized by restless attacks on the part of the students (and frequently on the part of their teachers!) flows into nationalistic channels. To begin with, we are confronted here with a purely emotional nationalism, which is orientated in terms of symbols, and has its roots in literature, national tradition, national customs and national history — a nationalism, to be sure, which is completely foreign to chauvinistic inclinations and imperialistic tendencies. The Ukrainian people have suffered under the consequences of Russian chauvinistic imperial policies for more than 300 years. Even if most of the young rebels still lack a clearly defined political programme, they are well aware that their nation cannot approach new, free shores until a rebirth of the Ukrainian lyricism, drama, prose, journalism and science has been achieved. Their demand for the recognition of equal status for the

Ukrainian language, alongside the Russian language, a recognition that is called for today, immediately, is charged with highly explosive material; for the demand for equal status of language today can easily spread to the spheres of economy, politics and public affairs tomorrow. And it will! Once it has been set in motion, this process of “nationalization from below”, — in this case, Ukrainianization — will hardly be capable of being checked. Not even with Stalinistic methods.

Viewed in this perspective, it becomes understandable that, in the course of 1966, “spiritual revolutionaries” like Opanas Zalyvaka, Svatoslav Karavinsky, Mykhajlo Horyn, Mykola Hryn, Bohdan Horyn, Ivan Dziuba, Ivan Svitlychny and many other students, lecturers, literary critics, poets and artists from Lviv, Kyiv, Ternopil, Lutsk and Odessa were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, were deported and were confined in concentration camps by Communist courts. In the eyes of the judges and public prosecutors, their activity is charged with highly dangerous repercussion-possibilities to the preservation of the Soviet Russian multi-national empire . . .

To this must be added the disappearance of any form of fear of the police apparatus, which, to be sure, still exists on a large scale. Psychologically speaking, at least, Stalinism is to be regarded as subdued, as “conquered”, among the young generation in Ukraine. That released political prisoners who are allowed to return to Ukraine are received with flowers by students and village boys and girls, is a clear attestation of this conquering of fear! In 1956, in 1945 or even in 1936, such a reception would have been unthinkable . . .

Colonial Status of Soviet Ukraine

An additional proof of Ukraine’s colonial subjection to Russia, was offered on December 24, 1966: Korotchenko, the President of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, announced, that the ministry for public order and the ministry for education, which

until then had been under Republic jurisdiction, had now come under the jurisdiction of Union-Republic ministries.

As is known there are three types of ministries in the USSR: the Union ministries, the Union-Republic ministries, and the Republic ministries. The first type, for instance, the Ministry for Defence, exists solely in Moscow. The second type, for instance, Ministry of Economics, exists in Moscow and in the Union Republics. The third type exists solely in the Union Republics. To be sure, the competencies of the ministries of the third category, are very limited. Transportation and local economy, for instance, come under their jurisdiction.

That the ministry for public order and the ministry for education have become Union-Republican ministries, means that police surveillance in Ukraine has been placed directly under Moscow's jurisdiction, and that education in Ukraine will also be directly controlled by Moscow in the future. In short, a tightening of the police regime and more extensive Russification of the schools in Ukraine are to be expected.

World-wide Response to Sentences in Ukraine

The arrests and sentencing of Ukrainian writers, poets, scientists and artists, which took place in the spring and summer of 1966, in Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil and other cities of Ukraine, received lively discussion in the press of the Free World. In all cities of the Free World where the Ukrainians have organized emigration groups, protest demonstrations were held. Well-known international organizations, such as the International Federation for Human Rights, in Paris (a non-official organization, which, however, is accredited by the United Nations) and the XII Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), among others, also protested against the persecution of Ukraine's intelligentsia. The International Federation for Human Rights literally writes: "We urge the government of the

Soviet Union to release the Ukrainian intellectuals, who, in the opinion of the Federation, were unjustly sentenced."

Are They Really Bandits?

In the November 25 and December 28, 1966 issues, the Kyiv *Robitnycha Gazeta* reported that the militia in the village of Krynytshe in the vicinity of Odessa had arrested a "criminal" who was armed with a sub-machine gun and was riding a motorcycle. The arrest was made possible by information passed on to the police and the stratagem of the militia. The December report also speaks of the arrest of two armed "bandits", who were riding motorcycles, in this case, in Krywy Rih, in Ukraine. No name is mentioned in connection with the first arrest; in the second, the newspaper gives O. Smetana and S. Zawertajlo as the arrested parties, and adds that they were both "backsliders". In just what their "backsliding" consists, however, is not to be discerned from the article. It is merely stated that they had planned to spend the winter in the steppe in the vicinity of Krywy Rih, that they had built a bunker in the nearby woods and had sought out a number of hiding-places where they had hidden the "stolen goods".

Whether this is really a case of banditry is to be doubted, for the Soviet press seldom brings reports on criminal offences. On directions received "from above", however, it reports such events that have become known among the population and passes them off as criminal offences, especially when they are known to have been acts of political resistance.

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



OBITUARY

In January 1967, Dieter Friede, the German journalist, writer and publicist died in Berlin at the age of 59. He was a true friend of the subjugated peoples. He had a firm, unswerving belief in the national resurrection of the peoples of East Europe and all the peoples,

who are presently enslaved in the Russian empire.

In his numerous reports, commentaries, editorials; in his lectures, essays on history, reviews; but above all in his books 'The Russian Perpetuum Mobile' and 'The Concealed Bismarck', he spoke up for our peoples' right to freedom and independence. But above all, and in this lies his greatest

service to the West, he unmasked Bolshevism as a growth whose roots and stem are inherently Russian, deriving incomparably more from Russian nihilism than from Karl Marx.

Dieter Friede was treated with ill-will from many sides: by so-called East experts and Sovietologists. But he was also hated in Pankow, Warsaw and Moscow, for it was realized there that Friede's analysis had exposed the central nerve of the rulers: imperialistic greed born of characteristic messianism.

In 1947, Friede was abducted from the East sector of Berlin and deported to Vorkuta. In 1955, as part of the repatriation of political prisoners, he was allowed to return to the free zone of Germany.

Dieter Friede was a good German, a quiet patriot, a glowing champion of freedom and justice. He was a man who possessed the courage and the strength to stem the tide. We owe him our gratitude.

1917

March 11th — Volyn Regiment of Guards, a regiment in the tsarist army stationed in Petersburg, which was composed of Ukrainians, started the final dissolution of the empire by refusing to serve Russia.

March 12th — Two additional regiments which had Ukrainian majorities, namely the Preobrazhensky and the Izmailsky Regiments, declared themselves in favor of the liquidation of tsarism. This decision turned the balance of power. It is generally noted that the Ukrainian national emigré community in Petersburg and Moscow played a substantial role in the uprising. Not one of the non-Russian peoples enslaved within the tsarist Russian empire helped to preserve it.

March 15th — A temporary Ukrainian national legislature was formed in Kyiv under the name of Ukrainian Central Council.

March 19th — A rally of Ukrainians in the Russian army took place in Kyiv,

(210 persons attended) with the purpose of preparing the grounds for the formation of a Ukrainian national army.

March 22nd — Another mass rally occurred and was attended by 4000 Ukrainian military personnel. The Temporary Ukrainian Military Council was established.

March 24th — It has been decided to form a Ukrainian infantry regiment in Kyiv.

March 29th — Various Ukrainian political groups merged into one all-Ukrainian Central Council, headed by Prof. Mykhajlo Hrushevskyj. Mykola Mikhnovskyj proposed the resolution "to start immediately the organization of our own powerful military force, without which it is impossible even to think of winning complete freedom of Ukraine". Many voices were heard calling for the proclamation of Ukraine's independence.

On the same day the Military Club of Hetman P. Polubotok arose in Kyiv with

the purpose of cultivating the spirit of a Ukrainian national army among Ukrainians. Also the Ukrainian Military Organizational Committee was formed in Kyiv, headed by Col. Hlynskyj, with the aim of initiating, directing and establishing Ukrainian military units throughout the country.

By the end of March, three Ukrainian newspapers had already appeared in Kyiv and a large-scale publishing house "Vernyhora" was established. (Until March 9th, no Ukrainian newspapers were appearing at all.)

April 1st — A mass manifestation on the occasion of the downfall of tsarism was held in Kyiv, in which 110,000 persons participated with 320 Ukrainian flags and banners. Mikhnovskyj delivered there a speech, calling the revolution not anti-tsarist, but a revolution for Ukraine's independence from Russia.

April 20th — A Ukrainian regiment of Hetman P. Doroshenko, 2000 men strong, was formed in Chernyhiv. On that day an armed clash occurred between this regiment and the local Russian garrison, the first such incident based on the growing will of the Ukrainians to achieve their independence and the determination of the Russian government headed by Kerensky to keep Ukraine in its slavery.

April 19th — 21st — The All-Ukrainian Congress was held in Kyiv, considered to be the first national constitutional assembly of Ukrainian people since the early 18th century.

April 25th — In Kharkiv the Ukrainian People's Party was reactivated (established in 1902) which made the establishment of complete national independence and sovereignty of Ukraine, its goal.

May 1st — The first Ukrainian regiment in Kyiv has been formed. On this occasion M. Mikhnovskyj said: "Only when we took the road of fighting for the natural and neglected rights of our nation, only when you, Russians, have seen these soldiers, who are not willing to remain a dumb cannon fodder, who do not want

to die with the name of 'Ivanovs Niepomniashlikh', only then you noticed us and began to fuss . . . Such a sudden transformation of 'Russki saldar' of the tsarist times into a Ukrainian Cossak is a riddle to you and to us." The Russian Command under General Brusilov refused to recognize the 3000 men strong Ukrainian regiment.

May 15th — Union for Ukraine's Statehood (a nationalist party) was established.

May 18th — 23rd — The First All-Ukrainian Military Convention was held in Kyiv, representing nearly one million organized Ukrainian military personnel. Motions were made to proclaim Ukraine's independence immediately on the grounds of the declaration of the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson on the right of all nations to self-determination. The Convention elected a nation-wide Ukrainian Military General Committee.

June 18th — 23rd — The Second All-Ukrainian Military Convention took place. 2308 delegates attended. They represented 1,736,000 Ukrainian military personnel.

June 18th — A rally was organized in Kyiv by the Union for Ukraine's Statehood at which 2500 persons participated. It was resolved to demand Ukrainian independence.

June 23rd — The Ukrainian Central Council proclaimed officially a broad autonomy of Ukraine. Thus, it became the National Government of Ukraine.

June 27th — The secret Brotherhood for Independence resolved to stage an anti-Russian uprising in Kyiv to be led by Col. Juriij Kapkan and Lieut. Mikhnovskyj.

July 17th — 18th — An anti-Russian uprising took place in Kyiv at which 5000 soldiers took part. The city was completely liberated from the Russian forces, who taken by surprise left with almost no resistance. However, the Russians soon regrouped outside Kyiv and recaptured strategic places in the city. Later on, Ukrainians were disarmed and sent forcefully to the Russian front. Mikhnovskyj was captured and sent under guard to the Rumanian front.



Ukrainian and American Students Protesting Left Nazi Tendencies in German Television and the Discrimination of Ukrainian Liberation Struggle

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

ABN Demonstrates



Against Cultural Exchange With Russian Tyrants, Winnipeg, Canada, April 18, 1967.

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The Freedom-Loving World Has Suffered A Great Loss

(On Konrad Adenauer's Death)

The death of the great German statesman Dr. Konrad Adenauer is a grave loss not only for Germany, but also for Europe and the world. The freedom-loving world has suffered a great loss.

The greatness of Konrad Adenauer's statesmanship lay in the fact that he grasped with a sharp eye the political situation of the world subsequent to World War II, and drew the necessary consequences from this situation. His historical importance derives from the fact that he was constantly taking pains to materialize his insights and experiences politically.

Above all Konrad Adenauer was keenly aware of the danger of Russian imperialism and Bolshevism:

"From the very beginning the Russians appeared to pursue a clear policy towards Germany. It was their aim to incorporate all of Germany into their sphere of power."

"In my opinion the Western powers were not able to cope with the Russians in politics. They had, as far as I was able to perceive, no concordant clear conception of their own."

"The aim of the Russians was clear. Russia was, just as under the tsars, driving towards the West, driving to acquire or to subject new areas in Europe. The policy of the Western Allies yielded to the Soviet Union the supreme authority over a very large sector of the former German Reich, thus giving it the possibility of setting up Moscow-subservient governments in a large part of East Europe."

During his chancellorship, under exceptionally difficult conditions, Konrad Adenauer achieved a great deal for his country and for the free world. The free part of Germany under his rule was rapidly reconstructed politically and economically; it was consolidated and became an important component in the defence system of the free world.

"The United States and Soviet Russia built up their arms. American armament has been built up to such a degree that there is no great, immediate danger for an invasion of the United States. Yet, I doubt whether the Soviet rulers are so convinced of the extent of American armament to feel that a war would not pay off for Soviet Russia. It is my conviction that any war would pay off for Soviet Russia that would deliver Europe into its hands . . ." Dr. Adenauer stated in an interview with Mr. Kingsbury-Smith.

After Konrad Adenauer had to leave the pilot seat of the government, he was able to offer his country and the free world only his advice. He never ceased to warn the public of the free world against Russian imperialism and Bolshevism.

"If Soviet Russia could succeed in incorporating West Germany into the Soviet Russian system, it would experience such an increase in its economy and war potential that it would achieve a superiority over the United States. To be sure, Soviet Russia would certainly respect American nuclear power until it itself possessed sufficient nuclear bombs."

To the detriment of the free world, its leading politicians, unfortunately, did not allow themselves to be too influenced by Konrad Adenauer's political sagacity. They were and are much more inclined to let themselves be led astray by the "coexistence" deception propagated by the Russian-Bolshevik rulers.

Dr. Adenauer referred to the policy of "coexistence" and to the "detente" as "stupid chatter," which he could no longer hear. In this connection he also observed that only Russia always profited from the chatter of a detente.

Since Konrad Adenauer's death, only his wide experiences and knowledge, insofar as he recorded them, are at our disposal. Will the free world make use of them in its own interest?

March Revolution Against October Counter-revolution

Fifty years ago — in March 1917 — Ukrainian soldiers of the Volhynia, Preobrazhensk and Ismajil regiments gave the first thrust to the destruction of the Russian tsarist prison of nations. This was the beginning of the subjugated peoples' armed revolt against the regime and against the empire.

The March Revolution of 1917 did not want to overthrow Tsarism only. It was a prologue to the national liberation wars, which were directed against both the regime and the empire. This insurrection had its roots in a spiritual, cultural, national and social revolutionary process which reached its culmination in the countries under Russian domination in the last decades of the Russian tsarist prison of peoples.

The revolutionary events which took place between 1900 and 1905 led to Russia's defeat in her imperialistic war against Japan. The subjugated peoples' hostile attitude towards Russia's imperialistic war against Japan, and the reluctance of the non-Russian soldiers, in particular the Ukrainian soldiers, to fight in the Far East against Japan, is common knowledge.

Notwithstanding the fact that it was a member of the Entente, the Russian empire crumbled in the imperialistic war of 1914—1918, as a result of the centrifugal forces at work within the empire. The victor was defeated by the peoples it held in subjection! March 1917 marked the beginning of the dissolution of the Russian empire.

The attempt on the part of Russian and pro-Russian circles to depict the March Revolution as an effort towards a democratization of the regime, is a lie. The Russian imperialists commemorate the 50th anniversary of the March Revolution as an attempt to substitute despotism by a democratic government and centralism by an imperial federation. But this is a self-con-

tradiction, for an empire can only be held intact by force. Hence the Russian empire cannot be a democratic, multi-national state, whether it assumes the form of a centralized, federative or confederative union. The people in our subjugated countries are nationally minded. For them, freedom means the inexorable right to have their own nation-state. Only in such a state can they know the real meaning of human rights, their rights as members of a nation.

In March of 1917, not only single individuals revolted, but rather whole nations rose up in determined and uncompromising pursuit of a fixed goal: separation from Russia.

It is of secondary importance how the aims of the peoples in revolt, of the soldiers', peasants' and workers' congresses, were formulated by the official political leadership of some of the socialist Central Councils and similar institutions of that time. Their compromise formulations did not reflect the deep perspectives of the revolutionary aspirations of the people. What is important is that the peoples began to build up military forces; not, however, for a "democratic" federated empire, but for completely independent nation-states. The spontaneous aims of the revolting peoples of March 1917, are decisive for us — not the partial aims which were formulated by a segment of their political leadership at that time.

In the streets of capitals of our countries, the masses did not demonstrate for a new prison of peoples, but for a new beginning, for the triumph of the idea of national sovereignty as a symbol of the 20th century. They demonstrated for the ending of national, social and cultural bondage, for their own government in their own country!

"To arms!" This was the most widely heard slogan of that time. Once again, the peoples who had just been exhausted in war

by the foreign Russian Tsar, took to arms to defend their rights against Russia. The "defenders" of a deceptive federation, as a new form of the empire, fled abroad. But the peoples took up arms against the new Russian despots, who abused the national idea ("self-determination even at the price of secession") and the social slogan on feudalism ("The land for the peasants"), and began to sow seeds of dissent in the ranks of the peoples fighting against the Russian aggressors.

By their fight on countless fronts against the Russian-Bolshevik aggressors and against the allies who came to their defence to save the empire — men like Denikin, Wrangel, Kolchak and other White Guards who were supported by the Entente — and also against the attacks of their other imperialistic neighbours, our re-established democratic nation-states checked for several years the advance of the Red Russian-Bolshevik barbaric aggressors into Central and Western Europe.

Bolshevism, which was established in Russia in November of 1917, began to write a new disgraceful chapter in the history of the aggressive Russians. With fire and sword, with lies and deceptions, with betrayal and diverting-tactics, with new slogans and ideas, the Russian people gave a new lease on life to the old empire, after having overthrown the old rotten governing class. Inspired by a new aggressive ideology the Russian people was determined, not only to repossess the old empire, but to impose upon the whole world its Bolshevik mentality and way of life.

During a war of our military forces against Russia which went on for years, the Bolshevik October counter-revolution drowned the aspirations of the subjugated peoples for freedom and independence in a sea of blood.

The military forces of the Ukrainian National Republic checked the victory march of the Russian-Bolshevik hordes, which were hurrying to the rescue of Bela Kuhn's Communist regime in Hungary and the Communist revolts in Bavaria, Ham-

burg and Berlin. The so-called "miracle on the Vistula", in which the Ukrainian military forces played a decisive role, checked the advance of the hordes of Tukhachevsky, Trotsky and Budenny in the direction of Central Europe. Thus Europe was saved from the Bolshevization planned by Lenin.

With their national liberation wars, the subjugated peoples saved the West from being swamped by Bolshevism; they saved the West from tyranny and ruin, from Bolshevik terror and genocide.

March of 1917 exposed the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire — the subjugated peoples. In their hands lies the key to the victory over the Russian empire. June of 1941 could have realized the aims of March 1917 to a larger extent; with firm determination it could have contributed to the annihilation of Bolshevism through the dissolution of the empire. National Socialist Germany and the wrong attitude of the allies towards Moscow, prevented the dissolution of the empire and the annihilation of Bolshevism; indeed, they contributed to the expansion of Bolshevism to Central and Southeast Europe. By this, they opposed the aims of the revolutionary anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik liberation wars, which had begun in March of 1917.

The creation of two artificial states, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia as bulwarks of political Russophilism in Central and Southeast Europe, was also the result of the renewal of the Russian empire in Bolshevik form and of the desires of the Entente. Upon their forceful reestablishment after World War II, they became members of the international pro-Russian system protected by Russian bayonets.

With the dissolution of the Russian empire, a liberation of the nation-states forcefully made a part of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia will take place; they will assume independent statehood within their ethnographic boundaries.

During the present phase of Russian propaganda-lies and aggression, the official West fails to see that the "security-motivated" Russian imperialistic interests,

towards which it constantly expresses good-natured understanding, can only be satisfied when Russia is in control of the whole world. Only then would Russia feel herself secure. She constantly strives to achieve a guarantee for the present boundaries of her empire for reasons of "security". In short, it is not at all a matter of a guarantee of the security of her ethnographic territory.

It is necessary to make the states of the free world, particularly the United States, aware of the fact that with their friendly policies towards the Russian empire and with their signing of treaties with Russia — for instance, its project for the signing of a treaty against the proliferation of nuclear weapons — they are only damaging themselves. The realization of the planned treaty against the proliferation of nuclear weapons would mean to place the rest of free Europe, even with respect to the peaceful use of atomic energy, under Moscow's control. This would have a very negative effect on the technical and economic development of this part of Europe, for, if the economy of free Europe is to remain in a position to compete, it needs atomic energy. The West must cease to pursue such self-damaging policies, if it does not want to commit suicide.

The Russian-Bolshevik colossus is built on feet of clay. This was always the case, but the Western powers have always built artificial steel supports for this colossus.

The insatiable Russian Moloch lives from its victims. It swallows more and more countries. The opposing forces in the empire and in the regime become stronger and more numerous. The so-called Communist bloc is dissolving. Russian imperialism appears ever more frequently without a mask.

In November of 1967, when the tyrants celebrate their 50th anniversary, they will also celebrate the beginning of the final phase of the empire and of the system.

In November of 1967, when the tyrants celebrate their epilogue, we will announce our prologue, the overture of which was March of 1917.

The main drama is still to come. Its climax will be the dissolution of the Russian prison of peoples and individuals into independent nation-states of all the subjugated peoples, and the annihilation of the Communist system in all its forms!

Our slogan is: Freedom-loving peoples and individuals the world over, unite in battle against Russian imperialism and Communism.

Unceasing Russian-Communist Attacks Against ABN

In the September, 1966 issue of *Perets*, published in Kyiv, an article entitled "On Mr. Stetsko and the Martyred Little Frog" appeared. In it the Bolsheviks attack ABN's protests against the Russian persecution of Ukrainian scholars and artists because of their resistance to the Russification of Ukraine.

In the January, 1967 issue of *Zhovten*, published in Lviv another article, 14-pages long, entitled "ABN — An Assembly of Nationalistic Fools" again attacked ABN. In the article many ABN members are brutally slandered. Its ideas are ridiculed;

its actions belittled. ABN is pictured as a group of people serving various intelligence agencies. All of them are supposedly traitors of their own countries. The primitiveness of arguments, the lack of any moral restraints in attacking individual leaders is appalling. The fabrication of compromising situations and the so-called "facts" is classical Communist baseness. The article is another indication of ABN's liveliness and Moscow's concern about its steady growth of ideas and influence in the Free World and among the subjugated peoples.

A detailed analysis of this article will appear in the next issue.

The Consular Treaty's Immunity For Murder

On March 9, the Senate of the United States by a vote of 53 to 23 most regrettably defeated an amendment to the proposed Consular Treaty which would have restricted diplomatic immunity to misdemeanors, but not to felonies such as rape, murder, kidnapping and spying. According to the AP dispatch of March 9:

"Other consular treaties grant immunity to arrest for misdemeanors such as traffic violations, but not felonies as murder or spying."

Why should Soviet Russia be so insistent on a new-type consular treaty with the extraordinary immunity for murder? Such books as *Murder to Order* by Karl Anders (London, 1965) and *Political Assassination* by Hermann Raschhofer (Tuebingen, 1964), with their shocking evidence that political assassination, not only in Red-controlled but also in neutral and free Western Countries, is an approved practice of the Red Secret Service, shows why Moscow wants immunity for murder for its consulates. That Leon Trotsky was the victim of a Moscow-directed assassination in Mexico in 1940, is common knowledge (See Levine, *The Mind of an Assassin*, Farrar, 1959). Martin Dies relates how General Walter G. Krivitsky was afraid that if he testified "the OGPU, the Kremlin Secret Police, would assassinate him." He did testify and shortly after "was found in his hotel room in Washington, D. C., shot to death. The death was pronounced suicide, but there are too many similar instances to accept that verdict without reservations." (See *Martin Dies' Story*, Bookmailer, 1963, pp. 117-8). One such was the case of Povl Bang-Jensen, the Danish representative to the UN. Soon after he refused to betray the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, his lifeless body was discovered in a New York park. Though made to look like suicide, Martin Dies writes, "many knowledgeable people believe that this was a case of murder by the Communists."

In Germany, the death of Dr. Lev Rebet, the publicist, and then that of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, looked like heart failures. (See *Murder International, Inc.*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1965). But on August 12, 1961, Bohdan Stashynsky, a member of the Soviet Secret Service, defected to West Berlin and confessed to the meticulously directed murder of both of these men with a cyanide gun. It killed instantly, and made the victims pass for deaths by heart failure. Between 1956 and 1962 in the NATO-countries and Latin America "16 politicians probably died no natural death, but have been killed by hydrocyanic acid with a gas pistol." (See Anders, *Mord auf Befehl*, Tuebingen, 1963, p. 76).

The proposed Consular Treaty would make it easy for Russia to shadow all refugees from Iron Curtain countries, all proponents of liberation for the Captive Nations, and all active anti-Communists, and without jeopardy for the assassin to murder the most dangerous or most hated ones! The treaty gives full immunity not only to consuls and attaches, but all employees. As Senator Thomas Dodd pointed out, the full and absolute immunity for consular officers, employees and premises "far exceeds the norm for existing consular conventions even with our closest allies" and it far exceeds "the provision of the Vienna Convention on

Consular Relations" signed by 32 nations in April, 1963. That Convention provided that "consular officers shall not be liable to arrest or detention 'except in the case of a grave crime and pursuant to a decision by the competent judicial authority.'" (See "Consular Treaty Debate", *Human Events*, March 18, 1967.)

This proposed treaty would give the Soviet consulates a green light for kidnapping and murder and place them above our police and our courts. Had Oswald waited and became a chauffeur for such a consulate he could have shot Kennedy calmly, for our police could not even have arrested him. We could merely have begged Moscow to take him back! Had this treaty been in effect in 1948, when Mme. Kosenkina, a Ukrainian school teacher attached to the Soviet consulate, defected, our police could not have helped her. The consulate had kidnapped her from the Tolstoy Foundation and locked her in a consulate room. She jumped out into the courtyard. A policeman saw it, entered against the protests of the Soviet officials and liberated her. But this consular treaty prohibits the police from forcing an entrance to the consulate even if a dozen women were screaming for help or a kidnapped senator was being tortured and murdered!

Of course, the Red Secret service would be too smart to abuse this immunity flagrantly or to resort to assassination except when much was at stake for them. But their power to use it with immunity would give them a terrifying weapon for blackmail and intimidation. If a Vice-President were soft on Communism, the President would have good reason to become soft too — fast!

And that explains why Soviet Russia wants this extraordinary immunity in the consular treaty, this green light for political assassination.

They Should Cease To Persecute Religion

Albert C. Walsh, a lawyer from Gretna, Nebraska, U.S.A. wrote to President Lyndon B. Johnson asking that the U.S. delay implementing the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union until the latter ceases to persecute religion and grants religious liberties to its inhabitants as follows:

Permits workers, as they choose, to enjoy Friday, Saturday or Sunday as their weekly day of rest;

Permits everyone to attend the religious services of his choice without penalty or fear of reprisal;

Has abolished its campaign against God and religion;

Has abolished the atheist test for preferment in employment;

Has released ministers, priests, bishops, rabbis and other clergymen from prisons and slave labor camps;

Permits freely the printing, distribution and sale of religious publications, including the Bible or Koran;

Permits children to be taught religion, and to be initiated by baptism, circumcision or other rites into the religion of their parents;

Has stopped commissioning secret police agents to pose as clergymen;

Permits the various religious faiths to select their own ministers, priests, bishops, rabbis and other clergymen without interference by the Soviet Government; and, permits such clergymen to perform their ministry freely without government interference;

Has abolished taxation of houses of religious worship;

Has permitted the reopening and unhampered operation of seminaries, schools of divinity and of religious instruction for clergymen and students of religion;

Has returned buildings erected for religious worship to the congregations from which they were confiscated.

The Revolt Of 1916 In Turkestan

On the 50th anniversary of the armed revolt of the people of Turkestan in July of 1916, the Soviet Russians have sought, by falsifying history, to prove that the "workers" of Turkestan shared the ambitions of the revolutionary movement of the Russian workers and peasants. It is maintained that this revolt was a class struggle and part of the Russian October Revolution. In the Soviet press numerous articles, essays, book and booklet reviews appeared, such as "The Revolt of 1916 in Central Asia was a part of the Russian revolutionary movement" (*Ozbekistan Kommunisti*, No. 6., 1966), "Flame of Anger" (*STa*, June 11, 1966), "Great Courage" (*SO*, July 17, 1966), "Fruits of Boldness" (*SO*, July 14, 1966), etc. In these articles the wide-spread revolt of the Turkestanians is represented as "a revolt of the workers motivated by the ideal of Communism against tsarist colonial policies, against the measures of the tsars; as fight for freedom; as a class struggle of the workers; as a preliminary step to the October Revolution, which finally realized the desires and the will of the peoples of Central Asia and gave them freedom and sovereignty." The dramatist Sultan Safarow wrote a play "Dawn in the city of Chodshent," in which the revolt of July 4, 1916 is described as if the people had been terrorized by the local upper classes and therefore revolted. (*STa*, August 4, 1966). In another article it is maintained: "The people of Chodshent (today Leninabad, Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic) had a difficult economic, social and political life until the October Revolution. The poor workers were robbed of their possessions; they were ruthlessly exploited by the rich — the Begs — and by the officials of the tsars. The peasants had an especially hard life. The revolt of 1916 in Central Asia and in Kazakhstan was the greatest revolt during tsarist times and encompassed the entire area of Central Asia... This revolt which broke out in Uzbekistan had, just as in all of Central Asia, deep political, social and economic importance.

On July 4, 1916, the workers of Chodshent revolted and this revolt spread to the cities of Samarkand, Syr Darya, Fergana, Jetisu (East Kazakhstan), Transcaspia (Turkmenistan) and to the mountain regions. They were directed against the ukase issued by the Tsar on June 25, 1916, mobilizing the Turkestanians for military service at the front. . . . Though the revolt was crushed, its effect was felt until the great socialist October Revolution. The revolt of 1916 in Chodshent was a people's revolt against their exploiters. Fifty years ago the workers of Central Asia rose up against terror and oppression for the first time.*"

* The revolt of 1916 was brought about by the tsarist ukase of June 25, 1916, by which Turkestanians were also to be mobilized for military service "behind the lines." In Turkestan, 250,000 men between the ages of 19 and 43 were to be inducted: from the district of Syr Darya, 60,000 men; from Samarkand, 32,407 men; from Fergana 51,000 men; from Jetisu 43,000 men; from Transcaspia 13,831 men. (*Yach Türkistan*, No. 23, 24, 1931, Paris).

The Turkestanians refused to be inducted to serve behind the Russian front. On July 4, 8,140 men were to be registered in the city of Chodshent (at that time, the city had a population of 40,000), and during the night of July 3-4, the people of Chodshent began to revolt. Tashkent became the centre of the revolt, and behind the slogan "The banner of revolt has been raised in Tashkent," all Turkestan was embraced. On July 8, the Fergana district joined the revolt; on July 13, the city of Dshisach (southeast of Tashkent); on July 24, the Jetisu and Amu-Darja district; on August 13, the city of Tokmak (Kirgizia) and on August 14, the Aksu area.

Already on July 17, military law was established throughout the country. There was heavy fighting in Dshisach, which was encircled by Russian soldiers. More than 10,000 men, women and children were killed, and the city and 24 neighbouring villages were razed to the ground. All of the nomades of the city of Kysyl-Su (today called Krasnovodsk on the Caspian Sea), participated in the revolts in Turkmenistan. Even more than the loss of their best pasture-grounds, they feared the Russians and fought an outright war. In November of 1916, Kuropatkin, governor general of the governor-generalship of Turkestan, sent Madirov, the governor of Syr Darya, to Turkmenistan with 8000 men. All fountains were poisoned, the revolt was crushed and all possessions were confiscated. In the district of Jetisu, more than 205,000 Turkestanians were killed (another source sets the figure at 100,000). All the property of the Kirghiz in Issyk Kul, in the Chu and Narin valley was dispossessed and in Samarkand 50 villages were razed to the ground.

The revolt was not the outgrowth of a class struggle of the Turkestanians among themselves, as the Communists maintain and seek to prove in scientific conferences and exhibitions, such as the recent conference held on September 24 in the Uzbekistan Socialist Soviet Republic, and of the Institute for History of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, in Tashkent. (SO, September 27, 1966) The revolt, triggered off by the tsarist ukase, was directed rather against the colonial policies of the Tsar and against the Russian settlers, who, as it is known, took away the best agricultural land from the Turkestanians. For instance, during the revolt, 4,725 Russians, among whom were 2000 colonists, were killed and an additional 2,683 were missing. More than 9000 Russian farms and 5,373 Russian settlement houses were burned; in Jetisu alone 94 Russian villages. In short, there was not a solidarity, as is maintained today, with the Russian workers and peasants — Turkestanians fought against Russians.

350 leaders of the Turkestanian revolt were executed and 168 men and women were deported to Siberia. 300,000 Turkestanians, among whom were 60,000 Kirghiz families, fled to East Turkestan. 10,000 lost their lives from the cold and the hardships in the mountains. The number who fled to Iran, Afghanistan and Mongolia is unknown. The total number of losses of the Turkestanians is also not known.

The revolt of 1916 caused the Russians many difficulties, for 100,000 Russian soldiers, who were urgently needed at the front, were tied up in Turkestan.

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto

Chairman "Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade"
Chairman "Interamerican Confederation for the Defence
of the Continent"

Communist Infiltration In Brazil

Remarks concerning declarations recently made by the former Santo Domingo's President Juan Bosch, to the effect that: — "Brazil could hardly escape being taken over by Communism".

I do not subscribe at all to that pessimistic Juan Bosch's prediction (I do not trust the man myself . . .), but I do believe that my country, Brazil, will certainly have lots of trouble with the Communists and even run a considerable risk of becoming involved in the overall Marxist offensive campaign, if drastic measures are not taken against that fake, cruel, inhuman and hellish doctrine! Up to now, these drastic measures have not materialized, and the so-called Revolutionary Government set up by the victorious 31st of March 1964 military coup-d'etat has not provided in earnest against the huge Communist propaganda which is being spread all over the country by the illegal Communist Party and by all branches of fellow-travelers and leftist individuals.

This in spite of the fact that the mentioned military action was unlaunched, even though at the very last moment, exactly to prevent Brazil turning Communist under the despicable ex-President Goulart. Marshal Castelo Branco, who took over after Goulart's overthrow by the Armed-Forces, has been unduly lenient towards the rascals of the Communist Party, and one of the glaring proofs of that is the fact that he only acted against 40 top-Communists of that Party, — by cancelling their political rights — about two years and a half after being in power as President of the Republic . . . During all that time those staunch Marxists kept on conspiring covertly (and sometimes quite overtly . . .) against the Brazilian Democracy, also quickly and zealously reorganizing the Communist Party. Even now there are numberless Communists and sympathizers freely engaged in spreading Communism among the population!

The sympathizers and leftists are very often more dangerous than the avowed Communists and card-bearers of the Party, and that is very much in line with the well-known Marxist Dimitrov's saying that: — "a writer of reputation who, without being a party member defends the Soviet Union, is worth more than 500 poor devils who don't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police."

Limiting myself to mentioning only a few names, I'll say that Senator Afonso Arinos, writer Tristao de Atayde, Bishop Helder Camara, Justices Hermes Lima and Evandro Lins, and politician Vieira Mello, are very detrimental to my country's Democracy, especially due to the fact they are bright, cultured and belong to high strata. The so-called "progressive Catholics", and Atayde is one of their leaders in Brazil, are undermining those of religious faith and trying to establish captious and harmful dialogues with Communists. The Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana (Cuba) a year ago, sponsored by the scoundrel Fidel Castro, much increased the danger of Communist subversion in Latin Amer-

ica, and that's why being myself present at the 12th "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" Congress held in Seoul (Korea) a few months ago, I drafted a Resolution, which was approved unanimously, asking the United States of America to invade Cuba manu-militari and finishing once and for all, with the Communist bridge-head in America. The leftist Press (in particular the crypto-Communist and the one ostensibly Communist) is perhaps the biggest asset Marxists have to foster Red propaganda!

All Brazilian newspapers are greatly infiltrated with Communists, even those calling themselves "conservative", even those that have had a Catholic background in years gone by, as the *Jornal do Brazil*. This paper published a few days ago a bulky supplement on Cuba, where Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution were praised beyond measure, from beginning to end; also, in dealing with the Vietnam war, it prints only reports detrimental to the Americans.

Great apathy of the people in what concerns the Communist problem, the Government's weakness, the decided leftist leaning of the Press, and the high cost of living, are factors favoring the expansion of Communist infiltration in Brazil!

Increasing Difficulties of the Soviet Union

The millions of non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow inside and outside of the Soviet Union no longer want to live in a state of colonialism. Apart from the Soviet Union there is not another important colonial power. Yet, 100 million Russians rule 135 million non-Russians in the Soviet Union and keep 100 million more Poles, Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Rumanians in more or less strong dependency.

A great part of the youth is also a constant source of annoyance to the Moscow ruling class, because they are no longer to be inspired by their Central Committee's "wise" policies of a Lenin, a Trotsky, a Stalin, a Beria, a Malenkov, a Molotov, a Khrushchov, a Brezhnev and others.

Nor has the 50 years-long relentless fight, which did not shrink from the use of eradication and destruction against religion and the church, led to the "rubbish-heap of history". As a matter of fact, church members were able to fortify their moral powers despite oppression in recent years. There is no other explanation for the intensification of the atheistic fight on the part of the Central Committee. It may be quite understandable that, for example, in Lithuania

the influence of religion is still strong because the subjugation dates back to 1945, but what about places such as Tartary, Rostov, Volgograd, Brest, Gorky and others which have been under Russian Communist rule for more than 4 decades. They have had to suffer the hard blows of atheist fight for such a long time that it is of great importance to the free world to see how limited the Central Committee's successes with its totalitarian power apparatus have been in these areas, but especially in Ukraine.

And finally Moscow's nerve-racking dispute with China!

The Soviet Union tries to get relief from its increasing troubles from the West. It is even going to the Pope, as it went to de Gaulle before. But concessions are made only with the lips and not with the heart. It hopes that the West will be satisfied with Potemkin villages, and that Russia can continue to keep its pillaged countries and foreign nations in subjugation.

Will Western church dignitaries and politicians be deceived by the Kremlin and forget those millions subjugated against their will?

For The Freedom Of Poetic Expression

From the speech of the Byelorussian writer Wassil Bykow, at the Vth Congress of the Byelorussian Writers' Association, held in May of 1966. His novel 'The dead feel no pain', which was published in the *Noviy Mir* (New World), brought upon his head the wrath of the entire orthodox phalanx. Still, the Congress was held on an open speaker's platform — hence, not withheld from the public. Bykow's train of thought, which runs through his speech like a red thread, is best exemplified in the following excerpt:

“ . . . Without exaggeration, it can be said that literature in a certain sense is going through a crisis. . . . Art is that refreshing spirit of the society, without whose critical influence, it becomes mouldy and begins to rot. Undiscriminating apologetics, affirmation of everything at hand, is really nothing other than the grave-diggers of a society; and it is to be regretted that we still have not comprehended the full danger of this phenomenon. It is also to be regretted that there are still many people who are docile enough to believe that those who are inclined to see the negative elements in the life of a society, or go so far as to criticize those elements, must be poisoned by the spirit of bourgeois ideology, are pessimists or even ideological diverters . . . At the end of the 5th decade of Soviet power, we begin to dream that the thought which Lunacharski expressed will become a reality. In 1931 . . . he said: “It is not a matter of the Central Committee proposing solutions, to which the writers are to seek out the (proper) illustrations; it is a matter of the Party and the Central Committee reading, among other information material, the works of the writers, to derive inspiration for their execution and solutions.” We are poorly read in the Central Committee, and when we are read, it is done solely with the intent of publishing an anonymous excoriation. After the text has been passed through seven of the most diverse filters, some trivial insubordinate statement is fished out and held up for general consideration with childish delight: ‘Just see, how alert we are . . .’ It may well be that my words will not please everyone. It may well be that there are some people who will quickly apply themselves to see whether my words have violated some article of the penal code. To this, I should like to speak a word of warning: Don't invent yourselves windmills to fight with . . . We are not enemies of the people . . . Hence — more toleration. Put yourselves in our position, and you will comprehend that our range of choice is not at all very large. The question is very simple: either literature — or no literature. There is nothing in between.”

**His Excellency
Bundeskanzler
Dr. Kurt-Georg Kiesinger
BONN**

Not only Germany, not only the free world, but also the subjugated peoples have become poorer by the loss of this great champion of freedom and justice. The German people has lost its unique statesman Dr. Konrad Adenauer. We mourn with the German nation in this sad hour of its history.

**Yaroslav Stetsko
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine
President of ABN**

“ABN — The Conscience Of The World”

Interview with Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, 1948—49 Minister of Industry and Commerce, 1950—51 Minister of Foreign Trade, since 1951 President of the Italian Chamber of Commerce for the Americas, since 1955 President of the Italian Atlantic Committee (CIA) and Vice President of the Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA).

How does your Excellency evaluate the efforts of ABN on behalf of the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism?

— Following your activity I would say that if ABN did not exist it would have had to be established because there is no doubt that what is being accomplished in this field is mainly based upon the dedication of an organization such as this and whose activity is supported by the people who originated from the enslaved countries and who are now spread throughout the world. An organization of this kind is a fortress that gathers the militant spirit which is so necessary to uphold the role — political, spiritual — which is an integral part of the efforts and the struggle for liberation.

— How does the Western World treat ABN, particularly how does it regard the “National Revolts” as an alternative to a “Nuclear War”.

— I have my doubts whether people understand that. In the Western World there is a “Nuclear Beatophobia”, a feeling of general fear of nuclear war, but this is connected with what is being called the “balance of terror”. In reality there is no balance because the Western World is terrorized. On the other side, where blackmail is used, the peoples are not terrorized because they are not aware of it. If there were an alternative, nuclear war on one side and liberation on the other side, I am afraid that the natural selfishness of human beings would eventually be in favor of avoiding liberation so as not to run the risk of nuclear war, but this is a sophism in my opinion. In the struggle for power, for the conquest and the domination of the world, Soviet Russia and the other Com-



unist countries are just using this element as a fundamental tool in order to achieve their aims. Therefore, they offer us an alternative, the so-called “peaceful co-existence”. Peaceful coexistence, aside from other considerations becomes the recognition of the status quo. This is inadmissible because there is no doubt that human beings cannot be enslaved forever and that eventually the inner urge for liberation would be so strong that the empire would have to disintegrate. Then, there is no need for nuclear bombs. But, in turn, there is no doubt that if the Western World would try to help the enslaved countries to liberate themselves from abroad, then the Communist empire would not hesitate to use drastic means to survive. But I do hope that sensible reasoning at an opportune moment would have an influence, a con-

siderable influence, since the so-called nuclear holocaust would not be a solution of the political problems at all, but only a general destruction, a collective suicide. We have to bear in mind that there cannot be a one-way exertion of power. Both opponents would become victims and this would mean either the end of our living world or else the natural basis for achieving progress for mankind, which fundamentally is based upon the right for freedom, for personal and collective freedom — in short national independence, for nations pretty soon would reach the logical conclusions which are fundamentally connotated with the justification of the human beings to be living in this world and playing a role the Almighty has assigned to them. Your question brings forth complicated reasoning and there is no way of answering simply, directly. So many things have to be taken into consideration. I don't want to be extremely optimistic, but I still believe that the greatest, the most fundamental element of progress and at the same time the most tremendous weapon mankind has, is freedom. And freedom, in my opinion, is also the greatest deterrent that could eventually be used to avoid the threatened holocaust.

— *What is the significance of ABN's activities in the Free World?*

— For many years ABN has played a significant role. If it had not been for ABN, numerous events would not have taken place; and the rest of the world would not have been aware of many problems. It has been the dedication of the organization, of the people working for it, that it has constantly reminded the rest of the world that it cannot feel happy until those nations which are presently enslaved by Communist Russian imperialism are liberated. *ABN acts as the conscience of the world* for such problems.

— *Your Excellency, what is the role of ABN's participation in various international conferences?*

— It is a role of militancy of a shock troop, of bringing up the fundamental problems connected with the peoples who have been enslaved, who are suppressed in

the expression of their feelings. ABN is really a vanguard movement, which on every occasion at the international conferences keeps on hammering the fundamental reasons for which it exists and the reasons for which it is necessary that such an organization performs such a task.

— *In your opinion, Minister Lombardo, what is more dangerous to independence and the security of the Western nations, the Russian empire or Communism? Should the Russian empire be liquidated and in its place independent nations of the many presently subjugated peoples be established as the real guarantee of longlasting peace and security in the world?*

— Very often I ask myself whether there is a difference between the old Russian empire and the present Russian empire. I practically do not see any difference. There might be a difference in the external approach, in the way it is understood abroad, but reasoning as the man in the street I have to admit that the present empire identifies itself with the old imperialistic urge which was peculiar to Russia in the old imperium. Therefore, there is no difference and there is no doubt that the imperialism goes on and tries to subdue and subjugate as many peoples as possible and there is no end to it. You will recall that there is an old Russian imperialistic concept according to which it was necessary to conquer a new land in order to protect the one which had been previously acquired. Either way, Communism is working according to a trend. It might even be exaggerated that nationalism hides behind the sham of Communism. What is extremely important is that imperialism exists and is being greatly strengthened because in itself, the so-called Communist philosophy is really showing its failure and backwardness, its reactionary spirit, instead of being an evolutionary and progressive force. Such a philosophy would be placed in cold-storage and forgotten about. However, it represents a constant threat because it is supported by imperialism.

— *Of what importance will the establishment of the independent nations upon the*

ruins of the present Communist Prison of Nations be to Italy as the main Mediterranean power?

— First of all I have to point out that one of the countries that does not realize the importance of the Mediterranean area is Italy. From this point of view, it would be extremely important for Italy, because, instead of seeing the looming threat of an empire there would be independent peoples, thriving and progressing in a peaceful way and congregating in the group of nations of the world. There cannot be a true peace, disregarding a few squabbles, for a true peace cannot exist when a large part of the world is practically enslaved and the peoples are not able to lead the kind of life which would appeal to them and which is mainly based upon the acknowledgement of their own right to independence, to freedom, to their national identity.

— *The late British military strategist, Gen. J. F. C. Fuller said, and I quote: "Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective it may be — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world". What is your opinion on this statement?*

— I subscribe to this concept entirely in every single word. There is no doubt about that. I have the only doubt — whether the Western World in its entirety has realized that fundamental truth namely, that its best allies are really the people who are subjugated behind the Iron Curtain — the people who are practically a mass maneuver for Soviet Russia. There is no doubt that such a strategy should have been and should be the global world strategy for we have to realize that strategically speaking

Soviet Russia has very definite goals: in the Western world it does the boring from within, the threatening, the menacing which is not considered by it as a counterattack. If they (the Communists) had to endure this same type of activity they would probably change their minds, and we would see better times. I am unable to classify Communists into categories —, good ones, bad ones, some so-so. They are all the same. I am not for de-Stalinization only, or de-Khrushchovization, or eventually, tomorrow, de-Brezhnevization. I feel that the fundamental thing to be accomplished is de-Leninization. The de-Leninization of the world can eventually bring the downfall of Communism, its disappearance and peace to the world.

— *We strongly believe in liberation through the revolution from within by all the subjugated peoples simultaneously and coordinated synchronized revolution. When I say all the subjugated peoples, I mean in the Soviet Union and in the so-called satellite countries as well. Can you give us your opinion on this.*

— It is difficult to express an opinion on such a tremendous problem. Certainly there is no doubt that it would be a logical outcome to be wished for, that this would be the way it should happen. But history is extremely unpredictable, and sometimes a spark could start a big fire. It is less difficult to coordinate the sparks that would set a certain area ablaze. Very often it happens that an example set by one becomes a tremendous incentive to the others. It is very difficult to give a definite answer to a question of this kind without trying to analyse its various aspects, but very often human sentiments are transitional and they simply work according to some inner spiritual urge. This is why I am not a Marxist. I couldn't believe in Marxism for that very reason.

— *You have expressed your opinion on Russian imperialism and Communism. Can you summarize your opinion on smaller imperialisms, i. e. those in Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia? These peoples also belong to ABN.*

— There is a Latin, Christian saying “*Secavos emvobis*” which is one of the fundamental elements to be taken into consideration. One cannot ask for freedom for himself and deny the other fellow the same freedom. This is a fundamental concept. There is no doubt that some minor imperialisms at certain times are entirely void of any rational spirit, any spiritual justification. But we have to contend with the nature of human beings. Human beings have a long way to go in order to improve their general attitudes. Very often they feel that what is permissible for them, should not be permissible for others. This is a grave mistake. A future peaceful world in which everybody lives in peace attending to the role of every community, is what we have to hope for. In the future world even the small national entities would have to be united in the regional confederations because the present pattern of the world disintegration and fragmentation, in the economic field would be contrary to the progress of human beings. This could take place provided that the ethnical groups feel that they are not oppressed, that they are not exploited by one another. If there could be a sort of general neighborhood and general brotherhood confederating many of the small countries, each having its national identity, many future sources of conflict would be eliminated. Otherwise, even if the greatest imperialisms were doomed, condemned and liquidated the world situation would not be significantly changed for the lesser imperialisms would continue where the others left off. Consequently, the fundamental thing is that, if we want to destroy the great imperialisms, we cannot allow the smaller ones to thrive.

Visit At Royal Palace

During the 12th Conference of the APACL at Seoul, Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko were entertained in the Royal Palace. The visit had special significance since Princess Yulia is of Ukrainian descent. Prince Kyu is the nephew of the last emperor of Korea,



Princess Yulia Lee, ne Mulak and Prince Kyu Lee heir to the Korean throne.

of the Sung Yung Dynasty. His grandmother is the cousin of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito. The Korean people hold their Prince in high esteem and often travel great distances to have a glimpse of him. This love is transferred also to his wife.

Prince Kyu teaches architecture at two universities of Seoul and is an advisor on municipal planning. Princess Yulia is very active in Catholic Action. This organization is of great importance today since thousands of North Koreans fled to the South escaping the Communist regime and are propertyless. In her free time she is studying Korean history and culture and lecturing to the Korean audiences on Ukrainian culture, even teaching them to prepare Ukrainian dishes. In one of her letters she expressed her sorrow that while she is able to maintain contacts with Western Embassies, she is unable to do so with the Ukrainian Embassy, which does not exist because of Ukraine's subjugation. In her tender heart she combines the love of Korean and Ukrainian people.

Subjugated Nations Should Not Be Ignored

Excerpts from the speech delivered by Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour, President of the Republican Alliance for Freedom and Progress. Public Rally of the Berlin National Union of Expellees, on Sunday, January 15, 1967.

. . . Here in this city we witness the true face of Communism. Here it holds its outpost and awaits the next opportunity. I refuse to be convinced, that Communism has ever for a minute renounced its goal of world domination. It may well be that it has come to realize, that for the time being at least, it cannot attain this goal by military means. Perhaps, it may even need a breathing space in the struggle of ideologies. In terms of its make-up, however, it has not changed. What is offered as a detente and coexistence, is merely tactics. Its purpose is to deceive the enemy and to make him lax.

When I spoke at the opening of my talk of the value of political events for the politician, I referred to my visit here in Berlin as a political event of the first rank. Here we see manifested what we have to say to Communism. In this city Communism reveals itself in its changeless aggressiveness. Yesterday, I had the opportunity to see the Wall of Shame. Overcome, I stood at the place where men have sacrificed their lives for freedom. They were young men, men and women, who bled to death in the barbed wire. With bowed head, I pay tribute to these sacrifices of an inhuman system. *They gave their lives for freedom, for us, for Europe.* The self-satisfied world knows only too little about this. This indomitable will to freedom, which is always exemplified only in an elite, is only seldom taken account of and appraised as a political reality. He who ventures to speak of political realities, must also take account of the reality of the will of freedom-loving men, who die vicariously for their people . . .

The existence of Bolshevism cannot be ignored. Nor would I recommend that the nations subjugated by Communism be ignored. For this reason, I am not at all opposed to the contact of man to man, or to cultural exchange, or to humanitarian help. But everything has its limit where personal responsibility is endangered.

I regard it as unworthy, that politics is pursued with Communism. With dictators, one cannot talk politics in the usual sense of the word. Alone the concepts stand miles apart. When we speak of freedom, they interpret it to mean Communist domination; and for Communism, democracy means the existence of one Party only. These unpleasant facts should finally be taken account of. It was not without perceptive foresight, that Lenin spoke of "the useful idiots of the bourgeois world." . . .

Through trade and humanitarian help, it is the system that is mostly helped — not the people . . .

Religious Persecution In Byelorussia

The present situation of both Christian religious congregations in Byelorussia — the Catholic and the Orthodox Church — is undoubtedly worse than that of any of the other Republics of the USSR. This unhappy fact dates back to the time of the Russian tsarist government in the 19th century. By the use of manifold despotic measures it liquidated the Catholic Church of the Eastern rite in 1839 and annexed it, together with its c. 1,500,000 adherents, 1,040 churches, 46 monasteries and 1,520 secular priests, to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Following a brief breathing spell — exactly 25 years later — the Catholic Church of the Roman rite was subjected to severe attacks. Within a very short time, most of the Latin vicarages and almost all of the monasteries were liquidated. According to statistics, these liquidations took place as is depicted in the following tables:

year	vicarages	chapels	monasteries
1864	21	15	16
1865	33	21	2
1866	78	54	1
1867	28	61	2
1868	19	8	—
1869	2	1	1
total	180	160	22

During World War II, notwithstanding the difficulties connected with the war,

religious life began slowly to recuperate from the wounds it received during the reign of the tsars; following the war, however, both Churches were subjected to severe persecutions. Under the godless Soviet Russian regime, an unbridled fight was carried on against all religions in Eastern Byelorussia.

World War II inflicted fresh wounds to the religious life in Byelorussia. After the war, to be sure, there was a short lapse in the persecutions, but it was not of very long duration. In 1958, a new wave of religious persecution broke out in the Soviet Union. This wave of persecution left terrible scenes of destruction in its wake in Byelorussia. The specific data connected with this persecution wave is not at our disposal, but some insight into its scope can be gained from the table appended below.

In past years the government has made penal sentences more severe for the clergy who endeavour to impart a religious education to the youth. Sacred buildings have also been subjected to excessive taxation. In 1963, the only existing seminary in Byelorussia, in Zhroviche, was liquidated. Godless propaganda assumes sharper and sharper forms. The clergy living in Byelorussia is rather advanced in years. Upon their death the individual vicarages will be unattended; whereby a grave danger for religious life in Byelorussia is to be anticipated.

	Catholic Church		1965	Orthodox Church		
	1916	1948		1916	1948	1965
Dioceses	2	—	—	5	5	1
sees	2	—	—	8	5	1
clergymen	917	80	25	3,024	650	150
monks	6	—	—	410	?	?
seminaries	1	—	—	5	1	?
monasteries	1	—	—	33	2	2
vicarages	456	80	25	4,419	600	150

Russification Of The Baltic Peoples

(Continuation)

Russia is pursuing this language policy more consistently. Instruction in Russian occupies a very important position in the curricula of the non-Russian schools, besides which, this instruction must be communicated with devotion and enthusiasm, as Mrs. Murkina, the leader of the institute for Russian language studies at the University of Tartu (Estonia) reminded in the organ of the Estonian teachers — "Noukogu Opetaja" (The Soviet Teacher).

The periodical *Russkij jazyk v nacional'noj shkole* (Russian in the national schools), published by the Academy of Education, Moscow, is devoted to just this problem. In the periodical are published analyses of the methods of teaching Russian in non-Russian language schools. The teachers are advised how this instruction can be carried on most efficiently to make Russian a second native language, which the children must become accustomed to speaking both at home and in school.

As long ago as 1954 in Finnish Karelia, the russification process had gone so far that the Karelian schools could switch over to instruction in Russian only. Finnish remained a voluntary subject until 1959, when it was definitively removed from the curriculum, since "it was no longer necessary to teach in Finnish", as it was expressed in the above-mentioned periodical (1964:1). At the same time, Finnish Karelia is held up as an example of how "Russian can be introduced as a language of instruction in non-Russian schools". It is interesting to remember in this connection that when the union republic of Finnish Karelia was made into an autonomous republic in 1956, the word "Finnish" was deleted from the official name in order to remove all indications of the ethnic origin of the population. Of the eighteen autonomous republics in the Soviet Union, fourteen, among them Karelia, are parts of the Russian Federal Republic. Finnish Karelia is an instructive example of what the national republics may expect if the proportion of

the native population declines below a certain level.

In the curricula for the schools of the union republics, no time is allowed for special lessons on the national history of the republic. Such history is studied together with the history of Russia. As the Latvian Minister of Education, Gedvilas, explained, in this way "children can be given better understanding of the traditional friendship between our people and the great Russian nation". In every possible context, the traditional friendship with the great Russian people is emphasized, so that pupils will learn, from their earliest years, to love blindly and thank humbly the Russian people. The fact that true history does not support, but rather contradicts the idea of traditional friendship, as for example in the former independent Baltic states, does not prevent Russia and the Russians from always being represented as a friend in need. Take, for example, a passage on the Great Northern War in the History of the Estonian Soviet Republic: "Of enormous progressive importance for the people of Estonia was Estonia's incorporation into Russia. The Great Northern War removed Sweden's military-colonial persecution in the regions inhabited by Estonians, Latvians and Karelians . . . Influence from the advanced democratic culture of Russia was of vital importance for Estonia's national culture and the improvement of the cultural level of the people . . ."

Nothing is said about the German-Russian pact of 1939, the result of the bargaining of two totalitarian great powers for small foreign states, by which, in secret clauses, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were left at the tender mercies of Soviet Russia. Instead, school children are taught that it was an act of magnanimous generosity on the part of the Soviet Union to incorporate their native countries, which were said to have been quite helpless without help from great Russia, and in the hands of western imperialists. This is how the period of in-

dependence of the Baltic states is described in Soviet books, and the young people are exhorted never to forget the debt of gratitude they owe to the great Russian people.

The youth organizations of the union republics — Pioneers for the age groups 10 to 15 years, and Komsomol for young people 16 to 26 years of age — are not independent, but are local sections of the central Russian organizations. Young Russians, on account of their numbers, dominate the central organizations. Work is organized in keeping with the interests and customs of young Russians. Thus, for example, the Baltic pioneer groups are named after fallen Russian war heroes and revolutionaries, of 119 Estonian pioneer units in 1965 82 had Russian names, and the remaining 37 were named after Estonian Communists, who have been active in the Russian October Revolution or in the Communist takeover in Estonia in June-July 1940. Young workers are told to endeavour to be like "heroes of work", but it is always a welder from Leningrad or a weaver from Moscow who is held up as a pattern, never an Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian "hero". Likewise, young Estonian fishermen are urged to take up the socialist competition with fishermen on the island of Sakhalin, and young farmers are told to learn from the actions of the Russian Komsomol in some far distant kolkhoze. Such exhortations are being made unceasingly. There is an unlimited choice of methods available to detract from the value of one's own nation, and imbue young people in the Baltic states with humble gratitude and admiration in their associations with their "Big Brother". It is repeated incessantly that the small Baltic states, left to themselves, would be quite helpless, and would have gone under long ago if the great Russian people had not protected them.

Foreign observers sometimes ask why the Baltic peoples themselves do not attempt to resist russification by restricting the number of immigrants from Russia, oppose the russification of public life and counteract propaganda among young people. There is no doubt that resistance to russification is strong in the Baltic states.

All aspects of public life and much of the citizens' private life in the Soviet Union are controlled by the Communist Party. The parties in the various union republics are by no means autonomous organizations with their own goals and their own programmes corresponding to local needs and interests, but are local sections of the federative Communist Party. Their activities are directed and controlled by the central organization in Moscow. Also, about half of the members of the Communist Parties in the republics are not natives of the republics. At the most recent congress of the Latvian Communist Party in March 1966, there were altogether 605 delegates; 437 of these were not Latvians, and these 437 included 207 Russians. The Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party elected in March 1966 consists of 111 members; 26 are Russians and 45 are Estonian Communists who have lived all their lives in Russia, and who were sent to Estonia at the end of the war. Only 26 of the 111 members are true Estonians. The first secretaries of the three Baltic Communist Parties are only formally Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian; they were appointed to their posts in return for their services to the Russian Communist Party during the interwar years. The second secretaries — the real leaders — of all three parties are Russians. What can such a party section, in which functionaries of its own nationality are in a minority, do to help and support the native inhabitants?

What active resistance to russification may lead to can be shown by an example from Latvia. The deputy prime minister of the puppet government, Edvards Berklavs, and the first secretary of the party, Kalnberzins, supported by some of the younger Latvian party functionaries, demanded in 1959, that the stream of immigrants into Latvia should be restricted. They opposed the continued expansion of heavy industries and wished instead to give precedence to light industries, for which Latvia's own reserve of labour would be sufficient. At the same time they also demanded that Russian party functionaries living in Latvia should be compelled to learn Latvian.

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

Chapter IV. Russian Imperialism in Lenin's Global Policy

Lenin's Russian imperialistic appetites were insatiable. He wished not only to reconquer the old tsarist empire but also to expand it enormously. He formulated aggressive plans directed in all continents against the West, the Middle East, Southern Asia and Eastern Asia. He elaborated projects by which to destroy all the great powers and devised strategic and tactical methods of aggression.

Lenin admitted that when the former empire had to a large extent been reconstructed the Bolsheviks immediately advanced against the other neighboring nations:

From the continuous triumphal procession on our internal front, against our counter-revolution, against the enemies of the Soviet government in October, November and December, we had to pass to collisions with real international imperialism, in its real hostility toward us. (1)

The Bolshevik's ambition to expand the Russian empire is discussed by the noted scholars, Alfred D. Low and Allen S. Whiting. (2) To Lenin "a conflict is inevitable" between Communist Russia and other nations. (3) He assigned to the Bolshevik movement the mission of extending Russian domination under the cloak of the "vanguard of the international socialist revolution." (4)

1. Continuation of imperialistic aggression

Where Russian Communist forces reached the borders of the former tsarist empire they immediately invaded and tried to annex neighboring countries. Poland had for a long time been the object of Lenin's imperialism. We have not dealt with the Bolshevik struggle against Poland in the preceding chapter, for the simple reason that Lenin not only desired to reconquer for Russia those parts of Poland which were formerly in the tsarist empire, but also

wished to rule over the rest of the nation which was previously dominated by the Germans and Austrians. He expressed himself on this point very clearly as far back as 1903:

Mehring arrived at the following conclusion: 'Those interests categorically demand that in all the three countries that have divided Poland among themselves, the Polish workers should fight unreservedly side by side with their class comrades. The times when a bourgeois revolution could create a free Poland have passed; today the resurrection of Poland is possible only as the course by which the modern proletariat will break its chains.' We entirely subscribe to Mehring's conclusions. (5)

That Lenin definitely endeavored to place Poland under Russian domination and to extinguish Polish national independence, can be seen only too plainly from the previous quotations. He tried to impress upon the Poles the decision "never go to war for the liberation of Poland . . . because they find the union with the Russian workers advantageous, they are opposed to Poland's secession." Lenin praised those Poles who attacked the "nationalistic infatuation of the Polish petty bourgeoisie" and for whom the "national question was of secondary importance" but the "closest alliance" with the Russians the most important. He outlined the Russian ideological policy in the following manner: "in Poland we must stress the right of such nations to unite . . . the Poles must emphasize the right to unite."

The strategy of conquest was based on ideological, sociological, military, and organizational means. Lenin contended that Polish affairs should be dealt with not from the Cracow but from the all-Russian point of view; (6) not on the grounds of Polish national interests but on those of Russian imperialism. Lenin exploited Marxist ideology in the conquest of Poland. He argued that the class struggle should be of more

importance to the Poles than the struggle for a national state. The Polish bourgeoisie should be regarded as the chief enemy of the Polish workers rather than the Russian imperialists: ". . . the toiling masses must understand that the existence of Poland and Russia can be guaranteed only by the overthrow of the insolent and pitiable Polish bourgeoisie." (7) In the Russian press the slogan was "let the Poland of landlords and capitalists perish! Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Poland! Long live the World Revolution!" (8) Hence the Poles should unite with the Russians but not with those nations which favor a Polish independent state or fight for the liquidation of the Russian empire under any system. The Poles should revolt against the tsarist government and against Austria and Germany, but should unite with the Soviet Russians. Lenin proposed a treasonable anti-national ethics to the Poles. He combatted Polish nationalism and supported a civil war among the Poles.

In organizational respect Lenin favored the Polish Social Democratic Party which virtually became a Russian fifth column inside the Polish society. It was a workers' party based on the internationalist principle. On the thesis that among the international Social Democrats the Russians are senior brothers Lenin argued that, as a consequence, the Polish Social Democrats must accept Russian leadership. He said:

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 today possesses greater international significance than the Polish movement. (9)

According to Lenin, only those Poles who subordinated themselves to the Bolshevik command were regarded as true Socialists. (10) The main "argument", however, consisted in Lenin's order in 1920 to the Red Army to invade Poland. After the defeat of the Russians in Poland Lenin

confessed to Clara Zetkin, once again, that this invasion had imperialistic objectives:

. . . our unbelievably brave, victorious advance guard . . . could receive no munitions, not even stale bread and other prime necessities from the Polish peasantry and 'petit bourgeoisie'. These . . . saw in the Red Army soldiers not brother-liberators but foes . . . The Polish revolution on which we reckoned failed. . . . all the talents of Budionny and of other revolutionary army leaders could not counter-balance our military and technical shortcomings and, even less, our false political reckoning: our hope in the Polish revolution . . . Almost all our experts asserted that in view of conditions in Poland . . . we could have obtained much more advantageous peace terms if we had continued military activities at least for a short while. In that event it would even have been possible for us to achieve a complete victory. (11)

Poland was saved from Russian domination thanks to military victories over the invader. Concluding the analysis of Polish-Russian relations during Lenin's rule, let us again quote the Bolshevik leader:

An independent Poland is very dangerous to Soviet Russia; it is an evil which, however, at the present time has also its redeeming features; for while it exists we may safely count on Germany, because the Germans hate Poland and will at any time make common cause with us in order to strangle Poland. (12)

The next country against which Lenin had imperialistic designs was Rumania. (13) Lenin was especially enraged at the prospect of the Russian empire losing Bessarabia, which was occupied by the Rumanians in January 1918. An article which appeared in *Izvestia* (14) stated:

The crime-covered Rumanian oligarchy has started warfare against the Russian Republic. Accustomed to base its rule upon the poverty, thralldom, and blood of the Rumanian peasants and workers, the Rumanian monarchy has made an attempt to save itself, its landlords, and bankers by seizing Bessarabia and turning it into a bulwark against the mighty torrent of the

Russian Revolution.

