

# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## Signal For Freedom Fight

Jan Palach † January 19, 1969



“Better to die in flames than to live under Russian colonial yoke!” — if the world has grasped Palach’s message his sacrifice in Prague’s Wenceslas Square was not in vain.

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# The Second World Anti-Communist League Conference In Saigon

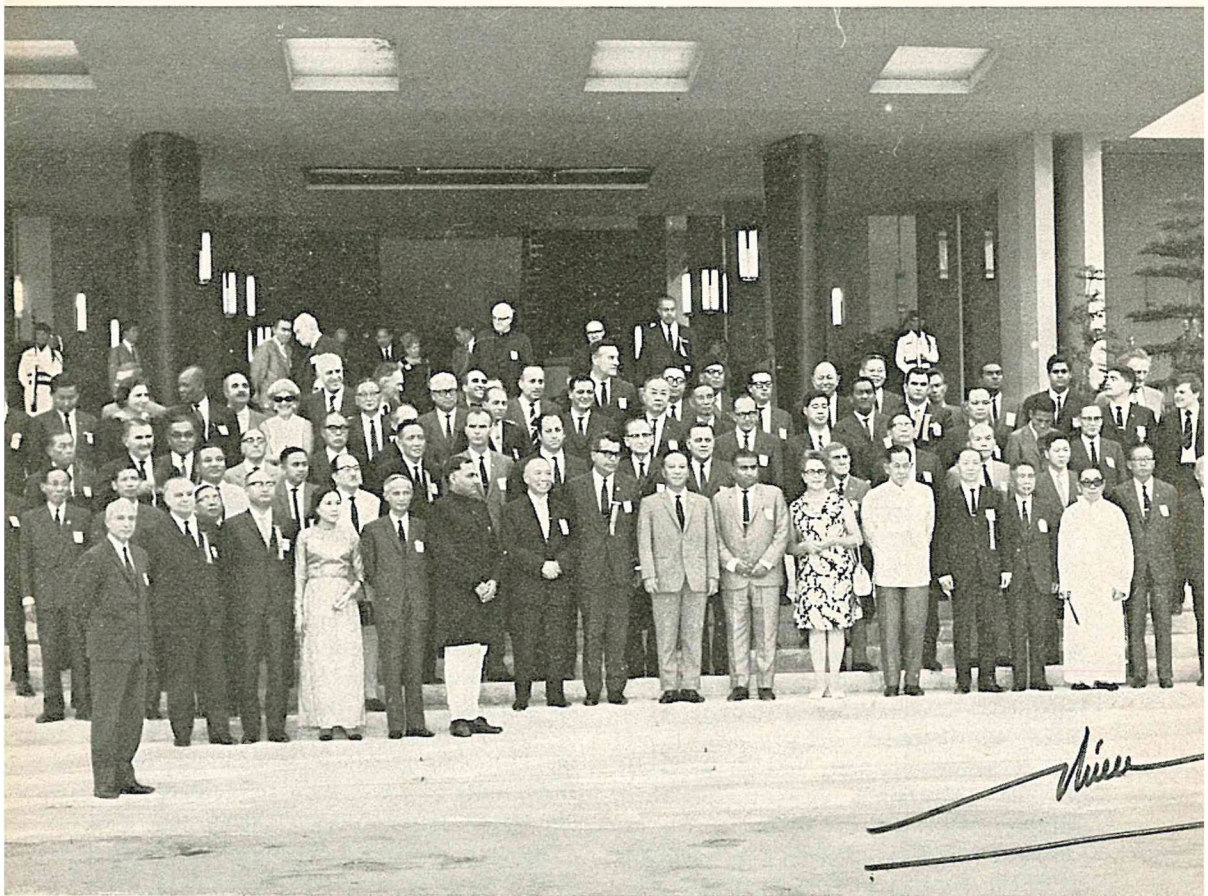
The Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the 14th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) were held in Saigon, Vietnam, on December 16-20, 1968.

## *Participants of the Conference*

Delegates from more than 50 countries and 20 important international and national anti-Communist organizations attended the Second WACL Conference in Saigon from December 16-18. They adopted var-

ious resolutions which dealt with the anti-Russian and anti-Communist struggle.

Delegates from the following countries were present: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Columbia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Greece, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Korea, Lebanon, Lesotho, Macao, Malawi, Malaysia, Mexico, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Por-



tugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Upper Volta, USA, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and others. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) represented the national liberation revolutionary organizations of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism — Byelorussia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, the Baltic states, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Serbia, Armenia, North Caucasus, Albania and others. ABN delegation consisted of Yaroslav Stetsko, A. Olechnik (Byelorussian Liberation Front) and Slava Stetsko.

The European Freedom Council (EFC) represented West European anti-Communist national organizations. Its delegation was headed by Yaroslav Stetsko. From among its members the delegates from Italy, Sweden, France and other countries were present. The National Captive Nations Committee (NCNC) was represented by Prof. Lev Dobriansky and Prof. W. Chopiivskyi from Arizona. Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent (IACCD) was represented by Admiral Carlos Penna Botto. The International Conference for Political Warfare of the USSR was represented by Madame Suzanne Labin. Among other organizations present were: Anti-Communist League of the Americas, Asian Lay-Christian Association, Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Free Pacific Association, International Committee for Information and Social Action (Alfred Giehlen, Germany), Assembly of Captive European Nations (Mr. Germenji, Albania), Committee to Fight Red Chinese Aggression, Mexican Anti-Communist Federation of the Occident, Reinforcing Evangelist and Aiding Pastors (REAP, Japan), Vietnam Veterans' Legion and many other combatant anti-Communist political and ideological organizations. Individual countries and organizations were represented by outstanding public figures: former presidents (Costa Rica), prime ministers, foreign ministers, senators (Australia), representatives, high military officers, party leaders . . . For example, Spain was represented by a delegate from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Tur-

key — by Senator Tevetoglu, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate; Iran — Senator Kazemi, as head of the delegation; Canada — Mr. R. Thompson, Member of the House of Commons; Ceylon — Mr. Renaweera, M. P.; India — Anil Narendra, M. P. and three other delegates; 15-member Chinese delegation was headed by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang; France by General Vanuxem; 6-member Japanese delegation was headed by Prof. Dr. J. Kitaoka; 9-member Korean delegation was headed by Gen. Lee; Lesotho by Ambassador Molapo; Malaysian — Ambassador Tan Ton Hung; 6-member Thai delegation — Gen. P. Kulapichit; 30-member Vietnamese delegation was headed by former Prime Minister Dr. Phan Huy Quat, and others.

#### *Topics Covered by the Conference*

The Second Conference of the WACL was opened by Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu. Before the opening ceremony the delegates laid a wreath at the memorial to the victims of Communism. Numerous messages were received from presidents of China, Philippines, Korea, prime ministers of Greece and Thailand, as well as greetings from various national and international organizations.

The diplomatic corps, presidents of both houses of the Vietnamese Parliament, chief of the general staff, chief justice of the Supreme Court, numerous members of the House and Senate and of course TV, radio and the press were present. After the report of the outgoing chairman of the WACL, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, the newly elected chairman of the WACL, Dr. Phan Huy Quat addressed the conference, followed by reports of spokesmen for various complexes. Mrs. Slava Stetsko reported on the activities of ABN. Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko delivered a political statement from ABN, and Dr. Alfredo Ferlisi (Italy) submitted a report on behalf of the European Freedom Council. Dr. Lev Dobriansky reported on the activities of the National Captive Nations Committee.

Topics of primary concern for the Second WACL Conference were: "World situation



in the light of the Communist threat”, “WACL’s attitude to the Paris peace talks”, “How to counteract the so-called people’s wars”, “The position of developing countries under pressure and threat of Communist exploitation”, “Youth problems”. Resolutions were drafted by four committees: Cultural and Youth, Economic, Political, Military and Paramilitary. A separate committee was set up to draft the Joint Communiqué of the Second WACL Conference. From the 30 resolutions which were adopted the following deserve special mention: 1. on the Paris peace talks; 2. on the necessity to support the revolutionary libe-

World Freedom Day; 10. on the importance of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples; 11. on the immediate necessity to adopt adequate counter measures towards unusually strengthened danger from Communism; 12. Joint Communiqué, which emphasized national independence noting the role of the subjugated peoples in the struggle against Russia and mentioning Hungary, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, the Baltic states and others by name.

From the speeches which were delivered at the conference the following deserve particular attention:



*WACL Chairman, Dr. Phan Huy Quat (left), and Col. Do Dang Cong, Secretary General of the Vietnam Chapter, behind the Presidium table.*

ration struggle of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, and the dissolution of the Russian empire; 3. events in CSSR; 4. condemnation of Communist aggression and brutality in Vietnam; 5. against the policy of so-called peaceful coexistence, and for the policy of liberation; 6. on demands that the US government respect the free will of the Vietnamese nation, supporting its government and helping in the victory of justice all over the world; 7. against Communist infiltration of religious institutions; 8. for support of the fighters for Cuba’s freedom; 9. on the Captive Nations Week and the

The address by the President of the Republic of Vietnam — Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu on the world political aspects of Vietnam’s liberation struggle, the elements of possible victory, the false policy of Western super-powers, the importance of Vietnam’s reunification in freedom to the stabilization of relations and the perspective of the final victory over Communism and imperialism.

Gen. Cao Van Vien, chief of the general staff, spoke on the necessity of “Vietnam Strategy”, pointing to the basic elements of military strategy of free Vietnam, taking into consideration the concept of guerrilla warfare as outlined by Mao and Lin Piao

and contrasting it with his own concept. Nguyen Van Huyen, President of the Senate, spoke on the attributes of Vietnamese democracy. All three speeches were delivered during special receptions which were given in honor of the delegates by Vietnam's President, Prime Minister Tran Van Huong and the Congress of the Republic of Vietnam.

The president of the host country received the delegates twice, first on December 16th at a cocktail party and at the dinner at the presidential palace during which he delivered his political speech in the form of a toast in honor of the delegates.

Besides this the participants of the conference were invited to a reception by former Prime Minister, Dr. Quat, Saigon's Mayor and the Head of the City Council. The delegates were also invited to ceremonies inaugurating the brotherhood of two cities, Saigon and Taipei, with the participation of members of the City Council and the Mayor of Taipei. An art exhibition of painting and sculpture was opened in Saigon at the time of the conference. We have to admire the government and the art circles of free Vietnam which regardless of the closeness of the front are still taking care of the cultural needs of the population. The original works of Vietnamese artists were admired by participants-viewers from all continents.

Mrs. Slava Stetsko presented two books (*The Chornovil Papers* and Ivan Dzyuba's, *Internationalism or Russification?*) and a recording of Ukrainian Christmas carols to Pres. Thieu. After a short discussion during the reception, Pres. Thieu invited the ABN delegates to his palace for an extensive discussion during which the subject of the present-day world political situation and Vietnam's place in it was covered. The discussion lasted over 1½ hours. President Thieu revealed himself to be a great authority on the Russian and Communist strategy, an independent-minded statesman and an above-average politician. He is familiar with the situation in the countries sub-

jugated by Russian imperialism and has a proper view on the solution of the world crisis. Next day Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Stetsko were interviewed by Vietnamese television. The subject of the interview was an evaluation of the Vietnam situation, their suggestions as to the future, possible support in the political sense, the experience of the struggle of Ukraine and other subjugated countries, the evaluation of the Paris peace talks and so forth. Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Conference also participated in this TV discussion and read resolutions of the Second WACL Conference regarding Vietnam and the Paris peace talks. The interview lasted about 45 minutes. Radio and press paid special attention to the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and to the activities of ABN. The first lady invited all lady-delegates to a special reception.

After the speech by the chief of the general staff Prof. Dobriansky was asked to lead a discussion in which he pointed to Russia as the enemy no. 1. Prof. Dobriansky is a colonel of the reserve of the American army.

It should be particularly noted that besides the problem of Vietnam the Conference stressed the importance of the national liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. It is manifested in the fact that resolutions on the subjugated nations and the support of their struggle and their aims were submitted by Vietnam (condemnation of Moscow for CSSR), China (support of the right to independence of our nations), India (Captive Nations Week), General Secretary of the WACL (Philippines) — for the policy of liberation and against the so-called peaceful coexistence and appeasement; the resolution submitted by Mr. Olechnik (Byelorussia) with concrete demands to the free world (in the framework of ABN concepts) was supported by other delegates, and the main resolution of ABN which dealt with the complex of the subjugated nations and defined their postulates,



was submitted by the Secretary General of the WACL, Dr. Jose Ma. Hernandez, Japan, Columbia, Chile, Bolivia, Portugal, USA, Sweden, Brazil, Australia, India, France, Inter-American Conference for the Defense of the Continent (Admiral Botto), International Conference of Political Warfare of the USSR (Madame Suzanne Labin), Free Pacific Association (Father De Jaeger) and others.

Remarks by ABN and EFC delegations during public debates and at committee meetings were accepted and their suggestions followed.

The Conference was held in Majestic Hotel, where during the last three months a modern conference hall was constructed with the best synchronized equipment for simultaneous translation into several languages. As the result of great pressure the Secretary of the Vietnamese delegation suffered a heart attack, but the beautiful hall was ready in time.

The hotel was guarded by the military at all times. Fighting is raging around Saigon, but in the capital the government is in full control of the situation, even though cases of sabotage and bomb explosions occurred in the city during the conference. This dangerous situation prevented some delegates from attending. Some left Saigon after two days but the majority of the delegates remained to the end of the Conference.

After the Second WACL Conference, the

14th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) was held. The main address was delivered by Prime Minister Trang Van Huong on the world political importance of Vietnam's struggle against Communist and Russian aggression. The Conference dealt with financial problems facing APACL, with APACL's plans, manysided as to their contents resolutions and a joint communique. A resolution condemning Russian imperialism and expressing support of the struggle for national independence of the subjugated peoples was submitted by India and supported by Iran; it was accepted unanimously. At the press conference documentation from both conferences was presented.

On December 21, 1968 the delegates had a chance to view the areas of recent fighting and to see for themselves the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese army. The delegates had seen with regret how, for instance, the American army is unjustly condemned for so-called cruelty while barbarisms perpetrated by the Viet Cong and the armies of Ho Chi Minh on the defenseless population go unnoticed.

The government of young generals meets the national and social requirements of the nation and does everything possible to keep its policy independent having as its aim one Vietnam, united in freedom and justice.

Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

## Joint Communique

At the conclusion of the Second Conference of the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE, 110 representatives of more than 50 countries and 20 organizations, dedicated to the defense and preservation of freedom against Communism, expressed their gratitude to the Vietnam Chapter and issued the following Joint Communique:

In the past three days we reviewed the world situation as it has developed since the First Conference in September, 1967, and concluded that while the advance of

Communist forces on all fronts has been stopped superficially, there still remains the critical task of marshalling our forces and carrying on the fight to the finish until Communism is defeated and supplanted by national independence, freedom, peace, and justice.

In this continuing battle with the dark forces of evil we pay tribute to the gallantry and determination of the Government and People of Vietnam which with sterling courage and devotion are manifesting to

all peoples — the free as well as the enslaved — how to deal with an enemy that recognizes neither human nor divine law. The rest of the Free World, necessarily, must follow Vietnam's incomparable example for the Vietnamese by sheer endurance, dedication, and sense of mission, have definitively ripped the blue print of Communist conquest by Hanoi and the National Liberation Front.

But Vietnam is not the only field of battle in Asia. The Republic of Korea and Thailand are also actively engaged in battling Communist aggression. We recognize the devious means employed by the enemy in seeking to destroy other bastions of freedom. In viewing the struggle in the Asian sector we seek to enlist the active and positive support of the Japanese people whose freedom is likewise endangered.

Here, too, having taken cognizance of the bloody chaos in the vast Chinese mainland we pledge our unstinted support to the Republic of China which must now mount the long-awaited offensive against the badly riven and confused forces of Mao-Tse-tung and capitalize on the deepening rift between Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communist regime.

We view with alarm the recent insidious penetration of the European complex by the red hand of Soviet Russia that now grips defenseless and liberty-loving Czechoslovakia by the throat, keeps her heavy boot on Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, the Baltic States and other captive nations whose cherished dream is to live in freedom, justice and national independence. With that Red Hand menacing West Germany, France, Spain, Italy and the North European sector, we feel that there is an immediate urgency in strengthening the NATO forces lest the world face again another and a more terrible Armageddon.

With apprehension we see the Communist octopus now actively at work in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, among the emerging nations of Africa, in the republics of Latin America where Fidel Castro continues to breed and export Vietcong-type revolutions, in the student and racial riots

and the wanton destruction of lives and property in the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and other sections of the Americas.

We have come to the inevitable conclusion that our salvation lies in unity, and that a global strategy against Communist aggression is imperative. We find that in the present crisis there is no room for complacency, indifference and petty intramural wrangling.

Thus, we are influenced to pledge unequivocal support and positive assistance to the Republic of Vietnam. We believe that in the Paris peace negotiations she must play the leading role, never recognize the NLF as a co-equal contracting party, never yield to pressures to accept a humiliating coalition government with the lackeys of North Vietnam, and firmly assert her right to carve her own destiny.

We salute the gallant fighting forces of the United States and other Allies — Korea, Thailand, Australia, and New Zealand and the 26 other countries giving aid and sustenance to Vietnam for their unflinching defense of freedom for all mankind.

To the illustrious and brave President of the Republic of Vietnam, His Excellency Nguyen Van Thieu, his fighting forces, and his fearless people we pay humble tribute in this hour of crisis and earnestly hope that their cause may be vindicated.

Inspired by their incomparable example we are determined more than ever to keep the torch of freedom unflickering and bright, to pass it from hand to hand so that in our time, we may all see the passing of the Red night of fear and the coming of the dawn of peace, freedom, and justice, and national independence.

**Message** — *On the occasion of the Second Conference of WACL held in Saigon, we, members of the Vietnamese Community in Great Britain, would like you to extend to its participants our pledge of ardent support for your noble cause. We sincerely hope that your conference will be a complete success.*

*The Vietnamese Community  
in Great Britain*



## President Thieu Addresses The WACL Conference

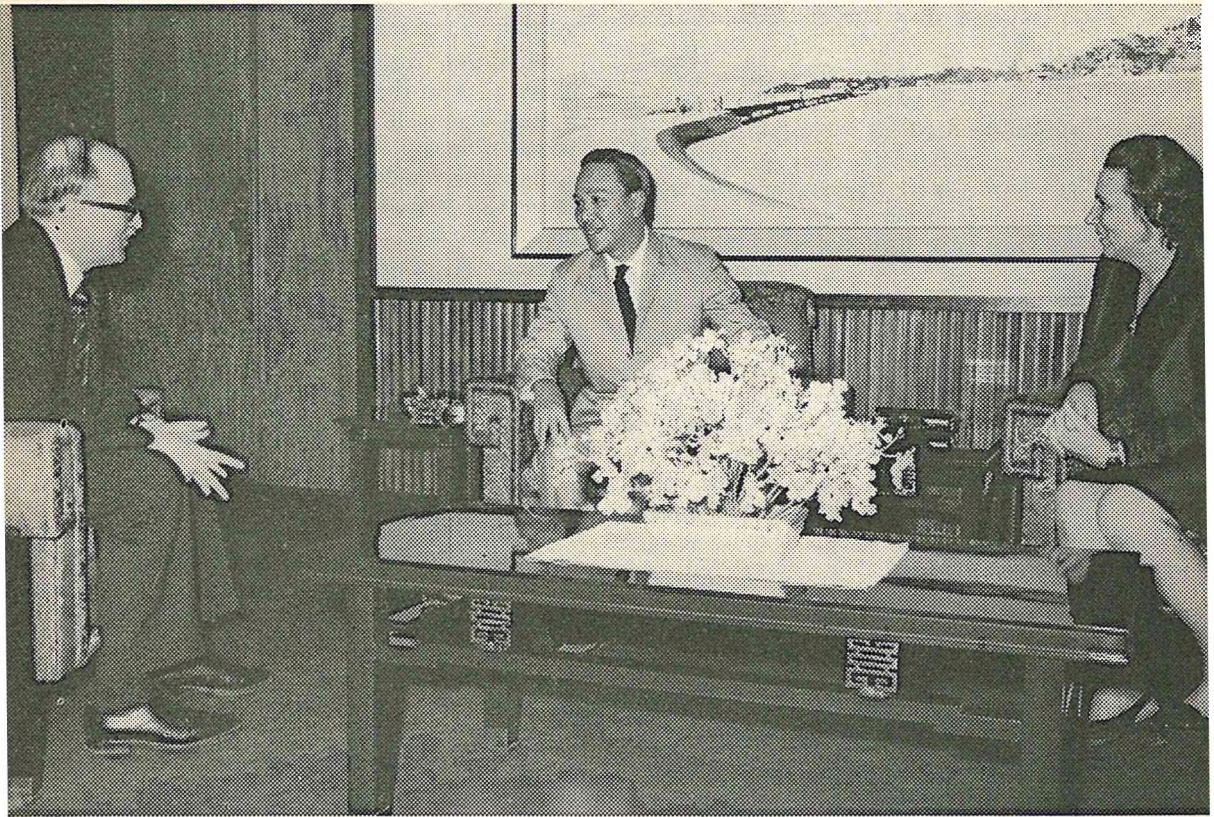
On behalf of the government and the people of the Republic of Vietnam, I extend to you our warmest and most sincere welcome.

I would also like to convey my best wishes to all the people you represent.

Your presence here today will certainly be considered by future generations as the most crucial historic event of an era when all the nations in the world are united in a common effort to obstruct the Communist invasion and establish and maintain freedom, equality and happiness. You are the symbol of our firm determination to succeed in this noble cause.

Your attendance today dramatizes to the world our struggle for justice, freedom and equality. At the same time, you are evidence of the highly valuable international cooperation of our time.

I believe that your presence here will give a chance to all nations and social communities to understand each other better, and to improve and develop existing international cooperation. To attain such goals, I would like to offer you an opportunity to understand a country whose fate affects you all. I invite you to understand its people, the Vietnamese people, as well as the



*President of the Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Van Thieu, receives Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko.*



momentous events here which have been the permanent concern of the world.

Today, at this conference hall, I would like to tell you what the Vietnamese people wish to tell all their friends, the freedom-loving and justice-preserving people in the world.

These are the facts closely related to a worldwide movement which has to be considered as a common international mission to halt Communist aggression. These are the facts about the circumstances, the lessons and the formulas that the Vietnamese people have experienced, endured and applied in order to win a final victory for freedom. These also are the multi-facial images that will bear witness to the different meanings of this struggle which the Vietnamese people have pursued and recognized as a responsibility in our position as an outpost of the free world.

Fourteen years ago, the Communist imperialists successfully carried out the first part of their scheme to expand their influence in Southeast Asia when they occupied the northern territory of our country thanks to the 1954 Geneva agreements. The agreements were strongly opposed by the Vietnamese people, who did not sign them. At that time, however, a weak country's call for help in a just cause did not arouse the human conscience, which was buried beneath the shady, opportunistic intrigues of world politics. Under such circumstances, the remaining half of our country was subjected to heavy pressure by international Communism for 14 years.

Today, the whole world has clearly understood the cruel war that the Vietnamese people must face. The Communist terrorist activities occurred almost incessantly: every day, every hour, everywhere in our country. After occupying the northern half of the country, the Communists did not stop their invasion, as some people falsely believed. On the contrary, the Communists increased their efforts to expand their influence all over Southeast Asia. The remaining part of Vietnam was their first target. To win this prize, the Communists followed a policy of terrorism. According to the

strategy, the enemy's morale should be the first bastion destroyed. Therefore, the Communists created unsafe conditions in the remaining territory in order to depress our morale, to discourage and terrify the Vietnamese people by brutally frustrating all their efforts to resist. Thanks to the communications media, the whole world knows that over 300,000 Communist cadres and troops, supported and armed by the Communist bloc, are present on our territory to fight for their goal. But these are only the remainder of 401,000 Communist cadres infiltrated from Dec. 19, 1959 to Nov. 30, 1968, after having suffered several losses.

These troops are reinforced at the rate varying from 6,000 to 16,000 men per month. Replacements enter South Vietnam through the Laotian border areas and through the DMZ, supposedly created by the 1954 Geneva Agreement to prevent all armed contacts between the Communists and our half of this country.

With such regular reinforcements, and above all with their policy of crushing the human dignity and even the lives of all people who are for or against them, the Communists could launch many acts of terrorism, destruction and death without much difficulty.

Before the March 31 decision to limit the bombing to a part of the North, in the first three months of 1968, the Communists had launched 3,049 acts of terrorism — shelling, ambushing, attacking and destroying the isolate villages, assassinating innocent civilians, including women and children.

In the following six months, the Communists created 6,149 similar incidents. The above data prove that the Communist terrorist attacks have increased since the day we declared our partial bombing halt on North Vietnam. In November alone, after the total bombing halt declaration, the Communists shelled 181 times into the provinces and districts of South Vietnam taking the lives of 502 people and wounding many others, the majority of whom were always innocent women and children.

Could you imagine that on the day the total bombing halt of the North was de-



clared, the Communists shelled a church situated not very far from this Conference Room with a rocket? It was All Saints Day, and the people were congregating in the church for a mass. There were 80 victims of this shelling — 20 dead and 60 wounded.

Despite the silence of this Conference Room, you can be sure that at this very moment when I speak to you, somewhere in this country, at least one if not many of my compatriots are being massacred. They are ordinary farmers, workers, or businessmen busy in their daily work; they could be public health specialists or teachers who are taking care of the local inhabitants or teaching a class; they could be the children

nature of Communism. They know fighting tactics and the objectives of Communist ideology, and they are aware of the fate that this doctrine has reserved for mankind.

All of these facts reaffirm our belief that we must have the right to choose between Communism and a calm life, full of freedom, equality and happiness. Our people are determined to reject Communism and take the road leading toward a noble life of their own making. And, in every moment of difficulty, our people have fought incessantly to protect their right of self-determination. The Communists want to throw Vietnam into disorder, and make the



themselves, who are just reading their first lessons. The Communists massacre these innocent people because they are easy targets. Moreover, the Communists believe that the more they use terrorism, the faster they will undermine our will to resist.

However, there is one thing I am sure of: no Vietnamese are discouraged about their country's prospects in its encounter with the Communist invasion. On the contrary, thanks to terrorist acts like the ones I have mentioned, the Vietnamese people have come to a better understanding of the real

Vietnamese people weary and fearful, but their tactics have been rendered ineffective. The concrete successes of our constructive programs are the most eloquent proofs of our stability. Toward the end of 1965, Vietnam's over-all condition was described as quiet, but full of potential trouble. Within the next 20 months, that image was totally shattered by events. Our fiery struggles to fight and build have demonstrated our determination to reject Communism, to lead the Vietnamese people in overcoming the most difficult obstacles, to reinstate faith

within all freedom-loving men that Communism will undoubtedly be annihilated in the end. In this relatively short period of time, our closely concerted efforts on the battlefield and on the domestic front have helped us master the military situation, establish political stability, and achieve the most glorious victory of all — the creation of a democracy, with all its constitutional provisions. The improvement in our situation is demonstrated by the Communist change of strategy — from armed invasion of our country, they have turned to a political struggle. Communist imperialism has been exploiting the peace-loving mind of the Vietnamese people. In this new attack, they hope to gain the victory which they have failed to win militarily for many years. Communist propagandists have mobilized all their resources to distort the true nature of the struggle that the Vietnamese people have been carrying on.

They are now trying to create misconceptions of the role of the Allied Forces in our struggle. In other words, the Communists are trying to take possession of the beacon of freedom, which never exists under Communist regimes. Because we have denied their acts of reprisal, except in the territory they control in the North, they hope to benefit from the political issue they have created by holding peace campaigns.

Despite these Communist efforts, I believe that the true nature of the struggle we wage is still recognized by all freedom-loving people and the public opinion of the world. The Vietnamese people know that the present effort aims at protecting the whole territory from the fanatic ambition of the Communist imperialists. Our actions, though they are military ones, remain those of indisputable self-defense. The Vietnamese are basically a peace-loving people. Historically, every Vietnamese has hated and loathed warfare. Yet, Vietnam also possesses a heroic tradition, manifested by our history of fighting to preserve intact the country of our ancestors. Due to this tradition, and to our concept of the supreme right of the nation — the right to live a humane and just life — the Vietnamese

also know when to fight, when to accept war as a means of survival and improvement. We know that destruction, death and suffering are some of war's effects. However, war has another result: it prevents the spread of such disasters.

This result is the goal of the Vietnamese and other peoples struggling against imperialist Communist aggression.

The people of Vietnam also see that due to the crucial position of their country, if the Communists win the war here, not only Southeast Asia, but the peace of the whole world will be seriously threatened. Recognizing the importance of the situation here, the Vietnamese have really accepted a most dangerous and painful challenge for the benefit of the whole human race. They obviously fight not only for their people's right to live, or for their country's future peace, but also for all mankind. For Vietnam is not the final aim of the Communists: it is merely part of the strategy they employ on the way to their final objective of conquering the world. Consequently, for many years the Vietnamese have been engaged in a war with a world Communist bloc, not with a regional Communist force. In an effort to prevent an awful disaster in our age, this country has played the role of a bastion protecting an immense rear, the free world.

I do not wish to request compensation from any country. I merely emphasize the facts.

I have often insisted that this age is one in which all countries of the world have a common mission — the prevention of disastrous Communist aggression. Playing the role of bastion for the free world, Vietnam just makes some contributions to that mission. Carrying on its task, it is merely bound by its obligations to humanity.

By this, I mean that our people carry on the struggle, not because of any concept of knighthood, but because of these feelings of responsibility.

Our people have proved their fidelity to the concept of responsibility. They promise to overcome all obstacles, to continue to



lead an international struggle for the existence of all humanity.

From now on, the Vietnamese people have the right to ask for the cooperation of all free nations in achieving the justice which is the aim of our fight.

Already, many countries have responded to our call. Their support, aid, and cooperation in all types of activity have contributed greatly to the success of the Vietnamese fight. For that precious assistance, they receive the gratitude of the Vietnamese people and all mankind. That precious contribution, however, could not change the true nature of the conflict in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese government and people use their concept of the war's character as the basis for all political solutions to re-establish peace in this part of the world. As we see it, the actual situation of Vietnam is summarized in three important points:

— First: The Republic of Vietnam has been a victim of Communist aggression, with Hanoi used as a spearhead of invasion.

— Second: The presence of the allied countries in Vietnam merely demonstrates the spirit of international cooperation, of sharing a common task — the fight against Communist aggression to preserve human peace.

— Third: The Vietnamese people have adopted democracy and will preserve it at any price.

A political solution will not respond to the legitimate aims of Vietnamese people and of all peace-loving peoples if it does not recognize these three important points.

All political solutions which do not respond to these points will destroy the spirit of international cooperation, and lead the common fight against Communist aggression to a disastrous defeat.

To solve the above points, the government and the people of Vietnam base all their moves toward peace on the following demands:

— Communist imperialism must stop all activities under any form against the Republic of Vietnam, because this war was started by the Communist imperialists with their strategy of aggression.

— Since the Republic of Vietnam has been a direct victim of their invasion, the Communist imperialists must deal directly with the government and the people of Vietnam about all items concerning our situation.

— Since the Vietnamese people have adopted democracy as the basis for all political activities and social organizations, the government and the people of Vietnam will never accept any Communist organization in our territories.

That position is the best one for the Vietnamese people to adopt in order to serve the supreme right of the nation.

That position also illustrates the Vietnamese people's promise to participate in the international anti-Communist mission.

That position is reaffirmed as an unchangeable position of the government and the people of Vietnam, a most logical, reasonable and just position.

All circumstances, all further challenges, will only arouse the Vietnamese people's firm determination to protect the above position and to demolish by force all aggressive intrigues of Communist imperialism.

I have just presented to you the main aspects of our situation: our choice of the ideal of freedom, our efforts to maintain that choice, and the basic stand that the Vietnamese people have adopted in order to solve the war by a political formula.

I hope that my presentation has given you an opportunity to understand thoroughly our country, as well as the crucial importance of a spirit of international cooperation during the current situation. The fate that has been oppressing Vietnam would be a standard one for every country in the world, were the Communist doctrine to spread there.

That fate is the suffering from war dangers, and a confused, upset condition of living which has to include more destruction than construction. That fate is the worry caused by a threat to enslave, to smash, to bring a dark future to a society that could lose its reasons for living: freedom, justice and happiness.

Certainly, no country in this world would like to suffer such an end. Certainly, no country in this world would refuse to help push back this menace. This correct understanding and logical demand have showed us the crucial importance of an international cooperative spirit since its most immediate effects will be the active and effective contributions to the struggle against the oppressions that the Communists have created in every nation.

I believe that with a firm resolve of international cooperation, we can easily succeed in building up a force capable of smashing any attempts from the Communist empire.

In other words, with international cooperation the right cause could be protected efficiently, justice would be carried out everywhere, and the ideal of freedom would certainly snatch the final victory and return happiness to mankind.

The formation of this World Anti-Communist League, of which you are representatives, expresses today's clear-sighted understanding of the necessity for international cooperation if mankind is to survive and progress.

I hope that in this second General Conference, the problems I have mentioned will be examined and solved by your intelligence, as well by the firm desire for victory that you have brought from all over the world into this Conference Room. I would also particularly remind you that you are at a front line of the international anti-Communist war. This hazard is not in vain, for you may realize clearly what is happening. Your presence here gives you facts, upon which you may base the best formula of resistance — such a formula was the main objective of your previous annual meeting.

I thank you for having given me an opportunity to express in words the just cause of the people of Vietnam, and I sincerely wish you success in the General Conference.

Again, through you I would like to send the warm salutations of the people of Vietnam to the fellow fighters and the freedom-loving people all over the world. At the same time, I would give to you and them our people's determined promise to continue till final success our fight for a right cause, justice, and happiness of mankind.

## **No Durable Peace Through Concessions**

*(Speech delivered by H. E. Tran Van Huong at the APACL Conference)*

This capital of Vietnam takes singular pride in its choice as the site of the World Anti-Communist League and Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League Conference.

I join the President of the Republic of Vietnam who addressed the opening session of the World Anti-Communist League Conference last Monday in conveying to you most warm and sincere greetings of the government and people of Vietnam.

Everybody is well aware that the situation in Vietnam has reached a crucial stage, perhaps its most decisive phase since the Communists launched their war of aggression against this country.

Your convening here, the activities of your conference, and above all the anti-Communist ideal that your League has championed in the past 14 years and is upholding with boundless perseverance and unwavering faith — all these provide encouragement and much confidence for our people in their struggle against aggression and fortify their resolve to solve the problems of war and attain restoration of peace.

More than anyone else you are conversant with the conditions and experience arising from a challenge to realise the true nature and extent of the impact of this devastating war.



The aggressor has always cloaked his nefarious design with such terms as “war of liberation” or “people’s war.”

The nearsighted and the highly gullible are prone to be deceived into thinking that this is internecine conflict, a sort of civil war involving people of the same blood. But you and I know it for what it really is, that is naked aggression by the Communist imperialists who seek to impose their dream of subjugation of not only 14 million South Vietnamese but also of Asia and the whole world.

This is not mere accusation or idle speculation but concrete fact proven by the policy of the aggressor.

Red China’s Lin Piao publicly declared three years ago that a special characteristic of the Chinese Revolution is to seize the rural areas to encircle the cities, finally occupy the cities and thus win victory throughout the country.