Louis Fischer commented: "the news of this declaration of the formal annexation of Bessarabia was the signal for an outburst of Soviet wrath." (14)

Lenin also intended to expand the Russian empire southwards. His plans of conquest included Turkey, the Arab, and Persian-Afghan areas. Ivar Spector described this policy:

A careful analysis of the "Appeal to the Muslims" and of other literature pertaining to the period (1917-1918- A. B.) suggests that the Soviet government believed the success of the Bolshevik Revolution to be contingent to its alliance with the Muslim Orient. In other words, the success of the October Revolution and the liberation of the Muslim world were regarded as inseparable and interdependent. (15)

Alfred L. P. Dennis agreed with him:

It became apparent very quickly that the new state of affairs in the Caucasus aimed to promote the dependence of the peoples of the Near East on Russia. . . . Lenin declared that the Caucasus would be a chief area for the struggle of Soviet Russia against the imperialistic Allies. (16)

On September 1, 1920, "the Congress of the Peoples of the East" convened in Baku. Lenin was represented there by Zinoviev, who announced: "The Communist International today turns to the peoples of the East and says to them: 'Brothers, we summon you to a Holy War first of all against British Imperialism'." (17) A year later another close comrade of Lenin, M. Pavlovitch, wrote:

Not until the entire Black Sea is in Soviet hands, and over Constantinople is raised the red Turkish banner or the banner of the Soviet Federation of the Black Sea States — the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Turkish Anatolia — will these states begin to lead a peaceful life and be able to devote themselves to creative and constructive work. (18)

The Bolsheviks endeavored to achieve the imperialistic plans long-cherished by the tsars.

Turkey, and Constantinople in particular, was the main prize which the Bolsheviks

tried to capture. Yuriy Steklov wrote:

Now the Turkish Revolution is returning the Dardanelles to the Turkish toiling masses and through them to the world proletariat, which also includes the Russians. Thus, what Russian imperialism failed to realize by virtue of centuries of intrigue, will now fall as a ripe plum to the Russian working class. (19)

The dream of capturing Turkey was fostered significantly. S. Kotlarevski, a Communist writer, commented:

Soviet diplomacy established relations with the Angora Government from the very beginning, based upon mutual protection against European imperialism . . . and it is therefore natural that she should turn solely to Russia for support in her struggle against Europe. There is thus established what in the language of the old diplomacy may be called an "entente" as against an "alliance" between the R.S.F.S.R. and Turkey. (20)

The true nature of the Turkish-Russian "friendship" was described by Ivar Spector:

Although, on the one hand, the Soviets appear to have rendered moral and material aid to the Turkish Nationalists, on the other hand, they disseminated Communist propaganda hostile to the Kemalist regime and organized Communist detachments, or partisans led by Communist sympathizers, to harass the Turkish armed forces . . . According to Soviet sources, the Kemalist government at times had to use more soldiers against the partisans than against the Greek invader. (21)

While Turkish cooperation helped the Bolshevik conquest of the Caucasus, in Turkey itself a sound nationalism gained the upper hand, and in the course of time Russian influence was eliminated altogether. The Bolshevik methods applied in the attempt to conquer the country were diplomatic isolation of Turkey from Western powers, organization of Fifth Columns — the Turkish Communist Party — military support of the Turkish nationalists against the European invaders, and ideological war directed against the Turkish conservative groups.

In May 1920, after the Bolshevik conquest of Azerbaijan, Russian warships appeared off the Persian Caspian port of Enzeli and Russian troops landed in this area. By agreement between the Russian commander Raskolnikov and a Persian rebel named Kuchik Khan a Soviet Republic was proclaimed in the province of Ghilan. No doubt, Lenin at the second congress of the Comintern (July-August 1920) had Ghilan in mind when he confidently asserted: "At the present moment the flag of the Soviet is beginning to be raised throughout the Orient, in Asia." (22)

Lenin's imperialistic policy toward Persia was rightly summarized by Konstantine Troyanowsky, an outstanding Bolshevik strategist:

The Persian revolution may become the key to the revolution of the whole Orient, just as Egypt and the Suez Canal are the key to English domination in the Orient. Persia is the "Suez Canal" of the revolution. By shifting the political center of gravity of the revolution to Persia, the entire strategic value of the Suez Canal is lost. . . . The political conquest of Persia, thanks to its peculiar geopolitical situation and significance for the liberation movement in the East, is what we must accomplish first of all. This precious key to all other revolutions in the Orient must be in our hands, come what may. Persia must be ours! Persia must belong to the revolution! (23)

In East Asia the Bolsheviks similarly worked for the expansion of the Russian empire. The first region to be added to the empire was Tannu-Tuva. Allen S. Whiting states that

. . . in 1921, Red troops entered the area in pursuit of White Guards and to protect the many Russian inhabitants who had colonized the land in the previous decade. Chicherin followed the example of his Tsarist predecessors by definitely discouraging a move by the new independent Mongolian government to annex Uriankhai. (24)

Next, the Russians organized the takeover of Mongolia.

. . . in mid-1920, Red Army units, to-

gether with Mongolian revolutionaries, ousted White Guard troops from Urga, where they had attempted to set up a regime hostile to both Russia and China under the hegemony of Baron von Sternberg. Following this military action, a Provisional Revolutionary Government of Mongolia, formed on Russian soil and supported exclusively by Soviet assistance, declared itself the de facto government. (25)

On November 5, 1921, Russian and Mongolian plenipotentiaries, according to the established plan, concluded a treaty in Moscow which implied recognition of Outer Mongolia as a state wholly separate from the Chinese Republic. The technique of this new conquest was identical with that applied to the countries previously invaded by the Russians. First, a puppet government was formed. Then Russian troops with a screen of small native detachments, whose aim was to show that the Russians were coming only as allies and not as invaders, moved into the country. Next, the new "government" declared independence and secession from China and immediately turned to Russia for recognition, alliance, and assistance. These tactics can be clearly seen from the following document:

. . . the Russian Government with deep satisfaction takes notice of the appeal to it by the People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia, expressing the desire that Soviet forces should not be withdrawn from Mongolian limits until the complete defeat of the common enemy. . . . In response to the request of the People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia, the Russian Government has decided to satisfy it in full. The Russian Government is convinced that the combined forces of the two peoples, fighting against the force of Tsarist generals and against foreign exploitation and oppression, in the nearest future will completely secure the free development of the Mongolian people on the basis of its autonomy. (26)

In brief, "Russia managed to detach Outer Mongolia from China and to install a puppet Communist government there in

1924.” (27) Through the domination of Mongolia the Russian empire was extended beyond the boundaries of the late tsarist empire. Allen S. Whiting stated:

... thus Soviet Russia resorted to intimidation, intrigue, and invasion to achieve its end in Outer Mongolia, raising Russian influence far above the level enjoyed by its Tsarist predecessors . . . the solutions which Soviet Russia applied to the problems existing along its extensive border can only be characterized as imperialistic in aim, for they sought to establish Russian power in areas recognized as lying under Chinese sovereignty. (28)

Finally, the Bolsheviks endeavored to retain the Russian influence in China which had been established there by the tsarist regime and then to extend their own control. (29)

Chapter IV:

1. “War and Peace”, 1918, p. 290
2. see supra, p. 4
3. see supra, p. 5
4. see supra, p. 28
5. “The National Question in Our Programme”, v. 2
6. see supra, p. 51
7. *Wireless News*, Moscow, May 7, 1920
8. *Pravda*, May 8, 1920
9. “The National Question in Our Programme”, 1903, v. 2, p. 326
10. see supra, p. 78
11. Clara Zetkin, *Lenin*, Moscow, 1925; according to Louis Fischer, *The Soviets in World Affairs*

12. according to *Ost-Information*, Berlin, No. 81, Dec. 4, 1920
13. He expressed such intentions in the pamphlet “War and Peace” see supra p. 63
14. “The Treachery of the Rumanian Bourgeoisie”, Jan. 14, 1918
- 14a. *The Soviets in World Affairs*, London, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930, v. 1, p. 170
15. Ivar Spector, *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World* Univ. of Washington Press, Seattle, 1959, pp. 37-38
16. *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia*, op. cit.; supra p. 68
17. according to Louis Fischer, v. 1, p. 283
18. *Revoliutsionnaya Turtsia*, Moscow, 1921, p. 57
19. “Turetskaya Revoliutsia” in *Izvestia*, April 23, 1919
20. “Russia’s Legal Achievements in Asia”, *Novy Vostok*, v. I, Moscow 1922
21. *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World*, op. cit., pp. 78-79
22. *Petrogradskaya Pravda*, July 21, 1920
23. *Vostok i Revolutsia*, Moscow, 1918, pp. 47-48
24. *Soviet Policies in China, 1917-1924*, op. cit., p. 171
25. Allen S. Whiting, *ibidem*, p. 79
26. Chicherin on August 10, 1921 to the Mongolian government, *Izvestia*, No. 177/1320, August 12, 1921
27. Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Contemporary Europe, Since 1870*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1953, p. 559
28. op. cit., pp. 250-251
29. We observed this policy in the quotations on pp. 14,30 and 49.

Dictator’s Problem

Castro met Ulbricht and they started a conversation:

“Oh, you have no problems,” began Castro, “when it was necessary to build the Berlin Wall, it was built, but mine are different”.

“Why? Don’t you have the Guantanamo base from which to fence yourself,” answered Ulbricht.

“No, Guantanamo is not my problem. I am worried how to build a wall along the sea shores to prevent people from leaving Cuba”.

(Mitla, Buenos Aires, Nov.-Dec., 1966)

News And Views

ABN Rally In Frankfurt

On February 25, 1967, an impressive protest rally was held by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in the Youth House in Frankfurt. It was held in protest against the Russian-Bolshevik seizure of power.

The rally was organized by ABN co-workers who are active in the Frankfurt area; they were assisted by their German friends. The Ukrainian group, led by Volodymyr Mossa, and the Slovakian group, led by Mr. Anton Pachnik, made the necessary preparations for the rally.

The lecture hall of the Youth House, in which the rally was held, was decorated with the ABN flag, the German national flag and the national flags of the 23 nations subjugated by Russia and Communism.

Nationals of the subjugated peoples living in and about Frankfurt and German friends of ABN participated. The National Chairman of the Witiko Union, the engineer Konstantin Hoess and representatives of various political parties and of the press were present.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Chairman of the Organizing Committee of ABN, opened and presided over the Frankfurt rally. In his opening address, Dr. Pokorny briefly sketched the origin and expansion of the Russian-Bolshevik colonial empire.

In his well-founded speech, Prof. Dr. Adalbert Hudak, M.P., elucidated upon the concept of freedom from the standpoint of Christian ethics. He drew attention to the moral responsibility involved in freedom and to the political consequences of freedom.

In her speech, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A., editor-in-chief of the *ABN Correspondence*, spoke on the thirst for freedom, the willingness to make sacrifices and the resistance of the youth of the subjugated peoples to Communist dictatorship and Russian foreign rule. She supported her speech with convincing examples.

Richard Hackenberg, a member of the German Federal Diet, offered an analysis of the present political situation of the world. He represented coexistence with Communism as a dangerous illusion and took a firm stand against the status of the subjugated peoples with their present Communist governments.

The speeches were all enthusiastically received and were often interrupted by a burst of applause. The rally was brought to a close by the reading of a resolution, which was unanimously accepted by the rally participants.

RESOLUTION

We, the participants of the ABN RALLY held in Frankfurt on February 25, 1967 to protest against the Bolshevik seizure of power 50 years ago, firmly declare:

- 1) Upon the consolidation of their power in ethnographic Russia, the Russian-Bolshevik government used the Red army to conquer, in a drawn-out war of aggression, the free, independent democratic nation-states of the non-Russian peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire and to reincorporate these peoples into the Russian empire against their will. For tactical reasons, the Russian-Bolshevik empire that was thus created was renamed the "Soviet Union" in 1922. The non-Russian peoples of this empire were robbed of their right to self-determination and of their freedom, were subjugated by the Russian-Bolshevik rulers and were mentally enslaved, oppressed and exploited as colonial peoples.*
- 2) In the course of World War II, Soviet Russia succeeded in occupying a large number of additional states and in including them in the Russian sphere of power. These states were either formally incorporated into the Soviet Union or transformed into satellite states of Russia. These peoples were robbed of their freedom and of their independence, for they possessed independ-*

ent nation-states directly before their occupation by Soviet Russian troops. Communist dictatorships were imposed upon them by the Soviet Russian occupying power, disguised as "people's democracies." This also applies to the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany. 3) As a consequence of this disastrous development, the Soviet Russian colonial empire has become so strong, that it already threatens the freedom of the entire world.

We protest against:

The oppression and colonial exploitation of all the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism; against the terror-measures of the Russian-Bolshevik dictatorship and of the other Communist dictatorships; against the persecution of the national- and freedom-minded writers, scientists, artists and cultural creators in Ukraine and in the other countries of the Soviet Russian colonial empire; against the status of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and in the satellite states, with their present oppression; against further concessions to the Russian-Bolshevik rulers and to the Communist puppet governments dependent upon them.

We demand the reestablishment of the freedom and independence of all the nations subjugated by Russia and by Communism, and the reunification of Germany, Korea and Vietnam in freedom. Long live the freedom of peoples! Long live the freedom of individuals!

Indignation Over The Embezzlement Of The Gold Treasures Of The Baltic States

The announcement made by the British government during Kosygin's visit in London to the effect that the gold and other valuables belonging to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which were deposited in Great Britain will be recognized as the property of the Soviet Union, provoked a cry of indignation in the Baltic countries. The native population of the Soviet-occupied Baltic states is highly incensed over the fact that the British government has seen fit to embezzle the gold and other valuables belonging to the Baltic peoples and to

Obituary



The sad news of Mr. Tan's passing away shocked all of us. Mr. Tan Yi-min, Secretary General of the China Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) died on December 18, 1966.

Born in Shanghai, Mr. Tan graduated from the Fudan University, served in several civil service posts in Chekiang province and before his flight to Taiwan with the Central Government, he participated in the defense of Shanghai prior to the invasion of the Communists. In Taiwan he held various positions in the Reform Committee, the Planning Committee and the Revue Committee of KMT (Kuo Ming Tang). As Secretary General of the China Chapter of APACL he made a lasting contribution in the broadening of contacts with international organizations and in promoting solidarity with the anti-Communist representatives of the free and the subjugated nations.

Mr. Tan was a great Chinese patriot, a dedicated anti-Communist fighter and a true friend of the liberation cause of the subjugated peoples. We remember his repeated support for the subjugated peoples during many APACL Conferences and are very grateful for it. We express our deep sorrow on losing our great friend.

make a gift of them to the Russian occupiers as a token of its belief in a "detente" and "coexistence."

The political representatives of the Baltic peoples regard this violation of international law as a diplomatic recognition and sanctioning of the occupation of the Baltic states, as a recognition of their sovereignty by the British government.

The Vatican And Godless Moscow

"Religion on the rubbish-heap of history"

Apart from his position as "Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet", which is often mistaken in the West for "head of state", Podgorny has another much more important function as member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this office he has to represent the policies of the Central Committee, i. e., of Brezhnev, Kirilenko, Shelepin and comrades — and he does it.

The Central Committee's policies towards religion, however, have always been: fight against religion and the church!

And it is not without a touch of humor, indeed sarcasm, when Politbureau member of the Central Committee Podgorny, together with his comrades, commissions two leading functionaries of the Central Committee to write a long article on "The Education of Atheists" in *Pravda* only a few days before his visit to the Head of the Catholic Church. The two functionaries were 1) the section leader of the Central Committee's propaganda department Morosov, and 2) the instructor of the Central Committee's propaganda department, Lisavzev. On January 12, 1967 both proclaimed — as usual — at the order of the Central Committee the following:

"In true accord with Leninist traditions, our Party is continuously giving great attention to the problems of atheist education. The fight against religious remnants is not in the nature of a campaign, of an isolated or self-sufficient event; rather it is an inseparable part of the entire ideological activity of the Party organisation. It is an essential part of the complex of Communist education; it is its most necessary element."

This fight against religion and the churches is not a matter of a few functionaries. The Central Committee stresses in particular:

"Not only specially chosen propagandists must be concerned with atheist education. It is rather a matter of the public."

Nor is the fight against religion a *defensive* fight or an academic dispute, but:

"The Party orients *all* its organisations and its ideological institutions towards *aggressive* atheistic activity."

Both Central Committee functionaries commented that "lately this activity had been carried out with more logic and precision. In the Party organisations of Lithuania, Tartary, the cities Rostov, Brest, Gorky, Volgograd and others, the question of a stronger atheist influence on the population is regularly discussed in the bureaux of the Central Committee of the district —, town- and rayon committees of the Party, and also during meetings of the basic Party organisations.

"With respect to the participation in the fight against religious remnants, the Communists have *sharpened* their control on the fulfilment of the Party statutes." And: "No matter how great the success of atheist training of the workers in our country may be, the overcoming of religion in one segment of the population remains a contemporary task of Soviet society."

In the Party journal "Communist of the Armed Forces" No. 2 (1967) two other Podgorny and Politbureau propagandists, comrades Moskalenko and Filippova, set down the views and aims of the Central Committee:

"Religion and scientific Communism can have nothing in common nor be related to each other — as was proved by scholars of Marxism-Leninism. In the future, all forms of religion will be thrown on the rubbish-heap of history."

These views were behind Podgorny when he conversed politely with the Head of the Catholic Church. He and Gromyko did not go to the Vatican because they were, as might be assumed, undergoing a transformation from a Saul into a Paul. No. The fact is that lately they were having a lot of difficulties in both interior and foreign policies.

New German Policy In Accord With Soviet Russian Desires

Apart from the treaty against the proliferation of nuclear weapons there are two other problems that occupy Soviet Russian politics: first, the Red Chinese menace; it is said that military Russian circles recently spoke of a preventive war before the Chinese nuclear power would become too great. In this connection, however, Russia has need of a detente and rear cover in Europe. Russia mistrusts the West in the event of war with Red China; she fears "blackmail", especially with reference to the questions of nuclear disarmament and German reunification. For that reason, she would now like to use treaties to bind the hands of the West.

From this perspective it is to be seen that last year some Russian satellites suddenly strove to establish political and economic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, which, until then, they had constantly insulted as a war-monger and revenge-seeker. These friendly approaches were celebrated as a detente in the West. But this detente does not stem from a genuine desire for peace; it is the result of Red China's menace to Soviet Russia.

Russia needs not only rear cover. In the event of war she would also require economic help from the West; a single poor harvest could be dangerous for her. I dare to suggest that it was Russia which urged the satellite states to make their "friendly approaches". It must certainly strike Western politicians that Russia had nothing to say to the friendly approaches of the satellite states, whereas, some years ago, when Yugoslavia danced out of the Communist ranks, angry reproaches flew back and forth.

Moscow chose Rumania to make an experiment to see under what conditions the Federal Republic of Germany would be willing to give long-term economic aid and credit on goods. When the Federal Republic of Germany agreed to this without demanding political concessions, a stage

thunder was drummed up by sending memorandums to the US, France and England, all of which, however, was mere tactics, for at the following meeting of the East bloc states, Russia did not, as might have been assumed, counter the satellites. On the contrary there was probably rejoicing that "the fly had got caught in the web" and "centralized measures" for the establishment of economic relations of the other satellites were planned, the main condition being that the status quo be maintained.

Following the German Federal Republic — just as Belgium recently did — other Western states will sign long-term political and trade agreements with the East bloc states. And these agreements will be binding even in the event of war between Red China and Russia. This serves Russia as a rear cover. So the West is drawn into the Communist snare. And all this without having achieved anything for itself politically?

In my opinion the Federal Republic of Germany and the West are missing their big chance for nuclear disarmament and for reunification. Now would be the time to feel Red China out as to her position concerning reunification and the question of Germany's east border. We could attempt to sign a new Rapallo Treaty, but this time with China. Instead, wishful dreams are cherished.

Who does not recall Lenin's political testament in this respect? "To extend Communist world domination, everything is allowed — lies, pretense, breach of contract and war; for a time even coexistence is necessary." Communism has never separated itself from this tenet, and tens of thousands of Communist agents are working in the West and in all parts of the world on this basis.

In their wishful thinking, however, Western politicians call this coexistence!

W. Geyer

What Does Peaceful Coexistence Accomplish?

That Communists envision a genuine "victory" is demonstrated by the remarks of Khrushchov in August 1963 following the signing of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty:

Today the imperialists pretend to be brave, but only in words, whereas in reality they tremble before the world of growing and strengthening socialism. And let them tremble. So much the better for us.

If everyone acted and thought in the Communist way then there would be no antagonistic classes and Communism would already be victorious everywhere. However, while there are still two systems, socialist and capitalist, each system has its own policy, its own course, and we cannot but take into account the fact that the two systems exist. A fight is in progress between these two systems, a life and death combat. But we Communists want to win this struggle with the least losses and there is no doubt whatsoever that we shall win.⁹⁴

This theme was reiterated by Brezhnev in March 1966, when he declared that the offensive was continuing:

The events of the past years have again shown that no matter what methods and means imperialism resorts to, it is not in a position to check the course of historical development. The revolutionary forces of the present day are continuing their offensive. The struggle of the peoples against imperialism is continuing.⁹⁵

The recognition that two systems do in fact exist in the same world is given only grudgingly; and because there does exist in the world an alternative system to that of the Communists, the contest between them assumes the form of "a life and death combat." Peaceful coexistence fulfills the Communist objectives in this mortal combat by "insuring" that victory is accomplished with minimal losses.

It follows from this that the Communists are prepared to accept some losses in propelling the revolution forward, but nowhere is it made clear just what these

losses could entail. Despite the possibility of such setbacks, however, the certainty of triumph is emphasized.

The specific function of peaceful coexistence is not, as we have found, the establishment of a mere period of relative calm on a worldwide scale. Rather, it is to provide conditions favorable for waging a many-pronged offensive at and within the non-Communist world. Above all, it creates a degree of flexibility hitherto unknown to the Communist movement, inasmuch as it allows for harnessing and utilizing the most disparate forces for the revolutionary cause:

The successes of our movement and the possibilities opening up before it, together with the responsibility devolving on our movement, all demand that Communists pursue a well-thought-out and well-founded policy, a policy designed to bring us victory over imperialism on the conditions of peaceful coexistence.⁹⁶

Among these "possibilities" is the fact that

peaceful coexistence creates the most favorable conditions for the fight of the oppressed nations against their imperialist oppressors. Peaceful coexistence means the maximum support to the oppressed nations including arms.⁹⁷

Hence wherever the Communists declare an "oppressed nation" or an "oppressed area" to exist, there weapons will be supplied to forces which serve to undermine peace and stability and which seek to establish either a Communist regime or, at minimum, a regime favorably disposed to existing Communist states. It is remarkable that the Communists, by unilateral proclamation, have reserved to themselves the right to determine "war zones" and "peace zones," and have repeatedly emphasized the "morality," "legality," and "necessity" for universal recognition of the "inherent justice" of such proclamations.

Confident that to them belongs the initiative in dictating the essence of the tasks

to be accomplished through peaceful co-existence, Communist leaders have labored to create the impression that time is on their side:

*The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.*⁹⁸

And again:

*Peace and socialism are indivisible—this Marxist formula has profound meaning. In an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, time works on the side of socialism, which is why the imperialist ideologists have such a dread of the very concept of peaceful coexistence.*⁹⁹

In providing conditions favorable to the diverse forms of "struggle," peaceful co-existence acts as an accelerator of the "world revolutionary process." By not concentrating all the resources of the movement in any one direction for the support of any single objective, the Communists seek to implement the entire spectrum of techniques designed to overthrow established governments by allowing a maximum degree of "leeway" in selecting the weapons of struggle to be used at a given place and time. In a later discussion of the forms of "transition from capitalism to socialism" this "flexibility" is examined in greater detail.

For Communists, the conditions of apparent "peace" provide

*a more favorable breeding ground for the growth and solidarity of revolutionary forces, and for the development of their expression. . . . It is important to take into account the concrete situation, to employ both peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle. And we must be prepared for a sudden shift from one to the other.*¹⁰⁰

While the "breeding ground" is being utilized to consolidate the "revolutionary forces," a period of "peace" serves to

weaken the unity of the West by causing "inter-imperialist contradictions" to crop up. Hence the Western alliance system, no longer confronted by an immediate threat from the Communist countries, will tend to relax, and the attention of alliance members will be shifted to problems among themselves. In this situation, the over-all balance is alleged to shift more in the favor of the Communist nations, with the net result that they are strengthened at the expense of growing Western weakness:

*It should not be forgotten that it is under conditions of peaceful coexistence that all the internal ailments of modern capitalism show up with particular emphasis, including the inter-imperialist contradictions which weaken the front of the joint struggle waged by international capitalism against the workers and national liberation movements.*¹⁰¹

Under conditions of peaceful coexistence, then, meaningful "socialist advances" can be made with a minimum of direct risk to the Communist camp and without a face-to-face encounter with the enemy. At the same time, the vulnerable areas of the "war zone" are to be probed for the purpose of testing the enemy's will to resist challenges to his "current holdings." Should a reaction from the "imperialists" be forthcoming, then the probe can be discontinued until such time as conditions are again ripe for a step forward. Eventually, the Communists hope, a concrete "payoff" will result, perhaps in the form of a new "people's republic."

In sum, peaceful coexistence is designed to "help Communism" and "hurt imperialism." That the Communists have one understanding of the term and the West has another is of no importance, although the dual understanding of peaceful coexistence is of considerable benefit to the Communists. This statement from *Kommunist* sums up the function of peaceful coexistence:

Peaceful coexistence creates better possibilities for the struggle of the worker's class in the capitalist countries. It helps

the struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries for their liberation.

This policy helps strengthen the positions of socialism. It promotes the prestige and international influence of the Socialist countries. It improves the authority and influence of the Communist Parties within the capitalist countries.⁹²

⁹⁴ N. S. Khrushchov, "Speech at the Soviet-Hungarian Meeting, August 19, 1963," Current Soviet Documents, August 19, 1963.

⁹⁵ Leonid I. Brezhnev, Report to the Twenty-third Congress of the CPSU, op. cit., p. 4

⁹⁶ L. Sharkey, "Creative Marxism Is The Basis for Revolutionary Practice," World Marxist Review, October 1963, p. 10. Sharkey is General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia.

⁹⁷ Kjeld, Oesterling and Norman Freed, "Peace, Freedom and You" (Prague: Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1963), p. 15. Italics added.

⁹⁸ Statement of the 81 Communist Parties in Moscow, USSR, December 1960, p. 16.

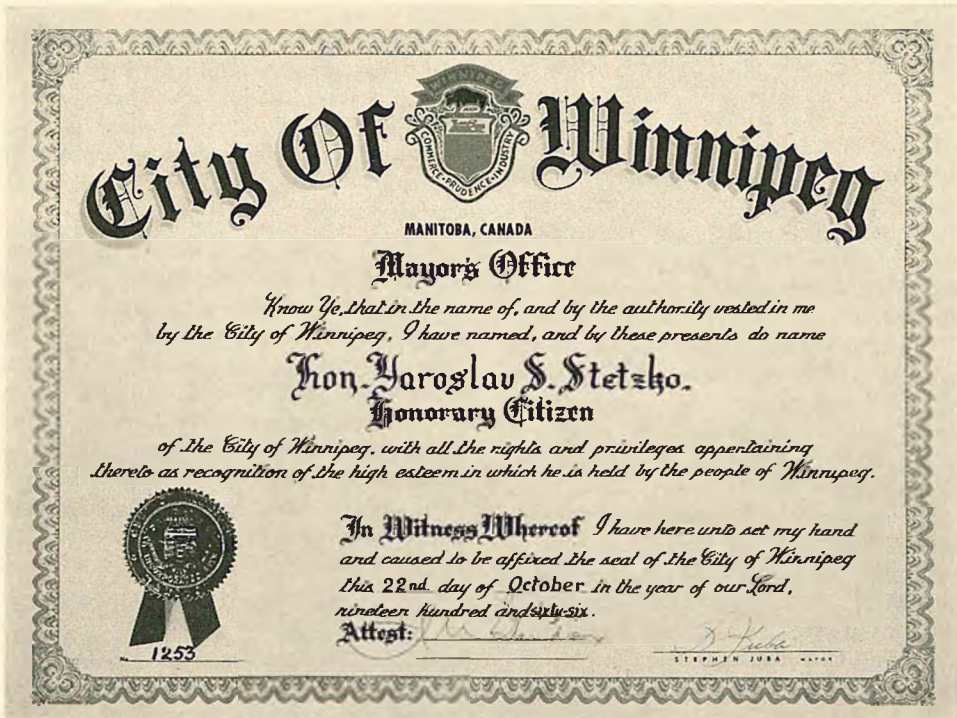
⁹⁹ V. P. Kalugin, "The Magnetic Force of the Leninist Ideas of Peaceful Coexistence," International Affairs, No. 8 (August 1963), p. 24.

¹⁰⁰ S. Andronov, "The Leninist Theory of War and Peace," Leningradskaya Pravda, September 4, 1965.

¹⁰¹ N. Inozemtsev, "The Grandeur of the Lenin Policy of Peace," Kommunist, No. 6, April 1964.

¹⁰² "The Leninist Policy of Peaceful Coexistence and the Class Struggle," Kommunist editorial, No. 13, September 1964.

(From: **Peace or Peaceful Coexistence?** by Richard V. Allen)



Former Prime Minister of Ukraine – Honorary Citizen of Winnipeg

AF ABN Statement On Captive Nations Law

Passed unanimously by the Annual Congress of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., on February 19, 1967, at the Hotel Commodore in New York City. This Resolution bears the signatures of all 12 member nationality divisions as well as all delegates present at the Congress.

Although other colonial empires dissolved under the fire of public opinion, Soviet Russia was permitted to follow a course of overt aggression to amass a colonial empire of a size never before known to mankind. While "Nazism" was vanquished at great human cost, Communism was permitted to perpetrate acts of despicable magnitude with little protest or opposition from the free world. As a result, scores of once free nations found themselves oppressed by the weight of foreign Communism.

In 1959 the Congress of the United States adopted a resolution which was signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, generally known as the Captive Nations Week Law, or Public Law 86-90. This law is one of the most farsighted statements of principle on our foreign policy since World War II. The Congress and the President agreed that: "The enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations." The said law further points out the enemy and the obstacle to security and peace, for: "Since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world."

Public Law 86-90 enumerates the subjugated nations as the following: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Czechia, Cuba, Eastern Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Mainland China, Mongolia, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tibet, Turkestan, Ukraine, and others.

Public Law 86-90 states with justification that: "The submerged nations look to the United States as the citadel of freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence, and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties." The Congress and the President affirmed that: "It is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for this recovery of their freedom and independence."

Public Law 86-90 has been reaffirmed every year since then, and by every president, including Mr. Johnson. Therefore, the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., is intensely concerned with the contents of this year's State of the Union Message.

We are especially disturbed about the change in the attitude of the executive branch of our government toward the fate of the captive nations as reflected in the following passage which deals with East-West relations: "We are shaping a future of enlarged partnership in nuclear affairs, in economic and technical cooperation in trade negotiations, in political consultations, and in working together with the governments and peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

The peoples in the Communist Bloc are adversely affected by our apparent acceptance of their oppressors as if they were democratically elected leaders. Are we to understand that our Government *now* accepts the enslavement of the inhabitants of the Soviet-dominated regions as a perma-

nent state of affairs? Does our President's speech imply that all nations under the Soviet system are irrevocably relegated to the Soviet Russian sphere of interest?

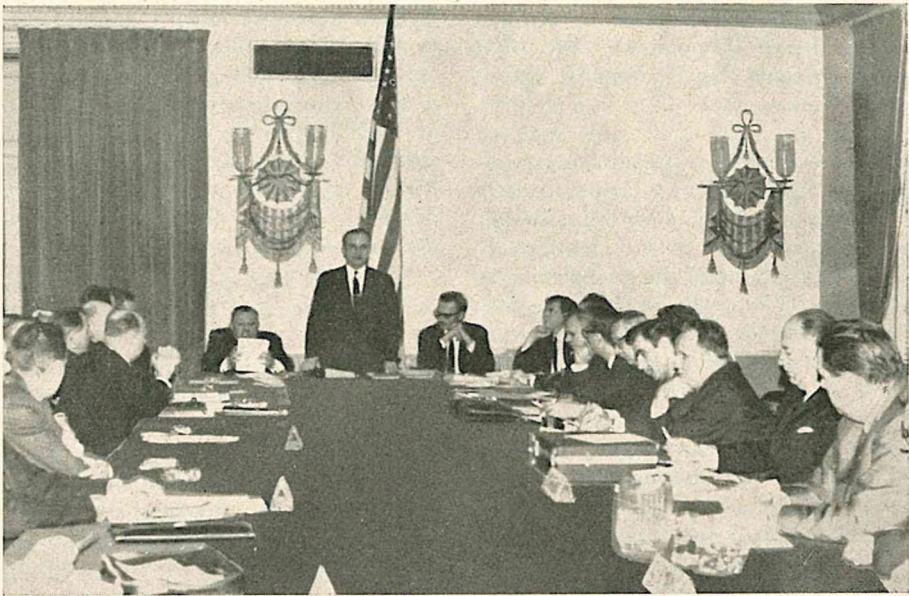
The President states also that our objective is not to continue the cold war but to end it. He proposes to accomplish this by determining "that the Export-Import Bank can allow commercial credits to Poland and Hungary and Bulgaria and Czecho-Slovakia as well as to Rumania and Yugoslavia."

Furthermore, we are concerned about the proposed Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union as set forth by the President, as follows: "I ask and urge this Congress to help our foreign and our commercial trade policies by passing an East-West trade bill, and by approving our Consular Convention with the Soviet Union."

It is particularly disturbing that our President, dealing at length with questions involving the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, did not once mention the word "Communism"; this term was applied exclusively to North Viet Nam.

In view of the recent political developments, and the important statements of President Johnson, we feel that a more vigorous adherence to the principles of the liberation of Captive Nations is imperative.

We call on all American civic, political, religious, cultural, ethnic, and educational groups and associations to join us in this undertaking, and help us to observe Captive Nations Week this year on a wider scale than ever before.



The Annual Congress of American Friends of ABN, held at the Commodore Hotel in New York City, on February 19, 1967.

ABN And World Anti-Communist League

The ABN has always been in favour of the idea of creating a World Anti-Communist League, and they themselves had raised this matter as early as 1949 at the International Conference in Edinburgh. The ABN considers such a League very necessary, but maintains that the success of its action is dependent on a clearly defined political contents. This World League must contain in its programme of action not only the destruction of Communism, but also the BREAK-UP of the Russian empire, regardless of its ideological base, into independent national states, each of which would encompass its presently subjugated peoples within its ethnographic boundaries — in other words, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Northern Caucasia, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Slovakia, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. The ABN opposes not only the Communist system but also Russian imperialism in any form.

Neither the ABN nor any national liberation revolutionary organization-member of the ABN will ever cooperate with any Russian anti-Communist but imperialistic organization, which will not actively support the break-up of the Russian empire (the USSR and its satellites) into independent states. Therefore, it is in the very nature of things that no Russian imperialistic non-Communist organization which aims at destroying the Communist regime while preserving the Russian empire under a so-called democratic system, can ever be a member of the Anti-Communist League. No action which does not clearly support the concept of independent nation-states and the break-up of the Russian empire, will ever be successful in countries subjugated by Russian imperialism.

The ABN rejects in principle the idea of a common front with the USSR against Red China which is advocated by certain official Western circles, but supports simultaneous action against BOTH - MOSCOW

AND PEKING. The ABN opposes the neglect of a front against the Russian empire while concentrating only on the attack against Red China.

The ABN rejects in principle all uncertainties concerning the future fate of nations subjugated by Russian Communist imperialism. These uncertainties are caused by the avoidance of the question of the break-up of the Russian empire and promising instead the Russian formula for plebiscites, "self-determination" or the so-called "non-predetermination", because never yet has any nation had to question the right to its own freedom and national sovereignty. Moreover, in conformity to the concept of disintegration of all Western empires, the Russian empire must be destroyed — not only the Communist one — a NEW empire must not rise on its ruins! Nations with the most highly developed civilizations and cultures were sacrificed to Russian aggression during Tsarist as well as Communist times. After all, the principles of the ABN, the strongest international organization of subjugated nations, are well known. It is out of the question that ABN will fight in the same ranks with Russian imperialists — Red or White — who desire to salvage the empire in essence, changing only the forms of captivity.

The ABN considers that the organizational statutes and the political platform which were chosen at the 1958 conference in Mexico, should be the basis for the World League, especially as they represent the positions agreed upon by 65 national delegations from several continents. The ABN does not consider that the geographical principle of representation should be included — by continent — because, for example, half of Europe is subjugated. Hence, a continental representation cannot be a fair representation.

In the opinion of ABN there is a main front consisting of captive nations, and a secondary front made up of free nations. Each of these fronts has a very different understanding of the danger involved and the degree of effort needed to oppose Rus-

sian or Chinese Communist aggression. The ABN stands in the main front, having as members national liberation revolutionary organizations from Asian nations also subjugated by Russian imperialism, such as Turkestan, for example. The principle of continental representation included in the Executive Committee of the League will not take into consideration the interests of those who are in the main front. For example, in Ukraine, a nation having a population of 45 million, a great battle is being waged against Russian Communism. The organizers of this battle, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known throughout the world, are dynamic members of the ABN. However, in accordance with the continental representation such a force would not be separately represented in the Executive Committee. Even the ABN, as the strongest coordinating centre of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, would not be represented, because, probably, there would already be a representation from free Europe in the Executive Committee.

Therefore, in our opinion, we should adopt the position accepted by the 1958 Mexico Conference, where both the organi-

zational structure and the political platform were approved. Moreover, the resolutions concerning Russian colonialism which have already been accepted by the APACL are a basis for cooperation for the ABN, because there is no doubt that these decisions will be included in the POLITICAL PLATFORM of the WORLD LEAGUE as the point of departure in any stand towards the Russian empire. Especially, the US-Congress Captive Nations Resolution (Public Law 86-90/1959) should be regarded as a political platform of the World Anti-Communist League. If the highest legislative authority of the American nation — the US Congress in spite of possible diplomatic difficulties — has passed the resolution on the disintegration of the Russian empire unanimously eight years ago and the three consecutive presidents of the USA proclaimed this public law again and again, then how can a World League composed of unofficial organizations be afraid to accept this resolution as a political basis for its activities. ABN supports wholeheartedly the establishment of the World Anti-Communist League and will do its utmost to make this League successful.

Minister Lombardo At ABN Headquarters

On March 29-30, 1967, Mr. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, the former Italian Minister, visited the offices of the Central Committee of ABN at Munich. Minister Lombardo is President of the Italian Atlantic Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Atlantic Institute at Paris, leading member of the International Movement for Atlantic Union at Washington and Vice-Chairman of the Atlantic Treaty Association at London.

On March 30th a meeting of the CC of ABN took place at which Mr. Lombardo had an opportunity to exchange views with prominent leaders of the liberation struggle. Decisions have been reached on common objectives in regard to the establishment of a strong global anti-Communist movement. Minister Lombardo gave an interview for *ABN Correspondence* which appears on page 12 of this issue.

Dowager Lady Birdwood Visits ABN Headquarters

From April 13-17, 1967 ABN's bureau was visited by a prominent British anti-Communist personality Lady Birdwood, who is the President of the Foreign Affairs Circle, which publishes the *East West Digest* at London.

Lady Birdwood had extensive talks with members of the Central Committee of ABN. At a special meeting the guest speaker expressed many valuable thoughts on the ways and means of conducting anti-Communist psychological warfare. It has been decided to realize some of the suggested projects, especially in the area of the organization of British anti-Communists and proper press activities.

Russian Emigrés Defend The Russian Empire

In *Posev*, the organ of the Russian "anti-Communist" party, the NTS (*Narodno-Trudovoj Sojuz-Rossijskikh Solidaristov*), of October 14, 1966, an article *Konets imperij* (The End of Empires) appeared. The author (signed 'A.N.') discusses the problem of imperialism in the contemporary world. Half of the article is concerned with the English, Dutch, Belgian and French empires of the recent past. Then he makes the statement: "In the 60's of the 20th century there remains only one state in Europe, which rules over extensive overseas domains: Portugal." Thus, by the insignificant trick of adding the adjective "overseas", he turns the discussion of imperialism in the direction of Portugal by saying that it exists only "overseas", and cannot exist in Europe. Next the author ridicules Portuguese argumentation that African possessions are integral parts of the mother-country with the same status as the provinces of Portugal.

At the end, the author mentions Russia. He says: "Historically, the multi-national Russia was an empire not only in name; she was such in spirit as well, as late as in the epoch of Aleksander III with her idealization of Muscovite Russia and with the limitation in rights and privileges of "aliens". She has been distinguished from other empires by lack of overseas domains-colonies, and the arising forms of colonial statehood on the peripheries were of temporary nature; they disappeared as soon as a given region entered the orbit of the empire . . . The composing parts of Russia are very strongly interconnected, more than the former overseas domains were tied to the mother countries of Western empires, tied politically, economically and culturally. This will ease significantly the task of changing the former empire into a union . . ."

In short, the NTS argues that today there is no Russian colonial empire and no Russian imperialism. Communism is just an ideological movement without attachment to Russia and not working for Russian

national interests. Now, the facts: No non-Russian nation in the former Tsarist empire and in the Soviet Union today is "federated" or adhering freely by the decision of its own national will. As Tsarist Russia did before, so Communist Russia did recently—invade by armed force Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Siberia. Only after destroying the armed defences of each of these countries did the Russians occupy them. It is a well-known fact that when in 1917 the Tsarist regime fell, the non-Russian peoples expressed their desire to establish independent national states, but the "democratic-federalistic" regime of Kerensky and Lvov was categorically opposed to this desire and resisted the trends towards the establishment of such states.

The will towards national independence of the said peoples was manifested many times during the 1920's and the 1940's. The Russian genocide policy in the 1930's (8 million non-Russians were murdered by means of an artificial famine) and the 1950's mass deportations of millions were the highlights of modern Russian colonialism. The tremendous Russification effort in the post-war decades is another proof of it. The mass persecutions of Ukrainian professionals in 1965-66 is the latest evidence of colonialism.

The article under consideration is a typical example of close cooperation between the Russian Communists and the Russian emigrés in the aggressive ambitions of Russian imperialism and colonialism.

A. W. Bedriy

M. Gorkey:

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

From Behind the Iron Curtain



ALBANIA

Persecuted Church

By Paul Marjokaj

In 1940, Albania had 134,000 Catholics, 220,000 Orthodox and 730,000 Moham-medans. There were six Catholic dioceses. Out of these six, three dioceses exist at the present time. Archbishop Coda leads the Skutari diocese, Bishop Troshani directs the Alessio and Durazzo diocese, and the Franciscan Bishop Fishta is at the head of the Pulti diocese.

At the end of 1944, there were two seminaries. One was interdiocesan, directed by the Jesuits for the education of the secular clergy. The other one was founded by the Franciscan Order for the education of the Franciscans. Both seminaries, located in Skutari, are closed today. According to reports of emigrees theological lessons are given privately here and there.

Once Skutari was the centre of the Catholic cultural life, having two secondary schools and six newspapers, from which many significant cultural and social impulses spread throughout the country. There was an Organization of Catholic Action, the Organization of Welfare for the Poor, and a Youth Organization. Also three monastic orders for women were active in the area. By imprisonment, expulsion and persecution, especially of the younger devotees, the Catholic population suffered heavy losses and underwent severe tests of its faith.

Catholic education and press were almost completely extinguished. For over 15 years there was virtually no contact between Albanian Catholics and the Catholics in other countries.

Of the five bishops residing in Albania in 1944, Bishop Franz Gjini of Mirdita and Bishop Josef Volay of Sappa were

executed. Vinzeuz Prennushi, Archbishop of Durazzo-Tiruna, sentenced to 20 years of hard labor, died in prison.

Bishop Bernhardin Shllaku, Auxiliary Bishop of Pulati, then 70 years old, was kept under house arrest and could not stay in his diocese. He consecrated the new bishop of Skutari, Coda. The consecration of two other bishops under the Communist regime was also approved by the Vatican.



LITHUANIA

Communist Propaganda For Exile Lithuanians Stepped Up

Moscow is intensifying its efforts to put a stop to the anti-Communist activities of the Lithuanians living in exile. Propaganda is the most frequently used weapon for this purpose. In the press the Russians tell various fairy tales about so-called progress in all sectors of life in occupied Lithuania, in the hope of alienating the exile Lithuanians from their fight against Moscow, even of winning them over to their side.

For a long time a newspaper called "Voice of the Homeland" (*Tevynes Balsas*) and a journal, "Memel Banks" (*Nemuno Krantas*), have been appearing. They are sent free of charge to various addresses. The editor of *Nemuno Krantas* recently tried to obtain subscribers, but as no one responded to his efforts, he continues to mail his journal abroad free of charge. As of February 1967, another newspaper intended for the same public called "Homeland" (*Gimtasis Kraštas*) appeared in print. To cut down the cost of propaganda the native Lithuanians were asked to order the newspaper for their relatives and acquaintances in exile.

According to information received last year, *Gimtasis Kraštas* can also be ordered by Lithuanians at home. However, the above-mentioned publications are intended

exclusively for the exile Lithuanians. In Lithuania, they are not known and cannot be purchased.

Lithuanian Youth Still Not Communist Enough

This is to be ascertained from the Communist press. To make better Communists out of them, the young people are to be indoctrinated through publications specifically dedicated to this purpose. In connection with this, the occupiers of the country have decided to bring out a monthly as of April 1967. According to the editor of this journal, A. Drilinga, the youth is to be exposed to progressive exponents of literature and art in capitalist countries in this publication. Furthermore, the embodiment of reactionary or non-Communist ideology in this literature and art, non-Communist philosophy and aesthetics, etc., will be a subject of discussion. In short, *the journal is to serve as Communist propaganda for the Lithuanian youth.*

Atheist Museum in Lithuania's Capital

In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, a Catholic church was recently made into a museum, the purpose of which is to serve atheistic agitation.



Rumania is to Provide Soviet Russia with more Commodities

In November 1966, the Soviet Russian Minister for Foreign Trade, Patolitshev, visited Bukarest to conclude a trade agreement between Soviet Russia and Rumania. With this agreement the Rumanian Communist government committed itself to export commodities to the value of 730 million rubles in 1967 (which represents a 9% increase over the 1966 figure). The prices dictated by Russia for these commodities are very disadvantageous to Rumania.

As a part of this agreement, the Rumanian Communist government also committed itself to export 2000 electric transformers

having a total capacity of 550,000 kilowatt hours. (Rumania's total production for 1964: 4,134,000 kilowatt hours; total export of Rumanian transformers in 1965 — 3,971.)

Potato Shortage in Rumania

Though Rumania has always been one of the richest agrarian countries of Europe, serious difficulties in the provision of the population with staple foods exist under Russian domination and Communist dictatorship.

Even the Communist press was forced to admit that a shortage of winter potatoes exists in the "People's Republic" of Rumania at the present time.

Press Campaign against Corruption and "Hooliganism" in Rumania

The Communist press in the "People's Republic" of Rumania is up in arms over incidents of corruption in Rumania, and demands that energetic countermeasures be taken. It is also carrying on a campaign against "hooliganism". The Communists use this expression to characterize the youth's antipathy to Communist coercive rule, and the youth's efforts to introduce liberal ideas and trends.



Slovaks Defend Their Language

In Slovakia, the resistance of the Slovakian population to the ambitions of the Czech Communist Party and government leadership to Czechize the country has become more sharply defined. The results of this ambition can be seen in books, newspapers, periodicals, films, radio and television transmissions, in which the Slovakian language has become more interspersed with Czechian expressions and idioms. The Slovaks' national pride is insulted by this, and they express their opposition in various ways.

For two years now, the Slovakian newspaper *Kulturny zivot* (cultural life) has been carrying on an uninterrupted campaign for the unadulterated purity of the

Slovakian language. In every issue it prints critical and polemical articles and notes against the introduction of Czech words into the Slovakian literary language, and draws the reader's attention to the correct Slovakian expression.

Novel against Slovakian Catholic Bishop

A novel was published in Slovakia in which the memory of the Slovakian Catholic Bishop who died several years ago, Jan Vojtassak, is tarnished. The Communist writer Ladislav Mhacko is the author of this novel. Bishop Vojtassak, who was the main representative of Slovakian Catholicism during his lifetime and was honoured and respected by the entire Slovakian population, is being disparaged by Communist propaganda because he was an uncompromising opponent of Communism and a faithful adherent to the state independence of Slovakia. In 1945, when the Russian Red army occupied Slovakia and reestablished the artificial Czecho-Slovakian state against the will of the Slovakian people, Bishop Vojtassak openly expressed his disapproval. In a show trial in 1950, he was sentenced to 24 years' imprisonment owing to his fundamental opposition. Bishop Vojtassak spent the rest of his life in various Communist prisons and concentration camps. He died in banishment, under police supervision in Bohemia, where he was deported upon his "amnesty."

Additional Deportations from Slovakia Are Planned

According to a resolution passed by the Prague Communist Party leadership, additional deportations from Slovakia to the Bohemian countries are to be carried out. Between 1967 and 1985, this resolution calls for the compulsory resettlement of 91,000 persons in the Bohemian countries. The purpose of this measure is to raise the census in the areas formerly inhabited by Sudeten Germans. Since the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans following World War II, these areas have been scantily settled, notwithstanding the fact that to date some 600,000 Slovaks have already been compulsorily resettled there. The secondary

purpose of this deportation is to weaken the Slovakian people biologically. The Slovaks deported to the Bohemian countries are to be Czechicised. With this end in mind, the Prague government is providing them with schools, in which Czech will be the language of instruction. They refuse to provide Slovakian-language schools in these areas.



TURKISTAN

School Conditions In Turkistan

Especially in the Uzbek SSR and in the Turkmen SSR, the school conditions in every respect are very critical; indeed, they are so bad that the Central Committee, the Cabinet Council and the Supreme Soviet have already had to concern themselves with them.

A lack of new school buildings and neglected renovations in older schools are two of the main problems, though funds had been designated for these purposes some time ago. During the last five-year plan (1961-65), for instance, schools that had been planned for 17,000 schoolchildren and for 6,700 children of kindergarten age in the Turkmen SSR were not built. In 1965, 220,000 rubles for 17 school-building projects were granted by the Cabinet Council of the Turkmen SSR, but not a single school was completed. As a matter of fact, even schools that had been finished in the rough, were not brought to completion. A shortage of building materials, machines, and workers was to be noted everywhere. (*Izvestia*, July 12, 1966)

In the Uzbek SSR, the conditions in 1966 were pretty much the same. Of the 1,882,000 rubles that had been granted for building projects, a mere 571,000 rubles had been consumed by July 31. During the long summer vacation the schools had not been renovated, though this was urgently necessary. Alone in the area of Bukhara, of the 529 schools that required renovations, only 360 were repaired. The situation, especially in the rural districts, is said

to be catastrophic. There was a general lack of even such basic furnishings as tables, chairs and blackboards, etc. In the Uzbek SSR, space for 24,148 school children was to be created, but work did not progress. During the first six months of 1966, a mere 15.1% of the school buildings that had been planned was fulfilled, and of the funds granted for the purchase of schoolroom furnishings, only the following sums were made use of: Bukhara district, 15.7%; Kashka-Darja district, 17.8%; Syr-Darja district, 16.2%; city of Tashkent, 14.6%.

On top of this, there is a shortage of schoolteachers, and the training of teachers is poor. In the school year 1965-66, there was a shortage of 10,000 teachers in Uzbekistan. The level of instruction is said to be low; the sense of responsibility of the teachers, poor; and the school regulations are not observed. As Sawar Azim, the deputy chairman of the Cabinet Council of the Uzbek SSR pointed out at the VIII session of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR, little has been accomplished, notwithstanding the fact that the Communist Party and the government have constantly endeavoured to bring about an improvement in the school system. In the Uzbek SSR, 2,340,000 schoolchildren attend 6,797 schools. But few of the pupils complete the required eight years of schooling. When the pupils are promoted to a new class, they generally leave the school; and the principal and teachers make no effort to have them return. This is especially the case in rural schools for girls; they are frequently taken away from their studies before they are finished. Furthermore, knowledge of the Russian language is poor and ideological and atheist education are miserable, because the teachers don't apply themselves.

These reports make it evident that the situation in the other Soviet Republics in Turkestan is not much different.

Thoughts on national style, characteristics and motives

In an analysis of Uzbekish painters and other artists, A Umar, the author of the

above-mentioned article, brings out that the artists must emphasize the national characteristics more strongly. In this, it is not enough merely to live with a people; its history, culture and traditions must be carefully studied. For this, however, all the prerequisites were missing. The peculiarities which the Uzbeks share with their sister nations should be stressed, and the outstanding characteristics of the scenery, the flora and fauna, should be just as emphasized as the character, spiritual life and feelings, which are completely different, for instance, from those of the Byelorussians. The author welcomes all works that give prominence to the national element as, for instance, the Cossackian drama "Momo Yer", in which the family life and filial respect as practiced by the Cossacks is represented. "Even if old customs are represented — that does not mean that they are transitory."

In contrast to this, an architect congress is called for to stress more than before the Communist style in the Uzbek SSR and especially in Tashkent buildings that are planned for the next five-year plan. "Monuments such as the one erected in front of the Tashkent train station in honour of 14 Turkestanian commissars are to be erected." (All of them were Russians, who were shot in Tashkent on January 19, 1919).



New Falsification of History

The number of victims of the Stalin terror is as yet not properly known, but in the seventeenth volume of the Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia, which has just appeared, the figure given is considerably lower than in Soviet Ukrainian works published prior to 1964. The events of 1937, when scientists and artists in Ukraine were decimated, are dealt with in a few lines. The seriousness of Stalin's misdeeds is reduced by transferring the deeds to Beria, although this is obviously contrary to the facts, since the Yeshovshchina terror

slowed down after Beria's appointment as head of security. Of the thousands of Ukrainian scientists, writers, and artists liquidated only a few, not always representative, are mentioned by name.

Aims of New Smear Campaign in Ukraine

The campaign against hostile ideologies, revisionism, and especially against nationalism, which began at the end of 1965, has continued into 1966. Typical was an article in *Komunist Ukrainy*, no. 2, 1966, entitled *Beneath the Black Flag of Anti-Communism*. Here we read:

"The Nationalists hold out hope that the labile section of our young will fall for the ideology of bourgeois nationalism. Like other ideologists of imperialism, they are trying to put the older generation of Soviet people and the young on opposite sides; they deny the heredity of ideas in our society. Signs of this insidious plan are the incitement of young Soviet artists against the glorious traditions of Soviet literature, enthusiastic praise for ideologically weak works produced by the younger generation, and even their reprinting in nationalist publications."

Problems of Nationality Policies again in the Forefront

In the last few months a new development has appeared in the internal politics of Ukraine — an attempt to lay new emphasis on certain questions in the sphere of nationality policies. This tendency shows itself in a variety of respects. A series of articles has been occupied with so-called proletarian internationalism, and has criticized a certain negligence in the education of the masses, and in particular of the young of Ukraine. A number of scholarly articles have appeared dealing with the ticklish problem of the history of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and especially with the nationality policies of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

More Severity

Three Soviet policemen were killed in the countryside when they had publically arrested "thieves" who had feathered their

nests with collective property on collective farms in the Voronezh, Gomel, and Vladimir regions. They have been posthumously decorated by the Supreme Soviet for "remaining true to their duty to the last."

Nor was the matter closed with the execution of their killers. These cases have provided fuel for those circles in the Soviet Union which criticize the "liberal" tone of justice. They make no secret of their opinion that Soviet justice is in need of correction. The same attitude was expressed in a communiqué issued by the Minister for Police of the RSFSR, Tikunov, Security Chief Semischastny, and representatives of the highest legal authorities.

The communiqué stated that the period of investigation for "disturbers of public order" should be shortened and that sentence should be passed on such elements without delay. Only too often, it said, the courts cancelled measures taken by the police. In other words, Soviet police and justice should hit harder in future. The old Stalinist terror is returning.

Death Sentence for Resistance Fighter in Ukraine

We have already reported in this magazine on the arrest of Mykola P. Matsevych by the KGB on a charge of belonging to the Ukrainian freedom movement. At the time the public prosecutor appealed to the population to report Matsevych's "atrocities". He had already been sentenced to twenty years hard labour for belonging to the organization when we received news that he had been tried again and sentenced to death. The trial took place in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv), allegedly in public, and it is said that there were "enough prosecution witnesses" to confirm Matsevych's "crimes". Although, as we reported, a number of people were charged, only Matsevych has been tried. The only press reports on the trial were extracts in local papers.

Attacks On Ukrainian Nationalists

An article appeared in *Radyanska Ukraina* on 2nd December 1966 by the Vice-President of the Academy of Scien-

ces of the Ukrainian SSR dealing with the present state of the Social Sciences and plans for their further development in Ukraine. The author, I. K. Bilodid, is also Chairman of the Section for Social Sciences at the Academy. From his article we learn that education in the spirit "of proletarian internationalism" and the struggle against bourgeois nationalism constitute one of the most important tasks of the social sciences. But Professor Bilodid twists facts by not mentioning that it is Russian chauvinism which constitutes the biggest obstacle to the creation of a truly international community in the Soviet Union. He states that the "ideologists of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism are endeavouring with dark machinations to deny the friendship which exists between the nations of the Soviet Union and to show it in a bad light."

"The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in particular are carrying on their diversionary activities against Soviet Ukraine like mad. They are searching for a crack into which they can drive their poisoned spike. A hopeless undertaking! The friendship of nations, a source of unceasing energy and of the power of the Socialist state, is sacred to the Ukrainian people."

This extract shows that there are in Soviet Ukraine forces to whose aims in the field of nationality politics Moscow's servants must pay homage.

The stress laid on problems connected with Ukrainians living abroad forms a complex in itself. A report appeared in *Radyanska Ukraina* of 21st November 1966 on the conference of the "Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad". According to Party sources, it was necessary in all foreign contacts "to work to unmask the activities hostile to our people carried on by the leaders of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and their assistants and to open the eyes of emigré workers who are subject to their influence to the truth about them." This declaration was made by the editor-in-chief of the magazine *Vsesvit*, O. Poltoratsky, who apparently reflects the Party

line in the organization alongside Yu. Smolych.

In November and December 1966 Soviet Ukrainian newspapers made heavy and simultaneous attacks on Ukrainian nationalist organizations in exile. *Robitnycha Gazeta* of 1st December 1966 published a pamphlet written by a Lviv writer, Taras Myhal, who reported sarcastically on the activities of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and in particular on its President, Yaroslav Stetsko. He maintains that ABN took up its activities after the second World War with the help of American and British news agencies, and that it later received support from official bodies in the Federal Republic of Germany and from various "half-fascist, revanchist organizations such as refugee associations." He states further that the American branch of ABN took Goldwater's side in the elections. The whole pamphlet is an unrecognizably tendentious mixture of a few facts and of fantastic allegations.

An article appeared in the historical journal *Ukrainsky Istorichny Zhurnal*, no. 11, November 1965, by a Mrs. L. P. Nahorna, entitled "The Present Falsification of the Policies of the Communist Party of Ukraine during the October Revolution". The article confirms that Soviet circles follow Western publications on Soviet Ukraine with the greatest of attention. The article quoted from the following works devoted to the nationality problem during the October Revolution: A. Adams: *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine. The Second Campaign, 1918-1919*, New Haven and London; R. Sullivant: *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine, 1917-1959*, New York and London, 1962; Y. Borys: *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine*, Stockholm, 1960; J. Reshetar: *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, Princeton, 1952; W. Kolarz: *Russia and Her Colonies*, New York, 1955; G. von Rauch: *Geschichte des bolschewistischen Russland* (History of Bolshevik Russia), Wiesbaden, 1955; A. Low: *Lenin on the Question of Nationality*, New York, 1958; P. Pipes: *The Formation of the Soviet*

Union, Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923, Cambridge, 1954; S. Harcave: *Russia. A History*, Chicago — Philadelphia — New York, 1959; C. Manning: *Ukraine under the Soviets*, New York, 1953.

Ukrainsky Istorichny Zhurnal quotes with obvious nervousness from a work by Mosley: "Without knowledge of the nature of the Ukrainian problem, the complexity of Russian development cannot be understood". The journal comments that this interest in the Ukrainian problem is being promoted by "bourgeois nationalists". Some Western authors, says the journal, work on their investigations of Ukraine with lies and slanders. This category includes the American Sullivant and the Englishman Adams. Other scholars were attempting to be objective, but they all inclined towards the same conclusions.

Death Sentence In Show Trial In Dnipropetrovsk

In the show trial held in Dnipropetrovsk, the accused was convicted of having collaborated with the Germans during World War II. It was reported in the press that the accused, whose name was given as Oleksi Lazorenko, assumed a defiant attitude, and he responded to the charge made against him as follows: "I was a carpenter. My collaboration with the Germans consisted in the fact that I built barracks, took them down again and rebuilt them at a new location."

Yet, even this activity was enough for a death sentence. He and four other accused were sentenced by the court to death, while a 6th person received 15 years' imprisonment.

N. Buchatsky

The Sorry State Of The Basilian Monastery At Buchach

The closed monastery of the Basilian Fathers at Buchach looks very sad. Built upon the splendid Fedoriv mountains, it, as a guardian angel, protected its native town and the entire Buchach region from all evil.

Now it is in bondage. Thus, the historic monastery, with its famous school, is neglected, defiled. Its gilded crosses, like trembling hands, are raised to God praying — asking: "How long my sons the monks will have to suffer in prison? How long will I have to be in distress? How long will the pious people of the Buchach region have to wait for an opportunity to pray peacefully?"

The high walls of the monastery are cracking. On one of them a picture of Bohdan Khmelnytsky has been painted — because he supposedly concluded "the union" between the Ukrainian and the Russian nations.

The iron gate has rusted. The roof of the monastery has also decayed and in the middle a part of it is bent. It is necessary to mend the binding under the roof. The wide plaza before the church where the "Resurrection" services were held, has overgrown with weeds. Even the steps on Shevchenko Street (now Mitskevych Street) that lead to the church are covered with thorns.

From 1712 to the horrible year, 1946 this monastery led an unending religious-educational work among our people. In the history of our literature and that of other nations many graduates of the school of the Basilian Fathers at Buchach can be found. It is enough to mention the famous principal of that school, Rev. Julian Dobrylskyj (1760-1825) buried in the village of Zelena, Buchach county. He is rightfully called the precursor of Father Markian Shashkevych. He was not only the author of the textbook of homiletics which was published in Pochaiv in 1794 under the title, *Nauky Parochialni* (Parish Lessons) but also of a well-known hymn, "Give Us God Good Fortune".

The tall and proud gilded crosses were condemned by the local atheists to "liquidation" so that the crosses would not hurt their eyesight. One day the workers with long ladders and ropes came out in order to perform this diabolical task. However, to this day nobody can explain what had saved these symbols of Christianity.

Inside the great church the modern "culturalists-progressivists" kept grain and now they store iron in it. In the sacristy the blacksmith shop has been built. Beautifully painted pictures are deteriorating from the smoke. The monastery, "a pearl of the Ukrainian education" for two centuries is getting old, dilapidated.

The belfry stands between the monastery and the ex-secondary school, now the ten-year school. When I had been a student at that secondary school the melodic bell rang from the bell tower daily at 12 noon. Then all of us blessed ourselves and thanked God for letting us live to this hour.

I did not recognize the belfry. It looked like one of the Kremlin towers at Moscow. It was even topped by a red five-point star. In the Soviet Union everything has to be reminiscent of the Kremlin.

The living quarters of the monks have been taken over by the uniformed students of the technical school, boys between 14 and 18. They are familiarizing themselves with the various agricultural machinery and equipment that are being used at the collectives and state farms. I saw these students as they were marching from the former residence of Rev. Nestayko and later Rev. Melnychuk. After graduation they are sent to Kazakhstan and other far-eastern "republics" for permanent employment.

It is impossible to imagine the future of such a "technician". He grew up in the Buchach area and will have to work in the foreign country all his life. It is no wonder that women and girls are predominant in our villages. Thus the number of Ukrainians is decreasing in Ukraine under the Soviet-Russian occupation.

The graduates of the technical school can accidentally meet the monks and priests from the Basilian monastery in the far-eastern Asian countries in the virgin lands, since most of them were deported to these expansive lands where they work as book-keepers, guards, firemen, brick layers, tractor drivers, shepherds . . . But all these victims of Russian Communism are performing their apostolic and priestly duties,

(as a prominent Churchman informed me).

In the entire Buchach there is only one church, St. Nicolaus, but . . . not for children. One of its former pastors is paralyzed. Another one is taking his place. I don't know their names because I was afraid to ask, in order not to endanger them.

One of the priests said to me: "Our church lives under worse conditions than under Nero, Deoclician and Julian the Apostate."

In an informative booklet, "At the Basilian Monasteries", Rev. Mykhailo Vavryk, OSBM in 1957 brilliantly and documentatively pictured the tragedy not only of the monasteries at Buchach, Hoshiv, Dobromyl, Drohobych, Zhovkva, Krasno-pushcha, Krekhiv, Krystokopil, Lavriv, Lviv, Peremyshl, Pidhirtsi, but also in the Carpatho-Ukraine. Only after the careful reading of the entire booklet and only after visiting the native land did I realize the tragedy not only of those Basilian monasteries but of all the other Orthodox and Catholic churches under the diabolical regime.