In outlining this strategy of world conquest, Lin Piao likened North America and Western Europe to the cities of the world and Asia, Africa, and South America to the rural areas in his analogy.

It is obvious that this war which our people are bravely shouldering constitutes one phase — perhaps the fiercest in the plan for world conquest by the Communist imperialists.

Once this bastion of the Republic of Vietnam falls into Communist hands, the free nations of Southeast Asia will one by one be threatened, invaded and finally subjugated.

As such free world nations in Europe and America cannot be sure that they shall be able to preserve their sovereignty and protect their people, let alone go to the rescue of their friends in Asia.

Awareness of these Communist goals constitutes in itself the initial step towards a wise solution of the Vietnamese problem since peace, a true peace, just and durable, cannot be brought about by the surrender of a nation, especially when that nation has sacrificed so much blood in one generation for the ideal of freedom.

Neither can peace be attained by concessions to the aggressor on the battlefield or the conference table.

The aggressor should return to his former position! This is the sole, minimum, logical and simplest approach to a solution of the Vietnam issue and a true peace settlement which the South Vietnamese have been longing for.

It is indeed heartbreaking for us Asians when we consider that here in Asia, the cradle of the greatest religions and virtues of mankind, we now see hundreds of millions of Asians oppressed, trampled by the iron heels of believers of the most despotic, atheistic, and inhuman doctrine that history has ever known.

It is also tragic that millions of other Asians, for instance the Vietnamese people, are once again being torn to pieces by the Communist dream of expansion.

Nevertheless, we are of the firm conviction that Asian philosophy and morals are still our sources of strength, enthusiasm, and hope for victory. With hard struggle and reconstruction efforts a free, peaceful and happy Asia shall once again emerge. I believe that you share with me this cherished thought, a desire that motivates all your endeavours. I sincerely wish your Conference greatest and most satisfactory success.

# Vietnam Is Determined To Fight Communism

*(Speech delivered by Dr. Phan Huy Quat, Chairman of the Conference, at the opening ceremony)*

At the First WACL Conference held in Taipei last year, we decided to hold the Second WACL Conference in Saigon in order to give you, honorable delegates from all parts of the world, an opportunity to see the Communists' crimes on the spot. At the same time, you may witness the immense sacrifices of the free world forces which support a small country in its struggle to maintain freedom and human dignity.

Such solidarity, such bravery, helped us repulse the enemies' final attacks and inflict great losses on them. The Hanoi killers, having sent thousands of their soldiers and cadres to an absurd death, finally had to attend the Paris peace talks, hoping to procure some advantage there that they could not win by force.

Because the Allied governments and the Republic of Vietnam always think of human happiness, they are ready to abandon their weapons if the Communists cease their aggression, terrorism and sabotage. With these tactics, the Communists have frustrated for years all kinds of progress in Vietnam and hindered our efforts to develop Southeast Asia.

It is a well-known fact that wars — and peace talks, as well — are extremely difficult and require enormous sacrifices. But the free world has demonstrated that no matter how harmful military force may be, it cannot destroy a country which has self-respect and determination to live in freedom.

As a result, military force will not suppress democratic movements initiated in Czecho-Slovakia. In their present situation, the Czech and the Slovak peoples cannot take up arms against half a million Russian soldiers and the satellite countries. Their passive resistance will not be crushed however — it will grow in coming years.

In fact, as we strive to improve the lives of all human beings Communism is becoming more and more outdated. After 50 years

of holding power in Russia and dominating one half of the world's population, the Communist party does not contribute to the happiness of mankind. Its sole success is the establishment of totalitarianism which, as world history shows, becomes increasingly stubborn, unjust and backward because the ruling authority is overextended.

The present Communist paradise is no longer an attractive image to the Russians themselves and above all to the satellite peoples. The billions of people living under the Communists' iron rule failed to match the progress of the free nations, which have become more and more prosperous. There is no doubt that today the peoples of the so-called socialist countries long for the conveniences of free societies. Their eager desire for enjoyment puts heavy pressure on the Communist regimes. Most of the free nations, on the other hand, do not have to face great difficulties during their socio-economic development programs.

For many years, the prosperous economies of the free nations have caused the Communists all over the world to lose their appeal to party members. All members of the free society have enjoyed comfortable living conditions within relatively relaxed systems of social discipline. Even in the so-called underdeveloped countries, the proletariat has acquired its basic privileges.

In addition, scientific and economic advances have transformed all economic values. Industrial production has increased day after day, surpassing agricultural production and giving the industrial workers an edge of comfort over the land owners. Therefore, Communist theories based on outdated economic values are not applicable to the present situation. Because of their futile efforts to match our economic and scientific progress, the so-called proletarian governments — not the free nations — have exploited the proletariat.



The rehabilitation of West Germany, Japan, and many other countries ruined by the Second World War, is eloquent proof that the dictatorial Communist regimes cannot bring happiness to humanity. West Germany, Italy, and Japan achieved tremendous successes in a relatively short time after they rejected dictatorial militaristic ideologies.

Therefore, events have proved that totalitarian doctrines are unsuited to human nature and will not permit constructive progress.

The 20th century has contributed many tremendous achievements to world history. One great invention of this century only leads to another. From now on, the rate of progress cannot decrease. Societies unable to improve themselves will only fall further and further behind.

Therefore, the main concern of responsible men today is to create favorable conditions corresponding to the level of the world's development. When science and economics are improving steadily, politicians have a duty to create more suitable social conditions.

The Communist authorities, by impeding the progress of the proletariat and the peoples under their control are indirectly influencing the progress of the whole world. It is an invisible but atrocious crime that cannot be forgiven by the next generations. The Communists have forced their people to export arms and political ideologies, while these people are in dire need of food and other necessities. Therefore, the social and economic gap between the Communist bloc and the free world is getting larger and larger. One day the situation will be impossible to correct, and some catastrophe will take place.

The last imperialism existing on earth today is Communist imperialism. But Communist authorities have not been able to utilize completely the abundant manpower and other resources of their enslaved societies. The structure of a Communist society does not encourage men to work hard

at even their daily chores, let alone other types of labor.

With the spectacular growth of the world population, even if the Communists have increased their aggression, they cannot progress as fast as the free world because the people who were enslaved by the Communists lost time being indoctrinated and making instruments of death rather than producing to create happiness.

The Iron Curtain and the Bamboo Curtain, while they hid the Communists' exploitation of mankind, could not stop all favorable images of the free world from penetrating. Consequently, the Czecho-Slovakian affair breaks out under other forms — man is always man, and his destiny concerns him more than any other thing.

The present world seems to have lost all resemblance to society in Karl Marx's time, and it is different from tsarist or Stalinist Russia. Therefore, all Communist ideologies will not permit progress. Fallacious opinions on man and society, the severe formula of the one party regime, and outmoded educational methods and propaganda are the most important obstacles to the development of peoples dominated by Communism.

We are living in a hopeful period for humanity. Unfortunately, the Vietnamese people have not yet had occasion to contribute to the enormous progress of the world because Communist aggression in the south of Vietnam has not ended.

Early this year, after 25 years of constant fighting against the Communists, the Vietnamese people defeated the Communists' desperate attack. This is proof that the Vietnamese people's resolve to fight against Communism has never slackened. The determined cooperation of the free world, the sacrifices of the Vietnamese and Allied forces, have harvested encouraging results.

After their fruitless invasion of Korea, the Communists will learn a bitter lesson in Vietnam. We hope that this Communist aggression will be the last one.

Defeating Communism in the last battle is a great honor for our country.

## Necessity Of A Vietnam Strategy

In the olden days, when war was still the monopolistic concern of emperors and kings and a small number of captains with political ambitions, strategy enjoyed an incomparable reputation as a science. It was considered as an essential instrument of victory or the very cause of defeat in all military conflicts.

Against this context, one easily understands why the name of Karl von Clausewitz (1780—1831) became a household word, and Sun-tze's grew to be venerated in both East and West. Also against this context, one appreciates why Liu Pei, one of the scions of the famed Han dynasty, humbled himself three times to win the services of Kwon Ming, the most remarkable strategic mind of the Three Kingdoms period.

With the great scientific strides made by man in the past hundred years, however, the nature of war itself appears to have changed. Instead of a confrontation of wills, it seems to have grown into a contest basically involving such material means as in-

dustrial capabilities, production of weapons, and others. In the present day, war also has become total in character, encompassing all aspects of a nation's life and bringing about a radical change in principles guiding its conduct.

On the basis of history-making developments in the recent past, one can say that such notions as military doctrines, strategies and tactics have given way to technical inventions and scientific discoveries as potential solutions to the problems created by the state of war. Contemporary history includes many examples pointing to the bankruptcy of strategy as the primary war-winning factor.

It is my view that France defeated Germany in World War I *not* because of a better strategy and, thus, its strategically inexplicable victory over the German armies in 1918 includes the very seeds of its debacle twenty years later. I am also of the opinion that the Anglo-U.S. Alliance of the early forties, after saving Western civilization from the prospects of a new



*At the opening ceremonies of the Second WACL Conference. First row, l. to r.: House Speaker Nguyen Ba Luong, Senate Chairman Nguyen Van Huyen, Pres. Thieu, Supreme Court President Tran Van Linh and Prime Minister Tran Van Huong. Second row, l. to r.: Dr. Phan Huy Quat, the newly elected Chairman of the WACL, and Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, the outgoing Chairman.*



Dark Age made more protracted and terrible by novel scientific inventions, forfeited one third of mankind to Communism in the decade following V-Day simply because of the non-existence of a proper strategy.

Let me also tell you of my view that the Korea and Indochina wars ended in conditions unfavourable for the Free World simply because it did not have a proper global strategy to counter the new perils engendered by that of the Communists, which is based on "revolutionary" wars and "limited" conflicts.

In the case of the present Vietnam crisis, too, the many great difficulties encountered by the forces of freedom should not be traced to our lack of manpower or material resources or to our unwillingness to endure hardship. They should instead be attributed to the absence of a doctrine that should encompass, as the enemy's does, all fields of activities — political, military, economic and diplomatic — out of which a proper military strategy may be developed.

It is a matter of course that if such a strategy could be devised, the initiative would be ours in all respects, and one of its natural consequences would be the reduction of the enemy to the defensive and the limitation of his freedom of action. But before I may venture a few ideas on the proper strategy to be adopted for the Vietnam conflict, let us first have a look at the various strategic tenets that were developed and formulated through the ages, and some of the main points of the most important and lasting doctrines.

In the words of nineteenth-century author Karl von Clausewitz "Strategy is the art of making use of a nation's military capabilities to realize its political objectives." Many years later, in 1939, an English military student by the name of Liddell Hart and a French writer by the name of Raymond Aron also gave similar definitions.

In my opinion, such a definition is rather narrow in scope as it gives too much importance to the purely military aspects of a conflict and too little consideration to what Napoleon Bonaparte (1768—1821) referred to as the "sacred part" of strategy.

Without this, strategy would be nothing but the totality of war techniques at a given time and, thus, would include such immovable rules as may be applicable to any army, anywhere and at any time. If such is the case, there cannot be more than a strategy. Indeed, strategy cannot be so very simple.

Before going any further, let me try first to define strategy as *the art of influencing the outcome of a conflict of wills, especially through the use of force*. It thus ensues that any strategy should be made up of three separate parts: (a) the planned objective, (b) the means available for its realization, and (c) the plan according to which the said means are used for its attainment.

In the course of the long history of human conflicts, there have been devised many strategies and strategic doctrines. I shall not mention them all, though. What, I think, is of interest to us at the present moment is the strategic approach the Communists have been using — rather successfully — in their avowed conquest of the world.

Communist theoreticians are, of course, many. But leading them all are Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov alias Lenin and Josef Vissarionovich Dzhughashvili alias Stalin. Both men were known to consider revolutionary wars as the principal means of realization of their global objectives and they have proposed the three following concepts: unity among the people and armed forces, primary importance of the rear, and psychological preparation before any military action of importance.

The first of these principles has had its clearest reflection in the war opposing the Communist and Nationalist forces over 20 years ago on the Chinese mainland. In other revolutionary wars, which take place in smaller geographical contexts, the second principle is of the greatest importance. A winning counter strategy must therefore include measures to eliminate base areas, as they are havens where Communist troops may rest and recuperate to prepare their next moves under the safest conditions. So far as the psychological preparation is concerned, it should be noted that this is

nothing new as it has been implemented by the armed forces of every country, but the Communists have on the whole attached more importance to the practice than non-Communist countries.

China's Mao Tse-tung was to expand and adapt these principles to the particular conditions of Asian and African countries in the late forties and fifties. Through his many writings, Mao proposes six principles: withdraw when the enemy advances, attack when the enemy withdraws, strategy of the few against the many, tactics of the many against the few, live on the enemy's supply, and let the army live among the people as fish in water.

But, still in Mao's view, one of the prerequisites for a successful prosecution of revolutionary wars is the ability of the leaders to mobilize the people politically. Said he: "What is political mobilization? Political mobilization of the masses requires that the people and the armed forces are well aware of the political objectives of the struggle. Each and every soldier and citizen must fully grasp the necessity of prosecuting the war effort and how it affects him personally."

It thus is evident that Mao pays great attention to the problem of mobilization of the masses, allying the masses closely with the armed forces and using man as the main instrument of struggle. Lin Piao was to develop the Maoist theory and use it as the main principle guiding the conduct of the many wars Communist China has been a party to.

Lin is not exactly a military strategist as his contribution to martial literature consists merely of interpretative articles of Mao's thoughts, especially since the Chinese Communist leader stopped writing on military affairs in 1941. As Minister of Defense, however, Lin once sketched Peking's strategy in a long newspaper article that stressed the importance of the following principles: unity among the people and the armed forces, and encirclement of the townships by the countryside.

In the Vietnam war, the insurgents have constantly tried to apply Lin's principles.

Thus, if we are to resist them successfully, we have to give careful consideration to these two strategy points in our attempt to devise a proper counter-insurgency approach.

Against Mao's and Lin's strategic thoughts, military leaders the free world over, it must be said, have not come up with anything effective enough to counteract them. What are known as gradual dissuasion and flexible response have proved to be inadequate and their deficiencies have led to many limited conflicts. Such conflicts as the wars in Korea, Indochina, North Africa, the Middle East, and the Congo, and such crises as the ones in Hungary, Cuba, and Berlin, are more than adequate proof that these deficiencies may very well gradually erode the military posture of the free world and tip the balance in favour of the Communists.

Indeed, for nearly a quarter of a century, the Moscow-Peking axis has been rather successful in nibbling away at the free nations of the world. In their effort to enslave mankind, they have consistently refused to directly challenge the U.S. but have tried with different degrees of success to convert wars of independence into anti-American struggles. For whoever knows that this indirect strategy has been instrumental in the elimination of the West from continental China and a considerable part of Southeast Asia, and also should be viewed as the cause of so many of the free world's headaches in the Middle East, Latin America, and Vietnam, its efficiency seems beyond question.

At the base of this indirect strategy is the idea of establishing a security margin and of attempting to enlarge that margin while trying to reduce that of the enemy. The larger this security margin, also called freedom of action or initiative, the more varied the tactics one may employ. Let us look at the Vietnam conflict and the security margin enjoyed by Washington and Hanoi respectively.

For many years, the U.S. has had but two choices: either to continue to fight with self-imposed restraints or half-heartedly as it is now doing, or bring the war to North



Vietnam and be ready for a much broader conflict that may lead to World War III. Meantime, North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam may assault the American Embassy in Saigon, encircle Khe-sanh, attack South Vietnamese cities, mine such internationally frequented waterways as the River of Saigon, pound at merchant ships, raid and mortar hospitals, murder hundreds of innocent civilians, and kidnap third country nationals, without precipitating a decisive counterblow.

Why is that so? An answer to the question may be found in the very nature of the Communist strategy, which is one encompassing the entire world and whose success or failure definitely depends on certain external and internal factors.

Vis-a-vis the outside world, the Communists resort to all forms of peaceful struggle. For whoever may not be convinced of their effectiveness, a quick look at present-day America and the immense domestic problems created by the Vietnam war, would be enough to make him revise his opinion. Communist agents the world over have repeatedly appealed to the American people not to support "this dirty war" and by doing so, they have been rather successful in giving the average American a complex of guilt that has its clearest reflections in anti-war movements and the number of U.S. draft-dodgers.

In addition to the above, international public opinion has also been maneuvered to create as many difficulties as possible for the American administration within the U.S. through what may be called the political and psychological front. This, as a rule, takes the form of continued psychological warfare actions that aim at the erosion of popular confidence in Washington in the handling of the simplest domestic development which ostensibly has nothing to do with the Vietnam conflict.

In the implementation of the indirect strategies, however, the real decision is sought more often than not at the level of the local conflict where three decisive elements are clearly distinguished: material

capabilities, moral strength, and duration of the fighting period.

If one's material strength should exceed that of the enemy to a considerable extent, the other two factors need not be substantial. If not, one should be well motivated and prepared for a long struggle. These factors influenced Russian strategy in Czecho-Slovakia and in Korea but results varied greatly from one case to the other because the U.S. reacted differently in each instance.

In so-called revolutionary wars, the rebels, as a rule, do not have strong military means. They, therefore, have to think of their struggle in terms of years and decades, hoping to demoralize their opponents. In this context, it seems only a matter of course that such a conflict always is fought on two equally important planes: the military plane and the psychological plane.

In the present situation in Vietnam, all these elements are clearly in evidence. The lowering morale of the Communist troops, which was very high in the early years of the insurrection, is being offset by an increasing reliance on material means. And although the Hanoi leadership still speak of continuing the fight for another decade or two, indications are many pointing to their desire to reach a decision much earlier than the end of this century.

With all of these points in mind, I have sketched a Vietnam strategy that does not claim to be the only one possible at this time. For all its imperfections, let me enumerate its main points before setting to the task of discussing its merits and limitations. This strategy, which I would call one of isolation, includes seven steps:

- (1) Separation of the guerrillas from the local population so that their infrastructure may be eliminated;
- (2) Isolation of the local and regional troops from Main Force units so that they may not rely on one another and be more easily destroyed;
- (3) Neutralization of in-country base areas;
- (4) Neutralization of base areas in neighboring countries;
- (5) Establishment of an anti-infiltration barrier along the 17th Parallel from Dong-ha to Savannakhet;
- (6) Separation of the enemy's front and his rear by

an amphibious landing in the area of Vinh or Ha-tinh; (7) Formulation of a Thai-Lao-Viet-Khmer alliance.

Most of the measures enumerated are purely military in character and cannot be expected to solve the Vietnamese problem entirely. Prior to discussing them in detail, let me once again emphasize the total character of this our conflict, for the solution of which there must be a set of social, economic, and political measures likely to strengthen our military position and consolidate our gains on the battlefield.

At the base of the Strategy of Isolation should be our unmitigated adherence to the principle of service to the people. Only if the average person is convinced of the government's good intentions, can he be expected to keep away from the Communists, thus depriving them of the opportunity to live among the people as fish in water. Only then can the legitimate administration succeed in eradicating the Communist infrastructure in the villages and, in so doing, wreck the enemy's strategy of encirclement of the urban areas by the countryside.

In order to isolate the enemy from the people, the administration must constantly make a many-pronged effort which should not only result in better security and well-being for the masses but also must seek their approval and allegiance, thereby reducing popular grievances and depriving the insurgents of the condition *sine qua non* for fostering subversive warfare in hiding among a discontented people. At this point, I should like to recall the observations of a French writer by the name of Roger Trinquier, author of *La Guerre Moderne* (Modern Warfare), where he shows himself to be a very shrewd observer of military developments in modern times. Trinquier suggests among other things that the problem of revolutionary wars can only be solved by meeting the people's aspirations with the help of a system of cadres imbued with the spirit of public service.

Before going further, let me once more go back to Lin Piao's principle of encirclement of the townships by the countryside,

which, I think, is the basis of the Communists' global strategy as well as the one they follow in limited conflicts. Possibly the single exception, which confirms the general rule, is their *Tet* assault on the cities of South Vietnam but they might have embarked on that road with the hope of gaining control of the countryside as a bonus payment for their bold attacks on the cities.

Against such a strategy, ours also should place the emphasis on the countryside. We Vietnamese should devote all our time, energy and resources to the revolutionary development program so as to liberate the countryside. In this undertaking, the Malaysian experiment can supply us with many valuable lessons. Like the Kuala Lumpur government, ours should not shirk from strong measures, especially when these constitute the only answer to the difficult problem of population control, without which nothing may be undertaken to improve their standard of living and make them positively loyal to the Republic.

Militarily, however, the liberation of the countryside is inadequate as a counter-insurgency measure. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Communist military strategy is one combining guerrilla and classical warfare, using local troops for small harassing actions and large units infiltrated from North Vietnam for their major operations. If those forces should be permitted to complement one another, the Vietnam conflict may last for a very long time, indeed.

For this reason, if we should simply work toward the elimination of guerrilla elements without containing the flow of infiltrators, the result would not be hard to predict. Infiltration from North Vietnam must be checked completely if the Communist threat is to be brought under control in the South. It is my view that air raids over North Vietnam cannot completely interdict the constant flow of arms and men into South Vietnam. Something else must be attempted.

Let us now look at a map of Asia and consider the geographical position of the Philippines, Malaysia, and the Republic of



Korea, which at one point or another in their recent histories, have been faced with a Communist-sponsored insurrection. These countries are either archipelagoes or peninsulas connected to the Asian continent by a narrow neck of land. As Communist infiltration naturally came from the sea, the anti-infiltration task was made much easier than in Vietnam.

In the case of our country, which has a long land frontier to the West as well as an equally extensive coastline to the East, there are many natural sea and land corridors of infiltration, through which the Communists have been able to carry the materials of war to their South Vietnamese acolytes much more easily than to their comrades in Korea, the Philippines and Malaysia.

After trying many formulas to curb North Vietnamese infiltration, the allies have found none to be adequate. It is my view that a barrier cutting through all the main corridors of infiltration should be established South of the 17th Parallel, going from Dong-ha in Quang-tri Province to the Laotian city of Savannakhet on the Lao-Thai border. Let me also tell you that this defensive system should not be a Maginot or Siegfried-type line or a curtain of barbed wire. Rather, it should be a system of operational bases manned by about three divisions of troops, whose task would be to eliminate Communist elements presently warring in Southern Laos and threatening South Vietnam and Thailand.

This project of a barrier, however, would not be welcomed by the neutralist government of Laos as it can be construed as a violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreement. Should the difficulties encountered in this undertaking be insurmountable, the allies in Vietnam would have yet another option: an invasion of the southern panhandle of North Vietnam.

Of course, as the Republic of Vietnam does not nurture any territorial ambition, such an action would not result in the occupation of North Vietnamese land. The landing of troops North of the present demarcation line between the two Vietnams

should simply aim at imposing a solution on Hanoi.

If this option were to be selected, the landing could be made just north of the 18 Parallel and south of the Song-ca river, in the area of Ben-thuy from where allied troops could push through to Linh-cam and Nape or from Linh-cam to the Mu-gia Pass, where the enemy is known to concentrate his troops for the southward march. In short, the plan would secure the occupation of the general area where the Ho Chi Minh trail begins, thus interdicting Communist infiltration at its very source. Such a plan would probably be feasible with the deployment of three infantry divisions and two armored divisions.

The suggested course of action would perforce be construed as a violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam but the time may come when consideration of such subtleties of international law will have to give way to the requirements of the battlefield, especially if the truth should dawn on policy-makers in allied countries that limits imposed on military commanders may forever deprive them of the victory they deserve.

However, with or without such an approach to a solution to the problem of war in Vietnam, the security of Indochina in the years to come can only be assured by a combination of military and political measures that should ultimately result in a Thai-Lao-Viet-Khmer alliance. Such an alliance will sooner or later come into being, for all these Indochinese states are presently threatened by Communist imperialism, and regardless of their political systems, will some day recognize that a united front is the only effective course to counter Hanoi's aggression.

In other words, the Thai-Lao-Viet-Khmer alliance is a strategic measure that could put an end to North Vietnam's territorial and ideological ambitions by isolating the Hanoi *régime* from its local Communist henchmen. South Asian stability will then be on much safer ground and the Chinese threat much less serious.

Let me reiterate that the present Vietnam

conflict is total in character, that it demands a solution which should not only be politico-military but also should not neglect such other aspects as diplomacy, culture, education and economy. The war in Vietnam has lasted long enough to convince us that a totally new approach should be devised to successfully counter the Communist danger. Successful we must be, for otherwise there will be more Vietnams in the years to come. The current disturbances in Thailand constitute, I think, the most eloquent proof that the Reds have not in any way abandoned their final aim of world conquest — in spite of their loud protests of adherence to the notion of co-existence.

So long as poverty prevails in the world, Communist agents can easily start subversive wars and so long as there is a big difference between have and have-not nations, Lin Piao's "encirclement of the townships by the countryside" still stands the chance of leading Communism to a global victory. For, on a global plane, "the townships" are the industrial nations of Europe and North America and "the countryside" con-

sists of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. World domination by Peking, thus, is a definite possibility we have to counter at any cost.

The free world, just in order to survive, should demonstrate unity and determination. United, we are very strong, and determined to be free, we will remain free. But we have to close ranks *now* and stop bickering among ourselves for petty causes. A united front is our sole road to salvation, for we must remember that the enemy is still pretty much alive and waiting for a propitious moment to strike what may be the *coup de grâce* for our cherished liberty.

If we are united, it will not be very difficult to devise an effective global strategy to counter the Communist peril. It is my humble view that anti-Communist fighters should drive this point home to their governments and peoples, for realization of this verity is the prerequisite for the crystallization of an anti-Communist strategy that may contain the Reds and convince them of the necessity to leave free nations alone.



*President Nguyen Van Thieu and Dr. Ku Cheng-kang chatting with ABN delegates.*



*Yaroslav Stetsko*

## **Revolutions Versus Nuclear War**

*(Report at the Second WACL Conference)*

I have the honour to represent the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Liberation Movement. The ABN is an international organization set up to coordinate the struggle for liberation of all the nations enslaved by Russia and Communist regimes.

Our aim is dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, otherwise known as the Soviet Union, into fully independent nation states in their ethnic boundaries.

Our aim is also restoration of national independence to all the nations in Communist-dominated states including Yugoslavia and the CSSR, as well as reunification, in freedom, of all forcibly divided countries — Germany, Vietnam, Korea and the liberation of mainland China.

The way to achieve our aim lies in supporting coordinated and simultaneous revolutions against Russian and Communist domination in all our subjugated countries.

In a period of nuclear stalemate Russia has found a successful method of expansion by means of subversion and partisan warfare in the free countries. We believe the time has come to turn the tables on Russia. Revolutions in the Communist Russian empire are alone capable of averting a nuclear war in the future, for Russia is bent on world domination.

The only remaining empire, and the worst in history, is the Russian empire, and Communism is its offspring. There is no justification for its preservation and its appeasement. The nations oppressed by it demand its liquidation and their freedom and independence.

We call on the leaders of the free world and the public opinion to condemn Russian imperialism and Communist tyranny, and to work, together with us, for their abolition, and for the realization of human rights and national independence of all presently oppressed peoples.

The suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 by the Russian army, the suppression of revolts of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Baltic, Caucasian and Turk-estanian prisoners in concentration camps in 1953—1959, mass strikes and demonstrations of workers and young people in Ukraine, the Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Turkestan not only against the social but primarily against the national enslavement in 1959—1968, the persecution in all countries enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism of the young intellectual elite, which is fighting for national independence and for the rights of man, the brutal Russian invasion of CSSR, Communist aggression against South Vietnam, the danger to South Korea, as well as the Middle East, when the Mediterranean is beginning to be dominated by the Russian fleet, the Communist disturbances in the countries of Western Europe and Latin America, the provocation of racial unrest in the United States and the rousing of the indignation of students are all first-hand examples to prove that the policy of so-called peaceful coexistence is a complete failure. The Russian empire is expanding while the West has not only found itself on the defensive but is retreating.

We strongly condemn the ruthless Russian invasion of Czech and Slovak soil and support the fight of the Czech and Slovak nations for their independent states and human rights.

We appeal to the free world to assume an offensive attitude, to support with arms if necessary, the national liberation revolutions of peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, so as to topple from within, the Russian empire and the Communist system. Let's re-establish national independent and democratic states of all enslaved nations.

We bow our heads before the heroic Vietnamese people who are fighting for their independence and unification in freedom. We pay tribute to their fallen heroes.

The Vietnamese people are fighting not only for their freedom and independence but here in Saigon the freedom and independence of free nations and the dignity and rights of mankind are also being defended!

We are warning the free world, especially the United States against a compromise with the Communists for this will be a capitulation before tyrants, before inherent evil!

We remind the free world that its freedom is being defended by the blood and sufferings of the enslaved nations.

The key to the solution of the world political crisis lies in the liberation struggle of the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism!

They are the Achilles' heel of the Russian prison of nations and of the Communist system!

Whoever helps us is helping himself!



*Mr. Y. Stetsko at the WACL Conference.*

#### **WACL Message To The People & Armed Forces of Vietnam**

The Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League conveys greetings to the people of the Republic of Vietnam.

With humble respect for your undaunted courage and long endurance we give our unqualified assurance of our support and prayers for final victory in your struggle for the preservation of freedom, independence and democracy.

Your fight means more than the salvation of one land of gallant people. In holding back the unrelenting Communist drive towards world domination you are giving protection from a loss of freedom and experience of terrorism to neighboring nations. Your determination continues to be an inspiration around the world.

May your beloved country be freed from the tyranny and terror of Communist aggression, so that the people of the Republic of Vietnam may live in prosperity, liberty and peace.



## The Communist And The Anti-Communist Movement In Japan

### 1) *The Strength of the Communist Party in Japan*

According to the "World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations, 20th Annual Report, 1968 Edition, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, USA", the Japanese Communist Party is the third largest in the free world. The Communist parties in the free countries whose members number more than 10,000 are as follows:

Italy	1,531,000
France	275,000
Japan	250,000*
Indonesia (illegal)	150,000
India	125,000
Argentina (illegal)	60,000
Finland	49,000
United Kingdom	32,562
Chile	32,500
Sweden	29,000
Austria	27,500
Greece (illegal)	27,000
Uruguay	21,000
Brazil (illegal)	20,000
Cyprus	13,000
USA	12,000**
Netherlands	11,500

\*On April 9, 1968 the Communist Party publicly said its members are 300,000, but generally it is considered an exaggeration. A Japanese authority estimated its members as 240,000 as of June 30, 1968.

\*\*As published at its conference on February 23, 1966.

The Japanese Communist Party, however, is insignificant as a parliamentary party. So far as the Japanese Communist Party proper is concerned, it has only a few seats in both houses.

The real strength of the Communist Party in Japan is to be found in the fact that the Japanese Socialist Party, the second largest party, is essentially Communist. The Japanese Socialist Party is not

socialist in European usage but shall be deemed Communist for the following reasons:

1) It (JSP) publicly adores Communist countries and believes with pleasure in the Communist domination of the whole world ("Road to Socialism in Japan", p. 9).

2) It repeatedly declares: "American imperialism is the enemy of whole nations". In Red China it declares: "American imperialism is the enemy of China and Japan".

3) It opposes Japan-US Security Treaty and Self-Defense Force in the supposition that Soviet Russia and Red China are peace-loving and will never attack Japan. We guess, however, that this is an intrigue to invite armed help from Communist countries to seize power in Japan.

4) Although it denies revolution by violence and intends to take power by parliamentary majority (the Japanese Communist Party also denies revolution by violence officially; otherwise it would be punished and dissolved) most of the staff are Marxist and believe in revolution by violence and the party supports the violence of the "Zengakuren" and labour unions in an anti-American movement in cooperation with the Communists.

5) Although it intends to seize power by election, after it gets to power it will not allow an opposition party. It believes in a one party dictatorship (above-mentioned book, pp. 81-82).

6) It considers a welfare state a means of prolonging capitalism; it does not take it as an approach to socialism as all socialist parties in Europe do.

7) As mentioned above, JSP is completely different from the Labour and Socialist International. Therefore it could not send delegates to the Oslo Conference

in 1962. It was almost expelled from the Labour and Socialist International.

8) Its main supporting trade union "Sohyo" is practically affiliated to the WFTU, exchanging guest delegates with it. It does not exchange guest delegates with the LCFTU.

9) In conclusion, JSP is a second Communist Party, although it denies being Communist. This is just a policy or strategy, for Communism is generally unpopular in Japan.

Therefore, if we consider the Japanese Socialist Party essentially Communist, the Communist Party in Japan is the largest one of all the non-Communist countries. According to the source mentioned above, the Communist parties in the free countries which have more than 10 seats in the main house of diet are as follows:

<i>Seats in the Main House of Diet</i>		<i>Percentage</i>	
Japan Communist	5		
Socialist	137		
Total	142	31 %	
Italy	177	28 %	(1968)
Finland	41	20.5 %	
Chile	23	12 %	
India	42	8,2 %	
France	34	7 %	(1968)

### *II Ascent and Descent of the Japanese Socialist Party*

Improving strength of the Communists and Socialists reached a climax when on April 15, 1967 a well-known Marxist, former professor Minobe, being supported by the Socialists and Communists, was elected Governor of the Tokyo Metropolitan District. We feared that in the near future a Marxist supported by Socialists and Communists may be elected Prime Minister. But recently the Socialist and Communist platform to nullify the Japan-US Security Treaty together with the abolition of Self-Defense Force became unpopular for it was considered to be an illusory daydream. This unpopularity resulted in defeat in recent election to the house of concillors held on July 9, 1968, when JSP lost eight seats and its percentage

of votes decreased from 23.4 % (1965) to 19.8 %, in local constituency and from 32 % (1965) to 29.3 % in national constituency. The Soviet Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia gave a strong impression to the general public that Communist countries are aggressive and it is very dangerous to cancel the Japan-US Treaty and abolish the Self-Defense Force. It is generally supposed that in the coming general election of the House of Commons, which is supposed to be held some time in 1969, the JSP will lose still more votes. Therefore for the time being we are sure that Japan will remain in the free camp.

### *III Anti-Communist Organizations in Japan*

There are many anti-Communist organizations in Japan. All are trying very hard to disprove the treacherous propaganda of the Communists and Socialists that abolition of Japan-US Security Treaty and the Self-Defense Armament, that is neutrality with no armament, is the best way for peace of Japan. There is no doubt that recent decline of the Japanese Socialist Party is the result of such counter propaganda of anti-Communist organizations. Very fortunately for us, the Soviet Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia indicated that what they (Socialists and Communists) said is wrong and what we (the anti-Communists) said is right. And with but a few exceptions, the Socialists and Communists could not help but criticize the Soviet Russian action. Our counter propaganda became very strong and popular. We are sure that the Communists and Socialists will lose their strength in the coming election.

The anti-Communist movement in Japan, however, has a few defects. First, cooperation among various organizations is not sufficient. They lack unity of thought for many of them are ultra nationalist and supported the Pacific War. Some of them often resort to violence. We (Free Asia Association, Japan Chapter of WACL and APACL) cannot cooperate with them. We strogly support freedom and democracy and our staff opposed the Pacific War.



The second defect of anti-Communist organizations is that all of them are very poor, as compared with the Socialists and Communists. The Socialists and Communists have large resources given to them by trade union which are very rich because they are strongly protected by legislation imposed by the US occupation force and the Communist countries. Business circles, which naturally are our allies, are not generous enough for various reasons. Furthermore those who trade with Red China are obliged to give contributions to the Communist Party.

Almost every anti-Communist organization has its own organ, but the circulation is not big enough. The third, almost fatal defect is that big newspapers, radio, universities and trade unions have been infiltrated by Marxists or Communists for many years. We are trying very hard to criticize them with some good results. The moral support of APACL and WACL will be the most effective help for us. If the USA participated in the WACL and the WACL held its conference in the USA, it would raise the prestige of WACL and would give great moral support to us.

#### *IV Activities of Japan Chapter of WACL and APACL*

Japan Chapter of WACL and APACL and the Free Asia Association are different sides of the same organization. It cooperates with foreign anti-Communist organizations in the name of WACL and APACL, attending conferences, receiving visitors, holding lectures, and publishing reports. All internal anti-Communist activities are conducted in the name of the Free Asia Association. It publishes a monthly organ *Free World* (between 126 und 192 pages); about 2,000 copies are sent to annual subscribers and 1,000 are sold in book shops. It criticizes Communism, the Japanese Socialist Party, pro-Communist mass communications media, especially the *Asahi* newspaper. It reviews national and world affairs from our angle. Last year and this year we published several thousand leaflets condemning the Japanese Socialist Party and the *Asahi* newspaper. We send a letter to all firms who advertize in *Asahi* persuading them not to advertize in *Asahi* as long as it is pro-Communist. We met with the management of *Asahi* and criticized its pro-Communist attitude. They



*ABN delegates with WACL representatives. From left to right: Mr. A. Olechnik, Dr. A. Horm, Mrs. S. Stetsko, Mr. Y. Stetsko, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Dr. L. Dobriansky, Dr. Phan Huy Quat, Prof. J. Kitaoka, Mr. W. Chopiowskyj.*

be fair and impartial; if there were any pro-Communist news or accounts it is their replied to the effect that they are trying to fault or limit of control, for newspapers are always very quick in writing and printing; they will do their best to keep the paper fair and impartial. And since then we have noticed that Asahi has become some-what fairer and more impartial. Recently it condemned the Soviet Russian

invasion of Czecho-Slovakia and the violent actions of "Zengakuren" in the most severe words. I feel that if the Japanese Socialist Party and the "Zengakuren" lose popularity it can be ascribed to our efforts to some extent.

We are very sorry that we cannot publish an English edition of our organ the *Free World* mainly due to our financial condition.

### Ukrainian Memorandums To Human Rights Conference

*On May 2, 1968, the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., New York, submitted to H. E. Oshzaf Pahlevi, President of U.N. International Human Rights Conference, Teheran, Iran a memorandum calling upon the conference to make every effort to influence the government of the U.S.S.R. to stop needless arrests of Ukrainian citizens, deportations, religious persecutions; to abolish slave labor and concentration camps; to release and return home all political prisoners and deportees.*

*"As a step in this direction, we suggest that a special United Nations Committee be created to investigate the violations of Human Rights in Ukraine by Russia, including the living conditions of political prisoners in concentration camps. Also, that strong demands be made for a truly free election in Ukraine, under the supervision of the United Nations. For only by establishing a sovereign Ukrainian State can all Ukrainian citizens achieve and be guaranteed the Human Rights that this Conference is talking about."*

*U.N. International Human Rights Conference  
Teheran, Iran*

*It is no secret that Ukraine was incorporated into the U.S.S.R. by brutal force and is a captive nation under the Russian colonial system. Human Rights for Ukrainians are denied.*

*On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of Human Rights for all peoples of the world as guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations, we the members of Ukrainian Branch of American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Chicago on behalf of millions of Ukrainians in the homeland (Ukraine) are appealing to all members of the Conference on Human Rights to prevail upon Soviet Russian government which sponsored and signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to stop arresting Ukrainians, to stop deportation, to stop persecution of religious practice, to stop Russification, to abolish slave labor and concentration camps, to release and return home all Ukrainian and all other political prisoners.*

*It is imperative that free elections be held in Ukraine under the supervision of the United Nations in order to establish a sovereign State of Ukraine where Human Rights for all will be guaranteed.*

*Mr. Semen Hryhorkiw,  
Secretary*

*Most sincerely,  
Mrs. Ulana Celewych,  
Chairman*



## Resolutions Passed By The Second WACL Conference

*(Saigon 16—18 December, 1968)*

### Support To The Republic Of Vietnam At The Paris Talks

Since the Republic of Vietnam now fighting in self-defense has taken the only logical and honorable position that any self-respecting nation could possibly take at the Paris negotiations in dealing with transgressors of human and divine laws;

And in view of past experiences the Communists from North Vietnam and their Vietnam will decide the freedom of not only the Vietnamese people, but also that of the people in many other nations of Southeast Asia and in other parts of the world, therefore any concessions intended to appease the Communist aggressors will endanger the Free World by bolstering their agents to absorb one by one the free countries.

And in view of past experiences the Communist from North Vietnam and their sinister terrorists, the so-called "National Liberation Front", will continue to make use of the negotiations in Paris as an instrument of propaganda, to regain what they have lost in battle and to distract world attention from their insidious heightening of the tempo of war, terror and infiltration in the long embattled land of the Republic of Vietnam;

And in view of the long Communist record of duplicity, evasion and hypocrisy as evidenced at Panmunjon, Korea during the last 14 years, while it is the hope of many people in the world that much should be accomplished, damage can be done to the cause of lasting peace and freedom by any concessions at the Paris talks;

And in view of the fact that history attests that the only language Communists can understand is firmness and that Communist forces are only effective when they take the offensive and never when they are on the defensive;

And in view of the fact that the war in Vietnam originated in the armed aggression of Communist North Vietnam, abetted and supported by the Chinese Communists, the Soviet Russians and other Communists peace in Vietnam can only materialize through the complete cessation of Communist aggression from the North;

Therefore be it resolved that:

1. The World Anti-Communist League now assembled at its Second Conference in the very nation which has suffered such inhuman and merciless carnage at the hands of Ho Chi Minh give unequivocal support to the firm and undaunted stand of the Republic of Vietnam which has rightly refused to be intimidated by the treacherous Communists despite tremendous pressures from outside forces;

2. The World Anti-Communist League firmly support the determination of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam never to yield an inch at the Paris talks and, in the full light of the tragic experiences of East European countries, never to accept the formation of a coalition government with the so-called "National Liberation Front", the creation and tool of Communist North Vietnam, as a price for expedient peace which at best can be short lived;

3. The World Anti-Communist League strongly urge the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and its allies never to let the criminal hordes of the so-called

“National Liberation Front” be represented as a separate entity at the conference table in Paris;

4. The World Anti-Communist League pledge every support to the democratically elected Government of the Republic of Vietnam in its negotiations from a rightful position of strength, so that as the aggrieved party it can successfully demand an immediate withdrawal of Ho Chi Minh’s troops and agents from its bloodied, ravaged soil;

5. The World Anti-Communist League also urge that every effort be made to secure from the free world substantive guarantees for a lasting peace and freedom in order that the Republic of Vietnam will be able to develop its total potentiality and carve its own destiny in consonance with the best and true principles of democracy and self-determination, for which incalculable sacrifices have already been made by the people and armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam and its allies.



*President of the Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Van Thieu (center), with ABN President (left) and WACL Chairman (right).*

#### **Stop Policy Of Appeasement And Conciliation With Communist Regimes**

Whereas it has become evident that under the influence of Communist-inspired liberals, the American spine of resistance against Communism has softened in the past decade even to the extent of sacrificing American lives and treasure in half-hearted wars with the Communist world;

Whereas the No-Win Policy of America, together with her naive belief in “building bridges to the Communist countries”, has proven ineffective and unrealistic since it was painfully jolted by the ruthless invasion of Czecho-Slovakia by Warsaw Pact

troops under the leadership of Soviet Russia; therefore,

**BE IT RESOLVED:**

That the League now urge the United States of America to cancel its policy of appeasement and accommodation with Communists all over the world, especially at the Paris talks, and pursue, instead, an uncompromising, sustained and morally inspired policy to defeat the moral evil incarnated in Communism, and thus assure peace, progress, prosperity and happiness of the human race.



## For Liquidation Of The Russian Empire

Whereas, in this year all mankind is marking the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations, we bring to the notice of humanity the fact that these inalienable rights are brutally violated by Communist Russia within her colonial empire (USSR) and by all the brutal Communist regimes directly or indirectly installed and supported by Russia in North Vietnam, Korea, Mainland China, etc.

Whereas, neither freedom of speech, nor of conscience, nor of press or assembly, is respected in the Communist and Russian sphere of domination since both in the USSR and in the "satellite" states there is no guarantee of the security of person, no possibility to elect free government truly representative of the peoples and no opportunity for peaceful restoration of independence to the enslaved nations;

THEREFORE, be it resolved:

— That the League solemnly declare that justice and freedom are indivisible and that their equal application to all nations and peoples is mandatory for the preservation of human rights in the world;

— That nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and in the "satellite" countries must by natural right regain their independence and truly sovereign status;

— That all artificial state structures, forcibly imposed on some nations, must be dissolved; that artificially divided countries must be reunited in freedom and justice;

— That the Russian Communist colonial empire must completely and finally be liquidated and dismembered and that in its place the subjugated peoples be supported in their efforts to re-establish their independent national states;

— That democratic forms of government must replace Russian Communist tyrannical rule in all non-Russian nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" states, and be it further resolved that:

The League specifically demand:

- 1) That all Soviet Russian occupation forces be withdrawn from non-Russian countries in the USSR and the "satellites";
- 2) That basic human rights, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be respected and put into effect in the countries presently subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;
- 3) That Moscow's Russification and colonisation policy in the enslaved countries be caused to cease forthwith;
- 4) That writers, intellectuals, religious and political leaders, and all patriots now incarcerated in Russian concentration camps and Communist prisons, be released immediately;
- 5) That it be made possible, by whatever means necessary to hold free and democratic elections in all the subjugated countries;
- 6) That national independence and sovereignty, ensuring the full flourishing of human rights and freedom, be restored to all the enslaved countries, both those now included in the USSR and in the "satellite" states;
- 7) That the Second WACL Conference strongly condemn the ruthless Russian invasion of Czech and Slovak soil and wholeheartedly support the fight of the Czech and Slovak nations for their independent states and human rights.

## Washington's Policy Towards Moscow

All sincere anti-Communists, all who want self-determination for all peoples, both those whom they like and those whom they do not like, all who want an end to imperialism and colonialism and who recognize Soviet-Russian colonialism as the most brutal and most extended in the world will be grateful for the work of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the *ABN Correspondence* during the last twenty-five years.

The August Soviet-Russian suppression with tanks and guns of the Czecho-Slovakian groping for more freedom is both proof that Moscow's imperialistic Communism has not mellowed and that the mission of the *ABN Correspondence* is more than ever necessary.

The Western failure to prevent, or even adequately to protest against the Soviet-Russian assault on Czecho-Slovakia also suggests that Eugene Lyons, senior editor of *Readers' Digest*, was right when in a speech to the Assembly of Captive Nations (Nov. 10, 1964) he said that,

"directly or indirectly, the West has connived in making and keeping those nations [behind the Iron Curtain] captive."

When Soviet-Russian invasion threatened, Washington, instead of increasing its forces on the Czech-German border, ordered them to pull back! Moscow was right in interpreting this as a green light, as confirmation that just as in Hungary in 1956 and East Berlin in 1953, Washington would let Moscow treat Czecho-Slovakia as within Moscow's sphere of influence and as an internal Soviet-Russian problem.

Indeed, despite the Congressional Resolution of 1959 calling for support of the liberation of the captive nations, the U.S. State Department and the Presidency have ever since the Morgenthau Plan done more in effect to confirm Soviet-Russian imperialism than to try to dissolve it. The Morgenthau Plan placed "the primary responsibility for the policing of Germany" on Russian,

French, Polish, Czech, Greek, Yugoslav, Norwegian, Dutch and Belgian soldiers" and urged that "United States troops could be withdrawn within a relatively short time." Since at that time only the Russians had a sizable army, that plan implied Russian domination.

And that is precisely what the Rooseveltians and Morgenthauists had in mind. When Roosevelt returned from the Quebec Conference he gave a confidential briefing on things-to-come, on September 2, 1944, to Cardinal Spellman of New York. As Spellman summarized it, Roosevelt confided:

"China gets the Far East; the U.S. the Pacific; Britain and Russia, Europe and Africa. But as Britain has predominantly colonial interests it might be assumed that Russia will predominate in Europe."

(See N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, March 16, 1962)

Unabashedly envisioning a Soviet-Russian Europe he added:

"It is natural that the European countries will have to undergo tremendous changes in order to adapt to Russia. . . . The European people will simply have to endure the Russian domination, in the hope that in ten or twenty years they will be able to live well with the Russians."

Fortunately, President Truman and Secretary James Byrnes, in his Stuttgart speech, September 6, 1946, reversed Roosevelt's Morgenthauism sufficiently to save until now the part of Europe west of the Iron Curtain. But for the part east of it Roosevelt's "blueprint" seems still to be secretly operative in the Administration and State Department. Walt Whitman Rostow, Special Assistant to President Johnson, under President Kennedy developed a policy paper on "U.S. Handling of Uprisings in Eastern Europe Should They Occur", in which he states what has in effect been the U.S. policy towards Eastern Europe ever since unconditional surrender, namely:

"It is U.S. policy to refrain from encouraging or supporting uprisings in Eastern



European satellites. If revolts break out in East Germany, Poland or any other satellites we should maintain a hands-off posture and urge our allies to do the same . . .”

That explains the U.S. withdrawal of troops from the German-Czech border in August. On October 7, 1966, President Johnson, urging a shift “from the narrow concept of coexistence, to the broader vision of peaceful engagement”, proclaimed:

“Our purpose is not to overthrow other governments but to help the people of Europe achieve together a continent in which the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe work shoulder-to-shoulder together for the common good . . .”

This means the U.S., according to prevailing policy, will do nothing to weaken

Moscow’s tyranny over Eastern Europe. If the U.S. nevertheless wants Eastern and Western Europe joined “shoulder-to-shoulder”, then, since Moscow obviously will not soften, Mohammed will have to go to the mountain. That implies that U.S. policy for all of Europe is still not far from Roosevelt’s “hope that in ten or twenty years they (the European people) will be able to live well with the Russians.”

What is needed in Washington, is a radical change of policy. Instead of asking the peoples of East Europe to coexist with Soviet-Russian Communism, we must urge them and help them to liberate themselves from it. Self-determination and an end to Soviet-Russian colonialism must be the parole!

### **New Russian Invasion Shocks Moslems From Ceylon**

*“All right thinking men of all communities and persuasions on this island must be shocked and surprised over the tragedy in Czecho-Slovakia.*

*The A.M.M.U.F. although abused and traduced has kept constant fire directed at the Marxists and their allies in this country for endangering security, religious freedom and independence of this country by introducing a doctrine that has enslaved many countries.*

*“Russia and its puppets, who have been humbugging the world by speaking of self-determination of nations and respect for nationalities, now stand in the dock before all mankind for having heedlessly and callously trampled on the independence of small and defenceless peoples. I do hope that now our fellow countrymen — particularly Muslims — will be awakened to the dangers and the calamities that Marxist imperialism holds for a country struggling for peace. Our organization condemns aggression and lawlessness from wherever it may come.*

*“It would seem that the Russian Bear has become the keeper of Socialism in the world, and claims the right to rape any country on this diabolical pretext. It may not be out of place to advise Mr. Badiuddin Mahmud of so-called Islamic Socialist fame to go slow in painting his bright new theories of this brand of Islamic Socialism cum Marxism cum Communism and communalist fanaticism in this peaceful island of ours.”*

*22nd August, 1968*

*A. M. Nazeer, Secretary General  
Anti-Marxist Muslim United Front*

### **Ball’s Firm Stand Congratulated**

On August 26, 1968 the Ukrainian Division of American Friends of ABN headed by Dr. Nestor Procyk of Buffalo sent a letter to Hon. George W. Ball, US Ambassador to the UN, congratulating him on his firm stand in the UN Security Council regarding the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia and stating that this aggression “is but the latest stage performance in the centuries-long chain of aggression and seizures of the nations and people of Eastern Europe and

Asia, perpetrated first by the Tsars and then by Commissars and rulers of so-called Soviet Russia.”

On the same occasion a letter was also sent to President Lyndon Johnson saying among other things that “without freedom to all nations now in Russian bondage, without their national independence, which they so justly deserve, there can be no genuine peace in the world you are so strenuously and courageously searching for.”

## **Did Stalin Order The Death Of King Boris III?**

Twenty-five years ago, on August 28, 1943, a sudden illness carried off King Boris of Bulgaria. Quarter of a century has elapsed and has not been sufficient to enlighten us as to some of the circumstances of his death. However, it seems clear now that a violent death, deliberately brought about by a criminal hand, carried off in his strength the man whom the Bulgarian nation needed the most in these troubled and difficult times which it then passed through.

The sharp, although veiled, controversies which have appeared here and there in the last months have shown that all has not yet been said about this affair, and that the passions which it has aroused are far from being exhausted.

Much has been written and discussed about the mysterious death of King Boris. Most recently one of our compatriots, under the pen-name of Strachimir Belphegoroff, tried to pick out some facts concerning this serious and strange affair<sup>1</sup>. He analysed the political situation of the moment and the consequences of the King's death.

It would be of no use to repeat what has already been said over and over again, and which tends in the end to the only plausible hypothesis imposing itself with the authority of the missing piece of a puzzle: that piece which explains everything. In the following lines we shall try to bring our own contribution in order to shed light on this tragic end, which disturbed the life and destiny of a whole people.

King Boris ascended the Bulgarian throne on October 3, 1918. He succeeded his father, King Ferdinand I, who had to abdicate after the defeat of his country, allied to the Central Powers. In spite of his young age and the disastrous situation in which Bulgaria found itself, the young monarch, patiently and earnestly, managed to reconstruct the country. He miraculously escaped two plots which had been organized by Communist action groups against his person. In April 1928, the second of these two

terrorist plots destroyed the Sofia Cathedral and resulted in several hundred head and wounded.

Having escaped these two plots, the King knew that he had to save the country from chaos and anarchy. He succeeded in restoring its confidence and finding a place for it among the European powers. He also succeeded in giving a good start to the economic expansion. "The welfare of the population" was the pivot of the King's policy, a peaceful and cautious policy, which enabled Bulgaria to get out of the isolation into which the Balkan Pact had plunged it, and to obtain the reunification of Southern Dobruja, separated from Bulgaria since the Bucharest Treaty of 1913. All these events and circumstances contributed to King Boris' popularity, a most popular king indeed, beloved and respected by all. The "democratic king", as all journalists liked to describe him, enjoyed full and true confidence of his people. He alone handled the country's policy through the difficult period which Europe was passing. This explains the tragic vacancy left by his death at the high echelons of government and of the High Military Command which, because of lack of initiative and self-responsibility could not face the critical moments, relinquished their power and abandoned the country to the dictatorship of the invader.

Therefore, we shall assume that King Boris died a violent death: we can now take for granted that his death was not of natural but of external causes.

Has his death been the responsibility of the Germans? Strachimir Belphegoroff's analysis judiciously leads us to a categorical "no". We shall strengthen his demonstration with some details along the same lines:

1) When King Boris came back from Hitler's General Headquarters on August 16th, we was safe and sound. The journey by air, however long and tiring, went well. During the flight, the passengers, as well as the crew, had to use the oxygen masks at times,



but there was no special mask for the King, as everyone could take the mask he found at hand. This definitely nullifies the hypothesis, a highly fantastic one at that, according to which the Germans could have let the King inhale a deadly gas through his mask.

2) It is most probable — and all details concur to make it believable — that the conversations held between King Boris and Hitler concerned, not the Bulgarian participation on the Eastern front, but the defence of the Balkan Peninsula against the possibility of an Allied Forces' landing on the Aegean coast. At the same time, and in accordance with information received, the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army requested its Operation Office to prepare battle plans covering the possibility of a disembarkment of the Allied Forces on the Aegean coast.

3) At the time of the King's illness, the Air Attache of the Third Reich in Sofia, General Schoenberg, was expressly instructed by his government to do everything necessary to facilitate rapid travel for all people called to King Boris' bedside. He thus arranged for an immediate departure of Professor Eppinger, called in for consultation by the doctors of the Royal Palace. At the request of the Royal Palace, he was ready to have other specialists come in eventually, but the tragic death of the King put an end to his mission. Finally, and to render the late King the last service, the German government sent its delegates, Great Admiral Raeder and Field Marshall Keitel. The latter came to Sofia by a special train and did not contact any Bulgarian personalities except officially. However, he met the former Head of the Bulgarian Army, Infantry General Nicolas Jekoff near Sofia in his special train. During lunch which they had together, the Field Marshall confided in his Bulgarian colleague the conclusions reached by the German doctors who had attended the King. They all concurred in diagnosing death by poison.

Since King Boris had been poisoned, the Field Marshall, before leaving for Sofia, had been warned and advised by the Mi-

nistry of Foreign Affairs to decline all invitations for meals while in Bulgaria. A recommendation which the whole delegation observed with typical German rigidity.

These are indisputable facts which must be taken into consideration when inquiring into such a sad event and which strongly contribute to the reinforcement of the thesis contained in the above-mentioned study.

Now let us examine new elements regarding the hypothesis that the violent death of King Boris had been ordered by Moscow.

In his study, Strachimir Belphegoroff suggests that the King was poisoned by a person of his near entourage, also supposed to be the "Moscow Eye" in the Royal Palace. What is the reaction from the Communist side?

The author notes with some reason that since it came to power the Communist government of Sofia has shown very little eagerness to contribute to the clarification of this sombre affair. The first pilot balloon has been launched by the means of the "Block-Note Sampa" (2) whose pages 116 to 128 are dedicated to King Boris' death. The writers express the opinion that King Boris might have been poisoned by the Germans or else by some British agent of the Secret Service, posted at the Royal Palace near the King.

If, by any chance, the Sofia government does possess proof for this argument, it would be high time to produce it for, until the contrary is proved, it appears that Moscow alone drew some advantage from this death, an advantage which, deductively, allows to conclude that Moscow also is at the root of the order to murder King Boris.

A few years ago, the Central Department of Historical Archives of the Bulgarian State, located in Sofia, Jdanor Street 5, took possession of the archives (or part of them) which had been sent to Moscow in 1944/1945. Personal diaries of the Regents — Prof. B. Filoff and General Mihoff — which are now stored there, could be of utmost utility in helping to solve the mystery. Furthermore, personal documents

of Counsellor Loutchev and other people close to the King could provide more revealing elements which are still missing. The close study and analysis of said documents may provide the key to the mystery.

In his book "Memories" (Sofia, 1968) the former chief of the Bulgarian Secret Service, Petre Vrantchev, acknowledges the fact that King Boris always had been the main obstacle to the Russification of Bulgaria. He underlines the fact that the Bulgarian Communist Party tried to kill the King and the people of his retinue by setting up an ambush at the Arabakonak pass in April 1925 (p. 156). After they failed in this operation, he mentions again, with astonishing cynicism, their second attempt: the plot at the Sofia Cathedral "during which many people died under the debris, but not one Minister" (p. 174). However, that man who tries to show that he was at the centre of all plots and intrigues between the two wars, cautiously avoids any mention of the King's death. Such silence says a lot. We know very well that the King had considerable authority, and in 1943 the said authority was the same as it had been in 1925, i. e. the main obstacle standing in the way of the Bulgarian Communist Party desiring to usurp power.

On June 24, 1941, the Polit Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party decided to undertake armed struggle for power. The results of this struggle during 1941 and 1942 were more than disappointing. Moreover, the year 1942 proved a disaster for the clandestine organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In August and September 1941, the Soviet Russian Secret Service sent several groups of professional revolutionaries to Bulgaria. They were instructed to start and lead a national resistance movement. Two Russian submarines disembarked 14 people at the Kamtchia mouth on August 5th and 9 more on August 25th. Meanwhile, 8 groups totalling around 50 people were dropped by parachutes. It is important to note that because of a navigational error three out of eight groups landed outside Bulgarian borders. Curiously enough, the Bulgarian po-

lice, warned in advance, could set up an ambush and annihilate all the parachutists at their landing. Only some of them were able to escape from Justice. About the same time, the Central Clandestine Committee and the local (country) Military Committee were annihilated. The members of these clandestine organizations were arrested, found guilty and some of them were executed.

The guerrilla movement itself was, at that time, extremely small, not to say non-existent. The newly appointed Central Committee was aware of this situation. At the beginning of 1943, it created a special purpose action group in Sofia consisting of fourteen members, men and women.<sup>3</sup>

The main task assigned to this group was to kill some Bulgarian personalities — not belonging to the government or taking any active part in the direction of the country but who, owing to their independent, authoritative and willful character, were able to handle any situation and successfully assume the reins of government. Have they not whispered behind the scenes that in case of crisis these three people could constitute the nucleus of a government of public emergency? Mentioning their names, anyone could rest assured about the country's future for they represented elements able to maintain public order and to lead a movement of national unity.

Don't be surprised then if they happened to be the first victims of a plot. On the evening of February 13th, two members of this group, Violetta Jakova and Ivan Bouradjieff, managed to kill the general of the reserve, Loukoff, a strong-headed man, the main obstacle to Russification. Most popular with the Army as well as with the youth, the general had behind him the Bulgarian National Legions — an organization of Bulgarian youth — which with him could have constituted a force but which, without him, sank into indcision and splintered.

At the same time, the Central Committee ordered the liquidation of the Social-Democrat Deputy Sotir Janev, and Colonel Pantev. The first was killed by Nicolas Draganoff-Gondjo on April 15, 1943 while



leaving his law office. Colonel Pantev was killed on May 3, 1943, by Mitka Grabcheva and Velitko Stanev or Stoyanoff.

Thus the major aim of this group had been achieved: they had suppressed the heads of the country. Soon after, they also received an order to make an attack on a technician of radio-goniometry. They had to make three attempts on his life and lost six of their men in this operation. But nevertheless they succeeded. Then the group was dissolved and its members took to the "marquis".

All this happened in the beginning of August 1943. King Boris died less than a month later, suddenly and mysteriously. The men who could have assumed the reins of government were gone. The calculations of the party proved exact and fruitful: the way to power was clear.

It is worth noticing that Strachimir Belphegoroff's article did not remain without echoes. As a matter of fact, last June the Bulgarian review of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences (4) published an article by Iltcho Dimitroff entitled "On the Death of King Boris III" which tends to prove that the King's death was natural — due to severe overwork — an easy explanation which must put an end to all discussions. However, one positive result has to be acknowledged: for the first time the subject of King Boris' death has been approached from the Bulgarian side, openly though unofficially. There we stand.

Another very important gain: the writer considers the Nazi responsibility to be categorically irrelevant and notes that on the occasion of the King's visit to Hitler's General Headquarters in August 1943, Hitler definitely did not request any Bulgarian participation in the war he was conducting against Soviet Russia.

Whitewashing the Germans, Iltcho Dimitroff contradicts another "Dimitroff", George Dimitroff, the General Secretary of the Komintern who, on September 16, 1943, wrote in the Moscow daily newspaper *Pravda*: "The King is dead, and not without Berlin's help."

We must however underline that having chosen to sustain the thesis of natural death, Iltcho Dimitroff shows little conviction and inner certainty. No doubt that he is trying to reconcile some facts and consequently his study cannot but reinforce the contrary — the already strong opinion, now widely held, that King Boris III of Bulgaria died a violent death. On the other hand, the writer does not fail to arrange a way out for himself by innocently suggesting that Winston Churchill harbored a strong personal hatred towards King Boris . . .

As regards the demonstration itself (without analysing Iltcho Dimitroff's article for the time being), we note that the reader remains somewhat puzzled by the cohort of prominent, experienced, world famous doctors who could not agree on the diagnosis, especially in case of a heart attack. Why did they have to call a third German doctor on Friday the 27th, who, by chance, happened to be a toxicologist? Why did the Royal Palace take the necessary steps to summon other specialists in toxicology, but who actually had no time to arrive before the fatal end?

Why is it not possible to find the minutes of the post-mortem examination? If a protocol has been drawn up, how and why did it disappear? Curiously enough, Mrs. Rouja Vassileva admits having attended the autopsy and offers her testimony. The author himself writes about her statements and stresses her certainty: the autopsy was performed on Assumption Day, that is to say on August 28th, and no traces of broncho-pneumonia had been noticed. Therefore, how should one explain the fact that the death certificate was issued by the Ministry of Justice on August 30th, that is two days later? And why does this document state that double broncho-pneumonia was the cause of death? Why had four of the doctors attending the King refused to sign the document? And those who signed it, did they not do so for political reasons and were they not secretly in agreement with their colleagues?

Too many questions still remain without satisfactory answers.

Ultimately, we come to a more recent viewpoint expressed by Alain Guerin in a book entitled "The Grey General", recently published in Paris. Guerin's book is extremely tendencious. Openly, his documentation has been provided by Eastern countries and the book is far too involved to be considered as truthful. However, he is so eager to whitewash some people and to blacken others that he makes a fatal error. On page 406 of his book, he writes: "In 1946, a famous doctor, Professor Eppinger died in Vienna. Officially, it is a suicide . . . We note that Prof. Eppinger was about to attend the Nuremberg trial in order to testify on the inquest he made in 1943 after the death of King Boris of Bulgaria, and on the secret report he then addressed to Hitler on the subject." Guerin suggests therefore that Prof. Eppinger committed "suicide". But going further, we wonder: who had an interest in killing Prof. Eppinger, if not the Russians? We cannot forget that this troublesome witness had told Mrs. Zankoff in 1945 of his conviction that King Boris had been poisoned. And who could

have volatilized the notes resulting from his inquest and the copy of the report?

Was not silence the only reason for the delay granted to Prof. Seitz, a refugee in Spain after the war? His private archives will certainly reveal some secrets.

A strange sentence closes I. Dimitroff's study. It is a quotation from the Bulgarian Communist Party documents pertaining to that period which says: "After the King's death, a political crisis followed, bringing to the agenda the question of power." Such a question never arose while the King was alive! There we find the motive.

Finally we have come back to our starting point. The vicious circle is closed. Did Stalin order the murder of King Boris III of Bulgaria in order to clear the only obstacle that the Red Army could find on its way to the warm seas?

<sup>1</sup> His study has been quite faithfully utilized by Mr. Jacques de Launay in the review "Miroir de l'Histoire", No. 219, March 1968, Paris.

<sup>2</sup> "Block-note Sampa" (Belejnika Sampa) — Tonich, Vladimiroff Ch. G. Danov editor, Plovdiv 1963.

<sup>3</sup> V Imelo na Naroda-Mitka Grabcheva, III edition, Sofia 1968, p. 159 and the following pages.

<sup>4</sup> Istoricheski Pregled, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1968, pp. 40 a—60.

## On The Meaning Of The Word "Nation"

While speaking of a "nation", a lot of people in Western Europe convey the impression that the name should be applied to the entire body politic of a country, regardless of the fact that large masses in it might belong to different nationalities in terms of ethnic origin, language, past history, traditions, etc. The word "nation" has a rather special connotation, adapted to the peculiar features of the particular area in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the Balkans. It conveys to us the meaning of "nationality", which is distinguished by its own proper ethnological pattern, by its own separate language and usually by its own independent history.

Let us illustrate the meaning of the word "nation" as it is used to apply to the conditions in the Balkans, Eastern and Central Europe. The concept there of a "nation" pertains to heterogeneous nationalities in the individual state. The Ottoman, the

Austro-Hungarian and the Russian empires were populated in the past, like in the present, by a large number of separate national groups. Albanians, Arabs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Rumanians, Serbs etc. of Turkish empire would say that they came from Turkey and that they were Turkish subjects but they would never allege that they were of a Turkish nationality. A Pole, a Rumanian, an Italian, a Croat, a Czech, a Slovenian, and a Hungarian was a subject of the Austro-Hungarian state, but he did not claim that he was of "Austro-Hungarian nationality". Likewise, a Pole, an Armenian etc. or an inhabitant of Georgia, Turkestan, or Circassia within the confines of the Russian empire would not claim Russian nationality, when he identified himself as a Russian subject and a Russian inhabitant.

The case of Czecho-Slovakia is quite in point here as to the state of affairs in the



Eastern part of Europe. According to the eminent Italian journalist Italo Zingarelli, if a Czech were asked to prove his national identity, instead of saying that he was a Czechoslovak, he would simply admit that he was a Czech and nothing more. The Slovak will do likewise, because he is always a Slovak. It is only the Germans, who happened to live until recently in Czecho-Slovakia, that might admit to being Czechoslovaks, owing to their innate inclination and devotion to discipline, meaning, thereby that they were simply citizens of the Czechoslovak state. The Czechs and Slovaks, however, would not go as far as that even from the point of view of citizenship.

The well known struggles of Eastern Europe and the Balkans were mainly against

the attempts to violate and abuse the name and the language of any of the nationalities either mentioned or not mentioned above in our discussion.

The epoch-marking struggle of the Macedonian Bulgarians against the Greek clergy in the last century or against Serbia (1912—1915) or against Yugoslavia (from 1919 on until the present time) was mostly for the purpose of preserving their national identity, which was the target of a campaign of obliteration and annihilation.

In the last analysis, the Croatian struggle against Yugoslavia too was for the security of the Croatian language and individuality. It would be superfluous to refer to and to enumerate additional instances in this connection.

F. G.-v. (*Makedonska Tribuna*)

*Slava Stetsko, M. A.*

#### **Brief Report On ABN Activities**

ABN is carrying on its activity through national organizations and through its branches as coordinating bodies established in all countries of the free world where people from the subjugated countries are living.

It is impossible even to list all activities of our organizations in such a short time. I would like only to mention that last year some important congresses were organized: the Byelorussian Congress, the Croatian Congress (the response of the Communists was such that the chairman of United Croats, Mr. Mile Rukavina, and his two co-workers were killed in Munich) and the biggest, the World Congress of Ukrainians. Its rally was attended by 70,000 people and 10,000 participated in the demonstration against Russian persecution in Ukraine, staged at the Russian U. N. Mission in New York.

Last year two conferences were organized by ABN Headquarters. The first was held in Montreal, Canada in the autumn of 1967, which in a way was a continuation of the First WACL Conference since we publicized all resolutions accepted at the WACL Conference in the Western hemisphere.

This conference was extensively covered by the press and television.

The second conference was organized in conjunction with the Conference of the European Freedom Council in London a few weeks ago. Representatives of our branches from all continents participated in it. It lasted 4 days. During the conference a mass march and rally were organized. Over 5,000 people marched through the streets of central London carrying national flags of countries subjugated in the Russian empire and in the so-called satellite states, as well as the flags of Vietnam, Korea and National China. The Conference and march were shown on BBC television three times. Members of the conference were invited to a reception in the British Parliament and had an opportunity to discuss our problems with members of the British Parliament.