Russian Anti-Christian Campaign In Ukraine

Fiction about the safe-guard of religious liberty in the constitution of the Ukr.S.S.R. is disproved by a very blunt act.

At the end of October, 1966, the Soviet Russian court in the Ukrainian city Zhytomyr sentenced Danylo Linyk and Valentyna Andrusenko to three years of imprisonment for conducting religious classes. They were also forbidden to rear their own children. Witnesses testified that these two Ukrainians organized a class of 40 pupils, and that they used a textbook prepared by Mrs. Andrusenko. They were sentenced according to the 138th paragraph of the Administrative Code, which deals with the separation of church and state.

The convicted persons were members of an autonomous group, the so-called Movement of the Initiators of the Baptists. On September 18-19, 1965, this group held a convention at which it formed itself into

the Council of Churches of the Evangelical-Christian Baptists. During August and September of 1965, the new sect organized a series of mass meetings in the parks of Kyiv, Lviv, Zaporizhzhya, as well as in Kazakhstan.

The Court was assisted by the attorney-general of Zhytomyr, Demchenko; the "civil plaintiff", Yatel, teacher in the secondary school no. 21 in Zhytomyr; Pavlenko, the director of school no. 32, and citizens of Zhytomyr and Karnotovska, Nimets, Pasichnyk, Protsenko and Tarkach served as witnesses.

Danylo Linnyk was a driver of a construction auto-crane by vocation, or a real proletarian. Therefore, the Court could not devise the charge of anti-proletarian activities against him.

The "criminal activities" of the religious school are described in *Moloda Ukraina* of January 15, 1967: "During the prayer meetings, consisting of the artistic self-activities of children, the pupils sorrowfully bowed their little heads, recited poetry, sung hymns. All of it had strong psychological influence upon the participants. Danylo Linnyk continuously repeated, as a true Baptist, that each of them should bring new converts to Christ . . . Nearby on the table lay the textbooks prepared for their school: Gospel and Sermons — yellowish, since they were bound abroad 30 years ago."

The school advised the children not to belong to the atheistic Komsomol and not to read Soviet press.

The trial sheds light upon the situation in Ukraine. In the 50 years of their colonial rule the Communist-Russian oppressors were unable to extinguish Christianity among the Ukrainian people. The search for a religious life is part of the over-all struggle of the Ukrainian people to destroy the Russian colonial empire.

Elections In Soviet Ukraine

Practically unnoticed by the outside world and without any interest in the country itself, elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

Republic were held on March 12 of this year. Municipal elections were held at the same time.

When one considers the interest with which the elections in the free world — even when those in a small country are held or the municipal elections in a German state — are followed by the entire world press, just how many predictions, interpretations, commentaries, and just how many polls are taken by research institutes before and after the elections — then one has to admit that the interest in the elections of a country which registers almost 31 million eligible voters and has a land area of more than 600,000 square kilometres, has practically disappeared. Everyone knows the explanation for this.

It is not even necessary to count the votes, for a 99.99% affirmative vote is guaranteed in advance. To be sure, the official report on the last elections in Ukraine stated that there was 99.93% participation and that there were 22,396 negative votes; but what does that have to say? A landslide 'victory' — no comment necessary.

"The election comedy, which Moscow stages in Ukraine periodically, we always regard as a mockery of our subjugated status and as a fresh insult" — writes a Ukrainian living in a big city at home — "but this will not be the case forever."

The Croats Give Dean Rusk Material On The Croats' Fight For Independence

During the United States Secretary of State, Dean Rusk's stay in Buenos Aires, where he was the leader of the US delegation to the "Third Inter-American Conference of the Organization of American States", he was given a personally dedicated copy of the President of the Croatian Freedom Movement, Dr. Stjepan Hefter's book *Croatian Struggle for Freedom and Statehood*, as well as a copy of the review "Balkania".

Now the US government will be informed on the true conditions prevailing in Croatia during World War II. These conditions show a remarkable similarity to those which presently prevail in Vietnam.

Book Reviews

No Vision Here

(Non-military Warfare in Britain), by D. G. Stewart-Smith; foreword by the Rt. Hon. Julian Amery; published by the Foreign Affairs Publishing Co. Ltd., 1966; Petersham, Surrey, England; 142 pages.

In this interesting and topical book the author unmaskes the deception of "peaceful coexistence." He informs the reader of the individual British political parties and of the British public's attitude to Communism and Soviet Russia. He also gives a very thorough presentation of the attitude of the government, the individual departments, ministries and central offices of his native country, as well as of the Royal Charter Institutions, to the complex of questions with respect to Communism. The author also devotes considerable attention to the function of private groups in the fight against Communist infiltration. A number of more or less important anti-Communist organizations and institutions which are active in Great Britain are listed and characterized in the appendix. We also find a list of international and British pro-Communist organizations.

This book by D. G. Stewart-Smith contains not only interesting information and valuable analyses, but represents a courageous attitude on the part of the author for the cause of freedom, democracy and human dignity. He calls for a return to morality in politics, for only in this way can Communism be effectively fought. He is against every form of defeatism and against all immoral, unworthy and thoughtless compromises in the confrontation with Communism and Russian imperialism. He calls for practical measures of both a defensive and offensive nature in the fight against Communism.

There are a few secondary remarks with which we cannot agree, but in terms of the whole conception of the book, they are not important. In this connection we want to point out only one example: "The actu-

al seizure of state power can take many forms. The more peaceful means are elections and political infiltration, but where these do not look promising a resort to violence is used. Examples of the former are Cuba and of the latter Czechoslovakia, and North Vietnam." We regard at least the mention of so-called Czecho-Slovakia in this connection as misleading. The author is obviously of the opinion that democratic order ruled in Czecho-Slovakia until 1948. Such an opinion, notwithstanding the fact that it is widely held in the West, is completely mistaken. Against the will of the Slovakian people, an artificial Czecho-Slovakian state was re-established in the Spring of 1945 by the Soviet Russian army, when it occupied Slovakia and the Bohemian countries in the course of its war-operations. Consequently, this artificial state has been completely dependent upon Moscow since its forceful re-establishment. Even in terms of its internal politics it was not a democratic state at that time, but merely a "People's Democracy," as the regime in power designated it already in 1945. From the very beginning, all anti-Communist parties and organizations were prohibited. Only in this way can it be explained that in February of 1948, the Communists succeeded in establishing an open Communist dictatorship through parliamentary procedures.

On the whole we have a very high opinion of this book by D. G. Stewart-Smith, and we recommend it to our readers.

Das Programm der KPdSU und der Westen — Aus sowjetischer Sicht —

(The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the West — From a Soviet Point of View) by Timur Timofejev, Europa Verlag, Vienna, 207 pages.

Timur Timofejev represents the Soviet post-revolution generation. He is deputy director of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow and au-

thor of several books, of which the one under review is unquestioningly the most significant for us.

The challenge which the Communist Party programme throws to the Western world makes it necessary to come to terms with it. Conceptions such as coexistence can be accurately understood only when dialectically considered.

Timur Timofejev confronts the Party programme with the present state of economy and social development in the USSR. He appraises the perspectives and compares the possibilities and chances of the Soviet Union with those of the United States and the industrial countries of the West. He lays special stress on the international effectiveness of the economic development in the USSR, the most essential presupposition of the development of Communism. Timofejev sees a force in the Soviet Union which more than ever influences international happenings and which will finally determine them altogether. "We firmly believe in the victory of Communism over Capitalism. This victory is historically inevitable."

According to the author's view, the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is not only binding for the systematic construction of Communism. It embodies a direction for the entire Communist world movement, including those social forces, which, to be sure, do not profess Communism, but which are regarded as potential partners.

It is enormously instructive for us in the Free World to hear what hopes convinced and intelligent Communists attach to the new Party programme. It is not important to point out this or that error to the author — which would be easy enough.

One could write polemics against his presentation — one should learn from it instead.

A. v. Schuckmann

Recently, the Asian Peoples' Communist League published the following booklets,

which we would like to recommend to our readers:

Can Agricultural Crises Be Averted by the Chinese Communists by Li Tien-min; *Failures of Mao Tse-Tung's Dictatorship 1949-1963* (Part I and II) by Hwang Tien-chien; *A General Survey of Moscow-Peking Relations*; *The Delicate Relationship between Mao-Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi and Chow En-lai* by Wang Sze-cheng; *The Militia* by Hsiang Nai-kuang and *China's Bitter Experiences with the Communists*.

The government of the Republic of Vietnam has published a number of paperbacks: *The Murder of Colonel Hoang Thuy Nam by the Vietminh Communists*; *Violations of the Geneva Agreements by the Vietminh Communists*, and in French *Un Danger pour la Paix Mondiale l'Aggression Communiste au Sud Viet-Nam* and *La Politique Agressive des Viet Minh Communistes et la Guerre subversive Communiste au Sud Vietnam*.

The Christian Crusade has published a book entitled *Rhythm, Riots and Revolution* by Rev. David A. Noebel. This is an analysis of the Communist use of music. It can be obtained from: Christian Crusade, P. O. Box 977, Tulsa, Oklahoma, USA.

Liberty Bell Press (P. O. Box 32, Florissant, Mo. USA) published a book by John Stormer, Chairman of the Missouri Federation of Young Republicans and member of the Republican State Committee of Missouri, under the title: *None Dare Call It Treason*. The book is a careful compilation of facts from hundreds of Congressional investigations of Communism and dozens of authoritative books on the Communist-Socialist conspiracy to enslave America. It dissects the failures of the Eisenhower Administration just as effectively as it details the blunders of Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson.

The following two books, which were published by the Swiss *Ost-Institut* (Bern), are especially worthy of note. *Moscow's Hand in India* by Peter Sager, which deals with Russian propaganda in India; and *War and Ideological Fighting* by I. A.

Sleznev. This book was first brought out by the Soviet Ministry for Defence; it discusses the general principles which direct Communist propaganda in war. Doubtlessly, this Soviet book has an official character; it affirms the necessity and value of an ideological fight, even for a nuclear war. Without this fight, a military victory can easily become a political defeat. The Swiss *Ost-Institut* has translated this book to show the West what it can expect in the event of war.

Esplandian: George Uscatescu, Perfil Intelectual y Humano (Punta Europa, Madrid, 1964). Published in the Review *Punta Europa* No. 75.

This booklet, published in Spanish, provides a finely drawn profile of an uncommonly productive and well-read Rumanian university professor, diplomat, sociologist and a great humanist—George Uscatescu. Thanks to his scholarly activities in various institutes abroad (he had to leave his native country and settle in

Spain) and the publication of his many works in various languages, Uscatescu has made a large contribution to the scholarship not only of Rumania but also of his wide-ranging education. Professor Uscatescu reminds one of that eminent Rumanian scholar, politician, university professor and cabinet minister, N. Iorga, who was killed in a horrible manner by blind, Rumanian hotheads just before the second World War, causing the greatest possible loss to Rumanian scholarship.

Of the many, carefully considered and interesting works by Uscatescu, let me mention here just one publication, *Rebelión de las minorías*, written as a companion piece to Ortega's similar work, *Rebelión de las masas*, in which the author discusses the dangers threatening Europe on account of the revolution in East Europe. Uscatescu writes about the Sovietization of millions of Europeans, who are now "subject to the tyranny of dogmas" (p. 12).

V. Luzhansky

STRIKES IN THE DON BASIN

According to scarce reports reaching the free world from the Russian slave empire, last Autumn a large scale labor strike occurred in the Don industrial region of Ukraine. This news report has been confirmed by the *Welt* of Hamburg (Jan. 19, 1967) and *Frankfurter Neue Presse* (Jan. 21, 1967).

Local Soviet authorities were unable to master the situation alone, and turned for help to Premier Kosygin at Moscow, who immediately arrived at the scene of the disturbances. Even he could not conciliate the Ukrainian miners, who revealed great resoluteness, courage and non compliance in their demands. Only when the Party Chief Brezhnev came, he pacified the workers by making appropriate economic and social concessions.

The serious situation in the Don Basin provoked a crisis in the trade unions of the Soviet Union. To save the prestige of this imperial institution the chairman of the trade unions, Grishin, had to reprimand the local trade unions in the Don Basin and take a stand on the side of the workers. He directed a sharp campaign in the trade union organ, *Trud*, against the failures of some officials. In the issues of *Trud* of December 10, 11, 12, 14 and 17 he recognized the unbearable labor conditions prevailing in the mines, the catastrophic housing situation, insufficiencies in food deliveries, unjust treatment by management and low wages. Thus the stand of Ukrainian miners forced the colonial regime to take defensive measures.

Many West European Personalities Sign An Appeal In Favour Of Ukraine

More than a year ago several dozen Ukrainians were arrested, sentenced secretly and condemned to prison terms ranging from 8 to 10 years. Only a handful of names of those sentenced in Lviv *a huis-clos* in April, 1966 became known abroad. Similar trials took place in other cities of Ukraine. In all cases the sentenced are university professors, intellectuals, students, etc. from Kyiv, Odessa, Lviv, Lutsk, Ivanofrankivsk and Ternopil, who in compliance with the constitution of Soviet Ukraine tried to defend the rights of the Ukrainian people in the development of its proper culture and especially the right to use the Ukrainian language in Ukrainian schools, civil and military institutions and public services in Ukraine.

In order to justify these arbitrary arrests the government accused the arrested of opposing the Soviet regime and of manifesting their national sentiments.

Among those who signed an appeal against the Russification, against the suppression of Ukrainian culture, against forced assimilation, for the possibility of Ukrainian people and its intellectuals to demand the restoration of their national rights, were the following personalities:

R. Bruyneel, Senator; Carlos Ruiz del Castillo, Professor at the University of Madrid, at the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and President of the Council of National Education; General L. M. Chassin; Michel Collinet, University Professor; Enver Essenkova, Professor at the Academy of Economics and Commerce of Istanbul, Turkey; Andre Francois-Poncet, the French Academy; Suzanne Labin, President de la Ligue de la Liberte; Jean Legaret, former president of the Municipal Council of Paris; Leo Magnino, Advisor at the Ministry of Public Education of Italy, former professor at the University of Rome and Naples; Baron Pinoteau, former commercial attaché at the French Embassy at Moscow; General Louis Renouard; Julien Tardieu, former president of the Municipal Council of Paris, former representative.

Adenauer On Soviet Russians

In an interview with the weekly *Candide* the former Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer revealed his views on the "Khrushchov Mystery" and Soviet politics. The following excerpts are taken from the published interview.

Do you know that Khrushchov was the bloodiest executioner of Ukraine? He could not be trusted in anything. He went his way, with fatherly expression, it is true, but with a very definite aim . . .

Do you believe that Khrushchov was different from Stalin and that he liberalized the Soviet regime? If the methods appear to have changed, the aim, nevertheless, remains the same . . .

There are strange goings-on there at the moment. Hardly has Khrushchov disappeared than a plane which is transporting 16 generals who are friends of his crashes in Yugoslavia only a few kilometers from Belgrade Airport which is besides particularly well lit.

Der Spiegel No. 44/64

Russian Army — Symbol Of Tyranny

On April 18, 1967 the ABN Branch in Winnipeg, Canada, demonstrated against the Bolshevik Ensemble "Red Army" from Moscow. The organizations of the Ukrainian liberation front and the students of the Orthodox Seminary of S. Andrew were the moving force of the demonstration. The demonstration was initiated at a mass rally at which the speakers were Mr. Ivan Ivanchuk, M. A., Chairman of the League for Ukrainian Liberation in Winnipeg, Mr. Petro Bashuk, Representative of the League's Headquarters and Rev. Semen Izyk, Chairman of ABN in Winnipeg.

The demonstrators carried banners such as "We — Members of ABN", "For Liberation of Ukraine", "For Liberation of Latvia", "Red Army Arrived with the Spies", "Red Army — Symbol of Tyranny", "Moscow — Prison of Nations", "Russians Go Home". (There were 50 banners altogether.)

Thousands of leaflets explaining the aim of the demonstration were distributed simultaneously. The demonstration was televised by SVS and CTV and was extensively covered by Canadian radio and press. Radio station SKU discussed the demonstration for two days in its programme "Hot Line".

Where to obtain ABN publications:

Australia

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Box 2022 G.P.O.
SYDNEY, N.S.W.

Mr. M. Shegedyn
24 View Street
ST. ALBANS, Vic.

C. Mishchuk
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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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V. Kajum-Khan

Russian October Counter-Revolution Unmasked

(*The October Counter-Revolution and the Peoples of Asia and Africa*)

The Soviet-Russian press in the five "Soviet republics" in Central Asia, i. e., in Turkestan, is trying to impress upon the peoples of the Soviet Union and, moreover, upon the peoples of Africa and of Asia, that the Russian October Revolution was like a lighthouse not only to the peoples of the Soviet Union, but also to the peoples of Asia and of Africa, to whom it brought independence, sovereignty, freedom and equal status. (Party Organ *Usbekistan Madaniyati* of February 18, 1967, and *Soviet Usbekistani* of February 22, 1967.)

By constantly repeating this, Moscow thinks that it can make people believe this story. In the Soviet press and during Party meetings, etc., it is pointed out again and again that the peoples of Asia and of Africa are loyal to the Soviet Union, that their loyalty is documented by resolutions, speeches and sympathetic rallies. For instance, the resolution passed at the February 16, 1967 council meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Nikosia on the island of Cyprus, was given great publicity in the Soviet press. Among other things this resolution states: "The October Revolution marked a turning point in the history of the national independence movement and in the history of human progress." (Party organ, *Soviet Tadzhikistani*, Dushanbe, February 18, 1967.)

This 8th council meeting of the Solidarity Committee of the Afro-Asian peoples in Nikosia was to some extent a success for the Soviet Russian Communists with respect to the proclaimed aims of the October Revolution. Aszila, the Secretary-General of the standing office of the writers of Asia and Africa, praised this solidarity, and P. T. Peminov, leader of the Soviet delegation in Nikosia, gave assurance that many Asians and Africans had resolved to spread the importance of the October Revolution in their home countries.

The speech by U. Kamaliddin Rifaet, Secretary of the Arabian Socialist League in Kairo, so pleased the Soviet Russians that they gave it special prominence in the February 21st issue of *Soviet Usbekistani*. According to this newspaper Kamaliddin Rifaet publicly stated:

The October Revolution played an important part in the history of mankind. . . . The Revolution put an end to the colonialism and capitalism prevailing in many parts of the world. In the history of mankind the Revolution deserves great credit for development and progress in all parts of the world . . .

Such statements by a representative from a country of Asia or Africa, are featured in the Soviet Union as representing the voice and opinion of the Afro-Asian peoples. The Soviet press claims that at the 8th council meeting in Nikosia 300 delegates from 64 countries participated and declared their solidarity with the Soviet Union.

At present, at the order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet contact organizations have become very active and have stepped up their activity. At a meeting of his committee in Tashkent on February 21, 1967, S. O. Azim (-ov), the Chairman of the Soviet Committee for

maintaining relations with the writers of Asia and Africa, entered in detail into the reasons for and the aims of this extra-ordinary meeting. Accordingly the intellectual elite of the Soviet Union should prepare itself for the 3rd Conference of the Afro-Asian writers in Beirut, and should use every means at its disposal to strengthen its relations to the Afro-Asian writers. All harassing manoeuvres from the outside would have to be countered. Among other things, he accused Peking of attempting to split the unity and brotherly relations of the writers of Asia and Africa, to bring them under its influence and control. As a means of bringing this greatest movement of the century under their influence, the Chinese leaders used intrigues to split the unity of the Afro-Asian writers and of the Solidarity Committee.

At the 2nd Union Congress of the Soviet organization for the maintenance of cultural and friendly relations abroad which took place in Moscow on January 26, 1967, it was furthermore concluded that the interests of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be represented more strongly than ever among the Afro-Asian intellectuals. The 800 Soviet delegates committed themselves to spread the decrees of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the achievements of the October Revolution in their activities abroad among Afro-Asian solidarity committees, writers' associations, and other international organizations, and to take a stand against Peking's accusations.

In the course of this same meeting, N. A. Muchiddin (-ov), first deputy chairman of the committee for cultural relations abroad in the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union emphasized in particular the importance and the role played by this Soviet organization as a link to foreign countries, and he also emphasized that the October Revolution achieved freedom for nations. The Turkestanian Muchiddin (-ov) had been given the cold shoulder on account of his criticism of Moscow's cotton policies in Turkestan some years ago. Recently, however, he was rehabilitated because of his good relations to the free Orient.

Without entering into the causes of the rift between Moscow and Peking, it can be said that Moscow and Peking are making efforts to get the leaders of the organizations of Afro-Asian intellectuals under their influence in order to promote their own interests. In Nikosia, for instance, Moscow intrigued that the 5th Conference of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee was not to be held in Peking, but in Algiers, "because the conditions in Peking do not vouchsafe a smooth course for this kind of congress." Peking retaliated by holding a similar conference in Peking. But these are internal differences among the Communists.

In this article our main concern is with the opinions on the Russian October Counter-Revolution as they are spread by the Soviet Russians among the Afro-Asian peoples. What was the role of the Russian October Revolution of 1917 in connection with the peoples of Asia and Africa? As we mentioned above, according to the Soviet press, the role of the October Revolution was represented in Nikosia as if it were the key to freedom, equality and sovereignty for the Afro-Asian peoples, as it had been for the peoples of the Soviet Union and Europe. The fact is, however, that neither the peoples of the Soviet Union, nor the peoples of Asia and Africa obtained freedom because of the Russian Revolution. Almost all of the Afro-Asian nations obtained their independence after 1945 — which is to say, 30 years after the October Counter-Revolution. They do not owe their

independence to the Russian Communists, but to the former Western colonial powers who realized that the end of the colonial age had come.

The peoples in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, have been doubly wronged by the October Counter-Revolution; no one can talk there about national freedom and sovereignty. In 1917, when Moscow took over the spoils of tsarist Russia, it first consolidated its power and then sent the Red army to attack the non-Russian peoples who had just become independent. It once again occupied their countries and overthrew their national governments. This was the case in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Idel-Ural, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and North Caucasus. The national governments of Kokand and Alash-Orda and the emirate Bukhara and Chanat Chiwa in Turkestan met the same fate. Notwithstanding the fact that Moscow recognized the sovereignty and independence of these national governments in 1917/18, and even concluded treaties with them, it soon violated them and attacked one country after the other. The emirate Bukhara and Chanat Chiwa in Turkestan, which have existed as sovereign states for over 400 years, are merely examples of Moscow's many breaches of treaty, and of Moscow's hypocrisy towards the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. In 1918, the Red army attacked Bukhara, but was repelled by the Bukharian national troops. In the same year Moscow concluded a treaty with the Emir of Bukhara in which mutual independence and sovereignty were confirmed. Notwithstanding this fact, the Red army occupied the emirate of Bukhara on September 1, 1920, and the people's republic of Bukhara was proclaimed under a national Turkestanian government.

Chanat Chiwa in Turkestan also was attacked by the Red army in 1917/18, but the attack was repelled. Again Moscow concluded a treaty on April 8, 1919 in which the independence of Chanat Chiwa was confirmed. But shortly afterwards — on January 25, 1920 — the Red army occupied Chiwa and the people's republic of Harazim was proclaimed — just like Bukhara under a national Turkestanian government. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic signed a treaty with the people's republic of Harazim on September 13, 1920, and on March 4, 1921, it signed a treaty with the people's republic of Bukhara. These treaties guaranteed full sovereignty and independence, and diplomatic relations were established between Moscow and Bukhara and Chiwa.

But all these were merely tactical maneuverings on the part of the Bolsheviks. More than anything else, they wanted to gain time. When the Bukharian national government demanded the withdrawal of Red troops from its sovereign country on the basis of the treaty, the Bolsheviks showed their true colours and took over Bukhara as well as Chiwa. In 1924/25, the sovereign members of the government who had been recognized by them, were brutally arrested and not a word has been heard from them since. The sovereign republics recognized by Russia were dissolved and incorporated into the five Soviet Republics which were created in Turkestan at that time.

That is the historical reality. That was what the October Counter-Revolution really brought to the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. They were robbed of their sovereignty and independence, and their countries were incorporated into the Red Russian empire. Moscow's claim that the October Revolution marked the end of colonialism for the peoples of the Soviet Union and, moreover, for the peoples of Africa and Asia, is not confirmed by the historical facts of the case.

Revolutionary Ukraine And Western Pacifists

(Versailles — Riga — Yalta)

For fifty years Western pacifists have been working to achieve peace in Europe and in other parts of the world. How do they go about it? And why are their "successes" so insignificant?

In conjunction with the decrees of the Versailles peace-makers, imperial Germany was punished after World War I and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was dissolved into separate states. That was the natural thing to do, but . . . But have the Western pacifists applied the same principle to the Russian empire? Partially. In the Baltic states, Finland and in Poland. But Ukraine and the Caucasus were condemned to continued suffering under the Russian yoke. It is not to be denied that the victors of that time were very exhausted; they yearned for peace. But what was to keep them from supplying the enemies of the Bolshevik movement with weapons, from supporting the anti-Bolsheviks in the Russian empire? As a result of the revolution the empire gradually dissolved into its national components. Would it not have been in the interest of Europe's security to weaken the gigantic Eurasian imperialistic power?

The victors decided upon another course. They supported the tsarist generals, Denikin and Wrangel (just as later the Bolsheviks), with the result that the numerically largest nation of the non-Russian nations within the Russian empire, Ukraine, was forced for years to carry on a liberation war against the Bolsheviks and against the Tsarists.

In 1921, Red Russia emerged victorious from this war. Afterwards the Western pacifists concluded a peace treaty with the USSR, and the representatives of the Muscovite despots were accepted with honour in the League of Nations . . .

A victory for the pacifists? Yes, but . . . This victory, which enabled the West to enjoy a state of peace until World War II, *rests upon a fact which the West failed to take cognizance of*, namely, *the four-year resistance of Ukraine*, which checked the Russian advance towards the West between 1917 and 1921. Without this resistance on the part of Ukraine, the West would have found itself confronting the Bolshevik empire face to face already at that time. This is no exaggeration. For those who are intimately familiar with the events of that time, it is a historical fact.

What was Ukraine in the years 1917—1921? At that time Lenin wrote: "In Ukraine there are no persons who can be used to establish a Soviet regime . . . Partisans (insurgents) are in control there. There are partisan troops in every district . . . In one month alone, April 1919, 93 revolts (against the Communists) were recorded." According to Russian-Bolshevik sources, the war between the Communist aggressors and the insurgents, who fought together with detachments of the Ukrainian army, lasted until the end of 1921. This was the picture of Ukraine at that time according to the descriptions of the hostile intruders. This was the people, who, because of its love for freedom, was left to fight for itself. At that time Ukraine saved the nations of Western Europe from the fate suffered by today's satellites of Russia, i. e., Poland, Bohemia, Rumania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany; for in Hungary and in various locations of

Germany at that time, men like Bela Kuhn and Liebknecht and women like Rosa Luxemburg were trying to introduce Communist tyranny. Their efforts did not bear fruit, *precisely because fighting Ukraine checked the march of the Russian "comrades" towards the West.* It was no other than General Weygand who confirmed openly and several times that, during the Polish-Ukrainian war against Communist Russia in 1920, it was the Ukrainians, the army of the Ukrainian General Bezruchko, who played a decisive part at the critical moment near Zamostie. At first he checked the Red troops who were marching towards the West, and later he succeeded in driving them back.

It was also Ukraine that forced Lenin in 1920 to conclude a lamentable peace with Poland in Riga. He himself justified this disgraceful conclusion of peace by pointing out that, notwithstanding the great sacrifices of the Russian people, the Russians were now free to apply the maximum of their forces against Petlura's Ukrainian army.

The Western pacifists of Versailles felt the consequences of the fact that they undervalued Ukraine as a nation during and subsequent to World War I, — only in 1945 when Moscow extended its borders to threatening proximity of Italy, Greece, France and North Europe. Because Poland was willing to sacrifice her ally — the neighboring Ukraine by signing the peace treaty of Riga in 1920, she had to suffer a worse setback in 1941, when she was disgraced to the status of a satellite of her eastern enemy. The same thing happened to Hitler's Germany following World War II. Hitler slighted Ukraine as a nation twice — once at the end of 1939 when he had Ribbentrop sign a nonaggression pact with the Bolsheviks, that is to say, when he betrayed the West Ukrainian areas of Galicia, Cholmland and West Volynia into the hands of the Reds; and then again when, instead of a liberator from the Communist yoke, he appeared in Ukraine as conqueror and leader of a "superior race". The answer to this was the activity of the UPA (the Ukrainian partisan army) which fought against the Germans and against the Russians for years and — Stalingrad. The German General Brauchitsch said that Hitler lost the Russian campaign not at Stalingrad, but much earlier — at Kyiv — when he raised the swastika instead of the Ukrainian trident in front of the Kyiv town hall.

This was followed by Yalta and the so-called "peace", in which not only Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Baltic countries, etc., were left to the enemy of the Christian West — Russia; over and above this, almost all the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy in addition to the Balkan Peninsula and half of Germany — in short, some 100 million people. Added to this is the danger of the annihilation of the freedom of all nations of Christian Europe by the worst barbaric tyranny known to history, which stands before the gates of Europe.

In Versailles 1919, Riga 1920, Poland 1939 and in Yalta 1945, the Western pacifists sought peace and even friendship with Moscow. The failure to recognize the absolute necessity to annihilate the genocidal empire of the East, as well as the failure to recognize Ukraine and Kyiv's role in the defence of the threatened Christian civilization of Europe — have in all these cases revenged themselves on the "pacifists". A pact with Satan has always had a tragic end. With or against its will the Christian Occident will have to fight the dark anti-Christian forces. *Volentem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt.*

Gendarmes Of The Status Quo

The U.S. Government's friendly overtures to Soviet Russia are not only caused by today's power structure; there are deeper political, strategic and economic reasons for them. The U.S. Administration — as distinct from the U.S. Congress — assumes an anti-national position with the object of creating world unity with an enforced world government. It follows that the goal of the U.S. Administration requires no disintegration of the Russian empire into national states. With a change in regime in the Russian empire, the U.S. and Russia would continue to curb the national aspirations of the subjugated peoples to achieve a world "unity". The breakdown of the bi-polarity of the super powers, supported until recently by the thermo-nuclear monopoly occurred because of the appearance of the new atomic powers. The treaty against the proliferation of nuclear weapons helps no one; it only retards the natural development of, and the systematic enforcement of, this global conception, as laid down at Yalta.

The American Administration imagines that by drawing closer to the USSR, by forming a common front with it and by using it as a bulwark, it will avert the so-called Red-Yellow danger which threatens to flood the world. The fear of all-destructive, thermo-nuclear weapons and the USSR's superiority in military missiles also dictates, it would seem, the rapprochement of the US to the USSR. But the USSR yearns for a de facto and a de jure acceptance of the status quo of its conquests from which to proceed to further expansion. The U.S. Government also acts as gendarme of the enslaved nations. As was shown unequivocally in Budapest in 1956 and in Berlin in 1953, it takes the Yalta Treaty literally: to a great extent it even over enacts it. The U.S. Government never tried to change the status quo of Russian empire because, having a monopoly on thermo-nuclear weapons until 1949, it could have dictated the

conditions of peace to Moscow. Also, if General Marshall and Prof. Latimore are to be believed, America did not want the nationalists to win on the Chinese Mainland: it supported rather the bolshevisation of that country, a fact which can be proved. Their affirmation that the Pacific is the primary area of national interest to the USA, and not the Atlantic, is theoretical because in the Pacific Washington is on the defensive, even in retreat. In the Atlantic, it has given up Cuba and it was unwilling to win it back.

In reality the basic interest of the USA should be in Europe, for the fate of the world still depends largely on the fate of Europe. Russia, not Red China, should be the main enemy. However, the U.S. Government has de facto recognized the Pacific as the principal battle ground, though it has apparently as yet not drawn any inference from such recognition. It is holding Chiang Kai-shek back from landing on the Mainland with the threat of nuclear war from Red China, even though the latter hardly exists yet: and even before such a threat the Chinese Nationalists were forbidden by the US to land on the Mainland, as indeed they still are. The moment has never been better than now to carry the battle to the Mainland: tomorrow, when Red China possesses a hydrogen bomb, it will be too late. The war in Korea, in Vietnam, the Berlin wall, the Hungarian revolution, not to mention the uprisings of the Ukrainian prisoners in concentration camps, the 1947 treaty of three (Russia, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia) against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), unsupported at that time by the USA, the toleration of Communism in China — testify that here we are not only witnessing the division of the world between Russia and the USA, but between the Communist tyrannical world and the USA: the *modus vivendi* between the USA and the USSR cannot be judged only on the basis of fear of thermo-

nuclear destruction but to a great extent by the bipolar fear of the powerful force of the national liberation movements, which is feared by both powers for various reasons. Nothing prevented the USA from dropping arms to the prisoners in concentration camps or threatening to drop volunteers on Budapest at the time when Moscow was ready to give up Hungary.

Nothing stands in the way of letting Chiang Kai-shek land on the Mainland and giving him transport at this time when the Communists are slaughtering each other. If the US really wanted to destroy Communism on the Chinese Mainland, why does it hinder what might well become a "thirty years war" there?

Moscow's involvement of Washington in common world-wide action is a repetition of August 23, 1939, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which was trampled upon on June 22, 1941. Lenin said that the road to Paris leads through Peking and Calcutta; thus, Paris — Europe, and in its Western part a dissatisfied Germany, and China — Asia, since Japan, the greatest Asian power which could have successfully destroyed Communism, was defeated by Roosevelt, who provoked the war against Japan, to the detriment of America and for the benefit of Moscow. It has to be said: the basic line of policy of the US Government is to safeguard the status quo, a policy which now is identical with the immediate interests of Moscow, which has a different strategy of extending its domain of power on the conditions of a bilateral agreement for the preservation of the status quo. Its strategy of the revolutionary, civil or so-called national liberation wars is always increasing its sphere of influence, even though the status quo is always mentioned. The US strategy is always defensive. Therefore, the USSR is constantly a winner. The maintenance of the status quo is also the US's formula in its relation to Red China. Thus, the real agreement with Russia is only possible on the basis of two gendarmes of the status quo. However, one of the gendarmes is also a gangster who grabs the loot, a piece at a

time, under the pretext of defending against a possible attack of his "friend". The US feels that it needs the USSR against Red China today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow without taking into consideration: 1) an agreement between the two quarreling partners; 2) an eventual wish of Peking to march south, with the permission and the support of the USSR; 3) with the US defensive policy, the West has no sure chance of avoiding a nuclear war, which can be started because of: a) Moscow's belief that the West will not react to its occasional aggression; b) the Communists' sudden occupation of, let us say, South Korea, with limited atomic weapons, assuming that the USA will not chance a nuclear war. For example, Mr. Acheson was instrumental in bringing about the Korean War because he declared that Korea was not of vital concern to the USA; c) a surprise technical invention by Moscow, which would give it an opportunity to liquidate the enemy by a sudden attack, without letting his missiles and planes through; d) the fear of a possible Western invention, which could create an analogical situation for the West, can provoke a preventive war by the USSR; e) human oversight — "hot line telephone".

Help lies in the offensive strategy of the West. The nuclear treaty has made it possible for Bolshevism to squeeze through by the use of conventional and guerrilla tactics of waging war. Therefore, the solution lies in the strengthening of the conventional weaponry in the free world and the support of guerrilla-revolutionary forces like the UPA. But offensive alone is proof that by forcing their way into South Vietnam, the Communists cannot lose anything — at most they will be moved back to the 17th parallel, but they will receive more than they had, even in Vietnam. In the event of an offensive strategy of the West, that is, extending the war to North Vietnam, the Communists would be in danger of losing the whole of Vietnam. If Chiang Kai-shek had the smallest chance, for example, in retaliation for the bombing of Quemoy, to land troops on the Mainland, Peking

would think twice whether it should invade Taiwan. When there is no desire for offensive war, the end result is capitulation. At the time when the Berlin wall was being built, the West not only should have toppled it, but sent its troops to East Berlin. In the event of the East-zone army marching into West Germany, the aim should have been not only the removal of the wall but the liberation of everybody behind the Iron Curtain. Offensive politics, according to ABN's concept, is advocating the advance of war for the peoples enslaved, in a psychological sense. *In the offensive the world of freedom is always stronger than the world of slavery.* Death for an atheist-materialist has no meaning but for us, death is only a transition into eternity, which makes life meaningful because of its transcendental aspect. The Hungarian freedom-fighters lost because of lack of offensiveness of the goals, and their limitation to Hungary's boundaries only. Hence the USA is completely on the defensive. The aim of its politics is an absolute status quo in relation to both the structure of the USSR and Red China. Without a prospective plan to cover the front in Europe in the event of the possible exhaustion of its troops in Vietnam, (more by the Russians than by the Red Chinese), Washington, instead of turning against Moscow, is making arrangements with Moscow in Europe against its seemingly greater enemy — Peking, fearing that Peking will disturb the status quo in Asia more than Washington is willing to accept. Thus, it wants to have only one front, just as Hitler wanted, when he concluded a pact with Stalin. In this manner, Washington actually writes off from its map the enslaved peoples within the USSR and the satellite countries. In its global plans also, it makes arrangements with Moscow, although Moscow is the main deadly enemy. Even Western Europe has to move into the background. This is the law of the so-called peaceful coexistence dictated by Washington to Western European and other countries of the world. France, therefore, tries to reach an agreement with Moscow without Washington, so as not to

be the object of bargaining. The turn in German politics is also a consequence of the US Government's policy. The great coalition, instead of conducting an anti-capitulation policy, has to be "brave enough to capitulate" and this is happening right before our eyes.

Thus, the main objective of the official policy of the free world is to get closer to Moscow, with its complex of various shades and accents. To some the fear of invasion is the reason for the arrangements; to others, it is the gaining of time for the organization of defense and, possibly, counter-measures.

As a consequence of global agreements between Washington and Moscow, including the pact on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and a host of other conditions tied to it, the proposed pact on the discontinuation of the anti-missile defense systems, that is, its limited construction, and, also, the extension of consular relations (Chicago - Leningrad) — the arrangements with Moscow reflect not only West European politics but also the politics of the center of Catholicism — Vatican, which surrendered its anti-Bolshevik bastion.

The internal disorder in China, the struggle against Mao of the pro-Russian orientation, which asserts that a too-far-gone conflict with Moscow would be a death blow to Communism in China, has a chance to win in the long run. The mobilization of hoodlums by Mao and Lin Piao, the attempt to uproot THE FOUR OBSOLESCENCES — the old ideology, the old culture, the old thinking and the old customs — has as its aim the preparation of a new type of aggressive war — i. e. guerrilla infiltration by fanatics, in the period when China cannot compete with the USA, neither with conventional nor nuclear weapons.

Severed forcefully from the thousand years of Chinese spiritual and social heritage, this mob can only perform a destructive function. But a return to the inherently Chinese in a radical form has to

come, of course, with the positive changes, as a rational outgrowth of its tradition. Therefore, the hoodlums will lose sooner or later. If the USA's joining forces with the USSR was caused chiefly by the fear of Red China, or China as such, this thesis would appear to be most justified at the moment. Now, more than ever before, in view of the fact that Peking has the hydrogen bomb, Washington should support Chiang Kai-shek's landing. The argument that by this step Red China would maneuver itself into the arms of Moscow, is entirely false, if the thesis, that a weak China is in Moscow's interest, is true. Then Moscow, in order to save face, would protest; but in reality, it would be happy with the descent, if this argument is seriously considered by the Western, so-called Sinologists and Mr. Rusk.

The global agreements between the USA and the USSR with the concentration in the Pacific but with the bipolar guarantee of the status quo in the world give Moscow a chance to extend the boundaries of its domain by modern means of conducting war, and, at the same time, the possibility, under the pretext of internal security (internal security is explained in Moscow, not as the security of ethnographic Russian territory, but the boundaries of its empire, *whatever they might be at a given moment*, which factually would lead to a world prison of nations, because only then, when in possession of the whole world, Russia will not feel "endangered"), of using conventional arms in their conquest of Western Europe, under the threat of the use of nuclear arms.

In the face of uncertainty, will the USA place all its weight upon the scale, or will it make concessions? There is a justifiable contest for the national possession and expansion of nuclear arms, which even in view of the immeasurable superiority of Moscow, would be able to strike at it decisively, and, thus, provoke a lawful intervention of the US, as it happened in the case of Poland in 1939 when London intervened.

The disintegration of the NATO does not necessarily have to mean the weakening of the military potential of the West, assuming that the efforts of various nations were concentrated on building up their own strength in the style of the tried old military alliances, with the safeguarding of national sovereignty and without the dictates from the superpowers. Then they could unite all their forces against Russia. The decisive word of the US President, whether to use or not to use nuclear arms makes, in fact, all countries the satellites of the US Government. This may lead to the renunciation of their sovereignty altogether, under certain conditions of capitulation, as weaklings in the nuclear sense, before the USA and the USSR. *Therefore, the expansion of national atomic strength of Western Europe is the order of the moment.* If the decision as to the use of nuclear arms rests with the President of the US, the decision as to the use of conventional arms rests with him as well, because every conventional war — on the contemporary scene in the West — can lead to Atomic War!

The global arrangements between the USA and the USSR, excluding the arrangements among smaller powers, are also provoking the spirit of self-defence in the endangered states, on a national basis. This is the first confirmation which is important to us. Abstracting from the valuation of this or that NPD in Germany, such a phenomenon is important, showing the reawakening of the spirit of self-defence. Mr. Wilson's persistent attempts to gain access to the Common Market has the same origin. The unfortunate play of de Gaulle with Moscow has the same causes, even though in the end it can only bring harm to France. The French people do not support de Gaulle, but the strengthening of French power in order not to fall under foreign yoke. The national instinct of self-preservation is acting both in Great Britain and France, independent from the government. Likewise, it would be erroneous to evaluate the politics of Rusk-Rostow as homogeneous to the American nation. *The*

majority in the US Congress thinks otherwise; a large segment of society also holds another opinion. The instinct of self-preservation of a nation will dictate to Turkey and to other endangered countries — apart from the apparent arrangements in an emergency — to build up its own power and to orient itself toward and align itself with the dissatisfied forces in the Russian empire. Thus, the conclusions for our action are not so tragic, as it might appear from the official declarations. The complications in Red China are strengthening our foreign policy position because they are lessening the real or fictitious danger of China. On the other hand, the danger to us is growing because: in the shadow of an America sword Moscow can start a more severe purge of the fighters for the liberation of Ukraine and other subjugated peoples, which will be met with even greater silence from the official West.

Therefore, our foreign-political action has to follow two major aspects: a) to disrupt the arrangements between the USA and the USSR and of everyone who is following that path; b) to counteract in all possible ways the increasing destruction of the Ukrainian and other subjugated nations and of their cultural treasures by Moscow in the shadow of an American sword.

Strategical political counteraction from within the empire as well as the help that can be given by the emigration as instruments of the struggle are entirely different topics. This also includes a stern counteraction to the many-sided methods of cultural exchanges!

Our orientation towards Red China is out of the question, as well as all attempts of rapprochement or cooperation with Red China for political, strategic or ideological reasons. Red China, like Nazi Germany, is an imperialistic power, with the goal not of supporting the national liberation movements, but — identically with Nazism — of colonially exploiting and resettling the Chinese masses. The Mao's plan is a Red Chinese type of "Ukr.S.S.R." and not

the Ukrainian independent, sovereign state. Orientation towards it constitutes the break-off from the anti-Russian, anti-Communist forces of the world for the price of an imaginary tactical closeness to the less fierce enemy of our statehood than Moscow. This would have been a chase for the phantom of a friend and the loss of a small but consistent group of co-workers and co-fighters of the same ideals.

It is a different matter entirely to utilize the objective fact of the conflict for the unfolding of the liberation struggle and a different matter to listen to the advice of somebody from the sidelines — to join with Mao and not with the so-called political corpses in Taiwan. Our position cannot be in line with Red China against the USSR-USA bloc. (Even National China does not take a stand with the USSR-USA bloc against Mao, but with the USA against Mao.)

But it can only be the repetition or the continuation of the unchangeable position of OUN-UPA of 1941-45 against both enemies, since the World War has not ended. Only certain actors were changed in it. Let's stand up against Russia and against Red China in the great anti-Russian and anti-Communist front of the free world together with the front of the subjugated peoples. Furthermore, our connections with the government of the Chinese Republic are based on the concept of relations with the freedom-loving forces in China, which have expressed themselves publicly, and not with the tyrannical forces which — contrary to the truth — because of our change of policy — could unexpectedly mirror the will of the Chinese people, which is a political absurdity.

The contemporary struggle in world dimensions must be dictated by the elements of a great strategic-political perspective planning and not by a tactical play, for the price of making a fool of an idea and the perspective political concept, which is our greatest strength.

Bohdan Oserko

Senator Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu Visits ABN Headquarters

On the invitation of the German government a Turkish delegation visited Bonn, Berlin and Munich. On this occasion Senator Tevetoglu, the Chairman of this delegation, paid a visit to ABN Headquarters on May 31, 1967. He is an old friend of ABN, and it was he who promoted the Captive Nations Week Resolution in Turkish Parliament. At several international anti-Communist conferences he supported the cause of nations subjugated by Russia and Communism. Senator Tevetoglu is active in politics since 1957. He is well-known fighter of Communism since 1934 when his first book and monthly journal (Kopuz) were published. At present, Senator Tevetoglu is the Speaker of the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the Senate, President of the Turkish NATO Parliamentarians' Group, Chairman of the Justice Party Group in the Senate, President of the Turkish Parliamentary Group in the Common Market, member of the Directing Committee of the Justice Party, and founder of the Turkish Anti-Communist League. He is author of several books. Now Senator Tevetoglu is publishing a book on Communist activities in Turkey which gives a detailed picture of Russian infiltration in Turkey. The ABN representatives had a conference with him, and he gave an interview to ABN Correspondence which is published below.



How do you, Senator Tevetoglu, evaluate the efforts of ABN on behalf of the liberation struggle by peoples subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism?

I am against Russian colonialism and Communism and its infiltration in the free world. In all my speeches and writings I stressed that I am against it because Russian imperialism and Communism prevent the realization of the right of freedom and national independence of all peoples. Therefore I consider it my duty to support any nation under Russian or Communist yoke. Since ABN is fighting for the realization of these human and national rights, I do not only sympathize with ABN but I support its efforts as much as I can in order to free the countries enslaved — be it Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, Ukraine, North Caucasus, or Lithuania, etc. I am against the discrimination of any nation and I look upon ABN's effort with great appreciation and thankfulness. ABN brings the idea of liberation to the free world which has been spared from Communist subjugation, and I will always support ABN's work as much as possible.

What is the significance of the establishment of a world-wide anti-Communist, anti-Russian movement for the preservation of the security, sovereignty and freedom of the nations?

I am very enthusiastic about the idea of a world-wide anti-Communist League, but at the same time I must emphasize that it should be a coordination centre between the organizations which are well organized and which have supporters among their own peoples. It is not enough if someone pretends to represent 400 million people, while in reality he is representing only himself. In such a world-league one should not concentrate solely on membership, but on real coordination between the organizations, which should remain in close contact,

exchange experiences and informational material, promote personal contacts between the organizations and coordinate their activities. There should be an exact index of the existing organizations, and the problems of all these organizations should be familiar to all member organizations of the world-league. The League should consider the problems of all parts of the world and try to solve them. There cannot be an egoistical approach by one or the other organization to try to impose its burning interests on the others, as if its problems were of sole importance. All organizations should work hand in hand. The problem of the subjugated peoples should be adequately treated. It is of the utmost importance for the whole world whether the nations within the Russian empire will be free, independent and democratic. This is as important for the world as to have all nations free in Asia.

Of what importance to Turkey and the whole area on the crossroads of Asia, Africa and Europe will be the establishment of independent nations upon the ruins of the Communist-Russian prison of nations?

This is not only our dream but our wholehearted wish; it is a part of our ideas that these nations become free and will have real democratic regimes. (I say 'real democratic' because there exists a German state which calls itself 'democratic' but is not the least democratic, but a satellite of Moscow.) The Turks wish that the now subjugated peoples would become free countries, in which social justice can reign, with free economic enterprise, with the free development of national culture, language, religious freedom and manifold relations to their neighbours.

Have you ever heard of the Ukrainian publicist, Dr. Juriy Lypa, who published the book Chornomorska Doktryna, in which he develops a doctrine that among Turkey, Ukraine, the Caucasian countries and the Balkan countries, that is to say, all countries around the Black Sea, there should be close cooperation?

I am sorry to admit that I did not hear of Juriy Lypa and his book, and I am afraid that few Turks have. But I am glad to hear about such a plan and idea. Close contacts between Ukraine, Bulgaria, Rumania and all the other Black Sea countries — that is a wonderful idea and would have a happy outcome for all of us in the future.

There is so much propaganda now that the regimes of the satellite countries are liberalising. Do you believe in this liberalisation?

I do not believe that there are any changes in the satellite countries, but the average man is happy, even when he hears and sees a little hint of change to the better in the countries dominated by Communism, and many hopes are bound to such developments. If the circumstances in these countries are improving only 1/100%, we would be glad about it. I am of the opinion that radical changes can only come when these peoples get rid of Russian domination. This is our goal.

Don't you think that in order to combat Russian imperialism and Communism, besides good ideas, different actions are necessary, economic, political, cultural and even military, if necessary?

Of course, good ideas alone are not enough. We should work on a well elaborated plan in all fields, e. g. a kind of isolation of the Communist bloc, cultural and political isolation. I think only in this way we can eliminate Communist infiltration in the free world. All these exchanges with Communist countries give them the chance for more infiltration in the free countries.

“L’Enfant Terrible Of The East Bloc”

The free world press in the service of the Communists and the “independent” press, which together also constitute a source of information for the newspapers assuming an anti-Communist stand, maintain the following: Rumania is a free country; free in both interior and foreign policies. The Socialist Republic of Rumania, part of the East bloc, member of the council for mutual economic aid and of the Warsaw Pact, pursues internal policies inspired by national feelings and seeks to orientate itself fully towards the West, i. e., to weaken the Communist front. For that reason, Rumania is regarded as the *l’enfant terrible* of the East bloc. This press further maintains that Rumania’s “de-Communization” began as early as 1964. In substantiation of this certain declarations by the Party Chief of that time, Gheorhiu-Dej, are quoted. On the basis of the political statement made by the present Party Chief, Nicolas Ceausescu, the world press was quick to draw the most diverse conclusions. Commentaries on this speech appeared under the following impressive headlines: “Rumania against the USSR” (*New York Times*), “Rumania demands reform of Warsaw Pact and return of Bessarabia” (*Le Monde*), “Rumanian Gaullism” (*Tribune de Genève*), “The Rumanians — the French of the Orient” (*Sueddeutsche Zeitung*), and “Ceausescu challenges Moscow” (*Sueddeutsche Zeitung*). In these commentaries it is maintained that the Communist Bloc is about to disintegrate into political individualism and nationalism. Emancipation from Soviet tutelage is at hand and Rumania is a shining example.

If these assertions were truthful they would have appeared in the Rumanian Communist press also. It would only have been natural, if this press had attacked Moscow, possibly even called upon the West for support, as Hungary did during the Revolution of 1956, and had called upon the people to revolt against Russia, against the oppressor. But nothing of the

sort took place. The entire Rumanian Communist press pursues the orthodox Communist line, which is in accord with that of Moscow. In what, then, consists the emancipation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania? In the following the sources from which the Western press derived its prognoses are given:

In his political statement in May of 1966, the Party Chief of the Communist Party identified with the Rumanian nation. He maintained that “the Rumanian Communist Party continues the fight of the Rumanian people for an independent country, for the creation of a Rumanian nation and a unified national state, for the acceleration of social progress and civilization.”

The political agitators of the Western press saw in this sentence a confirmation of Rumanian nationalism directed against Moscow. When we consider Ceausescu’s speech in the light of objective history, however, we see that the so-called Rumanian Communist Party was imported from Russia. In 1921, a split took place in the Rumanian Socialist Party. The faction consisting of extreme left elements attached itself to the 3rd International and directed the foundation of the Rumanian Communist Party. Before establishing this Party, however, the initiators traveled to Moscow, and the articles of the Party were not written until the initiators had been officially installed into office there. On closer examination the Rumanian Communist Party’s assertion that it is the guardian of the Rumanian nation, proves to be completely absurd. Equally absurd is the conclusion drawn by the Western press to the effect that while Rumania’s policies are inspired by national feelings, they still remain communistic. What is remarkable is the fact that while condemning all national tendencies in Western countries as criminal, this press regards and promotes such tendencies in the Communist world as positive.

There is no end to the reports in the Western press to the effect that Rumania has demanded the return of Bessarabia from the Russians. However, neither Ceausescu nor the Communist press in Rumania have made any form of demand for the return of this province. The Western press and many Western politicians "assume" that such a demand was made on the basis of the following:

In a speech held in Moldavia (Rumanian northeast province which is not to be confused with the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic), Ceausescu declared that the province (Moldavia — not Bessarabia, which the Soviets also call "Moldavia"), was the cradle of Rumanianism. (Before 1812, Bessarabia belonged to the principality of Moldavia). Reference is also made to an article appearing in the theoretical organ of the Rumanian Communist Party *Lupta de clasa*, in which the occupation of Bessarabia by the Russians in 1940 is said to be strongly criticized but the text is *incorrectly* quoted).

In reality Ceausescu never demanded the return of Bessarabia (cf. his speech held in Moldavia), and the Rumanian press never even intimated such a demand. The article in *Lupta de clasa* does not criticize the annexation; it restricts itself to a critique of the legal form of this annexation. The annexation as such is regarded as legitimate by the new Rumanian historians (cf. "History textbook for the 7th form: Bessarabia, a Russian province, was unlawfully occupied by Rumania in 1918").

The deportation of Bessarabian Rumanians to Kazakhstan has been recently stepped up by the Russians. On the other hand the Kremlin forces Russian and Ukrainian skilled labourers to immigrate to Bessarabia. (*Die Welt*, June 6, 1966). To enervate Rumanian resistance, the Rumanian satraps received permission from Moscow to utter national slogans now and then, which appear suited to solidify the broad masses with the regime. It is assumed that in this way possible resistance could be nipped in the bud and brought under control.

Dissolution of the Military Blocs

In a number of speeches, notably those of 1966, Ceausescu has repeatedly called for "the dissolution of the military blocs (NATO and the Warsaw Pact). This is a fact which can be proven. But certain Western newspapers give this demand a sensational interpretation: "Ceausescu demands that Moscow dissolve the Warsaw Pact."

This demand is by no means new. Shortly after the signing of the Warsaw Pact, Moscow declared its willingness to dissolve this Alliance, if the Americans would do the same with NATO and withdraw their troops across the Atlantic. This declaration was later often emphasized by the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. In 1966, the Soviet ambassador in Paris, Valerian Sorin, made the same offer.

What would be the result if the Atlantic Alliance would accept Ceausescu's challenge? While the Americans, who constitute the core and strength of the Atlantic Alliance, withdrew across the ocean, the Soviet army would remain on the continent. It would take the Russians only a few days to occupy the rest of Europe to the Atlantic. Notwithstanding this, Western press and radio commentators maintain that "Ceausescu's demand is primarily directed against Moscow."

More Independence

The Western press writes that Rumania has requested Moscow:

a) to withdraw Soviet troops from the East European countries or to regulate their presence on the basis of a bilateral treaty;

b) to give each and every member of the Warsaw Pact the right to determine when nuclear weapons should be used;

c) to rotate the position of Commander in Chief of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states so that officers of the individual member-states also have an opportunity to serve as head commanders. (*Le Monde*, May 19, 1966).

Nothing of what is maintained here has appeared in the Communist press. As a

matter of fact, Bucharest even denies these assertions with the following arguments:

a) Rumania has no reason to demand the withdrawal of troops, since no foreign troops (Soviet troops) are stationed on its territory.

b) The troops stationed in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), Poland and Hungary, are there on the basis of treaties, which were concluded with the countries concerned.

c) The Pact organization as it stands meets the present requirements, and there is no reason for a change (from *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* of May 19, 1966).

Neutrality

The Western press writes that Rumania has assumed a neutral position in the conflict between Russians and Chinese. However, the facts of the case show that for years on end Rumania has been endeavouring to reconcile China with Moscow. With this aim in mind, Rumanian delegations have often been sent to Peking. On the occasion of Chou En-lai's visit (1966), Ceausescu sought to persuade the Red Chinese Premier to put an end to the rift with Moscow and "to refrain from attacks on the Soviet Union". (*Die Welt*, June 25, 1966). It is clear, therefore, that Rumania is by no means neutral, but speaks up on Moscow's behalf. If Ceausescu were really guided by national interests, he would do everything in his power to deepen the conflict to the point of splitting the Communist bloc.

The Bucharest Conference

At the Warsaw Pact conference which took place from July 4 to July 7, 1966, in Bucharest, all participants, including Ceausescu, signed a final communique, in which, among other things, all participating states committed themselves to furnish North Vietnam with war materials, medical supplies and foodstuffs, and if necessary, to send "volunteers."

Point five of the communique deals with the "inviolability of the boundaries." In the interest of a normalization of relations,

it is necessary for all European and non-European states to recognize the state boundaries which ensued from World War II. This applied to the Oder-Neisse line, as well as to the boundaries between the two German states.

Hence, by signing this communique, the Rumanian Communist leaders have also recognized the present boundaries between the Soviet Union and Rumania as permanent. This means that North Bucovina and Bessarabia are part of Soviet territory in the eyes of the Rumanian Communist leaders. All speculations by the Western press concerning Rumania's alleged demand for the return of Bessarabia from Moscow, prove to be untenable. The whole affair of "robbed and returned provinces" (Bessarabia and North Bucovina), evoked an atmosphere of sympathy and trust on the part of Western countries towards Rumania. Safeguarded by this trust, Bucharest Communists succeeded in concluding economic agreements with various countries. Equipment and capital were brought into the country and used "to materialize Socialist heavy industry." At least a part of the products of this industry will go into the Vietnam war, which is being conducted by the Communist International. In any event this was one of the provisions contained in the communique issued by the Bucharest conference. The Rumanian Communists are firmly wedged into the Kremlin's combat formation and are subservient to COMECON.

New Rumanian Escapade

In January of this year Rumania established diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic. In this connection negotiations on merchandize and cultural exchanges were made, as well as on the return of Rumanian Germans. This act was represented in the Western world as a bold step on the part of Rumania. Both the Soviet Union and its German satellite were said to be disturbed, because this indicated an independence in foreign policies and was an attempt to break up the monolithic Communist bloc. (*Neue Zuericher Zeitung* February 2, 1967).

To a Westerner the establishment of diplomatic relations between the German Federal Republic and Rumania appears to represent a strong independence of this country towards Moscow.

It would appear that Rumania offered Moscow already concluded facts, for diplomatic relations were established in record time. When one examines the preliminary steps leading to the establishment of relations, however, an entirely different impression arises. Nor is it at all true that the so-called German Democratic Republic (DDR), was isolated through this step.

Let one example suffice: At the end of 1966, a protocol was signed between the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany and Rumania, providing for an increase in trade. In terms of this favourable development of trade relations, it would seem highly unlikely that two months later Rumania would take an initiative which could endanger the political stability of the Soviet-occupied zone by establishing diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic. The Rumanian action was carried out within the compass of a well considered strategy on the part of the entire East bloc. Already at the beginning of March, the so-called "Iron Triangle" was consolidated with the greatest celerity. The bilateral treaties concluded between Pankow and Warsaw and Pankow and Prague, are clearly aimed at the German Federal Republic. Bucharest is merely being used as an "agent provocateur." That this is the case, also follows from the reaction of the Western press: "The new Pact system, which has been established between Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic (DDR), represents a strong setback for the political intentions of the government with respect to the East-bloc states. (*Abendzeitung*, March 17, 1967) Moreover, Rumania has not made the least change in its position towards West Germany's vital interests. On January 27, 1967 (four days before the establishment of diplomatic relations), the Bucharest Party organ *Scanteia* wrote: "The Socialist Republic of Rumania is of the opinion that the existence of two German states is one of

the most important facts of our time. The recognition of this fact is the first condition for the development of economic, political, scientific and cultural relations between the two German states . . . We are also bound to the German Democratic Republic by an ideological partnership. Cooperation with the German Democratic Republic is in keeping with the interests of both peoples and Socialism, as well as peace."

In June of 1966, when the Western press made it appear as if his position was completely detached from the Communist position, Ceausescu stated: "A reunified Germany must be a democratic, peace-loving Germany," (i. e., Communist). The whole *enfant terrible* affair of the East bloc was a mere trick. And not a few "well informed" Western newspapers were taken in by it.

One of the most resolute fighters for Western democracy supports this thesis. Salvator de Madariaga wrote an article in which he discusses the Western press' criticism of America's involvement in the Vietnam war: "But the campaign never attacks Ho Chi Minh, the perpetrator of the evil. They accuse the USA, the victim. The peace in Vietnam which the followers of this campaign are fighting for is a Vietnam in the image of Hungary or Poland (or Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria), countries *under totalitarian governments not capable of deciding their own destiny.*" (*Neue Züricher Zeitung*, May 3, 1967)

A great hullabaloo was also raised owing to Rumania's absence from the Karlsbad conference (Albania and Yugoslavia were also absent). Another instance of Rumania's independence and Moscow's weakness, the Western press contended. In the final communique issued by the conference, we find, among other basic aims of Soviet policy, two points which are more clearly defined: the separation of Europe from America, i. e., the expulsion of the Americans from the old world, and the isolation of the German Federal Republic by drawing it away from the Western Alliance and driving it into the Soviet radius of action. The initial phase of the last-named aim has already

begun. At the Karlsbad conference, which was presided over by the Soviet Communist Party, the tactics were determined which the satellite states must follow in the establishment of diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, i. e., the stipulations they are to make. These tactics are designed to encircle the German Federal Republic and to push it towards the East. In an interview following the conference, Novotny, the Czecho-Slovakian head of state and Party Chief, expressed these stipulations as follows: "Before some kind of negotiation, Bonn must declare the Munich Agreement annulled. Moreover, Bonn must recognize the German Democratic Republic and forbid the West German Army to possess any form of nuclear weapons," (Rumania made precisely these stipulations in establishing diplomatic relations with Bonn). The latter demand means nothing other than the prevention of arming the German Federal Republic with modern weapons. Poland also demanded the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line and Hungary supported the demands of the others.

Since the discussion in Karlsbad revolved mainly around the tactics to be employed in the establishment of diplomatic relations, Rumania's participation was superfluous, for she had already established diplomatic relations with Bonn.

There is nothing to be added to the commentary made in the leading article of the April 30, 1967 issue of *Neue Zuericher Zeitung*. The final communique issued by the Karlsbad conference speaks of the normalization between East and West. What the Communists understand by normalization, is summarized in the following sentences taken from the above-mentioned article:

"... what the Communist leaders in East and West understand by normalization, is explained in the Karlsbad declaration . . . First of all it is clear that, no matter what position they take with respect to the Soviet Union's claim to leadership, they, as *Communists*, support the subjection of the East European peoples to a Communist

order as an inviolable aspect of *normality*. They are and will remain totalitarian, despite the fact that some to a larger degree and others to a lesser degree have been forced to reform their centralized economy, which refuses to function. It is of course possible that such "reforms," just like the urge to become detached from Soviet domination and the coercive power of COMECON, will also bring about reforms in other areas and changes in the form of government, but only in so far as they do not endanger the Communist government itself and the Communist system."

Summary

A rebellious stand on the part of Rumania towards Moscow, is neither probable nor possible. It is not probable because the Communists merely make use of nationalism and national independence to achieve a consolidation of their regime. This was also the case under Stalin's reign. It must be constantly borne in mind that the Russians are masters in the art of dissimulation. A rebellious stand on the part of Rumania is not possible owing to its geopolitical position. Russia commands the East and North boundaries, and the gates to the West are all blocked by Communist states. Under these conditions, a rebellious stand would be suicidal. It would not take Soviet troops more than a few hours to reach Bucharest. Please forbear from offering the ridiculous argument that Rumania would resist an invasion with all her might, or that the West or the Chinese would come to her rescue. The example of how Hungary was left in the lurch, is still too fresh in one's memory to be forgotten.

The present Rumanian Communist leaders are not nationally orientated. When Ceausescu speaks of the nation, he is not expressing a belief in a nation as a value in itself; he is merely paying tribute to the fact that the stage of national existence is not yet at an end. The failure to pay this tribute would be detrimental to the Communist movement. In the final phase of Communism, nations are condemned to disappearance anyhow. They will make room

for an a-national society, consisting not of individual peoples, but of a synthetic species. Anti-Soviet demonstrations, the resistance which is allegedly offered within the compass of COMECON, the protests against the Walev plan, the removal of the Russian language from the school curriculum (actually, it was not removed but merely changed from a compulsory subject to an elective subject, like all other languages), are tactics employed and controlled by the Rumanian Communist Party itself. Their purpose is to deceive Western governments into believing that Rumania's Communist Party aspires to achieve independence from Moscow. It thus becomes the obligation of the West to offer Rumania economic aid, in order that she can fully rid herself of Soviet control. In this respect there is a cause-effect relationship between the anti-Soviet manifestations and the repeated visits of the Communist Party prominence to the USA, France, Italy and Austria.

It must also be borne in mind that the Rumanian people enjoy a special position in Moscow's watchful eye. The Russians cannot forgive them for not making a success of the Communist regime which was set up in Bucharest in 1918. They cannot forgive Rumania's Communist Party for its failure to make a go of Communism in Rumania, notwithstanding intensive Soviet support over a 20 year period and the fact that Bessarabia was mopped up by Bolshevik troops in 1918 and annexed to the Rumanian fatherland. Nor should it be forgotten that the Ceausescu regime is not only communistic, but one which was imposed on the people with Soviet bayonets.

It can only remain in power as long as it is supported by Soviet military power.