Between the two WACL conferences we organized several actions. We did not miss any event behind the Iron Curtain to which our reaction was necessary. Here are some examples. We organized a protest campaign against Russian imperialism on the 50th anniversary of the Russian empire; another one against cultural exchange with

Communist countries; an action against persecution of writers and young intellectuals in Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, in Georgia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus and in the so-called satellites. The biggest action was organized to demand release of prisoners in concentration camps of the Soviet Union. During Olympic games in Mexico leaflets in English, French, Spanish, Ukrainian and Russian were distributed among the participants. But I would be far from the truth if I did not say that the largest and the most courageous actions are continuously being staged behind the Iron Curtain. Our prisoners are writing letters of indictment against Russification of our peoples, against economic exploitation of our territories, against deportation of our youth to the virgin lands, against religious persecution and so forth. These letters are addressed to the top men in the Kremlin. They are copied by hand and spread among the people, especially in Ukraine. I would like to mention that in all these actions about 90 percent of the participants belong to the young generation. We have no youth problem. Our young people are inspired by the idea of national independence for their respective

countries and the realization of human rights.

Another field of our activity is documentation and publication. Recently documents were smuggled from Ukraine and were published in different languages in the free world. They were written by Ukrainian prisoners in concentration camps. The most famous are *The Chornovil Papers* written by prisoner V. Chornovil and *Internationalism or Russification?* by Ivan Dzyuba. I can't mention all our publications in Western languages, not to speak of those in national languages. Ukrainians alone are publishing 270 national newspapers and periodicals. And what about Croats, Estonians, Bulgarians, Hungarians and all others?

Please do not underestimate the organizations of the subjugated peoples, because their members are the most dedicated, the most courageous, and inspiring elements even among the people of the free nations. I would like to say that money is not the most important factor in our activities, but a belief that our cause, that our fight for national independence and human rights, is just. And I state here that we do believe, and because our cause is just God will help us and bless our fight.



*Mrs. Stetsko presents a recording of Ukrainian carols to Pres. Thieu.*



## WACL Resolutions

### On Offensive Anti-Communist Actions

The World Anti-Communist League:

Considering that the International Communists are applying military pressure against, and are inciting internal subversions within Southwestern Europe and Southeast Asia;

Considering that the International Communists are simultaneously engaged in provocative armed conflicts in the Middle East and in infiltrations in Africa and Latin America; and realizing that the free nations should set up world-wide strategic guidelines and insure collective security through combined strength and joint actions;

Resolves at its Second Conference that:

1. The League urge all free nations to view the current world situation and to set a world-wide strategy to save Asia, defend Europe and stabilize other areas and thus check all Communist infiltration, subversion and military offensives.

2. The League appeal to members of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), to make known their clear anti-Communist stand and further promote political and military cooperation in the Asian Pacific region.

3. The League urge the existing regional organizations to develop their effectiveness and further elevate the present bilateral cooperation agreements to multi-lateral cooperation covenants in order to weld and enhance resistance against aggression, to safeguard the ramparts of freedom and strengthen the collective security of the entire world.

4. The League urge the president-elect of the United States to carry on courageously the historical missions of a two-ocean country, give equal emphasis to the East and the West, and to Europe and Asia in foreign and national defense policies, concentrate its strength, maintain mobility and help all free nations in the event of any

contingency or when war is imminent so as to cope with such events and check the enemy; and the League, through such nations, encourage every member nation of the free world willingly to make all possible contributions against aggression.

### On Defeat Of Communist Aggression In Vietnam

Whereas the protracted Vietnam war, instigated by the Hanoi regime to topple the duly constituted government of the Republic of Vietnam and to subjugate the Vietnamese people under Communist domination, constitutes a serious threat to the security and the maintenance of peace in Asia;

Whereas the recent Communist assaults on urban centers, stepped-up subversive activities all over Vietnam, and the massive infiltration of North Vietnamese regular troops across the demarcation line, reveal beyond any shadow of doubt Communist aggressive designs in Asia; therefore,

The Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League assembled in Saigon, the capital of embattled Vietnam hereby resolves to:

— Solemnly reaffirm its determination to defeat Communist aggression in Vietnam and to render all-out support to the people and government of Vietnam in their valiant struggle for independence and freedom;

— Vehemently condemn and lay bare to world opinion Communist hypocrisy in the Paris peace talks and their deceptive tactics to lure the free world into a false sense of security and self-complacency;

— Earnestly urge the United States and other free nations having fighting forces in Vietnam to heighten their vigilance against the Communist 'fight-talk' strategy and to exert greater military pressure on the enemy in order to speed up the final victory of the free world;

— Resolutely oppose all forms of compromise with the Communists which would jeopardize the existence of democratic government in Asia and deny the Vietnamese people their sacred rights of freedom and self-determination.

### **Condemning Communist Atrocities In Vietnam**

Whereas, the Communists, in their desperate attempt to score impressive battlefield victories this year, have resorted to the most barbarous crimes against the Vietnamese people;

Whereas, in their dirty and ruthless attacks during the traditional Tet Holidays, the Communist invaders killed and maimed thousands of civilians, sowed ruin and destruction in all parts of Vietnam and rendered some 700,000 persons homeless;

Whereas, in the old imperial city of Hue, they committed a series of the cruelest possible crimes, slaughtered all local officials,

students, and workers who dared to stand up against them, without sparing even innocent children;

Whereas, last May, they indiscriminately hurled mortar and rocket shells on urban centers and wrought wholesale carnage on the civilian populace;

Whereas, in recent weeks, they launched a new campaign of terrorism in the hamlets and villages throughout the country and wantonly kidnapped and assassinated many defenseless peasants; therefore, the Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, hereby resolves to:

— Condemn and expose to world opinion the countless atrocities and crimes perpetrated by the Communist aggressors in Vietnam;

— Express our moral indignation against revolting Communists' practices of mass killings, torture and mutilation of civilians;

— Urge all freedom-loving people all over the world to close ranks under the anti-Communist banner to stem the spread of Communist ideology and eventually to hasten the downfall of Communist imperialism.



*Ladies-delegates attending a reception given by the First Lady of Vietnam.*



## **On Support To The Liberation Movements Of The Enslaved Nations**

Bearing in mind that the Red Russian and other Communist oppressors have kept in bondage, individual and national, many formerly free and independent countries, and

Considering that the oppressed nations have waged, and are waging at present, a very determined and heroic resistance against the Communist oppressors, and

Mindful of the fact that the said resistance and struggle of the subjugated nations is being carried on without any assistance from the Free World, and

Noting that the oppressed nations have suffered enormous casualties and loss in their uneven fight against the Communist forces of slavery, and

Realizing that no nation or country can carry on indefinitely its fight for liberation without an effective assistance from abroad, and

Knowing that the enslaved nations are the best and natural friends and allies of the Free World, and further

Realizing that it is of utmost importance to the cause of freedom as a whole that the enslaved nations never lose hope of regaining their rightful national independence and individual freedom, therefore,

The Second Conference of the WACL resolves to undertake immediate steps through appropriate channels and media to render the necessary assistance to the enslaved nations in order to stimulate and to strengthen their fight for liberation from the bonds of Communist slavery.

### **On Intervention In Cuba**

WHEREAS:

The late President Kennedy said, in a clear-cut declaration, that he would defend the United States against the Communist offensive already developing near the Florida coast-line, even if he had to act alone without the approval of the Latin American countries;

Whereas, recently, two subversive conferences, held in Havana, have considerably

increased the danger Latin America faces;

Whereas blood-thirsty Fidel Castro imposes on the Cuban people Marxist servitude and obeys orders received from Russia or Mainland China;

Whereas, the same tyrant says he wants to create several Vietnams amidst Latin-American nations.

THEREFORE:

The Second WACL Conference approves the following:

To call urgently on the United States Government and on the Organization of American States, that wise, courageous and forceful measures be taken concerning the Communist regime in CUBA. The Sino-Soviet bridgehead established on that Island must be eradicated as soon as possible, in accordance with many Inter-American Pacts and Agreements, lest we facilitate the spread of Communism to other nations of the American Hemisphere.

### **Condemning The Aggressive Acts Of The North Korean Communist Regime**

Since it is evident that the North Korean Communist regime has decided to disrupt peace, tranquillity, and progress of the Republic of Korea in order to communize the whole Korean peninsula;

Since in pursuance of this basic objective the North Korean puppet forces have repeatedly and brazenly violated the Armistice Agreement of July 17, 1954 by sending infiltrators, spies, and guerrilla bands into the territory of the Republic of Korea not only to distract attention from the misery and tyranny which are characteristic of the Kim Il Sung regime but also to destroy property and lives including that of President Park Chung Hee;

Since the repeated and multiplied attacks launched by North Korean puppet forces manifest only too well the envy and avarice and inhumanity of the Kim Il Sung regime in the face of the economic, cultural, political, and social progress of the Republic of Korea; therefore,

**BE IT RESOLVED:**

That the World Anti-Communist League unequivocally condemn all acts of hostility and aggression of the North Korean Communist regime against the government and people of the Republic of Korea.

Be it further resolved:

That all member-units of the League give

the widest possible publicity to the aggressive acts of the Communist puppets in North Korea and to urge the United Nations to take immediate steps to stop by force if necessary the disruptive acts of aggression by North Korean Communist commandos and guerrillas in the Republic of Korea.



*ABN delegates at the reception given by the general staff.*

**Thanks To Vietnam**

Resolution expressing grateful thanks to the Vietnam Chapter for hosting the 14th APACL conference:

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League gratefully records its appreciation and thanks to the Vietnam Chapter for hosting the 14th Conference in Saigon, Vietnam.

**APACL Condemns Russian Imperialism**

The 14th Conference of the APACL condemns and fight Russian imperialism which has demonstrated anew its insatiable desire to dominate the world. The case of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia and the presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean Sea are the most recent examples.

The 14th APACL Conference condemns and protests against the conviction and imprisonment of the intellectual elite and freedom fighters of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism.

The 14th APACL Conference supports the liberation struggle of all peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism for the reestablishment of their national independent states in their ethnographical boundaries and the realization of human rights.



## **To Counteract The New Provocative Actions Of Communist Regimes**

The World Anti-Communist League:

Considering the stifling of the liberalization movement by Soviet aggressors in Czecho-Slovakia;

Considering the rapid increase of the Soviet fleet in the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, and the presence of Soviet submarines on the coasts of America;

Considering that since the United States weakened its position in Vietnam, the spread of Communism has grown in Southeast Asia, and that Communist influences have opened new provocations throughout the world;

Considering that the Kremlin's ambition is to control the Indian Ocean as well as all the seas of the world;

Resolves at its Second Conference that:

1. The League respond to the call of the U.S. President-Elect, Richard M. Nixon, to assure the capacity of defense of the Free World. The League urge the leaders of the Free World to discard the illusion of peaceful co-existence and to stop any appeasement policy.

2. The League urge the United States to stop the so-called nuclear weapons talks with Soviet Russia; to refuse to accept the so-called compromise on the non-manufacture of anti-missile weapons; to stop the Warsaw "ambassadorial talks" with Mao Tse-tung's regime.

3. The League urge Canada's Trudeau government to stop, before it is too late, its effort to recognize Mao's regime.

4. The League urge Great Britain to reconsider its original program of withdrawing from east of Suez by 1970.

5. The League urge NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to manifest a determined and united position to maintain the collective security system of the Free World. The League urge nations concerned to strengthen CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), the Bagdad Pact (Middle East Alliance) and to reorganize SEATO (South-east Asia Treaty Organization) so as to fully

develop the effectiveness of resisting the Red peril in Europe, the Middle East and Asia.

## **Condemning The Russian Invasion Of Czecho-Slovakia**

Whereas the Russian and Warsaw Pact troops' invasion of Czecho-Slovakia is a flagrant violation of the national sovereignty and self-determination of the Czech and Slovak peoples, a deliberate affront to human dignity, and a grave menace to world peace and stability;

Whereas the events in Prague reveal a growing disenchantment among peoples under the Communists' oppressive rule and glaring dissensions within the Communist bloc;

The Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League hereby resolves to:

- Protest and condemn the ruthless Russian aggression in Czecho-Slovakia and the use of brute force by the Russians to impose tyranny on the Czech and Slovak peoples;

- Laud the efforts of gallant Czech and Slovak freedom-fighters to establish a liberal society in defiance of Soviet tanks;

- Express its staunch support for the Czech and Slovak just struggle for more human rights and appeal to all the peoples of the Free World to render moral and material support to the Czechs and Slovaks;

- Urge all the peoples now living under Communist rule to unite and rise up in order to deal a fatal blow to Communist regimes.

## **Message To The Allied Armed Forces In The Republic Of Vietnam**

Greetings are conveyed to the members of the Armed Forces of the United States, Korea, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand who are providing such invaluable assistance to the courageous Republic of Vietnam.

You are sustaining this small country in its struggle for preservation of freedom and peace. But you do far more than this. To the whole world you demonstrate the value

of a positive contribution towards holding back the unrelenting Communist drive towards world domination.

With our expressions of gratitude for your part in this world-wide struggle for freedom we pledge ourselves to avoid complacency in respect to your sacrifices and to guard against Communist infiltration in our homelands.

As a representative world-wide organization fully aware of the insidious methods of Communist aggression — we salute you for your devotion to duty and acceptance of high principles in these operations.

### **Aid To The Peoples Of All The Captive Nations**

The World Anti-Communist League:

Considering that Communism is in conflict with mankind's right to think freely and that Communist regimes have deprived their people of the blessings of a free society;

Noting that peoples of various nations shut behind the Iron Curtain have been launching freedom movements against en-

slavement on many occasions, and recognizing that the protests against tyranny on the Chinese mainland and in East Europe and Soviet Asia have been greatly developed, showing that the peoples of all the captive nations fervently desire independence and freedom;

Resolves at the Second Conference that:

The League take the following effective steps:

1. Urge all democratic nations to follow a positive policy for the liberation of the captive people behind the Iron Curtain so as to help them smash Communist regimes, re-unify their divided nations and restore freedom and independence to their enslaved peoples.

2. Urge the member units of the WACL to pressure their governments in order to celebrate the January 23rd "Freedom Day" movement, the "Captive Nations Week" in July, and to observe around November of every year, a "Day of Mourning for the Victims of Communism" so as to develop the political appeal of these three world-wide movements in support of the captive nations in their struggle for independence and freedom.

### **Anti-Marxist Muslim United Front Holds Convention**

The Second Annual Convention of the Anti-Marxist Muslim United Front was held on July 16-17, 1968 in Dharga Town, Ceylon. The first day consisted of opening ceremonies including a 36-mile motorcade from Colombo to Dharga Town with the participation of prominent public figures. The official part began on the morning of July 17th. Mr. M. A. Bakeer Markar, the M. P. of the area welcomed the delegates. The Convention was inaugurated by Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel, President of the All-Ceylon Muslim League and a member of the National Council of Higher Education. Hon. M. H. Mohamed, Minister of Labour and Employment delivered his Presidential address. Hon. Dr. W. Dahanayake, Minister of Home Affairs then addressed the delegates. The Convention adopted six resolutions calling upon the government to take

immediate steps to counter the influences of Marxism in Ceylon and asking Muslim theologians to fight all atheistic forces including Marxism as being inimical to Islam. Other resolutions dealt with economic problems and the Mid-East situation.

The Convention closed with a Mass Rally presided over by Hon. M. H. Mohamed. The rally was addressed by Hon. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, Hon. Asoka Karunaratna, Minister of Social Services and other prominent Muslim leaders. Hon. M. D. Jayawardena, Minister of Health, Hon. M. Tiruchelvan, Minister of Local Government, Mr. M. M. Mustapha, Junior Minister of Social Services and Mr. R. Premadasa, Junior Minister of Local Government were also present. The convention received broad coverage by television, radio and the press.



## Messages To The Saigon Conference

### Message From H. E. Chiang Kai-Shek, President Of The Republic of China

*Since its inception, the World Anti-Communist League has displayed a spirit of unity in upholding justice and struggling for freedom that is truly deserving of respect. The League is now meeting for its Second Conference at Saigon in the Republic of Vietnam at a time when the rifts within international Communism are continuously worsening and its crimes are made manifest increasingly. It is my belief that your League, by persisting in its conviction that the anti-Communist endeavour will succeed, will continue to contribute towards the forming of a united international front against Communism.*

*At the First Conference of your League in Taipei last year, I said in my congratulatory message that in the past, we could see a united Communist bloc attacking a contentious free world. Our task today is to forge a free world unity and defeat the divided and self-contradictory Communist order. I look forward to seeing your League's success in the strife to achieve this mutual objective.*

*May I extend my best wishes for the success of your Conference.*

*Chiang Kai-Shek  
President of the Republic of China*

### Message From Ferdinand E. Marcos, President Of The Philippines

*I wish to convey on behalf of the Filipino people and on my own, best wishes for the success of the Second General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League and the Fourteenth General Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League.*

*The fact that this year's conference will be held in Saigon endowed the meeting with greater significance. Embattled South Vietnam has become the symbol of free men's indomitable will to resist the aggressive designs of Communism, particularly in this part of the world.*

*The Republic of the Philippines has always staunchly championed freedom and democracy and alligned itself with other freedom-loving countries in the common determination to stop Communist encroachments. Thus deeply committed, the Philippines strongly supports the ideals to which these two anti-Communist organizations which will meet soon in Saigon have assiduously addressed themselves.*

### Message From Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, Prime Minister Of Thailand

*It is indeed a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to send a message of greetings and congratulations to the Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League on the occasion of its opening in Saigon.*

*This General Conference represents another joint effort of freedom-loving nations in opposing Communist expansionism and upholding the cause of peace and freedom. Since it has been one of our most cherished aims to lead a secure, prosperous and unfettered existence, the Government and People of Thailand therefore welcome wholeheartedly a step which would help to realize this worthwhile objective. On our part, we have always stood firmly against armed aggression by Communist powers in Vietnam and elsewhere. We have also spared no effort to promote closer collaboration among free nations in order to resist Communist encroachments and at the same time preserve our free and independent existence.*

*During the past years, the Communist threat, instead of weakening, has intensified and become more widespread. Our active cooperation to stem the Communist tide must therefore be maintained and strengthened. I feel confident that through our joint endeavours we shall succeed in resisting and repelling Communist aggression from whatever quarters.*

*We would, therefore, like to wish this august gathering fruitful and happy results which certainly will reward the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world.*

*Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Delegates,*

*On the occasion of Second General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the valuable role of WACL in the cementing of solidarity among freedom-loving peoples in the face of the threat of Communist aggression. It is of double significance that this important meeting is taking place in the capital city of the Republic of Vietnam where flames of Communist aggression are still raging.*

*I sincerely hope that this meeting will greatly contribute in attaining the common goal of freedom, justice and prosperity for all mankind.*

*I wish you every success in your deliberations.*

*Park Chung Hee  
President of the Republic of Korea*

*On behalf of Ukrainian Congress Committee of America speaking for over two million Americans of Ukrainian descent we send you our best wishes for successful deliberations of your conference gathered in South Vietnam which fights for its freedom and very survival against the forces of Communist aggression led by Moscow and its puppets in Asia and Europe. As evidenced by the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia Russia is on the move again. The Ukrainian people and other captive nations in the USSR and its peripheral empire are with you in spirit and need your moral and material support in their fight for national statehood and human dignity.*

*Again our best wishes for your successful progress.*

*The Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress  
Committee of America*

*Twenty-five thousand Ukrainians in Britain send warmest greetings and best wishes of success to WACL Conference in Saigon. We express our solidarity with the Republic of Vietnam and all defenders of national freedom and human liberty against Russian and other Communist imperialism and tyranny and their agents. We trust that WACL will also support the fight of Ukraine and other enslaved nations for independence from Russia.*

*Dr. S. Fortun, Secretary, Association of Ukrainians  
in Great Britain*

*Best wishes for successful conference and our pledge of support in your fight against Russian Communist imperialism. Hoping that the slogan of ABN — Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals! — will guide you as it guides the nations of ABN in their quest for self-determination.*

*Ukrainian Division of American Friends of ABN  
Warren, Michigan, USA*



# Book Reviews

Roland Gaucher: "L'opposition en U.R.S.S. 1917—1967" (Opposition in the USSR 1917—1917), Paris, 1967, Albin Michel, pp. 430.

Kennan's works are full of fables on Russia's thousand and one nights, which have nothing to do with political reality inside the Russian empire. Therefore we were very pleased to read a book by a well-known French writer and political journalist, Roland Gaucher, who rather severely and pragmatically analyzes political events in the Russian empire from 1917 to the present, and on the basis of carefully collected sources tries to present to the readers a true political picture in the Red Russian empire. The very title of the publication suggests that the Russian Bolshevik empire is constantly plagued by unrest, a war of everybody against everybody, which promises no good for the future of the artificially created Red Russian empire. The author of the book turns everyone's attention to the fact that peace in the non-Russian ethnographic territories of the so-called USSR can come only when the non-Russian peoples achieve their political independence from Moscow.

Mr. Gaucher's book is an encyclopedia of a kind for the French reader who wants to know the truth about everything which is happening behind the Iron Curtain, particularly in the subjugated Ukraine.

The author feels that Ukraine, which has had a long tradition of independence, should have a special right to it. This regrettably is ignored by foreign policy makers, not only to the harm of Ukraine but also to their own because in a long run Ukraine must free itself from Russian occupation.

In 1941, during the war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, Ukraine has manifested its determination to be independent by the fact that in June of that year, it declared its independence in Lviv. But the newly created Ukrainian government, led by Yaroslav Stetsko, was not recognized by the Germans. Hitler arrested the members of the government and Prime Minister

Stetsko, and incarcerated them in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp (p. 234).

A need arose for the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought for quite a long time against the German and the Red Russian occupying forces. This army gained world fame by its military tactics and heroic feats and its strategy is admired by military experts of the whole Western world (in Europe as well as in America). The author devotes a separate chapter entitled "The Struggle of Ukrainian Nationalists" (pp. 279—296) to the struggle of the Ukrainian nationalists and their establishment of the UPA. In it he confirms that UPA fought against the Russian occupier of Ukraine for a long time after the conclusion of World War II.

The struggle of the freedom-loving Ukrainians is still going on with unchanged fierceness and determination, in exile as well as in Ukraine itself, especially in the cultural and the literary field. A special role in this struggle is assigned by the author to two Ukrainian literati — Symonenko and Dzyuba, who allegedly smuggled Symonenko's works to the West (together with Svitlychnyi's) as is emphasized by a well-known New York daily *The New York Times* from April 6, 1966. Even though the Russians can physically destroy countless Ukrainian intellectuals, they cannot break the Ukrainian spirit of resistance against the Russian occupiers of Ukraine.

We note with pleasure that the names of Ukrainian places are given in the most part in Ukrainian transcription, although some are given in Russian. Nevertheless we hope that the author will make the necessary changes in the second edition of the book which will, no doubt, be published soon.

Mr. Gaucher's work is recommended to all those who are interested in East European political affairs and who would like to see East European developments in their true light.

*Prof. W. Oreleckyj*

## ABN Demonstration in Toronto



*Holding placards and chanting anti-Russian slogans, more than 5,000 Canadians from Iron Curtain countries protested against the Russian occupation of the Czech and Slovak soil. (August 29, 1968)*

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# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## **Freedom-Fighters Murdered By The Communists**

Munich, West Germany, 1968-69



Mile Rukavina (Croat)



Vid Maricic (Croat)



Kresimir Tolj (Croat)



Mirko Curic (Croat)



Ratko Obradovic (Serb)

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*Dr. Austin J. App*

## **Why Not Policy Of Liberation?**

New York, the financial capital as well as the propaganda powerhouse of the world, is also conscious of the spirit of the Statue of Liberty on its shores and is therefore ideal for the re-dedication of the goal of freedom and independence for the captive nations of Soviet Russia, of their liberation from Russian Communist tyranny.

The brazen Soviet Russian assault on Czecho-Slovakia last summer is agonizing proof that the work of the ABN has barely begun — and must continue until the Russian empire has gone the way of all tyrannical empires before it — into dissolution!

Americans intervened in two European wars professedly to make the world safe for democracy and to secure self-determination for the peoples of Europe. Instead, the hypocritical peace-dictators, who proclaimed the Atlantic Charter to the people of the world, in the smoke-filled, vodka-drenched conclaves of Yalta, delivered half of Germany, all of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and, in effect, Czecho-Slovakia to the Russian tyranny, confirmed its enslavement of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and basely collaborated with the Stalinist myth that Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan and others are voluntarily federated provinces, together with Mother Russia, of the USSR.

At Yalta and Potsdam the war to make the world safe for democracy delivered some seven satellites, with the territory of 393,000 square miles and 102 million once proud and free Christian people into Soviet Russian colonialism and persecution. And it confirmed the Soviet Russians as allies, with not even so much as a protest, in its colonialism over 2,053,781 square miles of non-Russian territory within the USSR and its enslavement of 125 million non-Russian people — Ukrainians, Balts, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Armenians, Turkestanis and others.

But the self-determination of these peoples pledged to the world by Washington in 1917 and 1941 must be realized. Because it was the American lend-lease policy and our decisive military might that saved Soviet Russia from defeat and enabled it to secure and extend its tyranny over these two and a half million square miles of non-Russian territory and 227 million non-Russian people, America is morally obligated to try to undo the colonialism it helped to create and to realize for them the self-determination pledged in the Atlantic Charter. In short, the government and the people of the United States are honour bound to do what they can to achieve the liberation of the captive nations from Soviet Russian colonialism and tyranny. In other words, ABN's aims and ideals should also be those of this American land of the free and home of the brave.

Liberation of the captive nations is not something radical or reckless. It is merely applying to Soviet Russia the policy of national liberation which Washington has actively allowed Russia to apply to the former British, French,

Dutch and Belgian colonialisms in Asia and Africa. These empires have been dissolved and their peoples freed since 1945.

What is absolutely mandatory for justice and world peace is that Soviet Russia does likewise, that it liberates its 227 million enslaved colonials!

We are not suggesting a Morgenthau Plan for Russia, a dismantling or dismemberment like the one which in 1945 was brutally applied to Germany. We only want Russia to come down to size, to relinquish the lands and peoples it conquered brutally and which are not and do not want to be Russian, which have separate languages and want and have their own culture.

This will not leave Russia small or weak. The USSR, which now covers 8,647,172 square miles, more than the U.S., Canada and Mexico put together, will when it liberates all its captive nations still possess 1,497,020 square miles and a population of over 100,000,000. That is the Russia we want, that is the only Russia justified by the principle of self-determination. It is also a Russia which, whether Communist or not, can protect itself more than adequately, but will no longer be a threat to the rest of Europe or the peace of the world.

A Russia down to its proper size, stripped of its brutal conquests down through the years and especially confirmed and enlarged since the Western betrayals at Yalta, is the only hope for ending the cold war and the threat of a third world war.

Such a Russia is more than a dream; it is a proximate reality. The revolts in East Berlin, in Hungary, in Czecho-Slovakia are evidences of it. The captive peoples of Soviet Russia are tense with eagerness, courage and determination to win their freedom.

But they need at least the moral support of the free world. They cannot rise up for freedom while Washington acts more like an ally of the Kremlin tyrants than of the captive peoples yearning for freedom. They cannot strike for freedom, while an American president proclaims, "Our purpose is not to overthrow other governments" (President Johnson, Oct. 6, 1966) or a special assistant to the president of the United States discourages the European allies and the captive nations by hands-off policies towards the Soviet Russian empire, like the following:

"It is U.S. policy to refrain from encouraging or supporting uprisings in Eastern European satellites. If revolts break out in East Germany, Poland or any other satellites we should maintain a hands-off posture and urge our allies to do the same . . ." (Walt Whitman Rostow, policy paper for President Kennedy, "U.S. Handling of Uprisings in Eastern Europe Should They Occur")

Had Washington talked that way when Ireland and Mahatma Gandhi's India agitated for their independence, both would still be British colonies!

Washington obviously should not provoke uprisings it is not prepared to support materially, but it does have a moral obligation to plead for the liberation of the captive nations, to assure them of its moral support and its good will towards their aspirations. It is also morally bound to keep urging the Soviet Russians to liberate their colonies the way they themselves have demanded the liberation of the Western Afro-Asian colonies.

I am convinced that if Washington and the other free governments threw the spotlight of publicity on the Soviet Russian slave empire, and if the news media



of the free world took up the cry of liberation for the captive nations, then liberation could be achieved. Then, in fact, it would be just around the corner! Liberation would be accomplished without a major war. It would come from the massive and spontaneous uprisings within the USSR and the satellites, which not even the tyrants of the Kremlin could resist long.

When in 1959 the U.S. Congress introduced the first Captive Nations Observance it required the president to issue annual proclamations "until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world". We want the government and the American news media to talk and act as if they meant it. The law of history, and truth and justice demand the liberation of the captive nations. Not even the Red tyrants of Moscow can long stop this progress of human liberty — if enough of us everywhere speak out for it.

### **Dnipropetrovsk Youth Protests Against Russification**

A group of young Ukrainian patriots from Dnipropetrovsk have written an open letter to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR V. Shcherbytskyi, the candidate to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine F. Ovcharenko and the Secretary of the Writers' Union of Ukraine D. Pavlychko. Among other things the letter stated:

"We would like to call the attention of Communists, government and civic leaders of our sovereign state — the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the founders of the UN — to the progrom-like sabbath, that has been raging in the Dnipropetrovsk area for several months now and to the wild and senseless persecution of honest Ukrainian citizens who are dedicated to the cause of building up Communism. This campaign is unceremonious and unscrupulous to such a degree that the wildest acts of the infamous Chinese Red Guards seem like minor incidents in comparison."

The letter provides tens of examples of acts of repression against Dnipropetrovsk residents because they bravely opposed the reprisals against *Sobor*, a novel by Oles

Honchar, which in the spring and summer of 1968 were inspired by the KGB organs. Those who protested against this campaign were being fired from work, thrown out of the party, accused of "nationalistic" propaganda and so forth. The writers of the letter refer to numerous manifestations of the contemptuous attitude of Russian chauvinists, the Russified lower middle class and their Ukrainian stooges towards the Ukrainian culture, language and history.

"How coarse is this impudent language" — cries out one of the successors of the tsarist satrap Valuev in the Ukrainian city of Dnipropetrovsk in 1968 while referring to the Ukrainian language. "This 'khakhlaskaya' nation does not interest me in the least" — declares another. And a female employee at the Ukrainian historical museum in Dnipropetrovsk scoffs at the last remains of the Chief of Zaporizka Sich Ivan Sirko.

And the authors of the letter ask: "Dear comrades, please explain to us . . . who gave them the right to trample the national dignity of the Ukrainian people with their dirty boot of Russification?"

### **Dr. Docheff Vice-President Of ABN**

After the death of the great Bulgarian patriot and statesman Minister Christo Stateff (Bulgarian National Front) Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgarian National Front) has been appointed Vice-President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

## Total Political War

(as Communists wage it today)

The three main phases of Communist expansion in the period 1918—1957 are quite well known:

a) The *military expansion*, from the signing of the Pact of Brest-Litovsk until the end of the Second World War.

b) The *political expansion*, from 1945 until 1955.

c) The *political-economic expansion*, from 1955 until the beginning of the “26th of July” insurrectional movement in Cuba.

The victorious outcome of the Cuban insurrection, marked by the capture of the city of Havana and the fall of Batista’s regime in January 1959, makes it imperative that all those willing to stem the global Communist onslaught reconsider the pattern of warfare presently used by the international Communist movement based on experience gained in China and Cuba.

In Cuba, a striking feature was that the legal government fell not as a consequence of defeats suffered by Batista’s army, but due to the complete deterioration of that army. *Total political war* of a new style, employing novel and shrewd psychological resources and advanced guerrilla tactics, so demoralized the regular armed forces that at the end of two years of insurrection these forces were panic-stricken. They began to run away, sometimes driven out of their strongholds by small groups of scantily armed insurgents.

The Cuban rebels did not wave the banner of Communism as they descended the mountains of Sierra Maestra and overran the whole island. No, the Marxist banner was carefully concealed until the very day of triumph.

The psychological method of guerrilla warfare, skilfully applied during two years of untiring, steady, subversive activity, led to complete success. Those entrusted with

the duty of defending the government were entirely unaware of the new kind of struggle they had to contend with. They were thoroughly unprepared to cope with the emergency facing them. They were, so to speak, continuously fooled and trapped, from the beginning until the bitter end.

*Total political war* is an offspring of the “Maoist” strategy and tactics of Mao-Tse-tung in China, revised and cleverly reshaped by Moscow and Peiping summit strategists. Cunning and deceit play an all-important role. In the beginning, no stress whatsoever is put on Communist ideologies and doctrine; they, are kept in abeyance until the right moment. This is due to the fact that Marxism has decayed immensely of late, to the point where it no longer affects the minds of people who happen to know what it really means as a doctrine and a philosophy of life.

The ideological motive is now of secondary importance. It only comes to the fore, in violent form, the moment the victory is won.

Other reasons and inducements are now presented to the gullible, the naive and the easy-going in order to enlist them in insurrections. These reasons, such as “nationalism”, “freedom”, “anti-imperialism”, “anti-colonialism”, “economic development”, “national liberation”, “agrarian reforms”, etc. temporarily assume primary importance. Newly independent countries and under-developed nations are chosen as easy victims for *total political war*.

Now I will try to make a short analysis of that very peculiar pattern of warfare, sometimes called *Revolutionary War* — although the other denomination seems to be more appropriate. It hinges on a *Trinitarian System*, whose weapons are selected to fit a situation as it develops.



## Trinitarian System

### 1. Organization

The *International Communist Party*, with headquarters in Moscow, is the *number one* basic organization and the world Marxist offensive depends on it. It keeps an affiliated organization, termed the "Communist Party" of that particular country, under its strict control in every nation.

A *number two* basic organization has been developing in great force during the last 3 or 4 years: the "Communist Party of China", to which was given the important task of spreading subversive propaganda in Latin America.

"Communist parties" everywhere are greatly assisted by the so-called "Parallel Organizations", which always manage to secure legal *status* even in nations that have outlawed the "Communist parties" themselves.

Every "Communist party" abides by the decision taken at the Second International Communist Congress and still fully in force, which says: "The international proletariat shall not sheathe its sword until Soviet Russia has become a link in the World Federation of Soviet Republics" (sic).

Recently, at a meeting held in Leipzig, East-Germany, ten specific plans were drawn for all Latin American countries. I shall only quote briefly from tasks 7 to 10, mentioning a few paragraphs of vital importance, such as:

"Infiltration is the all-important thing. Members of every C. P. must find ways of penetrating circles and echelons belonging to the government and also mingle and cooperate with the opposition to said government. Likewise, the Party shall contact and infiltrate all the political parties of the country concerned. The weakening and possible disruption of every country's economy is a watchword, and should be considered one of the main objectives. Every effort must be made to strengthen, or to *renew*, if that should be the case, diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia, China and the Socialist Popular Republics."

The Kremlin takes pride in declaring that the *International Communist Party* has no less than 32 million members, and that is approximately correct. It must be pointed out, though, that the vast majority of those 32 million people listed as "Communists" are not Communists in their hearts. They remain members of Communist parties because they are opportunists and wish to secure a better life.

A most disturbing question arises: — "How can 1.2% of the world population so fiercely threaten the remaining 98.8%?" I will try to answer that question later on, under the heading of *Propaganda*.

For the moment I will mention the largest Communist parties, in free and subjugated countries: —

#### *Free Countries*

Italy—1,500,000; Indonesia—1,055,000; France — 365,000; India — 125,000; Argentina and Mexico — 80,000 (each); Japan — 70,000; Brazil, Austria and West Germany — 50,000 (each); Finland — 24,000; Sweden — 23,000; England and Greece — 20,000 (each); United States — 11,000.

#### *Communist-dominated Countries*

Continental China — 12,720,000; Soviet Union — 7,200,000; Czecho-Slovakia — 1,400,000; Poland — 1,280,000; East Germany — 1,200,000; North Korea — 1,160,000; Yugoslavia — 680,000; Rumania and North Vietnam — 620,000 (each).

It must be firmly borne in mind that Communist parties are not "parties" in a true political sense. They are subversive groups to be used as operating bases for Marxist expansion; they constitute the so-called *fifth-columns* which carry out instructions received from Moscow (and, in Latin America, also from Peiping).

They are financed mostly by the Kremlin, using the formidable profits extracted from the compulsory labour of the Russian masses and the peoples of subjugated countries. Plenty of money is extorted, too, from members of the parties, as monthly dues, and even from rich and well-to-do "bourgeoisie" under Communist threat and pressure.

In the year 1959 alone, the Kremlin financed the worldwide Communist offensive as follows: —

*Latin America* (in US Dollars)

Brazil — 40,000,000; Argentina — 30,000,000; Mexico — 24,000,000; Chile — 14,000,000; Guatemala — 12,000,000; and Cuba — 10,000,000.

*Other Countries*

India (without Kerala) — 30,000,000; Indonesia — 300,000,000; Japan — 15,000,000; Kerala — 66,000,000; West Germany — 60,000,000; Turkey and Algeria — 10,000,000 (each); Morocco — 8,000,000; and Greece 6,000,000.

*The Parallel Structures*

They range widely from "Popular Fronts" to every conceivable group of Communists, fellow-travellers and sympathizers engaged in pushing forward Marxist plans of subversion. In the United States there are over 260 of such organizations, in France about 140, and in Brazil about 26 in the city of Rio de Janeiro alone.

It is well known how successful the "Popular Fronts" have been since 1936, when they greatly assisted in enlarging the Communist parties of France, Italy, Ceylon, Indonesia and Iran. In Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Albania, Vietnam and Continental China, they were instrumental in delivering these countries to Communist slavery.

Another very dangerous "apparat" is the one linked up with diplomatic and commercial relations between Russia and the satellite countries, on one side, and the free nations, on the other.

Diplomatic and commercial channels allow the Soviet Russians to maintain a most disloyal two-edged attitude towards the free nations, which is concomitantly *defensive* and *offensive*; defensive under the guise of diplomacy, and offensive through the disrupting activities conducted inside the countries by every Communist party! Soviet Russian diplomacy, as it has been displayed for many years, the most deceiving, treacherous, cynical, coarse and brutal the world has ever witnessed, has nonetheless paid the Communists big dividends, simply because

the democracies live under the spell of fear, are terribly afraid, and lack statesmen worthy of the name.

Khrushchov, the butcher of Ukraine, the genial creator of the "artificial famine" that killed 6 million people in 1933—1934, and one of the worst slave-drivers of all times, certainly humiliated and degraded the *United Nations Organization* when he kept on punching his table and even striking it with his shoes! A clown couldn't do better in a circus arena.

What happened at the very opening of the would-be "summit-meeting", in Paris, in the presence of President Eisenhower and the Prime Ministers of England and France, was extremely shocking, to say the least, and plainly showed the kind of treatment to be expected from the rascals sitting behind the dismal walls of the Kremlin. Khrushchov's procedure was in keeping with Stalin's ideas on diplomacy.

Suffice it to repeat what the monster once said: — "Words must have no relation to actions — otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron." (sic).

In the official U. S. Senate booklets Nos. 85 and 125, on "Soviet Political Agreements and Results", the following statements are to be found:

"The existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of good faith." (sic).

"You must be a liar, a cheat, and probably a spy before you can represent a Communist nation in international diplomacy. You must have no more regard for honour when you sign an agreement on behalf of your country, than a forger does when he puts a name on a check." (sic).

In spite of all that, the Occidental democracies insist on arguing with the Soviets and in meeting them at congresses and conferences, even though harshly and roughly handled by them!



## 2. *Propaganda Or Preparatory Strategy* (Social, political and economic subversion)

Communist propaganda follows many different lines, of which the *ideological*, connected with the *Marxist doctrine*, is only subsidiary and of lesser importance. In fact, this *doctrine* has been proved to be fallacious and mistaken, based on false principles, incapable of providing better living conditions, moral and material, for the human race. Marxism lost almost all of its former spell and fascination and is nowadays presented to the crowds only for the purpose of stirring up class struggle, general unrest and a wrong belief in alluring and unreal promises. Communist propaganda has changed. It relies now on these intrinsically reasonable and just principles (even though distorted by the Communists) such as nationalism (the false sectarian nationalism); *anti-colonialism* (not to apply to the greatest of colonialist powers meaning Russia); *anti-imperialism* (of the Yankee brand and exclusive of any thought on Russian and Red Chinese imperialism); *land reform* (provided it be of the "kolkhosian" type); *economic-development* (with Russian aid and followed by ruinous "dumpings"); and the deceitful *coexistence* (for the purpose of inducing the democracies to disarm or fall off guard, thus making it easier for Russia and China to overpower them by force when the occasion arises).

That propaganda is now directed more at the middle class — the "bourgeoisie", the intellectuals, the students — than the proletarian classes.

The Communists consider that they already have enough people (proletarians) to carry out an uprising, a rebellion or an insurrection, provided they can be properly led. They need *leaders*, therefore, who cannot be found among the proletarians. *Propaganda*, especially of the Communist pattern, depends primarily on *money*! Infiltration feeds itself on money. Money comes in continuous streams from Moscow, and I have already mentioned the amounts (in US Dollars) afforded the Communists, in several countries, to be used by them for

infiltration and subversion. Money, and plenty of it, allows the *International Communist Movement* in every country to fool the masses (specially if they are poor and ignorant), to foster the hatred of those who are suffering and have a low standard of living, to convince the gullible and the naive, to enfeeble those who are sane and strong in body and soul, to threaten and scare the weak, to drive people towards anti-religious materialism, to entice all kinds of opportunists, to turn good citizens into traitors of their motherland, to poison the inexperienced minds of students, to pervade administrative sectors, to corrupt the armed forces, to buy consciences, to undermine all constructive endeavours, to obstruct and prevent administrative repressive actions against subversion, to beguile and attract foolish and sophisticated "bourgeoisie" of the so-called "progressive type", to get hold of the wretched and of those who failed in life, and to take advantage of intellectuals' pride, vanity or conceit . . .

But, how can money be used to enhance and promote Communist plans?

### *How Communists Make Use Of Money?*

In the *first* place there appears the indispensable need of a good and adequate *organization*. It exists, in every country, in the shape of a Communist Party and Parallel Structures.

*Second*: It is highly desirable and helpful, for infiltration purposes, to count on demoralized, unhealthy and filthy surroundings, meaning a country decayed and corrupt internally, and discredited externally, as a result of bad government, unskilled management, incompetency, lack of honesty in public affairs, low morale. Two ways may be adopted by leftist governments to lead countries towards Communism, even though not professing themselves as having Marxist leanings:

*Directly*: — by granting the Communist Parties full freedom of action, even when they are considered "illegal", and by filling administrative billets with Communists and fellow-travellers.

*Indirectly*: — by not taking any adequate measures aimed at increasing the moral,

spiritual, economic and material conditions of the people, thus maintaining an unhealthy and ill climate in the countries.

Both procedures are making the populations unfit to enjoy a democratic regime. I like to quote, as pertinent, the Portuguese famous writer and poet Camoes, and the no less famous and outstanding Rudyard Kipling.

The former said: — "Weak governments turn all strong men into weak men!"

And the latter, when writing the preface of "Land and Sea Tales", revealed, in the following rhymes, the secret reason why nations fall and die:

"Nations have passed away and left no traces,

And History gives the naked cause of it  
One single, simple reason in all cases:  
They fell because their peoples were not fit."

It is not correct to say that any kind of *poverty* facilitates Communist infiltration. No! Only *poverty* caused or provoked by a country's bad management does that, and not any sort of *poverty*.

In the United States a glaring proof of that can be found, as the least prosperous state (Mississippi) is the one that has the smallest number of Communists; whereas the richest states (New York, Illinois and California) shelter 76% of all the Marxists in the country. Besides, poverty is a double-edged weapon in Communist hands. Yes! Sometimes they use it as an inducement to accept Marxism; but as soon as a country is subjugated to Communism, then they use it as a means of keeping the people silent, submissive and enslaved.

*Hunger* and *terror* are the main factors in subduing human beings. Second only to terror, the threat of hunger is the best way to clamp down in utter submission an enslaved people! In order to keep a man obedient and servile nothing we could do is more effective than forcing on him a regime of terror combined with impending hunger. That has been the consistent Bolshevik way for over 50 years.

Ignorance has also a very telling effect. The more a person is ignorant, the more

easily he will believe in any promise cunningly made by Communist agents, whatever it may be, even if it is obviously fantastic and absurd; and still more so when, besides being ignorant, the person suffers under a low standard of living.

In countries run by dishonest and fraudulent governments, every moral principle vanishes rapidly, and strange as it may seem, the degrading process starts with the richer classes, precisely because these classes are the ones to whom plenty of opportunities are afforded to cheat, double-cross and earn money by resorting to robberies, thefts, or doubtful deals and transactions.

From the wealthy classes, corruption and debasement filter quickly down to the poor and humble strata of society, especially if they are ignorant and lack religious convictions. Then utter deterioration settles in and the environment becomes suitable and proper for any kind of Communist propaganda.

Many countries (including my own — Brazil) might be mentioned as filling this pattern.

#### *The Press As An Aid To Communist Propaganda*

In the *third* place, I shall denounce the *press* in general (newspapers, magazines, news agencies, etc.), radio broadcasting stations, television, and cable concerns. They greatly influence *public opinion*, and once infiltrated by Marxists, become important tools for advancing Communist schemes and plans.

Unfortunately the *press* has fallen an easy prey to Marxism! . . .

In democratic countries, there are hardly any newspapers that have escaped infiltration; — and by that I don't mean newspapers entirely devoted to Communist propaganda, but papers "soit disant" conservative, Catholic, religious, independent, liberal and the like. In fact, the most dangerous propaganda is the one stealthily carried out by newspapers which are supposed to be non-Communist. . .

Yes, because covert, sly and surreptitious propaganda catches people unaware and off their guards.



Owners of conservative newspapers and chief editors are not Communists, as a rule, in the free countries; but *Marxists* are a good many in the papers' staffs specially typists, typographers, reporters and the like, who act as fellow-travellers and contrive to include articles, news and topics praising Communism and its deeds in the newspapers, thus vastly influencing the readers.

In many Latin nations (Brazil included, also France and Italy) even Catholic papers, once in a while, print articles eulogizing and commending Bolshevik procedures and events. Public opinion suffers the impact of all that, which is very harmful. A conspicuous case of decided help offered Communists by the supposedly conservative or non-Communist press occurred in Brazil, closely linked with the Cuban Marxist government in power ever since January 1959, as a disastrous aftermath to two years of guerilla and political warfare.

For a year and a half all newspapers deliberately led the Brazilian people to the entirely wrong belief that Fidel Castro was a fine and loyal patriot fighting to liberate his country from a hated and oppressive tyranny, and this regardless of the fact that I kept providing them, right along, with plenty of reliable and trustworthy information about the real Cuban situation.

The Brazilian press never consented to print anything that might cast a shadow of a doubt on Castro's character, with the result that for a long time all Brazilians were utterly mistaken about Cuban affairs. The press only ceased favoring and praising Castro after the whole of America, except Brazil, knew that ever since his youth the Cuban adventurer had been a fanatic agent of the *International Communist Movement* . . .

In my capacity of President (Chairman) of the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", I was in possession of a bulky "dossier" on the Castro brothers, "Che" Guevara, Nunez Jimenez, Roa, and many other Marxists, as well as on the unmistakably Red methods adopted from the very beginning of the

revolution: but I never succeeded in getting the press to publish the evidence I had.

Again in Brazil, a would-be Catholic newspaper went to the extent of printing the whole (three columns) *Communist Manifesto* issued by the local Marxist leader, notwithstanding the fact that the Communist Party is illegal in the country.

The same newspaper gave publicity to a lengthy editorial article under the title: "Prison without Bars", containing a detailed description and many enthusiastic comments about a state prison in Communist China; and this was done in such praiseworthy words as to make every reader feel that he would be damned glad to be jailed there for an enjoyable holiday . . . By a strange coincidence that "wonderful" jail was advertised to the gullible as a masterpiece of humane treatment tendered the offenders by the Communists, at the same time that a book (Brazilian edition) entitled "Three Communist Jails" was released in the country. It was a very different proposition, though, as the author of the book, the Rev. Father Enriquez Tomas, described in 205 pages the awful treatment he received during ten months of savage and brutal confinement . . .

News items unfavorable to Soviet Russia and Red China are relegated to the least-read pages of the newspapers and even this only when it is not possible to suppress them completely, while any supposed Communist success is greatly played up.

There was a very typical example of this in Brazil, in the case of the news transmitted from the capital of Mexico, by the principal cable agencies, on the occasion of the "Preparatory Conference of the Anti-Communist World Congress." Such news was abundant, covering in detail all aspects of the noteworthy Conference. Yet the Brazilian press only published a *single report* on the Conference: — the one referring to the appeal made by me, at one of the sessions asking that the Catholic clergy would consent to combat Communism with greater energy; and that report was published with the express purpose of prejudicing the Catholic Church against me.

A like procedure occurred recently regarding the *IV Continental Anti-Communist Congress*, which took place in the city of Antigua, Guatemala. The whole world, *but Brazil*, took cognizance of it through the United Press, France Press and Associated Press. Detailed cablegrams and despatches were wired everywhere. But the Brazilian

press made it a point not to print the news, regardless of the fact that the said Congress was sponsored by Guatemala's President, who inaugurated it personally, and the Honduras President was also present at the opening ceremonies.

(To be continued)

## New Arrests In Ukraine

### An Underground Organization "Ukrainian National Front" Exposed

In spite of terror and persecution, the young people in Ukraine are continuing their struggle against the Russian occupation. This is proved by the fact that as far back as 1967 the KGB organs conducted numerous arrests among students and cultural leaders of Western Ukraine, accusing them of the fact that in 1964 they organized a political group "Ukrainian National Front", which had as its aim to fight for the independence of Ukraine. This underground organization published a magazine entitled *Fatherland and Freedom* of which a score or two appeared.

The "Ukrainian National Front" referred to past stages in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, in particular to the recent struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The magazine *Fatherland and Freedom* reprinted articles from *Idea and Action*, the organ of the OUN Command, which was edited by O. Hornovyi with the cooperation of such underground publicists as Poltava, Kuzhil and others and which appeared illegally in Ukraine in the years 1943—1955.

The members of UNF also copied the so-called "underground" literature and circulated it among the people. In addition they sent numerous protest letters to Soviet authorities, including an exposé on the conditions in Ukraine which they sent to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In it they demand independence for Ukraine.

The arrested members and sympathizers of the Ukrainian National Front were tried in Ivano-Frankivsk and the following young people were found guilty and sentenced: 1) *Dmytro Kvetsko*, born in 1937 — 15 years; 2) *Vasyl Diak*, university graduate — 13 years; 3) *Ivan Krasivskyyi*, born in 1939, university graduate — 12 years; 4) *Yaroslav Lesiv*, born in 1945, university graduate, arrested in Kirovograd oblast — 6 years; 5) *Vasyl Kalynyn*, born in 1943, high school graduate — 15 years; 6) *Ivan Hubka*, university graduate — 6 years. However, this is not a complete list of all those arrested in 1967 and 1968. Copies of the complete list and detailed information about the UNF are circulating among the people of Ukraine.

### Russia Is Building New Concentration Camps

The Swiss press reports that the Russians are building new concentration camps. Beginning in 1966 these new camps are being constructed in the Asian parts of the Soviet Union. The Swiss paper *Der Bund* writes: "During the last two years 56 new concentration camps have been constructed in the USSR. Most of them are to be found in the vicinity of Darya, near the Amur, where 15,000 prisoners are being kept at present. They work on the construction of railroads and new roads. A large number of prisoners from the satellite states can be found there. There are also many women." *Der Bund* adds that conditions are particularly severe in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Vyazma and others.



## The Russian Invasion Of CSSR And Ukraine

Russia was motivated by two factors into attacking CSSR: the fear of upheaval and possible revolt in Ukraine and the need for Moscow to move its strategic military base close to the boundaries of the American sphere of influence — West Germany and neutral Austria. In Ukraine the situation has been at boiling point for years. The presence of Russian troops in CSSR, which now encircle Ukraine from the sides of Poland, Hungary and CSSR, gives Moscow a greater guarantee of a chance to put down revolts in Ukraine and possible chain reactions of analogous revolts in other enslaved countries, than an open side of CSSR, a country, it is true, with a Communist regime but which until a short while ago was not occupied by Russian troops. This could have given a chance to American troops, for example, to advance into CSSR and to surround the “GDR” and to wedge Western forces into the Russian imperial structure thus strengthening the revolutionary course in Ukraine with all its consequences. The attaining of a new strategic position by Moscow through the occupation of CSSR and in particular the placement of its troops at the frontiers of the German Federal Republic and Austria creates a new composition of power in Europe. Moscow has made a flank attack on the “GDR” as well as the surrounding of the Russian Army by the American forces through CSSR impossible and has at the same time put the United States in danger of a thermo-nuclear war if the US forces were to march into CSSR where they would come into direct conflict with the Russian Army. Once more Churchill’s old plan has fallen through. As is widely known, Churchill wanted to land troops in Yugoslavia during World War II so as to prevent the Russians at least from entering central Europe. Amidst the changed conditions the Russians have once more blockaded the old British concept — wedging themselves into the Russian sphere and the breaking up of the entire Russian stra-

tegic military power, which is now becoming master of central Europe, without the West being such a threat to Russia as the British had hoped. More than that, the Russian missiles can be found along the frontiers of the whole of free Germany and Austria and the whole NATO radar system is of no use. Russia is strategically dominant in the centre of Europe. She has a 3:1 military advantage in conventional arms in comparison with NATO.

When we take into account the build-up of the navy, which now stands second to that of the United States, the domination of the Mediterranean where the Russian navy is equal in strength to the American Sixth Fleet, the obtaining for the Russian empire of bridgeheads in Egypt or Algeria, the open way to the Indian Ocean and also the threat of the Russian fleet to the Italian ports, there is no doubt that the Russian strength has grown externally, however weak it is internally.

In a broader political scheme, the occupation of CSSR is a prerequisite to the possible armed intervention in West Germany. There is no doubt that Russia has her own solution to the German problem. It is: bringing together “GDR” and FRG into one entity under a pro-Russian government, united under the Communist, that is pro-Russian flag. No suggestions from Bonn will appease Russia, because she does not and will not have any intention of conducting talks with Bonn. She does not need a national German government but a satellite government. This is part of the political plan of Russia — to prepare the ground for armed intervention in Germany. The first prerequisite has been carried out. Russian paratrooper airborne divisions have been posted on the frontiers of CSSR. The politically “legal” preparation has begun. Moscow declares that “according to its obligations, which result from its treaty in Potsdam, the members of the anti-Hitler coalition are responsible for prohibiting German

militarism and Hitlerism from rising again." (*Pravda*, 18. IX. 1968) The referring of its responsibilities towards the UN Charter gives a "legal" basis for armed intervention. Articles 53 and 107 of the UN Charter single out Germany as a permanent enemy, against which other countries which have signed the original Charter of the UN can intervene. By referring to these articles in 1948 the USSR by its veto prevented the UN from investigating the Berlin blockade; in 1960 the USSR also made impossible the debate about the position of German prisoners of war by citing Article 107 of the Charter. Moreover none of the countries of the great anti-Hitler coalition has declared that these articles are unlawful or are not obligatory. Even now, when the Russians have declared that they have a right to intervene in the internal affairs of Germany because "Nazism and militarism" is being revived, not one of the Western powers stated clearly and unequivocally that these articles of the UN Charter are now completely inapplicable. And so at the request of Bonn London stated: "In this situation articles about enemy countries cannot be applied", but in which situations they can be applied London did not say. Paris stated that Moscow' interpretation is "deceptive and inaccurate" but what the accurate interpretation is Paris did not say. Washington stressed that articles 107 and 53 do not give Moscow the rights to "intervene" unilaterally by using arms in the Federal Republic of Germany..." But Washington was silent as to whether a multilateral intervention is possible. Instead, the Russians, in accordance with the opinion of their international jurist D. B. Levin, interpret the Potsdam treaty in a way which gives each signatory the right to intervene independently and individually, because each carries a separate responsibility for Germany as a whole. In this sense Moscow also explains the articles of the UN Charter. "International law is a form of class warfare" — says D. B. Levin, and this means that it is also possible to intervene at any moment under the pretext of the interest of the proletariat or some mad intel-

lectuals, hurt by "militarism and Nazism." In actual fact the answers of the Western allies not only gave no help to Bonn, but made the situation even more complicated, because not one of the powers stated clearly that UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES could the Russians interpret Article 53 and 107 of the UN Charter nor the Potsdam treaty as they see fit but on the contrary each left a little opening for Moscow... Is this not a straightforward invitation to intervention!?

The experience with Hungary in 1956 at the time of President Eisenhower and Dulles, the experience with CSSR at the time of Johnson and Rusk, manifest that the United States will not intervene on behalf of the victims. The USA is adhering to the conception of a world divided into two parts. In all probability it would not take armed action against Russia if she were to march into West Germany stating that in accordance with the UN Charter and the Potsdam treaty Russia was "preventing" the rebirth of "Nazism and militarism", and would be ready to negotiate in connection with the removal of her troops as soon as a really "democratic" government has been set up... Of course, as a result of these talks the Russian divisions would remain on the Rhine "together with" the American and other forces... With such a "conciliatory" posture the United States would not risk a nuclear war, because Moscow's retaliation would follow immediately. The conventional forces of NATO are in the proportion 1:3, a substantial risk — with the present policy of neglecting to support the national liberation movement of nations subjected in the USSR and the satellite countries, a risk too great to be taken. Therefore the United States would in all probability be willing to begin talks. From this point of view, the recent espionage affairs in Germany also have their significance. They are in a way also connected with Moscow's plans, for instance, the preparation of a *putsch* and with the help of the pro-Russian conspirators to attempt a coup d'état, and for the "protection of the world against the revival of German mili-



tarism and Nazism." Moscow's help is indispensable, so to speak. Under such pretext the Russian troops can enter West German territory . . . It is possible that an admiral and a general would have asked for "help" from Russia . . . This far-reaching intelligence affair is consistent with political and "legal" preparation for the intervention in Germany. A "blitzkrieg" in Germany carefully worked out from a strategic point of view, so as not to come into contact with the American forces, which could be blockaded by parachute formations' securing of key positions in Germany and in Bonn, would not necessarily lead to a nuclear war, if the direct clash with the American army could be avoided.

Therefore the occupation of CSSR is a stepping stone from which it would be possible to subject W. Germany, and this means the rest of Europe because England, France, Italy and Spain are capable of successfully opposing Russia even without help from the United States, but without the economic and military strength of Germany they are incapable of successful resistance, even more so, when the nations enslaved by Moscow, the strongest explosive power inside the Russian prison of nations are completely disregarded. But at the moment nobody considers them as having military and political potential!

We are prepared to wager that Brezhnev agreed to Novotny's removal and allowed Dubcek's reformism in order to give a pretext to the army for marching in, for it is clear that this was impossible under the Stalinist rule of Novotny. Then the plans of Moscow could have been exposed all too clearly! But now everything is revolving around the so-called liberalization, "the deviation from the positions of Marxism-Leninism", but nobody mentions the fact that Russian divisions have been posted on the borders of the free part of Germany and Austria, that rockets can be found all along the borders of the whole of free Germany and so on and so forth. Russia could have used economic sanctions against the CSSR but she did not. It is uncertain that the West would help because one ultimatum

from Moscow would be enough for Prague not to make concessions to the West. Moscow was concerned about having its military formations in the strategically important positions in Bohemia, in the centre of Europe. At the same time, it wanted to surround Ukraine, by stationing its army in CSSR, the only open window, militarily speaking!

Washington was again silent as in 1956. If the Russians were to occupy W. Germany with the help of a carefully thought out plan, I am not sure that the Americans would try to expel them?! Surely there are no conventional armed forces in Western Europe that could be an effective counterweight to the Russian forces; therefore the West is afraid of a nuclear war, a fear that the Russians are counting on. But they are not prepared to do the most important thing, that is, support the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, so as to break up the Russian prison of nations and the Communist system from the inside, without a nuclear war.

There is, however, no doubt that Ukraine has held and still holds a key position in this. To surround it by her military forces from the side of the CSSR as well, has been an aim no less important to Russia than establishing a stepping stone for the conquest of further parts of Europe, or what remains of it. Of course this grasping action has its disadvantage for Russia. But they are less grave than those about which the Western press is shouting, namely the decomposition of the Communist parties and the break-up of the world Communist movement. It is both good and desirable that the world Communist movement has been splintered, has no unitary leadership and so on. But this is not decisive. In comparison with the strengthening of military and politically strategic positions this carries no less weight. Why?! Let us not forget that the crushing of the Hungarian revolt in 1956 has not noticeably weakened the position of Russia in that respect. The condemnation of Moscow's aggression towards CSSR by some Communist parties is dictated by the pressure of public opinion of the given

countries and not by the convictions of the leaders of the parties. They would be pleased to find some excuse for Moscow, to help save face before the public opinion of their own nations! It is not the achievement of the true "Communists", or "true Marxists", but the pressure of the popular masses whose support they want to obtain! More than that, even India did not condemn Moscow for such naked aggression!

A consequence of the conflict between Moscow and Peking is rivalry in assistance given to Hanoi, e. g. Ho Chi Minh receives more aid from two separate sources than he would if the two were completely united.

In Latin America for example as long as objective conditions for the existence of the Communist Party are not removed, as long as national and social justice is not attained, as long as a new vision of the great and the magnificent both in the national and social field is not given, as long as a new or renewed faith in one's nation and a Christian faith which fights for national and social justice is not attained these broad popular masses will not understand the essence of the conflict with Moscow and even though they have seen Russia's aggressive acts towards CSSR for them the events around CSSR will be remote, incomprehensible and Communism will not grow weaker!

Disputes between the Communist parties and Moscow are helping to strengthen their parties' positions among their supporters who, one can assume, are not working for Moscow.

The crushing of the Hungarian revolt did not reduce the number of members in the Italian Communist party, for example, although here and there some criticism was expressed by its leaders toward the Communist party of the Soviet Union.

The Communist party of France did not decrease in number either, because the number of seats in parliament is not a decisive factor, but a result of voter preference, and does not reflect the true strength of a given party in the broad circles of workers or other strata of society, for example. The gist of the matter is whether the Communist parties which today are critical of the in-

vasion of CSSR will take the side of their own countries in the event of a conflict with Russia or will they be her acting fifth columns. Terez showed that his loyalty to Russia was greater than to his own country when he sabotaged the defence system of France during the attack by Hitler because at that time the latter was an ally of the USSR!

A greater minus for Moscow than the decomposition of the Communist party is the systematic realization by the patriotic circles of the West, that only an armed show-down with Russia will save their country because Moscow is always acquiring more and more new countries and new strategic positions (the Mediterranean, the Arab world, parts of Latin America, Africa and Asia). One can only imagine what the fate of subjugated non-Communist countries and the treatment of their leaders would be when such fate met CSSR and Moscow's protégé Dubcek and the hero of the USSR, General Svoboda . . .

When the Russian military fleet can be found in Alexandria and is blocking the Suez, when it has ports in Algeria and can blockade Gibraltar, when it has access to the "soft" as Churchill called it "heel of Europe" — Italy, when nuclear warheads can be found in the Sudetes what is the chance for France or Italy to defend itself without including the subjugated nations in a broad jointly conceived and mutually realized anti-Russian revolutionary liberation front of the whole of freedom-loving mankind?! This is the only chance of saving the free world too. The slow realization by the West of the importance of the enslaved nations which are the Achilles' heel of the empire as well as Russian domination of the Mediterranean which ceases to be *mare nostrum* ("our sea"), but is now a Russo-American sea, the sea of the powers which geographically do not belong here and are strangers to this area, are a plus of the invasion of CSSR. A revolution of the subjugated nations can save the West and the present task of the free world is to support it. More than ever before it appears that *whoever helps us helps himself!* Time is on



our side now, because of the faults of Russia herself. The world's salvation lies in the fight of subjugated nations, in their uprisings! Their driving force is UKRAINE; therefore once again Ukraine has become the revolutionary problem of the world! That is why Moscow prompted its puppets Shelest and Podgorny to be "uncompromising" in connection with the invasion of CSSR. There is also another side of the medal: nuclear warheads from western regions of Ukraine have been moved further to the west which at least partly removes the danger of destroying a certain part of Ukraine. Contradiction follows contradiction in the system of the imperialistic aggression of Moscow! But Moscow cannot avoid them.

However hard Moscow would scheme, however hard it would try to hide the importance of Ukraine, Ukraine's key position will always come to the fore. This happened on the occasion of the events surrounding CSSR. The widening of the occupational zones by the Russian army is instrumental in the weakening of pressure on countries subjugated in the USSR. The troops which are in the CSSR or DDR, or in Poland cannot be in Turkestan or in Ukraine. The forces of the KGB which have to look after the freedom-loving Czechs and Slovaks, the Germans, Poles, or Hungarians or which can be found on the frontiers of China, cannot be in Ukraine. The ratio of Russians to non-Russians cannot be changed, regardless of the policy of the Diaspora, the forced resettlement of members of individual nations; the ratio 1:3 of Russians to the non-Russians still remains when the satellite countries are taken into account. If so, then the relationship between the conventional forces of NATO in Europe and the Warsaw Pact could be changed basically to 3:1 if the West would support the policy of liberation. The policy of liberation lessens the human military potential of Moscow because the fighters in the Soviet army who are not of Russian origin and soldiers in the satellite armies tend to sympathize more with the West.

In this way the attitude of the conven-

tional forces of NATO in Europe towards the Warsaw Pact changes to the benefit of NATO in the ratio of something like 3:1, if we also take into account the fighters of subjugated nations who, as it was at the beginning of the German campaign in the East, began to go over to the side of Germany until it became obvious that Germany is the invader and is not helping to liberate them.

It is possible that even the situation in CSSR would have a different appearance if the Czechs and Slovaks felt that the West is supporting them. There is no doubt that in those circumstances the Czechs and Slovaks would have put up armed resistance against the Russian invaders. Of course armed resistance by the Czechs and Slovaks would have resulted in many casualties but it would give rise to a great legend of heroism and courage and would perhaps have stirred the events to a different course for it is not known what would have happened if the Czechs and Slovaks would have fought. One cannot judge where the *casus belli* is nor when the chain reaction of revolts will begin. It is not possible to calculate and foresee everything rationally.

We have no intention of denying the fact that Dubcek and Svoboda wanted some liberalization as did Gomulka in his time. But we do not cease to maintain that Gomulka saved Poland for Russia. In our opinion Dubcek, Svoboda and Smrkovsky objectively carried out this function. The CSSR has been forced to remain a power in the Russian bloc and the role of a go-between, whether he wanted it or not, was undertaken by Dubcek. The people trusted Gomulka for a short while after he had been freed from prison, but the latter could not free himself from the pressure of ideas of the Russian world. In the same way neither Dubcek nor the hero of the USSR-Gen. Svoboda will be able to do this. If it had not been for this trust in Dubcek the Czechs and Slovaks would have risen up in arms and it is unknown how the Russian aggressive action would have ended then! It is possible that the Hungarian-style crushing would have been repeated, but

even that would have left a more grandiose historic landmark and a signpost for the future.

It is possible that this would have led to a chain of revolutions and in turn to the fall of the empire, but complications with the West cannot be ruled out because there would arise the problem of volunteers from the free world, who would rush to the help of the victims. Nobody can foretell what consequences blood shed for the truth can bring even suddenly and instantly! Every nation has its own style. The Czech nation has its own. However we do not think that the descendants of Huss would be silent if they had no trust in their leaders. But Com-

munist can never be leaders in a liberation fight against the centre and Mecca of their ideas — Moscow. They are its slaves to a greater or lesser extent.

No nation can ever free itself from Russian yoke by a separate, isolated fight, without common aims and without synchronized insurgent revolts. Without the realization of the concept of ABN there will be no freeing of nations because whoever does not support it, has to count on foreign bayonets. The events around CSSR and the Hungarian revolution of 1956 have shown that the American bayonets no longer stand for freedom but for the *status quo*.

### Arrests Of Ukrainian Archbishop And Clergy

KNA, the West German Catholic news agency, reports that Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskiy of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church was arrested in Lviv on January 27, 1969 on his way to hear the confession of a sick woman. The MGB men followed the archbishop to the woman's house, arrested him and brought him back to his own apartment which was then searched thoroughly. Arresting Archbishop Vasyl they told those present: "You will never see him again."

It is said that six weeks before the arrest of the archbishop a man, calling himself a tourist, called on Archbishop Vasyl. He spoke French and claimed to be a priest. He said that he came with a tourist group and allegedly was instructed by the Vatican to collect information on the activities of the persecuted Church in Ukraine. The information was to be transmitted to the Vatican, but he wanted to have it in writing for authenticity's sake.

Later it was revealed that this was a provocation, that he was not a tourist but a disguised KGB agent. Several days after this visit Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskiy was summoned by the KGB for an interrogation. He was shown the notes which he had handed over to the "tourist".

After the archbishop's imprisonment, the KGB searched the homes of other Ukrainian Catholic priests in Lviv and in other cities of Halychyna. Many were arrested on the same day.

Last year a 56 year old priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Father Antin Potochniak, was arrested in Stryi and sentenced to 5 years of hard labour. The court found him guilty of having conducted "illegal" devine services, of having preached to large numbers of Catholics who were thereby kept from "useful work" and of having warned children against atheistic indoctrination in schools. The last charge was considered to be the most damaging. Asked by the court whether he was going to plead guilty to the charges Father Potochniak said, "I have not committed any crime and I feel innocent of the charges."

In Ivano-Frankivsk members of the Communist party were instructed by the KGB to deliver leaflets to the homes of nuns in which the nuns were warned not to receive priests, not to attend Mass, baptize, or persuade people to go to confession and so forth. Any violation of the above rules carries the penalty of three years in jail and the loss of all civil rights.



## **Slovakia's New Position**

The Soviet Russian armed intervention in the "Czecho-Slovak Socialist Republic" (CSSR) and its federalization focused the attention of world opinion on the political situation in Slovakia. This is understandable. The Slovak question was and still is, no doubt, a central problem of the Czecho-Slovak state structure.

In the free world there are many misconceptions about the reasons for this federalization. The federalization was not ordered by the Russians, as often thought in the free world. Neither is it a consequence of the Russian invasion of August 21, 1968. Before the invasion, in March 1968, the federalization of CSSR was officially announced by Dubcek's regime expressing the wishes of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

The federalization of CSSR is a result of the whole political development in Slovakia since 1945, when this country was invaded by the Russian Red Army for the first time.

The first Russian occupation of the country in the spring of 1945 led not only to the loss of freedom of the Slovak people but also to the loss of Slovakia's statehood. The Russian Red Army had re-established then — much against the will of the Slovak people — the artificial Czecho-Slovak state structure, although Soviet Russia recognized *de jure* the Slovak Republic on September 16, 1939. In the restored Czecho-Slovak state structure the Russian Red Army established a so-called people's democratic regime, dependent on Moscow. Like the other "people's democracies", within a few years this regime developed into an open Communist dictatorship.