On another occasion, moreover, Ceausescu proved that he is merely a tool of the occupational power and that he cannot identify with the interests of the Rumanian people. Urged by Soviet Party Chief Brezhnev at the Bucharest conference of the Communist Parties of the Warsaw-Pact states from July 4 to July 6, 1967, he signed the joint declaration, and thus acknowledged the inviolability and finality of *all* European boundaries as they stand at present. The "boundaries as they stand at present," however, means that Bessarabia remains Russian soil. In none of his speeches or written statements did Ceausescu or any other Communist leader protest against the theft of this Rumanian province.

During the Red Chinese Premier Chou Enlai's visit in Bucharest (June 1966), Ceausescu prevented him from delivering his main speech because it contained derogatory remarks against Moscow. This is a clear proof of Ceausescu's submissiveness to Moscow.

Last not least Ceausescu represents himself as a champion of European peace. In his mind, however, this is a peace based on Russian conquest, or as he expressed it: "A peace which rests upon the historical outcome of World War II." It is a *Pax sovietica*, suited to consolidate the prevailing tyranny.

But only another peace, a peace based on justice, could bring a real freedom to the peoples pining under the Communist yoke. The condition of this freedom is the withdrawal of all Russians from Central and East Europe, and the right of all peoples of this area to a freely elected government.

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

Anatole Lunacharsky, former Russian Commissar of Education

Expansion Of The Russian Communist Colonial Empire

Communist Russia's 50th anniversary offers ample evidence of the fact that the leaders of the Soviet Union have continued with undiminished force to pursue the policy of Russian colonial imperialism ever since the Revolution in tsarist Russia in 1917. In this pursuit they have employed a wide range of methods, a classic example of which is the subjugation of the three Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Though this subjugation belongs to the past, it is still of topical interest because it proves that the main goal of Communist Russia will continue to be the kindling of so-called proletarian revolutions throughout the world. Directly or indirectly, the leaders of Communist Russia incite the free peoples against each other; indeed, their greatest desire is to start a war within the free world to enable them to seize the right moment to continue their predatory campaigns against the West.

To confuse, deceive and weaken the free world, the leaders of the Soviet Union have signed several agreements with it. In fact, they even strive to conclude more treaties, though they have never abided by the terms of any agreement, nor will they ever do so unless they are greatly to their advantage. As an example of the subjugation of the Baltics, Lithuania will be discussed here, last not least because Lithuania is the largest country of the Baltics.

Before World War I, Lithuania had a population of three million, of which ca. 84% were Lithuanians. The history of the independent and fully organized Lithuanian state dates back to the 11th century. Owing to the hapless Lithuanian-Polish union, Lithuania came under Russian foreign rule in the 18th century. Tsarist Russia did her utmost to colonize Lithuania, to Russify her and paralyze her will to freedom, but Russia could not succeed in annihilating Lithuania's resistance against the foreign occupiers. On February 16, 1918, the Lith-

uanian national council proclaimed the re-establishment of Lithuania's independence.

Russia's Preparations for Aggression against Lithuania

On July 12, 1920, a peace treaty was concluded between Lithuania and Communist Russia in which Russia fully recognized Lithuania's sovereignty and independence; moreover, she voluntarily relinquished all sovereignty claims she had formerly possessed on Lithuania.

On September 28, 1926, the Lithuanian-Soviet non-aggression pact was signed in Moscow. This pact also reaffirmed the validity of the afore-mentioned peace treaty and embodied a promise to desist from any form of aggression. On April 4, 1934, this pact was renewed for an additional 10 years, until December 31, 1945.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned agreements, Communist Russia prepared for an attack on Lithuania. That this was Russia's intent is also to be seen from the German-Soviet non-aggression pact of August 23, 1939 and its secret supplementary protocol, as well as from the German-Soviet boundary and friendship treaty of September 28, 1939 and its secret supplementary protocol. According to these agreements, the three Baltic states were to be shared between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. From the second secret supplementary protocol it is to be ascertained that Moscow relinquished, i. e., sold, part of the Lithuanian area, namely the province of Sududa, to the Third Reich for 7,500,000 gold dollars.

Moscow's Cynical Double-dealing

As early as October 10, 1939, the Soviet leaders forced Lithuania to sign a mutual defence pact with the Soviet Union. (When Finland refused to sign such a treaty with Moscow, she was invaded by the Red army, notwithstanding the fact that she was a

neutral country.) In this pact Lithuania committed herself to furnish military aid to the Soviet Union in the event of an attack, and also to have Soviet garrisons stationed on Lithuanian soil in the event of war. Lithuania's right to sovereignty was not to be violated by this treaty.

On October 31, 1939, before the Supreme Soviet, the officiating Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Molotov, had the impudence to declare: "The Soviet Union has . . . always pursued a policy of friendship . . . towards these small states. In this we see the basic difference between the policies of the Soviet Union and those of tsarist Russia, which brutally suppressed the small states, deprived them of every opportunity for independent national and political development and left behind very painful memories in those states."

". . . The principles upon which these treaties are based are always the same. They provide for mutual assistance between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on the other hand, including military aid in the event that one of these countries should be attacked. . . ."

"The mutual defence pact with Lithuania provides for the common defence of Lithuania's border with the Soviet Union . . ."

"The peculiar nature of these mutual defence pacts by no means includes a Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, as some foreign newspapers should like to hold up . . ."

Lithuania's Subjugation by Moscow

Based upon the secret agreement with Berlin pertaining to the distribution of the Baltic states, Moscow set up its first garrisons in Lithuania in October of 1939. In the spring of 1940, the Kremlin made the necessary preparations for a decisive blow against the Baltic countries. At 11:00 A. M. on the morning of June 14, 1940, the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov issued an ultimatum to the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, in which fabricated and invented

accusations were made against the Lithuanian government, and the demand was made to replace the existing government with one approved by the Kremlin, to give the Red army free access to Lithuania, etc. This ultimatum was to expire at 10:30 hours on the following morning. Even before the expiration of the ultimatum, Soviet tanks were rolling in the direction of Lithuania, and on June 15, 1940, the entire country was occupied by the Red army.

In a talk with Prof. V. Kerve-Mickevicius, the Foreign Minister of the Lithuanian government set up by the Kremlin, Molotov expressed Moscow's aims as follows: ". . . You must finally face the facts and realize that all small states must disappear altogether in the future. Lithuania and the other Baltic states, including Finland, will have to become members of the glorious family of Soviet Republics. You must promptly begin to prepare the Lithuanian people for the Soviet system, which sooner or later will be introduced in all Europe . . ."

Directly following the Red army's entry into Lithuania, Moscow began to sovietize the country. "Elections" for the so-called "people's parliament" were soon arranged and carried out with one single ticket approved by Moscow. The "elected parliament" resolved to introduce the Soviet system in Lithuania and to incorporate the country into the Soviet Union.

Genocide in Lithuania

Genocide in Lithuania was planned in advance by Moscow and carried out by the especially appointed commissar Serov.

a) mass arrests

The first mass arrests in Lithuania took place in the night of July 11th and 12th of 1940. Ca. 2000 persons were arrested, most of whom were leading politicians, scientists and cultural workers. The greater part of those arrested were subjected to torture in the NKVD prisons, shot or put to death in one way or another. The same fate awaited all the others who were later arrested — there were several thousand.

At the end of July 1940, Moscow coerced the Council of the People's Commissars of Soviet Lithuania into issuing a decree calling for the deportation of 700,000 Lithuanian citizens. The war between Germany and the Soviet Union prevented the full execution of this decree. Nevertheless, from July 14 to July 22, 1941, 34,260 persons were arrested and deported to Siberia. Additional mass deportations were carried out: July–September 1945; February 18, 1946; July–December, 1947; May 22, 1948; March 24–29, June, 1949 and March 1950.

This genocide of the Baltic peoples was planned by Moscow even prior to the occupation of the Baltic states. Mass deportations and liquidations were carried out in conjunction with an order issued on November 11, 1939, namely no. 1223 of the Central NKVD Administration of the Soviet Union, which dealt with the "liquidation of anti-Soviet and class-hostile elements in the Baltic states," that is to say, in conjunction with an order issued already one month prior to the signing of the mutual defence pact and over seven months prior to Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union.

As a result of these deportations and liquidations, Lithuania was reduced by 1,147,000 of her inhabitants, that is, 35% of her total population in terms of a normal demographic development.

Fight for the Restitution of Freedom and Independence

At no time in the course of years and decades of Soviet foreign rule, did the

Lithuanian people abandon its aspiration for freedom. Even during the war, the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (VLIK) was organized in Lithuania — at that time in underground — and all important political parties and groups were included in it. This Committee is still active and performs extensive and manifold work through its organs and institutions on all five continents. Other committees and head-organizations pursuing the same political aims, also exist.

Conclusions

1) The leaders of Communist-Russia keep international agreements only as long as they derive some benefit for themselves, as long, that is, as Russian-Communist aims can be promoted through them.

2) The leaders of the Soviet Union do not respect the neutrality declarations of foreign states.

3) Present-day Moscow has abused and continues to abuse the rights of the non-Russian peoples.

4) Communist-Russia's declarations that she does not intervene in the internal affairs of other states are nothing but propaganda.

5) The international policies pursued by the Soviet Union are based on deception, double-dealing, falseness and violence.

6) The Kremlin leaders, like those of National Socialism in the former Third Reich, are war criminals and criminals against humanity, though they have not yet been punished for their crimes and still continue their criminal activities.

Beware Of Russian "Peaceful Coexistence"

„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 cooperate 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.” *Dimitry Z. Manuilsky, Lenin School of Political Warfare, Moscow, 1930*

Against The Suppression Of The Croatian Language

The Croatian people's fight against the the suppression of the Croatian language in the artificially created Yugoslav state under the Communist dictator Tito, has been intensified in the last months and weeks.

The Academy of Sciences in Zagreb, the oldest Croatian cultural centre *Matica Hrvatska*, the Croatian Writers' Association, and 14 other Croatian cultural institutions, as well as professors and lecturers of the University of Zagreb, issued a declaration on the name and fate of the Croatian literary language in Yugoslavia. The authors of this declaration protested against the fact that in Yugoslavia the Croatian language is officially referred to as "Serbo-Croatian" or "Croatian-Serbian." This name is intended to create the impression that the Croatian language is not an independent language, but only an appendage of the Serbian. The declaration also protested against the fact that in Yugoslavia the Croatian language is not treated with the same respect as the Serbian language, but as if it were a dialect of this language.

In Communist Yugoslavia literary Croatian is not accorded the status of an independent cultural language. Serbian expressions and phrases are unnecessarily introduced into it in order to eradicate every difference between the two languages.

Hence it is no matter of surprise that the Croatian people cannot and will not tolerate this situation. The Croatian people will not be deprived of its own literary language, its own national culture, its own national customs and its own statehood!

The intellectual elite of the subjugated Croatian people courageously defends the rights of the Croatian language and culture. This declaration is a clear proof that Tito's dictatorship has not succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Croats.

The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist government and Party responded to the declaration issued by the Croatian cultural institutes by indicting the authors of violating the "unity" and "brotherhood" of

the peoples of Yugoslavia. In the meantime the authors of this declaration have been subjected to various forms of chicanery. Those who were members of the Communist Party, were expelled from the Party.

It is to be deeply regretted that some scientists, publicists, journalists and other intellectuals in the free world, whether owing to simple ignorance or political opportunism, swallow the official fiction and terminology of Communist Yugoslavia and speak of a "Serbo-Croatian" language and literature. Whether intentionally or not, they help to promote the Communist subjugation of the Croatian people.

Undesirable Meetings

The Canadian weekly *Free World* (Winnipeg, Manitoba) of March 20, 1967, printed an article by Ivan Ovechko, entitled "Podgorny, Pope and Stetsko". The author reproduces excerpts from the memorandum of the ABN, signed by Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the CC of ABN, and Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Chairman of the Organizational Committee, protesting the friendly contacts of the Christian centre with the representatives of the militant atheistic regime, which actively practices genocide and murder against its opponents.

Mr. Ovechko comments: "Such meetings are undesirable. They demobilize the masses of the faithful. It is a well-known fact that after the visit of Adzubei at Vatican, the influence of the Communists in Italy rose immediately . . . the world becomes less immune to Communism. Mr. Stetsko is right in writing that the militant Christians will not extend their hand to the atheists . . . Thus, in the form of a memorandum, the Pope is handed another document as proof of the liveliness of the Ukrainian and other liberation movements . . . Mr. Stetsko proved his deep Christian faith, and Ukrainian patriotism . . . We have to remind everyone, everywhere and always about our victims of the Communist-Russian tyranny."

Anti-Imperialistic Forces Active Inside The Russian Empire

The pressure for freedom — personal, intellectual and national — is constant in the USSR. In the years 1956-57 there was a powerful wave of demands among the intelligentsia and students, especially among the non-Russian peoples for the freedom of political and intellectual discussion. In 1960, it changed to the demands for the right to create freely. The Russian empire can exist only on despotism. There freedom of thought is always considered as anti-imperial, not only anti-Communist. No wonder that non-Russians are always in the forefront of the struggle for more personal civil liberties. Together with the problems of free creativity various philosophical problems — the search for metaphysical, epistemological and cosmological truths — were brought up. The religious question also became the subject of intellectual curiosity in the 60's. Therefore, the waves of periodical persecution of non-Russian intellectuals must always sweep through the empire, like those in Ukraine in 1965-66. There always will be Symonenkos, Dziubas, Syniavskys, Daniels, student demonstrators, intellectuals' protests, like the famous occasion of the outpour of sentiments for national and personal liberties during the unveiling of Taras Shevchenko's monument in the Ukrainian village of Sheshory in 1965, where many thousands of Ukrainians gathered; many of those present were later arrested and persecuted. As one Russian emigre periodical noted: in Russia, however, such movements are fruitless because the Russian intelligentsia "does not possess any positive ideas and all ties between the masses and the intelligentsia are absent". (*Posiev*, no 13, 1967)

Last winter students at the Moscow University, many of whom are non-Russian, debated the need of a periodical to expound their views. They argued whether it should be a literary-publicistic journal or a political journal. Some pointed to Lenin who believed that having a good political newspaper is most important. The

Russian students preferred to have a literary-art periodical pointing to the fact that present conditions are different from Lenin's times, but rather reminiscent of the Gertsen-Belinski period. But the non-Russians are thinking of political liberties, while Russians see a powerful technocracy and wish to direct their interests along the strengthening of the Russian nation, by satisfying their literary-artistic-cultural needs.

Advocates for a political journal say that the Soviet system is in an ideological vacuum. From the West comes a stream of positivistic-pragmatic concepts, which may inundate the Soviet Union. They argue that it is not the technocrats who should lead the society, but the constructive, ideological processes, particularly political, that should lead the technocrats.

The regime is constantly striving to direct the various processes into constructive imperial channels. On December 5, 1965, a demonstration in defence of the constitution and the arrested Syniavsky and Daniel was held in Moscow. On March 5, 1966, a demonstration took place against the rehabilitation of Stalin. The regime views these demonstrations favourably because two general groups were represented there: the old Bolsheviks, who during Stalin's life were in concentration camps, and the young intelligentsia, some of whom were non-Russians holding anti-imperial views. These concepts creep into various almanacs and propagate the political ideas of Taras Shevchenko, Hryhorij Skovoroda (Ukrainian philosopher of the 18th cent.), Vasyl Symonenko (a young poet who died in 1963), Vasyl Stefanyk (essayist) and many others. Russian critics of the regime argue that all these processes should be conducted within the limits of Soviet law. The government agents induced the Russian intelligentsia to form legal organizations, such as the Front of Democratic Opposition, which issued such slogans: "We are not against the Soviet government — we are for the democra-

tization of the Soviet government. We are not against the Communist Party — we are for its democratization. We are not against Kolkhoses — we are for their democratization”. These and similar slogans cannot in any way endanger the Russian regime in the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of 1967 an almanac *Feniks 66* appeared in Moscow illegally. Its editors, being well-known, were soon arrested by the police. To protest the arrests, the friends of the editors organized a demonstration which took place in Moscow on January 22, 1967, but its leaders were severely punished and sentenced to many years in prison. This demonstration surely commemorated the anniversary of the Declaration of January 22, 1918, proclaiming the independence of the Ukrainian national state in Kyiv.

Since the downfall of Stalin and Khrushchov, the Soviet-Russian regime discredited itself ideologically and politically. “Opposition” per se is now fashionable, but not the anti-imperialism of the non-Russian peoples. The Party elite is undergoing a deep internal crisis as to who should rule the country and how it should be ruled, but there is no crisis in respect to the domination over and the exploitation of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union.

Youth is in the forefront of opposition in Russia while the anti-state mood prevails in the non-Russian enslaved peoples. While nihilism spreads among young Russians, religiousness, morality and idealism is fostered by the non-Russian youth.

Wide interest is created by the persistent reports from Bessarabia, that in this Russian colony anti-imperialistic (anti-Russian) nationalism is growing. Such reports come from Rumania and even from the local imperial functionaries. For example, a newspaper *Sovetskaia Moldaviia* of February 16, 1967, published a report of the First Secretary of the Moldavian SSR, Ivan Bodul, which openly states that anti-Soviet (not just opposition by any means), anti-Russian views are spreading among the population. He said: “Many are easily affected by propaganda which leads them

astray”. The Russian emigre party NTS strongly assails Communist Rumania for such anti-Russian nationalism in Bessarabia.

The true Christians are another active force in the USSR. Actually there are two opposing camps: one is the official Orthodox Church and its agents-administrators in the occupied non-Russian areas. This “Church” is not persecuted because it steadfastly supports the imperial government. The coexistential forces in the West talk and deal with it. The other camp is that of the believers and true Christians. They are members of the various underground Churches in the enslaved nations and are persecuted by the empire. The West, however, ignores them.

Since the Spring of 1966, the regime started an open attack against the Baptists, whose spiritual centre was Ukraine. It commenced with an article in *Pravda* (February 19, 1966), followed by an article in *Izvestiia* (June 5, Aug. 31, 1966) and continued in the organ of militant atheism, *Nauka i religiia* (June, July, Aug., 1966). Next, the KGB initiated mass arrests. Such trials took place in Rostov on Don, in Kyiv, in Zhytomyr, in Odessa (all Ukrainian cities). It was disclosed that the Baptists published an underground bulletin, *The Messenger of Brothers*. Scores of them were sentenced to many years in prison and hard labor. They were guilty of only one crime — the practice of their Christian faith and disobedience to the militant atheistic empire.

Another widespread phenomenon is the assassination of government officials by the revolting non-Russian peoples. *Sovetskaia Belorus* of September 16, 1966, reported that I. A. Zenko, a Byelorussian was executed for killing B. B. Vilchkovski, the head of the kolkhoz “Iskra” in the Baranoviche County and member of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR. *Izvestiia* of June 22, 1966, carried the news that A. Synelnyk, a Ukrainian, was executed for killing V. Rybalko, Chairman of the controlling group of the kolkhoz “Zapovit Lenina” in the Lubensk oblast, Ukraine. *Zoria Vostoka* of May 8, 1965, reported that Lieut. Rashitov of the KGB

was assassinated by the anti-state underground on March 21, 1965, in the Uzbek SSR. In 1965, a plot of two men to flee from Kyshyniv, Bessarabian SSR was prevented by the Russians under the direction of Colonel Khramov, the Chief of Security in the Bilhorod oblast (reported by the *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, April 26, 1966). *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda* of July 3, 1966, informed its readers that a skirmish between the militia and a detachment of anti-Russian liberation fighters took place in Alma-Ata, Turkestan. *Sovetskaia Lat-*

vii of April 27, 1965, wrote about the trial of several Latvians for their participation in an anti-Russian liberation group.

The above examples of the situation in the Soviet-Russian slave empire show that the non-Russian peoples are not passively following the road towards Russification and national extermination. The conflict between the Russian master-nation and the subjugated nations is as acute as ever, and there are no signs that Russians are successful in their attempts to quell the liberation struggle of the other peoples.

Philosophy In Subjugated Ukraine

Philosophy as a science finds itself in a very precarious condition in contemporary Ukrainian culture. The culture of Soviet Ukraine is the culture of an enslaved nation, which is struggling for its survival. It is under the threat of annihilation by the Russian imperial culture. Moscow allows Ukraine to develop the natural and technical sciences to some degree. However, humanistic and social sciences like philosophy and history are in complete decay.

Kyiv, the capital of a 45-million strong nation, does not have a philosophical laboratory, similar to those found in neighbouring Moscow, Warsaw or Prague. Philosophical science at the universities is actually a Communist Party propaganda machine and its permitted and required task is to indoctrinate the students with the teachings of Marx-Lenin, namely, dialectic materialism and the achievements of Russian philosophy. Thus, the faculties of philosophy are obliged to combat Christian philosophy, the manifestations of Ukrainian philosophic thought altogether, the various Western philosophical systems and particularly, religion. The intentions, as is evident, are propagandistic. The science of philosophy has been reduced to the level of propaganda.

Simultaneously the publishing of philosophical works has been greatly neglected. The works of great philosophers — both ancient and modern — are not being translated and published in Ukrainian. A philosophical journal, necessary for the

cultivation of philosophy and for the discussion of its new problems is lacking. A philosophical dictionary which is badly needed to create Ukrainian philosophical terminology was not allowed to be published. In this respect Ukraine regressed rather than advanced. Half a century of Communist-Russian rule over Ukraine is coming to an end, but only one book "The Outlines of the History of Philosophy in Ukraine", appeared at the end of 1965. It is a 656 page compilation by several authors with the edition of 4500 copies, published by the Institute of Philosophy at the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR. It gives historical facts, but is preceded by a long propagandistic introduction, followed by the explanation of philosophical developments in Ukraine and abroad — from an absolutely abstract non-Ukrainian, Communist point of view. In addition, almost half of the book is taken up by the forerunners of Marxism in Ukraine and the Marxist philosophy under the Bolshevik rule. The presentation is non-scholarly, but popular-propagandist, badly organized and without the economy of substantial terminology.

In the introductory note it is plainly said that: "the authors show the struggle with the anti-scholarly world-view, philosophical idealism, metaphysics and religion." And then: "a special place is given in the book to the history and propaganda of Marxist-Leninist philosophy . . ."; Marxism-Leninism, it is continued, should

become a dominant world view of the whole nation.

The book mentions Yurkevych, the author of the "Philosophy of the Heart", and the defenders of Christian outlook, Lodij and Skovoroda. Throughout the work, almost each page mentions the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is rather depressing and soon becomes boring.

In connection with this book it is useful to mention the decay of philosophical

dictionaries. In the past, the professor of the Kyiv Art Academy and the Kyiv University, Sylvester Hohotsky published a philosophical dictionary and also a "philosophic lexicon" in 4 volumes (1859, 1861, 1866 and 1872). It is true that these works were prohibited from being published in Ukrainian and therefore they appeared in Russian. The first volume was printed in Petersburg, but the others in Kyiv. However, today nothing of this kind can be published in Ukraine.

Elmar Lipping

50th Anniversary Of Rebirth Of Estonian Army

In April, Estonian ex-soldiers celebrated the 50th rebirth of the Estonian Armed Forces. On April 25, 1917, Estonian Colonel Siegfried Pinding issued the first Order of Day in which he announced that he had received orders to organize the First Estonian Infantry Regiment in the Estonian Capital, Tallinn.

In great numbers the Estonian soldiers, scattered over the Russian empire, rushed to their home country to serve under Estonian officers. After some preliminary work the government in Petrograd was compelled to give permission to form an Estonian Division.

The permission for formation of the division was given but the Russian government, at first the Kerensky government and later the Bolsheviks, did everything to slow down the formation work of the Estonian Army. They already knew that if Estonian leaders had armed units, the separation from Russia and the road to Estonian Independence was paved. Especially difficult was to get guns, machine-guns and other armament for this division. In the critical days of October, 1917, the Estonian officers received unexpected help from an Ukrainian colonel, who served as Commanding Officer of an artillery regiment. Anxious to return with his men to his native Ukraine to fight against the Bolsheviks, he left all guns of his regiment to the Estonian Division, setting only one condition: "Do not give these weapons to the Bolsheviks".

Naturally, Estonians kept their promise and the guns were used against the invading Reds in the War for Estonian Independence, which lasted from 1918 to 1920. Unfortunately, the name of that helpful colonel is not recorded, and any information would be greatly appreciated by the Estonian World Legion.

The Second World War threw Estonia, as well as many other nations, into Communist prison camps.

Estonian ex-soldiers have not capitulated spiritually, and they continue to fight for their home country today. So do all nations whose freedom has been taken by the Kremlin aggressors.

Everywhere in the Free World the Estonian ex-soldiers have been organized into Veteran Associations. They are all united under the central leadership of The Estonian World Legion with its main office in the United States of America. The Chairman of the World Legion is Captain Avdy Andresson, who as a young student joined an Estonian Cavalry Regiment in November, 1918 and participated in actual fighting at the front. During the time of Estonian Independence he served in the Estonian Cavalry Regiment, and in World War II he served in a mixed German-Cossacks unit as staff officer.

The organ of the ex-soldiers is *Võitleja*, which is printed in Heidelberg, Germany. Its Editor, First Lieutenant Arnold Joonson, also took part in the anti-Bolshevik war.

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

Global imperialistic policy

Lenin had a vision of Russian domination over the whole world. Theoretically, he was not satisfied with a "limited" empire dominating only a part of the world. His ideas were absolute in respect to their geographical application. Coexistence of the Russian empire with any other power, Lenin regarded at best as a temporary expediency. His basic idea of the Russian world empire was the idea of a socialist world society.

On what grounds can it be maintained that the *socialist world society was in Lenin's opinion equal to the Russian world empire*? This is maintained on the grounds that Lenin was, firstly, a Russian patriot, who placed Russian national interests before anything else. Secondly, the tsarist heritage decisively influenced him so that he became a Russian imperialist. Thirdly, his policies toward the nations of the former tsarist empire prove that he was putting into practice the Russian imperialistic policies. Fourthly, we can safely assume that about nine-tenths of the power at the disposal of Lenin was composed of the Russian army, the Russian elite, the Russian material, and the Russian culture. Fifthly, his ideology was basically Marxist. On these grounds we can conclude that the socialist world society, propounded by Lenin, was to be not a true Marxist society but a world society ruled by the Russian people.

Lenin wrote: ". . . for us, and particularly for the majority of the West European countries, the spreading of the Soviet system is a most important task." (30) "*The Soviet system*" is identical with the Russian imperial system. (31) Lenin declared: ". . . history has given us, the Russian toiling and exploited classes, the honorable

role of a vanguard of the international socialist revolution . . ." (32) It is clear that Lenin believed Russia was destined to become the center and the leader of the world socialist movement. (33) This meant that Socialism was ultimately based on Russian power. Alfred D. Low agreed with the above argument that Bolshevism was not only the heir to the tsarist empire but was also the movement which was trying to extend this empire over the entire world. (34)

The imperialistic urge of the Russian Socialists inevitably brought them into conflict with other nations. Lenin recognized this fact and endeavored to harmonize Russian national interests with the "international revolution"; "world revolution" became the proper Russian policy. (35) Lenin's goal was a triumph of "the Soviet Republic" over all other nations:

We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. (36)

Lenin expressed this same objective of destroying all nations and of establishing a Russian world state in ideological phrases:

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. (37)

The 1920 New Year's proclamation by the Bolsheviks said: "We shall establish workers and soldiers' councils in Berlin and Warsaw, in Paris and London, and the might of the Soviets will one day extend throughout the whole world." (38)

And in 1921 Lenin formulated the main principle of his foreign policy very clearly: "Until the final issue is decided between capitalism and socialism, the terrible state of war will continue." (39)

In the "Preliminary Theses on the National Colonial Question", he wrote:

The world political situation has now placed on the order of the day dictatorship of the proletariat, and all events in world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, viz., the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which is inevitably grouping itself around the Soviet movement of the advanced workers of all countries, as well as the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities which have become convinced by their bitter experience that there is no salvation for them except the victory of the Soviet power over world imperialism. (40)

Naturally, Lenin was anxious that other nations should voluntarily join the Russian empire: "The Republic of the Russian people should draw to itself other peoples or nationalities, not through violence, but through a voluntary mutual agreement to build a common state." (41) Russian world domination should be effected as a result of a profound revolution by which all other states, nations, and political systems would be liquidated. Perhaps the following quotation is the best summary of his imperial policy:

. . . 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. (42)

The vision of a universal empire with its strategy was expounded by Lenin in

1915 (when he still needed the support of the nations enslaved by Russia to overthrow tsarism):

. . . we would propose peace to all the belligerents on the basis of the liberation of the colonies and of all the dependent, oppressed and disfranchised peoples. Under the present governments, neither Germany nor England nor France would accept this condition. In that case we would have to prepare for and wage a revolutionary war, i. e., we would not only by resolute measures fully carry out the whole of our minimum program, but we would also systematically rouse to insurrection all the peoples now oppressed by the Great Russians, all the colonies and dependent countries in Asia (India, China, Persia, etc.), and also, and primarily, we would rouse to insurrection the socialist proletariat of Europe against its governments and in spite of its social-chauvinists. There is no doubt that a victory of the proletariat in Russia would create unusually favorable conditions for the development of the revolution both in Asia and in Europe. (43)

The foremost enemy of Lenin was the Western world, in particular the U.S.A., England, Germany, and France. This enemy had in Lenin's terminology several synonyms: "bourgeoisie", "capitalism", "imperialism". He explained Russian policy in the following words:

A revolutionary Social Democrat . . . will dream — he must dream, if he is not a hopeless philistine — of how . . . we shall succeed as never before in lighting a revolutionary beacon that will illuminate the path of the ignorant and oppressed masses; . . . We shall succeed in making the Russian revolution not a movement of a few months' duration, but a movement of many years, so that it will lead . . . to the complete overthrow of those powers . . . then the revolutionary conflagration will spread all over Europe; . . . (44)

He urged a ruthless application of all available means:

. . . the proletariat will be able to retain its independence only if it subordinates its struggle for all the democratic demands,

not excluding the demand for a republic, to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. (45)

On another occasion Lenin explained the same strategy from a different viewpoint:

Without abandoning socialism, we must support every uprising against our chief enemy, the bourgeoisie of the great powers, unless it is a rebellion for a reactionary class . . . It is just now in the era of imperialism, the era of the beginning of social revolution, that the proletariat will support with special vigor the uprising of the annexed regions in order to attack tomorrow the bourgeoisie of a large power. (46)

The main method of fighting the enemy should be to *divide* him. Lenin studied the problem of how to dominate the world and reached the conclusion which he expressed in a speech to the Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries in 1920:

Are there any radical antagonisms in the modern capitalist world that must be utilised? There are three principal antagonisms . . . The first, the one nearest to us, is the relations between Japan and America. War is brewing between them. . . . That war is brewing, that war is inevitable, is beyond doubt. . . . The practical task of Communist policy is to take advantage of this hostility and to incite one against the other. . . . There is another antagonism, the antagonism between America and the rest of the capitalist world. . . . All bourgeois literature testifies to a growing hatred of America, while in America there is a growing demand for an agreement with Russia. . . . And the third rift is between the Entente and Germany. . . . Germany is one of the most powerful and advanced of capitalist countries. She cannot tolerate the Versailles Treaty. And Germany is obliged to seek for an ally against world imperialism, for, although she is herself imperialist, she has been suppressed. (47)

Lenin expounded the necessity of exploiting antagonisms among Western powers and in doing so distinctly stressed the goal of a Russian world empire built on the ruins of the West:

. . . it will remain a fundamental rule with us, namely that we must take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions between two capitalisms, between two systems of capitalist states, inciting one against the other. As long as we have not conquered the whole world, as long, as, from the economic and military standpoint, we are weaker than the capitalist world, we must adhere to the rule that we must know how to take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions existing among the imperialists. (48)

And he emphasized the necessity of disuniting the West:

. . . we must use the antagonism between the two existing systems of capitalism — between the two groups of capitalist states — in such a way as to set one against the other. The rule . . . will remain basic until world socialism finally triumphs over all the world. Until we complete our conquest of the world, and as long as we remain economically and militarily weaker than the capitalist states, we must stick to this rule. . . . We are at present between two foes. If we are unable to defeat them both, we must know how to dispose our forces in such a way that they fall out among themselves; because, as is always the case, when thieves fall out, honest men come into their own. (49)

Another method of destroying the West was to be the simultaneous and proper application of class warfare and the exploitation of the national liberation movements of the peoples dominated by Western powers. This combination of ideological-sociological-political means as tools of warfare is described by T. A. Taracouzio:

*Lenin emphasizes the principle of self-determination and on this basis divides all countries into three classes. To the first belong all those advanced states of Western Europe and of the American continent where the national movement has already become *l'histoire passée*. The second group includes the countries of Eastern Europe where the problem of nationality is still alive and represents one of the vital issues of the day; finally, the third class is*

represented by colonies and dependencies, where the question of nationality is a problem of the future. He shows, further, the three stages through which the self-determining entities must pass in the process of acquiring sovereign existence. Typical of the first stage is the interjection of the peasantry into the struggle for political liberties in general and for national rights in particular. The second stage is characterized by the antagonism cultivated by the internationally concentrated labor movement working against international capital. Finally, the advent of the third stage will be indicated by the victory of the proletariat in one of the great nations. (50)

So, according to Lenin, the Western nations were to resign their national interests voluntarily; the nations already conquered by the Bolsheviks apparently no longer needed nationalism since they had passed into the "higher" socialist society, while the nations still dominated by the Western powers were to stress the necessity of overthrowing Western domination and exchanging it for Bolshevik rule. In the article *Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1916) Lenin advocated the anti-regime struggle but not the anti-imperialistic struggle for the nations lingering under tsarist colonialism, for the nations of the Western world — civil war against their own national governments, and for the nations dominated by Western powers — the national liberation struggle against the dominating powers. This policy meant that the nations enslaved in the past by tsarist Russia should strive to remain under the Russian yoke of the Bolshevik variety, whilst the Western nations should renounce their own independence and voluntarily accept Russian rule, while the nations lingering under Western rule should exchange masters by expelling the Westerners and admitting the Russians.

Lenin constructed a global and total imperialistic policy. The three major premises of this policy were: to favor the formation of mutually hostile blocs among the other nations which would destroy each

other, to organize civil wars within the big nations, and to support all nations which were in dependence on the Western nations. All three guiding principles must be employed simultaneously and in close coordination with each other.

Lenin believed that the Bolsheviks must appear as true internationalists by associating themselves with the trends in other nations which are favorable to Russian policies provided that these trends could be suitably exploited. He stressed:

. . . the Social-Democratic movement is essentially an internationalist movement. This does not merely mean that we must combat national chauvinism. It also means that a movement . . . can be successful only on the condition that it assimilates the experience of other countries. (51)

The internationalist appearance of the Bolshevik movement aimed to set the whole world on fire by causing a world revolution. Lenin thought that

. . . out of the universal ruin caused by the war an international revolutionary crisis which, in spite of the protracted and difficult stages it may have to pass, cannot end in any other way than in a proletarian revolution and in its victory. (52)

Such a world revolution is necessary in order to destroy all non-Russian empires and all ideologies opposing the Russian imperial ideology. The second and third principles of Lenin were thus *interventionist* in nature or as T. A. Taracouzio concluded — imperialistic:

The theory, advanced as early as Grotius, that intervention was not illegal when undertaken for the purpose of liberating the masses from tyranny, is perfectly acceptable to the Soviets. Essentially a manifestation of class differences for the Communists, intervention is admissible for them in principle in spite of the fact that when materialized it is nothing but a forced subjection of the weak to the strong. (53)

Bolshevik intervention meant influencing internal affairs of other nations from below, through illegal means, and from above, through governments of other nations. To

Lenin intervention meant destruction of other sovereign powers from the inside:

For or against annexations? . . . ("Bolsheviks") Against annexations. All promises on the part of capitalist governments to renounce annexations are a sheer fraud. There is only one method of exposing it, namely, to demand the liberation of the peoples oppressed by one's own capitalists.

Lenin explained his interventionist (read imperialist) policy toward sovereign Western nations as to "transform the present imperialist war into civil war — is the only correct proletarian slogan." (55) "Civil war" meant the destruction not only of the existing regimes in other nations but also the destruction of the existing empires, because these imperial nations were asked to renounce their own imperialistic policies and their own imperial states:

On the question of colonies and oppressed nationalities . . . Every party that wishes to affiliate to the Third International must ruthlessly expose the tricks of "their" imperialists in the colonies; they must support not merely in words but by deeds, every liberation movement in the colonies, demand the expulsion of their imperialists from these colonies, imbue the hearts of the workers of their respective countries with a truly fraternal attitude toward the toiling population of the colonies and of oppressed nationalities . . . (56)

Lenin invented the theory of two groups of nations with the purpose of separating the imperial nations from all other nations: "Firstly, what is the most important, the fundamental idea contained in our theses? The distinction between oppressed nations and oppressing nations." (57) He analyzed these two categories of nations still further and differentiated citizens in the "oppressing nations" into "oppressing classes" and "oppressed classes":

On the one hand, the poverty and ruin of the masses have increased to an incredible degree, primarily among one and a quarter billion people, i. e., 70 per cent of the population of the world. These are the colonial and dependent countries with populations juridically deprived of rights,

countries for which "mandates" have been granted to financial pirates. . . . On the other hand, in every country which has found itself in the position of creditor, the workers have found themselves in an intolerable position. The war has caused an unprecedented intensification of all capitalist contradictions. (58)

The oppressed classes were called upon to start civil wars for the destruction of imperialism and of the oppressing classes.

Next, Lenin defined the oppressed nations:

The Orient is not only the oppressed Asiatic world. The Orient is the entire colonial world, the world of oppressed peoples, not only in Asia, but also in Africa and South America; in short, the entire world on whose exploitation rests the might of capitalist society in Europe and the United States. European and American capitalism draws its chief strength, not from industrial European countries, but from their colonial possessions. (59)

Then he reached the conclusion that all the oppressed nations should be regarded as allies of Russia and should be utilized as tools:

We would be very poor revolutionaries indeed, if we did not know how to utilize, in the great war of liberation of the proletariat for socialism, every popular movement against . . . imperialism. (60)

He called Russian imperialism "the great liberation war."

To Lenin "the oppressed nations" were synonymous with the "Orient" and with the "East". Therefore, he contrasted "East" against "West" and associated Russia with the "East":

. . . precisely as a result of the first imperialist war, the East has been completely drawn into the revolutionary movement, drawn into the general maelstrom of the world revolutionary movement. . . . We have the advantage in that the whole world is now passing into a movement that must give rise to world Socialist revolution. (61)

Thus Lenin invented the phrase, famous ever since that time, that "the shortest route from Moscow to Paris is via Peiping and Calcutta." In the West his aim was

to align the anti-imperialistic and anti-oppressing groups with a policy of favoring the "East". In short, the "West" was proclaimed Russia's enemy, while the "East" — Russia's ally. In Lenin's mind progress of Russian imperialism became associated with gains of the East at the expense of the "West". And consequently, Russian policy friendly to the "East" meant spreading Russian domination.

Lenin revealed his imperialistic policy in a famous document:

In regard to more backward states and nations . . . First, that all Communist Parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries . . . Fourth, that it is necessary to render special assistance to the peasant movement in the backward countries against the landlords, against large-landownership . . . to strive to give the peasant movement the most revolutionary character and to establish the closest possible alliance between the West European Communist proletariat and the revolutionary peasant movement in the East, in the colonies and in the backward countries . . . Fifth, . . . Communist International must support the bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries only on the condition that the elements of future proletarian parties existing in all backward countries . . . shall be grouped together and trained to appreciate their special tasks, viz., the task of fighting the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations; the Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most rudimentary form . . . (62)

Here he accurately presented the two-front policy against the West:

Nations oppressed by the West and the "oppressed classes" in the Western nations were approached in a "friendly" manner by the Russians for several reasons: to gain these forces for Russia, to turn them against the Western imperial regimes, and to turn

them against the national elites of the Western nations. This double approach signified an attempt to use the nationalism of the nations dominated by Western powers as the tool against the latter's imperialism and to use Communism in all the Western nations against the various national ideologies of the Western nations. In the "East" Russia was to support "whole" nations against "imperialistic" nations (but not against Russian imperialists), while in the West she was to support "oppressed" (lower) classes against the "oppressing" (upper) classes. In the East — it was national wars, in the West — class wars. Stalin explained Lenin's "Eastern" policy very clearly: "We are in favour of the separation of India, Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, and of other colonies from the Entente, because the non-separation, in this case, means the weakening of the Russian revolutionary forces." (63)

Lenin called the Russian imperialistic policy "internationalism":

Now, while opposing the unified and straightened front of the imperialistic powers, the imperialistic bourgeoisie, and the social-imperialistic, for the sake of the socialist revolution (we must) make use of all the national movements against imperialism. The more defined the struggle of the proletariat against the unified imperialistic front becomes, the more needed is the principle of internationalism that a 'nation oppressing other nations cannot be free'. (64)

On another occasion he defined in more detail the policy of supporting nationalist wars against the domination of the Western nations:

National wars waged by colonial and semi-colonial countries are not only possible but inevitable in the epoch of imperialism. The colonies and semi-colonies (China, Turkey, Persia) have a population of nearly one billion, i. e., more than half the population of the earth. In these countries the movements for national liberation are either very strong already, or are growing and maturing. Every war is a continuation of politics by other means.

The national liberation policies of the colonies will inevitably be continued by national wars of the colonies against imperialism. Such wars may lead to an imperialist war between the present "Great" imperialist Powers, or they may not; that depends on many circumstances. . . . National wars . . . are progressive and revolutionary . . . (65)

30. "Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship", 1919, v. 7, p. 236
31. Cf. supra, pp. 10, 16, 19, 20
32. See supra, p. 26
33. From the quotation of Lenin's work, supra p. 27
34. See supra, pp. 3-4
35. See supra, p. 5
36. "Report of the Central Committee of R. C. P. (B) at the 8th Party Congress", 1918, v. 8, p. 33
37. Speech to Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries, 1920, v. 8, p. 297
38. According to *Egelhaags Geschichtskalender*, 1920, p. 66
39. "New Economic Policy", v. 9, p. 242
40. 1920, v. 10, p. 233
41. "Revision of the Party Program", *Sochinenia*, XX, p. 295
42. "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", 1917, v. 3, pp. 18-19
43. "A Few Theses", 1915, v. 5, p. 157
44. "Social Democracy and Provisional Revolutionary Government", 1905, v. 3, p. 31
45. "Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1916, v. 5, p. 273
46. "Discussion . . . Summed Up", *Sochinenia*, v. XIX, p. 251
47. v. 8, pp. 283-290
48. "Speech at the Meeting of Moscow Organization of R.C.P.(B)", v. 8, 1920, pp. 279-280
49. Ibidem, p. 282
50. *Soviet Union and International Law*, op. cit., p. 27
51. "What is to be done?" 1902, v. 2, p. 48
52. "Preface to the French and German Editions" of "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", 1920, v. 5, p. 9

53. *Soviet Union and International Law*, op. cit., p. 301
54. "Political Parties in Russia and Tasks of the Proletariat", 1917, v. 6, p. 83
55. "War and Russian Social-Democracy", 1914, v. 5, p. 130
56. "Conditions of Affiliation to the Communist International", 1920, v. 10, p. 203
57. "Report of the Commission on National and Colonial Questions", 1920, v. 10, p. 239
58. "International Situation and Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International", 1920, v. 10, pp. 188-9
59. "Zadachi Vserossiiskoi Nauchnoi Assotsiatsii Vostokovedeniya", *Novyi Vostok*, I-II, No. 1, 1922, p. 11
60. "Discussion . . . Summed Up", *Sochinenia*, v. XIX, p. 270
61. "Better Fewer, But Better", 1923, v. 9, p. 399
62. "Preliminary Theses on the National-Colonial Question", 1920, v. 10, pp. 236-7
63. "Policy of the Soviet Government and the National Question in Russia"
64. *Sochinenia*, v. XIII, p. 419
65. "The Pamphlet by Junius" in *Collected Works*, v. XIX, pp. 204-6

(to be continued)

Dokumente und Kommentare, a periodical issued in Bonn, no. 8, 1967, published the Resolution of the ABN rally held in Frankfurt on February 25, 1967, in full. The resolution condemned the Soviet-Russian colonial prison of nations on the occasion of its 50th bloody and shameful anniversary.

The same bulletin informs us that the President of the Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Council, Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum, took part in the NATO conference in Paris as an official member of the Canadian Delegation. The Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Council cooperates with ABN.

News And Views

On The Problem Of The Russian October Revolution

Thus spoke Lenin:

"The *Great Russians* in Russia are an *oppressing nation*." ("On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination")

"In Russia — no less than 57 per cent, i. e. over 100,000,000 of the population belong to *oppressed nations*, where some of those nations are more cultured than the Great Russian, where the political system is distinguished by its particularly barbarous and medieval character." ("Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination") Lenin recognized tsarist Russia to be an imperialistic colonialist state.

"The Russian people took a gigantic leap — from tsarism to the Soviets." ("Dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly") Lenin did not mention any necessity to establish independent nations of the formerly enslaved peoples, but only to change the regime and to preserve the Russian empire.

"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." ("Urgent Tasks of Our Movement") The Communist Party in Russia was and is a national Russian party, working for the achievement of Russian national goals and interests.

"Fortunately, the main trends of advanced social thought in Russia have a solid *materialistic tradition*." ("On Significance of Militant Materialism") Evidently, philosophic materialism was the dominant cultural-ideological force in Russian pre-Bolshevik history.

"How, then, are we to explain the fact that in the Dumas (Advisory Council under the tsarist government) twice convened, the representatives of the peasantry of entire Russia preferred *nationalisation* . . ." ("Report on the Agrarian Ques-

tion") Agriculture in Russia was in pre-Bolshevik times collectivistic-socialistic under the rule of despotic big landowners.

"Social-Revolutionaries maintain, that, owing to the prevalence of the 'communal principle' in the villages, the Russian peasants are in sympathy with socialisation, with the labour-principle." ("Report on the Agrarian Question")

"The experience of the civil war in the period from November (October) to March has shown that the toiling masses, the Russian working class and the peasants who live by their own labour and not by exploiting others, are all-over Russia in their vast majority in favour of the Soviet power." ("On Combating the Famine") The October Revolution was evidently a Russian internal social-political coup d'état, without any significant international aspects of a world revolution.

"International imperialism . . . could not under any circumstances, on any condition, live side by side with the Soviet Republic . . . In this sphere a *conflict is inevitable*. Here lies the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its great historical problem, viz., the necessity of solving international problems, the necessity of calling forth an international revolution, of traversing the path from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution." ("War and Peace") International Communism became the tool of the Russian nation in foreign relations.

"The facts of world history demonstrated to the Russian patriots, who formerly would hear of nothing that was not to the *direct advantage* (as formerly understood) of their country, that the transformation of our Russian revolution into a socialist revolution was not a dubious venture but a necessity, for there was no other alternative: Anglo-French

and American imperialism would inevitably have destroyed the independence and freedom of Russia if the world socialist revolution, world Bolshevism, had not triumphed." ("Valuable Admissions by Pitirim Sorokin")

"The Soviets of 'Workers and Soldiers' Deputies are a form of state without parallel . . . The Russian revolution created the Soviets." ("Report on Current Situation") Soviet form of state is a typically Russian national form of state.

"A victory of the democratic revolution in Russia will be the signal for the beginning of the socialist revolution, for a fresh victory of our brothers, the class conscious proletarians of all countries." Any international spread of Communism is conditioned by and based upon Russian Communism.

"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 . . . ("Lecture on the 1905 Revolution")

"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 other") We can notice the exploitation of Marx for Russian national purposes.

"The German proletariat betrayed the Russian (and international) revolution, when it strangled Finland, Ukraine, Latvia, and Estonia." ("Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky") Lenin did not care much about international proletariat, but about the preservation and expansion of a Russian empire ruled by Russian Communists.

"The Soviets are the Russian form of the proletarian dictatorship." ("Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky") Not Communism conquered Russia, but Russia russified Communism (the ideology of Marx and Engels).

"The Russian soldiers, workers and peasants were able to create an apparatus which informed the whole world of its methods of struggle, viz., the Soviet government." ("Activities of the Council of People's Commissars") Clearly, the Soviet form of government is the Russian form of government, but not an international Marxist form of government implanted in Russia by force of an international Marxist proletarian movement.

CANADIAN STUDENTS PROTEST PERSECUTION OF INTELLECTUALS IN UKRAINE

On February 4, 1967, a big demonstration against the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals took place in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. The protest exposed the mass deportation of Ukrainian cultural and scientific workers to distant concentration camps in Siberia.

The demonstration was organized by the Union of Ukrainian Students of Canada, Montreal Branch, including students from McGill University, Loyola University, Sir George Williams University, and Montreal University. More than 200 students took part. They formed a column of marchers at the steps of McGill University and proceeded across the central streets of Montreal to the Dominion Square, where the marchers placed a wreath at the

monument of the unknown soldier. The public which gathered around, many hundreds of persons, and the reporters received leaflets in English and French. Speakers in English, French, and Ukrainian exposed the persecution of Ukrainian culture by Russian imperialists.

The whole demonstration was well covered by the press and the television. The "silent demonstration" — as reporters called it — was very well covered and broadly commented.

At the time when all African and Asian peoples gain their independence and freedom, the 45-million strong Ukrainian people, as well as many other peoples are subjected to a ruthless and violent genocide by the Soviet-Russian imperialists.

Unceasing Communist Attacks Against ABN

That ABN means something to the Russian imperialists, that it creates and presents dangers to their imperialistic conquests, is evident from their constant attacks in the press against the leaders and activities of ABN.

In September of 1966, a long article entitled "On Mr. Stetsko and the Martyred Little Frog" appeared in the Kyiv *Perets* attacking the protests of ABN against the persecution of Ukrainian scholars and artists because of their resistance to the Russification of Ukraine.

In the January 1967 issue of the Lviv periodical *Zhovten*, a 14-page article entitled "ABN — Asambleia Blazniv Natsionalistychnykh" (ABN - An Assembly of Nationalistic Fools) signed by Taras Myhal was published. Evidently it was not a chance notice about ABN, but a full-scale treatment of the subject and the preparation of a broad attack against it. Its title reveals the cynical approach adopted by the author and his lack of ideals; he makes no attempt to introduce his "better ideas" or political concepts in contrast to those proposed by ABN; he assumes a defensive, negative stand. The title indeed suggests the motive for the writing of this article: ABN conducts such widely acclaimed and widespread activity, is gaining such prestige throughout the world, among various emigrations and the subjugated peoples, that the Russian imperialists cannot ignore it, cannot be silent any longer; they are forced to counteract.

Because of the internal conflicts in the Russian empire, which stem from the unconquerable growth of nationalistic forces in the countries subjugated by Russia, and because of Russia's attempts to bring to its imperialistic camp the various circles within these nations to strengthen the empire in the face of many counter-forces (especially Mao Tse-tung's turn against Russia, the economic pressures applied by the West and the advance of the national-liberation movements of the sub-

jugated peoples) — the imperial regime takes an illogical, embarrassing stand towards ABN. The author was told to use as many facts as possible since the intelligence level of the readers is high and propaganda without facts would not convince them. However, he is unable to contrast the concepts and ideas of ABN with his own ideas and concepts because he does not have any. (For the sake of its prestige, it would not look right if Moscow, "the world centre of Communism," would start a direct dialogue with ABN, because then Moscow would have to recognize ABN as its ideological contestant.) Not having any opposing views and ideas, the author is forced to use the primitive methods of personal mud-slinging and embarrassment, nihilistic ridicule of ABN's ideas, cynical falsification and fabrication of allegations and framing it for "subversive activities".

The article's author surely received instructions from Moscow as to the way in which all articles against Ukrainian nationalists have to be written. These instructions probably included the following points: 1) the Ukrainian nationalists have to appear as agents of foreign imperialism; 2) Ukrainian churches have to be tied to Banderivtsi; 3) nationalism has to be identified with fascism and nazism; 4) the Ukrainian people have to appear as being opposed to the nationalists; 5) all sorts of crimes have to be attributed to Banderivtsi.

Adhering to these instructions Taras Myhal started to write. He collected all available material on ABN and prepared his "article". However, it did not turn out the way the KGB would have liked it. The assembled facts, contrary to their interpretation, are more convincing in themselves than the explanations which flow from them. This shows the victorious force of the activities of the Ukrainian nationalists and the ideological weakness of the Russian tyrannical, colonial regime in Ukraine.

The article's concentration on ABN indicates that ABN is the chief force uniting the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples; it hinders Russian imperialists in their plans to enslave these nations and combats them at every opportunity. This is the acknowledgement of the achievements of ABN! As the symbolic words "Bandera", "banderivtsi", "OUN" and "UPA", so the symbol "ABN" is spread throughout the Soviet Union by the Bolsheviks themselves, as the symbol of an uncompromising struggle to liberate the peoples subjugated by Russia.

Furthermore, the Bolsheviks' concentration on the President of the Central Committee of ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko, shows that Yaroslav Stetsko, today, is a leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement; therefore, the Bolsheviks are trying to destroy him both morally and politically, and as is evident from Stashynsky's testimony, this agent was given the task of preparing Mr. Stetsko's assassination by the same methods used to murder Stepan Bandera.

The author tries to prove that ABN is made up of a small group of immoral people without any ideas, without the support of the subjugated nations and without any means of power. But the facts which he cites speak for themselves: ABN has been in existence and has been active for the past 23 years; it is supported financially by the contribution of the emigrants from the subjugated countries only. ABN has branches in the USA, Canada, Australia, South America and West Europe. How to explain the fact, that this small group of "traitors" had, for example, friendly relations with President Diem of South Vietnam, who was opposed by the Americans? Evidently, ABN must have good and wide-spread contacts when it was able to establish friendly relations with many Asian and American countries, without mentioning those in Western Europe.

If ABN were "a movement without a cause", then no money would have induced numerous individuals to go as messengers into Ukraine and work for the anti-Rus-

sian revolutionary movement, for example, knowing well what horrible punishments await them if caught by the Bolsheviks. These people, of course, had to be idealistic fighters for the independence of Ukraine to attempt such a dangerous feat.

The author rightly asserts that "the Russian Monarchist organizations refused to cooperate with Stetsko's camp, since ABN raises its arm not only against the Soviet regime, but also against the idea of one, undivided, mother-Russia . . . The Polish chauvinists who did not want to recognize the new boundaries of Ukraine left ABN . . ."

The above quotations show the positive thinking of ABN: to fight against the Russian and any other form of imperialism. The author acknowledged that Russian imperialists exist and that the nationalists will never cooperate with them. These two assertions again indicate that ABN is not working for the enemy, because various organizations which he mentioned as not cooperating with ABN are working closely with certain "non-determination" factions.

Myhal summarizes ABN's program thus: "Our aim is to reconstruct the territory which the Soviet Union, Moscow, presently occupies." Further, he writes: "It is necessary to achieve a closely knit political cooperation among the revolutionary organizations of all the nations enslaved by Moscow." Then he comments that such organizations should be thought of as "counter-revolutionary". In other words, he considers the Communist Party, which is striving for the subjugation of the nations within the Soviet Union by Moscow, as a revolutionary organization. Black on white — this Bolshevik agent indicated that non-Russian nations in the USSR are enslaved by Moscow, and that this enslavement is fulfilled by the "revolutionary", in reality, counter-revolutionary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The author tries to prove that the program of ABN is false because without nuclear war, it is impossible to free the subjugated peoples. Therefore, his con-

clusion is that ABN is for nuclear war. It is also possible that Mr. Myhal himself would like to help ABN to influence the free world to recognize the revolutionary liberation movements. He cites the present "coexistence" mania of the West as an example of the fact that the West does not understand, and does not want to support, the concept of national revolutions with the task of freeing the peoples subjugated by Russia. He admits that ABN is very active because: "protests, memoranda, declarations are being sent" constantly. He also quotes the memorandum of ABN's President to the United Nations "in which he protests against the Soviet Union's membership in it, because Ukraine should be represented in the U.N. . . . not by the Soviet Union." Thus, Myhal acknowledges that Ukraine is represented in the U.N. by Russia and not by the "sovereign government" of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Is ABN wrong in protesting? Or his remark: "members of ABN toured all the free countries and had great influence upon Japan, the Philippines, Portugal, Spain and a score of Afro-Asian peoples." Then Myhal again turns to the topic which makes him nervous: "But the reader has a right to ask, at last — who is Stetsko really? A Sphinx, a riddle, an insolvable secret?" And he answers indirectly: "A constant search for new friends among the powerful of this world . . . A wide scope, which he tries to give to ABN . . . by his persistence he has achieved much . . . for many years he disturbs the waters of international relations . . . is calling for a crusade against our Fatherland: 'in order that people would fill the earth!'"

Myhal links church and religion very closely with ABN. He writes: "Under the leadership of the metropolitan and bishops of both faiths, Metropolitan Sheptytskyj issued a pastoral letter, in which he recognized the government and asked the populace to support it." (Re: The ACT of June 30, 1941, the renewal of the Ukrainian independent state — ed.) The ABN delegation presented "humble gifts to President Diem — a crucifix, carved in Ukrainian style, vestments (should be

trident — ed.) and a book of frescoes and mosaics of ancient churches in Georgia. . . . The President approached the table, picked up the crucifix and said: 'I believe that this crucifix will lead my people to victory.' The author informs his readers that the emigration's elite is united in ABN, since, for example, Volodymyr Danylovych Tomashek — a prominent ABN member — "became an Archbishop of the Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the USA." Or this: "The U.S. Congress is getting ready to open its session, and immediately a telegram from Mr. Stetsko flies to the President: Don't forget to adopt a new resolution on the captive nations day (should have been week — ed.)." And further: "CC ABN has published an appeal . . . Who is against the prison (omitted: of nations and peoples — ed.), who is against the kingdom of the anti-Christ, who is for the human being created in god's image, who is for the belief in god (God had been capitalized — ed.) — he is for ABN."

In conclusion, it has to be said that judging by the reaction of Russian imperialists ABN is on the right track and should work even more intensively for liberation.

The Cost of Funerals

A funeral of a Soviet Russian Minister was being held. Overwhelmed by the splendor of the funeral a Ukrainian peasant approached an usher and asked:

- *How much does such a funeral cost?*
- *One hundred thousand rubles.*
- *Wow! — I could have burried the whole Politbureau for five thousand — answered the peasant.*

A Big Difference

— *What is the difference between the former tsarist fables and the present Soviet fables?*

- *The tsarist fables started with the words: "Once upon a time there lived an old man and a woman", and the Soviet start thus: "The Agency TASS reports . . ."*

New York AF-ABN Supports Vietnam Effort

In answer to the leftist demonstration, organized in New York on 15 April, in which the young demonstrators known as "peaceniks" burned the American Flag and displayed the Vietcong and Communist Flags, various American veteran and patriotic organizations, among them AF-ABN, united in a common front, organized a massive anti-Communist and patriotic parade supporting the United States' military effort in Vietnam. The parade took place along Fifth Avenue, from 95th Street south to 62th Street, and then east to Third Avenue in New York City. More than 250,000 Americans turned out for the occasion, carrying thousands of American Flags and patriotic posters expressing many anti-Communist sentiments, and marched to the beat of hundreds of bands and drum corps, showing a totally unanticipated enthusiasm.

The Organization of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, turned out very strongly, participating in the Parade to the extent of more than 5,000 members of the different nationality groups.

The long marching column was led by DR. IVAN DOCHEFF, Chairman of the AF-ABN. HON. HAMILTON FISH, one of the most prominent United States Congressman of all time, joined the leadership of AF-ABN in the forefront. Mr. IVAN WYNNYK, President of the Ukrainian Liberation Front; Mr. CHARLES ANDREANSZKY, a noted Hungarian leader; Mr. MIRO GAL, President of the Croatian-American Organization; Mr. T. P. JENNINGS, Secretary of AF-ABN, and others also marched in the front line.

Following the leading line of march, was a large sign bearing the name of AF-ABN and flanked with American Flags, escorted by girls of the different nationalities dressed in their national costumes. Next was a line of marchers carrying the flags of the

various member-Nations of AF-ABN, and, in addition, signs bearing the names of the separate countries. The appearance of these flags and insignia and costumes received great applause along the two miles parade route.

The first bloc of marchers consisted of the members and friends of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, Ukrainian Veterans, Ukrainian Youth Organizations with the Band of St. George Ukrainian Church and others, led by Parade Marshal DR. HULEVITCH; Purple Heart Winner Captain SOLOL ZELINSKY; Mr. M. SPONTAK, Chairman of the Ukrainian AF-ABN Division, and others. The Ukrainians, as expected, made the largest showing with some 3,000 participants with their flags and banners. Many were in their national costumes and organization uniforms, complimenting the entire formation.

The Hungarians, led by Captain Z. VASVARI, were ably accompanied by a contingent of Hungarian Freedom Fighters headed by Mr. E. HOKA, with their flags, and uniforms were a colorful addition. The Croatians were well represented, including the Organization of Croatian-Americans, and also the Croatian Guard of Liberty led by Mr. A. NOSICH. Following these, in turn, were the Bulgarian National Front led by Mr. K. KONDOFF; the Estonians led by Mr. E. LIPPING; the Germans led by Mr. T. SEIBERT; the North Caucasians led by Mr. ARSLAN BEK; and many others.

The entire Parade, including the great enthusiasm with which the AF-ABN was received all along the parade route, was a manifestation of the underlying anti-Communist spirit resting within the American people, which constitutes a true alliance between the United States and the people of all the Captive Nations fighting for their freedom.

From The Activities Of The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations

1. At the end of April Lady Birdwood spent several days at ABN Headquarters. She is the widow of late Lord Birdwood, who as the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Lords, defended the peoples subjugated by Russia. ABN organized a special meeting at which representatives from Ukraine, Slovakia, Turkestan, Czechia, North Caucasus, and Latvia participated. Lady Birdwood delivered a speech on "The Methods of Combating Communist Propaganda", in which she expressed valuable ideas on how to propagate the achievements of freedom-loving actions, on how to use political satire, how to turn Communist failure against them, how to publicize experiences in the anti-Communist struggle, etc. As a consequence of a two-hour discussion the participants reached a decision as to the strengthening of anti-Communist, anti-Russian propaganda, especially in Great Britain. Lady Birdwood expressed her readiness to join the common front in the liberation struggle for the freedom of nations and individuals and to help organize this front in Great Britain.

2. In the first half of May, Swedish Professor from Uppsala, Dr. Bengt Löfstedt visited ABN. He was a member of "The June Committee" when ABN, together with the Swedes and the emigrants from various subjugated nations, organized anti-Khrushchov actions. From then on Prof. Löfstedt became a subscriber of *ABN Correspondence* and interested in the activities of ABN. Now, our Swedish friend is going to the United States to accept a teaching position in California, where he, nevertheless, would like to activate and popularize the anti-Russian activities in cooperation with ABN.

3. In the middle of May an ABN delegation went to Denmark where it met with the leaders of Danish anti-Communist organizations, at which meetings, charac-

teristically, three generations participated: those who fought against Nazi-German imperialism, the present leaders of anti-Communist activities and youth. Ministers, members of Parliament, clergy, party leaders, leaders of students' organizations, editors, professionals and businessmen were present. Former Minister of Italy, Ivan Matteo Lombardo, took part as member of the ABN delegation. It has been decided to strengthen the many-sided cooperation between the Danish anti-Communist circles and the liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russia. It was resolved to extend the anti-Russian anti-imperialistic movement to every country in Europe and to take a common stand in the formation of the world anti-Communist, anti-Russian movement. The Danish supporters of ABN agreed to commemorate publicly, i. g. in the press, the major national holidays and anniversaries of Ukraine and other subjugated nations. Plans were laid for the publication of numerous articles on Ukraine and other subjugated countries and their anti-Russian liberation struggle. A T. V. program on Ukrainian underground literature is being planned. Some members of this movement are thoroughly studying the Ukrainian national history since ancient times.

4. In the second half of May a representative of the Australian ABN — Mr. Bogdanovich, manager of the Latvian Information Service in Australia, visited ABN Headquarters. The guest informed the Central Committee of ABN on the situation in Australia, and on the activities and plans of the Australian branch of ABN. Especially, it is planned to send a three-men delegation to the Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) for the first time, to be made up of a Ukrainian, a Byelorussian and a Latvian. It was decided to participate in the activities of the Australian branch of the APACL. Mr. Bogdanovich expressed a great wish to

strengthen the activity of the Latvians in the world-wide ABN movement.

5. On May 29th, the Central Committee of ABN was visited by two leaders from the Parliament of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Mr. Hoka and Mr. Pongrats. This organization has its headquarters in New York City and is in close contact with the American Friends of ABN. The guests discussed the activities of their organization as well as those of AF ABN.

6. On May 29th and 30th, Hon. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, a Turkish senator, member of the Justice Party, came to the Central Committee of ABN. The aim of his visit was to intensify and broaden the cooperation of the Turks with ABN, and especially with the Ukrainian liberation movement. At several meetings a unanimity of views was reached regarding the world anti-Russian, anti-Communist centre, the need to create a European anti-Russian, anti-Communist centre to coordinate activities of the free nations and the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples, and on the strengthening of ABN's activities in Turkey, as well as certain publicistic matters. Senator Tevetoglu informed ABN about his extensive research work on the history of Bolshevik-Russian aggression in the last 50 years, which is coming off the presses shortly. In the end our prominent Turkish friend granted an interview to *ABN Correspondence*. This great fighter against Russian imperialism stated that Turkey should become the centre of the struggle against the greatest enemy of contemporary man.

7. The ABN office was also visited by Dr. Seidel of Oxford University, England, who fled Germany in 1938 because of the persecution of Hitler's totalitarianism. Prof. Seidel recently visited Israel and other Mediterranean countries. Among other things he related little known facts about Russian intrigues in Greece, which forced the Greek nationalists recently to take radical counter-measures. Prof. Seidel is a contributor to *ABN Correspondence*.

8. The Flemish journalist and writer

Arthur de Bruyne printed many articles about prominent Ukrainians, such as Cardinal J. Slipy, Gen. T. Chuprynka, also on the Act of June 30th, etc. These articles appeared in several languages. However, the general Catholic press in Belgium did not want to reprint them, because, today, it is inconvenient for them to stand up against Communism and Russian imperialism, by describing, for example, the road of martyrdom and persecution of the Ukrainian church and the Golgotha of Cardinal-martyr, J. Slipy. Letters by de Bruyne show the decline of the spirit of the struggle with evil in some circles of Western Catholic Church.

9. The President of the Republican Alliance of Freedom and Progress, with headquarters in Paris, Tixier Vignancourt, ordered 25 issues of *ABN Correspondence*, explaining this by great interest of his friends in the ideas and activities of ABN.

10. Victor Lloyd, Secretary General of the British Anti-Communist League requested all available material on the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russia for immediate publication.

11. A request was received from Kenya for literature on Russian imperialism and on methods of combating Communism. Anti-Communist circles of Kenya have been cooperating with ABN for some time.

12. Chairman of the Organization Committee of ABN, Dr. C. Pokorny, spoke before a meeting of Bavarian teachers in Bad Kissingen on the subject of "Political Aims of the Slovak and Other Subjugated Nations".

Corrections to No. 3

p. 12, col. 1, line 26 should read "Nucleo-mythophobia";

p. 15, col. 1, line 2 should read "Sic vos non vobis".

ACEN Against The Liberation Of The Enslaved Nations

The Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN) hinders the liberation struggle of numerous enslaved nations, those within the USSR and those outside of it. What right does this organization have to call itself the Assembly of Captive European Nations, when many European enslaved nations are not represented in it? Is it that ACEN does not consider them European, does not consider them nations, or that it does not consider them captive (for instance, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Slovakia, East Germany, Croatia, etc.)? It would almost seem that the main aim and interest of this Assembly is to mingle inherent chauvinism with dollar-opportunism.

ACEN is detrimental to the enslaved nations by being silent about their real status, by generally ignoring them and by excluding them from the list of captive European nations. A few examples will suffice to substantiate this point: ACEN published a pamphlet *East-West Trade and Industrial Trends in the Soviet Area*, written by Aleksander Kutt. This pamphlet maintains that only Albania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania are captive nations, but not the non-Russian nations of the USSR. Moreover, in its information reports on the commemoration of Captive Nations Week (*ACEN News*, Sept.-Oct., 1966), this organization consciously and somewhat tactlessly falsified the purpose and content of the Law on Captive Nations Week. The entire issue is filled with news on various commemorations and celebrations, but it is by no means an honest representation: for instance, no mention whatever is made of the Ukrainians, Slovaks, Germans, Slovenes, etc. History is flatly distorted inasmuch as it is maintained that only 100 million Central Europeans are subjugated by Communism. ACEN unveiled a commemorative plaque which shamelessly states that "Soviet"

genocide was practiced only in the Baltic states and in the satellite countries. It was added that this plaque was in "memory of the unknown fighters against Communism," that is to say, of the nations and states represented in ACEN. It is maintained, in short, that other European enslaved nations did not fight against Communism and that the Russian Communists did not practice any form of genocide against them. This type of morality is false morality — it lacks honesty and truth.

The view that Eastern Europe ends with Poland, Rumania and the Baltic states is to a large extent the "achievement" of ACEN. It is systematically propagated by the Assembly. It contends, in fact, that it represents *all* the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. Owing to this wide-spread misrepresentation, the other European enslaved nations both within and outside of the USSR find it difficult to enter into the plans of the European movement.

ACEN could at least be honest enough to make it clear that it defends only *some* of the enslaved nations. Regrettably, this is not the case. At various international forums it *actively opposes* the liberation efforts of the movements united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. For instance, the ACEN draft resolution accepted at the 12th Conference of the APAACL, which was held in Seoul, Korea, is highly indicative of this. ACEN urged the governments of the free nations not to recognize the *status quo* of the satellite and Baltic states, but to recognize this status in the remainder of the Soviet Union. Moreover, ACEN proposed that Western governments should not maintain any relations that would strengthen the status quo of the satellite states with the government of the USSR. This means that ACEN sanctions all other relations with the so-called Soviet Union, such as coexistence, peaceful co-

operation, the enslavement of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, etc. ACEN "fails to see" the existence of the Russian colonialism towards the non-Russian nations inside the USSR, with the exception of the Baltic peoples. It is enough to compare this resolution with the resolution of ABN in order to understand the difference between the liberation concept of ABN and the opportunistic-regional "concept" of ACEN. The Chairman of ACEN did not agree to sign the list of sponsors of ABN's resolution and later abstained from voting on it. Furthermore, he delivered a long speech before the Committee which was considering these resolutions, in which he tried to prevent the acceptance of ABN's resolutions with all possible arguments.

The reports on the commemoration of the 1966 Captive Nations Week in the American Congress, which quite objectively defends *all* nations enslaved by Russia and by Communism, were systematically censored and falsified. ACEN reported on these commemorations as if the American Congress spoke only of the countries or nations represented in ACEN. Their pamphlets and bulletins published with American dollars, are distributed throughout the world; thus a highly distorted picture of other captive nations is created. ACEN's policies work against the liberation of numerous enslaved nations.

In the Sept.-Oct., 1966 issue of *ACEN News*, an article appears by Constantin Visoianu entitled "Europe to the Urals and the Captive Nations." The author rightly contends that Russia should not be considered a part of Europe. On the other hand, he falsely identifies Russia with the USSR, excepting the Baltic states, and feels that "the peoples of East-Central Europe ardently desire a united Europe . . . a

Europe united in freedom." One should like to know where this "European" — Mr. Visoianu — received a patent on his "Europeanism", that is to say, with what right he excludes Ukraine, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, from Europe? Such thinking hinders the captive, non-Russian nations within the USSR inasmuch as it detaches them from the European complex of nations, making them a part of Russian culture. In reality, however, Kyiv is a stronger symbol of Europe in the struggle against Russian "anti-Europeanism" than any other centre in East-Central Europe.

The over-all chauvinistic-imperialistic view of ACEN in relation to other subjugated nations is also glaringly evident in an article by Stefan Korbonski (President of ACEN), entitled "The Polish Millennium" (*ACEN News*, Jan.-Feb., 1966). The following is an example of the "Liberation" views to be found in this article: "Assuming an important religious mission in the East, Poland achieved the conversion to Christianity of Lithuania and Samogita . . ." This type of imperialism is sickening, for the truth of the matter is that Lithuania was under the influence of Orthodox Christianity long before this; and Ukraine was a strong Christian centre a few centuries before that time. Furthermore, Mr. Korbonski is repeating a brazen fiction in maintaining that Poland is the "bulwark of Europe" against the Mongols and the Bolsheviks. Aside from falsifying history — in reality, Ukraine played a much greater role in repelling the Mongols and the Bolsheviks than Poland — this ACEN official aims at weakening the liberation struggle of the enslaved Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians and other enslaved peoples.

V. Grundmanis

June 14 - Latvian Mourning Day

Latvians, as well as the other Baltic peoples, the Estonians and the Lithuanians, mourn their countrymen who were murdered by the NKVD, imprisoned or deported to slave labour camps in Siberia under the

Soviet Russian occupation of their countries in 1940-1941, and from 1944 to the present day. On June 13-14, 1941, large-scale deportations to slave labour camps in Siberia were carried out in all three Baltic

states in conjunction with secret Soviet-Russian instructions. A list of those who were to be deported had been prepared in advance. The deportations were carried out under inhuman conditions. People were taken from their homes in the middle of the night and were allowed to take almost nothing with them. Trucks transported members of a family to the railroad station, where men and even children were separated from their families and put into freightcars not having the most elementary facilities. During the journey many people died of hunger, thirst or as a result of the most primitive hygienic conditions. Other large-scale deportations followed. The Soviet Red army and the NKVD bathed in the blood of their victims in the Baltic states and the other subjugated and occupied countries. The Red Devil triumphed...

Latvian Mourning Day for all the victims of the Communist regime is June 14, which commemorates the large-scale deportations of June 13-14, 1941. The names of most of the Latvians who were deported, have been registered with the International Red Cross Committee in Geneva, Switzerland. The names of 35,828 of those deported are known, but there are tens of thousands who were murdered, imprisoned and deported whose names are not known. Namelessly, they disappeared into the death machine of the Soviet destruction of peoples.

A Holy War against Communism the world over, could bring to an end the extermination of peoples by the Soviet Russians, the Red Chinese and other Communist dictators.

Rumanians Honor Day Of Freedom

Canada — Hamilton's Rumanian Community chose Mother's Day this year to celebrate the 90th anniversary of two battles which won Rumania her national independence from the Ottoman Empire; May 10, 1877, was celebrated on Saturday, May 13, 1967, with a religious Te Deum, Cultural Festival, Banquet and Grand Ball.

Several thousand men, women and children heard Hon. Ray Connell, Minister of Public Works of Ontario, in the Fischer

Hotel, praise Rumanians for their "pride and courage", publicly denounce and protest against Russian imperialism and mass deportation to Siberia of Rumanian population.

Rt. Rev. Valerian D. Trifa of Detroit, USA, Rumanian Orthodox Bishop in exile and diaspora, said: "Rumania, which proclaimed her national independence on May 10, 1877, will someday have her liberty restored through the active support of her people at home and abroad."

Mr. H. Matei-Hojbota, Canadian representative of the Inter-American Confederation for Defence of the Continent (ICDC) said: "We are deeply conscious of the existing slavery of the Rumanian people. The enslaved peoples from our old mother country, from behind the Iron Curtain, East Europe, look to the Western world for salvation, and the free peoples look to the United States of America and Canada to keep them free and to defend them from Communism, slavery, and tyranny".

His Lordship Victor Coops, Mayor of Hamilton read the Proclamation of May 10, 1967 and extended best wishes to the Rumanian people.

Mr. Vasy! Bezkhlibnyk, represented the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Hon. John Monroe, member of Parliament from Hamilton, brought greetings from Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada. He said that although the freedom of modern Rumania is destroyed, it does not halt celebration of its national holiday here in Canada. He expressed his sincere congratulations and best wishes.

His Excellency Roland Michener, Governor General of Canada, Hon. Richard Nixon, former Vice-President of the United States of America and many others send messages of congratulation. Among hundreds of delegates from Canada and the USA who attended were: national representations of the ethnic groups from East Europe, representatives of the Rumanian Union and League of North America and the Rumanian American National Committee.

A Letter From Ukraine

(Written by an 80-year old man to his brother)

Dear Brother,

I have received your letter and few days later the two black kerchieves with the chaplet. You wrote that they cost one dollar each, but I had to pay 22 rubles and 50 kopeks, 90 kopeks for the lottery and 50 kopeks for some no good post cards, also 1 ruble for the bus and $\frac{1}{2}$ ruble to the postman, together 24 rubles and 40 kopeks. I sold the kerchieves for 15 rubles each, so that 5 rubles and 60 kopeks were left. Thus, brother, from your present I obtained 5.60, while the comrade got 24.40.

I am old . . . I went to the post-office and petitioned the post-master that I am old and have no money to pay the tariff, but he only called me a profiteer. I would have returned the package, but was told that you must have gone to a great expense to send it. Therefore, I borrowed the fee and gave it to the damned enemy.

I remember when Trotsky and Bukharin promised paradise when the tsar is expelled. They said that all prisons would be turned into schools, but now there are not enough prisons and all the cellars are packed with innocent people. And this is called soc-realism in which all are supposed to be equal.

You know how I saved the hard-earned money to buy a piece of land, in order to be provided for in my old age. But the hangmen came, took everything from me and sent me to Siberia, where I stayed for 14 years. When my wife died I was released, for I was unable to work any longer. When I returned home, the house and the barn were still there, but in very dilapidated condition, but the stable has been destroyed. However, I was not permitted to move into the house because it was occupied by a Russian team leader, who let it go to pieces: when it rains there is no place to hide. Two years ago I took the house over forcefully and have stayed there since. In the fall I wander through the fields, gather weeds, bind them into bundles and thus, heat the house in winter. I am unable to get fire wood, for the kolkhos gives wagons only to those who are still working. Old people receive a pension, but those who have returned from deportation have forfeited their right to it. This pension is not high, only 8 rubles, but even that wouldn't be so bad, but they won't even let me complain.

If it were not for your packages, I would have starved to death long ago, but still I beg you, dear brother, do not send them, because the enemy is profiting from your labour. When I was young, I traveled abroad, but what state charged such duties. Returning from America I rubbed my new shoes on the floor and they were considered used and no duty was necessary. Where in the world did you see such a state, where for a 2 dollar gift you have to pay 24.40 rubles in duty?

I should have given my property to someone during the Austrian regime, then he would have cared for me, but I fell sick and was called a bandit and deported to Siberia. That's equality for you.

Dearest brother, once again I beg you not to send me anything and don't let anyone else send me anything. Don't let the damned enemy profit by your work.

I greet and kiss you many times. I feel very weak. Probably, this will be my last letter. Farewell.

From Letters To ABN:

Anti-Marxist Muslim United Front

Ceylon, 5th June 1967

Dear Sir,

The above Front was formed in 1965, under the chairmanship of Hon'ble M. H. Mohamed, Minister of Labour, Employment and Housing, with a view to educating the Muslim masses on the dangers of Marxism and to free and save our Muslim youth from the godless theory which is attempting to spread its tentacles slowly, steadily, and subtly under various guises.

Within a short time of the formation of this Front, we have been able to establish about 30 branches all over the island and we hope to cover the entire island of Ceylon before the end of the year when we have our second annual convention.

We are also publishing a fortnightly newspaper in English and Tamil devoted to anti-Marxist propaganda titled Jihad, which in English means "Holy War". I am sending under separate cover 3 copies of the publication for your information.

I shall thank you to kindly keep us informed on all your activities and posted with your journals and other publications for our mutual benefit. We are also building up a library with books and publications on the evils of Marxism and Communism, so that our youth will have first-hand information on the conditions and suffering of the freedom-loving and religious-conscious people in Marxist or Communist countries. I shall be grateful if you could send us whatever publications and/or literature available and published from time to time for our library.

*Yours sincerely,
A. M. Nazeer
Secretary General*

May 21, 1967

Dear Editor,

Communists all over the world, especially in the Soviet Union, will celebrate the bloody 50th anniversary of the Communist October Revolution, 1917-1967, and flood the whole world with communistic propaganda, feeding credulous people with lies about the wonderful life under Communism. This revolution marks 50 years of mass-murders, terror and oppression of the Captive Nations! Millions of innocent people were murdered by the leaders of the Soviet Union and other Communist rulers; millions of people found their death in Soviet slave labour camps, and one billion people of Captive Nations suffer under Communist rule now. Religion and liberty are oppressed and individual freedom does not exist in the world of Communist domination.

As a counter-measure to Communist propaganda let us, the free people of the free world, make 1967 the year of Holy War against godless Communism. God is with us in fighting the greatest evil of the world — Communism. With His help let us step up anti-Communist propaganda, support soldiers who fight Communists in South Vietnam, contribute to and work for the cause of freedom of the Captive Nations under Communism and employ all possible means to destroy Communism and its rule over people. Let's continue the Holy War against Communism year after year until the Captive Nations are freed from the Communist brutal yoke, and free access to faith in God and freedom is restored to all people of the world.

*V. Grundmanis
Indianapolis, Indiana, U. S. A.*

Book Reviews

Youth Behind Iron Curtain Not Communist

At the turn of the year 1966/67, a book appeared in East Berlin entitled *Youth Today* (JUGEND HEUTE) by Walter Friedrich. The book gives a resume of sociological research work on the socio-psychological situation of the German youth under Communist rule.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this book:

- 1) The youth in the other part of Germany by no means identifies itself with the political-ideological objectives of the SED regime.
- 2) The family and Western television more than any other factors influence the political-ideological consciousness of the youth in Central Germany.

The National Position

"The national conditions of life, in particular the customs, emotions, educational methods and values, standardized and communicated by the common language, give rise to typical national behaviour."

"The citizen in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) lives in a differently 'shaded' national milieu than the citizen of Western Germany. There is no unified national group of the Germans. This fact has its effect especially on the young generation."

Results of Empirical Research Work on the Ideological and Social-Individual Attitude of the Youth

Conditions of Life of Present-day Youth

"We found that in 1964 on the average 14-16-year old pupils spent 56 minutes of the day in a movie theatre or before a television set, 20 minutes at the radio. Today, the personality is formed to a high degree by such leisure-time influences."

Results of the Polls:

The poll was conducted among pupils and students.

The Attitude towards the Meaning of Life

A) "Did you ever think about the meaning of life?"

Yes, firm conviction	33% ₀
Yes, unclear views	55% ₀
No	7% ₀
(no answers: 5% ₀)	

B) "Are you convinced that the socialist system will succeed on a world scale?"

- a) I am very sure
- b) I hope
- c) I doubt it
- d) no
- e) at present no firm opinion."

Here no percentage is given: it is merely stated that those who were "convinced" more frequently gave a positive answer to the question as to the meaning of life than the others.

C) What constitutes the meaning of life to you?

Answers:

Social values	61% ₀
professional values	47% ₀
personal values	60% ₀

"The above analyses indicate the strong social consciousness of a great part of the youth. Our young men and women are not individualistically orientated, i. e. thinking only of their own personal welfare, as is the case with West Germany's youth, as is brought out in many publications."

The Attitude Toward Socialist Aims

"The large majority of the youth interviewed by us, affirms the socialist aims and has a strong personal relationship to them. That is indicated mostly by the decisions and explanations of those questions: 'Are you convinced that the socialist system will succeed on a world scale? Do you think that man will succeed in creating a society devoid of war and injustice, that is to say,

a life of happiness for all?' More than four fifths of the youth interviewed answered these two questions in the affirmative."

Attitude Toward Politics

F) "Do you follow the political events with

- a) great 44%
- b) average 44%
- c) weak interest 8%
- d) not at all"? 3%

Reasons Given for Political Attitude

The young people who are very interested in politics give the following reasons:

- 1) General: world politics engage one's interest 25%
- 2) Interest in and commitment to the maintenance of peace; the problems of class struggle between the socialist and the capitalist world are of interest 15%
- 3) The German question is of interest 8%
- 4) Politics is of vital importance to me and of great meaning to my (our) life. 19%
- 5) One must be able to form political views; one must always be informed. 14%
- 6) General: Politics is important to every young person 15%
- 7) Other arguments 6%

"In the comments and examples given by the young people to No. 2, no mention is made of the subject of socialism or class struggle: Examples to No. 3 read like this: "Because I am interested in knowing when the re-unification of the two German states will finally take place." "I expect a peace treaty with all of Germany."

Attitude Toward the Press

- G) "Do you read
 - daily 57%
 - often 24%
 - only occasionally 17%
 - hardly ever 2%
 in a newspaper?"

H) "Which part of the daily newspaper interests you most?"

- Sports 61% (71-51 boys-girls)
- Novels 50% (34-64 boys-girls)
- (cultural section)
- political

- news 42% (44-60 boys-girls)
- miscellaneous 24% (28-19 boys-girls)"

- I) "Did you come to your views of life West German youth
 - a) through your parents 46% 21%
 - b) independent of them 48% 61%
 - c) against the will of 3% 4%
 your parents?

Summary and General Assessment of the Results

" . . . In our opinion the ideological orientation is decisively affected by family education. The family's influence on political-ideological and related views, is very strong at present . . ."

"We know that via radio and TV our youth can establish contacts to Western transmitting stations, which, in attractively guised broadcasts, hold up political-moral values, contradictory to ours."

To fully understand the statistics quoted above, it must be borne in mind that this data was furnished in the light of Communist propaganda. There was undoubtedly good reason for not giving percentages of the answer to the question: "Are you convinced a Socialist society will be established on a world scale?" In all probability precisely the reply to this question proved to be catastrophic. The DDR regime, which always maintains that the youth is behind it 100 percent, would give itself the lie if it were to publish that to this question only a low percentage answered "I am very sure" or "I hope so." In the book *Jugend heute*, it is stated that: "No one was forced to complete the questionnaire. Definite guarantees were emphatically vouchsafed. Only about 10 pupils refused to fill out the questionnaire." "Definite guarantees" — that is to say that a negative reply to a question, i. e., negative as far as the regime is concerned, would not be held against the person interviewed. Could the youth rely upon this guarantee? It cannot be assumed that all of them did. Rather it is to be assumed that for fear of being labelled "politically unreliable" by the Party, they gave the answers expected.

New York AF-ABN Supports Vietnam Effort



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The European Freedom Council

Coordinating Body For The Organizations Fighting Communism

Representatives of free and subjugated European nations met in Munich during the week-end June 30 — July 2, and resolved to establish the European Freedom Council — Coordinating Body for the Organizations Fighting Communism.

The Conference elected an Executive Board with the following members: President — Mr. OLE BJORN KRAFT; Chairmen — Mr. YAROSLAV STETSKO and Mr. IVAN MATTEO LOMBARDO; two members — Mr. THEODOR OBERLÄNDER and Mr. JOHN GRAHAM.

Mr. Kraft is former Foreign Minister of Denmark, former Vice-President of the European Council and of the Danish Parliament.

Mr. Stetsko is former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Mr. Lombardo is former Minister of Foreign Trade, and former Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist Party, and Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association.

Mr. Oberländer is a member of the Christian Democratic Party and a former member of the German Federal Government with special responsibilities for refugee matters.

Mr. Graham is editor of „Anglo-Ukrainian News“ and a member of the British Labour Party.

The Conference also elected a Committee of Information under the Chairmanship of Madame Suzanne Labin of Paris, an internationally-known author and journalist, holder of Prix de la Liberte and expert on East European affairs. The other members of the Committee are the Marquis de Valdeiglesias of Madrid and Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic.

The main aims of the European Freedom Council are to coordinate and intensify anti-Communist activity in Europe and to give support to the cause of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Russian empire.



Group Of Delegates After The Conference

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

25th Anniversary Of Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

(October 1942 — 1967)



General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych — Commander-In-Chief
(Fell In Battle Against The Russian Army In 1950)

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Chuprynka Inspires Americans

Opening Remarks of Dr. Walter Darnell Jacobs, Washington AF ABN Chairman, Chairman of the Committee for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which he made at the Banquet held June 17, 1967 at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Our meeting tonight is entirely fitting. It honours the memory of men who were willing to fight for freedom — men who were willing to offer the ultimate sacrifice in order to secure freedom not only for themselves but for all others who are worthy of freedom.

Many years ago, on a somewhat similar occasion, Taras Chuprynka said: "The history of mankind does not know such an heroic epoch. New Ukrainian generations will be taught about the heroism of the UPA and the liberating-revolutionary underground. The UPA fighter, the Ukrainian revolutionary, will replace the manly Spartan in the history of mankind. Be, therefore, conscious of the great epoch in which you live and do not put to shame the glory of the Ukrainian insurgent as did not those who already have died in the fight."

These inspiring words of Chuprynka are especially pertinent today when the inglorious steps of Aleksei Kosygin dishonour our shores. No two persons could better exemplify two different principles than do Chuprynka and Kosygin — the one fighting and willing to die for the freedom of men, the other using all the force, deceit, and cunning in order to enslave and to denude men of all dignity.

There are some who will honour Kosygin, who will meet him on even grounds as if he were their equal. There are others — such as those of us here tonight and other sons of the Chuprynka tradition — who will forever reject the obscene threats and promises of the Kosygin of the world.

It is not easy to follow in the footsteps of Chuprynka. The UPA left us at least one continuing message — liberty, to be worth having, is worth fighting and dying for.

There is now and has been a lot of talk about freedom. Talk and action do not always follow one another. Sometimes in history, however, they walk hand in hand. The congruence of words and action was realized by the UPA fighters under Chuprynka and later under Bandera and others. Our task today is to dedicate ourselves not only to words — which are entirely proper, to be sure — but also to action.

The great enslaver of our time is Russian Communism. Those who would sup with its leaders and still talk of freedom are, at the very least, self-deceived. At worst, they are pure hypocrites. We, too, face the danger of ourselves becoming hypocrites.

In order to avoid that danger, in order to resist it — it is necessary for us, from time to time, to renew our oath of dedication to the principles of freedom

to individuals, freedom to nations. That is our function tonight. We are renewing our faith with the heroes of the UPA.

We are renewing our faith when many about us are counselling us to compromise with the Kremlin, when many respected voices are talking about a mellowing in Moscow, and when the prevailing line seems to be that it is possible to live and cooperate with the Communists.

In our hearts we know this counsel is false. We know as Robert Louis Stevenson has said that "You cannot run away from a weakness; you must some time fight it out or perish; and if that be so, why not now, and where you stand?"

The true counsel is that which says, "Blessed be the Lord, my rock, who trains my hands for battle, my fingers for war."

In the name of the preparation committee, I welcome you all to this rededication. You can find a sure guide in the fighting slogan of the UPA — "Freedom to individuals, freedom to nations!"

A LETTER FROM UKRAINE

(Names and places are omitted in order not to endanger the writer.)

"Dear Brother,

Do not send me parcels any more and do not incur expenditures because your parcels are of little use to me. Our post master is Russian — since all officials here are Russians — and when earlier someone received a package from abroad something was always missing from the package. The present post master changed his method of stealing, namely, he forsook stealing and began to plunder. Upon the arrival of a package, the post master calls the recipient of the package and in his presence inspects the contents of the package according to the enclosed list. However, the nicest and most valuable things are usually deleted from the post master's list, and on this basis he confiscates such things. You must keep silent! Because for one word of protest you can find yourself in Kazakhstan.

From the package that I received from you last, the post master confiscated the leather strap to the boots, one sweater and a watch. With heart full of pain I looked on as the post master was robbing me and cried fervently . . ."

CHRISTIANS PERSECUTED IN UKRAINE

The Russian occupational court in Odessa tried a group of members of the religious sect, the Evangelical Christians-Baptists headed by their presbyter M. P. Shevchenko. They were accused of breaking the "laws on religious sects".

On February 10, 1967, *Robotnycha Hazeta*, a Communist paper in Ukraine, wrote that "it was a criminal case." The inquiry, confessions of witnesses and many documents (probably by informers) supposedly "convincingly proved that the leaders of the sect systematically broke the civil order, organized their meetings in forbidden places and urged the faithful to disobey Soviet laws on religious sects . . ."

As a result of the trial the Communist court, headed by a Russian, M. D. Mieshkov, found all the defendants guilty and sentenced M. P. Shevchenko, I. N. Kryvyj, S. P. Soloviov, V. I. Alekseiev and H. H. Borushko to three years, V. T. Tymchak to two years and V. M. Zaborskyj to one year of imprisonment.

It is clear that the defendants were tried and convicted for leading an active religious life, and to be a real Christian is in itself a crime in the Russian Communist empire.

Our Demands To The Free World

Guiding Principles For The Anti-Communist Struggle

A moral rebirth is an indispensable prerequisite of a successful struggle against the world evil of Communism, whose main centre is Moscow. Renewed faith in the unchangeable and eternal truths, faith in God and Country, and the debarbarization of humanity — these are the values needed. It is high time that the process of erosion of dynamic Christian and other religious faiths, idealism and humanism in the Free World be halted, for society cannot exist without faith and the eternal truths.

What is needed is to defend the everlasting ideals. What is needed is character, courage, loyalty and determination in the realization and application of the Christian and patriotic principles of life in Western society. If the West continues to underrate moral values and national traditions and shy away from an ideological contest, it will cease to be what it has been, since the West collectively has represented a synthesis of Christian, heroic humanistic and patriotic values. It is because it has been based on these eternal values that the West has become the freest and the most progressive society. But this society is doomed to perish within a short time if Western man ceases to aspire towards the high ideals. Moscow is certain to emerge victorious if the free Western man does not return to moral values as the dominant factor in life, to faith in the eternal religious truths and to an appreciation of a life of moral ideologies. To value the heroic over the preservation of one's own egotistical life, to rate effort and struggle on behalf of one's friends above one's utilitarian profit, to struggle for the great and the supreme in life as opposed to the cult of the materialistic man, to place sacrifice and devotion above amour-propre, and to find the meaning of life in service to an ideal — these are the elements of a new anti-hedonistic renewal of spirit which are sorely needed in today's world. All the material wealth and the modern way of life would be entirely lost should Moscow prevail.

The enslaved nations in the Russian prison of nations are a component and an integral part of freedom-loving mankind, and so are those subjugated peoples that are under the domination of other Communist regimes. The ideological resurrection, the moral, anti-hedonistic, anti-materialistic and anti-Communist rebirth takes place in spirituality and in the struggle of the subjugated peoples. Communism is a modern form of Russian imperialism and colonialism, a national imperialistic Russian idea, under the guise of which Russia endeavors to conquer the whole world. Russian Communists denounce with impudence the pretended Western imperialism which does not exist; they do it in order to divert attention of the world from their own imperialism. The national liberation idea of the subjugated peoples in the Russian empire, i. e. in the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries, constitutes the Achilles' heel of this despotic and tyrannical edifice. The Free World's road to eventual liberation from the danger of slavery is in the anti-Russian, anti-imperialistic and anti-Communist insurrections of all the captive nations for the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent democratic states, in their ethnical areas. While giving primary limelight to rogue no. 1 (Russia), we are not ignoring rogue no. 2 (Communist China) because

the threat from there does not ignore Europe. We should fight against both Moscow and Peking simultaneously.

National insurrections, that is national liberation wars, of the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism are the true alternative to an atomic war. By strengthening the insurgent armies of the subjugated peoples and by forming combat units from defectors of the subjugated nations who will join the free nations' forces, the national armies under the leadership and direction of the national liberation centres of all the oppressed nations, especially the non-Russian captive nations in the USSR, would become welcome allies of the Free World. The assurance of success lies in synchronized and coordinated national insurrections and in a chain of revolutionary uprisings, which should be supported by the West.

Above all, the present policy of the West must undergo certain important changes which would attune it to the service of high ideals and a heroic-noble way of life. We reject Moscow's policy of "peaceful coexistence" because it enables Moscow to gain recognition of the status quo of the subjugated nations as a starting point for other conquests. It is a sham and a swindle! A new hope and confidence must be aroused in the captive nations. They must become convinced that the West will not betray them, but will support their struggle for freedom and national independence. The international institutions should be reorganized and reconstructed for the purpose of conducting an effective struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism with the participation therein of the spokesmen of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations.

Ingredients of the Solution of the World Crisis

First, to cease to fear Russia's military might which is held in leash by the dread of nuclear warfare and the fear of national revolutions. Second, to realize that in this nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as a positive instrument of policy. Third, that this mode of conflict is waged in the enemy's interior, that is by attacking him in the first place, internally. And last, to understand that in this war of wills and ideas, a strategy which is based on appeasement or containment, which can solely react to the enemy's offensives instead of fearlessly attacking, can ultimately lead only to defeat and degradation. The strength of Communism lies only in the moral weakness of the West.

Importance of Europe

In the interest of the general human progress it is necessary that Europe returns to the position of influence in the world, which she enjoyed for centuries as an important moral, cultural and political force.

The spiritual, moral and material forces of Europe as a whole, disregarding past wars, are inexhaustible, if a regeneration in the free part of Europe, in the sense of patriotism, dynamic religious life, the stress on the primacy of heroic humanism over the egoistic-hedonistic meaning of life would come.

The world-historical role of Europe has not terminated unless Europeans themselves so desire.

The free part of Europe has to be in a position to defend herself alone against the aggressive Russian-Bolshevik advance, which enslaved the national independent and sovereign states of the peoples which arose on the ruins of the Russian tsarist empire, and other free nations, during and after World War II, and later Communism conquered other large areas of Asia, and is preparing to capture power in many non-European and non-Asian countries.

The free part of Europe will be unable to assert herself in the long run, until the peoples enslaved in the Russian empire are liberated, and, thus, the danger to the world is liquidated.

The vital interests of free Europe and of the enslaved peoples are inseparable.

The guarantee of a lasting and successful defence of the still free part of Europe is to be found in her own forces and the orientation upon the liberation movements of the peoples enslaved in the Russian empire.

Europe will become an unconquerable force only when her interests will cease to be limited to the still free remnants of Europe.

The enslaved peoples hold the key position in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism and as the British military theoretician, General J. F. C. Fuller said: "No power the world has ever seen, has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik empire. It is not a national state, but a state of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century ago: 'The Russian empire is a dustbin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Tsardom. Break that hoop and its empire is at an end . . .' The most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples — that means — the Kremlin is living on a volcano."

On United Front

Lenin considered coexistence policy as a means to mislead and deceive the West. Therefore, it is necessary:

To expose Soviet-Russian "coexistence" policy which aims at strengthening and expanding the Russian empire, intending to bury the West eventually.

To advocate the concept of a *united front* of the Free World with the subjugated nations, directed simultaneously against *both* tyrannies — Moscow and Peking —, and to oppose any alliance with one tyranny against the other, because similar practices in the past led to the victory of the tyranny.

To defend the right of free nations to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and the right of small nations to defend themselves against thermo-nuclear attack with modern weapons.

To call upon the free world to adopt an offensive political warfare, to encircle the Russian Communist empire with anti-Communist broadcasting stations and political infiltration centres.

To fight pacifist pro-Communist movements.

On Communist And Pro-Communist Propaganda

It must be stated that a state of permanent war exists between the Free World and the Communist regimes.

It is a different type of war, but it is a state of war nevertheless.

The USSR and other Communist states are the belligerent party. One should always bear in mind that the *most powerful weapon* which can bring about the downfall of the Free World is pro-Communist and Communist propaganda, for it subverts the ideology of the Free World, undermines its morality, and destroys the will of the masses and of the elite of the free peoples.

The Free World should stop all financial support to the USSR and other Communist regimes.

The Communist parties, all pro-Communist and anti-religious propaganda, especially in films, television, universities, in textbooks, glorification of sexual licentiousness, criminality, which undermine the morals of the free society, in particular of young persons, should be prohibited just as Nazi propaganda is prohibited.

All persons who promote the spread of Communism, anti-patriotism, atheism, immorality, pro-Moscow or pro-Peking policy, and who obviously manifest pro-Bolshevist sympathies should be dismissed from public offices and universities.

Since human and national rights are violated, it is necessary

To condemn Russian colonialism and imperialism in countries subjugated by Moscow and to call upon the UN, to take the strongest measures in accordance with the de-colonization resolution, No. 1514 (XV), against the USSR and its satellites because of the continuous violation of human rights of individuals and nations; to condemn the extermination practices of Moscow in all subjugated countries and the persecution of religion; to condemn Russification, persecution, imprisonments and sentencing of cultural workers — authors, scientists, artists, and students, for their desire of creative freedom; to protest against and condemn the plan already under way of forced deportation and resettlement in Siberia and Kazakhstan of one and a half million young adults from the subjugated countries in order to weaken the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated peoples against their oppressors in their native lands.

To support the fight for national independent and sovereign states of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Turk-estan, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, North Caucasus, Poland, Czechia, Hungary, Slovakia, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, Croatia and other subjugated peoples in their ethnical boundaries, for self-determination of all peoples in regard to their political systems, for civil rights and liberties, for freedom of practising all religious faiths and human dignity, and for social justice, and for re-unification of Germany, Vietnam and Korea in freedom.

To fight against Communist imperialism — Russian and Chinese, against the Communist system, despotism, dictatorship, tyranny, against the intervention by one country in the internal affairs of other countries, against any form of totalitarianism, atheism, against genocide, against Russification of non-Russian subjugated peoples.

To favour the national liberation insurrections of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism, as a means to its liquidation and as a possible alternative to a nuclear war, and to call upon the governments of the Free World to give support to such insurrections in case of their outbreak.

Captive Nations Week — Beacon Of Hope

By Barry Goldwater

Los Angeles—This column is deliberately late. It concerns something that happened a month ago, but I have not written about it until now to make my point more forcefully.

One month ago the President, under a mandate from Congress “proclaimed” Captive Nations Week.

The proclamation was so silent that few Americans even heard it. It didn’t cause a ripple.

It was so silent that it might as well not have been done. Between the theoretical date of Captive Nations Week and now there hasn’t been enough made of it to produce a whisper that could be heard beyond the few communities that did something about it.

Beacon of Hope

Captive Nations Week meant something in the years immediately after a concerned Congress established it as a beacon of hope to the captive millions behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. It was important to the many Americans who have relatives in the captive nations and to millions abroad to whom the U. S. attitude toward the Communist conquerors is the only ray of hope left in a dark world.

It meant something in particular to the mood of American foreign policy. It meant nation-wide recognition that Communism is a naked, aggressive force, that millions of formerly free men are oppressed behind a barrier of Red bayonets and that the cold war is essentially a war of liberation.

Eisenhower’s Words

President Eisenhower did not hedge when he first proclaimed Captive Nations Week. He referred honestly and flatly to nations “made captive by the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Soviet Communism.” There, for all the world to see and hear, was the statement of a man who knew the realities of the world in which he lived, of a people who knew them, also, and of a leader and a people dedicated together to getting on with the fight against aggression by every peaceful means available to them.

The Captive Nations Week proclamation ever since has been a barometer of an administration’s firmness or softness toward Communism.

On the scale of such a barometer, the present version of Captive Nations Week has hit dead bottom. It was throttled with official indifference at the outset. And even those few to whom the news might have leaked heard nothing more than a vague reference that freedom has been “circumscribed or denied” in many sections of the world.

All that the Lyndon Johnson Administration has left of Captive Nations Week is the title.

‘Attitude’ Revealed

Just as surely as a barometer foretells a storm, this attitude reflects the Administration’s paradoxical attitude toward Communism.

Thousands of Americans have lost their lives fighting Communist aggression in Vietnam. And yet the same administration that ordered them there has not effectively extended this policy to Communism on other fronts.

Communism supplies the battlefield, and yet Washington today asks that we step up trade with Communism.

So rather than embarrass Communism, the Administration has buried Captive Nations Week even as Communism promises to bury us.



CHRISTO STATEFF

Vice-president
of the Central Committee of ABN

The Bulgarian statesman Christo STATEFF, a long time representative of the Bulgarian National Front on the Central Committee of ABN, died at the age of eighty, in exile in Italy, and was laid to eternal rest in Rome on 4 September, 1967.

With his death, Bulgaria has become the poorer for one of her outstanding political leaders. Bulgarian exiles have lost in him a champion of the national cause of his fatherland in the struggle against Russian foreign domination and Communist tyranny. With his ever lively mind and his inexhaustible pen, there has grown silent at the same time a voice which never feared to warn us against compromises and illusions with regard to the unchanging threat of the world Communist danger.

Stateff's career as a journalist, politician and diplomat consisted of unique and devoted service to people and country. Dominated by consciousness of his national obligations since his early youth, he was able from the very beginning to prove his vocation as a political leader and remained true to it right until the end of his life.

He began his political career as an admirer and disciple of the famous Bulgarian statesman Stefan STAMBULOFF, who with brilliant inspiration and titanic powers of determination managed to preserve Bulgaria's independence after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 from the fate of becoming a Russian "Danube Government", a fate which had been intended by Petersburg.

As a dynamic youth in the ranks of Stambuloff's Liberal Party, Stateff soon moved to the top and in the 1920's was among its recognized leaders. As such he was repeatedly elected to Parliament and held ministerial office.

Even in exile Stateff remained true to this fighting political temperament, despite many bitter disappointments. Regardless of all the darker aspects of the world political situation, he never lost a rocklike belief in the final victory of righteousness and freedom both for Bulgaria and the whole world. This confidence was also transferred to his followers, keeping them from despondency.

Christo Stateff's personality possessed that power of emanation which is the mark of a man with a political vocation and which creates by inexplicable means respect and loyalty among his followers. All national representatives of the subjugated nations on the Central Committee of ABN felt it to be an honour and a joy to have him among them in the common struggle, and they will always remember him with respect.

We bow before the mortal remains of this deserving son of Bulgaria. He had to conclude his life in exile, but may he, one day when his country is once more free, find eternal rest in his native soil, for which all his thoughts and wishes were intended.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF ABN

Fifty Years Of Russian-Bolshevik Tyranny

This year is deeply overcast by the 50th anniversary of a disastrous historical event and its catastrophic consequences: on November 7, 1967, a half century since the Russian-Bolshevik seizure of power will be completed.

Fifty years ago, on November 7, 1917, when the Russian-Bolshevik Party assumed power in the Russian territory of the former tsarist empire through a coup d'état, the world was astonished, without grasping the meaning and full implications of this event. It was inclined to look upon this historical fact more as an episode in the general process of decay of the Russian empire than as an attempt to save this empire.

How would it have been possible at that time to recognize the imperialistic character of this coup d'état, in view of the fact that the Party which came into power pretended to have a Socialist and international orientation, and that its leaders explicitly acknowledged the full right of self-determination of all the peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire, including their right to secession?

At that time the world had no basis upon which to distinguish between the tactics and aims, agitation and reality, theory and practice of the Bolshevik rulers. It held the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia to be a social Revolution. In fact, however, it was an imperialistic counter-revolution, a state-capitalistic reaction.

The non-Russian peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire had wide historical experience with Russian imperialism and colonialism. They, therefore, had no illusions about Russian Bolshevism. They were not in the least interested in saving the disintegrating empire. A change of regime meant nothing to them. They did not overthrow the tsarist regime in the victorious March Revolution to replace it with another Russian regime, but to achieve their

national freedom and independence. These peoples were set upon free and independent nation-states!

The non-Russian peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire countered the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia by declaring their independence and by establishing democratic nation-states!

In the years 1917 and 1918, the following peoples and countries declared their independence: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, Turkestan, Siberia, Cossackians, and North Caucasians. In short, these peoples and countries achieved their right of self-determination. In most cases, however, it was not a matter of establishing new states, but of re-establishing old states.

The Russian-Bolshevik government, having gained sufficient strength, sent out its newly formed Red army to conquer these peoples who had become independent, and to incorporate them forcefully into the Russian empire. Under one pretext or another Soviet Russia waged wars of conquest against these states. These wars went on for years because the peoples tenaciously defended their freedom against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. But by 1922, the Soviet Russian government had succeeded in almost restoring the old empire. Only Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland held out against the Russians at that time, with the help of the West.

In 1922, the Bolshevik rulers changed the official name of the restored Russian empire to "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," to deceive the world as to its true character. The main purpose of this renaming was to make the Soviet Russian empire appear as if it were a free union of peoples.

The non-Russian peoples of this empire were robbed of their freedom and right of self-determination. Their areas received various positions within the Soviet Union;

some were designated as sovereign "Union Republics," others as autonomous Republics, still others were divided into several units or completely dissolved. In fact, however, regardless of the formal organizational construction of the "Soviet Union," all non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union are subjugated and exploited by Russia. The federative façade of the Soviet Russian empire is merely an attempt to conceal Russian foreign rule and the centralized dictatorship of the Russian-Bolshevik Party.

The forceful reincorporation of these peoples into the Russian empire not only deprived them of their national independence, but also of their political, economic, cultural and religious freedom. Over and above this, their fundamental human rights are continually violated.

Their free states and social organizations were usurped by an unprecedented dictatorship and rule of terror. The free economy of these peoples was also destroyed and replaced by a colonially-centralized, collective-planned economy. A modern slave system, adorned with Socialist slogans, was constructed and imposed upon the populace. The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Russian empire were and are the victims of a colonial exploitation.

An additional aftermath of Russian-Bolshevik foreign rule is the mental enslavement of the subjugated peoples. With the loss of their independence, these peoples also lost their spiritual and cultural freedom. Soviet Russia's official state ideology, known as Marxism-Leninism, was and is imposed upon them in all spheres of life; it is propagated both within and outside of schools. Scientists, artists, writers, journalists, teachers, state officials, judges and all persons engaged in public activity have to profess this ideology. No one is permitted to criticize it, let alone reject it.

The culture and national traditions of the non-Russian peoples of the "Soviet Union" are ignored or suppressed. These peoples are systematically subjected to a cultural and linguistic Russification.

All religions are suppressed in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. Russian leaders

make no effort to conceal the fact that the uprooting of all religions is one of the aims of the Bolshevik Party. In the realization of this aim, the Russian-Bolshevik dictatorship had countless priests murdered or thrown into concentration camps, numerous churches destroyed and closed, or turned into museums, cinemas or warehouses.

The peoples subjugated within the Soviet Russian empire will never renounce their freedom and independence. They never were and are not willing to accept Russian foreign rule and colonial exploitation, Bolshevik barbarity and slavery. Uninterruptedly, from the moment of their subjection, they have offered active and passive resistance to the Russian-Bolshevik colonial power.

Soviet Russia was never willing to recognize the national right of self-determination of the peoples ruled and exploited by her and to surrender their countries. On the contrary, she always aimed at incorporating more and more peoples and countries into her sphere of influence and at imposing her Bolshevik system upon more and more peoples and countries!

In this connection Moscow-controlled Communist Parties and their collaborators and agents continue to offer valuable help to Soviet Russia throughout the world.

Soviet Russia never fails to exploit every opportunity to expand her power and influence.

Violating international law during World War II, Soviet Russia occupied and annexed the Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, in 1940. Against the will of the populace, these states were incorporated into the "Soviet Union," as "Union Republics." This was not only a violation of the right of self-determination of these peoples, but also a breach of various international treaties which Soviet Russia had concluded with these states. Moscow also occupied West Ukraine and West Byelorussia in 1939.

In the last months of World War II, between 1944 and 1945, Soviet Russia succeeded in occupying the following countries in the process of its war operations:

Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Bohemia, and parts of Germany and Finland. The peoples which possessed nation-states directly before Soviet Russian occupation were robbed of their sovereignty and independence. Their states became Russian satellites. Communist dictatorships disguised as "People's Democracies", were imposed upon them by the Soviet Russian occupying power. The Russian Red army also re-established the artificial states of Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia against the will of the Croatian and Slovak people. In 1949, Soviet Russia declared the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany a separate German state, against the will of the German populace, under the deceptive name, German Democratic Republic.

All these peoples wanted neither Russian domination nor the Communist system. These peoples were and are not willing to renounce their national cultures and freedom, their own statehood and independence. With all their might, they resist Russian imperialism and colonialism.

But Soviet Russia is determined to crush by brute force every trace of resistance to her absolute rule.

Thus the Soviet Russian empire has become the largest colonial power, threatening the freedom of the entire world.

Even outside the immediate Soviet Russian sphere of power, Communism was able to come into power only with Russia's help. Without Russian help Communist dictatorships would not have been established on the Chinese Mainland, in North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba.

Every new conquest, every new acquisition of power serves Soviet Russia as a base of aggression for new conquest, new expansions of her power and influence. Therefore, all self-respecting, freedom-loving men and women the world over are charged with the moral responsibility of defending themselves against this danger, of vouchsafing freedom, culture and moral values, and of fighting Russian colonialism and imperialism.

Especially the governments of the free world have the supreme task of liberating the world from the onslaught of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, and of supporting the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism.

Only by the dissolution of the entire Soviet Russian empire into independent, democratic nation-states of the subjugated peoples and by the overthrow of all Communist dictatorships, can the Communist danger be permanently crushed.

Freedom will be victorious everywhere, when all freedom-loving forces unite in the fight against tyranny!



Partial View Of The Conference Of European Freedom Council In Munich (Germany), On June 30, 1967

Ukrainian Cultural Workers In Prison

The majority of those convicted, — 17 persons, are spending their second year in prisons and “correction-labour” camps of a very strict nature. The Supreme Court of the USSR mitigated the sentences of only 2 convicts after hearing their appeals. The 6-year sentence of Mykhailo Ozerny, a teacher and translator from the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, was reduced to 3 years, and the 5-year sentence of Yaroslav Hevrych, a student from Kyiv was reduced to 3 years. Letters to rescind or reduce the sentences, appeals, protests and petitions of the various cultural workers to the courts and Party offices, had no success whatsoever. Neither the Association of the Writers of Ukraine nor the Association of Artists of the Ukr.S.S.R. took measures to help the imprisoned literary men and artists. On November 11, 1966, while attending the 21st Session of the General Assembly of the U.N. as delegates of the Ukr.S.S.R., Ivan Drach and Dmytro Pavlychko expressed their intent to do everything in their power to influence the Russian regime in favour of the imprisoned cultural workers, possibly in connection with the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Bolshevik government. This intent was apparently not realized.

Insults and Repression — An Answer to Pleas

Leaving the complete silence of the Russian press on the subject of the convicted cultural workers out of account, it has to be emphasized that the Ukrainian community in the Ukr.S.S.R., in the persons of its true representatives, unanimously and honestly defended those persecuted. Public trials of the arrested as well as publicity on their case was demanded by outstanding Ukrainian writers, among them winners of the Lenin and Shevchenko awards, composers, producers, educators and scientists. Workers, public servants and students in groups pleaded for public trials of the arrested and asked permission to be present at court proceedings against their friends, classmates and acquaintances. At the time of sentencing they gathered outside the court building or in its corridors, thus manifesting their solidarity with the convicted. A large group of Lviv writers submitted an appeal to the Lviv District Court for the release of Bohdan Horyn, literary and art critic, who was convicted in the Lviv trial. Similar petitions to the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R. were lodged by a group of artists from Kyiv and Lviv on behalf of Opanas Zalyvakha, an artist who was sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk. All these appeals and petitions were simply ignored by the courts and the KGB. What's more:, some of those who signed the petitions became themselves the objects of administrative-police persecution, or even repression! The KGB's attitude toward Ukrainian cultural workers and Ukrainian literature and arts in general, is expressed by the high officials of the KGB in their public communications to some of the Soviet writers: “Thus, you are writing all sorts of trash instead of educating the people. What's more, you are defending the anti-Soviets. But they all should be hanged, dirty scum . . .”

The circumstances of the arrest and sentencing of the oldest persons among the repressed — M. Masiutko and S. Karavansky — serve as a good illustration of contemporary Russian justice and KGB methods toward Ukrainian cultural workers.

The Case of Mykhailo Masiutko

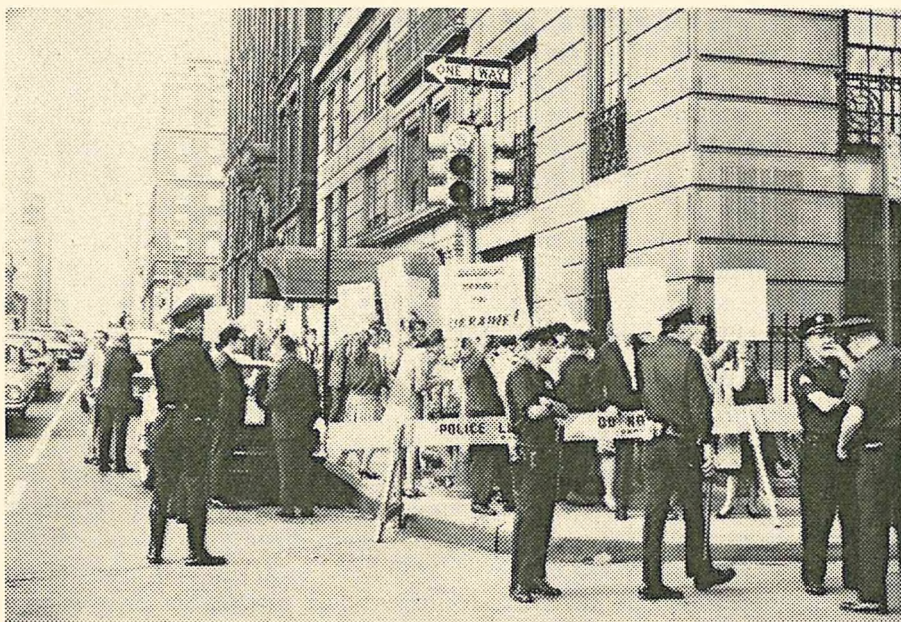
Sentenced in Lviv behind closed doors, separately from other defendants in the same case, Mykhailo Masiutko, a retired teacher, literary critic and author of an article: "Ivan Franko — Fighter for the Freedom and Unity of the Ukrainian People" published in a periodical *Dnipro* in 1964, was arrested in Feodosiia in September of 1965. During the search the authorities confiscated printed poems of various poets, especially those of Ivan Franko, Ye. Pluzhnyk, V. Sosiura, V. Symonenko, I. Drach. Some copies of folk songs, over ten old books published in Western Ukraine before 1939 and several type-written copies of so-called "anonymous" articles were also confiscated. These articles are circulated hand to hand, and the organs of the KGB call them "anti-Soviet", as for instance the following well known documents in the Free World: "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohrutzhalsky", "A Letter of Vasyly Symonenko's Mother", and the articles: "Ukrainian Education of the Chauvinistic Loop", "Contemporary Imperialism". Failing to find the real authors of these "anti-Soviet" articles, the KGB investigators decided, in Stalin's tradition, to pin their authorship on the aging Masiutko, all the more since he was already repressed in the 30's and spent some time in the concentration camps of Kolyma. Without any incriminating evidence or witnesses his case was excluded from the trial of the Brothers Horyn; the accusations against him were based upon the testimony of "experts", who were harnessed to this role by the KGB. At a separate trial at which Sodovsky was the public prosecutor, the "experts" confirmed, in accordance with an agreement with the KGB, the accusations of the prosecutor that Mykhailo Masiutko was the author of the anonymous "anti-Soviet" articles. As a result he was sentenced to six years imprisonment, three years of which were to be spent in solitary confinement. Among those who played the role of "experts" were people with high academic degrees, as for instance, Semen Mykhailovych Shakhovskiy, professor at the University of Lviv and long-time associate of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R.; Mykola Fylypovych Matviychuk, Ph. D., philologist from the Lviv University; a graduate from the Vienna University in 1926, Bronyslav Volodymyrovych Kobylansky; art critic Fedir Matviyovych Neboriachok and others. It has to be emphasized that some Ukrainian scholars from Lviv, Kyiv and Moscow refused to take part in this "expertism". Their names are mentioned with respect among the Ukrainian population of the Ukr.S.S.R.

The Case of Sviatoslav Karavansky

In a similar way the sentencing of the Ukrainian philosopher, journalist and translator, Sviatoslav Karavansky, whom some Soviet visitors to the U.S. and Canada tried to call a "Gestapo agent", took place. Sentenced in 1944 along with thousands of other probable "collaborators" by an Odessa military tribunal, Karavansky spent 16 years in a concentration camp during the Stalin and post-Stalin era. Released in 1960 he returned to Odessa, married, continued his university studies and became an active contributor to various Soviet newspapers and periodicals. He prepared a dictionary of the Ukrainian language and submitted it for publication to one of the Soviet publishing houses. Alarmed by the sad condition of the Ukrainian language in the Ukr.S.S.R., by the various insults

to the Ukrainian language and its inferiority at the universities and other schools of higher learning of Odessa, and convinced that efforts could be made and ought to be made to effect improvements in a lawful way as prescribed by "Leninist national politics", Karavansky began work in this direction. He wrote a letter to the Attorney General of the Ukr.S.S.R. demanding that those responsible for the discrimination against the Ukrainian language in the high schools and colleges of the Ukr.S.S.R. be brought to trial. He also sent a letter to the editorial board of one of the Soviet newspapers entitled: "On One Political Mistake" in which he criticized Khrushchov's law of 1959 on the right of parents to decide which language should be the language of instruction in the schools of the national republics. As a result of this "law" millions of children in Ukraine were forced to discontinue their study of Ukrainian. In answer to this Karavansky was arrested. He was also accused that the copy of his letter to the Attorney General of the Ukr.S.S.R. fell into the hands of a Canadian Communist who was visiting Ukraine in 1965. Without any hearing or trial Karavansky was sent to the Mordovian S.S.R. to finish his sentence of 1944, from which he was pardoned in 1960, based on the Ukase of September 17, 1956.

Anti Kosygin Demonstration In New York



Demonstration of protest of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in USA against Kosygin's visit to the United States and Moscow's suppression of Ukraine.

We Must Press For Liberation

(Remarks by the Hon. Allan Grossman, Minister of Reform Institutions, at the Ukrainian celebration of Canada's Centennial Year, the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution and the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, at Toronto, Ont., Canada, on June 25, 1967.)



In bringing you greetings from Premier Robarts, my colleague, the Honourable John Yaremko, Minister of Social and Family Services, and the Government of Ontario, I would like to take this opportunity of expressing some personal views.

This is a particularly significant occasion because it marks some very important events. On the one hand we are celebrating Canada's 100th birthday as a nation. In effect, we are marking, among other things, 100 years of democracy for the people of all races, colours, religions, creeds and nationalities in Canada.

I think it is also appropriate that these ceremonies are combined with the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian national revolution. That revolution of 50 years ago was aimed at providing self-determination in a democratic setting. Although that revolution was brutally crushed, the fight to obtain freedom for the people of the Ukraine is continuing. Today, by your participation here, you are demonstrating your commitment to that struggle and your determination to keep the fires of hope burning.

You are all aware of my convictions, my sentiments and my sympathies in regard to the enslavement of the Ukrainian people and others, for I have expressed them here in other years and many times on other occasions. Today, I wish to stress the importance of maintaining the spirit of this occasion and of keeping alive the hope that freedom will one day soon be granted to the people of the Ukraine.

I realize that it is sometimes difficult to sustain and nurture hope, especially in the light of recent mouthings by representatives of the Soviet Union which clearly indicate that their attitudes and policies have changed very little in the past fifty years.

In recent weeks, we have watched and listened to the debates at the United Nations. We have heard the Soviet spokesmen speaking out of both sides of their mouths; we have heard them pontificate upon the rights of nations to independence; we have heard them suggesting what other nations should be doing to bring peace to the world.

But the hypocrisy of their pronouncements is only too apparent when one examines their actions — past and present. Last week, for instance, we heard

Soviet spokesman Alexei Kosygin tell the United Nations, and I quote: "Every people enjoys the right to establish an independent state of its own. This constitutes one of the fundamental principles of the policy of the Soviet Union." I repeat — listen — "Every people enjoys the right to establish an independent state of its own." Whom is Mr. Kosygin trying to kid? When did the Soviet Union ever permit a country to establish an independent nation?

Did Soviet Russia permit Ukraine to become independent? And what of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, and a host of other East European countries? Did Soviet Russia permit them independence and freedom?

Earlier this month in the same forum — the United Nations — the world heard Russian Ambassador Nikolai Fedorenko declare that an aggressor should not be allowed to benefit from his aggression, as he put it. I agree. — But entirely aside from the question of what does or does not constitute aggression, what a ludicrous and hypocritical statement to come from the spokesman for a country which has built an empire from aggression and tyranny over the past fifty years. Or is it an internal problem — not the business of the United Nations — when you send your tanks into Hungary?

Did not Soviet Russia as an aggressor benefit from its aggression in Ukraine? Is Soviet Russia suggesting that it did not, as an aggressor, benefit from its aggression in Latvia, in Poland, in Lithuania, in Hungary, and other East European countries.

Well, I say to Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Fedorenko: You have told the world that the Soviet Union believes in the right of every people to establish an independent nation of its own. You have told the world that an aggressor should not be permitted to benefit from his aggression. Well, then, Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Fedorenko, **SHOW** the world that you are not merely spouting propaganda; **SHOW** the world by your actions that you mean what you say; **SHOW** the world by permitting the countries you have enslaved by aggression to establish independent nations. Release from political bondage the people of Ukraine, the people of Latvia, and Estonia, and Lithuania, and Poland, and Hungary, and the people of other countries you have enslaved.

The people of these countries are tired of meaningless pronouncements and high-sounding, but empty, phrases. They want action; they want the right of self-determination — **THEY WANT FREEDOM!**

My remarks, addressed to the Soviet leaders, are, of course, rhetorical, for we know that the Communists will not practice what they preach. The depressing part of the present situation is that the Soviet Union has gained so much power yet seems to have learned so little in 50 years. The Soviet leaders are intelligent men so one can only conclude that they are captives of their own political system — the same Frankenstein monster which they created 50 years ago and which Communist China is copying today. It is based on political control by brute force and is dependent upon a propaganda machine that churns out the same claptrap year after year, and it may very well be that they, themselves, are helpless to reverse the wheels of that machine.

It is the old story of the "double-think" and the "double-talk" — change history and facts — and keep repeating your slogans in the hope that people

will finally become brainwashed. It is pitiful to watch the Soviet leaders standing on the world stage mouthing the old shibboleths that do not convince anyone. They denounce what they call aggression, in other parts of the world, while, at home and abroad, they practice suppression and tyranny.

We, in the free world are not, of course, taken in by their duplicity. Our press, and our people, do not wear blinkers. We have, therefore, a duty to speak up. We must not permit the Soviet Union to feel that we have forgotten the millions of people who live within its borders against their will, or that the right of self-determination and freedom has been denied many peoples within their countries occupied by their Red puppets.

Kosygin and the United States President are meeting at this moment in Conference. Let us hope that the results of that meeting are a new, more humane and honest approach to our prayers for peace, but not only peace: let us hope that the results will be peace and freedom.

But, we must continue to press for the liberation of all peoples. We must continue to bolster the hope of those who are enslaved by retaining our hope and making our voices heard on their behalf, as we are doing here and now.

LONG LIVE A FREE AND INDEPENDENT UKRAINE!

Kyiv Students Demonstrate

Well informed sources reveal that on May, 22, 1967, the anniversary of Ivan Franko's death, the students from Taras Shevchenko University gathered in Shevchenko Park to hear two lectures on Ivan Franko. The number of demonstrators was estimated at 400-500 persons. Since the demonstration was illegal the police and the KGB agents tried to disperse the students with the help of fire hoses and to arrest the speakers. However, the students bravely resisted the police and succeeded in getting a hold of some fire hoses themselves and spraying the KGB agents. Nevertheless, several students, among them one of the speakers, were arrested.

In March, the Kyiv students staged a demonstration under the Shevchenko monument in connection with his anniversary. During this demonstration a clash between the students and the police also took place and the arrests among the students followed.

Another demonstration occurred right after the 20th Party Congress on the anniversary of the death of Symon Petlura.

News of this demonstration was carried by the London "Times".

In recent years a whole series of events led to manifestations of patriotic feelings. Thus, a large number of the inhabitants of Lviv demonstrated against the imprisonment of writers and artists, showering them with flowers after the trial. In the same vein, the funeral of Mrs. Kulchytska, a writer, turned into a patriotic demonstration with several thousand people participating and singing patriotic songs. The funeral of Mykhailo Stepaniak, a leading member of OUN, which was held in the village of Zvyniach also turned into a demonstration.

Last Christmas season in Lviv also became a demonstration of a kind. On New Year's Day a big Christmas tree was put up in one of the squares of the city to remind the people of a pagan holiday of "Old Man Frost". Large groups of people gathered around the tree and began to sing Christmas carols. The police and later the army tried to disperse the crowds but failed. The demonstration continued all night. Next day the tree was removed.

Cooperation Is Needed

The freedom-loving people all-over the world are confronted today by a dynamic force, called the Communist bloc, composed of the aggressive Russian-Communist imperial power and several smaller power centres. This "camp" has one basic objective in common, namely, to spread, under the cloak of Communist ideas, its dictatorial genocidal imperialism with the eventual aim to dominate the whole world.

The Russian-Communist imperialism has already subjugated scores of nations, all of which were previously free and independent. In all cases the conquered peoples fought defending their sovereignty and independence. These subjugated peoples formed their national liberation movements and recognized the necessity of coordinating their efforts against the common enemy by establishing the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The expanding Communist-Russian empire endangers the still sovereign nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The enemy is building up its fifth columns inside these nations, trying to weaken and decompose these nations internally before using the external force for final conquest. Russia even tries, with some success, to undermine and to weaken Christianity — the main spiritual anti-Communist force in the West.

The Russian-Communist aggression proceeds as it did during the last fifty years by all means, namely, by nuclear blackmail, guerrilla warfare, economic domination, propaganda, subversion, ideological decomposition of the free societies, diplomatic means of isolating and neutralizing the victim nations, etc.

The free nations must constantly put up defences against Communist Russian aggression, if they do not want to follow the road to national slavery. However, these defences are insufficient. In the face of the global offensive by the Communist-Russian imperialists, the Free World and the freedom-loving enslaved peoples in the USSR

and in the satellite-states must respond on a global scale. What is needed is a world anti-Communist coordination centre, a world movement which would encompass all the forces of the free nations and all the forces of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations.

Regional cooperation cannot be a substitute for but only a supplement of world coordination. Communism and Russian imperialism to be defeated in Europe cannot be defeated when attacked solely in Europe, but must be attacked globally. No response to the problem on a regional scale can be effective if planned on a regional scale only.

The question arises, why anti-Communist organizations of free nations should cooperate with liberation movements of nations enslaved by Communism and Russian colonialism? The primary reason thereof is the necessity to destroy the enemy, because only complete destruction of the Russian empire and of Communism can solve problems of security, peace, and independence of all European nations. Since the free nations and the subjugated peoples have the common interest to maintain the national independence or to regain it and to guarantee personal freedom and human dignity in the world and since the West and the East have a common enemy — Communist Russian tyranny — Russian imperialism, there is a common necessity to coordinate their activities. However, this objective can be achieved without provoking a nuclear war only through the national liberation revolts of the subjugated peoples — the enemy's Achilles' heel, the process of decomposition of the Russian empire into independent states of the nations in the USSR and in the other "Communist" countries. These anti-imperialistic, anti-Communist and anti-Moscow upheavals and uprisings must be coordinated.

In the Russian prison of nations the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and

Asia have not reconciled themselves with the Communist tyranny and alien domination. Following open guerrilla warfare in the enslaved countries during and after World War II numerous strikes and uprisings took place in Soviet concentration camps between 1953 and 1959 (Vorkuta, Norilsk, Karaganda, Kingir). Since 1959 a new trend in the national liberation movements is evident. Strikes and mass demonstrations of workers, students and urban population are becoming more frequent. Moscow's reaction to this development has not been slow. Hundreds if not thousands have been sentenced and sent to concentration camps or to mental hospitals. Because of their constant activities the national liberation movements of the enslaved peoples are of great significance to the Free World for they continuously frustrate Kremen's imperialistic ambitions to dominate the world. Such liberation processes to be successful must receive effective support from the free nations.