The Slovak people never agreed to this solution forced on it by the Russian Red Army. The Slovak people never rejected its claim to freedom and independence. In the realm of its possibilities the Slovak people staunchly resisted the Russian hegemony, the Communist Czech domination and the "people's democratic" dictatorship. It made use of every opportunity to demonstrate its

longing for freedom and its spiritual belonging to the Christian Occident.

For more than 20 years the "people's democratic" regime tried to break the resistance of the Slovak people by terror. But it didn't succeed. Therefore the Communist rulers saw no other solution except concessions. In January 1968 Alexander Dubcek, a Slovak, was elected First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia.

Mr. Dubcek and the Communist Party of Slovakia tried to transform the CSSR into a federation of two autonomous states — Czech and Slovak. The leading Czech Communists declared themselves in favour of such a solution.

The Dubcek regime, besides striving for a federalization of the Czecho-Slovak state structure, also sought a far-reaching loosening of the governmental system and the actual dependence on Moscow. Communist dictatorship and the membership in the system of the Warsaw Pact has never been questioned.

As for the Russians, they were suspicious of the Dubcek regime from the beginning, since it laid a stress on "sovereignty", "independence" and "equality" of the CSSR. The Kremlin rulers were determined to hinder the transformation of these fictions into realities by all means at their disposal. This is why they exerted strong pressure on the Dubcek regime. This pressure took the form of intrigues, press attacks, manoeuvres, conferences, threats and exhortation. Russia's armed intervention and the subsequent capitulation of the Dubcek regime are the intermediate peaks of this fateful development.

Under the new Russian occupation the achievements of Dubcek's regime have become very questionable. Only a federative reorganization of the artificial Czecho-Slovak state structure was realized. Tito's Yugoslavia served as a pattern.

Since January 1, 1969, CSSR is a federation of two states: the Czech and the Slovak

Socialist Republics. The position of Slovakia has, therefore, changed. Now it has greater autonomy than it had within CSSR, but it isn't as great as often believed in the free world.

In the preamble of the Act of Federation, the Slovak Socialist Republic is even called sovereign. The practical application of this "sovereignty" is very doubtful. Slovakia is not even permitted to issue its own stamps. Furthermore, how can the Slovak Socialist Republic be sovereign when the CSSR, of which it is a member, is not sovereign?!

The autonomy of the Slovak Socialist Republic is also very problematic. According to the Act of Federation, the federal organs are competent to conduct foreign policy, to administer military affairs, finances, economic planning, to issue currency, to set price-controls, to conduct foreign trade, to establish customs regulations. They have control over agriculture and food production, transportation, telephone and telegraph, science and industry, social security,

standardization of weights and measures, order within the state, press and information media.

After federalization Slovakia has about structure as Croatia has in Yugoslavia.

In the preamble of the Act of Federation the right of self-determination, including secession, is granted. But it hasn't been said how the Slovaks can exercise this right. It is strange that according to this same act and in spite of the recognition of the right of self-determination, all ministers and deputies have to take an oath of allegiance to the CSSR.

The Slovak nation is not ready to look at the federalization of the artificial Czecho-Slovak state structure as a lasting solution. It will not give up its rights to its own statehood and sovereignty. Its attitude in the changed circumstances shows it is determined to make use of its right to sovereignty as soon as the conditions are ripe for it and to restore the independence of Slovakia, proclaimed 30 years ago, on March 14, 1939.

### Death Sentence For "Betraying Fatherland"

*Radianska Ukraina* of the 23rd January of this year writes that the trial of V. Klymiv, which lasted two weeks, was conducted in the village of Petrivske of the Kharkiv oblast. According to the newspaper, before the war Klymiv worked as a director of an oil refinery of the Petrivske MTS. During the German occupation he joined the police force of the Petrivske region and later became its chief, during which time he is supposed to have persecuted and tortured "Soviet citizens and carried out punitive operations against Soviet military prisoners." Above all they accuse Klymiv of taking part in actions against Soviet partisans.

Together with the German army Klymiv

fled to Germany and afterwards, as the *Radianska Ukraina* reports, "disguised as someone deported forcefully to Fascist slave-labour camps returned to the USSR." It is possible that Klymiv belonged to those who were repatriated by force, after which he was sent to Siberia where he lived in Altai region. The newspaper writes that he was supposed to have been in hiding and it was only in July of last year that the KGB arrested him.

During the trial the roving session of the Kharkiv oblast court interrogated over 80 witnesses who of course, "completely exposed the traitor of his fatherland."

On the basis of this Klymiv was sentenced to death.



## Estonia And Russia

The Estonian people are the northernmost of the Baltic peoples and have been living on the south-east coast of the Baltic Sea for several thousand years. During the Middle Ages, the Baltic area was part of the sphere of interest of the Hanseatic League. From the early years of the thirteenth century the country of Estonians was ruled by various neighbouring states — Denmark, Germany, Poland, Sweden and Russia. However this country has had its own laws and separate administration from that of the governing state power.

In 1561 Estonia became a Swedish province. After the Great Northern War (1700—1721) Sweden ceded Estonia to Imperial Russia, but Estonia retained to a great extent her former Western structure and orientation upon the West through religion, mode of life and separate laws, which provided for provincial autonomy. History has shown that the opposition of the culturally advanced people of the Baltic countries led to great tension even in Russia proper.

In 1816—1819 Tsar Alexander I abolished serfdom in Estonia, Livonia and Courland, but without giving the farmers any right to the land they tilled. They had to pay rent for their farms in days of work. In the 1860's, during the reign of Tsar Alexander II, the day-work system was cancelled and the right of farmers to work their farm was strengthened. The pressure of Russification brought on a campaign against the special situation in the Baltic countries and particularly in Estonia and Livonia. The universities and schools were placed under the strictest control; Russian police and Russian courts were introduced in 1885; the Russian language, which was a foreign language in the Baltic countries, was made the official language and the political and religious freedom of the non-Russian inhabitants was restricted.

Opposition to the regime became stronger among the peoples of the Baltic countries: Baltic Germans, Estonians, Latvians, Li-

thuanians and other persecuted minorities. Disturbances after the unlucky war with Japan and the Revolution of 1905 were consequences of Russification.

The uprisings were crushed and bloody reprisals were inflicted from December 1905 until February 1907. The Russian Revolution of March 1917 made free political activities possible again. Estonian political leaders managed to obtain a new democratic constitution and autonomy for Estonia from the temporary Government of Russia. Of the many nationalities in Russia only the Estonians, the Ukrainians, the Poles and the Latvians succeeded in this. As far as the Ukrainians and Estonians were concerned, this was done partly under the pressure of the great demonstrations before the Tauria Palace, organized by the Ukrainians on March 19 (31 March), 1917 and by the Estonians on March 26 (6 April), 1917 in Petrograd. According to the new constitution, the region inhabited by the Estonians was made into a new administrative and territorial unit by combining Livonia and the province of Estonia. The government was thereby completely taken over by Estonians. The situation changed after the Bolshevik coup d'état in November 1917, when Estonia and Latvia were the victims of Bolshevik aggression and devastation by Russian soldiers. Estonia demanded complete freedom from Russia.

### *Independent Estonia*

On November 28, 1917 the Estonian Diet had proclaimed itself the supreme authority in Estonia and had given far-reaching powers to the so-called Rescuing Committee. On February 24, 1918, before the Germans entered the country, the Rescuing Committee proclaimed the independence of Estonia. Germany, however, refused to recognize independent Estonia. The peace negotiations between the Central Powers and Bolshevik Russia began in December 1917, but no progress was made. On Feb-

ruary 18, 1918, the Germans launched a new attack against Petrograd and Kyiv. A new ultimatum was delivered by Germany on February 21, 1918 and forty-eight hours were allowed for a reply. The German conditions were accepted by Bolshevik Russia and the peace treaty was signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918.

According to the treaty, the Baltic region ceased to be a Russian province. It was to be a territory whose inhabitants themselves were to determine their own future. The Baltic German minority attempted to associate the Baltic region with Germany as a grand-duchy united with Prussia. The situation was altered radically by the capitulation of Germany in November 1918.

Moscow had annulled the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on November 18, 1918. The Russian army began an offensive against the Baltic states and swept through the region. The German occupation army retreated and the Russian troops attacked Estonia on November 28, 1918, thus violating the declaration proclaimed on November 15, 1918 by the Soviet Russian government under Lenin, according to which all peoples of the former Tsarist Russia were declared free to secede from Russia. War was then declared on Estonia in which the Estonian people bravely fought Communist Russian aggression and suffered a considerable number of casualties. In a short time the Russians were driven out of Estonia.

In June 1919 the Estonian army together with some Latvian units, was compelled to defend itself against attacks by German-Baltic "Landeswehr" and German free troops under the command of v. d. Goltz. The German-Balt army was defeated decisively at the Battle of Wenden on June 21-23, 1919 and the Estonian forces penetrated as far as Riga. Peace was negotiated between the Estonian and German forces on July 3, 1919 after mediation by the Allies. Estonia was at war with Germany and Russia for fourteen months until February 2, 1920. After having gallantly repelled the Communist and German invaders, Estonia succeeded in signing a peace treaty with Bolshevik Russia, by which Russia without

any reservations recognized the independence and autonomy of the country of Estonia and renounced voluntarily and for ever all rights of sovereignty held by Russia over the people and territory of Estonia.

On April 23, 1919 during the war, historically known as the War of Liberation, a Constitutional Assembly was convened which was elected on the basis of universal suffrage. The Assembly adopted a democratic constitution and legislated a sweeping agrarian reform eliminating the prevailing system of large estates, a legacy of feudal times.

On September 22, 1921 Estonia was admitted to the League of Nations.

At dawn on December 1, 1924 a Communist group attempted an armed coup d'état. However, the Estonian democracy was firmly rooted, and the coup failed completely. An inquiry disclosed that the plan was initiated and elaborated by Soviet Russia and that Soviet Russia had smuggled the leaders of the uprising and a considerable number of fighters and arms into Estonia. The uprising was promptly quelled; however, in the street fighting a number of Estonian lives were lost.

One of the most important tasks of the new Republic of Estonia was to establish good relations with other nations, especially with her big neighbor, Soviet Russia. For this reason Estonia entered into a series of international agreements without or with the participation of Soviet Russia to ensure peace in this part of Europe.

After the German National Socialist Revolution of 1933, attempts were made to extend the system of security to East Europe too, but the proposal was rejected by Poland and Germany. The general East Pact, also called East-Locarno Pact, was never realized. The terms demanded by the Baltic states were that all states were to participate. In the East Pact negotiations the question of the Baltic states was brought up by Soviet Russia.

On March 28, 1934 Litvinov, the Soviet Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs proposed to the German Minister in Moscow that the independence of Estonia, Lat-



via, Lithuania and Finland be guaranteed by both states, without consulting the other states concerned. Germany reacted negatively to this proposal, on the grounds that the independence of the Baltic states was not threatened. It was remarkable that this reply was delivered in the form of a notice to the press on April 24, 1934. Otherwise the negotiations had been confidential.

After the occupation of Czechia (Bohemia + Moravia) on March 15, 1939 new "Great Power" negotiations were began by Germany, and the Soviet Union during the spring and summer of 1939, at which the Baltic problem was discussed. As a result of these discussions on August 23, 1939 Molotov and Ribbentrop signed the non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union (the so-called Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact). This treaty was supplemented by a "strictly secret protocol", according to which Estonia, Latvia part of Lithuania, Finland and certain other areas of Eastern Europe were placed under the Soviet Russian "sphere of influence." A small part of southern Lithuania, the Suwalkia region was to remain in the German sphere of interest. However, on January 10, 1941, Germany sold it to the Soviet Union for 7.5 million gold dollars.

On September 28, 1939 under the threat of war, a "Mutual Assistance Pact" was forced upon Estonia by which Estonia was compelled to establish a number of naval and air force bases on her territory for the Soviet Union. During the negotiation of this treaty in Moscow, Molotov, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union warned the Estonian delegation against resisting the signing of the treaty and thus compelling the Soviet Union to use force to achieve its aim." Intelligence data showed that the Soviet Union had deployed considerable combat-ready troops at the Estonian Eastern frontier, while the Soviet Russian navy was blockading Estonia from the Baltic Sea. Fighter planes circled over Tallinn to force Estonia into submission. The treaty declared that the "present act in no way impaired the sovereign rights

of the contracting parties or, more specifically, their economic system or political structure." As there was no hope for assistance from anywhere, Estonia had but to comply with Russian demands.

*Soviet Union the Occupant in Estonia 1940 and 1944 and Estonia's Struggle for Freedom and Reestablishment of Free and Independent Republic of Estonia.*

On June 16, 1940 the Soviet Union presented an ultimatum to Estonia demanding the establishment of a new government "friendly" to the Soviet Union and the granting of a free passage for additional Soviet Russian troops to the country. On June 17, 1940, the day following the ultimatum, the Soviet Russian army occupied Estonia.

World War II erupted on September 1, 1939 with the German attack on Poland, followed by the Soviet Union's attack from the East on September 17, 1939. While the attention of the world was absorbed by the events of war and the Soviet Union itself was not yet at war with Germany, the Russian leaders found the time proper to annex Estonia and the other Baltic states. Estonia, isolated from the outside world, could not resist Russian aggression by military means in order not to provide the Soviet Union with a pretext to annihilate the Estonian people completely.

These acts of violence as well as the presentation of an unwarranted ultimatum immediately afterwards, constituted flagrant infringements of a number of valid treaties under which the Soviet Union and the Republic of Estonia had agreed to refrain from any acts of aggression or any violent measures directed against the integrity and inviolability of the territory or against the settlement or solution of any disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or whatever origin, which might arise between them, by other than peaceful means.

On June 21, 1940 the President of the Republic, K. Päts, under pressure and the dictates of the emissary of the Soviet Russian government, A. A. Zhdanov, had to appoint a new Cabinet. This Cabinet could not be considered a legal government of

the Republic of Estonia and the fact of its installation, therefore, could not have any legal consequences under Article 51 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, viz. to relieve the lawfully elected government representatives of their offices.

Immediately after the nomination of this puppet "government" the occupational authorities carried out an election to the Chamber of Deputies, one of the two chambers of the Parliament, in an atmosphere of the most cynical illegality and terror (July 14-15, 1940). By a flagrantly illegal act all the candidates, save those put up by the Communists, were rejected. The election was a farce. The former democratic election rules were ignored and violated, and the election procedure was placed under the direct control of Russian Communist authorities. All former political parties of free Estonia were suppressed and their candidates were eliminated from the candidates' lists.

On July 21, 1940 this unlawful body, calling itself the Chamber of Deputies, assembled and approved a Moscow-dictated declaration petitioning the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to incorporate Estonia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This request was complied with. Since this procedure has no validity under the law of Estonia, the legal effect of her incorporation into the Soviet Union was and is now null and void. As such it was unable to break the identity and legal continuity of the Estonian Republic.

The government of the United States reacted to the events in the Republic of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by a statement made by the Under-Secretary of State Summer Welles on July 23, 1940, which clearly condemned this Soviet Russian aggression. Similarly other democratic Western powers were well aware of the fact that the Soviet Union had infringed upon valid treaties and rules of international law in annexing the Baltic states by force. These powers like the USA have refused to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union to this day.

The people of Estonia have never renounced their political independence... The Estonian people do not recognize, nor have ever recognized, as their representative, the so-called Soviet Estonian government imposed on them by the force of foreign arms and terror. The Estonian nation is firmly convinced that the lawful organs of the independent democratic Republic of Estonia shall resume their activity.

At the end of August 1940, the President of the Republic, K. Päts was deported to the Soviet Union by the occupational authorities. In accordance with § 46 of the lawful Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, the duties of the President are discharged by the Prime Minister when the President himself is prevented from doing so. Germany occupied Estonia in 1941 and this occupation lasted into late 1944.

In the last days of September 1944 the Russian forces reoccupied the territory of the Republic of Estonia and imposed an occupational regime which exists there to date.

The legal continuity of the institutions of the state has been safeguarded in accordance with the provisions of the Estonian Constitution, to make effective the struggle for the rights of the Estonian people and the Republic of Estonia, and to take steps and make arrangements which are the exclusive prerogative of the constitutional institutions of the Republic of Estonia.

Estonia, oppressed and exploited by Soviet Russia, will never reconcile herself to the status of a Russian colony. Russian colonialism with the Russification of the Estonian people is an oddity, especially at a time when the principles of freedom and self-determination for all peoples in the world have found universal recognition as the guiding principle of this century's international life and is being put into practice in all parts of the world.

The Estonian people are fighting for the recognition and application of these same principles in Eastern Europe, especially in the Baltic states.



## European Freedom Council Notes

*(Address by Dr. Alfredo Ferlisi (Italy), the delegate of the European Freedom Council at the Second WACL Conference, Saigon, Vietnam, December 16—18, 1968)*

On behalf of the European Freedom Council I have the honour and pleasure to extend my sincere greetings to the Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League and to wish it much success in its deliberations.

The European Freedom Council is a coordinating body for organizations fighting for freedom and against Communism. It stands for self-determination of all peoples, human rights and liberties, for human dignity, for freedom of practising all religious faiths, for social justice, for the re-establishment of the national independent and sovereign states within the ethnical boundaries of all peoples subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire, for the dissolution of artificial state structures, created by force or through foreign intervention, for the liquidation of the Communist system, for reunification in freedom of all divided countries.

The European Freedom Council condemns and fights conspiracy, subversive activity, terrorism and guerrilla warfare in the free countries. The EFC condemns and fights Communist imperialism — Russian, Red Chinese and others. It stands against Communist totalitarianism and its police state and one-party system. EFC condemns genocide, persecution of religious beliefs and national traditions and cultures, as for instance, the compulsory Russification of non-Russian peoples.

The European Freedom Council notes that since the First Conference of the WACL there have been significant international developments which have to be considered in the light of our aims and tasks.

The ruthless invasion of Czech and Slovak soil; Moscow's intensification of the pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany; the rapid building-up of Soviet Russia's aggressive navy, particularly in the

Mediterranean Sea; the continued growth of Russian aggressive imperialist power in the Middle East; Russian nuclear-equipped submarines and space rockets with thermo-nuclear war-heads — all these are the active preparations for the destruction of the free nations.

In view of these developments, the EFC condemns Russian and all Communist imperialism and colonialism and asks that all possible assistance be given to the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire and other Communist-dominated states in their struggle to establish their national and independent states within their ethnic boundaries and unify in freedom all divided countries. The EFC strongly condemns Russian invasion of the Czech and Slovak soil and calls upon the free world to be ready to wage armed resistance to counteract future Russian armed aggression. The EFC defends the right of unification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea and the liberation of mainland China from Communist tyranny and feels that all coalition governments in South Vietnam which would include the Communists would lead to the occupation of the whole of Vietnam by Communist totalitarians and tyrants. Therefore it calls upon the Government of the United States not to seek a compromise with Communists, who are no more than puppets of Russian or Peking imperialism, but to be instrumental in the liberation of the entire Vietnam, Korea, mainland China, as well as all the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism such as Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, the Baltic states, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechia, Slovakia, East Germany, Albania and others, and to liberate and grant sovereignty to the peoples subjugated in Yugoslavia — Croats, Serbs and others, and in general to dissolve

artificial state structures established by force of the CSSR type.

The EFC calls on all free nations to:

— assert their power, based as it is on strong spiritual and political values, which recognize the dignity of man and his right to all the human rights specified in the UN Declaration including the right to national independence;

— to strengthen NATO and SEATO forces as the only possible way in which to resist Russian and Communist adventures against the free nations;

— to call for the indictment of Russia before the United Nations for the continued subjection of the subjugated peoples in the Russian Communist empire and other Communist-dominated states, in view of the fact that Russians are constantly attacking non-existing American, British and French colonialism;

— to bring the matter of Russian, Red Chinese and other imperialism for consideration by the parliaments of the free nations;

— to establish a Captive Nations Week dedicated to the enslaved nations robbed of all the national, social and human rights guaranteed in the United Nations Charter;

— EFC calls for the full implementation of the Charter of the United Nations in the territories of the USSR and other Communist-dominated states, reminding Member Nations of their solemn declaration of “the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations”;

— to condemn Russian and Communist imperialism and to support the persecuted fighters for national, religious and creative freedom and to demand the release of those imprisoned for demanding these basic rights. In particular the EFC condemns the tyrannical persecution of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Hungarian and other creators of spiritual values and intellectuals of all nations subjugated by Russia and Communism. Documents from Ukraine found in *The Chornovil Papers* by Vyacheslav Chornovil, published by McGraw-Hill, and *Internationalism or Russification?* by Ivan Dzyuba, published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in London are living proof of the horrible persecution of freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of conscience and the desire for national independence and human rights among the subjugated peoples.

The EFC raises a strong voice of protest before the whole world in defence of all the subjugated nations and individuals and appeals to the governments of Western powers to exchange their policy of so-called peaceful coexistence, that is, the preservation of the status quo of subjugation, for a policy of liberation.

By helping the subjugated nations we are helping ourselves by safeguarding our freedom in view of Russian and Communist aggression.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS — FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

*From Letters To The Editor*

July 15, 1968

... I received a letter from Dr. Baymirza Hayit and also a book written by him entitled *RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM IN TURKESTAN*. This is a very interesting book and gives sufficient data about the Muslims in that country and their problems today under Soviet rule. At the Annual Convention of the Anti-Marxist Muslim United Front to be held next month I am preparing a series of resolutions to be moved demanding the freedom of captured nations, especially Turkestan, Azerbaijan and Idel Ural besides other countries like Georgia, Ukraine and Slovakia...

A. M. Nazeer

Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Friends of ABN  
Secretary General, Anti-Marxist  
Muslim United Front,  
Colombo, Ceylon



## **Futility Of Negotiations With Communists**

First of all I wish to express our gratitude to the Vietnam Chapter of APACL, for the opportunity to attend this conference and declare our full support for the Government and people of the Republic of Vietnam in their steadfast fight to repel the Communist aggression and to safeguard their national freedom and independence.

Furthermore, Byelorussian Liberation Front appeals to all the freedom loving nations of the world to give their full and wholehearted support to the Republic of Vietnam in order to ensure the speedy and complete annihilation of the Communist forces of aggression and thus to effectively check the growth of Communism in the area.

The Communist aggressors, having lost the initiative on the battlefield, have decided to put stronger emphasis on the diplomatic war in their relentless effort to subjugate the Republic of Vietnam and this diplomatic offensive must be very carefully watched, because there lies a very grave threat to the unity of the free world, disruption of which is of great importance to the Communists.

Recent events have revealed the unfortunate fact that, while the free world is capable of meeting and of defeating the physical forces of Communist aggression, the same free world is utterly unable to fully comprehend and therefore to defeat Communists in the diplomatic field, with the result that there is a potential danger that Communists may succeed in achieving through diplomacy what they have failed to win militarily. Therefore, it is earnestly hoped that the Government of the Republic of Vietnam will adopt a strong and unyielding policy in their dealings with the Communists and reject the pressure of any power, be it friendly or otherwise, to accept any terms or conditions pertaining to the settlement of the war in Vietnam which are, or will be, detrimental to the security of the Republic of Vietnam and/or which are likely to have an immediate or long-range adverse affect on the free world as a whole.

We should always bear in mind that it was the Communist puppets of North Vietnam who carefully prepared, launched and sustained the aggression against the Republic of Vietnam and also that the said aggression is but a continuation of the Communists' overall strategy and blueprint of world conquest which, due to the archaic and tragic attitudes and policies of the free world, enabled the Communist tyrants to enslave many nations and occupy large part of the world over the past 51 years. The free world should take advantage of the painful lessons learned from previous encounters with Communists and make sure that the tragic blunders, which enabled the Communists to enslave hundreds of millions of people and to spread their borders and influence to the extent that now they are in the position to seriously endanger the very survival of the free world, are not made again.

The past history has not only shown the utter futility of negotiations with Communists, but also the extreme danger of placing any trust in the Communist undertakings or promises, which are used by them only to gain time in order to consolidate or readjust their forces for new aggression.

As the Communists were never in the past, nor are at present interested in peaceful co-existence with the free world, therefore the final outcome of the struggle will be either total Communist slavery or the world where people of all races shall enjoy the fruits of individual and national freedom, depending on whether or not the free world shall be willing and capable of mustering enough wisdom and courage to come out of its shell in time to meet and defeat the Communist aggressors. Let us hope that late as it is, the free world will finally realize the seriousness of the position and shall adopt without delay all the measures necessary to ensure that freedom shall prevail . . .

(From the Second WACL Conference in Saigon)

## Recognition For The Republic Of Slovakia

The turmoil and tragedy in what is presently described as Czecho-Slovakia is the direct and inevitable result of Communist collaboration in the Roosevelt-Truman administrations. That perfidy cannot be expunged from the indelible records.

We are inundated by some of the information media — press, radio and TV, with references to the “Czecho-Slovakian” people. There are no Czecho-Slovakians. There are Czechs and Slovaks, just as there are Hungarians and Hindus, Japanese and Chinese, Irish and English, many of the Irish having scant regard for the British who ruled their country for generations. But the militant Irish gained their independence and the Republic of Ireland is recognized internationally by all civilized countries and some presently progressing toward that status.

The Republic of Slovakia declared its independence and assumed its status as a sovereign state on March 14, 1939, approximately six months before the beginning of World War II — September 1, 1939.

Writing in the “International Aspect of the Slovak Question, New York, 1954 (p. 26) Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, the former Foreign Minister of Slovakia asserts: “Inasmuch as the Slovak Republic was formed in peace time and was recognized by many (28) countries, it can legally cease to exist only through a treaty in which its liquidation is established. Until such time, the Slovak Republic should be considered as a territory occupied by the Soviet Russians and Czechs. This is valid, especially as the Slovaks are not willing to give up their independence.”

Even after World War II began, the British government advised the Slovak Consul, Milan Harminic, on Oct. 12, 1939 that “he will continue to be recognized as the Slovak Consul in London.”

Because an aggressor power, in this case the Soviet Union, occupies the territory of another country, it does not automatically

nullify the sovereignty of the occupied country. The three Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, were occupied by the military forces of Soviet Russia early in World War II. Soviet Russia has had the audacity to regard them as non-existent political entities, their territories being “merged” into the USSR, referred to as Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics — being neither united nor republics. To this day the United States does not recognize that “annexation” of the Baltic states into the Soviet Russian combine. The diplomatic representatives of those Baltic states in this country are still regarded as representatives of their invaded homelands.

Hungary, Poland and Rumania were also occupied by the Soviet Russian invaders during World War II and Communist regimes were established, but they continued to be regarded a separate political entities. On May 8, 1945, the Prime Minister of Slovakia, Stefan Tiso and five members of his government, signed a memorandum at Kremsmuenster, Austria, which was accepted by Brig. Gen. W. A. Collier of the United States Army. The Slovak officials asked asylum and the protection of the Americans for themselves and refugee Slovaks then in Austria. It was not “surrender” because Slovakia had never been at war with the USA.

On instructions from the Communist-infested State Department in Washington and in violation of all international codes those officials and many others, were delivered to the Soviet Russian-Benes “impostors” who had taken possession of the government in Prague, which had no legal jurisdiction over Slovakia. The position is analogous to that of the Baltic states already cited herein. In international law Slovakia should also be regarded as a political entity, presently under duress of a foreign aggressor. But what aid have our several Washington administrations given any of the Captive Nations? Precisely none.



## ABN Activity In National China

When I took over the ABN Mission in China eight years ago, my name was not only-known in anti-Communist circles but also in National China herself, since Chinese papers had already published news about my asking for asylum after the anti-Communist revolution in Hungary in 1956 not in one of the rich Western countries but in China. They found it strange that a European should prefer China and not countries in the Western world. This publicity has facilitated my task as chairman of the ABN Mission very much. When the Chinese learn that I am Hungarian they show interest in the Hungarian Revolution of October 1956. This is a good opportunity for me to talk about Communism and Russian imperialism.

Other opportunities are my articles and interviews on television and on the radio. Every time an important problem arises in Eastern Europe or in the Communist bloc, they consult me. The *Central Daily News* (Chung-yand zi-pao) asked me for a half-page interview on the occasion of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia by the Warsaw Pact countries. The TV does not ask me for interviews anymore since a few years ago I answered the question: "What can the peoples subjugated by Russia expect from America?" "What should these peoples expect from the same United States whose Democratic president, Roosevelt, gave them away to Russian imperialism, and whose Republican Secretary of State enabled Khrushchov through a telegram to suppress the Hungarian Revolution regardless of the bloodshed?"

After such interviews and articles many complete strangers, who recognized me from my photographs, which were printed in the papers, approached me in the streets and asked questions. Americans wrote letters to me after reading my articles.

Every year I participate in the "Freedom Day" on January 23rd, as well as in the

Captive Nations Week observances and deliver speeches. News and pictures of these events appear on television, in the papers and news-reels in cinemas. In the following weeks people approach me in the street, in buses and even on the beach. This is something quite normal for me which happens every day. I consider this contact with people more important than talking to the leaders of anti-Communist organizations, since they are already convinced anti-Communists, but the people who read only advertisements and programmes of films in the papers find an answer to their questions when they talk to me.

At the anniversaries of the Hungarian Revolution I sometimes organized press conferences and wrote articles. In 1966, on the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, I organized, together with Mr. Ku Cheng-kang and Father de Jaegher, a meeting for 300 invited guests — politicians and scientists. On this occasion four speakers delivered lectures.

I also wrote a book in Chinese (200 pp.) about the Hungarian Revolution which was printed by the National Party (Kuomintang) in 2000 copies. 1000 copies were distributed to military schools and patriotic organizations and 1000 copies were sold in bookstores in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan. Last year I wrote another book on Communism in Hungarian which was a success among the Hungarian exiles. Apart from this I wrote articles in *China Today*, in *Eastern and Western Culture*, *Képes Világbiradó* and in *ABN Correspondence*.

At the celebration of the Freedom Day, the Captive Nations Week and at the anniversaries of the Hungarian Revolution I gave speeches and lectures on Communism and Russian imperialism.

I am also in close contact with the APACL ROC and the WACL, and with the Embassies of the anti-Communist countries.

# Annual Convention Of AF- ABN In New York

## Commemoration Of The 25th Anniversary Of The Founding Of ABN

On the 8th and 9th of March 1969 the American Friends of ABN held their annual convention in New York, USA.

On the 8th of March in the East Ball Room of the Hotel Commodore the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was celebrated. Representatives of more than twenty different nationalities oppressed today by the Communists were present. Over 600 people attended. The most honourable guest and main speaker on this occasion was *Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*, former Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and President of ABN, who came from Europe especially for this celebration.

On the stage there was a display of flags of all participating nationalities. Beautiful girls in national costumes of Ukraine, Hungary, Croatia and Byelorussia were the honour guard which provided a magnificent view of the stage.

*Mr. Miro Gal* (Croatia) was the master of ceremony. *Mr. Aristide Nicolaie* (Rumania) was the director of the musical programme. The Reception Committee was made up of *Mr. Charles Andreanszky* (Hungary), *Capt. A. Doshen* (Croatia), *Mr. M. Spontak* (Ukraine) and *Mr. A. Pleskaczewski* (Byelorussia).

The celebration was opened by *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, Chairman of AF-ABN and President of the Bulgarian National Front. In his opening address he said: "ABN was founded 25 years ago in Ukraine by the leaders of the Ukrainian underground resistance — General Chuprynka, who fell in battle, Stepan Bandera, assassinated in Munich by Communist terrorists and Yaroslav Stetsko, who is now president of ABN and is with us tonight". At these words the audience gave a standing ovation to Mr. Stetsko. Dr. Docheff continued: "Today ABN is fighting Russian Communism all over the world to regain freedom and independence of all captive nations. The very successful world conference in London last October, the very successful conference in Saigon, Vietnam, where the ABN delegation played a leading role, and the success of today's celebration are proof that ABN is in fact the strongest anti-Communist organization in the free world."

*Mrs. Rosemary Gunning*, member of the New York State Assembly, expressed congratulations and good wishes for the success of the convention. Other speakers on this occasion were *Dr. Austin J. App* of Washington, D.C., President of the Federation of American Citizens of German Descent, and *Dr. Nestor Procyk* of Buffalo, President of AF-ABN.

Many congratulatory messages were received from leading American officials: the Office of President Richard M. Nixon; the Office of Vice-President Spiro Agnew; New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New Jersey, Richard J. Hughes; New York City Council President Francis S. Smith; Senators Jacob K. Javits and Peter H. Dominick; Members of Congress: Gerald R. Ford, Michael A. Feighan, T. J. Dulski, Edward J. Patten, Seymour Halpern, Peter W. Rodino, Jr., John W. Wydler, Lester L. Wolff, Leonard Farbstein, Edward Dervinsky and others.

There were also messages from various ABN organizations all over the free world: ABN of Sydney, Australia; ABN of London, Great Britain; ABN of West





*ABN President Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko addressing the AF-ABN Convention.*

Germany; the Croatian Association of Europe; Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union; Croatian Liberation Movement of Sweden; Byelorussian Liberation Front of Germany; ABN of Denmark; Organization of Free Ukraine of Washington; and many others.

The second part of the celebration consisted of a musical programme with performers from different nations — *Mr. Ivo Baskovich*, Croatian folk and popular singer; Byelorussian singers: *Mrs. A. Machniuk*, *Mrs. H. Pietysh*, *Mrs. Kosciuk*, *Mrs. L. Machniuk* and *Miss L. Score* at the piano; *Mrs. Rodica Cicos*, Rumanian singer; great Rumanian violinist *Miss Nusha Diona* accompanied at the piano by *Mr. Roland Granier*; and the *Ukrainian Bandurist Ensemble* of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine of Hempstead, N.Y. The excellent performance of all participants was enthusiastically received by the audience.

The observance ended with the American Anthem, played by an Estonian pianist, *Miss Frederika Tanner*.

On March 9th the AF-ABN Convention held its working session from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. at the Windsor Court Room, Hotel Commodore, New York. It was chaired by *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, Chairman of AF-ABN. *Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*, President of ABN and *Mrs. Slava Stetsko*, Editor of *ABN Correspondence* attended. The delegations of Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, North Caucasus, Rumania, Slovakia, Ukraine and USA were present. There were also delegations from the New York, Chicago, Washington, Buffalo, Rochester, Cleveland, New Jersey and other chapters of AF-ABN. The ABN of Canada was represented by *Mr. Vasyl Bezkhlibnyk*.

*Dr. Ivan Docheff* as Chairman of the Executive Board of AF-ABN reported on past activity. *Mrs. Slava Stetsko* outlined the future activity of ABN. *Dr.*



*Nestor Procyk* reported on the Bylaw Committee. *Mr. C. Andreanszky*, *Mrs. Slava Stetsko* and *Mr. Ted Jenning* reported on the Resolution Committee.

After proper discussion on each of the reports they were adopted.