In the support given to the liberation movements consists the fundamental nature of real anti-Communism in the West, for it means aiming at the liquidation of Communism and Russian imperial state. Any other meanings of anti-Communism are wrong. If limited to self-defence it is not anti-Communism, because it is not directed toward the liquidation of Communism. Coexistence with Communism cannot be considered anti-Communism. Limiting anti-Communist activities to theoretical refutations of Communism might prove useful in theoretical discussions but would not by any means remove Communism whose main existence rests upon the power of Russia. Any propaganda activities turned against Communism if not founded on anti-Communist ideas won't be successful, because anti-Communism must mean the attempt to replace the Communist system by a good and really different system.

Anti-Communism means the establishment of independent national states of the subjugated peoples within the Russian-Communist slave empire, pluralistic societies with ample civil rights, patriotism, free worship of God, just legal systems, etc.

To establish such societies it is necessary to fight actively on their behalf, because Communism actively moves against free national societies. To secure free pluralistic societies in East Europe requires the liquidation of Communism and Russian imperialism in areas conquered by it, where Communism secured its beachheads and bases. Communism should be attacked, therefore, not only from outside but also from within — by means of the liberation struggle of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism. The support of the subjugated peoples is the support by the Western nations of themselves. It is strictly an effort in their own national interests.

The main driving organizational forces behind the Iron Curtain can only be the underground organizations of the subjugated peoples. The liberation movements of the enslaved peoples exist for decades. They evolved very typical forms and methods inherent to the peculiar conditions of struggle under dictatorship, totalitarianism and terror. No organization established by people of the free nations in the enslaved nations could match the methods and organizational forms of the enslaved peoples themselves. The major strength of these movements lies in their *sovereign will* to liberate their respective peoples. And any influence or domination over these movements by outside forces, even friendly, would tremendously weaken these movements morally, because they will lose the natural reason for fighting on behalf of the enslaved peoples. The liberation fighters are extremely anxious not to narrow their claim to be fighting for full independence, sovereignty, and integrity of their peoples in any way. Any outside interference with the exercise of these rights would limit and decrease the effectiveness of the liberation struggle. The basis of anti-Communism must consist of upholding the principles of national independence, uncompromising struggle, national integrity, and internal sovereignty, for Communism and Russian imperialism are the main enemies of these necessities of life.

The strongest form of anti-Communist work is harmonious cooperation among

the various groups and organizations. Our strength must consist in unity of purpose and common ideas.

Whether the underground movements can accelerate the revolutionary process or not depends on this Western help. The Western assistance can take different forms. It can range from transmissions via radio stations, to distribution of books and leaflets, medical equipment, technical equipment for means of communications (via tourists) to military education in partisan warfare, and, if necessary, when time comes, to the supply of weapons. It is necessary that the anti-Communist organizations closely cooperate with the organizations of the subjugated nations. Both forces together must try to employ all possible means in order to organize the anti-Communist, anti-Russian-imperialistic attitude of all Western peoples.

It is presently popular to talk about establishing diplomatic relations between free governments and every Communist government as if such acts were wise anti-Communist policy leading toward broadening of the sphere of national, social and personal freedoms. But such policy gives rather legal-moral recognition and strength to the Communist regimes; it obscures the fact of enslaved peoples, it weakens the hope of liberation and the will to resist in the people. A true anti-Communist diplomacy should outlaw and disfranchise Communist regimes. It should press toward re-establishment of legal governments, elected or selected by the sovereign will of each people. It would induce the formation of underground free governments in each subjugated country.

Communist delegations to the United Nations and especially Soviet Russia very often attack this or that Western nation for its alleged imperialism, social injustice, exploitation of workers, abuse of Negroes, etc. It is just inexplicable why the Western delegations in the UN cannot attack the real existing empire — the Russian colonial empire. Only few Western statesmen had the courage to draw the attention of the UN to the colonial status in Ukraine, the Baltic states, Hungary, Poland, etc. In the UN

there is a Committee on Colonialism. It accepts complaints in this respect. Why such complaints were not submitted till now by the Western delegations in defence of the subjugated countries? Before such steps can be taken it would be appropriate to initiate a series of debates in different Western parliaments while discussing foreign policy on the colonial status behind the Iron Curtain. Here the representatives of the liberation organizations can supply the necessary data and available material.

Another facet of current Western policy toward Communist regimes is to endeavor to expand trade with them. Communist regimes regard trade from the point of their power expansion. Therefore, trade is basically a pro-Communist policy; anti-Communists should deny to the Communists the means of their survival and aggrandizement, thereby indirectly giving assistance to the enslaved peoples, through weakening the oppressors-despots.

The Communist inspired strikes of the workers are bringing some countries to the brink of financial ruin. We must make these workmen aware whom they are serving. Why not lead these workers to demonstrate in solidarity with the mine-workers in the Don Basin, for example, who are risking their lives when they demonstrate for better social conditions, or national rights. The workers of the Free World should demand the right to demonstrate first of all for the workers behind the Iron Curtain.

Stocks of Communist books are pouring into Western schools and there is plenty of evidence that the teachers use these books for instructions of the pupils. It is our aim to compete with this overflow of Communist infiltration material. The children should be given instructions on USSR and the satellite countries from our point of view. What is most important is that they should be taught that all these peoples are separate, individual nations subjugated after World War I and World War II and that they are not a "Soviet nation" or an integral Communist bloc.

A Freedom Center similar to that in Asia and America should be established

where necessary documentation should be collected and regular instructions for specialists for Eastern affairs and teachers would be available (literature, films, etc.).

For many years the Russians propagate cultural exchange. It is high time that we have our specialized groups equally dialectically trained for combating these emissaries from the Kremlin.

Thousands of young people from behind the Iron Curtain are waiting in vain for the chance to smuggle their manuscripts to the Free World for publication. If we coordinate our attempts it would not be too difficult to meet this task.

Thousands of articles on the cruelties of the Nazi regime are not only published in the East but also in the West. Is Communist regime a better one? Why not make the public aware that these terrible concentration camps which were first created by the Russians and only later adopted by Hitler are still existing today in the USSR.

Some anti-Communists believe that through cooperation of Christian churches with atheistic Communist regimes Communism will be weakened and persecuted churches under Communism will be helped. However, it turns to be the opposite. Communists feel morally stronger, being recognized by Christians as morally their equals and as a constructive social movement; Christians are loosening their faith and missionary zeal while dealing in compromise and opportunism. Uppermost, the enslaved peoples will receive blows to their beliefs seeing the Western church leaders cooperating with persecutors, oppressors, murderers, and militant atheists. What anti-Communists should do is to enact an uncompromising crusade against Communism on grounds of theistic religions and to assist the underground churches in their fight for God, faith and religious life.

The pacifist movements in the West are without question organized by Communist Russia. Today they extend even to the Vatican. There is no militant church. Co-existence even with the devil is preached. This development must be opposed by our

organizations by supplying the real picture of the religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain — churches are destroyed, closed or turned into museums. The recent diplomatic moves between Moscow and the Vatican were a definite setback for us.

The pacifists are organizing demonstrations against "capitalists or American war in Vietnam" almost in all capitals of the Free World. It should be our aim to counteract this by our own demonstrations in support of US policy in South Vietnam, simultaneously explaining that the war of liberation cannot be stopped at the 17th parallel.

A favoured subject of coexistentialists is the so-called cultural exchange or building cultural bridges to the Communist regimes. These trends induce toleration of Communism, cooperation with Communists, recognition of them as the West's equals, while simultaneously these Communist regimes persecute non-conformist cultural trends in lands under their rule, conduct brutal Russification of non-Russian cultures in the USSR, exterminate national cultures of the non-Russian peoples. Anti-Communists in the West should rather conduct campaigns in defence of the persecuted cultural life in the enslaved nations. They should give wide publicity to the heroic voices of artists and cultural workers in these nations. Through communications media assistance should be given to efforts by enslaved peoples to create freely.

In order to make the Western public immune to the Russian Communist propaganda or Red Chinese propaganda, it is necessary to show what it has to expect once its countries become Communist. To this end it is enough to bring to its attention the tragedy of the subjugated nations, through schools, publications, TV and radio programmes, press, Church sermons, etc. Different occasions can be exploited, e. g. the 50th anniversary of the Communist Russian empire, the anniversary of the death or birth of famous political leaders of the subjugated countries, men of arts, or sci-

OBITUARY †



On August 13, 1967, our dear friend and co-fighter Michael de Alschibaja died suddenly in Hamburg, West Germany. He was born in 1908 in Kutaissi, Georgia. After the Russian occupation of Georgia in 1921 he lived in Berlin, Warsaw, Paris, Munich and Hamburg.

Michael de Alschibaja was the Chairman of the Georgian delegation to the Central Committee of ABN, Chairman of the Commission for Foreign Politics of CC ABN, participant at numerous international conferences on behalf of

ABN, staunch and uncompromising defender of the idea of the downfall of the Russian prison of nations and the establishment of independent states, an unyielding enemy of Bolshevism, a fighter against this world evil, a holder of the Iron Cross for bravery, a great Georgian patriot, a leader of the National-Democratic Party, a long time political activist among the Georgian emigration and a good friend of all those close to his ideas.

The funeral services were held on August 29th at the Georgian cemetery near Paris.

ence, etc. in order to show the Western youth that they are fascinated by some false Communist slogans, which draw them to the streets to demonstrate for Communist purposes, and how the youth behind the Iron Curtain is thinking and expressing itself in literature, music and instead demonstrate in favour of those hundreds and thousands imprisoned by Communist rulers. To show them what kind of ideas predominate among the young people, namely, the national idea, the idea of one's own democratic, national, independent state, real social justice, human dignity, free creation, free expression of thought, free worship of God, to show the Western youth that the young generation behind the Iron Curtain defends fervently its mother-tongue against the forceful Russification.

After World War II while our insurgent armies were still fighting in the subjugated countries and especially the UPA in Ukraine, the organizations of the subjugated peoples tried to make the Free World familiar with the fight behind the Iron Curtain. But at that time the Western world underestimated the importance of guerrilla warfare. Now when the richest and militarily the strongest country — USA — is faced with the guerrillas in South Vietnam, some documents from our underground warfare are reprinted in military journals. But effective cooperation has not yet been established.

Summing up, a cooperation of the anti-Communist organizations of free nations with national liberation movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia and Communism is vitally needed and timely.

The Truth About Macedonia

Recently I had the opportunity to read the article by Belgrade correspondent, Mr. Alfonso Sterpelone, entitled: "Bulgarian-Yugoslav Quarrel About Macedonia" which appeared in *Il Messaggero* on December 8, 1966.

We cannot conceal our amazement at its contents, although for quite some time we have noticed in the Italian press in general, evidence of forced condescension in regard to the injustices inflicted by Belgrade on the various nationalities constituting so-called Yugoslavia.

We are appalled by the fact that Mr. Sterpelone not only ignored the truth about the nationality of the Slav population in Macedonia, but also confirmed the ridiculous "accusations" made by Tito in his anti-Bulgarian propaganda.

Let us first consider the falsity of these accusations:

1. Mr. Sterpelone asserts that in 1941 Bulgaria imposed the Bulgarian language in Macedonia by suppressing the Serbo-Croatian language.

In this respect, we believe that only ignorance of the political question in Southeastern Europe, the situation in Yugoslavia since 1912 and lack of knowledge regarding the language of the Macedonian Slavs, might conceivably make Mr. Sterpelone's allegations tenable.

Throughout Macedonia, including that part which is under Belgrade's domination, the local Slav population speaks Bulgarian, and for more than eleven centuries it has been considered Bulgarian by blood and nationality.

After the defeat of Serbia in 1941, as was the case in 1915, Yugoslav Macedonia was liberated by the Bulgarian army, which was enthusiastically received by the local Bulgarian population.

In 1912 the Serbian army entered Macedonia not as the liberator of the Christian inhabitants from centuries-old Turkish rule, but as an instrument of conquest and suppression, denationalizing the native Bulgarian inhabitants. The closed Bulgarian schools and usurped Bulgarian churches were reopened in 1941 as Bulgarian institutions.

One could write a huge volume filled with facts in support of the official lawlessness, coercion and terror from 1912 to 1915; this policy was again pursued by the Belgrade regime from 1919 to 1941. During this period, thousands of innocent people were either imprisoned or killed, thus constituting a blot on our European civilization. And all this for one purpose only: to terrorize the population into declaring itself Serbian.

No one in Macedonia has even spoken the Serbian language; therefore, there was no reason for the Bulgarian authorities to prohibit its use in 1941. However, when the forcibly imposed Serbian language was eliminated from the state offices and departments, this act itself was a triumph of justice for the Macedonian people.

It would seem that Mr. Sterpelone has either not read anything or has forgotten that which was published in the Italian press during the period between the two World Wars. During this period almost every Italian newspaper pub-

lished information on the oppressive regime in Macedonia, and also, on the liberation struggle carried on by the Macedonian Bulgarians against Belgrade's tyranny.

The Italian press publicized the truth about the Macedonian liberation movement to such an extent, that it was then labeled by the Serbian chauvinists as a tool of the Italian government or even as a fascist movement.

2. In his article Mr. Sterpelone briefly mentions Bulgaria's aspiration to annex the above-mentioned Macedonian territory.

But if the principle of nationality means anything in our epoch; if the indisputable testimonials of the most prominent and authoritative linguists in Europe and America have any value at all; if the epic liberation struggle of the Macedonian Bulgarians, once against Turkish rule and since 1912 against Serbia (Yugoslavia) and Greece, is undeniable evidence of the Bulgarianism of the Macedonian Slavs; if the huge files of official documents in every European and American diplomatic chancellery containing the truth about the Macedonian Slavs are sufficient proof, then there is no logical or justifiable reason on the part of Bulgaria not to seek the inclusion within its frontiers of the Macedonian Bulgarians also.

On the basis of truth and justice, there can be no argument against the unification of the Bulgarian nation into one state, as there were no justifiable reasons against the unification of the French, German, Polish, or even the Italians in one national state. Unfortunately, the question that prevented the unification of the Bulgarian nation is much more complicated; the obstacles that blocked the Bulgarian unity originated in the jealousy of Serbia and Greece on the one hand and the rivalry of the Great European Powers on the other.

We firmly believe that this unification will come sooner or later! It could be achieved gradually and by various practical forms to preclude any tragedy. The sacrifice endured by the Bulgarian people will be in the interest of European and World Peace.

The fact that the huge majority of the population in Yugoslav Macedonia is of Bulgarian nationality is recognized not only by leading European ethnographers, but also by prominent statesmen. I would like to cite here only three, who by no means can be called "Bulgarian friends". When the fate of the Bulgarian people was shaped at the Berlin Congress in 1878, *Bismarck* stated in the Reichstag that "as far as the Albanian mountains and Salonica the Slavs are Bulgarians".

Mr. Winston Churchill in his book, *The World Crisis (1911-1918)*, wrote that Serbia in 1915 should have surrendered to Bulgaria the Macedonian districts populated by Bulgarians. He wrote:

"The imminent peril in which Serbia stood, and the restricted conditions under which the allies could afford her protection, made it indispensable that she should cede, and if necessary be made to surrender, the uncontested zone in Macedonia to the Bulgarians, to whom it belonged by race, by history, by treaty, and by conquest. Serbia, even when at the last gasp during the first Austrian attack upon her in 1914, had found it necessary to keep large numbers of troops in the Bul-

garian districts of Macedonia to hold down the native population (P. 460-62)."

Lloyd George in his *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, writes:

"By many authorities the most tragic instance of minority oppression in violation of the 1919 Treaty is held to be that of the 600,000 Macedonians now resident within the borders of Yugoslavia. Of this community an overwhelming majority are of Bulgarian stock and language, in other words, Bulgaro-Macedonians." (Vol. II, P. 901-902).

Mr. Sterpelone could have checked at least the 1946 edition of the *Lexicon of Switzerland* (p. 146-147) to inform himself as to the nature and character of the Slavic population in Macedonia, although there are enough sources in Italian scientific-historical and political literature.

If we should glance over medieval or even Byzantine sources in this matter, we would find numerous testimonials. However, we shall limit ourselves to two facts only: First, at the beginning of the eleventh century, the Byzantine Emperor Vasilius II annexed Macedonia, and as a result he was given the title "Bulgarian Killer"; even today in works of history he is referred to as such. Vasilius II was given the above designation because he conquered Macedonia, which was inhabited by Bulgarians, by defeating the army of the Bulgarian King Samuel.

Second, during the fourteenth century the Serbian King Dushan, as soon as he invaded a number of Macedonian districts, added to his title the words "King of Bulgarians", because a part of the Bulgarian population was incorporated in his state.

Moreover, Mr. Sterpelone could locate the ethnographic frontiers of the Bulgarians by simply consulting the map of 1916 issued by the Agostini ethnographic institute in Italy.

With respect to the other misinformation contained in Mr. Sterpelone's article, we give only the following brief explanation:

If the present Yugoslav authorities, or the stooges in Macedonia under their rule, informed Mr. Sterpelone that there is a difference between the language of the Macedonian Slav population and that of the Bulgarians, they not only deceived him, but told him an outright lie. In their local national speech, the other ethnic national groups in Macedonia have referred to their Slavic fellow countrymen for centuries by their true name — Bulgarians; these ethnic nationalities are the Greeks, Rumanians, Albanians, Turks and Jews, who still live there today. Throughout the five centuries of Turkish rule over Macedonia, until 1912, the Turkish authorities recorded in their archives the local Slavs as Bulgarians.

As soon as they established themselves in Macedonia in 1912, the Belgrade authorities declared the people there as "Serbians". In 1929, by the order of King Alexander, the very same people were declared as "Yugoslav". And in 1944, by a special decree, the Belgrade Communist regime proclaimed the same people as "Macedonians". Everything else but Bulgarian!

In fact, in terms of the geographic name of the country, even the other local national groups mentioned above, call themselves Macedonians. If an Italian community lived there, it too would call itself "Macedonian". But this is only, let us repeat, to indicate from what geographic region they come.

In Italy itself, for example, there are Piemontians, Tuscans, Genevise, Calabrizians, Sardinians, Sicilians, Neapolitans, Lombardians and so on; but all the inhabitants of these provinces are Italians. Similar situations exist not only in Germany, but also in other European countries. Among the Bulgarians we have not only Macedonians, but also Thracians, Rumalians, Moesians, Dobrudjans and others; but the inhabitants of these regions are Bulgarians, by origin, by language, by tradition and blood.

There is one notable difference between the Italians and Bulgarians with respect to language, however: while an inhabitant of Sicily hardly understands his compatriot from Lombardy, the Bulgarian language from the Danube River up to the Albanian mountains is the same.

Mr. Sterpelone and the readers of *Il Messaggero* whom he has deceived by the contents of his article, can be assured that the Macedonian Slavs speak the Bulgarian language and not "lingua Slavonica" as Mr. Sterpelone states in his article.

There is an old Turkish proverb according to which the best spoken Turkish language is in Constantinople (Istanbul); the best Greek language is spoken in Janina, and the best Bulgarian is spoken in Tikvesk, situated in the center of Macedonia now under Yugoslav rule. This ancient Turkish saying has been quoted by many foreign scholars who traveled in Macedonia.

There has never been a need for Bulgaria to "Bulgarianize" Macedonia, as Mr. Sterpelone ridiculously alleges. There are centuries-old Greek testimonials stating that Macedonia is primarily inhabited by Bulgarians. If Mr. Sterpelone has time and patience let him investigate some of the prominent Byzantine and European Balkan authorities.

We do not want to enumerate the names of prominent European Slavists; nor do we want to refer to authoritative statistics or the numerous diplomatic and political documents in regard to the nationality of the Macedonian Slavs. Among these documents are also the testimonials of Roman Popes; the decisions of international conferences; political treaties, and also the decisions of investigating commissions of the former League of Nations.

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), published in Washington, D.C., in 1914 is also very informative on this point. The members of this Commission were of different nationalities — French, German, Austrian, English, Russian and American. All of them were highly esteemed statesmen and scholars. In hundreds of pages the *Report* refers only to Macedonian Bulgarians.

Before Tito's ascendancy in Yugoslavia, no one had ever heard of the fictitious "Macedonian nationality" or even of a "Macedonian language". This is a new trick in the long chain of Serbian aggressive politics of assimilation of the Bulgarians in this enslaved Bulgarian land.

With all due respect for the Italian nation, I think that articles such as that of Mr. Sterpelone can only produce ill-effects on the existing sympathy of the Bulgarian nation toward Italy. Good feelings among nations have always been the best foundations for their friendly relations. If one should temper with questions of national concern, all other connections among nations would be meaningless.

Rusthaveli — Talisman Of Georgians

During the first few days of October of last year entire Georgia celebrated the 800th anniversary of the birth of its great poet, Shota Rusthaveli. The celebration was marked by a hardy enthusiasm of its people and with that unparalleled spirituality which is so characteristic of the Georgians. The local authorities, the University of Tbilisi, together with its research institutes, the Georgian Academy of Sciences and various peoples' delegations held special meetings and public conferences. This great celebration was also attended by 300 specially invited foreign delegates, one hundred of whom represented universities, scientific societies and the press of the Free World.

All invited guests not only had a chance to visit the capital, Tbilisi, but other places which are associated with the name of Rusthaveli or his epoch. At the same time they had an opportunity to see for themselves that Georgian devotion to their poet was spontaneous and not directed from above. Various editions of Rusthaveli's work, research material or popular works were sold with great success. At the same time portraits, including postcards and other "souvenirs" (especially paintings of the poet) had to be multiplied countless times. All this was distributed throughout the country with great devotion. Even the Soviet newspapers which appear in Georgia and are usually censored and very dull, as is the case in the entire Soviet Union, could not — even though transitorily — help but fall under the imperative inspiration of the poetry of this Georgian genius, behind which are hidden the unconquerable and deeply rooted aspirations of the Georgian people, which was happy to honour the living source of its national genius and thus prove the eternity of spiritual values, which Rusthaveli defended at the cost of his freedom.

But the reader involuntarily asks, does he have the right to know why this poet and his poem have left such an indelible mark upon the Georgian people?

It is impossible in a few lines to describe the contents, colorfulness and many-sided dimensions of the poem-novel which made the poet immortal. This work — which revives the past and is a symbol — is called *The Man in the Panther's Skin*.

There is no doubt (and foreign scholars who read the original are of the same opinion) that if a work of equal value would have been written in another more widely known language and been available to the spiritual elite of the civilized world — it would have found its rightful place among the small number of universal works of great prominence. (However, we can hope that the recent beautiful translation of the work will enable it to grow in popularity.)

Also it can be said with certainty that no work in any other country — not even Dante's *Divine Comedy* in Italy — could have had such a high "coefficient of penetration" among its people as *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in Georgia. A Russian poet, Balmontt, who was the first one to do a verse translation of 1670 stanzas of the poem in 1916/26 noted:

"Rusthaveli is", he writes in the introduction to his own translation, "an idol of every Georgian, regardless of his status and age". About the work itself he says: "This poem is a secret voice and talisman of ancient as well as modern

Georgia . . . This name gives majesty to the Georgia of the Middle Ages, when she, a mighty kingdom at that time, extended from Trebizond to the Caspian Sea. This name symbolized a poetic treasure of great value — his individual verses live in the conscience of the Georgian people in the form of hammered out proverbs, so to speak, or moralizing winged phrases which direct its behaviour instilling in it the taste of spiritual perfection.”

Among other things, it is generally known that the original Georgian civilization was already then at a peak, when starting in the XIth century it experienced a great blossoming which reached its culmination in the XIIth century, when complete development of arts and sciences can be seen; in other words, it was a forerunner of the Renaissance in Western Europe. This civilization developed within the framework of a united, prosperous and strong Georgian state, which numbered several tens of millions inhabitants (an impressive figure when we consider the demography of Europe at that time).

We should in our times look at the traces of this brilliant epoch (which the Georgian chroniclers call the “Golden Age” . . .) in order to grasp the heights reached by the thought and spirit of the society of the Federated Georgia of that time: there are Georgian cathedrals with their frescoes and murals, the ruins of castle fortifications, the palace in Vardzia built upon a rock, gilded icons or manuscripts decorated with artistic caligraphs. We can safely say, without enumerating the philosophers and theologians or other poets who were contemporaries of the godly Shota, that the style of his epoch is the personification of the sovereign, to whom Rusthaveli dedicates his poem — the great Queen Tamara. She gave adequate proof of her virtues: wisdom, courage, justice, dedication to her people and philanthropy; moreover, she introduced an even greater decisive spirit of tolerance and moderation. The Queen formally abandoned capital punishment and permitted the Moslem minority of her state to build mosques, including the Christian capital Tbilisi and to carry on islamic practices even in Tbilisi . . .

It is in these unusual circumstances that the mysterious Shota Rusthaveli — whose biography is just as uncertain as Shakespeare’s — wrote a poem, which, as a monument from that time on dominates the spiritual “scenery” of Georgia and also imposes a way of thinking and feeling on every Georgian, even on those who were illiterate — and regardless of the most unfavourable conditions and ruin which have befallen Georgia as the result of the invasion of coming centuries. Neither Genghis Khan, nor Timour, nor Shah-Abbas who burned the land, nor the Russians who used brainwashing techniques, were able to destroy the influence of this poetic and Christian talisman.

For centuries Georgian mothers either recited or read to their offsprings the heroic deeds of Rusthaveli’s heroes, pouring into their hearts that filter of poetry which at the same time is a code of honour and heroic spirit.

For centuries, parents added to the dowery of their daughter, besides jewelry, also the manuscript of the favourite poem. And during all that time there was not a greater or a lesser poet who did not call Rusthaveli his patron and dedicate to him a few especially carefully written verses.

Even military chiefs and captains of old Georgia paid tribute to this poem, if only because of its ability of spiritual revival, its strength to awaken bravery

and military courage. The chronicler, Kartlis Tskhovreba writes that in 1699 one military chief of the Georgian army who was forced to wage war far from Georgia on the border of Belludjistan, in a very dangerous situation, was able to keep up the spirit of 40 soldiers and to make a break-through simply by reminding them of the individual stanzas of the "Panther's Skin".

Thus the continuous, unanimous and uncompromising devotion of the entire people to this poetical work — which can be described simply as the "Cult of Rusthaveli" — has but one unequivocal explanation: the Georgian people saw itself reflected in Rusthaveli and identified with the spirit of the poem; Rusthaveli's heroes are its blood brothers.

The Georgian people feels as if it had a part in the creation of the poem, in the love which is sung about in the poem and the self-consciousness that touches upon the poetic character of his verses: the music and rhythm of the poem are close to its heart.

In the poem *The Man in the Panther's Skin* a Georgian finds a humanistic philosophy, which he (this is his conviction) has practised for centuries: he fell in love with the magical side of the poem, because this magic does not rest upon any kind of imagination, but on eternal, and therefore, real ideals.

Finally, every Georgian is grateful to Rusthaveli for his ability to give dimension "across the borders", for though the work is strictly Georgian and Christian in substance, its appeal is universal.

Therefore, the Georgian people, while commemorating Shota Rusthaveli with such enthusiasm and conviction, celebrated its own national holiday, deriving new strength to endure its subjugation and to shape its own future according to its own wishes.

Editor's note: For all those wishing to familiarize themselves with Rusthaveli's poem we give the list of various translations:

English — an old translation by Marjory Wardrop;
a translation by R. Stevenson will appear shortly under the patronage of UNESCO;

French — excellent translation by S. Tsouladze (Gallimard, 1964) awarded the Prix Langlois by the French Academy;

German — Arthur Leist;

Italian — Ch. Beridze;

Russian — Noutsoubidze, Belmontt, Zabolotsky;

Spanish — De La Torre Botarro (1964);

Ukrainian — Mykola Bazhan.

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

Anatole Lunacharsky, former Russian Commissar of Education

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

(Continuation)

The reasons why Lenin supported the "nationalism" of the nations dominated by the West are explained by H. Kohn: "Through the economic and political emancipation of these colonies Lenin hoped to be able to strike staggering blows at Imperialism." (66) Lenin openly admitted that nationalist ideas and movements were used by the Bolsheviks as instruments of Russian imperialism:

. . . it is the support of an ally against a given enemy, and the Social Democrats provide this support in order to speed the fall of the common enemy, but they expect nothing for themselves from these temporary allies and concede nothing to them. (67)

He declared: "Separation is altogether not our scheme. We do not predict separation at all." (68)

From the foregoing analysis we can assume that assistance given to nationalism should be understood not as a support of movements striving for true national states but of movements (under the banner of nationalist slogans) directed against the Western nations and dependent on Russia. Even before the October Revolution, Lenin contemplated establishing "peace" with the Western nations only after the destruction of all the Western empires:

We do not shut our eyes to the tremendous difficulties that face the internationalist revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat of Russia . . . What would our Party do if the revolution placed it in power at this moment? Our answer was: 1) We would forthwith propose peace to all the belligerent peoples; 2) We would announce our conditions of peace as being the immediate liberation of all colonies and all oppressed and non-sovereign peoples; 3) We would immediately begin and carry to its

completion the liberation of all peoples oppressed by the Great Russians; 4) We do not deceive ourselves for one moment that such conditions would be unacceptable not only to the monarchist but also to the republican bourgeoisie of Germany, and not only to Germany, but also to the capitalist governments of England and France. (69)

Russia would thus actively participate in the destruction of these empires. In other words, "peace" to Lenin meant the waging of a war against the West.

Upon analyzing Lenin's concepts still further, we are bound to stress his conviction that

. . . the outcome of the struggle depends in the end on the fact that Russia, India, China, etc. contain a mighty majority of the population. And precisely this majority of the population is, with unexpected rapidity in recent years, being drawn into the fight for its own freedom, so that in this sense there can be no doubt of the final outcome of the world struggle. In this way the final victory of socialism is fully and unconditionally secured. (70)

Lenin was striving to lay the foundation for a long-range imperial policy on the principle that the power which is able to dominate the tremendous potential of Asia will win in the end. Allen S. Whiting explained Lenin's assumptions thus:

In the terms of his familiar military terminology, the Asian peoples were to serve as the vast reserves for the world revolution. They were to weaken capitalism by denying it further areas of exploitation. This would hasten the triumph of the European proletariat but would not alone bring it about. (71)

In Lenin's calculations Asia's role in destroying the West was to be indirect; by

denying this great potential to the Western powers Russia would benefit by it and would accumulate a larger power than the West. Only then would Russia destroy the West as a result of a direct assault. In the same vein Henri Wei described Bolshevik policy:

As early as November 24, 1918, Stalin wrote an article entitled "Don't Forget the East", in which, after discussing how the "imperialists" exploited the abundant material resources of cheap labour of the Eastern countries, he declared that the mission of the Communist Party was to wake up the oppressed peoples of the East, inspire them with the revolutionary spirit of liberation, and summon them to a struggle with imperialism, thereby depriving world imperialism of its "most reliable" rear and its "inexhaustible" reserves of power. (72)

Lenin made himself and his Bolshevik movement the leader of the "oppressed nations": "We are indeed coming forward now not only as the representatives of the proletarians of all countries, but also as the representatives of the oppressed peoples." (73) He formulated the idea: "... it is necessary to pursue a policy that will bring about the closest alliance of all the national and colonial liberation movements with Soviet Russia..." (74)

The task of the Bolsheviks was to support any movement which was directed against the Western nations. If such movements were really nationalistic — their potential was to be directed only against the West but if anti-Russian — they were to be neutralized. Thus oriented, such nationalist movements would in fact remain only anti-Western because they would not oppose Russian domination over the nations whose independence they originally intended to win. While the anti-Western stand of such "liberation" movements would be supported by the Communists, the nationalist substance of those movements would be eliminated by the socialist movement inside the "oppressed nations". Lenin expounded this task as

... the cornerstone of the whole policy

of the Communist International in the national and colonial question must be to bring together the proletarians and the masses of the toilers of all nations and countries for the joint revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie... (75)

In fact, the Bolsheviks based their imperialism toward Asia on Russian messianism. Maisky in his work on Mongolia, which we have already quoted, wrote:

Russia will not only be serving her own interests; she will at the same time be carrying out her natural historic mission. By its geographical position... Russia is the connecting link between two great Continents — its head in Europe; its feet in Asia. (76)

Similar messianistic ideas were expounded by the Bolsheviks in regard to the Islamic peoples. In the resolution of the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets on December 5, 1919, it was stated:

... the conviction has penetrated the Muslim East that the R. 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. (77)

A leading Bolshevik writer, N. Narimanov, summarized Lenin's policy toward Muslim nations:

To free the entire Muslim world from European colonial policy, and to enable it to develop freely and independently, this was his sincere and ardent wish. He regarded this as the first stage in the movement toward the rebirth and liberation of the toiling Muslims from their domestic oppressors... (78)

And the noted anti-Bolshevik Russian Bobrishchev-Pushkin approved Bolshevik imperialistic activities in Asia:

Without any imperialism Russia is materializing peacefully, her age-old political tasks... Turkey, Persia, Bokhara, Afganistan — this is the road to India. Again — not an imperialistic, but a peaceful conquest... Based on this army, on the international masses of lower classes

and on Asia, Russia begins a new period in her history. (79)

In short, Lenin wanted to include these nations in the Russian empire.

Lenin was greatly concerned with nationalism because he realized only too well that nationalism is a powerful force in the international affairs of the twentieth century and, in addition to the Western great powers, is potentially the second main opponent of Russian imperialism. *Lenin was in principle the enemy of any nationalism.* In his concepts Russian imperialism and Russian nationalism were incompatible: nationalism is striving for a one-nation state which disapproves of any imperialism, while Russian imperialism is a movement directed toward domination and colonialism of the Russian nation over other nations. Lenin opposed Russian nationalism and aimed at a universal Russian imperial state. Alfred D. Low rightly stated:

Lenin combats nationalism in every respect. Struggle against it is one of his main concerns. And he holds the right to national self-determination not to be an encouragement of nationalism, but rather a weapon to fight it. (80)

Stalin fully realized the strength of the nationalist forces who were rising up in revolt against the Russian empire. He wrote:

The nationalistic wave is pressing forward with growing force, threatening to envelop the labour masses. And the more the liberation movement is growing in strength, the better develop the flowers of nationalism. The growing Zionism among the Jews, the growing chauvinism in Poland, Pan-Islamism among the Tatars, the strengthening of nationalism among the Armenians, the Georgians, the Ukrainians — these are the facts that are generally known. (81)

In order to save the Russian empire Stalin therefore proposed: "At this critical moment the Social Democrats are charged with the high mission of rebuffing nationalism; fencing off the masses from the general 'air' — was the explanation of the Party's

national question." (82) Lenin covered his anti-nationalism with Marxist phrases: "... being opposed to all nationalism, the proletarians demand that there shall not be, in principle, the slightest privilege." (83) He argued against nationalism not because he withheld the imperialistic concept, a fact which was objectively true, but because he stood for a universal socialist classless society, a fact which was objectively false:

While recognising this right (of every nationality to determine its own destiny — A. B.), we subordinate our support of the demand for national independence to the interests of the proletarian struggle, and only a chauvinist can interpret our position as expressing the mistrust of a Russian towards a non-Russian ... (84)

Lenin clearly stated the principle of uncompromising hostility toward nationalism:

Such a state of affairs sets the proletariat of Russia a twofold, or rather a two-sided task: first, to fight against all nationalism and, above all, against Great Russian nationalism; to recognize not only complete equality of rights in general, but also equality of rights as regards state construction, i. e., the right of nations to self-determination, to secession; and second, precisely in the interests of the successful struggle against the nationalism of all nations, in all forms, it sets the task of preserving the unity of the proletarian struggle and of the proletarian organizations into an international community, in spite of the bourgeois strivings for national segregation. (85)

66. *Nationalism in the Soviet Union*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1933, p. 53

67. *Collected Works*, v. II, p. 176

68. *Ibidem*, v. XVII, p. 90

69. "Farewell Letter to Swiss Workers", 1917, v. 6, p. 16

70. *Sochinenia*, second ed., XXVII, p. 415, *Pravda*, No. 49, March 4, 1923

71. *op. cit.*, p. 106

72. *China and Soviet Russia*, D. Van Nostrand Co., Princeton, — New York-Toronto-London, 1956, p. 46
73. "Speech to Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries", 1920, v. 8, p. 292
74. "Preliminary Theses on the National-Colonial Question", 1920, v. 10, p. loc. cit.,
75. loc. cit.,
76. See above p. 14
77. Based on Ivar Spector's op. cit., p. 38
78. *Izvestia*, Jan. 25, 1924,
79. *Smiena viekh*, op. cit., pp. 13, 136,
80. *Lenin on the Question of Nationality*, op. cit., p. 121
81. *Marxism and the National Question*, p. 8
82. *Ibidem*, p. 3
83. "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, p. 4, p. 265
84. "National Question in Our Programme", 1903, v. 2, p. 329
85. "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, v. 4, pp. 292-293

COMMUNIST TERROR IN OCCUPIED SLOVAKIA

The recent border incidents between Slovakia and Austria make the "liberalization" of the Czech Communist regime in Slovakia appear more realistic than one would imagine according to the "co-existence" propaganda.

On August 13, 1967, a Slovak family fled to Austria through the border stream Morava. The Communist police could not prevent the family from doing so even by opening fire on them on Austrian territory. An eight year old boy was captured by the police.

A few days later a similar thing happened on the Morava River. Four young men from the Soviet occupied zone of Germany tried to cross the border at a place where the Morava flows into the Danube. Frogmen with knives between their teeth tried to intercept them. One of the men was shot and killed on the Austrian side. The other three succeeded in escaping from the Communist "paradise". The Austrian government sent a protest note to the Prague government condemning the violation of Austria's sovereignty.

The case of Mnacko is another example of the dissatisfaction of the Slovak people with the policies of the Prague government. This well known Communist Slovak author, Ladislav Mnacko, used his stay in Israel to disassociate himself from the Prague government and to choose freedom. The reason for this step was his dissatisfaction with Prague's attitude toward Israel in the recent Middle East crisis. Mnacko became famous through his book *Belated*

Reports, in which he criticizes the situation in Slovakia after its occupation by the Russian Red Army and the forced re-establishment of the artificial Czechoslovak state in 1945, calling the "liberated" Slovakia a "garden of pain".

Christ Lost To Marx Eleven To Two

Jesus Christ by birth was a Jew. So was Karl Marx. The first preached Love and Peace; the other preached Murder and Hatred.

During many centuries millions of Christ's followers were murdered for their faith while spreading the love of the Gospel. Millions of them were murdered by the followers of Karl Marx.

Recently, in Italy, a film was produced "The Gospel According to St. Matthew", in which love is spreading. The followers of the satanic Marxist-Communist system, the Red Czechs of Prague, produced a film "The Shop on Main Street", in which hatred is being spread toward the Slovaks, one of the most devoted Christian nations behind the Iron Curtain, who are accused as murderers of Jews, although the historical fact is that during the existence of the Slovak Republic, not a single racial or political execution took place in the Slovak State.

Both these films came to the audience of the New York film critics. The Communist film received eleven votes; the Christian film two votes. Christ, we hope temporarily, lost to Karl Marx 11 to 2.

Max Stern, a Polish Jew saved in Slovakia - now a New York Conservative.

News And Views

Observance Of Captive Nations Week 1967 In New York

Mass Participation Of All AF-ABN National Divisions

In accordance with Public Law 86-90 of the United States, the third week of July of every year is designated as Captive Nations Week. A special citizens' committee, under the chairmanship of *Hon. Judge Matthew J. Troy* was organized for the occasion. *All AF-ABN nationality divisions: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, North Caucasus, Slovakia, and Ukraine*, and the many American Organizations participating, had their representatives and delegates on this Committee.

On 16 July, a Parade was organized on Fifth Avenue in New York City, after which a Solemn High Mass was celebrated at St. Patrick's Cathedral, which *Francis Cardinal Spellman* himself honored with his presence.

As a closing ceremony, a mass meeting was organized at the Commodore Hotel, with all delegates and representatives in attendance. The meeting was opened and conducted by *Dr. Ivan Dochëff*, Chairman of AF-ABN. *Miss Dorothy Meyer* played the National Anthem. *Miss Julie Kostryba*, of the Ukrainian Youth Organization, read the Proclamations of President Lyndon Johnson and Governor Nelson Rockefeller. *Dr. Nestor Procyk* of Buffalo, President of AF-ABN, and *Hon. Judge Matthew J. Troy* of New York made speeches on behalf of the Captive Nations cause. United States Navy Veteran *Michael Quesada*, who served in the Vietnam War, made a statement on behalf of all United States Servicemen serving in that area, a statement in strong support of the anti-Communist effort. *Mr. T. P. Jennings*, Secretary of AF-ABN, read the Resolution which was subsequently adopted by acclamation of all present.

The leaders of various organizations, present at the meeting, were introduced — such as the following: *Mr. Ivan Wynnyk*, President of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine; *Mr. Lev Futala*, President of Ukrainian Youth Association; *Mr. Mykhalo Spontak*, Chairman of Ukrainian AF-ABN Division in New York; *Engineer John Kosiak*, President of the Byelorussian Congress Committee; *Mr. Charles Andreanszky*, General Secretary of the AF-ABN; *Mr. Erno Hoka*, President of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters; *Ataman Ignat Bily*, Cossack Representative; *Mr. Vlad Kuryllo*, President of the American Byelorussian Association; *Mr. John Galaboff*, President of the New York Chapter of the Bulgarian National Front; *Captain Ante Dosben*, Representative of the American Croatian Association; *Mr. Gregory Abuladze*, Georgian Representative; *Mr. Kadir Natho*, North Caucasian Representative; *Miss Davenport*, Representative of the Young Woman's Conservative Club; *Mr. Antony Nosich*, President of the Croatian Guardians of Liberty; *Mr. Edward Dempsey* of the Christian Youth Corps of America; *Mr. Badma Ulanov*, Calmukian Representative; and many others.

Along one side of the meeting hall, there was a large display of printed anti-Communist material including pamphlets and books, magazines and periodicals, maps and so forth, telling the story of the fight against Communism being carried on in all the Captive Nations. This most interesting display was organized by *Dr. Alexander Sokolyszyn*.

Excerpts from the Resolution:

Whereas the Communist Party in Moscow, as the instrument of Russian imperialism, still remains the captor of all the following once free and independent nations: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, China, Cossackia,

Lithuania, North Caucasus, North Korea, North Vietnam, Outer Mongolia, Croatia, Cuba, East Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tibet, Turkestan, Ukraine — all these nations having come under the domination of the Communist Party in Moscow, gradually and remorselessly, over the past 50 years, in the Russian Communist regime's uninterrupted march in the direction of conquest of the entire world; and

Whereas with the Communist Party in Moscow, and its departments in Peking and Havana, making remorseless advances through the process of subversion and agitational propaganda here in the United States — and, now, violence and bloodshed in so many American cities — it must now surely be recognizable to the American people that the United States is the immediate and prime target of this Communist Party; and

Whereas the American people have, in fact, a true common cause with the more than 30 Captive Nations of the world; a common cause now fully implemented by the Communist Party of Moscow's openly announced, all-out attack against American soldiers in Vietnam, who are there, fighting to establish true freedom and a just peace,

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the delegates and representatives of the various organizations of American citizens assembled here, tonight:

That the President of the United States be called upon to exercise his executive power to re-constitute the presidential position on Public Law 86-90, and to establish a new and stronger presidential policy behind the principles and human rights contained in this law, both in the interests of the large body of American people who have special sympathies toward the Captive Nations, and in the interest of the American policy of international humanitarianism for which the United States has become so universally well-known;

That the President of the United States be called upon to instruct his Ambassador to the United Nations, to establish a new and strong United States policy towards the freedom and national independence of the nations living under the domination and oppression of Moscow — the same freedom and national independence which, thus far, has been extended in the United Nations, to every nation of the world, with the sole and notable exception of the Captive Nations;

That the President of the United States be called upon, in this 50th year of Communist Party tyranny, to review the record of these 50 years of work, on the part of the Communist Party in Moscow and its agencies: the Communist Party in all the States of the American Union; and then to advise both Houses of Congress to engage themselves in special committee work which will precipitate the concerted legislative action which will ultimately wipe out Communism in the United States, and which will inspire an all-out American policy, from the Chief Executive on down, directed towards the ultimate liberation of our good friends and allies, the peoples of the Captive Nations.

Hon. Matthew J. Troy, Chairman of the Committee

Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of the Meeting

T. P. Jennings, Secretary

Dear Editor,

Russian imperialism with Communist international conspiracy proved during the recent Near East Asian crisis that they are continuing to threaten the security and peace of the Free World including the United States of America.

Our best allies against this common enemy are the enslaved nations behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains, including Tito's and Castro's paradise. This year once more people of America, during the Captive Nations Week Observance, demonstrated to our best allies that they are not forgotten. God's privilege of freedom, liberty, and justice for all people, still possess the same meaning in the hearts of Americans in President L.B. Johnson's time as it had in George Washington's era.

Closing this letter with the privilege of sending you the resolutions adopted on July 15, 1967, signed by the representatives of 21 national groups with 10,000 people participating in the programme and C.N.W. Parade. We would appreciate if you publish these resolutions, and allow us to stay in contact with you in the future.

(Mrs.) *Ulana Celewych*
Secretary

Sincerely
Chicago Captive Nations Day Committee
Viktors Viksnins
General Chairman

Resolution

Whereas, the Senate and the House of Representatives have authorized the President of the United States of America to proclaim a Captive Nations Week, and the same has been done for the past eight years; and

Whereas, the Russian and Chinese Communist world continues on its road of persecution, aggression and enslavement, and through these means has succeeded in subjugating many nations and ethnic groups, creating a vast colonial empire; and

Whereas, Communism continues to threaten the peace, security and independence of the Free World, having succeeded in a complete take-over of Cuba, encouraging subversive conspiracies in Latin America and Africa, and conducting open, aggressive warfare in South Viet-Nam, the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia, and most recently in the Middle and Near East;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Chicago Captive Nations Week Committee, to urge the United States to adopt a national policy, which would encourage the aspirations and movements for national independence of all peoples enslaved by the Russian imperialism, by an expressed and unequivocal commitment of the United States of America to support, by all means possible, such aspirations for national freedom;

Be it further resolved, that, convinced of the indivisibility of freedom and peace, we consider the restoration of the sacred rights of all the nations based on principles of democracy, national independence within their respective ethnic boundaries, as of paramount importance for stability, freedom and security of the entire world;

Be it further resolved, that we support unreservedly the United States's determined resistance to Communist aggression in South Viet-Nam, and that we salute members of the United States and Allied Armed Forces, escapees from the Captive Nations, and their sons among them, fighting for man's freedom; and

Be it further resolved, that the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, place on the agenda of the United Nations the following proposals:

1. The abolishment of slave labor, mass deportations, and all concentration camps.
2. The return to their countries of all the deported and exiled who survived the Communist ordeal.
3. Free elections for all enslaved nations under the supervision of United Nations Organization.

American Congress In Sympathy With The Subjugated

Public Law 86-90, 86th Congress, S. J. Res. 111, July 17, 1959

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for the designation of the third week of July as "Captive Nations Week".

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Viet-Nam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

Approved July 17, 1959.

Ukraine's Struggle With Russia Continues



*Hon. Mykhailo Star
Conservative Leader
in the Federal Parliament*

On June 25, 1967, over 10,000 Ukrainians from Canada and the U.S.A. met in Toronto, Canada to manifest their unity with the Ukrainian people and its liberation struggle commemorating the 100th anniversary of Canada, the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution and the 25th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

In the morning, Mass was celebrated at Toronto's Exhibition Square for the intention of the Ukrainian people. In the afternoon a political rally was held. It was followed by live entertainment. A large number of Ukrainian youth, members of the Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) participated.

The rally was opened by Mr. V. Bezkhlibnyk. The featured speakers included Hon. Mykhailo Star — Conservative Leader in the Federal Parliament; Hon. Ian Wahn — Member of Federal Parliament; Hon. A. Grossman — Ontario Reform Institutions' Minister, Mr. M. Vernyhora — former UPA captain; Mr. Ivan Vynnyk — representing Organizations of the Liberation Front in the U.S.A.; Dr. R. Malashchuk — representing Organizations of the Liberation Front in Canada.

In his address Hon. M. Star emphasized: "When we commemorate great anniversaries

and honour former fighters we have to ask ourselves: what are we, the Ukrainians in Canada, doing to merit respect and recognition for our part in the liberation of Ukraine?"

Hon. I. Wahn said: "We know that Ukraine is not a province of Russia, but a great nation with her own history, culture and language." He expressed a good knowledge of Ukrainian history and great understanding of the development of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

Greetings were received from the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada; Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, Leader of the Opposition; Hon. Paul T. Hellyer, Minister of Defence; Hon. John P. Robarts, Prime Minister of Ontario;



*Hon. Ian Wahn — Member
of Federal Parliament*

Hon. Ivan Yaremko, Ontario's Minister of Social Security; Prof. S. Lenkavsky, Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Units Abroad; Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of ABN and from many Ukrainian organizations and institutions in Canada and the U.S.A.

SUM male choir "Prometei", girls' choir "Dibrova", mixed choir and SUM brass band "Baturyn", dance ensemble "Verkhovyntsi" and T. Parchenko (recitation) took part in the musical part of the programme.

Solzhenycyn Silent On Non - Russian Writers

The Western press and radio has written and spoken a great deal about an open letter written by the Russian writer Alexander Solzhenycyn to the delegates of the 4th Congress of the Association of Soviet Writers which was recently held in Moscow.

In his letter Solzhenycyn sharply criticizes the conditions under which writers in the Soviet Union have to work. He accuses the Bolshevik regime of persecuting writers, of confiscating, censoring and altering their works, and of confining many writers in concentration camps.

Solzhenycyn speaks only of Russian literature. As examples, he mentions only cases of the persecution of Russian writers and of the suppression of their literary activity.

He makes no reference whatever to the fact that in the Soviet Union there are many peoples whose writers are persecuted by Moscow, not only because of their deviation from the official Party line, but also because of their defence of the national rights and traditions of their peoples.

The reason that Solzhenycyn makes no mention of the persecution of non-Russian writers in the Soviet Russian colonial empire as, for example, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians and others, is that he is a "Soviet patriot", that is to say, a Russian imperialist. He takes pride in the fact that he is fighting for his "fatherland", that is to say, for the preservation of the Russian prison of nations.

Solzhenycyn did not say — for as a Russian imperialist he *could not say* — that in the Soviet Union non-Russian writers are persecuted more than Russian writers and that their works are suppressed more than those of the Russians. Russian censors and judges regard it as their most important task to protect the interests, not only of the Bolshevik Party, but above all of the Russian colonial empire.

Yesterday And Today

Twenty years ago, on July 9, 1947, General de Gaulle (he did not hold a government office at that time) welcomed the proposal of the US Secretary of State Marshall for a resuscitation of the European economy. He expressed the hope that this initiative would bear fruit. A sincere cooperation between Great Britain and France, he stated, is one of the preconditions for the reconstruction of Europe. "We who just recently emerged from a severe crisis are confronted by a new threat to the rights and freedoms of the individual. This threat comes from those who just yesterday fought side by side with us. More than two thirds of Europe is now under Soviet control. The Russians are a great people which is held together by exemplary discipline. It is dominated by a totalitarian spirit, the task of which is to extend this domination. If everything remains as it is, sooner or later we will be swallowed up by this domination, and Europe's genius and intellect will be no more. And as far as the rest of the world is concerned, this will mean an inevitable and fatal war."

Congress Of Turkish Nationalists

On February 10—12, 1967, the First Congress of Turkish Nationalists was held in Istanbul. More than 400 delegates participated. Among them were educators, professors, businessmen, students, civic leaders and others.

The chief task of the Congress was to agree upon the line of action of Turkish nationalism in relation to internal and foreign affairs.

In the proclamation to the Turkish people the Congress emphasized the dangers of Communism.

Prof. Enver Esenkova was elected to the Executive Committee of the Congress.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

In USSR — At The Religious Front

In 1966 an event took place in the USSR which probably is unprecedented in the history of relations of Bolshevism with religion. In Leningrad a poetess of Ukrainian descent, Anna Akhmatova (maiden name Honcharenko), died. In her testament Akhmatova asked to be buried according to the Church rites. And in fact the funeral was held solemnly in Nicolaus Marine Cathedral in Leningrad. At this funeral numerous writers and many Party dignitaries paid their last respects to the famous poetess. This event became known throughout the USSR because one of the participants, a poet, Yaroslav Smeliakov, described it in a poem dedicated to Anna Akhmatova which was printed in the paper, *Literaturnaiia Rossiia*.

The unusualness of this event lies in the fact that in the USSR any believer is officially considered feeble-minded, and the expression of faith or religious convictions — backwardness. Until now, it was impossible to imagine that writers, and what's more, Party members, would take part in religious ceremonies. For this kind of participation one could easily lose one's membership card.

What then is the meaning of the participation of the Party members in the religious funeral of Akhmatova, and, in addition, the description of this participation in the paper? Does it mean that in the USSR an epoch of coexistence with religion is arising?

To these questions there is a short answer: any kind of coexistence of Bolshevism with religion is impossible because then the Bolsheviks would have to stop being Bolsheviks. The event of the funeral of Akhmatova only means fifty years of combating religion did not produce the results which the Bolsheviks hoped for, especially after Khrushchov's anti-religion five-year plan of 1959-1964. The Bolshevik

top echelons now are in possession of documents which prove their defeat in the struggle with religion, and these very documents are the reason why the contemporary "collective leadership" sounded a retreat and allowed a religious funeral for Akhmatova with the participation of Party members.

The said documents are the results of a poll conducted by the associates of the Academy of Sciences to ascertain the degree of religious feeling among the population. Partial results of this poll-census were made public in such periodicals as *Voprosy istorii religii i ateizmu*, *Nauka i religia* and others, but the full text became known abroad from the German magazine *Der Spiegel*.

It seems that in 1964 more than half of the inhabitants of the USSR declared themselves believers and members of some organized Church. 70 million citizens declared themselves Orthodox; 10 million, Catholics; 22 million, Mohammedans; 2 million adherents of Judaism. Of a population of 213 million, 109 million professed religious beliefs. When we subtract children and youth under 18 and members of the Party and Comsomol who are not allowed to believe in God, from the general number of the population, and when to the 109 million believers we add 5 million members of the Evangelical and Baptist sects whom it is impossible to uncover in the census because nobody would dare to admit the criminal act — under Soviet law membership in these sects is illegal — then it becomes clear that 70 to 75% of the total population of the USSR are believers.

The census revealed that the only thing which the Bolsheviks accomplished with their anti-religious campaigns was the decrease in the number of churches (buildings), especially by administrative means. Thus, for example, in Riazanska Oblast, of the 991 churches which existed in this

county before the Revolution, only 61 still remained in 1962. Then one church served 2,000 inhabitants, now one church serves 24,000 inhabitants. Nevertheless, in 1960, as was shown by the census, 60% of all children born that year were baptized, 15% of all marriages were performed in churches, and 30% of all funerals were conducted with the participation of clergy. Taking into consideration that the distances from churches are often more than ten kilometers, the above figures must be considered very high.

The census showed that as the result of Khrushchov's five-year plan of reenforced suppression of religion, the number of churches fell from 15,000 in 1948 to 8,000 in 1962, but at the same time the going over from the legal Churches to the illegal, secret sects increased. During these five years the number of the so-called "true Orthodox Christians", i. e., those who do not acknowledge the Russian Patriarchal Church because it tolerates Bolshevik persecution of religion, increased more than a hundred fold. In fact, the census revealed that 30% of the population between the ages of 18 and 30 are believers.

That the Ukrainian people are keeping the faith of their fathers finds clear proof in the census data. In Ukraine, 80% of the population over 18 declared itself believers. Even though the population of Ukraine constitutes only 1/5 of the total population of USSR, more than half of the acting Orthodox churches exist on Ukrainian territory. The three former Uniate oblasts of the Ukr.S.S.R. whose population constitutes only 2% of the total population of USSR, have more than 20% of the acting churches. The Catholic population of the USSR lives in a compact mass in Latvia, West Byelorussia and the western oblasts of the Ukr. S.S.R. The figure of 10 million Catholics quoted by *Der Spiegel* gives us reason to believe that in the census the Ukrainian population in the western oblasts of the Ukr. S.S.R. (three in Halychyna and Transcarpatia) declared itself Catholic.

We shall end our commentary with the assertion that in their campaign against

religion the Bolsheviks again suffered a painful set-back. This set-back is all the more embarrassing in view of the fact that 90% of the citizens who declared themselves atheists, also expressed the opinion that all anti-religious propaganda is unnecessary because it only creates ill-will among the believers. They spoke up on behalf of religious tolerance, emphasizing that religion is the private matter of every individual. This fact shows that not only were the Bolsheviks unable to destroy the belief in God — they could not even turn their atheists into militant atheists.

Death Sentence For UPA Officer

Another officer of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) was sentenced to death and executed. Of all newspapers, it was the *Visti z Ukrainy* (News from Ukraine) — which, as its editors maintain, is intended for cultural contact between Ukraine and the emigration — that printed the report with photo of the death sentence against Oleksa Hryha, alias "Chumak," lieutenant of the UPA, in its March 12, 1967 issue. The trial was held in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv), but the date of the trial was not mentioned. Indicative of Soviet Russian justice is the fact that Hryha was already sentenced once in 1947, a fact not formerly revealed. Now it is clear that after serving his first sentence, Hryha was active in the south of Ukraine. He was again arrested, after the Supreme Court of Soviet Ukraine annulled his first sentence. The reason for this is obvious, if the newspaper is to be believed. The UPA unit of which Hryha was commander wiped out a group of Soviet Russian paratroopers who were dropped in East Carpathia in 1944 for sabotage purposes. In short, the second sentence was blood-thirsty revenge.

Ban of Shevchenko's Testament Song

A letter from the town of Kolomyia in West Ukraine reports that in March of this year, the month of the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko's birth and death, the Soviet Russian police forbade the

singing of this testament song at the end of a memorial celebration in honour of the poet. "If only you could have seen the unanimous indignation of the hundreds of participants," the author of the letter writes. Moscow feared that the Ukrainian people would take the words of this song — "Rise up, tear off your chains and nourish your freedom on the evil blood of your enemies" — all too literally. This song was not banned in the past. But even Moscow must realize that banning the words of this song, will not obliterate them from the memory of the Ukrainian people.

Trend Towards Traditional Ukrainianism

Some time ago we reported on the transformation of the "Republican" Ministry for Education of Soviet Ukraine into a Union-Republic Ministry. In actual practice this means that the Ministry for Education has been placed under Moscow's direct supervision. In Ukraine, this step has been received as an additional Russification measure, and has provoked strong reaction, which has also found an echo in the press.

It would be misleading, however, to represent this reaction as a separate and isolated act of rebellion, for as a matter of fact it is really another link in the chain of the Ukrainian cultural revolution which began some years ago. In past issues we have often had occasion to refer to this.

For some years past, there is increasing evidence of a tendency leading away from Russophilism, which was imposed upon Ukraine by the regime, and towards traditional Ukrainianism. This tendency is evident in all layers of the society, but above all among the intellectuals and students (apart from this, the rural population has always been conservative and traditional).

This tendency finds its expression in the revolutionary poems of Vasyl Symonenko which have been illegally circulated among a large segment of the population in hand-written copies; in the resistance of the Ukrainian intellectuals which led to the

arrest and condemnation of more than 70 Ukrainian scientists, artists and students about a year ago; in the spontaneous celebrations in honour of prominent Ukrainian personalities which, despite police injunctions forbidding them, were organized by the Ukrainian students; and last not least in censor-restricted articles, which, though timid, are outspoken enough in view of the conditions prevailing in Soviet Ukraine. Indeed, the Russians themselves, by glorifying the reign of the tsars, by glorifying Ivan the Terrible, Peter the "Great", by making films such as "War and Peace" based on the novel by Tolstoy, encourage the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union to turn to their own glorious past. The intent of all this of course is to hold up Russia's history as a model worthy of emulation, and thereby make the leadership of the Russian people in the Soviet Union more palatable. Precisely the opposite is achieved, however; the pride and national consciousness of the non-Russian peoples are awakened, for the history of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union is much older and much more glorious than the history of Russia, which, in turn, has been more successful than theirs.

At one time the Bolsheviks were merciless in running down the cult of the tsars — now they have begun to glorify their reign. What wonder, therefore, that influential non-Russian personalities celebrate their own great men?

As an example of this we should like to quote from an article printed in *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 47. In this article entitled "That future generations may not reproach us," Dmytro Kryvoruchko, chief architect of the Kyiv municipal building projects, demands that in the execution of building projects, monuments commemorating Ukrainian history should be preserved, and that important events of Ukrainian history should be reflected in the naming of streets. Above all, the streets of Ukraine's capital should be named after

famous Ukrainian architects, artists and scientists.

To be sure, these demands are made in a timid manner, and they touch upon only such matters for which no persecution on the part of the Soviet Russian secret police is to be feared. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that these demands were made at a time when, in Lutsk, Lviv, Ternopil and other Ukrainian cities, indictments on similar charges were made against Ukrainian intellectuals.

D. Kryvoruchko's isolated demand found an echo some months later in Zaporizha. In the October 28, 1966 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina*, Dr. Stefan Samilenko, Dr. Juri Schulte, Viktor Chabanenko and 16 others, demanded that the city of Zaporizha and vicinity, where once the *Zaporizhian* Cossacks had their military quarters and headquarters, should be immediately transformed into a historical site and that the streets of the city should be named after famous hetmans, Cossack leaders, military leaders and princes from Ukrainian history. This demand was made on the basis of a resolution passed by the Cabinet Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

We do not know whether these demands have any effect. We do know, however, that the voices speaking out for national interests are increasing and growing stronger.

In the April 11, 1967 issue of *Kulturna Ukraina*, a letter to the editor was printed, from which we append an excerpt:

"In your newspaper, you often write about Ukrainian national songs, historical monuments of the people and similar matters. We are of the opinion that the concept "historical monuments" does not only include old buildings, works of sculpture and paintings . . . but also songs, fairy tales, legends, stories and customs of the people, and also its language — the eternally living, eternally young and invaluable memorial of past generations and our testament to future generations."

The text also includes a demand directed to the Ministry for Education, that is to

say, that Ministry which was placed under Moscow's direct control in December of 1966, to introduce native folklore as a compulsory subject in secondary schools. This subject should be taken up even in kindergarten and elementary schooling.

Similar demands are often to be read in the newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina*, for instance, in letters to the editor, such as those by Borys Shlapek from Moldavia, Vira Hryshchenko from the Sumy area. Especially worthy of note, however, is an article by Vasyl Kosachenko entitled "In the Name of the Contemporaries," which appeared in the April 18 issue of this year. In his article, the author criticizes the condition of the book market. He writes:

"In the years 1965/66, only four new libraries were opened in the Kharkiv area, though 13 new libraries had been requisitioned. There are 12 bookstores less . . . Only one third of the required space for storage of books is available . . . In Sumy, one book store has to provide for some 7 thousand customers. Because of improper storage, books valuing 100,000 rubles were lost . . . pupils, however, do not have the necessary textbooks, not even those which are listed as compulsory subjects in the school curriculum. *Above all, there is a pressing shortage of books on Ukrainian classical and modern literature.*"

In short, they are voices that will not go unheard, at least not among the Ukrainians. They will also have to be heard elsewhere! To be sure, these voices are still timid, irresolute; they don't attack the principal offender, Great Russian chauvinism with its Russification policy. For the time being they merely bear witness to the fact that also in this sphere there is an intense upheaval; these voices will become more and more strong, more and more numerous, more and more resolute, until the whole world is forced to take note of them, and the oppressors are forced to stop their fears. The Ukrainians will no longer let themselves be intimidated, as was the case under Stalin's reign; and fear is a part of Ukraine's conquered past.

Eugen Libauer

Book Reviews

Schng-ya-li jen-min kam-pao yuen-tong
The Revolution of the Hungarian People
(Chinese) by Dr. Lajos K. Katona; Published by Chen-chung, Formosa, 1956. 200 pages, 4 pictures, 1 map.

The book is written in Chinese. In the first 14 pages of the book, the author gives a brief survey of the history of Hungary up to the Peace Treaty of Paris, in 1920. The following 10 pages are devoted to the relations of Hungary to the existing states of that time (small entente), up to the Russian occupation of the country, in 1945. In the following 62 pages, he reviews his own experiences as a *kulak* in prison, following which he worked as a labourer for various construction firms; whereby, it became clear that the Communist leaders exploit the workers.

On pages 86 to 124, he considers the influence of the 20th Congress upon the Hungarian people, especially upon the students and writers, which had to lead to the uprising.

From page 124 to 193, he describes the peaceful march of the young men and women of Budapest, on October 23, 1956, notwithstanding the official prohibition by the Office of Interior, to the monument of the poet, Petöfi, and then to the monument of the General, Josef Bem, and from there to the Parliamentary Buildings, where, owing to the Russian tank attack, the revolution broke out. The author participated in this march and events following thereupon, either actively or as an eye witness. He contrasts his own daily experiences against the official publications.

From October 31st to November 3rd, he was in his native town, where he was able to observe the revolution in the country and the dissolution of the kolkhozes at close quarters.

At 10 a. m. on November 4, 1956, the news was spread in Szolnok, the headquarters of the Russian army in Hungary,

that the Russians had brought Janos Kadar into the city. He was closely guarded, and was not permitted to move about without Russian guards. At 11 a. m. loudspeakers and leaflets announced that Kadar had formed a counter-government.

On the following day the author was again in Budapest, where he actively participated in the general workers' strike and especially in the propaganda fight against the Kadar government, which had been set up by the Russians.

He concludes his book by quoting experts from several foreign Communist press reports on the Hungarian revolution and its suppression by the Russians.

The Vulnerable Russians

by Lev E. Dobriansky

In this compelling and dynamic narrative, Lev Dobriansky, author of the *Captive Nations Week Resolution*, has dared to expose the ingenious and colossal hoax that Russia has united under the guise of Marxism those nations she claims comprise the U.S.S.R. It is not unity but merely a cloak to cover Russia's traditional and unchanging policy of imperio-colonialism and techniques of psycho-political warfare.

With cogent and well substantiated argument, Professor Dobriansky drives this point home to the Departments of State and Defense, to the very door of the Executive Mansion, where America developed the erroneous policy of military and economic containment. The object should not be to contain and thus recognize the units of the U.S.S.R., but to expose and debunk this pretence and attack the real aim of Russia for what it is — expansion of her Empire and the domination of those peoples who inhabit the once free nations, whether in Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America.

Hsu, Shuhsi. *The Chinese Situation*. Ottawa, 1964, 30 pages.

The author of this booklet is the Ambass-

ador of the Republic of China to Canada. In it we have a good survey of the development of Communism in China, indicating clearly that from the beginning this movement grew only because of the sustained Russian political-ideological and material assistance. Actually, "in her contact with foreign countries in the past hundred years, China has suffered most at the hands of two of them. One is Russia under Communism, and the other Japan in her heyday of imperialism." The conquest of the Chinese mainland by Communists, Mr. Hsu traces to the "plot of Yalta."

Luis V. Manrara:

Communist Methodology of Conquest

This publication contains a highly interesting and topical speech on the methods of Communist seizure of power. This speech was delivered by Mr. Luis V. Manrara, President of "The Truth about Cuba Committee Inc." at the International Symposium on Communism held in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa on September 27-30, 1966. In the appendix important documents are published as, for example, letters by J. F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchov concerning the Russian rocket bases on Cuba.

"Cuba was taken over by deceit, infiltration and propaganda, the three deadly Communist weapons. Fidel Castro's diabolical ability to deceive — I call him the best actor and the biggest impostor born in Twentieth Century — played a major role in the take-over. I was a witness to the unbelievable collective hypnosis of the majority of my compatriots through the communications media, especially television. It is very difficult to fathom the immense power psychological indoctrination has over the human mind, even over those well-educated and sophisticated people. Some businessmen and many hardened politicians were easily ensnared. Completely ignorant about socialism-communism, they idiotically believed they could manage the Communists and eventually come to terms with, or bribe them. As in so many countries, they fell for the sly, Communist-coined slogan 'Our Communists

are different.'"

Mr. Manrara's evaluation of former Communist seizures of power, however, appears to be influenced by the erroneous conceptions that generally prevail in the West. The grave historical fact that — outside the Russian territory of the former tsarist Russian empire — the Communists in Europe did not succeed in seizing power through revolution in any one country is not brought out clearly enough in his speech. The fact is that the non-Russian peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire (for example, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, etc.) proclaimed the independence of their countries under democratic rule. Step by step, however, they were conquered by the Red army, occupied and re-annexed to Russia and subjected to Russian-Bolshevik dictatorship. In the so-called satellite countries (Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Poland, the Soviet occupied zone of Germany), Communist seizure of power was not a consequence of an internal political development, but rather of the occupation of these countries by the Red army in the course of World War II. Incontestable documental material on these matters is to be found in the official reports of the US Congress Kersten Commission. This also holds true for the development in the countries of present-day Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia).

The President of "The Truth about Cuba Committee Inc." rightly states that Communist seizure of power in Cuba aims at encircling the United States of America in accordance with Lenin's master plan for world domination.

Mr. Manrara's commentary on the Communist "Tricontinental Conference" held in Havana in January of 1966 is also very valuable. In Western Europe little is known about this important conference, because the "big" press, orientated towards co-existence with Communism, has every reason to remain silent. But the fatal consequences of this conference can already be felt in various Latin American countries.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný

Hsu, Shushi. *Speaking Out*. Ottawa, 1965, 48 pages.

It is a selected collection of speeches and articles from the years 1960—64. The book contains several thoughts and statements worthy of note. It reminds us that the Communist-Chinese regime "was established as a result of Soviet intervention" in China. "It is a regime foisted on the Chinese people on the mainland by a foreign Power." The idea of Two Chinas is rightly called "sinister", for it coincides with the brutal concept of power-politics, disregarding the freedom of whole nations, comparable to the idea of dividing the U.S.A., Germany or Ukraine into two artificial countries.

Mr. Hsu perceives that the idea of peaceful coexistence is of Communist-Russian origin, and states: The Communist-Russian bloc constantly attempts to substitute "peaceful coexistence" for "friendly relations and cooperation" among free independent nations. He shows that peaceful coexistence is one step on the road towards conquering the whole world. The author maintains that politics should be ruled by ethical considerations: "There develops a tendency for Western civilization to regard interest as the basis of obligation it once inherited from early Christianity . . . Whether moral obligation is considered as revealed by God or deduced from experience of countless ages of civilized life, it is clear that it is alone sound."

A.W.Bedriy

Equality Of Rights Between Races And Nationalities In The USSR

by I. P. Tsamerian and S. L. Ronin

Published by UNESCO, printed in Nijmegen, Netherlands, 1962, 106 pages

This UNESCO publication is an inferior work which attempts to glorify the Soviet Russian colonial empire and to give the public of the free world a false impression of the conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union.

The authors of this publication make every effort to present the so-called Soviet Union as a union of free peoples having equal rights in which the problems of na-

tionality and race have been ideally solved.

To be sure, they offer a fairly realistic picture of the subjection and Russification of the non-Russian peoples under the reign of the tsars, but this appears to be done only to bring out the "merits" of the Bolshevik dictatorship, for, after all, it was this dictatorship that re-established the Russian empire by force!

It is clear, therefore, that they make no mention whatever of the important fact that the non-Russian peoples of the former tsarist empire separated themselves from Russia and declared their national independence following the Bolshevik counter-revolution. In this publication on the nationality problem of the so-called Soviet Union, the authors make no mention whatever of the fact that the Russian-Bolshevik government crushed the freedom and independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, North Caucasia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cossackia and Siberia, by incorporating these states into the Russian empire by force. This also applies to the occupation and annexation of the Baltic states which followed later.

Nor is there any reference in this publication to the resistance of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union who are subjected and exploited by Soviet Russia; there is no information on the Russification policies of the Moscow government, no mention of Red terror, concentration camps, mass-deportations, forceful resettlement of entire peoples and genocide.

On the other hand, the sham sovereignty or autonomy of various states which are really under Soviet Russian domination, is highly emphasized. The truth of the matter, however, is that the federative character of the so-called Soviet Union is only a façade to gloss over Russian imperialism and the centralized dictatorship of the Russian Bolshevik Party.

This deceptive publication is an example of Soviet Russia's misuse of international institutions such as UNESCO to promote and promulgate her own interests.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

PRIVATE WAR WITH BUSSIA

by Ernest R. May,

Dorrance and Co, Philadelphia

The story of John Lock, a member of Congress, is the story of an American patriot faced with a hard — and immediate — decision. But it is more than that, for Lock's private war with Communism is far from being an objective contest.

His ancestors knew the iron heel that crushes the timid or helpless, whether it bears the brand of monarchism or Communism, the label of Nicholas or Khrushchov. The old world mistrust of tyranny in Russia was brought to the New World when John Lock's forebears came to Kansas, and in him the fierce love of freedom ripened to its highest and best.

Thus, when he was faced with a decision

that meant courage or compromise, he chose the true way rather than the "safe" way. His decision was not a simple one, for he was facing not only the terror of the Bomb, not only the minions of the Red Empire, but the opposition of fearful colleagues who had abdicated their principles in favor of expediency.

What does a brave and resolute man do when he knows the right way — but stands alone? Lock faced such a day, when there was no one to turn to but himself, no compass to guide him, other than his own conscience.

"Private War with Russia", through the person of Congressman John Lock, former newspaperman, throws a new light and slant on the nefarious Russians and their 20th Century brand of Imperialism. It is a book that should be read now — today.



AF ABN in New York Celebrating Captive Nations Week

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1967 — A PROCLAMATION

(By the President of the United States of America)

Whereas the joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), authorizes and requests the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation each year designating the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week" until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world; and

Whereas freedom and justice are basic human rights to which all men are entitled; and

Whereas the independence of peoples requires their exercise of the elemental right of free choice; and

Whereas these inalienable rights have been circumscribed or denied in many areas of the world; and

Whereas the United States of America, from its founding as a nation has had an abiding commitment to the principles of national independence and human freedom:

Now, therefore, I Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 16, 1967 as Captive Nations Week.

I invite the people of the United States of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all peoples for national independence and human liberty.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of July in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-seven, and the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-second.

Lyndon B. Johnson

MESSAGE FROM CANADA'S LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

To the Ukrainian Mass Rally in Toronto, on June 25, 1967

The history of Ukraine and its people has been one of constant, unending, and gallant struggle to preserve their freedom. Whatever the odds against them, history records they have never surrendered to the forces of tyranny.

They have learned that freedom can not be bought, and that it can only be preserved by the personal sacrifice of each and every citizen. This makes understandable the fact that Canadians of Ukrainian origin in this land of freedom have made so outstanding a contribution in peace and in war.

I extend my best wishes to all present at the mass Rally and Festival on June 25th, the purpose of which is to celebrate, as good Canadians, Canada's Centennial.

J. G. DIEFENBAKER

O t t a w a , June, 1967



10,000 Ukrainians From Canada And USA Commemorating Anniversaries Of Ukrainian National Revolution And Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

ABN Demonstration



Against Russian Colonial Rule (Ottawa, November 7, 1967)

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Anti-Russian Demonstration In Ottawa

Burning of the Red Russian Flag — Anniversary Party Spoiled — Soviet Government's Protest Note — Extensive Coverage in the Canadian Press, Radio and Television

On November 7, 1967, a four-hour anti-Russian demonstration was staged before the Russian embassy at Ottawa. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest against the 50 years of Russian colonialism and imperialism. The demonstration was initiated by the League for Ukraine's Liberation and other ABN member organizations. An Ad Hoc Committee was formed for the occasion. Around 500 persons with more than 200 signs and banners took part in the protest. They were Ukrainians, Hungarians, Croatians, Byelorussians, Rumanians, Latvians, Slovaks, Estonians, Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Poles, Czechs and Chinese.

The demonstration was preceded by a press-conference on November 6th at which Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, the President of ABN, was the main speaker. Thousands of leaflets explaining the reasons for the demonstration were distributed throughout the city.

At the time of the demonstration the Russian embassy was holding a diplomatic reception to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Russian revolution. The official guests which included four Canadian ministers were loudly booed by the demonstrators. The demonstration reached a peak when the demonstrators burned a Russian flag as a symbolic sign of protest against the atrocities which were committed under this flag. Several demonstrators were arrested, but released soon. The demonstration was widely covered by Canadian radio, television and the press. Front page reports and pictures appeared in such papers as *Globe and Mail* (Ottawa), *Telegram* (Toronto), *The Montreal Star*, *Toronto Daily Star*, *The Ottawa Citizen*, *The Ottawa Journal*, *Le Droit* (Ottawa), *La Presse* (Montreal) and others.

"The objectives of the demonstration were: To draw attention to the atrocities and crimes against humanity perpetuated in the name of the Bolshevik Revolution and committed in Ukraine and other enslaved nations of the Soviet-Russian colonial empire; to forewarn the free world to the growing threat of Russian Communist imperialism, which has as its primary goal the subjugation of the entire world under Communism; to draw attention of the world to the current situation in Ukraine and other captive countries, where persecutions of intellectuals, Russification, deportations and imprisonments are commonplace." (From a statement by Dr. R. Malashuk, President, Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, published in *The Telegram*, Toronto, Nov. 23, 1967).

Russian Ambassador, Ivan Shpedko, made a verbal protest to Paul Martin, the Canadian External Affairs' Minister and in Moscow a protest note was handed to R.A.D. Ford, the Canadian Ambassador, on November 16th through S.P. Kozerev (Deputy Foreign Minister). The next day the note was published in full in all the major newspapers in the Soviet Union.

The note is an unscrupulous outright intervention by the Government of the USSR in the internal affairs of sovereign Canada. It calls the demonstration a

“rowdy throng”, which means that 500 Canadian citizens are “hooligans”. What right does the USSR Government have to libel citizens of a sovereign state?


The note charges that the demonstrators used the “organs of the press, Canadian radio and television”, which only proves that all the news-media are available to the Canadian citizens to express their opinions freely and to communicate their views to other people. But, evidently, the Government of the USSR disapproves of this right.

The demonstrators clearly stated the purpose of their demonstration both in the leaflets distributed throughout the day and on banners and signs carried by them. But in its note, the Government of the USSR “demands severe punishment of the instigators and participants of the anti-Soviet provocation”. This can only be interpreted by the fact that it opposes the freedom of speech and the freedom to express opinions. However, the Canadian constitution guarantees this right to every citizen and the attitude of the USSR is a glaring interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country.

It is a lie of the Government of the USSR to call Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko a “collaborator with the Hitler regime during the Second World War . . . who is a war criminal”. Mr. Stetsko became Prime Minister of a temporary Ukrainian Independent Government, proclaimed on June 30, 1941, in opposition to the policy of Hitler’s genocidal imperialism. Mr. Stetsko was arrested by the Nazis in July, 1941 and was sent to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, where he was held till the end of the war in 1945. Thousands of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, of which Mr. Stetsko was the leading member, were murdered by the Nazis for their activities to establish an independent and a sovereign Ukrainian state.

At a press-conference on November 6th in Ottawa Mr. Stetsko reminded the world of the 50th anniversary of the start of the tyrannical Russian Communist regime. Also Mr. Stetsko took part in the demonstration which was organised in unison with his political directives. This and similar actions are very much appreciated by the Central Committee of ABN.

The note is actually a case of flagrant international blackmail by which the Government of the USSR tried to pressure a sovereign government of another country into denying its citizens their constitutional rights only because they have spoken the truth. The entire note is based on naked power, on the basis of which the Government of the USSR thinks that it has the right to spread outright lies and force other free nations to bow before the dictates of Moscow.



*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

Lawlessness In Occupied Ukraine

In Ukraine V. Chornovil Protests Against The Persecution Of Intellectuals

On August 5, 1967, Viacheslav Chornovil, 30, married and a university graduate was arrested in Lviv. In 1965, he worked at the Kyiv radio and television station and contributed to various publications. Among other things, he wrote a review, "In Search Of Sense" printed in the periodical *Dnipro*, No. 2, Feb., 1965 and the review of B. Hrinchenko's "First After The Intermission", in *Prapor*, No. 5, May, 1964.

As correspondent for Kyiv radio and television he was present at the trials of Ukrainian professionals at Kyiv and Lviv in 1966. On April 16, 1966, he was called to testify at a secret Lviv trial of Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Mykhailo Osadchyi and Myroslav Zvarychevskiy. Chornovil refused to testify, motivating his refusal by the fact that the trial was behind closed doors.

Prosecutor Antonenko and judge Rudyk announced the decision to charge Chornovil according to Chapter 172 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. (refusal to testify), but on April 19th changed their decision and evoked Chapter 62 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. (agitation or propaganda aimed at subversion of Soviet government). In May, 1966, the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R. overruled the decision of the Lviv oblast court as unmotivated.

After this verdict, V. Chornovil wrote a letter to P. Iu. Shelest, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Chornovil remarks: "In the secret letter of CC CPU, read before various creative organizations, it is said about the repentance of the arrested (70 Ukrainian professionals persecuted in 1966 — ed.) But why nothing is said about the posture at the trial (not in the "isolators" of the KGB) of Mykhailo Horyn, Valentin Moroz, Mykhailo Masiutko, Panas Zalyvakha? . . . I decided to send you my remarks about the gross breaches of Socialist law, which I sent two weeks ago to the

Head of the KGB (at the Council of Ministers, Ukr.S.S.R.), com. Nikitchenko and to the Prosecutor of the Ukr.S.S.R., com. Glukhov . . . I could not refuse to pick up my pen when I know from my own experience how law is understood by lieutenants and captains of the KGB and some justices together with prosecutors. When I prepared reports, I had only one aim in mind: to prevent the repetition (under a different name) of the terror of the 30's, which resulted in great bloodshed by the Ukrainian people and made Ukrainian Soviet statehood fictitious. I did not find myself behind bars, because the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R. overruled the decision of the Lviv oblast court. However, knowing the broad jurisdiction given to the KGB by the pitiful Chapter 62, can I and my family have a guarantee that the same short procedure will not be used against me because I dared to write of the highhandedness and lawlessness? Therefore, I ask you and the CC of CPU to take me under your protection from possible repressions."

The letter was dated My 22, 1966.

The case shows the widespread practice of illegal police methods, terror, unchecked power of the KGB and the continued despotism of the lawless dictators, the Russian occupiers of Ukraine.

On August 3, 1967, the KGB searched Chornovil's apartment in Lviv (Spokiina Street, 13) and confiscated some old books, personal letters and notes. On August 5th he was arrested. V. Chornovil was tried in November, 1967 and sentenced to three years of hard slave labour beyond the borders of Ukraine.

A more detailed coverage on the above will be published in the next issue of **ABN Correspondence**.

The World Anti-Communist League Protests

Against The Suppression Of Free Thought And Persecution Of Writers And Artists

The World Anti-Communist League:

Believing that all over the Soviet Russian empire the symptoms of a latent revolutionary national movement are increasing, and that the movement is directed against Russian domination as well as against Communist despotism and terror;

Manifesting itself in the suppressed peoples' ever-growing aspirations after national independence and unequivocal expression recently represented in the work of intellectuals, who want in their work to reflect the genius of their own nations, to cherish their traditions and cultural heritage, and to express their belief in God and homeland;

Resolves at its First Conference that:

1. The League condemn in the strongest terms the Communists' cruel persecution of writers and artists and the misuse of quasi-judicial proceedings against basic and inalienable human rights which have for thousands of years been fundamental to human progress;

2. The League protest the odious prac-

tice of locking up "inconvenient" personalities in lunatic asylums in an effort to quell the growing rebellion against Communism in the field of culture;

3. The League appeal to intellectual workers everywhere in the free world, and especially to Nobel prize winners, to raise their voice in protest against the draconic measures to which Ukrainian writers and representatives of the cultural life in all subjugated countries are subjected, and to demand the immediate release of the victims deported and imprisoned for the struggle for human rights and independence of nations;

4. The League call upon all those who hold sacred freedom of thought, speech and religion and the idea of national independence, to exert their influence in the forum of the United Nations, on the governments of their respective countries, in order to bring about the indictment of the USSR and all Communist states for their violation of human and national rights.

On The Oppressed Nations In The Soviet Russian Sphere Of Power

The World Anti-Communist League:

Considering that the Soviet-Russian empire has been maintained by force through the oppression of other peoples who previously enjoyed their own independence, and by forcing on them the Communist system, which they did not want to have;

Considering also that all Communist dictators even outside the Russian sphere of power owe their rise and continuance only to Soviet Russia, which never ceases to pursue its plans of world conquest;

Resolves at its First Conference that:

1. The League support the re-establishment of the national independence and freedom of all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, and declare its solidarity with the national liberation movements in their own countries;

2. The League urge that every assistance be given these subjugated peoples who are fighting both inside and outside ethnographic boundaries to cast off Russian colonial rule and to break up other artificially created states;

3. The League declare its support for the re-unification in freedom of all countries divided by force and the establishment of a universal world order, based on freedom, national sovereignty, human dignity and social justice, and for peaceful and harmonious co-operation between all nations on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

(Resolutions Passed By The First Conference Of The World Anti-Communist League, September 25 to 30, 1967)

The First Conference Of The World Anti-Communist League



President Chiang Kai-shek addressing the opening ceremony of the First Conference of the WACL.

The First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League was held from September 25th to September 30th, 1967, in Taipei (National China). Representatives from 72 countries and fourteen international anti-Communist organizations took part. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Republic of China, with his speech opened the Conference. Present at the opening ceremonies of the Conference were members of the diplomatic corps, over 250 delegates from all over the world and hundreds of members from the cultural, economic and military facets of life of National China. The presidium included Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the World Anti-Communist Con-

ference; Jose Figueres, past president from Costa Rica; Dr. Jose M. Hernandez, secretary-general of APACL, from the Philippines; and two secretaries. Representing the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) were: Mr. Y. Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of ABN; Prof. Lajos Katona, ABN representative to the Asian Peoples' Anti Communist League in Taipei, and Mrs. S. Stetsko. Also, ABN was represented through the European Freedom Council by the following official delegates: former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Ole Bjorn Kraft; Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, Ukraine and ABN; former Minister Prof. Dr. Oberländer of the German Federal Republic. The representative from the Croatian Liberation Movement, Mr. Kokic was a member of the Australian

delegation. The American delegation included two representatives of the American Captive Nations Committee, namely: Prof. Lew Dobriansky and Wolodymyr Chopivsky.

Greetings were received from His Holiness Pope Paul VI, the various presidents of free Asian and Near East countries, various organizations and political elite from all over the world.

The Conference functioned through plenary sessions and committees. During the plenary sessions the heads of the delegations delivered speeches, which were distributed in English, French and Spanish for the benefit of all those participating in the Conference and of the press. On behalf of ABN and Ukraine a speech was delivered by Mr. Y. Stetsko. The sessions were thoroughly covered by radio, television and newspapers. Many personal interviews were granted by ABN President.

Five committees were appointed: Political committee, committee on economics and culture, committee on youth, an organizational committee and a draft committee.

The delegates from the ABN participated in the political committee, which discussed and accepted also the resolution submitted by ABN and in the organizational committee which among other items discussed the proposals for the amendments to the WACL Charter.

At the last plenary session of the Conference a number of resolutions were accepted. They were: on the condemnation of aggressive plans on the part of Soviet Russia, Peiping and North Korea; on support for the National Chinese in their fight against Communism; on a more decisive U.S. action in their fight against Communism; on the liberation of Cuba; on support for the South Vietnamese in their fight to regain independence for all of Vietnam; on the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik counter-revolution; on the Captive Nations Week activities; on exchange of experiences and ideas among the members of the League; on cancelling of trade with Communist countries; on non-admission of Red China to the United Nations; an appeal to the youth, and the resolutions submitted

by the ABN concerning support for national liberation of suppressed nations and the condemnation of Russian imperialism for the crimes carried out against the cultural elite in the countries subjugated by the Russian Communist regime. A series of practical suggestions were passed at the plenary session as a guidance for the activity of WACL. In the Declaration of the First Conference the political principles of the League were laid down. Upon the suggestion of ABN, it was included in the Declaration that the World Order should also be based on the principle of national independence for all subjugated nations in the Soviet Union and so-called satellite countries.

The delegates to the Conference were received by President Chiang Kai-shek and Mme. Chiang. Banquets were given by the Vice-President, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Chairman of the Parliament, WACL President Ku Cheng-kang, the Mayor of Taipei and other outstanding personalities of National China to all the delegates to the Conference and the Diplomatic Corps. The Ukrainian delegates were received by President Chiang Kai-shek and Mme. Chiang, who was presented with a gift — a beautifully carved national emblem, "Tryzub", and the book, "Russian Oppression in Ukraine".

As soon as the First World Anti-Communist Conference was concluded, the Thirteenth APACL Conference began and lasted for two days. It was inaugurated by the Vice-President of the Republic of China.



World Anti-Communist League Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, greeting ABN delegates.

Dr. Judd, the head of the American delegation was the main speaker at the opening ceremonies. Among others, an ABN resolution, sponsored by Ceylon, India and National China on the necessity to break-up the Russian empire into national independent states was passed unanimously by the Conference.

The former Prime Minister of Viet Nam, Phan Huy Quat, was elected President of the APACL. The Fourteenth APACL Conference and the Second WACL Conference will be held in Saigon, South Viet

Nam, to where the Secretariat of APACL (now in Manila, Philippines) will be moved. The Secretariat of WACL is located in Korea, and Dr. Jose Hernandez (Philippines) is the elected Secretary-General.

During both Conferences manoeuvres of the National Chinese Army under the command of the Minister of Defense, General Chiang Ching-kuo, took place in honour of the delegates.

Both Conferences were a big success for the anti-Communist cause.

Enslaved Nations Must Be Set Free

Opening Address of Chairman Ku Cheng-kang

In my capacity as chairman, I have the honor of solemnly declaring the opening of the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League.

This is an occasion of great moment in the history of mankind. United here today in the common cause of freedom are delegates and observers from more than 70 countries and more than 10 international Anti-Communist organizations, representing Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe, Latin America and North America. Your presence here today for attending the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League amply demonstrates the solidarity of all free men. This gathering is firm evidence that our struggle for freedom and against enslavement has reached a new turning point.

During the last one hundred years, the Communist movement has committed countless errors and sins and brought mankind enmity, hunger, death, slavery and warfare. Such inhumanity will result in the inevitable disintegration and ultimate defeat of Communism. The formation of the World Anti-Communist League is concrete evidence that all mankind is determined to co-operate against the world-wide Communist aggression. The World Anti-Communist League constitutes the force through which this scourge of mankind will be totally negated and utterly annihilated.

The World Anti-Communist League must raise the beacon of freedom, heighten all peoples' alertness, and arouse their courage so that mankind may march forward on the glorious path to freedom.

During the past 13 years, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League has come to understand that the situation warrants the expansion of the Anti-Communist struggle. For this reason, it was decided at the 12th APACL Conference held in Seoul, Korea, that the organization should be expanded into the World Anti-Communist League. The League's birth this year is especially significant because this is the one hundredth year since Karl Marx published his *Das Kapital* and it is also the fiftieth year since the Russian Bolshevik government was set up. Our aims are to achieve the over-all decline of Communism and to form the vanguard in the fight for freedom and against enslavement. We must unite in harmony in carrying on this struggle without any regard for race,

nationality, creed, occupation or sex. It is my firm belief that our historic mission is based upon the following convictions:

We believe that respect for human dignity is the basis of individual freedom, world peace, and social justice. The Communists use such tactics as purges, struggle, assassination and other violent acts to sully human integrity, trample upon human rights, do physical harm to human beings and destroy human ethics. In fact, their every behavior goes against human nature. It is our duty to protect mankind. After we have achieved the destruction of Communism, we must right these wrongs in every field — political, economic, educational, and social.

We believe that freedom is basic to man's existence. The history of any nation is a history of struggling for freedom. Today, we must correct the phenomenon of the world's being half free and half enslaved. All enslaved nations must be set free; all enslaved peoples must be liberated. We must never slacken our struggle to free all of mankind.

We believe that all mankind yearns for peace. The Communist plot of "peaceful coexistence" may be able to deceive some people, but the truth remains that Communism is a source of danger for world peace. For this reason, we remain adamant against any appeasement of Communism. We are even stronger in our opposition to any peace that involves surrender. We must destroy the Iron Curtain and expose the Communist tyranny. We must establish a world peace based on freedom.

We believe that we must positively work toward uniting the forces of Anti-Communism and striving for the goal of governmental co-operation. Only by so doing can the forces of freedom combine effectively to defeat Communist aggression. At the same time, the regional security organizations of Asia and other areas must be based upon this co-operation. *The World Anti-Communist League plans to set up regional organizations in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe, South America and North America.* These regional security organizations will form the basis of a grand alliance of all free nations.

The Communist movement is well down the path of defeat. However, it has been attempting to avert its complete collapse by increasing its oppression internally and its aggression externally. This may yet result in a great disaster for mankind. We must keep this danger in mind and strike when the time is ripe for bringing about complete collapse of Communism.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have only to stand on the tide of freedom, pool our resources, and hold in our minds the firm belief that freedom will be victorious over slavery if we wish to succeed in our struggle and erect a new milestone in man's path to freedom.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great honor for the Republic of China to act as host for this historic conference. It is a great personal honor for me to have been elected chairman of this conference's preparatory committee. In my capacity as chairman, I would like to extend a hearty welcome to all of you present here today on behalf of the League Council. Special expressions of our gratitude go to President Chiang Kai-shek, who will share with you some of his experiences as one of the foremost Anti-Communist leaders in the world through his address to the conference, and also to King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Pope Paul VI for sending special delegates here on this occasion.

This First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League has a great sig-

nificance in that it is unprecedented in history and world-wide in scope. I believe that this conference is a symbol of the inevitable success of the forces of freedom. The successful completion of this conference will guarantee the early victory of freedom. It is our earnest wish that all freedom and peace-loving peoples of the world will unite with us in accomplishing our historic task.

Free Nation Stronger Than Dictatorship

*Address By The Honorable Chung Yul Kim, Member Of The National Assembly,
Republic Of Korea, Outgoing Chairman Of APACL*

It is rather a historical irony that the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League is being held in Taiwan which was all but given up for lost in the dark days of 1949. Today, Taiwan is a luminous star of democracy, a beacon-light of freedom in this part of the world — the very antithesis of Communism.

The non-Communist parts of all the divided countries today have become more economically prosperous and politically stable. But none of them had as gloomy a picture of the future as the Republic of China had in 1949. She had just lost the mainland to the Communists and the world wondered how long it could hold out against the relentless attacks of the Communists. Red China was regarded as a rising sun in Asia and no one could stop her, apparently, from swallowing the whole of Asia.

But the chain of events started by the Sino-Soviet dispute, the rampaging "Red Guards", and the so-called "Cultural Revolution" have revealed in the past few months the stark reality of what is happening inside mainland China. The following information has justified our suspicion and has enabled us to refute the false image of Red China foisted upon us by the followers of the appeasement policy:

1. The Communist regime in China has been completely rejected by the people.

2. Mao Tse-tung does not command the support of the majority of the Communist Party and its leadership is helplessly divided among many factions.

3. The regime does not have effective control over much of the country.

4. Military forces are also divided into many factions and now there are signs that they might come out in open conflict

among themselves.

5. The "Great Leap Forward" in industry and the "People's Communes" in agriculture have miserably failed.

6. Red China's expansion efforts have suffered a great set-back and her influence in developing countries has been steadily decreasing.

These are just a few examples to show how much the Free World has been misled into believing the propaganda glorifying Red China.

Under the magnificent leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek and with the industrious people of China who are uncompromising in their yearning for the liberation of the mainland, the Republic of China has become one of the most economically prosperous and politically stable nations in Asia. U. S. economic aid, which began in 1951, was no longer necessary and thus it was terminated in 1965. Taiwan's economic growth rate in recent years has been 7 to 8% annually. During the past 15 years, industrial production went up more than 300%, agricultural 70% and export nearly tripled. Free China retains one of the largest, well-trained and well-equipped military forces in Asia and she has beaten off Red China's repeated attempts to invade the off-shore islands.

It has been 50 years since the First Communist Regime was established in Russia in 1917. Now we have sufficient knowledge and information on Communism to determine causes and effects of our past errors and to formulate a grand strategy to stop this evil force and to expand the sphere of freedom.

Within twenty years since the end of the Second World War, we have lost much of *Central Europe*, the China Mainland,

North Korea, North Vietnam, Tibet and Cuba to the Communists. What is more amazing than actual losses is that these tragic events occurred despite the fact that the Free World was infinitely stronger in military power, possessed infinitely greater economic resources, and that the ideology of freedom has so much more to offer than the false doctrines of Communism.

I would like to lay before you four propositions which, I believe, explain why we have lost:

1. World Communism and Western Civilization are totally opposed to one another in everything that is basic and important. (A) We believe in God. But the Communists contend that God is a myth, that belief in God is a fraud intended to assist in the exploitation of the working classes. (B) We believe that man has an innate knowledge of right and wrong and a free will enabling him to choose what course to take. But the Communists contend that free will does not exist, and that free choice must not exist, because man has neither the ability to act wisely nor the virtue to act honestly. (C) We believe that man is essentially good and that the just society aims at encouraging man's goodness, developing it and benefiting from it.

But the Communists contend that man is essentially evil and that unless he is remolded and rigidly controlled by the state he will only seek to exploit and debase other men. (D) We believe that our policy toward nations, like our attitude toward individuals, should be to help them work out their own destiny in peace and justice, through the process of free choice. The Communists contend that independence is an illusion, that revolution, bloodshed, and fratricidal wars are inevitable and desirable, and that non-Communist nations must be destroyed, enslaved and rebuilt on the Communist pattern. We are thus involved not in a simple conflict between nations or power blocs or economic or political theories. What is at stake is everything that has made us what we are as individuals, as families, as a nation, as a civilization.

2. Because of this total irreconcilability, because of the dedication to destruction which is at the heart of Communism, because of the continued inflorescence of non-Communist society which has exposed the hypocrisy and diabolical ideology of Karl Marx, Communism is compelled to destroy us to justify itself, to fulfil itself and to save itself from inevitable contra-



Organizational Committee at work. At the head of the table — Hon. Dahyabhai Patel and Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko; in the centre — Hon. Ole Bjorn Kraft and Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer.

diction and collapse. Communists cannot be content just to deride us and wait for our downfall. The threat of Communist subjugation, therefore, differs from all previous attempts to conquer the world.

3. The long and gloomy series of Free World defeats has resulted from our refusal to accept these truths as the bases for our policy. The Communists have reaffirmed their intention to destroy us by a thousand words and a thousand deeds. It was first stated in 1848 and on various occasions thereafter — in 1917, in the Twenties, again in the Thirties, the Forties, the Fifties and even at this late hour, they declare that their ultimate objective is to destroy all the non-Communist nations. They have been training thousands of cold war specialists to carry out their objective of destroying us. But we have refused to open our eyes to their declared intention. The world never takes the tyrants seriously until after they actually become real monsters.

4. Because of the Sino-Russian dispute, the disintegration of the monolithic feature of the Communist bloc and the deceitful Russian line of peaceful co-existence, the Free World has been misled to believe that the Communist threat has been fading away. We must realize that the dispute between *Soviet Russia* and Red China is simply over the strategy and tactics for conquest of the world and neither party has ever denounced its basic principle of irreconcilability with the non-Communist world. Instead, their struggle for hegemony within the Communist world and their tactic of diverting attention from the internal discontent of their people by creating external crises may drive each contending party to seek irrational adventurism against the Free World.

Our task is to stop losing. It has been proven that Communist aggression can be stopped whenever and wherever the Free World has manifested its refusal to yield. In Greece, in the Philippines and in Malaysia, we have succeeded in defeating Communist guerrilla offensives. In Korea we defeated Communist open military armed aggression. We scored a major po-

litical victory through the Berlin airlift and the Cuban blockade. The Communist attempt at a coup d'état in Indonesia was successfully crushed. And in Vietnam today, we have turned the tide in our favour.

The Free World is deeply indebted to the United States for its help given to the threatened nations to help themselves. In today's shrunken world, the United States has had to stand, not by choice but through compulsion born of circumstances beyond her control, by the free nations and to provide them shield and sword in these perilous times.

A free man is better than a slave; a free economy is more productive than a slave economy; a free institute will achieve more than an indoctrination centre; a free nation which governs through consent is stronger than a dictatorship which governs through fear; a coalition of independent states banded together through a common cause is stronger than a captive slave empire held together with bayonets.

I would like to quote a passage from the message of President Park of the Republic of Korea sent recently to the WACL Secretariat: "It is necessary to fortify the bastions of democracy by evolving a clear-cut vision of the good society inspired and shaped by anti-Communism, by the establishment of co-operation and solidarity, and the generation of determined and decisive action . . . I earnestly hope and expect that this world organization shall be at the vanguard of all anti-Communist movements."

*"I have sworn upon the Altar of God,
Eternal Hostility against every form of
tyranny over the mind of man"*

Thomas Jefferson

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

II Corinthians, VI, 9.

Law Of History

From Vice-President C. K. Yen's Speech Of Welcome

As is well known, the ultimate objective of Communism is the communization of the whole world and the enslavement of all mankind. Under the tyrannical Communist rule man is not only deprived of all basic freedoms but also threatened with the loss of his right to life itself. Such being the case, Communism has doubtless become the greatest enemy to human society in modern history. The ruthless and barbaric regime imposed by the Chinese Communists on the Chinese mainland is even more tyrannical and ruthless than any other regime in all history. Its very existence constitutes an unprecedented menace to the world as a whole.

However, history teaches us that the flames of freedom ever burning in every human heart have imparted added courage and strength to enslaved peoples to regain their freedom. Consequently, all previous tyrannies have been overthrown and no authoritarian regimes have escaped destruction. For such is the law of history.

This iron law of history is applicable to the Communist tyrannical regimes just as well. At this very moment, they are showing signs of disintegration. I see before me the foremost anti-Communist leaders of the world. I am sure that if we take full advantage of the process of disintegration that is going on in the Communist countries and build up a strong anti-Communist united front by rallying together all the anti-Communist forces of the world, we shall be able to wipe out the Communist evil root and branch and succeed in accomplishing our historic task.

As the Republic of China has a longer history and more experience in fighting Communism, we are fully prepared to stand at the forefront of the anti-Communist struggle and to do our utmost for the achievement of this historic mission. *That the Republic of China is playing host to the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League is a measure of our sincerity in dedicating ourselves whole-heartedly to this all-important work.*



H. E. Phan Huy Quat, Former Prime Minister of Vietnam and ABN delegates, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, Dr. Lajos Katona (in the second row) and Mrs. Slava Stetsko.

In Memory Of Mahatma Gandhi

In the long history of the human race, in the story of man's struggle for the liberation of his mind and heart from the shackles of ignorance and repression, the figure of Mahatma Gandhi appears luminous and clear as a paragon of truth and virtue — a true leader, a real symbol of liberty from fear, want, and spiritual gloom.

A man of the East, he saw his influence felt in the highest councils of the West. Trained in the West, he lifted the impoverished millions of the East from the darkness that had enveloped their lands for countless centuries.

Exemplary in word and deed, he never vacillated in his herculean mission to raise his people from the misery of the flesh and the poverty of the spirit that had deepened with the passing of the decades.

His thoughts were crystal-clear.

God, the Light of the Universe, would lead him though he walked in the shadow of the valley of death.

Man cannot attain his cherished dream of unalloyed joy unless he barter away his material goods, shares them with the poor, and beats his swords into ploughshares.

The world cannot remain half-slave and half-free. Freedom is a torch that must be passed from one generation to the next, from city and village to the jungles of suspicion, hate, and tyranny, from the bastioned castle and citadel to the huts and villages in the wildest forests of the night.

Humility is an indelible hall-mark of greatness — for the first shall be last and the last the first.

Nothing great and everlasting can be attained through violence and bloodshed. A man of peace is a man of God — and God has ordained freedom as the climate of man's ultimate happiness.

It was not passing strange then that Gandhi — a man really for all ages — fell victim to inhuman, unreasoning violence, for if the grain or wheat does not die it cannot give life.

It is really for this reason that we the delegates of the APACL 13th Conference assembled in Taipei, Republic of China, now celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's 99th birthday anniversary. He has left his footprints on the sands of time. He can never pass into nameless oblivion. He is the unfading gleam in the night of our groping misery and despair. He is the fountain of hope in men's hearts all over the world.

To Gandhi let us give the flowers of our deep esteem and fadeless remembrance. We must not forget him. He was the supreme architect of our house of hope. He is the splendid embodiment of our Dream.

ABN anti-Communist demonstration in Washington, D. C., on November 6th, 1967



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

Benjamin Franklin

False Estimation Of The Strategic Military Balance

The ultimate objective of Communists is World domination-subjugation. This is the axiom.

The destructive pseudoscience of Marxism-Socialism-Communism is the greatest provocation against mankind in all history. — Its “principles” are: 1. *Atheism* for conversion of human into animal — animalization of mankind; 2. *Abolition-denial* of spiritual and material private ownership, as a complete /total/ robbery of mankind for the cause of International Parasitism and its ally-supporter through the “state” by the means of “nationalization”, as the greatest deceit;

3. *Class-struggle*, or the organization of mass-massacre — bloody embodiment of criminal rule — “divide and reign” — on the background of burning jealousy, insidiously inspired for the aim of seizure in this way of power and all national property by “proletarian hands”;

4. “*Internationalism*”, or the cammouflage of International Parasitism and its ally-supporter — “elder brother” — Russian/Red Moscow, who as Communist-Bolshevist, became Red Fascist.

The “principles” of Marxism-Socialism-Communism, being applied in time and ampleness, are based tactically on Lenin’s rule — “two steps forward, one step back” — for the purpose of psychological deception of mankind by the means of alternation of terror waves of different density, namely:

A — Line of “mild” terror and “narrow” conditions of life, that is the line of some alleviation — “thaw”, inside of Russia’s prison of nations; and outside — “cold” wars are in progress;

B — Line of sharp terror — genocide, famine, great poverty, distress, and different persecutions, especially against enslaved nations, — inside of this prison; conquering, “hot” wars — outside, under camouflage of “liberation” of “colonial people” from “capitalist oppression”;

C — General line of Communist Party.

The General Line of the Russian Communist Party in its action is represented by a zigzag, — interchange of waves. — After a period of sharp terror-genocide, comes out connivance — “thaw”, or a wave of “mild” terror. This wave-tactic serves in hands of International Parasitism, “grave-diggers”, as an insidious tool for psychological deception of common people, and, especially, Americans, having no close experience with the red devils.

Many, let us say, “sirens” are persistently luring America to fatal rocks of “Scilla and Charybdis”, just using said “thaws” for propaganda in favour of Reds, suppressing in the same time evidences of horrible waves of sharp terror-genocide.

Some examples. Mr. Walter W. Rostow, foreign policy planer in the State Dept., is always chanting about “mellowing policy” of Communist Russia, inviting USA to “show good will” toward this kingdom of slavery and genocide by unilateral disarmament — destruction of American military might.

Mr. George F. Kennan, former ambassador to Russia, started to “brainwash” Americans with the madness of “peaceful coexistence” with the Reds as early as

1952. This "historian" revealed himself as an ignorant. His statement "Ukraine is the Pennsylvania of Russia", advocating preservation of Russian colonial empire, is in deepest sense, a "prescription" for conversion of USA into a "Pennsylvania of Russia".

The ideology of Marxism-Socialism, based on materialistic world outlook, is indeed a faith-religion of anti-Christ, and Marxist-Socialist-Communist Party represents by itself the "mystic body" of him — anti-Christ, or "church" with "father-god" — satan. For "gospel" of this anti-Christ's "church" serves the Communist Manifesto of K. Marx, as anti-Christ, his *Das Kapital*, the Dialectical and Historical Materialism, together with paranoical in their cannibalism "sacred scriptures" of V. Lenin.

The "principle" of class struggle, as the organization of mass-massacre, is nothing, but the cult-ritual of satan — "baptism" by blood and tears of your neighbour, even brothers, sisters, parents . . . Therefore Communists and their fellow-travelers "baptized" in such a way are, so to say, "cemented" by blood. As collective murderers, they are "cemented" also by fear of retaliation in case of downfall. The third motive is thirst for power, which brings them hegemony and position of a class-caste with "privilege" to live on account of others, as a drone with a whip in hands. Bloody "baptism", fear and strive for power force Communists to commit this crime-murder again and again . . . Class struggle under Communist rule never ceases — at first it was raging against bourgeoisie, and afterwards — against "enemies of people" — enemies of the Communist class-caste.

The bloody account of Marxists-Socialists-Communists-Bolshevists' rule in Moscow jail of nations is represented by murder of more than EIGHTY/80/ million of innocent people, including about 15 million of those, who were not born, and hundreds of millions of the enslaved.

Two Faces Of USSR's Strategic Military Budget

Marxism-Socialism-Communism is an ideology of complete/total/ robbery-expropriation and mass murder, being in the same time the heaviest brake for productive forces of mankind, and, thus, a source of permanent imperialism. Marxists-Socialists-Communists-Bolshevists can not turn back from their bloody way voluntarily. Therefore, they *must have the ultimate objective of world conquest-subjugation*.

Besides the task of demoralizing the remaining Free World by means of "peaceful coexistence" and "cultural exchange", propaganda and subversion, the achieving of military superiority is the most important aim of red murderers for final showdown if the said Western World will withstand all calamities of "cold" war, in such a way turning its tide back. In other words the remaining Free World can not avoid the main confrontation with the world of slavery and genocide if freedom has to be preserved.

In the face of this alternative, the Western World *must adopt*, as a prerequisite for victory and survival, the motto — "*better dead, than red*", and, therefore, must be in a state of permanent spiritual and material/political and military/mobilization in order to protect freedom actively, saving the whole world

from the deadly red menace. Particularly, the remaining Free World *must give* every possible help to nations, enslaved by red imperialists, as the surest way to turn the tide of "cold" war against them, for freedom is indivisible.

The red world is a totalitarian world; it is a concentration camp from the beginning to the end; it is a world of slave labour. Therefore the estimation of the strategic military possibilities of the USSR on the base of its budgetary declarations without taking in consideration the character of this gigantic camp of forced labour, will be entirely misleading and dangerous.

In the Free World the cost of labour for a certain manufactured object, usually exceeds the cost of material. In the USSR the cost of labour, in contrast, is very low just due to large application of slave labour. Several millions of inmates in concentration camps, prisons, houses of compulsory work and correction/DOPR-s/, etc., consisting of "enemies of the people" and "bourgeois nationalists", or "trespassers of socialist property", and population of houses of "stray youngsters" (who lost their parents due to red terror), and other unlucky people, are constrained to work, in accordance with murderous policy of "pure profit", only for a piece of bread and "balanda" — a kind of watery soup. An "enemy of the people", being arrested and sent, without any trial, to prison or concentration camp, has initial body weight. Due to hard work imposed on the prisoners and estimated by productivity/piece-work/, a slave, receiving hunger-rations for a certain amount of work, which can not be done because of progressive weakness, gradually loses his weight, and finally dies of starvation. In such a way the Soviet government — this gang of murderers inc. — "saves" money, simultaneously getting rid of "enemies of the people". This is the "pure profit". The loss of such man-power is replaced by new arrests and deportations, called by common people "verbovka", or "draft" . . .

But the cost of material also reflects in its larger part the application of cheap slave labour.

The vast "empire" of concentration camps under absolute rule of, so to say, "essence of murderers incorporated" — NKVD-MVD-KGB, — located in Siberia, Middle Asia, Northern parts of the USSR and everywhere of this prison of nations, is divided into districts. The well known for their cruelty "combinates" — clusters of camps, — are the Vorkuta, Solovky, Murmansk, Kotlas, Ukhta-Pechora, Arkhangelsk, Mariinskoe, Karaganda, Sakhalin, Kolyma, Kamchatka, Kandalaksha, and many, many others. Each of such "combinates" has at least 30 camps. For instance, the Ukhta-Pechora "combinat" has 33 concentration camps with 3 to 5 thousand of inmates in each; some camps are more populated, up to 10 thousand. The "combinat" Kolyma had in 1940 more than 2 million of slaves. During fulfilment of the 4th five-year plan, in 1946-50 the number of slaves in the USSR exceeded 15,000,000.

A few years ago the Soviet government announced the liquidation of concentration camps. It was an impudent bluff for "democratic clowns" to promote "peaceful coexistence" and to give politicians, like Mr. W. W. Rostow a reason to cry about the "mellowing policy" of Russia. — Concentration camps exist and will exist although under new name of "popravno-trudovoy lager" — "corrective labour camp". USSR can not exist without this source of cheap

forced labour! The latest informations show that in district Patma-Barashevo, in Mordovia/A.S.S.R., along a railroad line of 45 kms., there are 36 concentration camps with circa 100 thousand prisoners. In 1956 in this area there were 26 camps, — an increase, not a decrease.

Huge financial resources for Soviet military purposes are hidden in “voluntary” contributions. Everybody in USSR is obliged to be a member of “Ossoaviakhim” — Society for assistance of aerial and chemical defence system — and to pay rather high dues. As this “society” numbers more than one hundred million of members, we can imagine its importance for Soviet defence, especially if to consider “natural” contributions of workers by completing “defence objectives” gratis.

Besides this, every employee is obligated to subscribe to “defence bonds”, ranging from one to two monthly salary without receiving his money back by termination of such “bonds”. Every Soviet enterprise/factory, business, etc./ has in its budget hidden assignments for defence purposes.

Officially announced USSR’s military budget for 1966 — 13.4-billion rubles, and for 1967 — 14.5-billion rubles is nothing, but a clumsy propaganda. Low budgetary announcements have a transparent aim to put Russia in pose of a “peace-loving” country, from one side, and to deceive “capitalists”, namely to push them to a pitfall, — from the other side.

Mr. Beechers’ estimates, according to a quotation from “The Changing Strategic Military Balance, U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R.”, page 23, show that the Soviet strategic military budget is the equivalent of \$ 33.33-billion to \$ 40-billion a year, reflects by no means the real situation. Even these figures, taking into consideration the large part of slave labour embodied in military hardware, have to be doubled, or tripled. Careful estimates of Soviet military budget will give not less than \$ 120-billion, or more, a year, if one evaluates forced labour used by the standards of the Free World.

M. Tricross



ABN demonstrators spoiling Russia's 50th anniversary party. (Ottawa, November 7, 1967.)

Russian Imperialism Toward Ukraine Under Brezhnev-Kosygin

Extinction of Ukrainian Statehood

Moscow's main aim is to liquidate and erase every trace of Ukraine's national statehood and sovereignty. This means that the Russians endeavour to graft the Russian state upon the Ukrainian people, not only politically and by force, but ideologically, culturally and emotionally as well, so that the Ukrainian people will forget and abandon any thought of their own national state. This Russian imperial policy can be observed most dramatically in the steady diminishing of the role and scope of functions of the government of the so-called Ukrainian S.S.R. A definite trend to transform the Ukr. S.S.R. from a "separate" state structure into a normal province of the Russian state is noticeable. Voices are raised among the Russians, e. g. the publications of NTS, that the Soviet Union should be renamed "Russia". Although this will not occur in the near future, such thoughts reveal the Russian intention to destroy the subjugated nations completely. Actually all matters which are inherent parts of state existence are decided in Moscow, not in Kyiv, as for example the incorporation of the Krym Peninsula into the Ukr. S.S.R., the revision of borders between the Ukr. S.S.R., and Communist Poland, cancellation of ministries in the Ukr. S.S.R., etc.

Ukrainian Foreign Policy in Russian Hands

The government of the Soviet Union invites leading statesmen of free nations to visit Kyiv, Kharkiv, or Odessa as if they were just provincial cities of Russia, like Leningrad, Volgograd, Gorki or Novosibirsk. However, foreign statesmen should perceive the Russian duplicity and recognize Kyiv as the capital of a large European nation, lingering under hostile colonial rule. Some of them do, like the Austrian Chancellor on a recent visit. The Russian intention of establishing foreign consulates in Kyiv has the purpose of

reducing the city to a provincial status in the Russian state and to eradicate its "capital" character.

In the United Nations the "Delegation of the Ukr. S.S.R." is constantly used by Moscow to degrade Ukraine to a subordinate position under Moscow's supremacy, as if Ukraine freely recognized and desired such treatment. This policy has as its objective to convince other nations that Ukraine is allegedly an integral, organic and historical part of the Russian nation and state.

Ideological Imperialism

One of the modern tactics of integrating Ukraine with Russia is to put people of Ukrainian origin or coming from Ukraine (like Podgorny, Grechko etc.) in prominent positions as if to show that Ukrainians have really united themselves with the Russians. The appearance of such "Sovietized Ukrainians" should be explained as follows: a) Today Russians feverishly endeavour by all possible means to rear and cultivate a sizable and more representative group of Ukrainians as their neo-Janissaries.

b) Moscow has to retreat before the pressure of Ukrainian national liberation struggle. It does it in such a way that by bringing few Russified Ukrainians forward, it tries to convince the Ukrainian people that real equality among nationalities exists in the Soviet Union and any other attitude of Ukrainians (namely national independence and the break of relations with Russia) is to their disadvantage.

c) Moscow claims that the "Soviet people" are a fact, meaning that Ukrainians and other non-Russians in the Soviet Union have renounced their national uniqueness and joined the new Socialist society, which actually is intended to be a broadened Russian nation.

d) The Russians expertly and cleverly exploit a moral breakdown in a segment of the Ukrainian people, which resulted

from the hostility and indifference of the free nations to the liberation struggle of Ukraine during the past 25 years. Recently Moscow has been conducting an extensive campaign creating or activating "Soviets" on various levels with the aim of drawing more Ukrainians into the colonial system.

In the ideological field Moscow stresses "the return" to Leninism, which means a broad ideological frontal attack on all spiritual-cultural manifestations of the enslaved non-Russian nations, a vigorous offensive against the Christian world outlook of Ukraine, a destruction of various philosophical views and trends in the subjugated peoples, a thoroughly prepared intellectual attack on Europeanism and on the spiritual-social substance of the Ukrainian nation, propagation of Russian messianism and superiority, the theory of unification and friendship between the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples, between the Ukrainian and the Russian proletariat and the toiling masses, a gradual assimilation or denationalization of Ukraine in three stages: sovietization — socialization — communization, opposition to ideological doctrinairism, because ideology should serve Russian imperialism alone (not any abstract ideological purpose).

C.P.S.U. versus O.U.N.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union — the core of the Russian imperial elite strives to convince, to impress and to force Ukrainians to recognize it as their sole national, political organization. The C.P.S.U. brutally extinguishes every indication, every appearance of autonomy or trends toward the separation of Ukraine from Russia. There is no chance for a rise of a Ukrainian national Communist party. The C.P.S.U. — a centralized and a dictatorial organization — directs all its activity from the top, from Moscow, and its branch in Ukraine (the CPU) is exclusively an executive local cell without any essential influence upon the policy of the Party. "Ukrainians" in the C.P.S.U. must obediently execute orders from Moscow and must fully serve Russian national imperial interests. There are no indications

at all that the C.P.S.U. would agree to the establishment of any legal political grouping in Ukraine which would be beyond its control.

The main political enemy of Russia in Ukraine is the moving force of the always present Ukrainian nationalism, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Therefore, the occupational regime is exterminating the OUN physically and conducts a broadly planned psychological, corruptive and propaganda warfare against it and the Ukrainian nationalism. During the years following the end of World War II, Bolsheviks deported up to three million persons connected directly or indirectly with OUN and UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) from Ukraine. Many thousands of Ukrainian freedom-fighters were killed in battle or murdered in prison. The occupational regime continuously organizes public or secret trials of members of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground with the aim of spreading fear, demoralization and defeatism among the Ukrainian nationalists. The latest such trial of Lieutenant Hryva of UPA occurred a few months ago. It resulted in death sentence and the execution of the freedom-fighter. Communist periodicals are bulging with provocative, smearing and fictitious articles against OUN — UPA — ABN. There is an ever increasing number of "literary works" which aim at discrediting and corrupting the Ukrainian nation and its liberation struggle. C.P.S.U. has murdered leaders of the OUN like Stepan Bandera and Taras Chuprynka and has been planning the murder of Yaroslav Stetsko. Communist-Russian agents-provocateurs are constantly trying to infiltrate the Ukrainian liberation movement and to destroy it from within.

Russian terror, lawlessness and the all-powerful KGB invariably rage in Ukraine. Manifestations of genuine Ukrainianism are destroyed by brutal methods, the foremost of which is a long-term banishment outside Ukraine in several sub-Arctic areas including hard labour in Kolyma, on the White Sea, in Trans-Ural. The foreign regime uses informers, national apostasy and Chekism (Lenin's beloved method of

terror and coercion) extensively. It established a system of so-called people's detachments and "groups of co-operation with Party-state control", the main purpose of which is to assist the police in combating Ukrainian nationalism. In Ukraine the so-called socialist justice is an organ of colonial enslavement and acts according to the directives from Moscow.

Social Imperialism

Moscow employs systematic deportations and mass resettlements as a method of weakening Ukraine ethnically. Ukrainian peasants and young people are sent to till the virgin lands and to work in mines in faraway Asian colonies of Russia and technical cadres are pressed into the development of new industrial centres outside Ukraine. Russians are streaming into Ukraine and occupying the best lands, administrative positions and key posts. Inter-mixing of various peoples has the aim of bringing about the rise of the so-called

Soviet people — obedient mass of slaves of the Russian lords and masters.

An unbelievably great social inequality exists between the enslaved Ukrainian people and the colonial-dominating Russian people with their lacqueys. All those returned from imprisonment and banishment are left without any social security, without steady work, humane living quarters and without any social welfare. A sharp discrimination is practised against families of Ukrainian freedom-fighters. It is hard for them to obtain jobs or to be admitted to schools. By means of mass resettlement Ukrainian families are broken: boys or girls but not whole families are forced to take jobs outside Ukraine. Communism abets the spread of criminality, drunkenness, demoralization and anti-social instincts. Medicine is employed for the benefit of the occupational regime. The KGB widely uses medical means for the liquidation of leading Ukrainians. Work is constantly one of the major tools of



Youth opposing the Russification of the subjugated countries (Ottawa, November 7, 1967)

colonial exploitation. A 45—50 hour work week is common in addition to various "rush" and "special" over-time jobs. The work norms are always high and labour discipline unusually severe even in minor details. An individual is not free to choose the type and place of work. Wages are unjust, except for the privileged minority of the faithful and obedient servants of the empire. The colonial regime purposely maintains low living conditions in order to weaken the social health and to hasten the genocide of Ukraine. Trade unions are an instrument for strengthening exploitation of labour, indoctrination, spying and denunciation.

Economic Imperialism

Russia treats Ukraine as its economic colony. Ukraine's economy is exclusively oriented upon maximum exploitation in favour of Russia without the least regard for the interests of the Ukrainian people. Periodically the empire organizes artificial famines (1921—22, 1932—33, 1946) and chronic starvation aimed at weakening the biological resistance of the Ukrainian nation. The entire national economy of Ukraine is controlled, directed and executed from Moscow, although local experimentation is permitted in order to improve the quality and output of exploitation of labour and Ukraine's wealth. The typical trait of colonial economy is the primacy of the military economy: to strengthen the empire and to develop those sectors which contribute to military or economic expansionism. Moscow is systematically rooting out all displays of private ownership. Attempts at group-co-operative economic initiative in Ukraine are persecuted. Labour and know-how are totally Moscow directed. The worker has no right to strike. Ukrainian peasantry, just as in the times of legal slavery, is without any legal protection and under pressure of assimilation in the Russian collectivist, anonymous society. The Ukrainian village has one purpose — to supply food to the imperial objectives of Russia. Often Ukrainian peasants go hungry while foodstuffs from their fields are shipped to Egypt or Cuba in

order to advance world-wide imperial plans of Moscow. In planning and developing transportation, industry and communication the principle of imperial expediency rules. The exploitation of raw materials and their processing is carried on primarily for export to Russia and military objectives. Totalitarianism reigns in the field of finances, while the whole tax system aims at the mendicity and pauperization of the Ukrainian people. Foreign trade is a very important tool of Russian colonial policy. Every product of Ukraine which can be traded to the advantage of the empire is brutally robbed and carted out beyond her borders. Of course, Ukraine never receives anything of comparable value in return.

Russia endeavours to hold Ukraine defenceless, without her own military forces and without the population's right to keep arms for personal safety. The multi-million Soviet army has the objective of denationalizing and sovietizing the Ukrainian people. Soviet military forces are wholly in the service of Russian imperial policy. Ukrainians are sent to spend their military service far away from home.

Religious and Cultural Imperialism

Communist Russia wages a relentless war on religion in Ukraine, prohibits religious freedom, destroys all Churches except the Russian Orthodox "Church". The government and the Party conduct a policy of militant godlessness. The colonial regime destroys artifacts of religious character (churches, religious monuments, monasteries, church buildings, religious art, church furnishings, vestments, etc.) Moscow tries to eliminate the external influence of various Churches. The colonial government meddles in most intimate and confidential matters of the Church. Religious education and religious schools are prohibited.

The colonial regime suppresses Ukrainian cultural life, reducing it to the level of provincialism. In place of Christian ideals and values, the enemy forcefully imposes its anti-European Communist culture. All free creativity is prohibited. Cultural despotism, Russian world-outlook, dogmat-

ism and totalitarianism reign. Ukrainian cultural workers are persecuted and terrorized; they are denied all aid. Russian chauvinism and enmity to everything European are stressed more and more. Free international cultural relations are impossible, with the exception of the so-called cultural exchanges permitted by the government. Moscow is trying to isolate Ukraine from European culture. No Western cultural trends are permitted to diffuse freely in Ukraine.

Because there is no free education in Ukraine, Ukrainians are not free to choose their education and training. Moscow is trying to destroy the Ukrainian language and to substitute Russian for it. The educational system in Ukraine is very one-sided. Russian social sciences and scientific-technical training necessary for the expansion of economic-colonial strength of the empire are stressed. The educational system is used as means of denationalization of the non-Russian peoples and the elevation of the Russian culture. Also there is discrimination in the quality of education, for in Russia and for the Russians in Ukraine better schools are provided than for Ukrainians. The enemy regime does not allow the establishment of private schools or the teaching of religion.

In the training of youth, aside from the constant influence of Bolshevik immoral propaganda, only the Janissary organization "Comsomol" is allowed.

Ukrainian cultural treasures are constantly being destroyed, ruined or carted away. In the arts, acute Russification and discrimination against Ukrainian artists exists. Literature is a field of battle between the

lacqueys and censors on the one hand and the Ukrainian writers on the other hand. Ukrainian scholars who are morally weak are bought by Moscow. Those who faithfully uphold the truth are repressed, persecuted, sent to concentration camps and killed. A Russification tyranny reigns in every Ukrainian social science. The press especially is the means of Russification and anti-Ukrainianism.

Attacks against Ukrainian Emigrants

Russia is repeatedly attacking the Ukrainian emigrants. Some of their prominent leaders have been murdered. Moscow is trying to isolate the emigrants from the Fighting Ukraine and to decompose them morally. Moscow's agents and provocateurs are infiltrating emigrant groups with the aim of dividing them, neutralizing their liberation efforts, making them money-conscious only and luring them to the road of Sovietization and Marxist-Socialism. Moscow is perpetrating a cultural swindle among the emigrants saying that today Ukraine is completely Sovietized and that the Ukrainians in the USSR have equal status with the Russians.

In combating efforts on behalf of Ukraine's liberation Communist Russia is co-operating with various Russian emigre groups, especially the NTS and SBORN. These groups are conducting a great misinformation campaign in the Free World trying to eliminate the Ukrainian nation from the surface of the earth. They are working very hard among the scholars trying to prove the non-existence of Ukraine as a separate nation and state entity.

Moscow, the Third Rome

In the cathedral courtyard in Kreml, between Uspenski, Archangel and Blagovestshenski, between the sarcophagus of Ivan the Terrible and the government buildings of Lenin, Stalin and Kossygin, the perhaps twenty-two year old guide and Moscow spokesman (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 1. 8. 67, Report from Moscow), quoted the saying of the Tsars and the priests of the Russian Orthodox Church, that Moscow is the Third Rome and there will never be a fourth. He quoted the words not without pride and with an understanding laugh. For him, the history of his country forms a unity.

Peter W. Jansen

Hon. William G. Heffron
Associate Judge of City Court Buffalo,
N.Y.

The Hard Facts Of Life

In the past 20 or 25 years we have witnessed the dissolution of many colonial empires such as the British, French, and Dutch holdings. Only one empire has been permitted to amass more and more territory under various disguises: "Liberation Wars," "Annexation," or just plain occupation.

Soviet Russia has followed a course of uninterrupted agrandisement of her territory, unhampered aggression, and shameless subversion of more than a score of once free and independent nations. Soviet Russia has carved out for herself a path of conquest, unequalled in the history of mankind.

While Hitler's downfall was bought at great human cost in life, limb, and property, Russia's aggressive acts have been permitted to go unhindered or with only token opposition from the free world. As a result, Russia's appetite grew and grew and where it will end nobody knows.

This dual standard of morality has long been a matter of great concern to thinking people. The dual approach in international dealings is a great setback to the lofty ideals of democracy.

It was very satisfying to those who observed the national and international scene when the Congress of the United States adopted a resolution, in 1959, which was approved by President Eisenhower, enacting into law, Public Law 86 to 90, popularly known as "*Captive Nations Week Law*".

This law constitutes one of the most farsighted statements of principle in recent time.

To quote the Congress, "The enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful co-existence between nations." The law further points out the real culprit and obstacle to peace, for it goes on, "Since 1918, the imperialistic policies of Russian Commun-

ism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and all the free peoples of the world."

The wording of the law is clear. The accusations are explicit. The United States Congress, with initiative and courage, has given notice to the world that Russia is the aggressor.

However, the law is powerless unless close behind it, and supporting it, is a warm, enthusiastic public opinion.

This nation has traditionally embraced the abused, the downtrodden, and the enslaved.

Although we have achieved spectacular success in the technological fields, our greatest successes have been in the area of human rights, the protection of the law, and individual freedom.

Our Founding Fathers possessed wisdom and sagacity which has brought forth righteous laws and Christ-like zeal to share the accomplishments with those who yearn for similar benefits.

True — we reaped ingrates — we were vilified for it — we were often hated and despised for the good deeds — but, if we closely examine those who bit the hand that fed them — we will always find distorted political designs behind it.

The maelstrom attracts more notice than the quiet fountain; a comet draws more attention than the steady star. Very little is said about tiny Finland that paid back all its debts to America and has maintained a difficult balance of existence next to a noisy Russia which has been saved twice in recent history from a downfall.

It was the *Lend Lease* programme that came to the rescue of the teetering slave empire of Soviet Russia which saved her from a Nazi takeover in 1942.

The good intentions of America were shortchanged because we were not fully cognizant of the true design of Russian

imperialism.

After the war and after receiving billions of dollars in war material from the West the full strength of the Communist war machine was unleashed. Once free and independent nations, one by one, were swallowed up. The warnings of those first victims of Communism, the Georgians, the Azerbaijanians, the Ukrainians, and the Byelorussians, were completely unheeded because the false aura of co-existence blinded the free world.

The world paid no attention to the pleas coming from behind the barbed wires of the Siberian slave labor camps.

The free peoples of the world, lulled into a sweet, meaningless nap, looked the other way when, in post-war years, Soviet Russia expanded her frontiers.

Soviet Russia, encouraged by the silence of the West, engineered one take-over after another. "Wars of Liberation" became a fine art with the Russians. They were carried out without interruption until the Korean War.

It took our military forces to settle that attempt, and, today, our boys are defending freedom's frontiers in Viet Nam.

We are still told, by some of our less astute statesman, that, if we are willing to surrender one slice of the world after another, the Communist appetite will be satisfied and we will be left in peace.

The hard facts of life tell another story.

Only an open, forward-looking, free-from-fear stand can guarantee freedom's survival.

Recent events in the Middle East, where

Russia, by proxy, instigated a conflagration, bears out this statement. Tiny Israel, surrounded by enemies bent on pushing her peoples into the sea, girded her will to survive. Meek surrender *never* stopped the tyrants.