At the end the convention unanimously elected new officers as follows:

**Executive Board**

*Chairman* — Dr. I. Docheff

*Vice-Chairmen* — Mr. C. Andreanszky, Mr. Gal, Mr. A. Pleskaczewski, Dr. A. Sokolyszyn

*Secretary General* — M. Spontak

*Treasurer* — W. Pielesa

**Presidium**

*President* — Dr. N. Procyk

*Vice-Presidents* — Baron De Besseney, Capt. A. Doshen, Mrs. U. Celewych, Dr. G. Paprikoff, Mr. J. Kosiak, Prof. A. App

**Board of Directors**

*National Representatives* — Mr. R. Babaglu (Azerbaijan), Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), Mr. J. Kosiak (Byelorussia), Mr. M. Gal (Croatia), Ataman I. Bilyj (Cossackia), Mr. E. Lipping (Estonia), Col. A. Tthankeli (Georgia), Mr. D. Schroeder (Germany), Capt. Z. Vasvary (Hungary), Mr. J. Jasaitis (Lithuania), Mr. Arslan Bak (North Caucasus), Mr. A. Nicolaie (Rumania), Mr. M. Balco (Slovakia), Dr. N. Procyk (Ukraine)

*Organization Representatives* — Mr. N. Stoyanoff (Bulgarian National Front), Lt. Col. N. Nazarenko (Cossackian War Veterans), Mr. L. Reicherzer (United American Croats), Mr. A. Nosich (Croatian Guard of Liberty), Mr. E. Derrik (Estonian Veterans), Mr. Barron (Federation of American Citizens of German Descent), Dr. J. Carja (Former Rumanian Political Prisoners), Mr. J. Rampak (Slovak American Ass.), Dr. Th. Krupa (Ukrainian AF-ABN Divisions), Mr. T. Jenning (US Christian Youth Ass.)

*Branch Representatives* — Each AF-ABN Branch to nominate up to three representatives.



*Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, delivering the opening address at the AF-ABN Convention.*



## Resolutions Of The AF-ABN Conference In New York

The annual Conference of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, having gathered on the 25th anniversary of the foundation of this coordinating centre of the national liberation organisations and movements of the countries subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communist tyranny, reaffirms its conviction that:

a) national state independence, sovereignty and liberty of all the peoples of the world is an inseparable part of the progress, cooperation, well-being and peace of mankind;

b) national sovereignty and independence is the indispensable prerequisite and guarantee of the realisation of Human Rights, as set out in the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations 20 years ago;

c) in contrast to multi-national imperial states, national sovereign states have no possibility to concentrate huge material and technical resources as well as manpower of subject peoples for the manufacture of new military means of mass destruction. Therefore they are a better guarantee of peace, security, order and welfare in the world, provided that they enter into friendly relations among themselves on the basis of mutual recognition of sovereignty, independence and full equality without regard to size, population, wealth and other considerations;

d) the gaining of independence by the majority of peoples of different continents, inevitably favours the liquidation of the barbarous and genocidal colonialism, the Russian empire, and the dissolution of the artificial multi-national state structures, which are in the hands of Communist tyrannies, into national, independent sovereign states;

e) the existence of the tyrannical Russian empire in its Communist or any other possible guise, is contrary to the will of the enslaved nations to live their own free and independent lives, as well as to the progress of mankind and to a full realisation of the rights of nations and man; it is also the

most dangerous threat to all freedom-loving mankind because of its drive to accumulate terrible means of mass destruction and determination to use them for the suppression of liberty;

f) the idea of the imperative to liberate subjugated nations, the common front of all religions against the atheists, the struggle for the rights of man, for the all-round freedom of creative endeavour, for social justice and for the cultivation of national traditions and way of life — are the Achilles' heel of the Russian prison of nations and individuals, and strike at the sorest spot of any Communist system. In view of the above, the Conference of AF-ABN proclaims with fresh determination as the main and unchanging aims of the movements united in its framework the following:

An uncompromising fight against all trends which oppose only the present Communist regime in the USSR, but do not oppose Russian imperialism, for instance, the concept of so-called democratic socialism replacing the present imperial structure in the USSR — unmasking them as attempts to prepare a "change of guard" in the Kremlin, the replacement of the Communist tyranny by a new Russian empire under different signboards, for Russian imperialism of any brand will remain a mortal enemy of all the nations at present subjugated by Moscow;

The liquidation of the Russian empire of any form, and its dissolution into sovereign, independent national states of all the peoples enslaved in it, comprising their ethnic territories, and a complete abolition of the Communist system of any kind;

Re-unification in freedom of all the nations forcibly divided as a result of the Russian-Communist aggression, into nation states within their ethnic areas;

The AF-ABN Conference calls on all those who have lost their way in the national-communist ideology to join the broad revolutionary front directed against Russian imperialism and Communism at the same time, in the awareness of the fact that only an ideology based on liberation na-

tionalism, and a revolutionary strategy can lead to victory, for it does not seek to have anything in common with any systems imposed on our countries by the occupying power, but destroys them to the foundations, totally and absolutely.

Relying on the forces of our own nations, on the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, as a way to liquidate the Russian empire and Communism, as an alternative to a thermo-nuclear war,

the AF-ABN Conference, in the name of the devise, "Who helps our nations, helps his own nation" — puts forward the following demands:

To break off all diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with the USSR and its satellites;

To exclude the USSR and all its satellites from all international organizations;

To bring the USSR and its satellites before the International Tribunal in Hague for innumerable crimes of genocide, for provoking and carrying on of aggressive wars, for the violation of the rights of nations, and man, for the destruction of churches, cultures, and traditions of the subjugated peoples, for subversion and disintegration of sovereign nations, for the infringement of their sovereignty and for the crimes similar to those for which Nazi leaders had been tried by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg;

To condemn the recent occupation by Russian invaders in Czech and Slovak countries;

To condemn the recent imprisonment of Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi and many priests;

To condemn Russian colonialism and imperialism in all the countries enslaved by it;

To condemn the policy of extermination, Russification, persecution, imprisonment and sentencing of the creators of cultural values, of scholars, artists, litterateurs, students, Red Cross workers, practised by Russia and the Communists in the enslaved countries;

To condemn and expose Russian genocidal policy of deporting masses of popula-

tion from their native countries to other countries of the USSR, so as to weaken the revolutionary liberation fight in the non-Russian countries;

To condemn the colonisation by Russians of the countries of non-Russian nations;

To set up an economic and communication blockade of the Russian and Communist regimes;

To discontinue the policy of the so-called peaceful coexistence with the Communist Russian tyranny, but instead to initiate the policy of liberation, the aim of which should be political, moral and technical support for the struggling peoples, in order to overthrow the Russian empire from within without an atomic war.

The AF-ABN Conference calls on the free nations of the world: to work simultaneously on the front against Moscow and Peking and, through assistance to national liberation movements within the Russian empire, to make it impossible for Moscow to carry on peripheral wars;

to recognize that the main enemy of the free world is Russia whose way of life has been imported to Mainland China; hence, to help the Chinese people which is anti-Communist by its mentality and by its social structure, to throw off the yoke of the Communist tyrants and thus to liquidate the Red Chinese threat, to enable the national Chinese forces to neutralize it from within;

to oppose the attempts to set up a common bloc of the West with Russia against the Communist Chinese tyranny, because such an action would only bring about a victory of tyranny in general, as the experience of the Second World War has shown.

While supporting the U.S. action in Vietnam in its resistance to Russia and Communism, we consider the methods and aims of this action — limited to local armed resistance, as well as the strategic concept underlying it, as false and insufficient for a lasting victory, because it avoids the attack on the main enemy, namely Russia, and its Achilles' heel, the national liberation movements in the Russian empire.



## We Shall Not Wait Long!

**Estonian intellectuals threaten Moscow with a popular uprising. A daring memorandum sent by dissident intellectuals.**

An open letter by Estonian professors, scholars and technicians, intended, no doubt, for the public of both parts of the divided world, provides a very interesting, sometimes even sensational view on the radicalization of ideas and attitudes of the non-Russian intelligentsia in the USSR. The letter — in the form of a memorandum — was also sent to the Western correspondents in the USSR.

The memorandum is first of all a testimonial to the unprecedented courage and fearlessness of man, which was manifested only in the first years of Stalinist terror and was later quelled. According to the memorandum the major difficulty is persuading a part of the intellectuals opposed to the Soviet regime to develop political ideas and ethical principles which are directly opposed to Marxism-Leninism. In connection with this it is necessary to state that we do not mean an "Estonian variation" of Titoism or Maoism.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that the authors of the memorandum are not ideological advocates of the so-called "American way of life." They reject Western capitalism as much as they reject Russian Communism. They uphold the positions of socialism — as Estonian patriots, whose greatest concern is the happiness, security, independence and progress of their own nation. However, their socialism differs from "Soviet socialism" as sharply as, to use a topical example — the surface of the earth differs from the surface of the moon.

The contents of the letter and its demands can be briefly summarized in the following emphatic words:

The USSR must abandon its imperialistic and colonialist political role and respect the realization of national self-determination by all nations. Attempts should be made to liquidate the post-Stalinist police regime, to release all political prisoners, to rehabilitate all victims of Soviet Russian Communism,

regardless of their political and party, religious or ideological views; to recognize political, economic and moral bankruptcy of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and to remove this corps from the life of the Eastern peoples; to eliminate the one-party dictatorship and to return to genuine democracy including the freedom to establish opposition parties, freedom of the press, religion, assembly and travel; to punish all living party and state leaders who are responsible for the subjugation and the exploitation of nations, working masses, churches and states.

As a supplement of these propositions, formulated in a revolutionary way, it would be useful to quote several short, characteristic passages from the letter:

"Political upheavals of the 20th century have brought about both the weakening of Christianity in our society, which was a major force in the formation of views, and the destruction of moral values of society. The new, materialistic ideology has not replaced these lost values . . . A moral vacuum of a sort has been created."

"Are we not attributing too many crimes to the demoniacal figure of Stalin and his faithful servants? Our whole social order bears responsibility for all these deeds. Has it not provoked the personality cult and its excesses by its lack of criticism, ignorance, passiveness, obsequious servitude and finally cruelty. An idol cannot exist without idolaters."

"The liberation of the whole society is impossible without its active participation. Our society needs real democratization as much as it needs air to breath. The right of a minority to dissent must be guaranteed by law. The work of government organs must be under constant control by the public . . . The electoral system must be built on the basis of a multi-party system."

"The leaders of our society, its most noble and brave representatives, who for their

daring to have their own independent ideas and to create and think independently have been confined to prisons and concentration camps — should be released immediately.”

“The national question demands an immediate and just settlement; nations have the right to have their own sovereign and independent states and this should be guaranteed to them. We have to renounce once and for all the callous “acquisition” of territories, the extension of government authority and the continuation of the policy of aggression.”

“We are compelled, we are duty-bound to evaluate the role of the USSR objectively. The doctrine of militant and aggressive Communism originated in the USSR. The doctrine of peaceful coexistence was dictated because of the fear for security and not for any humanitarian considerations. Was it not the USSR which in the years 1919—1939 forcibly annexed territories, thousands of square kilometres of land, and then in Europe alone subjected 8 states, an area of almost 1,300 million square kilometres, to its military and political control?”

The nationally conscious, dissident intelligentsia of Estonia, a relatively small country with a highly developed culture, has no illusions whatsoever as to the possibilities of realizing this programme “legally”. The tone and the style of this memorandum reveal the awareness that only the road of general popular uprising, the liberation revolution, directed against the Soviet Russian system, can lead to the desired end. The last paragraph of the Estonian memorandum speaks about this as follows:

“12 years have passed since the 24th Party Congress — we have waited and begged our government to effect liberal reforms. We are prepared to wait and beg for a little bit longer. But in the end we will demand and act! And then armoured divisions will have to be sent not only to Prague and Bratislava, but also to Moscow and Leningrad!”

And on our part we shall add: they will have to be sent to Kyiv, Riga, Vilna, Tashkent and to all other capitals of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

### **World's Union Of Croatian Youth Protests Against Presentation Of 1968 “Liberty Trophy” To Milovan Djilas**

*The Croatian youth whom nobody can accuse of being anti-democratic, who is scattered all over the world, who knew the bitterness of being born in concentration camps, cannot understand how the Occidental world, the world, which gave out men of stature like Washington, San Martin, Lincoln, Artigas, Bolivar, Sucre, O'Higgins, can distinguish with the “Liberty Trophy” a man who has done his best to supplant that liberty and who started to rebel against his Communist comrades only when Tito saw in him a dangerous rival.*

*Wasn't it Milovan Djilas who helped to introduce the Communist regime into the Balkans?*

*Wasn't it he who at the end of the war ordered Communist guerrillas “to kill the Croatians as rabid dogs so that Yugoslavia may live?”*

*Wasn't it he who ordered the execution of so many Croatian Catholic priests?*

*The honour bestowed on Milovan Djilas hurts the feelings of all the Croatian people. This bestowal is the greatest offense to the 150,000 Croatians assassinated at Milovan Djilas' command in the proximity of Bleiburg in 1945. It is also an offense to all North American soldiers and to all those of other nationalities who died in defense of Liberty and Democracy.*

*The Croatian youth believes that everyone who loves Liberty, Democracy and Justice will join its struggle to defend the liberty taken away from the Croatian people through the influence of Milovan Djilas, former Vice-President of the Communist government of Yugoslavia.*

*Maria Simunic de Rasic      Zvonko Hasenay  
Secretary General                      President*



## News And Views

### "REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA?"

This was the title of a most interesting television broadcast on I.T.A. (Thames) network in London, Britain, on December 10, 1968 at the peak viewing time. The half-hour broadcast which began at 9.15 p. m. was produced by Robert Kee and included interviews with well known experts of Soviet affairs: the recently escaped Soviet Russian writer Boris Vladimirov, the journalist Robert Conquest, London School of Economics lecturer Mr. Peter Reddaway, the Glasgow University professor Alec Nove, and Mr. Weatherley, former prisoner in one of the concentration camps for political prisoners near Pot'ma in the Mordovian ASSR, U.S.S.R.

The broadcast opened with brief glimpses of Budapest fighting in 1956, of Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 and with a reportage about an imaginary revolution in the Soviet Russian empire in the future. It included shots of fighting in the Soviet capital, reports of an army coup d'etat, and a flash report about a break-away bid by Ukraine.

Unfortunately, this is not a reality. And so the commentator reviewed briefly the 50 years of history of the Soviet Union dwelling on the ruthless methods with which Stalin and his successors maintained power and transformed the old Russian empire into the second most powerful military power in the world. There appeared on the screen shots of Ukrainian farmers gathering harvest on their individual plots in the 1920s, which was a relatively prosperous period for them. Then followed gruesome scenes of the famine of 1933 and pictures of starving Ukrainian children and horse-carts laden full with human corpses. Robert Conquest recalled that about 5½ million people died of famine in the Soviet Union, most of them in Ukraine, in 1933 and about the same number of "kulaks" were deported to Siberia. Robert Conquest also described the terrible years of Stalin's terror in the late 1930s when millions of people were imprisoned without any guilt and many of them shot.

The most interesting was the following discussion of the Soviet nationality policy:

*Commentator:* The Soviet Union contains 15 separate republics, each having the theoretical right to secede, like the Ukraine, Georgia, and the Central Asian Republics. Only half of the population of the Soviet Union are Russians. Inhabitants of these very different republics present the Soviet regime with one of its trickiest problems by reason of the very strong nationalistic sense of their own they all manifest.

*Tibor Szamuely:* Well, actually, when I am asked what are the forces that might produce change or possibly even revolution or disintegration or whatever in Russia, then I think that the only serious force that can be taken into calculation, however remote it may seem, is in fact the force of nationalism. I think this is the greatest danger to the Soviet regime, especially, of course, in the Ukraine which is the largest of the non-Russian republics, and which in fact, if it would be independent, would be probably the third or the fourth biggest European state, and

probably the richest European country, and about one of the most highly developed of them all. It would live extremely well as a separate state, and Ukrainians know it.

*Commentator:* In recent years many Ukrainians, confident of this strength, are trying to assert their national identity, are being sentenced at secret trials to long terms of imprisonment in harsh labour camps. They base their nationalism on Lenin's own teachings and on national rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. The arrests continue.

*Szamuely:* Russians are also doing something else which is much worse in a sense, they are carrying out wholesale transfers of population not only in the way they did it under Stalin 20 years ago when the whole nationality would be put into cattle trucks and transported to Siberia with half of it dying on the way and the other half more or less dying in Siberia. What they are doing now is that they are re-settling Russians in large numbers in these republics, and, of course, especially in the small Baltic republics, and enticing, or in some cases applying pressure on people from these republics to go and settle in other areas within the USSR. So the probability is that in 20 years', very possibly even in 10 years' time, the majority of population in the Baltic republics will already be Russian. So these countries will be denationalised.

This, I suppose, does not come under the heading of genocide within the meaning of the act, but it is as near genocide as anything else. These nations will gradually cease to exist, or rather they will gradually stop having their own territory, if something does not happen to stop this.

*Commentator:* As in any dictatorship there is in the Soviet Union immense power available to resist change, but what is it like today to be one of the leaders in the Kremlin?

*Peter Reddaway:* They are surrounded by the most fearful problems. Everything from their point of view seems to be going wrong. Everything is backfiring. The socialist countries are supposed to be getting more and more friendly, more and more united as they march forward towards Communism. The nationalities inside the Soviet Union are supposed to be becoming more and more friendly, merging into one single Soviet nationality, as they march forward towards Communism. The people should be becoming more and more collective-minded, agriculture should be becoming more and more communal and collective, people in their general social life should be doing the same, and yet everywhere individualism, pluralism, religion — in almost all these respects it is happening the opposite to what should be happening, and this is a nightmare situation for the Soviet leaders."

Peter Reddaway then discussed the possibilities of a military coup d'etat in the Kremlin and the arrival on the scene of a purely chauvinistic Russian government. From the point of view of liberalisation, the ideal situation would be, he said, if a person like Dubcek took over the leadership, for there would be no one to hamper him in carrying out the necessary reforms, unlike in the case of Czechoslovakia where the Soviet Union checked the progress of reforms.

Nobody in the present Central Committee said the commentator is likely to become a leader of the Dubcek type, for they are an aging collection of old Party hacks whose average age in the Politbureau is 61 years.



Mr. Szamuely called the men in the Kremlin "a group of second-rate stupid bunks".

He expressed the fear that even if an unlikely earthquake would remove the present leadership in the Kremlin, they would be replaced by a similar lot of people, for the Soviet state apparatus is an almost perfect automatic machine which could as well be run by a computer, not by human beings.

The commentator ended the interesting programme with the question: "But could any system based on a lie about human freedom really go on for ever?"

Our answer is an emphatic "No!" The ruthless regime of the Russian prison of nations will collapse sooner or later from its own internal contradictions and injustices.

### Report by the Secretariat of the Meeting of the Youth Delegation at the Second WACL Conference

At the first meeting of the Youth Delegation from WACL Chapters at Revolutionary Development Training Center, Vung Tau, South Vietnam, Monday, December 16, 1968, the choice of a Presiding Committee and a Secretarial Committee was made.

Mr. Pham Phuc Hung, Vietnam Delegation, was elected chairman; Mr. Hsu Kang Tsung, China Delegation, and Mr. Lee Jong Kun, Korea Delegation were elected vice-chairmen.

Mr. Le Dinh Dieu, Vietnam Delegation, and Mr. Naronk Khemayodhin, Thailand Delegation, were appointed Secretaries of the Meeting.

The main topic of the Meeting was "A World Youth Anti-Communist League". The following points were unanimously adopted:

1. The Preparatory Committee was set up to work on the procedures, the charter and the programs for establishing a WYACL.

2. The First WYACL Conference will be held next year, concurrently with the Third WACL Conference. At present the place is undetermined.

3. The Preparatory Committee includes: the Executive Board, the Secretary General, Head of Charter Section, Head of Campaigning Section and Head of General Affairs.

4. The Preparatory Committee will con-

sist of the following members: Executive Board — Khemayodhin (Thailand), Jong Kun Lee (Korea), To Kimchiro Tamazawy (Japan), Maria Dascalakis (Greece), Pham Phuc Hung (Vietnam), Hsu Kang Tsung (China); Secretary General — Pham Quan Khanh (Vietnam); Head of Charter Section — Chung Tsung Yuan (China); Head of Campaigning Section — Jong Kun Lee (Korea); Head of General Affairs Section — Le Dinh Dieu (Vietnam).

5. *Right of Veto* — In order that a project put forward by the Secretariat be adopted by the Executive Board a 2/3 vote is needed for substantial matters; a simple majority is needed for procedural matters.

6. *Drafting and Voting on a Joint Communiqué* — A Joint Communiqué was drafted by the host delegation (Vietnam), in Vietnamese and in English. It was discussed and unanimously adopted by the Meeting at 20:00 hours, December 17, 1968. *Secretariat* — Mr. Le Dinh Dieu, Mr. Naronk Khemayodhin

*Chairman* — Mr. Pham Phuc Hung  
*Vice Chairmen* — Mr. Hsu Kang Tsung, Mr. Lee Jong Kun

*Delegates* — China — Mr. Chung Tsung Yuan; Greece — Maria Dascalakis; Japan — Mr. To Kimchiro Tamazawa; Korea — Mr. Jong Kun Lee; Thailand; Vietnam — Mr. Pham Phuc Hung, Mr. Pham Quan Khanh, Mr. Le Dinh Dieu.

## World Youth Corps Established

On December 12-14, 1968 the First International Youth Conference was held in Manila, Philippines. It was attended by youth leaders from 16 countries around the world: Albania, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Korea, Norway, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Thailand, Ukraine, USA and Vietnam. The subjugated countries were represented by Mr. V. Pyrih and Mr. Y. Mencinsky, both members of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Australia.

The Conference was opened by President Marcos of the Philippines. In his opening address Pres. Marcos stressed the importance of a united front of the youth of the free world and the youth of the subjugated countries. Other prominent speakers were Minister of Education, O. D. Corpuz, and Deputy Minister Luigi M. Galli of Italy. Governor Conrado Estrella spoke about the problems facing youth today. Other well-known political figures and community leaders of the Philippines who addressed the various sessions of the Conference were: Representative F. D. Caram, Senator Helena Benitez, Vice-President Fernandez Lopez, Representative Gilberto M. Duavit and others. President and Mrs. Marcos and Rev. Jesus Diaz, Dean of the Manila University, held receptions in honor of the delegates.

The Presiding Officers of the First International Youth Conference were: Chairman — Prof. Gonzalo A. Velez (Philippines); Vice-Chairman — Hon. Mahinda Ranaweera (Ceylon); Secretary-General — Mr. Hsu Kang-tsung (China) and three Deputy Secretaries General — Hon. Mohamad Zamroni (Indonesia), Mr. Tokuchiro Tamazawa (Japan) and Mr. Yuriy Mencinsky (Ukraine).

Four committees were set up: *Political* with Mr. Xuan Va-Tong (Vietnam) as reporter and Mr. Volodymyr Pyrih (Ukraine) as member; *Organizational* with Mr. Yuriy B. Mencinsky (Ukraine) as chairman and

Miss Delos Santos (Philippines) as reporter; *Education* with Cosmas Bauraba (Indonesia) as chairman and Mr. Mencinsky as reporter; *Socio-economic* with Khalid Ghout (Saudi Arabia) as chairman and Mr. Ranet (Italy) as reporter.

One of the major accomplishments of the Conference was the establishment of the World Youth Corps. Its Charter makes it clear that the World Youth Corps supports the subjugated peoples in their quest for national independence.

The following persons were elected officers of the World Youth Corps:

*Executive Board* — President — Prof. Gonzalo A. Velez; Vice-President — Hon. Mahinda Ranaweera; Secretary General — Hon. Mohamad Zamroni; Treasurer — Xuan Va-Tong; Parliamentarian — Atty. Ildefonso Bautista (Philippines).

*Continental Chairman* — Asia — Tokuchiro Tamazawa, head of a Japanese youth organization; Europe — Hon. Anders Bjorck (Sweden), head of the Swedish Conservative Party Youth; North America — Michael Thompson (USA), head of the National Committee of Students for the Victory in Vietnam; Middle East — Khalid Ghouth; Subjugated Countries — Yuriy Mencinsky.

*Other Members* — Suriyon Vindubranakul (Thailand); Byung Sup Kim (Korea); Vasil Germanji (Albania); Hsu Kang-tsung (China).

The Conference has adopted a number of resolutions and has issued a joint communique.

The Second Conference of the World Youth Corps has been set for December 28-30, 1969 and is to be held in Western Europe. Mr. Mencinsky has been designated as its Chairman, Mr. Bjorck as Vice-Chairman, Mr. Ghouth, Mr. Singh (India) and Mr. Imperial (Philippines) as Deputy Secretaries General.



## Recent Documentation

### Resolutions Passed At The Second WACL Conference, December 1968

#### On Neutralism And Achilles' Heel Of Communism

*Whereas* 'Neutralism', not being really neutral, clearly apart from both Democracy and Communism, favours Communism in the long run. Besides, it is morally untenable and shameful, as it shows lack of determination and courage to choose between Good and Evil;

*Whereas* the Achilles' heel of Communism is its internal front, because Communism is hated by its enslaved subjects, peoples and individuals, the best way to defeat Communism is to assist the insurgent forces to fight against this tyranny;

*Whereas* we must strike at the very sources of evil — ethnical Russia and mainland China, because in so doing we will bring about the downfall of Communism everywhere;

*Whereas*, on account of the current situation, Communist China should be struck first, in order for us to take advantage of both the rift between her and Russia, and the terror existing *inside* Red China;

*Whereas*, only Free China, ready for action with a well-trained Army of 600,000, excellent Air Force and a small but modern Navy and with a civilian population eager for an opportunity to deal a blow to the oppressors of their kinsmen on the continent;

#### BE IT RESOLVED:

That the League urge Free China to beat down Mao's tottering regime by taking concrete measures to assist the freedom-loving people gallantly fighting against tyranny on the mainland.

#### Communist Infiltration In Religion

##### Whereas:

One of the most damaging and frustrating factors in the fight against Communism is the infiltration of Communist ideas and concepts in religion.

The Second WACL Conference most respectfully appeals to all religious leaders to react spiritually against Communist ideological infiltration of all religions.

#### Urgency Of Adequate Measures To Face The Communist Threat

*Whereas*, the whole world, for all its multi-faceted advances in the rapid scientific progress, has thus far failed to attain for all peoples national independence, peace justice, and happiness that only a free and enlightened society can guarantee;

*Whereas*, there exists exhaustive and comprehensive documentary and attested evidence proving beyond the last shadow of a doubt that atheistic international Communism under the morally deprived leadership of Soviet Russian and Red Chinese dictators has caused and is still causing untold destruction of human life, liberty, and property in all continents and islands of the world;

*Whereas*, Communist aggression which has already enslaved one half of the world's composite population in Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Baltic States, Caucasus, Turkistan, mainland China, Africa, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba and others is relentlessly and ruthlessly carrying on its bloody march toward its immutable objective: the total conquest of the whole world;

*Whereas*, the most recent manifestations of Soviet Russian aggression in the rape of Czecho-Slovakia, the increasing strength of the Soviet Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, the hijacking of the USS Pueblo, and the continuing intrusion of Communist North Koreans into the Republic of Korea and the still raging nameless terrorism in the Republic of Vietnam directed and orchestrated by Ho Chi Minh together with the ruthless persecution of writers, artists,

and intellectuals, indicate unmistakably the unchanging pattern of world revolution that Communism uses to lure the world into the so-called classless Utopia of the future;

*Whereas*, there is ample evidence to prove that the student riots, the destruction of public and private property, the burning down of cities, and the general break-down of morality in all parts of the world, have been instigated and are being managed by Communist activists and experts in the art of violence;

*Whereas*, a growing body of soft-liners has succumbed to the blandishments and manipulations of Communist theoreticians and have in countless ways brought their influence to bear on the foreign policy of the United States of America thus encouraging more malevolent subversion and more inhuman aggression by Communist regimes; and

*Whereas*, in the face of the calculated villainy and duplicity of Communist leaders, Red China has had the hypocritical effrontery to offer peaceful co-existence to the United States, sending troops into Albania thus establishing an aggressive beach head in the heart of Europe outwardly to seek rapprochement and friendship but, really to induce the soft-liners to influence the incoming Administration to establish an accommodation and compromise with Mao Tse-tung and his criminal regime, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. THAT the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE assume a more militant, aggressive, and firm posture to meet the unceasing challenge of the Communist regimes wherever they manifest their merciless malignancy and aggression;

2. THAT the LEAGUE individually and collectively continue to mount with greater vigor and determination a propaganda offensive not only against the Communist leaders but also against the soft-liners who constantly seek the building of impossible bridges with Communist countries; and

3. THAT the members of the LEAGUE make an unequivocal and immediate resolve to unite their forces and contribute

wholehearted moral, political, and financial support to the WACL Secretariat to carry on the psychological and propaganda war against the Communist Party in whatever form it may rear its ugly head in the world.

### **In Support Of The 10th Anniversary Of The Captive Nations Week**

In view of the fact that since 1959 — when the U.S. 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 the Annual Week as being inimical to their fundamental interests; and also in view of the fact that to the mounting consternation of Moscow, Peiping, 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;

In the belief that the movement to support freedom and liberation of all captive nations has now taken hold in numerous other countries in the free world as evidenced by week-long observances in the Republic of China, Korea, Argentina, Australia and a number of other countries;

Maintaining 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 27 nations in the red empire;

The Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League now resolves that:

The League and its members and associated groups will exert every effort to make the 10th Anniversary of Captive Nations Week on July 13—19, 1969 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 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.

### **On Israeli-Arab War**

*Whereas*, because of Israeli-Arab war of June 1967 and its consequences a very serious situation endangering the peace of the world is existing in the Middle East;

*Whereas*, all the efforts of Mr. Jaring, the U.N. representative, to bring the parties to a settlement have been fruitless, the Second WACL Conference resolves:

All U.N. member governments are invited to take all necessary steps to bring the belligerent parties to adopt and execute U.N. Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967 and thus to avoid any danger of war in the Middle East.

### **On Freedom Cells Or Training Centers**

Since it is evident that a rapidly increasing number of the world's youth is growing toward manhood and full partnership in the management of modern society without knowing what Communism is;

Since it is apparent that the generation gap, despite the uses of mass media, is dangerously widening and deepening;

Since it is urgently necessary for the free world to match the systematic and consistent training of the youth by Communist regimes; THEREFORE,

**BE IT RESOLVED:**

THAT all national member-units be urged to establish training centers to be known as FREEDOM cells at grade-school, se-

condary, and college levels for the purpose of affording the youth the advantages of expert guidance in the formation of a vigorous and courageous spirit of freedom which will defy the menace of international Communism and all other forms of absolutism.

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:**

THAT the WACL Secretariat be required to produce the necessary BASIC PRIMER and a GRADED curriculum with an adequate list of readings for use in the FREEDOM cells at all three levels, in English, French, Chinese, Korean, and Spanish, and that all member-units contribute a minimum of \$ 50 or more for the implementation of this project not later than January 30, 1969, and that the WACL Secretariat be required to produce a BOOKLET of INSTRUCTIONS for use by the leaders of the member-units in the organization and conduct of the FREEDOM CELLS.

### **On Support Of The Correct Stand Of The Vietnamese Government**

The World-Communist League:

Considering that the United States, without the previous concurrence of the Vietnamese government, ordered the complete cessation of bombing against North Vietnam;

Considering that the United States had made solemn commitments to its Asian allies to respect their views and wishes and particularly those of Vietnam;

Considering that past peace negotiations with the Communists not only had failed to achieve results but also led to bewilderment and confusion; and

Considering the existence of a policy of appeasement among nations and the undercutting of the idea of "sacrificing the interests of the Republic of Vietnam for the sake of terminating the war in Vietnam",

Resolves at its Second Conference that:

The League cable U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson and President-Elect Richard M. Nixon urging that the United States at the Paris Peace Conference should:

1. Respect the free will of the Vietnamese people and support the correct stand of the Vietnamese Government and to regard all resolutions void without the concurrence of the Vietnamese Government; and

2. Consider the resumption of full-scale bombing of North Vietnam while the peace negotiations remain deadlocked and not speak of the cessation of bombing before an adequate assurance is given that North Vietnam will de-escalate the war in Vietnam.

### **Designation Of January 23rd. As "World Freedom Day"**

The World Anti-Communist League:

Considering that since the Second World War the freedom of mankind has been undermined by Communism resulting in the enslavement of half of mankind, that peoples behind the Iron Curtain have for the sake of freedom and survival been struggling heroically against their totalitarian regimes and that countless people have broken out of the Iron Curtain at the risk of their lives in order to live in freedom;

Considering that the East European Communist bloc has crushed the movement of Czecho-Slovakia for democracy, freedom and independence by violent force and that the upsurge of mankind striving for liberty has been increasingly mounting as a result of the determined and sustained struggles of the enslaved nations for democracy, independence and freedom;

Realizing that in the face of the international Communist bloc's split beyond any hope of reunion in the foreseeable future and in as much as the Chinese Communist regime is on the verge of collapse as a result of its internal power struggle and endless chaos and confusion the crucial opportunity has come for the forces of freedom and justice to accelerate their support of Iron Curtain peoples to help them overthrow the tyrannical yoke pressing heavily on them and regain their freedom and national independence; and

Noting that it was a great historical victory for freedom that on January 23,

1954 more than 22,000 Chinese and Korean anti-Communist fighters, though first forced to take part in the Korean war on the Communist side eventually regained their freedom due to the just support of the free world; and

Considering that in the light of the new world anti-Communist situation as brought about by the above-stated facts, it has become imperative that the anti-Communist "Freedom Day" movement be extended and developed into a world movement;

Resolves at its Second Conference to:

1. Designate the 23rd day of January as "World Freedom Day";

2. To urge all regional organizations, member-units and observers of the WACL to sponsor and conduct a "World Freedom Day Week" among the people in their own countries or areas conducting various anti-Communist activities and stepping up psychological warfare against the Communist regimes every year, during the period;

3. To hold public meetings on January 23 to reaffirm the determination of the free world to support the Iron Curtain countries and their peoples in their fight for freedom. Thereafter, various documents on the "World Freedom Day Week" and records of achievements will be sent to the secretariat of the WACL to be put on record and the secretariat will make a general report on the "World Freedom Day Week" at the general conference of the WACL.

Submitted by  
the China Chapter

### **Public Self-Burning In Kyiv**

It has been rumoured for some time that a Ukrainian patriot has publicly burned himself in Kyiv. This has now been confirmed. On May 11, 1968 Vasyl Makukh burned himself while crowds watched. Setting fire to himself he cried out: "Long live free Ukraine!" Makukh, who spent long years in Russian concentration camps, left two children. There is information that Vasyl Makukh was a veteran of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He has been convicted for his nationalistic activities in the past.



## Book Reviews

Stephen Pan and Raymond J. de Jaegher:

*Peking's Red Guard: The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.* Published by Twin Circle Publ. Co., New York, 1968. 462 pp., illus., appendices, index.

The joint authorship of the book "Peking's Red Guard" belongs to two well known scholars and experts on Communist China's problems, Stephen C. Y. Pan, co-author with Daniel Lyons of "Vietnam Crisis" and the "Voice of Peking", and Rev. Raymond J. de Jaegher, author of "The Enemy Within".

Both authors have tried in this book, based on their experience with Chinese Communists, to be fair and objective in presenting an account of Peking's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards. The term "Red Guard" used in Soviet Russia during the Revolution of 1917, is quite different from the one applied in China today. The present Red Guards have a more extensive scope of activities and purposes. According to their official slogans, they are destined to destroy the entire Chinese cultural heritage. They intend to form a completely integrated proletarian thought and society. The Red Guards have changed the people's mode of living and brainwashed millions of youngsters and adults.