It is encouraging that this great nation of ours saw fit to pass a law setting aside a week in July to observe and ponder the fate of the *Captive Nations*.

The Captive Nations Week will mark the beginning of the end of an infamous era during which decent men hid their faces in the sand and let tyranny loose on a rampage.

It serves notice to tyrants that the conditions their greed created are not condoned by decent men.

This law gives a ray of hope to the forced labor camp inmates, to the imprisoned intellectuals, to the hard-pressed farmers, to innocent children who suffer the degradation of indoctrination from early youth, that free people do care, that free people have not forsaken them. No rantings, no shoe pounding will stem the relentless, steadily increasing waves of cries for liberty and freedom.

No amount of double talk will diminish this surging tide of the enslaved to shake off their Russian or Chinese-made shackles and join the family of the free.

May God give them strength and perseverance to follow their glorious course.

Let the *Captive Nations Week Law* give them the moral support in the days ahead.

RESOLUTION ON LIBERATION OF ENSLAVED PEOPLES

Sponsored by Ceylon, India, and China

The 13th APACL Conference:

Recalling resolutions adopted at previous conferences supporting the struggle for liberation by peoples enslaved imperialism and Communism;

Resolves that:

The League reaffirms its stand in support of national liberation struggle of all peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, and in their aspirations for national independence and basic human liberties.

(Passed at the 13th Conference of the APACL, held in Taipei, October 2 - 4, 1967.)

The Russian People And Russian Imperialism

1. A human being is a social being and therefore his fate is closely bound with the fate of that social unit which ensured the existence of his predecessors. Such a unit is a nation and when it is unable to defend itself and its will, it withers and eventually dies. An individual unit whose appearance and life were provided for by former generations of his people has a duty to ensure the existence of future generations.

For this reason, even though a nation strives to guarantee maximum freedom (liberty) to every individual, when the good of the nation as a whole demands it, an individual has the duty to renounce all that is personal, not excluding life itself.

2. No really sovereign government of a sovereign state can afford to use arbitrary methods in important questions; it has to consider the interests of a people, which is a ruling force in a state, and its more prominent representatives, legally or illegally, adjust the policies of the government. In a state the ruling people will suffer also such inclinations of the government which hurt it, *only on one condition*, that this government is *accomplishing the basic task of its people*.

Thus the continuation of policies is explained, but the responsibility of a people for the politics of its government also derives from this thesis.

3. With respect to the Russian people, the above shows the *unchangeability* of the basic line of Russian politics, including its methods and tactics, at least from the XV century to the present. The most important factors which determined this basic policy are:

a) the poverty of the Russian ethnographic territory, suitable for agriculture as well as mineral wealth, and

b) the desire (and now the necessity) to live better than is possible in this territory.

Therefore, the expansion policy; the territories ruled by the Russians in the XII century — 300,000 sq. kilometers; in the XVI century — 8,720,000 sq. kilometers;

in the XVIII century — 17,800,000 sq. kilometers; in the XIX century — 22,000,000 sq. kilometers; in the XX century (1940) — 23,000,000 sq. kilometers; and in 1950, to this territory (which amounted to 23,050,800) must be added the territories of the so-called "satellite" semi-independent states which together make up 2,890,000 sq. kilometers.

4. All the Russian governments (monarchic, democratic and Communist) had the support of the Russian people so long as they realized this expansion policy, since the Russian people profited by it; its wealth and culture increased. All the regimes, to facilitate conquests, also used "ideological weapons" — "Orthodoxy" in the XVI century, "Pan-Slavism" in the XIX century and "Communism" in the XX century.

In the most critical moment during World War II, the Communist regime not only tried to use the "Pan-Slavic" idea, but even the appeal from the Moscow patriarch.

Having conquered this or that territory, all Russian governments, in order to break the resistance of the population, used mass terror, subversion and famine, regardless of the consequences.

5. Contacts with the Russian people, regardless of the form of the Russian regime, brought and bring extinction, in the true and physical meaning of the word, and this condition cannot change without the breaking of the Russian military machine, because for the Russians the loss of an opportunity to exploit completely the conquered territories is synonymous with the lowering of their standard of living 14 times.

6. To conceive of the struggle as being one not with the Russian people but with Communism, is just as erroneous as to conceive of a war as a fight with the enemy's machine guns and cannons, but not with the enemy itself. When the enemy has mined the territory where our forces are sta-

imperialism.

After the war and after receiving billions of dollars in war material from the West, the full strength of the Communist war for a moment forget that we are fighting against the enemy, and not only against his "mines".

7. The struggle of a Russian minority against its Communist regime should be treated by us as an internal Russian matter, and the peoples subjugated by Russia should not take part in it on one side or the other. They must look upon their own liberation as being of utmost importance and must exploit this struggle, which will weaken the Russians, to their own advantage, freeing their territories from the former as well as the latter, (from the Reds as well as their adversaries.)

8. The concept of the struggle with Russian *imperialism* is just as erroneous as the concept propagated by M. Drahomaniv of the struggle with "tsarist centralism". Economic and political factors have made and will continue to make the Russian people what it is as long as it has power. This applies to all strong nations, to all powerful states. For propaganda purposes, they will fight against the imperialism of their enemy, but as soon as they find a common ground of agreement with that enemy, they will become as "understanding" of its imperialism as of their own. The fact that World War II started under the slogan of the defence of Polish sovereignty and boundaries, and ended, disregarding Poland's active participation on the side of Germany's enemies, with the conversion of that same Poland into the satellite of the Russian Bolshevik empire, can serve as a good example of flexibility of slogans. Politicians from great states, using the slogans of the struggle with imperialism, will *never*, in the name of the slogan, renounce the territories which belong to them. Inexperienced and naive politicians will renounce that which is impossible to renounce. This concept is injurious to the subjugated peoples because it attunes them opportunistically to that part of the enemy which can better mask itself, and is not at the moment the ruling party.

9. Because *all* Russian governments are

guided by the interests and wishes of the Russian people, the Russian policy shows a "continuity of centuries" not only as to goals, but also as to methods: for instance, it will encircle a victim by forming an alliance with its neighbour and then use this alliance to prepare a similar encirclement of this same ally, whom the Russians will blackmail at the most critical moment. Thus after the treaty with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, a treaty with Poland against Ukraine and Sweden followed. Then — an alliance with Austria and Prussia for the division of Poland. After that an alliance with France and England for the division of Austria. After the Revolution — peace with Poland (and a "non-aggression" pact before the invasion of Poland) at the cost of Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories. Further, an alliance with Germany for the division of Poland. After that, always new demands from Germany of the territories on the Danube, as a preamble to the inflaming of relations and going over to the side of the enemies of Germany, but at the price of the acknowledgement of Russian supremacy over a whole series of territories and states: Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland and parts of German territory. Then came the exploitation of the alliance with the enemies of Germany in order to establish closer contacts with the Asian and the African peoples which were dependent on the latter. After the war these relations were used to weaken the mighty allies of yesterday.

10. For centuries, Russia's policy for weakening the next enemy has been to propagate various ideas, but she herself has never employed these ideas in her own actions. In the XVI and XVII centuries, in the role of a "defender of the Orthodox Faith", she signed a treaty with Catholic Poland against Orthodox Ukraine. Then, in the role of the defender of Slavism, she reached an agreement with the German states against Slavic Poland, and destroyed Slavic Ukraine. In World War I, treating the Slavic Ukrainian population of Halychyna very harshly — she created a Slavic Czech Legion. After the Revolution,

assuming the role of the fighters for Communism and power by the greatest strata of people — reached agreements with feudal, despotic governments of Asian states. And thus, when Russian national interests demanded it, the serf-feudal monarchic government of Aleksey Mikhailovich did not hesitate to support the supporters of Briukhovetsky, who introduced the idea of the elimination of private ownership of land, and the Russian Communist regime, “an enemy of Fascism”, signed a pact with “German Fascists” in order to give them a push to start a war. Then, this government, basically an enemy of capitalism, became an ally of “the foremost capitalist country — the USA” and the “bourgeois” France and England.

11. Because the Bolshevik government

is realizing Russian national plans, the Russians themselves will not start any armed conflict for a new order. On the other hand, the great powers of the West, which for centuries are used to ending their wars with “re-division” of the territories belonging to them, even if they would start a war, would end it with a compromise with the Russian people on the basis of re-division. As we know, from 1917 till the stabilization of relations in the mid 20’s, no armed conflict of the West against the Bolshviks had as its aim the liberation of the peoples subjugated by the Russians. Its only aim was to help the Russians to put such a government in office which would reach agreement with these peoples. Even the catastrophic end of all these plans did not prevent the Germans from



ABN demonstrators burning the Red Russian flag in front of the Russian embassy in Ottawa on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Counter-Revolution.

repeating something similar (Vlasov's Army). Today, the adversaries of the Bolshevik empire, unable to reach an understanding with it, and without learning anything, are working toward the repetition of something similar. This concept demands the "silencing" of the subjugated peoples by unclear promises and hopes with the aim of including them in the common, *not* anti-Russian but only, anti-regime action which should end with a compromise with the Russian people.

12. The achievement of the concept of true liberation of the peoples subjugated by the Russians seems to the Western politicians to be "an alliance with the Friggian hat", "a play with fire", an action which would endanger them. The peoples subjugated today would be seriously taken into consideration only in the event that these politicians considered the national feelings of these peoples extremely strong and the political leaders able to direct the movements of these peoples within their territories and, if necessary (lack of guarantee of the division of the empire) able to stop the spontaneous uprisings against the Russian-Bolshevik oppressors. There-

fore, it is in the interests of the subjugated peoples to work out an ideology for these movements, realizing everything which has been said here, and the working out of scholarly basis for these ideologies (unfalsified history of each people, the correct exposure of the national character of the liberation struggle and the removal from the science which we call "Ukrainophilism" of all the "cuckoo bird's eggs" which have been put there by the Russians and their agents and pupils.)

13. The propagandizing of the idea of the liquidation of the Russian empire and the creation of completely independent, sovereign states should be conducted among foreigners, but:

a) constant over-emphasis of the ethnographic characteristics (constant parading with our embroidery, Easter eggs, ceramics) is not convincing;

b) information about the long-lasting and glorious state life of our predecessors has to be clear and not look like a "supplement" to the scheme of the history of East Europe falsified by the Russians and spread by them throughout the world; also the wars between Ukrainians and Russians in



Anti-Russian demonstration in Ottawa.

the years 1917—1922 cannot be presented, contrary to the truth, as “civil wars”, or as “social wars” or as the “struggle of the anti-Communists with the Communists”;

c) the idea of the break-up of the Russian empire cannot be based on “self-determination”, or the slogans of “freedom” only, but equally upon the conviction that the great powers of the West will be endangered by a constant threat of Russian attack as long as, in self-defence, they will not curb the Russian appetite to the dimensions which correspond with its ethnographical boundaries, and

d) our publications should not overly stress the natural wealth of the Ukrainian territory (this is our internal matter, and not the foreigners’), because such emphasis gives ideas to some to treat Ukraine as a “greedy piece”. Instead it should be emphasized (with numerous facts) that any kind of a compromise with the Russians, who have always broken and are still breaking all agreements, is unrealistic.

14. Russian rule over the world cannot be explained by the giftedness of the Russian people and its contribution toward culture, for 9/10ths of the Russian scientists, writers, artists, etc. are not Russian. If they would live in a non-Russian state, they would be an ornament of those nations which bore them. Those nations which are now in Russian captivity, once freed, could also take an active part in the progress of mankind.

15. He who wants to incite the subjugated peoples to the struggle for liberation has to have a tried plan of the order which will be put into the foundation of the state construction of the freed peoples. The economic and social order in these countries cannot remain Communist, but in no event can it become capitalist. The task of the emigration should be the theoretical work out of the basis of such an order which would induce private initiative, legalize limited private ownership, and would make impossible, in the interest of the nation, any kind of exploitation. It is in the interest of a nation that there should be no very rich nor very poor.

16. Ukraine, regardless if its existence would not be acknowledged by the Russians, or whether they would build a “prop state” upon it, was and is treated as a colony. Hence, the task of the political emigration is by publication of popular pamphlets, based on facts and figures taken from government statistics, to make that clear and to prove that the Ukrainian people are not treated in the same way as the Russian people, and that the genocide of the Ukrainian people is intentionally stimulated. The circulation of these pamphlets would not only be useful among the emigrants, their illegal shipment to Ukraine would be desirable. Here it should be stressed that the Ukrainian people have an alternative: to tear themselves away from the Russian yoke or . . . to die out.

From Letters To ABN:

October 16, 1967

Dear Sir:

Please accept my hearty and deep thanks for sending me your very important and most interesting publication “ABN Correspondence”. It’s the very best and most informative publication that reveals the true efforts and dangers of Communism and I read and study every issue with very great interest and fascination. By doing so I have learned many important facts which were unknown to me before and you are certainly doing a tremendous informative job. Thank you again for this wealth and, please be sure that I hope and pray daily that one day soon all these brave countries and heroic peoples will be saved from Communist slavery.

*Jeroen den Hollander
Katwijk aan de Rijn, Netherlands*

Communist Promoters In The West

"A ghost walks through Europe. The ghost of Communism."

With these words, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels opened their Communist manifesto. These pregnant words, written in their small book, have grown to achieve an enormous and dangerous importance. They, Marx and Engels, are dead and gone, but the ghost — it still exists. It still stalks not only through Europe, but also through the many new countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. But it is another ghost — not the threatening ghost with hammer and sickle on its forehead. No, it has assumed a new guise; now it shows itself to be mild and kind and makes noble promises of happiness and glory to peoples not yet under its sway. It is a ghost walking *for* Communism, but not *through* Communism. It is a ghost with the faint smile of Bertrand Russell, the words of Simone de Beauvoir, and the voice of Jean Paul Sartre. Thoroughly an insidious ghost.

Lenin once said that Communism has two main promoters in the West: on the one hand the hardened Communists, who were few, but who of course had some importance. And on the other hand the sympathetic, non-Communist intellectuals, or as Lenin himself expressed it: the useful idiots, by far the most important group.

Leftists in the West — guided and manipulated by Communist Party members, they are a dangerous enemy for us, i. e. those of us who believe in Western culture and the Western way of life.

And precisely because the enemy is so well organized, precisely because Communism has infiltrated into key-sections of our society in so many different shapes, it has become of supreme importance to coordinate the anti-Communist struggle.

Communism has not changed, as many — deceived by the friendly overtures of the ghost believe. World-revolution and world-domination are still its goal. For the atheist believers in Communism world-revolution and world-domination have replaced redemption and Paradise.

So-called intellectuals try to present Marxism as a science by which the past lines of development are drawn up and projected into the future. Thus, they claim that the victory of their ideas is inevitable, for the process of history — historical materialism — is a purely mechanical process. Ironically enough, they have such little faith in this supposed inevitability that they use every means at their disposal to influence future events through propaganda, subversion, and violence. In short, Marxism is used as an opium for the intellectuals and as a kind of red magic for the masses. Marxism is said to be the means of achieving emancipation for the workers and social justice for the oppressed. However, a study of Marx and Marxism will show that Marx frequently spoke rudely about the workers, calling them the red Communist mob, stupid oxen and so forth. And in his ersatz-religion not one single word is said about the position of the workers in the Marxist society except that they should be organized in great industrial battalions. In Marxism, the role of the workers is purely and simply that of a tool to break down democracy. Beyond that, the workers are to be treated more like cattle than like human beings.

Lenin expressed the same opinion very clearly when he wrote that workers could only develop a narrow trade unionism. He maintained that they were solely interested in improving their own living conditions. Left to themselves they would not develop a socialist condition. This was a task to be assumed by the educated segment of the bourgeoisie, the so-called intellectuals.

Lenin's circumscribed ideal is a working class which follows the tail of the intellectuals of the decadent part of the bourgeoisie. In this line of thought he is a true disciple of Marx.

Now then, what is the role of Marxism-Leninism in our time?

Its role is to serve as the opium of the

intellectuals and as a bait for the masses to incite them against their own countries, against democracy, against Christianity and thus to pave the way for Russian imperialism.

Russian imperialism uses Marxism just as Hitler used racialism: a kind of primitive, biological materialism to stir the masses and exploit them as a tool for the foundation of a German Reich on the backs and shoulders of the Slav peoples.

When Lenin assumed power in November of 1917 with the use of a mere handful of men and thus opened the road to the Communist counter-revolution, Russia had been reduced to its natural size. On all sides the tsarist empire had crumbled and dissolved into independent, democratic nations: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and many others.

At that moment, Lenin saw fit to declare himself in favour of national self-determination as a ruse to win the friendship, or at least benevolence, of the liberated nations against his tsarist Russian opponents.

However, Lenin's interest in self-determination did not last. As soon as he felt himself strong enough, he treacherously attacked his neighbours, among others Ukraine, with which he had concluded a non-aggression pact and whose national freedom and independence he had ostensibly recognized. Since the Western powers did not support the free nations of Eastern Europe but chose to give their aid to tsarist generals, fighting the lost cause of the restoration of Tsarism, the liberated nations once more fell victims to Russian imperialism and were reincorporated into the Russian empire.

The fate that befell them is reflected in

Soviet statistics which show an increase in the number of Russians from 1926 to 1959 of about 47%. During the same period there is a 10% decrease in the number of Ukrainians.

And since then we have seen how one country after the other has become a victim of Russian imperialism: Bulgaria, Poland, to mention only two.

We must understand that our West European freedom is no real freedom so long as our brethren in East Europe are not free. *We must realize this, and we must make our peoples realize it!*

For the Communists, peaceful coexistence means that they know they cannot destroy us militarily, and so they have to use other means. Hence, peaceful coexistence is no solution. *Our struggle must go on until the plague of Bolshevism has been completely destroyed — not only in the West, but also in the subjugated nations of the East!*

In this struggle we have one weapon which can assure us victory. It is a simple, ever available weapon, a weapon, which the Reds fear more than anything else. This weapon is truth!

Information about the real state of affairs in Eastern Europe, the truth about Communist tyranny, is the way to counter the friendly ghost.

And the torch of freedom which was lit in West Europe in the year of 1945 is still burning. It shall burn in the future also! But its flame shall be seen not only in London, Bonn, Paris and Copenhagen. It is our aspiration that the flame of freedom and hope shall one day burn in Budapest, Central Germany, Riga and Kyiv.

This was the struggle of your generation. I assure you: *This is the struggle of my generation as well!*

Byelorussian Memorandum

Last November the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America sent a well documented memorandum to all the U.N. delegations. The document reveals the colonial enslavement of Byelorussia by Russian imperialism.

Russian Colonialism Over The Captive Nations Must Go

By Austin J. App, Ph. D.

America has an obligation to the Captive Nations. Yet since the Rooseveltian betrayal at Yalta of much of Europe and Asia into Communist tyranny, Captive Nations Observances have virtually been the only action to encourage and to help the enslaved peoples throw off the yoke of Soviet Russian colonialism.

Sometime ago Senator J. W. Fulbright said:

“ . . . the public opinion of the world will cause the Russian people to relinquish their control of the once free peoples of Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Rumania, and Bulgaria.”

He could have extended the list with the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and eleven more.

He is right that the concerted moral condemnation of the world can force the Kremlin empire to free its colonies, as it caused the British and the French empires to do. The worst tyrant has to bow to public opinion. But only if this public opinion is mobilized, is constant and insistent, and is supported by the diplomatic and economic actions of the *respective* Free World governments. This the Free World governments, including the American, have conspicuously failed to do.

For twenty years Washington has energetically cooperated with Soviet Russia to liquidate the Western colonial empires. As a result, membership in the United Nations increased from 51 in 1946 to 122 in 1967. Most of these were nations just liberated, often prematurely like the Congo, from European colonies in Africa and Asia.

But in that same period, excluding perhaps half of Austria, Soviet Russia was not morally pressured into liberating a single captive nation. On the contrary, it built the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall, extended its Communist tyranny to Cuba near our shores, and was about to do so in South Vietnam, when our Army and Navy had to be rushed in to prevent it.

The sad truth is that all these twenty

years since Yalta Washington has done more to consolidate the Red empire than to break it up. The heroic East Berlin uprising in 1953 was viewed more with suspicion than sympathy. The Hungarian uprising in 1956 got the sympathy of the whole Free World but was doomed to failure when our State Department telegraphed Tito that it “does not look with favour upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union.” In 1963, the U.S. Arms Control Agency affirmed that we benefit enormously from the capability of the Soviet police system to keep law and order. . . . The break-up of the Russian empire today . . . would be . . . catastrophic for world order.”

How, we ask, can public opinion, as Senator Fulbright rightly contends, induce the independence of the Captive Nations, when powerful factors in Washington give their moral blessings to the tyrannical Soviet Russian empire?

On October 7, 1966, President Johnson told 200 editors, the very people whose business it is to mobilize public opinion, the following:

“Our purpose is not to overthrow other governments. . . . Our task is to achieve a reconciliation with the East. A shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement.”

This compels us to reflect: how, if the Red puppet governments are not to be overthrown, are the Captive Nations to recover “their freedom and independence”, as called for by the Congressional Resolution of 1959?

It appears that while the Right Hand of Congress and the Good Samaritans among the American people have desired a policy that would hasten the break-up of the Soviet Empire and the liberation of the Captive Nations, the Left Hand of the State Department and much of the communications media have in effect done more to entrench the brutal Soviet Russian colonialism than to hasten its dissolution.

And in the course of this immoral policy the danger of a world war between the United States and Soviet Russia, far from mellowing, has become ever more threatening. David Lawrence in *U.S. News* (Dec. 26, 1966) editorialized: "Circumstances similar to those which preceded World War I and World War II are visible all around us, both in Europe and Asia." *The Wall Street Journal* (June 8, 1967) jibes at the "apostles of accommodation" who "have been proclaiming the end of the cold war." In an editorial ominously entitled, "The Soviet-American War" (July 7, 1967) it comments:

"One of the ironies of Vietnam is that while the U.S. is fighting there, in part to contain Red China, its actual big-power adversary in this particular struggle is Russia — so far anyway."

In short, the policy of the State Department and the liberal contingent of the communications media, which boycotts Rhodesia in Africa for its *imperfect* democracy but shrinks from condemning Soviet Russia's total denial of democracy in half of Europe and much of Asia, is bringing the world not closer to peace but ever closer to war, possibly nuclear war.

Most of us are however convinced that if America uses its full moral, diplomatic,

and economic potential to induce the independence of the Captive Nations and the dissolution of the tyrannical Soviet empire, the Captive Nations will under their own initiative and power be able to achieve their liberation. Moscow sits on a powder keg of twenty-two nations which, as Guy Richards wrote in the *New York Journal American* (April 4, 1946), if Soviet Russia would start a nuclear war, would rebel. ". . . such a war," he writes, "would be the signal for all the 'captives' to revolt."

If these Captive Nations rise up to achieve their independence before Soviet Russia blackmails the Free World with its nuclear arsenal, then there will not be a third world war, nor the threat of it. And let us not be pessimistic as to the chances of success for the Captive Nations.

Let American policy be the moral one, made unequivocally clear to the whole world, of supporting the liberation and independence of all the captive nations with all the moral, diplomatic, and economic powers we have. God might well allow us to suffer a third world war if to assure our own safety we heartlessly sacrifice the Captive Nations, largely the victims of our Yalta appeasements. But let us be confident that He will not allow us to suffer nuclear destruction if we do what is just and right.

Anti-Communist Rally in Copenhagen

On November 13, 1967 a rally organized by the Danish Committee to Fight for Freedom was held in Copenhagen. The main speech was delivered by Hon. O. B. Kraft, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the European Freedom Council. Mr. Kraft said: "The Soviet Union always protests against the imperialism and colonialism of some European states. But, today, the USSR is the greatest imperial power in the world. In 1961, Adlai Stevenson, the great American liberal, handed well-grounded and irrefutable documents on Soviet imperialism to the President of the United Nations General Assembly. Adlai Stevenson mentioned Ukraine, which was at first recognized by the Bolshevik-Russian government as an

independent state, but later the Russian army captured the territory of Ukraine and the Russian-Bolshevik regime was introduced by force there. The same fate has met Azerbaijan, Armenia and many other countries." Later on, Mr. Kraft emphasized: "Today, we are expressing our solidarity with the peoples who are fighting for freedom. We should not forget these peoples; we should not forget their right to have national, sovereign states, their right to be free."

Even though the rally took place on a week-day an unusually high number of people, over 500, participated. Besides the Danes, the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians from Sweden attended the rally.

News and Views

ABN Conference In Montreal

On October 8 and 9, 1967 a two day conference of ABN was held in Montreal, Canada. The main purpose was to evaluate the present situation in the Soviet Russian empire and to discuss the ways and methods of strengthening the struggle for the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

The following national groups were represented at the conference: Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Croatians, Esthonians,

Germans, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Americans, and Canadians of the English and French speaking communities.

Lectures were delivered during the sessions which dealt with different aspects of liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russia and in particular the results of the World Anti-Communist League. In the framework of the Conference a banquet was given with the master of ceremonies Father Dr. M. Kushniryk.



The main speaker was a well known authority on the East European problems, Dr. E. O'Connor (USA). In his speech Dr. O'Connor analysed the situation in the USSR showing the possible trends for the future and dealt with the Russo-Red Chinese conflict. As a conclusion of the conference a mass meeting was organized with the participation of different national groups. The President of the Central Committee of ABN, Y. Stetsko was the main speaker at the meeting and also the representatives of the national groups addressed the meeting.

The participants of the ABN conference honoured the heroes who gave their lives for the independence of the subjugated nations by placing a wreath at the Cenotaph in Montreal. The wreath was placed on behalf of all the participants by Mr. Y. Stetsko, Dr. J. Kaskelis and Mr. Sang Yee. During the ceremony the speakers were Mrs. S. Stetsko and Dr. A. Bonifacic.

The Conference passed a resolution which was also read at the mass meeting. At the Conference the following topics were presented and discussed: "50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution — the evaluation of the present situation in the Soviet Russian empire", Dr. C. Pokorny; "Subjugated Nations in the Struggle for Liberation", Mr. Y. Stetsko; "National Communism and Russian Communism — ex-

perience of the Balkan Peoples", Dr. Anton Bonifacic; "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals in the conception of Gen. de Gaulle", Prof. Theofil Kis; "Economic Situation in Eastern Europe", Roman Senkiw; "World Anti-Communist League, Organization and Perspectives", Mrs. S. Stetsko; "The United Front of the Free World and the Subjugated Nations", Dr. Ku Cheng-kang; "The Background of the East-West Conflict", Mr. M. Sosnowsky; "Aims and Tasks of ABN in Canada and the U.S.A.", Dr. I. Docheff. In addition the following persons spoke during the Conference: Dr. A. Pleskachewsky, Chairman of the Byelorussian section of the AF ABN; Mr. H. M. Hojbota and Mr. N. Pora, Rumanian National Front; Mr. D. K. Schroeder, Vice-President of the German-American National Congress; Dr. Nestor Procyk, Chairman of the Council of AF ABN; Mr. Vladimir Tomko and Mr. Ivan Dvorsky, Canadian Slovak League; Cap. Zoltan Washwary and Mr. Egon de Rot de Budetin, Hungarian Fighters for Freedom; Dr. Roman Malashuk, President of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation; Mrs. Ulana Celewycz, Vice-President of AF ABN; Mr. Ted Jennings, member of the Presidium of the AF ABN; Dr. J. Kaskelis, Lithuanian Canadian Association; and Mr. Ojars Ivins, Latvian Veterans' Association.

A welcoming address at the Conference

and at the banquet was delivered by the following representatives: Mr. Bruce Mackasey, M. P., Parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Labour; Guy Ladiesser, former speaker of the Quebec Legislature; Akos de Mushka, Chairman of the Ethnic Department of the Liberal Association of Quebec. Among the guests present were the Latvian Consul, Mr. Willis Tomson; and Mr. Edgar W. Saks, President of the Canadian Council for Free Europe.

The Presidium was composed of chairmen from various national delegations and representatives of the Central Committee of ABN. The Conference was presided over by Dr. J. Kaskelis and Dr. I. Docheff, chairmen of the Conference; Mr. W. Bezchlibnyk, acting chairman; Dr. A. Bonifacic and Mrs. U. Celewycz.

The Montreal Branch of ABN was entrusted with the preparation of the Conference: Mr. Yaroslav Pryshlak, Chairman; aided by Mr. Markian Djukich, Mr. B. Green, Mr. W. Tomko, Mr. Eugene Shanton and Mr. John Salins; with the active co-operation of the local branch of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, Prof. O. Kushnir, Prof. M. Andruchiw, the Montreal Branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association, Mr. P. Dubas and the local Branch of the Ukrainian Student Society of M. Mikhnovskiy. Mrs. Mary Czolij, Mr. J. Czolij and Mr. J. Mochurack were the acting secretaries.



Wreath Placing Ceremony

From left to right — Mr. Sang Yee (Free China), Mr. Y. Stetsko (Central Committee of ABN), Dr. J. Kaskelis (ABN President in Canada).

Buffalo ABN Demonstration

In line with American-Russian "co-existence" policy, an exhibit "Education — USSR" was opened in Buffalo, N.Y., Nov. 26 to Dec. 24, 1967. Thirty Russian propagandists came to Buffalo with the aim of demoralizing Americans, recruiting new Communist adherents and spying in a strategic area between U.S. and Canada.

Prof. Dr. Nestor Procyk, President of the Council of American Friends of ABN, initiated a civic action the purpose of which was to reveal the falsehood of this new Russian Communist propaganda. Many leading city residents and 19 ethnic groups participated.

On November 25th when the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was held at a mass rally with Congressman T. Dulski as the main speaker, participants resolved to protest the opening of the Communist-Russian propaganda centre in Buffalo. A "Committee to Expose Russian Deceit" was formed the next day and Mayor Frank Sedita refused to open the anti-American exhibition.

On November 26th, an exhibition on the Ukrainian liberation struggle was

opened in Buffalo by Hon. Y. Stetsko, f. Prime Minister of the free Ukrainian National Government (June-July, 1941). Mr. Stetsko, who came from New York but resides in Western Germany, said the purpose of the Russian exhibition is "to subvert the USA and to demoralize and divide the people and its youth".

The following day, a leading Russian KGB agent, called Ivanov or Yuriev, said that "the KGB will never let him (Stetsko) forget it" implying that a one-time unsuccessful murder attempt on Mr. Stetsko's life will someday be carried out.

Daily picketing of the Russian propaganda exhibition commenced on November 27th. Thousands of leaflets were distributed. The same day, a Red-Russian flag was burned in front of the exhibition hall.

On December 1st, a press conference was held at which Mr. Stetsko exposed Russian genocidal propaganda. It was carried by radio and television. Another mass demonstration with scores of signs and torches was held on the evening of December 2nd. All local and regional press gave it extensive coverage. Another interview on the dangers of the Russian exhibition was given

by Dr. Procyk on WHR broadcasting station, followed by a 2-hour long discussion of Ukrainian demonstrations against Russian genocide in Ukraine.

In connection with all these anti-Communist activities of ABN, Mr. Stetsko was presented with an honorary emblem of the city by Major Sedita of Buffalo as thanks from its citizens.

Buffalo demonstrators demanding the release of Ukrainian journalist, V. Chornovil. They are burning the Red Russian flag.



Thousands Of Ukrainians Demonstrating At Russian U.N. Mission (New York City, November 18, 1967)

Following a mass Freedom Rally at Madison Square Garden, which was part of the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians, approximately 4 to 5 thousand Ukrainians from the U.S., Canada and other free countries staged a march across Manhattan to the U.N. Soviet-Russian Mission. Singing Ukrainian patriotic songs and carrying anti-Russian and anti-Communist placards, the demonstrators were met by 150 mounted and foot police.

The demonstration lasted from 3 to 5 p.m. and ended with some injuries and the arrest of several people. The demonstration was widely reported on radio and television. The *Sunday News* brought out a

full-length news item and a page of pictures, while the *New York Times* described the demonstration on the first page.

Chanting "Communist butchers" and "Free Ukraine", the throng threw eggs and pamphlets at the mission. It burned Soviet-Russian flags, waved blue and yellow Ukrainian banners and held aloft placards reading: "50 Years of New Russian Slavery" and "Russian Concentration Camps — Shame of the Century". The pamphlets have been issued by the Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, challenging recent comments by Premier Aleksei A. Kosygin on increased freedom in the Soviet Union.

Protest Before The Russian Embassy In Canberra

On November 7, 1967 the ABN Branch in Canberra, Australia organized a demonstration in front of the Russian embassy to protest the 50 years' genocidal imperialistic policy of Moscow against the nations enslaved in the USSR and outside. Organizations of Ukrainians, Latvians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Hungarians and Rumanians participated in the demonstration. The main speakers were: Mr. F. Lovokovich (Croatian), Mr. O. Kavunenko (Ukrainian) and Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussian), Vice-President of the Central Delegacy of ABN for Australia and New Zealand.

ABN Press-Conference In Munich

On 6th November 1967 the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) held a press conference in Munich. The occasion for this conference was the fiftieth anniversary of the seizure of power by the Russian Bolsheviks. The Central Committee of ABN used the opportunity to issue a statement, the text of which was handed to the journalists present.

A commentary on the Russian Bolshevik revolt and its effects was given by the well known West German journalist and radio commentator, Winfried Martini. He exposed the double morality of the left radical circles in the press, radio, television, and publishing, which play down or even ignore the crimes of the Communists. He stated that even in Germany German left radical journalists and newspaper-writers pass over in silence crimes *admitted* to by the Communists.

Following this commentary numerous

questions put by the German journalists concerning current problems were answered by representatives of the nations oppressed by Moscow and Communism — Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Hungarians, Slovaks, and Lithuanians.

Dr. Pokorny stressed that Communist ideology had no appeal for young people anywhere in the Soviet Russian sphere of power. Amongst the repressed nations a renaissance of national thought is taking place everywhere, a renaissance of the national freedom movement, in which young intellectuals are forming the avant-garde of national renewal. Revolt against Russification and Russian supremacy is being carried out by the politically most active, intellectually most awakened part of the young generation at the universities. The Russian Bolshevik colonial empire of Lenin sees itself confronted in the fiftieth year of its existence with this determined, energetic opponent.

Anti-Russian Protests In Great Britain

On October 31, 1967 an anti-Communist rally was held in Albert Hall, London under the slogan "Britain Remembers the Victims of Communism". It was initiated by The Foreign Affairs Circle with the participation of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Chinese, Koreans and others.

On November 4th Ukrainians in Great Britain distributed 100,000 leaflets, prepared and printed by the Ukrainian Information Service of London, throughout many cities of England, Scotland and Wales. The leaflets contained facts about the genocide and colonialism of Communist Russia toward Ukraine. The distribution of leaflets was repeated in London on November 7th. On November 5th, picketing of the Soviet Russian embassy was organised in which scores of marchers with signs took part.

On November 4, 1967 a conference and a manifestation of Ukrainian youth, sponsored by the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.), has been held at Bradford, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Ukraine's struggle against the Communist Russian empire and the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The conference issued a report on the state of the

Ukrainian liberation struggle and the current Russian genocide practices toward the Ukrainian people. In particular, those assembled urged the Government of the United Kingdom to initiate appropriate action in the United Nations.

On November 5th, the Ukrainian community at Leicester, Lancs., held a mass rally to protest the 50-year existence of Soviet-Russian imperialism over Ukraine. *Leicester Mercury* of November 7th and 9th reports that the Ukrainians demand that the matter of Russian colonialism be brought before some international tribunal, like the United Nations. Appropriate resolutions were sent to the Parliamentarians and Her Majesty's Government.

On November 12, a rally was held at Oldham, at which Ukrainians expressed their views of protest against the subjugation and the enslavement of Ukraine by Communist Russian colonialists. The protesters sent a resolution to Her Majesty's Government asking it to take up this matter at the United Nations urging the Government at Moscow to cease its colonial domination over Ukraine. The resolution was signed by members of seventeen Ukrainian associations in the Lancashire County.

Anti-Communist Rally In New York City Against October Revolution

The American Friends of ABN together with another American anti-Communist organization the "Order of Lafayette" organized an anti-Communist rally in New York City which over 400 persons attended. It was held on November 5th in "Town Hall" and was presided over by the former Congressman H. Fisher — Chairman of the "Order of Lafayette", Dr. Nestor Procyk — President of the Council of the AF ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko — President of CC ABN, P. Hamler —

the organizer of a demonstration calling for "support for our boys in Vietnam", Admiral J. Clark, Hon. D. V. Patel — the representative of the Indian Parliament, Dr. I. Docheff — Chairman of AF ABN, Earl Smith — former US Ambassador to Cuba. Almost all members of the presidium delivered speeches.

The participants of the rally approved a resolution which has been forwarded to the US government.

Resolutions Passed At The First WACL Conference

On The 50th Anniversary Of The Bolshevik Revolution

The World Anti-Communist League:

Recalling that the Russian Bolshevik Revolution was the source and incubator of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, enslaving over a dozen non-Russian nations in 1918—22 and thus laying the groundwork for further conquests in the 40's and constituting a formidable threat to the rest of the world in the 50's and 60's;

Recalling that the tragic revolution produced another fraud in Lenin's promise of "land, bread, and peace", which in the course of 50 years has not been realized according to civilized standards either for the 115 million Russians or the 120 million non-Russians held captive in the Soviet Union;

Considering that the fraudulent revolution also conjured up Lenin's "peaceful coexistence" policy with immediate reference to the neighbouring and newly independent non-Russian states, such as Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, Byelorussia and others, a deceptive policy of indirect aggression that led to the captivity of these countries and is now being applied by imperio-colonialist Moscow to the West; and

Considering that the sinister forces of that revolution have over these past fifty years led to the creation of an unprecedented Red Empire, extending from the Danube to the Pacific and into Cuba, and created ultimately by the imperio-colonialist power of the USSR and Red China; therefore, Resolves at its First Conference that:

1. Each of the League member organizations and observer groups devote its energies in the weeks ahead, up to and even beyond November 7, to exposing the myths and frauds of the Russian Bolshevik revolution and to directing world attention to the ravages and threats of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, within the Soviet Union itself and elsewhere; and

2. On the occasion of the Communist commemoration, the League should issue a manifesto directed to the youth and work-

ers of the whole world as follows:

"We want to set the record straight regarding the past 50 years of Communism.

"1. Since 1917, 85 million innocent non-combatants lost their lives at the hands of Communism's minions, often after atrocious tortures in Nazi-type concentration camps. This is 25 times higher than the death toll of both World Wars I and II combined.

"2. While the most extreme excesses of the Stalinist era have been eliminated — although they still survive in disguise — the freedom and dignity of the individual remain crushed by a totalitarian dictatorship working through an almighty secret police. The absolute and exclusive supremacy of a single party, monolithically directed from a self-perpetuating top, does not give us even the semblance of a hint that democracy in public life exists in Communist countries. Culture and justice remain choked and degraded by strict subservience to party orthodoxy. All religious faiths are severely persecuted.

"3. All the peoples that have been ensnared by Communism are cut off the outer world by an iron curtain, never seen before in human history and a tight censorship and persistent radio jamming.

"4. Heavy and armament industries have been greatly developed, but light industry and agriculture continue to trail in chronic crises, plunging the people in a state of permanent scarcity of food and consumer goods. Whatever industrial progress has been achieved was at the sacrifice of unprecedented stress, want and submission imposed on the masses.

"5. The factors of production have not been given to the workers but appropriated collectively by a new ruling and privileged class of bureaucrats and demagogues who have dominated workers' unions, forbidden strikes under the death penalty and reduced peasants to the conditions of proletarians in open-sky factories.

"6. Since its inception, Communism has plagued the globe with trouble and violence, in search of a global hegemony which it cannot renounce because if it does not destroy freedom outside, freedom will destroy it inside.

"7. Apart from the yoke it imposes on its own peoples inside Russia and Red China, Communism has subjugated, and maintains in bondage against the sacred right of self-determination, 27 formerly independent countries covering 3 million square miles and populated by 250 million inhabitants.

"8. The international Communist movement, which had promised to advance only through the enhancement of political consciousness, was turned into a sheer but colossal apparatus to conduct fraudulent political warfare, run by 500,000 overt or covert professional activists spending 5 billion dollars per year.

"To sum up, the political movement which had claimed the boldest aims ever set to human progress, has generated the darkest mixture ever seen of oppression, inefficiency and deceit. Its failure is therefore total and entirely gloomy.

"We invite all free men to hold 7th November as a day of mourning for the fiftieth anniversary of the Communist revolution and to unite, above all, divisions of races, nations, parties, and creeds to prevent the evil already done from spreading further."

OBSERVANCE OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

The World Anti-Communist League:

Recalling that, since 1959, when the United States Congress passed the Captive Nations Week Resolution and President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed it into Public Law 86—90, all Communist capitals have bitterly denounced this document as being inimical to their fundamental interests; and

Considering that, to the increasing consternation of Moscow, Peiping, Pyonyang, Havana and others, the Captive Nations

Week movement has steadily grown in the United States, and every President in this decade has issued a proclamation on behalf of the independence and freedom of every captive nation in Central Europe, the Soviet Union, Asia, and Cuba; and

Believing that the movement to support the aspiration to free and liberate all the captive nations has taken hold in many countries of the Free World, as witness Captive Nations Week observances in the Republics of China and Korea, in Argentina and Australia, in Germany and Great Britain, and a number of other countries; and

Believing that for the security of the Free World and for Cold War victory over the deadly forces of Communism and Sino-Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, it is indispensable for all free men regularly to make known their determination never to acquiesce to the permanent captivity of the twenty-seven nations in the Red Empire;

Resolves at its First Conference that:

The League and its members and associated groups exert every effort to make the Tenth Observance of Captive Nations Week in July 15—21, 1968, the most successful yet by

1. Urging each Head of State to issue a Captive Nations Week Proclamation patterned after that of the President of the United States;

2. Conducting observances of the Week in member countries and utilizing all media so that our combined message will be conveyed to the captive nations; and

3. Dispatching the published results of this event to the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington, D. C. for their appropriate transmission to the United States Congress and the President of the United States.

The Real Face Of Russia

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ON SUPPORT TO THE YOUTH OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

The World Anti-Communist League

Considering that over one third of the world's population is held in bondage by the Communist regimes which have deprived them of their freedom and basic human rights; and

Considering that the youth of the captive nations deserve the sympathy and support of the Free World in order to succeed in their anti-Communist struggle:

Resolves at its First Conference that:

1. *The League employ all means of communication to bring to the youth behind the Iron Curtain all news about the anti-Communist activities going on in different parts of the world through the World Youth Center;*

2. *The League render moral and material support by all available means to the organized anti-Communist struggle of the youth behind the Iron Curtain.*

RESOLUTION URGING THE U.S. TO STRENGTHEN ITS POLICY IN ASIA

The League urge the United States to positively support solidarity among all the free Asian nations and help them establish closer military and political ties among themselves.

The League urge the United States to declare the intention not to recognize all the results brought about by Communist aggression in Asia, and the intention to allow and support the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam to take necessary action in order to restore their territorial integrity and freedom to the people of theirs now under Communist enslavement.

ON MORAL SUPPORT TO YOUTH CORP'S GRAND ALLIANCE

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

1) Appeal to the freedom-loving youth of the world to render moral support to the China Youth Corp's grand alliance;

2) Appeal to the freedom-loving youth of the world to render material support by all conceivable means to the Chinese youth engaged in the great anti-Communist struggle on the mainland;

3) Condemn the Peiping regime for its atrocity in unleashing the rampaging "Red Guards" to ruin the innocent Chinese youth on the mainland.

APPEAL TO UN

Resolved at the 1st Conference of the World Anti-Communist League:

1. That this League appeal to all member nations of the United Nations Organization to support continuously and firmly the legal status and representation of the Republic of China in the General Assembly,

Security Council, and all other agencies and conferences of the United Nations.

2. That this League appeal to all member nations of the UN Organization to continue their firm opposition to the Peiping regime's entering the UN Organizations through any method or form.

3. That to reflect the solemn attitude of the League towards this Resolution, the Chief Delegates and Chiefs of Observer Units to this Conference, affix their signatures to the Resolution, and that copies of it as well as the attached cable (q.v.) be sent to the chairman of the UN Assembly now in session, to the UN Secretary General, and to all Delegations attending this session of the General Assembly.

CABLE

To: Chairman of the 22nd UN General Assembly

Secretary General of the United Nations, and

All Delegations to the General Assembly

We, from nations and from international organizations representing people who love freedom and justice, are gathered in Taipei

to hold the 1st Conference of the World Anti-Communist League. We have unanimously resolved to cable the UN General Assembly and all Delegations in attendance, to solemnly express our strong opposition to the admission of the despotic Chinese Communist regime into the United Nations.

Internally the enslavement of the people by the Chinese Communist regime has encountered resistance everywhere and externally the Chinese Communist regime is provoking violent riots and engaging in subversive activities causing disastrous troubles to Asia and the whole world. It has been long condemned as aggressor by the UN General Assembly in Resolution No. 498 (S).

We should like to point out that the Chinese Communist regime with its despotic rule for 18 years has been rejected by the majority of the people on the mainland and is on the verge of being overthrown. The Chinese Communist regime, instead of representing the Chinese people, has become their common enemy.

We asseverate that the Chinese Communist regime, which has opposed the United Nations in arms, is by no means willing to carry out the obligations of the UN Charter either in spirit or in principle, the entry of which regime to the United Nations would lead to the disruption of the function of the United Nations.

Therefore, we solemnly appeal to all the Delegations of the UN to the 22nd General Assembly to reject the admission of the Chinese Communist regime into the United Nations in any method and, for the integrity of the UN Charter, uphold continuously the position of the Republic of China in the United Nations and in all its agencies and meetings so as to maintain international justice and to promote world peace.

(Signed by:)

Chief Delegates of WACL Members
and Chiefs of Observer Units
to the First WACL Conference

RESOLUTION ON CUBA

The World Anti-Communist League:

Considering that Cuba has been converted by Fidel Castro into the poorest country of Latin America, and that Red Cuba has established a well-known Communist tyranny with 30,000 executed without legal judgment, and more than 100,000 political prisoners and 600,000 Cuban political exiles;

Considering also that the Communist regime of Havana today is the centre for the export of the most dangerous subversion, terrorism and propaganda; that regime has not only organized guerilla wars in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia and Nicaragua, but has also used its armed forces to invade Panama, the Dominican Republic and Haiti in 1959, and that armed forces of Red Cuba are fighting in Vietnam beside the Viet Cong, in the Congo (Brazzaville), in Zanzibar and other places in Asia and Africa;

Considering that Cuba is the site of the OLAS (Solidarity Organization for the Liberation of Africa, Asia and Latin America), and that General Secretary of OLAS, established in Havana, is a leader of world subversion, including the bloody race riots in the United States as has been acknowledged publicly and officially by all the Red Cuban cadres. Knowing that the acts perpetrated by Soviet Russia and its satellite government in Cuba in reality have violated the Charters of the OAS and the U. N., the Human Rights Declarations of the same international organizations; all the treaties, doctrines, resolutions, inter-American manifestos and the Rules of International Law;

Resolves at its First Conference that:

1) The League warn that the existence of a Communist regime in Cuba and the aggressive policy of the Havana regime constitute a dangerous menace for the security and sovereignty and economic development of the governments of Latin America, Asia and Africa and that if they do not acquire adequate strength to cope with aggression, in the future they will meet the same destiny as Cuba;

- 2) The League urge all governments and democratic peoples to help the Cuban people to recover freedom and liberty;
- 3) The League suggest to its member units to urge their governments not to

trade with Red Cuba;

- 4) The League send a message of solidarity, help and hope to the Cubans who are fighting on the island or in exile for the sacred cause of liberty.

Resolution On Support To The Republic Of China, The Republic Of Korea And The Republic Of Vietnam In Their Efforts To Recover Their Lost Territories

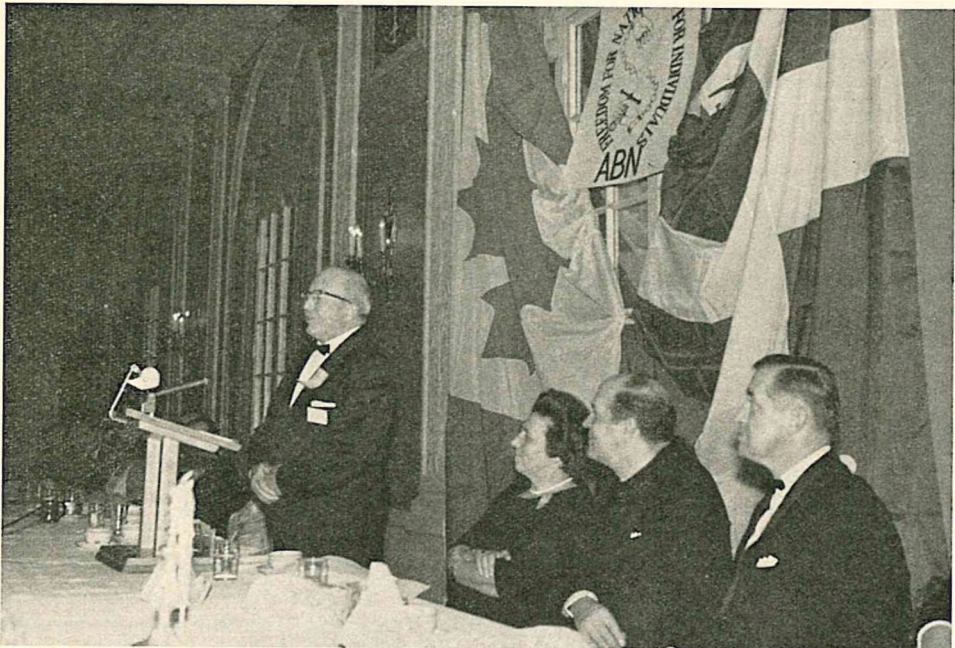
Convinced that there will be no peace and freedom in the world without peace and freedom in Asia; that there will be no peace and freedom in Asia without the reunification of the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam and the restoration of freedom to their people; and that, therefore, the most essential step toward peace and freedom in the whole world is the reunification of these three countries and the restoration of freedom to their people;

Being fully aware that, while the responsibility for the reunification of these three countries and the restoration of freedom to their people rests solely with their respective governments, the free nations in Asia, because of the same destiny they

share in the face of their common enemy, have the moral obligation to help these governments, which represent the genuine desire of the people and the history and culture of the three countries in undertaking to discharge their responsibilities;

The First General Assembly of the World Anti-Communist League, therefore hereby resolves to:

- 1) Appeal to the free nations in Asia to show sympathy with, and render full support to the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam in these efforts to recover their lost territories and restore freedom to their people now enslaved by the Communist regimes;
- 2) Call upon the free nations in Asia to establish a system of collective security



Dr. Edward M. O'Connor addressing ABN Banquet in Montreal, Canada, October 9, 1967. From left to right — Mrs. Slava Stetsko, Rev. Dr. M. Kushniryk, Toastmaster and Mr. Bruce Mackasey, M. P.

within the region as a step to safeguard the freedom and security of Asia so as to help insure the successful accomplishment of the mission of the three countries mentioned above;

3) Urge the free nations in Asia to take full advantage of the worsening conflict between Peiping and Moscow and the growing political turmoil on the Chinese mainland by rendering support to the Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea with manpower and material supplies in their endeavour to reunify their countries and restore freedom to their people now enslaved by Communists.

Resolution On Exchange Of Experiences In Combating Communism

Recognizing that the evil pronouncements of Communism are still being widely circulated and that the Chinese Communists have launched a "Cultural Revolution" in recent years by drafting the ignorant youth as "Red Guards" to engage themselves in rioting in an endeavour to destroy thoroughly the good traditional culture, thus critically threatening the free ways of life of mankind;

Recognizing further that the safeguarding of the culture and of peaceful relations among all free peoples is a primary goal to be attained by this League, therefore, be it resolved at the 1st WACL (World Anti-Communist League) Conference that: Cultural interflow among Free Nations be intensified to its utmost so as to preserve the common cultural heritage of mankind and to work for its further advancement, through these recommended measures:

1. Promotion of the exchange of films, broadcasting programs, books, periodicals and arts and literature in general among free nations;

2. Promotion of the exchange of visits, by journalists, professors, scholars, students, artists, and other cultural workers among free nations;

3. Promotion of the exchange of visits by civic leaders and organizations; and be it further resolved that planned and organized exchange of experiences in combating Communism be conducted among

the free nations to effectively deal with Communist infiltration and subversive activities, through these recommended measure:

1. Promotion of the establishment of Anti-Communist Information Centres in the respective free nations to gather data and to study the activities and methods of Communist infiltration and subversion, as well as counter-measures and their success.

2. Proposal of the establishment of Regional Anti-Communist Information Centres to enlarge the field of information, collection and exchange of experience.

3. Promotion of the exchange of materials between the aforementioned National Centre and a Regional Centre, as well as the holding of regional seminars.

4. Promotion of the translating, reprinting and circulation of the above-mentioned materials on combating Communism in all Free Nations.

Resolution On Trade

Sponsored By The Delegates Of Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Italy, Ukraine, U.S.A. And Western Germany

Considering that, in human society, politics and economics should be kept abreast of each other and mingled with ethics at the same time,

Believing that the solidarity of efforts in political and economic fields is a powerful weapon of the free world to combat Communism,

Realizing that the peoples and countries of the free world produce ample goods and furnish enough market for the same, among themselves;

The First Conference Of The WACL

Declares it a policy of its members to trade to the maximum with one another and to refrain as much as possible from trading with Communist regimes and countries, and

Recommends that the peoples and countries of the free world should, individually and collectively, do their utmost, through effective co-operation, co-ordination and organization, to implement this declaration of policy.

Resolution On Support To Vietnam

Whereas the Hanoi regime's stubborn refusal to accept any proposal for a peaceful settlement of the war and its declared determination to fight to the last have given the United States and other free nations with troops fighting in Vietnam no alternative but to continue their military efforts to help win the war, the 13th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, hereby resolves to reiterate the previous stand of the APACL and to:

1. Give firm support to the government and people of the Republic of Vietnam in their courageous struggle for the independence and freedom of their nation, and laud them for the free Presidential election which has just been held;

2. Give firm support to the military effort of the United States and other free nations with troops fighting in Vietnam;

3. Oppose any and all forms of settle-

ment of the Vietnam war which violate the independence of the Republic of Vietnam and the genuine desire of its people;

4. Appeal to the United States and other free nations with troops fighting in Vietnam to bring increased military pressure to bear upon the Hanoi regime with a view to winning an honorable peace for that country.

5. Call upon all other free nations in the world to give the Republic of Vietnam moral, material and technical support as well as medical aid to the best of their ability.

6. Urge all the free nations to sever their trade and shipping relations with North Vietnam and call upon the people of these nations to refrain from engaging in any kind of activities advantageous to the "National Liberation Front" so that the Chinese Communists, who are backing the Hanoi regime, may be dealt a fatal blow in order to bring about an effective and speedy solution of the Vietnam war.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Pressure Against Writers

The Communist government of the so-called Czecho-Slovakia has recently been exerting strong pressure on writers. As in the other countries ruled by Soviet Russia, "liberalisation" and "de-Stalinisation" have been unobtrusively but consistently and perceptibly step by step reversed (by the local Communist regime) in the Bohemian countries and Slovakia also. As a consequence of this, censorship has also been intensified. Four writers who were not prepared to adapt themselves to the new political direction ordered by Moscow were

excluded from the official association of writers.

Student Demonstrations In Prague

On 31 October 1967 a large student demonstration took place in Prague. Thousands of students demonstrated in the streets against the wretched food and various technical deficiencies in student hostels. Even the local Communist press admitted that the heating in the student hostels was only very deficient and that the electric light had not been working for a year. The

police managed to put down the demonstrations. Many students were imprisoned.

Underground Church Active In Ukraine

The Soviet monthly *Liudyna i svit* (A man and the world) had recently published an article by Mr. Shysh entitled: "The Aim and the Means" which provides some information about the underground Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine.

"Uniates-penitents" as Shysh calls the faithful are conducting secret services, circulating "God's letters" and anti-Soviet poems and singing nationalistic songs.

Secret services are described by the author thus: "Night, a small room, full of elderly people. All are kneeling, Their heads are humbly bent. The air is heavy with the smell of incense and candle smoke. And above all that — an authoritative voice of a not yet old priest with a fanatical light in his eyes."

Murderer Shelepin — Boss Of The Soviet "Trade Unions"

Mr. Alexander Shelepin's removal from the powerful Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party was certainly not unexpected. And from all the indications so far from Moscow, his standing as one of the strongest candidates eventually to succeed Mr. Brezhnev, the Party's Secretary, does not seem to have been weakened. The move to relieve him of his full-time duties as Secretary of the Central Committee became, in fact, inevitable on his appointment in July to the Chairmanship of the Central Council of the Federation of Trade Unions, for, obviously, he could not be expected to combine two full-time jobs. As head of an organization of some 80m trade union members, Mr. Shelepin's task will be to deal mainly with labour discipline and administer social welfare. The question of labour discipline has been worrying the Soviet authorities for some time and following a Central Committee resolution before last Christmas, a national campaign was mounted early this year to resolve the problem, probably with not much success, otherwise it would not necessitate the transfer of Mr. Shelepin to

undertake the task.

The record of Mr. Shelepin shows he is well suited for his new mission — a record which certainly cannot generate any enthusiasm among workers. Under his leadership in 1952-58, he mobilized members of the Komsomol time and again to provide manpower for development projects and sent 350,000 of them to remote areas in the virgin lands of the Soviet East for agricultural production. His record also shows how he ruthlessly moulded the rising generation in the Party's image, expelling those with "heretical" tendencies. And of course his tough reputation as a former Secret Police chief is also well remembered. Clearly, he has the qualities for enforcing labour discipline and is, no doubt, expected to use these to deal with some of the expected consequences of the new economic reforms such as redundancy and temporary unemployment. Mr. Shelepin may make even more of the job than any of his predecessors did.

An Imperialist Murderer Is Dead

A dismal chapter in the history of the Russian empire was recalled by the world press in September 1967, when it reported the decease of the Russian emigrant Prince Yusupov.

This Russian aristocrat went into history as an unsuccessful saviour of the Russian empire, as the murderer of the Russian charlatan Rasputin. Prince Yusupov murdered this "miraculous monk", who had been for years up to his violent death the favourite, confidant and political adviser of the Tsar family, so that the Russian empire might be saved from threatening ruin. Yusupov however could not achieve this by carrying out this treacherous murder. Even Kerenski was too weak to master this task. Only Lenin and his Bolshevik party were able to fulfil with success the historical role of saviour of the empire, and this not through one, but through countless murders...

This murder committed by Yusupov, however, is symptomatic of Russian history and the mentality of the Russian imperialists. Political murder was always

regarded by the Russian imperialists as a legitimate means of rescuing, defending, consolidating, and extending the Russian empire and often employed. It has remained so up to the present. The Russian colonial empire could not be maintained without political murder and trickery.

The fact that the highest representatives of the Russian Bolshevik empire invited the murderer Yusupov back to Moscow shortly before his death and received him with every "honour" is a clear proof that they can even appreciate a murder in the interests of the empire, if this was committed by a conservative aristocrat and monarchist.

The Bolsheviks Are Ashamed Of Their Former Leaders

During the Moscow celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik state, the name of the organizer and main actor of this state, Trotsky, was not mentioned in any celebration speech. In all probability it was the same also in the whole of the Russian sphere of power, in all cities and villages.

It has been so since the time of Stalin's dictatorship. Trotsky may only be mentioned in Bolshevik historical writings, either not at all, or only as traitor, fraud or perpetrator of other crimes, since Stalin ordered it so. Stalin also described other collaborators of Lenin (e. g. Bukharin, Kamenyev, Zinovyev) as criminals, which incidentally corresponded to the facts. His successor in the leadership of the Russian Bolshevik party and the Russian Bolshevik empire, Krushchov, described Stalin himself — and justly — as the greatest mass murderer in world history. Meanwhile Krushchov has been pensioned off and deprived of any importance. Since then he has been described officially as a failure and cut out of documentary films.

Thus with the exception of Lenin all the former leaders of the Russian Bolshevik empire have been evaluated in official Bolshevik historical writings as traitors, defrauders, murderers, or, in the best case as failures. It is only the results of the policies carried out by these criminals; it

is only the fruits of their crimes which their successors, the leaders of the Russian Bolshevik colonial empire, refuse to deny themselves, since they themselves are also swindlers and criminals!

C. P.

Anti-Russian Uprising In Chimkent, Kazakhstan

On June 10, 1967 a popular uprising against the Soviet-Russian occupational forces in Chimkent, South Kazakhstan, a city of 150,000 population, broke out. It started when Soviet militia arrested taxi-driver Hryhorii Afanasiv for a minor traffic violation. But regardless of the insignificant violation Afanasiv was taken to the militia station and beaten very severely so that his wife had to drive him home "half-dead". Friends of the beaten man soon learned of this and many drivers from other taxi-stations gathered in the streets. They marched toward the Militia Headquarters. The crowd increased quickly to about 100 persons. Upon reaching the militia building it burst into it demolishing the offices of the Headquarters and of the first militia detachment nearby.

Later on, workers and office personnel of other concerns heard the news about the beating of Afanasiv. They joined the demonstrators and soon the whole city was involved in a spontaneous revolt. The throng surrounded the militia, set fire to official buildings and kept away the fire-fighters. From there the demonstrators moved to the main prison located six kilometers (4 miles) outside the city, assaulted it and freed the prisoners.

All these events brought panic among the Russians. They immediately asked for help from Tashkent, 120 km. away. Soon mechanized reinforcements arrived, including tanks and armoured cars. Without warning these KGB troops began shooting into the crowd. Many were killed and wounded. Only late at night were the KGB troops able to quell the uprising. The same night taxidriver Hryhorii Afanasiv died as the result of the beating.

According to *Kazakhstan Pravda*, three persons were later executed for the organization of the revolt. The leading Russian

newspapers were silent on the uprising, but on the basis of reports reaching the free world, around 200 persons were killed and 1,000 injured. According to London's *Daily Telegraph*, more than 1,000 persons were arrested and many of them were already sentenced to harsh penalties.

The above event reveals tremendous hostility lingering between the Russian colo-

nialists and the subjugated peoples. An insignificant spark suffices to set revolutionary trends afire. The Party, the militia and the KGB, the administration — all are isolated from the masses of the enslaved peoples. The empire is maintained solely by naked military power, but the enslaved peoples are restless, preparing for the final overthrow of the aggressor.

The Croatian Patriot Kidnapped By Communist Agents

Msgr. Dr. Krunoslav Draganovic, now 64 years old, enjoys in his own country considerable respect as a Catholic priest and scholar. While Croatia enjoyed national independence, he was appointed professor of history at the university of Zagreb. When Croatia was occupied by the hordes of the Russian Red Army in the spring of 1945, together with the Communist partisan bands of Tito, and the Yugoslav state formation was re-established against the will of the Croatian nation, Dr. Draganovic emigrated like thousands of other Croatian patriots, to work politically in exile for the liberation of Croatia. As an emigrant, Msgr. Dr. Draganovic lived for many years in Rome. There he helped many of his compatriots, Croatian refugees. In addition to social and charity work, Msgr. Dr. Draganovic devoted himself also to academic work. Two years ago Msgr. Dr. Draganovic moved to Austria, where he settled and even acquired Austrian nationality. He continued in Austria his academic and political activities. He wrote a political book advocating the independence of Croatia. This book was to contain in addition many documents compromising the Tito dictatorship. Msgr. Dr. Draganovic brought the manuscript to a Munich printer to be printed, a few weeks before he was kidnapped in August 1967.

Shortly afterwards, in September of this year, he was kidnapped back to Yugoslavia in a diplomatic car by agents of the Tito dictatorship!

At first the Tito regime wanted to pass over this crime in silence. For two months no mention was made of it. Only when the newspapers of the Free World began to write about this case and the Austrian

government asked for information about it from the Tito government, did the Yugoslav Communist dictatorship have recourse to the impudent lie that Msgr. Dr. Draganovic had returned "voluntarily" to his country!

Against these lies speaks the whole personality and past of Msgr. Dr. Draganovic, his already mentioned book and above all his testamentary declaration, which he had made available in two copies in October 1965 to a lawyer friend of his, with the request to lay it before the public, if need be:

"In the consciousness of being constantly in danger of murder or abduction by Tito's agents and spies, in this public declaration, which I have issued in full possession of my mental powers and in absolute freedom, I wish to inform all Croatian public opinion in my home country and all emigrants, that, in the case of my disappearance or my violent death, the responsibility is to be sought for in the Communist regime. This regime has already tried on several occasions to carry out my abduction by violence. For this reason I now declare solemnly, since I am still a free person and in full possession of my physical and mental powers: whatever I declare or write or sign should I fall into the hands of the Communist Yugoslav police (which is only of course a blind instrument of the Communist party), everything must be considered as having happened against my free will and my innermost convictions. The terror and the inhuman methods of the Communist police with the help of modern aids are able to break both physically and mentally even the strongest and most courageous man."

Thousands Of Ukrainians Demonstrate Against Russian Occupation

Outside The Russian U. N. Mission In New York, November 18, 1967



Demonstrator burns Russian flag outside the Soviet Embassy. NEWS photo by Charles Ruzsammann



Picket holds accusing sign above the heads of crowd gathered outside Permanent USSR Mission to the U.N., Lexington Ave. and E. 67th St. yesterday. NEWS photo by Jack Clark

They Wanted To Make the Russians Blush

Their emotions flaring, presumably as a result of an anti-Busism rally at Madison Square Garden yesterday, several thousand people, most of them of Ukrainian descent, burst through police barricades to burn flags and sing anti-Soviet songs at the Permanent USSR UN Mission, E. 67th St. and Lexington Ave., yesterday. Colorfully-dressed dancers were part of a crowd of 10,000 that gathered at the Garden to protest Soviet domination of the Ukraine. Story on page 21



Ukrainian dancers (l. to r.) Theresa Maslihan, 17, Marta Casar, 17, Barbara Szpak, 16, are part of Garden gathering. NEWS photo by Ed Clarity

(Full Page Photo Which Appeared in *Sunday News*, November 19, 1967)