On the other hand, they strongly oppose "American imperialism and Soviet revisionism". The Red Guards must receive political indoctrination and military training. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution program that they stick to, was approved by the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in August, 1966. It advocates revolution in mainland China as well as in foreign countries, and is, in fact, a departure from the theories and practices of the Communist Party, in that the Army seems to have superceded the Party.

After explaining the phenomenon of Pe-

king's Red Guard and revealing the meaning of its Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the authors proceed to discuss the negative impact of Peking's policies, mainly because of the Red Guard problem, upon the United Nations' resolutions regarding representation of China in the U.N. Other internal and external implications resulting from the activities of the terroristic movement undergo discussion: continuous national resistance, conflicts among the top CCP leaders, Peking's xenophobic agitations, demonstrations and riots in Macao and Hong Kong, the Wuhan rebellion and its aftermath, even the possibility of war between Peking and Washington.

The book appears to be the most comprehensive study of the Peking's Red Guard up to date. It presents all available source material, such as: documents, newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, books and booklets, copies of wall posters and slogans which had been used in Peking and have a bearing on the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards.

R. K.

George G. Murphy: *Soviet Mongolia; a study of the oldest political satellite.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1966, pp. 224, tables.

The eight chapters of the above book analyse the relations between Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union in the years 1921—1960. Based primarily upon Russian sources it deals with Soviet Russian imperialism and colonialism in Outer Mongolia. The author recognizes the danger of using Soviet sources only because Soviet interpretation of the Outer Mongolian question differs from the truth about this Asiatic people situated between Soviet Union and Red China. Western information on Mongolia is based upon Soviet Russian views with a Marxist interpretation and this has made it not too scholarly and useful for research.

The author contested the view that the

economic and political history of the Mongolian revolution of 1921 was guided by the Comintern with Lenin's consent. In his view this was a genuine revolution of the Mongolian people, which started because of the need and national aspiration of that people. This revolution was later taken over by the Communists who sacrificed this country to Soviet Russian imperialism, by establishing the Mongolian People's Republic. Outer Mongolia is a nation with over a million people, strategically important today because it is situated in Asia between the Soviet Russian empire and Red China, two nuclear powers engaged in an ideological dispute. This seems to be an excuse for Red China's population expansion in the direction of Outer Mongolia and Siberia, which is now threatening the Soviet Russian colonial empire.

The author describes Soviet Russia's invasion and hegemony in 1921—1924 in Outer Mongolia in the first chapter, deals with social, political and economic conditions of that time in the second and the building of the Mongolian People's Republic in the third. In the last five chapters he deals with Outer Mongolia's shift to the left in 1924—1929, under the pressure of the Soviet Russian colonial power, then to extremism and later to gradualism, presents some attempts at planning in 1940—1960, and concludes with the benefits and the price that had to be paid for this so-called "satellitship", that is Soviet Russian exploitation of that country. Some people can see great similarities between colonies of capitalist countries which have now regained their independence and Soviet Russian-type colonies which today are called satellites. These satellites and other captive nations of the last existing colonial power in modern times, the Soviet Union, deserve independence.

A. S.

Eugene Lyons:

*Workers' Paradise Lost, Fifty Years of Soviet Communism: A Balance Sheet.* Published by Paperback Library, Inc., New York, 1967, 416 pp., index.

Eugene Lyons, one of the acknowledged American experts and interpreters of Soviet

affairs, offers in his new book "Workers' Paradise Lost" a factual history of the betrayal of the Revolution of 1917 and its fifty-year record of failure in Communist Russia. The book is variously described as "keen analysis of the major myths about Soviet Communism" (*Washington Evening Star*), "a study, moderate in tone, popular in treatment, with meticulous attention to hard facts" (*Library Journal*), "a powerful, bitter and uncompromising indictment of the Soviet system" (*The Wall Street Journal*), "a cut through five decades of propaganda myths to the hard core of Soviet Communist reality" (*King Features Syndicate*), "a drama of horror unequalled in history" (*The Reader's Digest*), and the like.

That Lyons knows thoroughly what he writes about was proved already by his previous works, one of them, "Operation Suicide" revealing the basic fallacy in the present American policy of "building bridges" to the Communists, while another, his 648-page book "Assignment in Utopia" published in 1937, gives a tragic account of government sponsored first Five-Year Plan.

The book under review unfolds act by act the Bolshevik seizure of power, the planned society, numerous purges and persecutions, man-made famines and countless Siberian concentration camps, genocide of non-Russian nations, proletarianization of the population and the rise of a new aristocracy, the almighty party members. Eugene Lyons denounces several misleading myths that still exist about Soviet Russian Communism. Such myths are as follows: that the Bolsheviks came to power through revolution; that the masses supported the Bolshevik seizure of power; that Soviet Communism is "Marxist" or "socialist"; that Soviet Russia has become a "classless society"; that "Soviet people" love the Communist system; that in World War II the people fought to defend the Communist regime; that the Soviet Union has become "liberal" and is evolving toward democracy; that Soviet Russia is anti-imperialist and anti-colonial; that Soviet Russia has been a champion of world peace; that the Soviet coexistence policy means what it says; that Soviet Communism has fostered



progress in science, or promoted the arts and culture; that it is a rational model for underdeveloped countries whose national planning constitutes a formula for growth and prosperity and collectivised farming offers an answer for hungry peoples. All those myths being a shrewd disguise for the most rapacious nature of the Soviet Russian hypocritical system of legalized terror, and mere products of its demagoguery and propaganda which aims at endless foolishness and hopeless ignorance of the worldwide naivety, are unmistakably unveiled as such by the abundant proofs supplied by the author of "Workers' Paradise Lost".

In the synthetic work like this Eugene Lyons could not avoid certain shortcomings, oversights, understatement. Thus on pp. 334—35 he mentions several posthumously "rehabilitated" writers, among them non-Russians, but overlooks to quote exterminated Ukrainian writers whose number is a legion. Besides, the author's positive term "Russian genius", referring to the cultural aspects inside the Russian empire, is frequently and too generously attributed to the Russian master nation whereas many a personality or work of "Russian genius" had not been of Russian origin at all. Likewise, Eugene Lyons denouncing cruel Soviet Russian nightmares, is not free of a tendency to beautify anything of Russian brand that dominated the scene on the eve of the Revolution. The traditional Russian imperialism, colonialism, extermination policies towards the non-Russian nationalities and general social backwardness of the pre-Communist Russia are some of the undeniable facts to the contrary. The chapters on resistance to the inhuman Bolshevik rule, we think, are particularly weak and show many gaps (as, for example, with regard to millions resisting Ukrainian farmers in the nineteen thirties, or the struggle for freedom and national independence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the nineteen forties and fifties). The question of discrimination against the non-Russian nationalities and the genocidal policy towards them practised by the Soviet-Russian super-nation, obviously lacks sufficient insight of the author.

By and large, however, we feel this is a very enlightening, timely and constructive presentation of the subject, and we share the opinion of other bookreviewers that "Workers, Paradise Lost" is an excellent antidote to official Soviet propaganda; therefore, it is believed, the book should be required reading in the colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning in the free world. At last, but not at least, the authors of Mr. Lyons' stature cannot afford in the future to limit their view of the Soviet scene to the narrow Russian concept of state.

R. K.

William Mandel: *Russia re-examined; the land, the people and how they live*. Revised edition. New York, Hill and Wang (c1967), pp. 248, illus.

*The School Library Journal* considers the author to be an expert in Slavic studies. From the title of this book we can assume that it should deal exclusively with Russia, but let us have a look about whom is he writing inside his book. Naturally about the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and not just about Russia, which is one of the constituent republics of the USSR. It is hard to believe that a scholar of Slavic studies would give such a title to a book dealing with the territory, population, short history, education, professions, agriculture, medicine and health, women, culture, science, sports, art, the Communist party, government and press of the whole Soviet Union. Only Chapter 3 "Nationalities and Republics of the USSR" is devoted to other nationalities in the USSR.

This chapter is of the most interest to us. It is presented in an objective way and deals with the non-Russian nations in the USSR such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, the non-Slavic republics, such as 20,000,000 Mohammedans: Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tadzhiks, Turkmens; 3,000,000 Moslem Azerbaijanians and other peoples of the Caucasus; 5,000,000 Tatars with Islamic tradition; Armenians, Georgians, Baltic peoples: Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians, as well as the Jews and others. These are really the

captive nations to which the free world's sympathy should go.

The biggest captive nation in the USSR is Ukraine with its 46,000,000 people. It is bigger than France and is a member of the UN "in its own right" says the author. However we should never forget that Ukraine is only a spokesman for Soviet Russia in the UN. According to the author only three-quarters of Ukraine's population are Ukrainians, the rest are Russians, one million Jews, then Poles, Hungarians, Greeks and Rumanians. On p. 48 he stated that Ukraine "has become a world leader in industry" omitting to add that its entire industrial production goes to Russia for the support of its military might and propaganda all over the world. With the blood and sweat of the Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples the strength of the USSR has grown to the point where it menaces the world. The author uses Russian-style propaganda writing that today Ukraine has 643,800 students in comparison with 140,000 students for West Germany. However he fails to mention that Ukrainian students are forced to work in industrial plants and are deported to Asia against their will. Mentioning the Russification policies of the tsars, he ought to know that Russification in Ukraine is more intensive today than before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. He discusses the differences between Ukrainian and Russian art, dances and attitudes without understanding them properly. On p. 50 he mentions Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet and patriot and also a talented artist but his poetry is little known to Mr. Mandel. All the poetry of Shevchenko was translated into English by Prof. C. H. Andrusyshyn and published by Toronto University Press in 1964, or translations of Shevchenko by W. Swoboda, published in London in 1961, sources which ought to be known to an expert in Slavic studies after all. He rightly states that Nikolai (Mykola) Gogol (Hohol) was Ukrainian, in spite of the fact that he wrote in Russian.

One can only wonder where the author got the idea that "since the early 1950s the

Ukraine has made more use than any other Soviet republic OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT" (p. 50). How can he prove that statement? We have every reason to believe that the Russian centralization is growing in Ukraine, with its policy of Russification in all civic and cultural fields. The work gives only a superficial picture of what is going on in the USSR today and what are the attitudes of the peoples subjugated in it which are hoping to regain their freedom and political independence.

*Dr. Al. Sokolyszyn*

### ZWISCHEN WALDHEIM UND WORKUTA

(Between Waldheim and Vorkuta) Experiences of political prisoners, 1945-1965. Collected and edited by Sigurd Binski. With an introduction by Karl Wilhelm Fricke. Published by the Union of the Victims of Stalinism, Bonn 1967. 192 pages.

This documentary book contains moving reports on the experiences of political prisoners in various concentration camps in the Russian occupied zone of Germany and in the Soviet Union, in the years 1945-1965.

In particular the conditions in the concentration camps in the polar region of Siberia are, despite all 'liberalisation' of the Bolshevik system, terrible.

"The Soviet Union has three large penal colonies north of the polar circle: Vorkuta on the Northern Ice-Sea, Norilsk at the mouth of the Jenessei and the Kolyma west of the Bering Straits . . ."

"It is hard to find anything more staggering in the history of human slavery than these sweating, sooty women in the brickworks at Vorkuta . . ."

The inhuman treatment, the hard work and the insufficient food lead from time to time to strikes and revolts. The Bolshevik rulers of Russia were anxious to conceal from world public opinion these acts of resistance, indeed even the very existence of concentration camps in the Soviet Union.

In the book under review a report is given of the large strike in Vorkuta and the revolt



in Norilsk, which took place in 1953. They were suppressed with military force. In this action 61 prisoners were killed in Vorkuta and about 300 injured, while in Norilsk 534 prisoners were killed and about 1,500 injured. From the reports published it is clearly seen that members of almost every nation of the Soviet Russian empire are incarcerated in these concentration camps. Among the political prisoners the members of the non-Russian subjugated peoples form a majority. The German authors mention in their reports on the concentration camps in the Soviet Union, besides their own countrymen, the members of these nations again and again: Ukrainians, Poles, Georgians, Lithuanians, Rumanians. Some examples:

"When I entered the shaft, the Lithuanian who operated the signals in the lift said: 'Take your time and work slowly today! It's Christmas Eve!'"

"The Colonel has shot the leader in the first row, a young Pole."

"I myself jumped into the third hut and threw myself to the ground, next to the Lithuanian Bernatonis."

It is also reported in the book that the political prisoners, despite their difficult personal position, do not forget their subjugated nations and their efforts to win independence. Even in the concentration camps they are deeply concerned for the fate of their nations and champion the cause of their independence even before Russians. We will quote just a few examples of this:

"Of all the people I met during my imprisonment in the camps in the Soviet Union, Ivan Ilkovych Chyshchuk was one of the best. He was a professor from Lviv and of excellent European education. Among his Ukrainian fellow-countrymen, he was considered as a person of great respect, and I myself was able to become convinced of his merits and profit from his intelligence in three years of friendship."

"As far as Ukraine is concerned", he said (Professor Chyshchuk — C. P.), "I can assure you that it will always insist on its own independence and will fight for it, no matter against whom." C. P.

Wolfgang Strauss: "Trotz allen. wir werden siegen!" (In spite of everything — we shall win!) Nationalistic youth in the East in the fight against colonialism, imperialism, Stalinism and the exploitation of workers. Facts, eye-witness reports, lessons. 180 pp., one map, J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, Munich, 1969, hard cover 22 DM, paper cover 18 DM.

After being banished from the Soviet Union, the founder of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky, wrote from his Turkish exile: "National oppression was much greater in Russia than in her neighboring states . . . The great number of nations which were deprived of their rights and the acuteness of lawlessness gave the national problem in Tsarist Russia great explosive power." Leon Trotsky could not foresee that the national problem would be a cardinal problem fifty years after the creation of the state — a multinational empire under Russian dictatorship. National oppression, bullying by the "elder brother", as the Russians like to call themselves arrogantly, occupation, Russification are all methods of colonialism used by Tsarist regime before 1917, and by the Bolshevik system after 1918. Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Turkestanis, Ukrainians, Tatars, Jews, Cossacks and others had to experience these methods after the Russian occupation in 1917—21. In 1939 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, Fins and Poles fell in the wake of Stalinist imperialism. In 1944—45 Moscow's anti-human steel roller looked for new victims, new colonial peoples: Czechs and Slovaks, Rumanians and East Germans, Bulgarians and Hungarians.

On March 5, 1953 the great dictator died, but did Russian colonialism die with him? This question is being answered by an emphatic "no" by the opposition forces within the USSR. The peoples no longer endure, but they fight; they revolt. A huge wave of strikes, rebellions, riots has hit Eastern Europe: Prague 1968 was only *one* of many signal fires. The avant-garde of anti-colonialism are writers, students, philosophers, scientists, editors, poets. Young intellectuals, fearless and conscious of their mission, stand

on the barricades in Ukraine, the Baltic states, Poland, Hungary, CSSR, in the Middle East and the Caucasus, etc. The Russian party of the Bolsheviks lets its tanks roll: in 1954 in Kingir, in 1956 in Posen and Hungary, on June 17, 1953 in Ulbricht's "Republic", in 1962 in the Ukrainian Donbas, in 1968 in the homelands of Huss and Tiso. Steel against the idea of national and spiritual freedom, cannons against liberal thoughts, that is an old Russian recipe for suppression, famous for 400 years . . .

The 37 year old author, Wolfgang Strauss, comes from the Russian-occupied Zone of Germany. He was arrested in 1950 by Stalin's Secret Police. As a political prisoner he worked for 5 years in the coal mines of Vorkuta. The author examines in great detail the motives and the fighting methods of the rebellious youth in the East. The catalogue of facts — letters, poems, leaflets, eye-witness reports, statements — is objectively analysed and commented upon by Wolfgang Strauss, who today is an editor in Munich. From the facts contained here there arises the voice of tomorrow's revolution.

The author convincingly proves that the centre of riots is Ukraine where active resistance of young intellectuals has taken unusually sharp and irreconcilable forms. The Ukrainians live under dual pressure:

the pressure of economic exploitation and the denial of national rights which naturally also includes the cultural and academic fields. As documented by the case of the clandestine liberation party the URSS (Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union), even today's young Ukrainian party members are asking the question "What is our homeland — Kyiv or Moscow?" Marxist internationalism is dead. The national idea has been victorious in the hearts of these young people.

In the Federal Republic of Germany W. Strauss' book was received with interest, especially in the student press. Lyricist, dramatist and essayist Bernt v. Heiseler wrote: "In order to prove how important this book is, it is enough to point to pp. 60-63 on the "Chronicle of Permanent National Revolution" under the Soviet Russian regime. This chronicle gives a complete list of facts, starting with the liberation wars of Ukraine and Finland in 1917—22 and ending with the revolt of the Czechs and Slovaks in the summer of 1968. One has to be a Western 'intellectual', that is unable to understand political reality, not to see that in the face of these facts any compromise with the Kremlin is betrayal of the subjugated nations and that it is not only bad but also stupid."

## Suspicious Archive Fires In Ukraine

*The New York Times* of February 20, 1969 carried an article by Peter Grose entitled "Archive Fires in Ukraine Stirring Suspicions of a Plot". The author writes: "There was an explosion, and then a fire. Historic collections of Ukrainian and Jewish archives were destroyed as the blaze swept through a 17th-century monastery library in Kyiv, capital of Soviet Ukraine."

"An obscure paragraph in a local Kyiv newspaper, *Kyivska Pravda*, reported the destruction last November of the Church of St. George in the Vydubyskyi Monastery, along with its priceless Slavic and Hebraic manuscripts."

"Strange coincidences attach to this event, which otherwise could have been only a tragic but routine incident. The

same night, Nov. 26, 1968, another mysterious fire was reported to have destroyed the Great Synagogue in the Ukrainian port of Odessa, destroying a library of Jewish documents."

"And the fire at St. George's was the second time in recent years that archives of Ukrainian history had been destroyed by a fire of obscure origin."

"In the first fire, in 1964, documents on Ukrainian history and culture were destroyed in the library of the republic's Academy of Sciences."

The author then goes on to say that to Ukrainians living in the West as well as to some analysts of Soviet affairs these fires have political implications. "Cultural and



religious suppression of the Jews of the Soviet Union has been widely noted through the years. The Ukrainian nationality and heritage has been a more intermittent target of the Kremlin's drive for cultural assimilation."

"Starting with the arrests and secret trials of dozens of Ukrainian intellectuals in the autumn of 1965, there is mounting evidence of a Soviet police drive to clamp down on dissident writers and teachers whose calls for cultural freedom are blended into their pride in the Ukrainian national heritage."

"... The existence of nationalist dissent in Ukraine is cited by Western analysts as one of the main reasons why the Kremlin decided to occupy Czecho-Slovakia last August and reverse the liberalization movement in Prague, before its effects spread across the Carpathian Mountains to the western Ukraine."

"It is this context that gives the fires of Nov. 26, 1968, their political overtones, for irreplaceable archives of the Ukrainian heritage and that of Jews settled in Ukraine were reported to have gone up in smoke. Exactly what manuscripts were destroyed in Odessa is not yet known here."

"The Hebraic collections of the Vydubyt-skyi Monastery consisted mainly of archives from two Jewish institutions that were closed in 1933—34... The Slavic collection included Ukrainian archives from the Tsarist and Hapsburg past, when Ukraine was divided between Russian and Austro-Hungarian rule."

"The collection contained some of the manuscripts that had escaped destruction when, four and a half years earlier, the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv was set afire."

However the author quotes an eye-witness report and an "underground" document smuggled to the West which dispute the official version.

"George Luckyj, professor of Russian and Ukrainian literature at the University of Toronto, was in Kyiv at the time and witnessed the fire."

"He wrote this description in the academic journal *Problems of Communism*, published by the United States Information Agency":

"Standing in a crowd of rather apathetic spectators, I was struck by the magnitude of the blaze (it was still burning the next day). When no word about this disaster appeared in the local press, I talked to some Ukrainian writers who told me that they thought the fire was an act of sabotage, but they had no answer as to who might be the saboteur."

"Many months later an anonymous pamphlet reached the West, one of the first of the so-called 'underground' documents to be smuggled out of the Soviet Union, describing the trial and charging that the arson had been a deliberate maneuver of the Soviet secret police, the K. G. B., to wipe out archives that could have been a rallying point for Ukrainian nationalist sentiments."

"Among the manuscripts destroyed were records of Ukrainian folklore, literature and history, including documents of the short-lived anti-Soviet Ukrainian regime of 1918—19."

"The library of the Academy of Sciences, in downtown Kyiv, had the largest collection of Ukrainian writings known to exist. 'A portion of those archives was not even catalogued yet so that no one knows what there was and exactly what burned', the underground pamphlet said. 'They are lost forever to history'."

"Whatever was left when the fire was extinguished was moved to the Vydubyt-skyi Monastery near bluffs overlooking the Dnipro River."

A letter from Kyiv received by Ukrainians in the United States linked the incident to the earlier fire, which had destroyed most, but not quite all, of the pre-revolutionary Ukrainian records. The Vydubyt-skyi fire, this letter said, "completely destroyed" the monastery library and the collections of archives that had been transferred there.

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**Arrested on January 27, 1969.  
together with numerous  
priests, monks and nuns.**

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## The Fight For The Bosphorus And The Dardanelles

How different would the political map of Europe be if a Sovereign Ukrainian State were bordering the Black Sea instead of the Russian Empire? The fight for the straits has been going on for many years. Turkey has been in possession of them from the 14th century. Since the 18th century, when Russia conquered Ukraine, her expansion has been directly towards mastering the straits so as to proceed into the Mediterranean and from there into the Indian Ocean, to conquer Africa and the Near East. England and France resisted for two centuries so as not to let Russia take possession of the straits, thus making a free entry into the Mediterranean. Today Turkey is the guard of the straits and this fact raises her importance in world politics. In 1833 Turkey guaranteed Russian warships free access to the straits but in case of a war they will be closed to war ships of other countries. In 1840 at a convention in London this privileged position of Russia was revoked and Turkey pledged to close the straits to warships of all countries in case of a war. In 1923 a convention in Lausanne restricted international control of the straits and to a great extent returned Turkish sovereignty which was almost completely annulled after she lost the war. In 1918 they were occupied by the Allies, they were demilitarized and opened to ships of all nations and made subservient to an international committee.

The convention in Montreal in 1936 renewed Turkey's full sovereignty over the Dardanelles, the international committee and international guarantees were nullified and Turkey was authorized to strengthen the straits. During peace time access is free to all merchant ships. Warships of over 10,000 tons, submarines and aircraft carriers are not allowed through the straits. Other warships are only allowed through in the daytime. During a war, in case of Turkish neutrality, all war ships of countries involved in the war will not be allowed in the straits.

If Turkey would feel in any way endangered in peace time she would have the right to stop all warships from passing through the straits. In 1940 Russia wanted Germany to give her consent to Russia's building of bridgeheads in the straits. In 1946 Russia asked Turkey in a special note for "joint defence of the Dardanelles" and for the forming of Russian bridgeheads in the Dardanelles. Turkey refused. But she made it clear that it would be possible to discuss international control through the United Nations. England, France and the USA supported Turkey against Russia. The next note again demanded Russian bridgeheads and the exclusion of all countries not bordering with the Black Sea from future participation in the control of the straits.

The case of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles is far from finished. Russia will do her best to gain control of them as they are a key position to the occupying of the Mediterranean and, through the Suez Canal, the entry into the Indian Ocean. The dream of the tsars to reach "the warm seas" has not changed for the Red Russian invaders. Today Russia's fleet of warships in the Mediterranean is equal in strength to the American. It has reached North Africa as it has its bridgeheads in the ports of Egypt and Algeria. Russia is preparing to take the "soft underbelly" of Western Europe, but Turkey with her strong fighting spirit always stands as an obstacle as she can always block the Russian navy. The straits of

Gibraltar also have a particular role in case of an armed clash. Having reached the Mediterranean Russia will find herself in a sack until she can defeat Turkey. This is where Turkey is so important from a strategic point of view. Having reached the Mediterranean Russia will attempt to systematically push Turkey into "cooperation" and joint "control" of the straits, but Turkey could never consent to this as it would mean the end of her sovereignty. Iran is also directly endangered by Russia and although she is playing with Moscow because of the weak policy of the USA she realizes the dangers from the side of Russia since Russian insatiability knows no boundaries!

We must always look for the weak points in an empire, use them in external political action and exploit them in strategic political planning. One day the Russian bases in Africa could be blown up if the anti-Russian policy is properly carried out by the West! The Russian navy would find itself in the Mediterranean sack . . .

In view of this the revolutionary geopolitical meaning of Ukraine becomes important. With the independent Ukrainian state — on the borders of the Black Sea — the danger from Russia in the Mediterranean will be got rid of once and for all as will the danger for Turkey, Africa and the Near and Middle East.

In view of the straits we can see what great meaning should be given to the geopolitical moment in this case. Ukraine is now being given a key role in this battle for the control of Africa, the Mediterranean, the Near East and the free entry into the Indian Ocean . . . That is why we should pay particular attention to Turkey or Iran — our natural allies in the fight against Russia!

---

"An enormous amount of unpublished, mostly anonymous, poetry and publicist writing is circulating from hand to hand . . . A smouldering, vague movement and awakening is felt among Ukrainian youth all over the Ukraine . . ."

"This constant self-renewal, self-preservation, and self-defence is a powerful collective instinct of a people, an inalienable, unconscious, natural force like the instinct of self-preservation of any organism . . . These forces of national life that break through spontaneously and unexpectedly everywhere, confront purblind strategists of uniformity with unscrutinable enigmas. These forces are unfathomable and unexhaustible, no technique of political surveillance can keep up with them or control them."

*Ivan Dzyuba, Internationalism or Russification?*



## Satellite States – Illusions And Reality

Again and again, in the press, on the radio and television, *Moscow's satellites* are being spoken of, those states which move along paths and according to laws forced on them by Moscow. Together with Moscow they form another world, the so-called Eastern Bloc, or, to use a more recent expression, the "Soviet Commonwealth". The names of these states are: Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria; no less Yugoslavia and Albania, where the Communist yoke of Moscow is camouflaged. I bow respectfully before the sufferings under which the peoples of these countries are forced to live.

I repeat, so that no misunderstanding can arise: we are dealing not with the peoples of these countries, but with the states which rule these peoples and which are controlled by the rulers of Moscow. These states are no forms of reality but mere legal fictions for the purpose of serving the needs of force and tyranny.

As is known, every policy has its own strategy and tactics. Soviet Russian imperialism also has its own strategy and tactics. While the strategic directives remain unchanged, those of the tactics are in constant movement, being adapted to the particular matter, to make possible the attainment of these strategic aims.

Has Moscow asked its peoples and have they given their agreement?

No! They were forced to take their place in the Eastern Bloc by violence, by naked force of arms. After the conquest of each territory and its population, a state on the Soviet Russian model was set up. These are the so-called Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Hungarian, Rumanian, and so forth "*socialist states*". And, in accordance with the *Brezhnev doctrine*, "each and every socialist state, which has ever come into existence, must remain in the socialist camp for all eternity, for all eternity remain a socialist state".

If any of these states tried to escape from this tyrannical straight-jacket, the sword of Moscow lies in wait for it.

"The frontiers of the socialist world have been pushed forward into the heart of Europe. And we will never agree to allow the historical achievements of socialism to fall into jeopardy. We will never allow imperialism to create a breach in the socialist system by peaceful means from within . . ." (Brezhnev 15 July 1968).

But reality is as follows: during the years 1944 and 1945 the Russian imperialists occupied the whole area of the satellite countries as far as their present frontiers. They called themselves absurdly the "liberators" of these countries. As liberators they introduced to these countries the model of an ideal state within an ideal society, under the leadership of an ideal party. Anyone who opposes them is a dangerous counter-revolutionary and is as such subject to persecution.

One reads in the newspapers and hears on the radio time and again that Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania are ready to defend their *sovereignty* and *independence* and that they tolerate no foreign interference in their domestic affairs. But we ask the question: do they possess this sovereignty, this independence? It is well-known that in a democracy — and in particular in our Western democracies — "*the people* embody the sovereignty, the highest executive power", and "that the sovereign people thus determines itself its own fate".

In the satellite countries the right to life and death over the people belongs *not to the people itself* but to the *Party*. *The Party has the real power*. Or, to paraphrase the biblical text: "In the beginning was the Party!". The Party programme means the transformation of the present people into a Communist people, the changing of the present society into a Communist society in accordance with the directives of Moscow. In the political sense, every Communist party is a branch office of Moscow.

In accordance with Communist doctrine, the state is the main instrument in the hands of the party for the carrying out of its policies. Thus the state is in this respect not an instrument of the *will of the people* but the will of the individual Communist Party, which controls society by following Moscow's directives. It can be clearly seen from this analysis that the satellite states are in no sense sovereign states, since they are the tools of the parties which are subject to Moscow. For the same reason they cannot be considered independent either.

### *Tactics*

To achieve strategic aims subtle tactics are employed. They result from the given state of affairs.

You are constantly hearing on the radio and reading in the newspapers that:

1. The Rumanian Communist Party has become *nationalist*. In reality it has limited its so-called nationalism to one simple practical measure.
2. Rumania is in conflict with Moscow and will leave the Warsaw Pact.
3. Rumania is leaving COMECON, the economic organisation of the Pact.
4. Rumania is against the NATO and Warsaw Pact blocs and is demanding their abolition. Rumania is attempting a policy independent of Moscow with regard to Germany also. But the Bucharest regime has repeated that all these reports are false. The latest and categorical démenti was however the declaration of August 22, 1968, on the second day after the armed invasion of Czechoslovakia, in which it was pointed out *bluntly* that Rumania remained loyal to the Warsaw Pact and COMECON and that it would fulfil loyally all its obligations undertaken in these agreements. As far as the abolition of the blocs was concerned, this is a demand of the whole Communist Bloc. If one were to yield to it, NATO would be abolished but the Communist Bloc, whose states are bound together by bilateral treaties, would remain untouched. A swindle!

Rumania, is conducting a policy towards the German Federal Republic which is in no way different from that of Moscow. At the last summit conference of Communist states in Budapest on March 17, 1969 Rumania also expressed itself for "the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, that is for the Oder-Neisse line, the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, for the recognition of the GDR, for the renunciation by the German Federal Republic of its claim to represent the whole German nation and for its renunciation of control over atomic weapons of any kind".

If this then is what reality looks like, what do these *tactics mean*? The information and propaganda centres in the satellite countries almost regularly circulate reports in the West on supposed conflicts between them and Moscow. They are regarded as trustworthy material, which give a true reflection of the real situation.

**For what purpose?**



To arouse in public opinion, in the West and its leading circles, sympathy and understanding for the satellite countries, that they had decided to break loose from Moscow, but that they were in need of moral and economic support for such a step.

Cultural agreements — it was claimed — were suited to provide them with this moral support. By way of these cultural agreements the satellite countries export the works of so-called “progressive” authors to the West. They infiltrate the West and in particular its youth with *the spirit of Communism*.

Through *economic agreements* they aim at obtaining long-term credits which are to be made without conditions, since these countries wish to impose no control over their application. These credits do not prove useful to the people but are used to strengthen the aggressive potential of the Eastern Bloc. These credits will not be paid back, either in cash or goods, since the economy of these countries is bankrupt. Some years ago, the Rumanian Socialist Republic was granted a credit of 1,500 million DM by Germany, which was to be repaid by delivery of goods. Rumania could not fulfil the terms of the agreement after six months (see *Spiegel* 1967).

Often these credits are used to support international Communist subversion. A few years ago the respected *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* made known that about 1,200 million dollars of American credit assistance to Yugoslavia had been used for the development of Communist subversion in Latin America. And almost 1,000 million dollars worth of credit granted to Poland was transferred by this government to Cuba, to support the Communist revolution there.

All this is a fulfilment of what Lenin said: “This idiotic bourgeoisie in the Western countries will pay so that we forge the weapons for its own destruction”.  
*Breach With Moscow?*

A real breach with Moscow by the satellite countries will never be tolerated. Do not forget that the rising of the German people in the Soviet Zone in 1953 was mercilessly put down in blood by Soviet troops. The same fate was accorded the rising of the Hungarian people in October 1956. Moscow was not frightened by the expressions of solidarity of the whole world. In Poland in 1956 Moscow limited itself to threats to gain its ends. In 1968 the Soviet troops marched into Czecho-Slovakia and forced the people to surrender, with a gun at their back. How many people were killed in these operations of suppression we do not know.

*A Revolt Of Communist Parties In The Satellite Countries Against Moscow?*

The leaders of these parties know that Moscow never forgives, that it brooks no opposition. *One example:* If it allows itself to kill its opponents in the free countries, would it hesitate to strike down its tools in the satellite countries, if they were bold enough to disregard its commands?

With unexampled cynicism Moscow has brought about the murder of the Ukrainians BANDERA, and REBET, the Slovak CERNAK, the Croat RUKAVINA and the Serb OBRADOVIC. And do you think it would hesitate for a moment to get rid of Gomulka, Dubcek or Ceausescu, if they dared to revolt? Ceausescu's opposition to Moscow is of a tactical nature: the West is being urged to believe that opposition is also possible in the Communist Bloc. *In reality* it is punished with the death penalty. If anyone doubts this, may I refer to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, which reads as follows:

"In the course of the last seventeen days the Soviet military newspaper *Red Star* has announced the death of altogether ten Soviet generals . . . The newspaper in no case gives the exact cause of death". Some suffered a tragic death (by accident), others a sudden death (heart attack). It is claimed that some of them demanded more freedom for the people."

*The Münchener Merkur* of March 22, 1969 announced that ten spokesmen of the Crimean Tartars had the boldness to claim that Stalin had murdered 46 % of the Tartar people when they were being deported from the Crimean peninsula to Uzbekistan. They were arrested and brought to trial for "libelling the Soviet government". "In fact", Moscow emphasized with cynicism, "only 22 % of the Crimean Tartars were murdered. The rest up to 46 % represented a libel".

We, the representatives of the peoples from the so-called satellite states and from the Soviet Russian empire, Bulgarians, Czechs, Georgians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Croats, Ukrainians, Hungarians and others, have established the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations to make known to the world that Moscow and its rulers wish to destroy our peoples with the same cruelty which they used against the Tartar people.

And all those in the Free World who want to accuse us of pessimism, let us remind them of the words of Molotov at the beginning of the last World War: "this insubordinate province of the great Russian empire, which bears the name Europe, is to be severely punished".

### **Crimean Tartars On Trial**

Trials of representatives of the Crimean Tartars, who took part in numerous demonstrations and demanded that they should be allowed to return to Crimea, will soon take place in Tashkent and Sympheropil (Crimea). In Sympheropil the main defendant is Hamer Bayev, and in Tashkent the Tartar intellectuals Kabirov and Khairov. They are accused of opposing "friendship among nations" and of spreading nationalistic ideas.

A few years ago the Crimean Tartars were rehabilitated on the basis of a decree of the Supreme Soviet. However, afterwards Moscow did not allow them to return to their native land. The young Crimean Tartar intelligentsia protested against this not only in Central Asia, where the Tartars were deported by force, but also in Moscow and other cities of the USSR. The Tartars demanded that they should be allowed to return to Crimea.

As they were not able to conceal the case of the Crimean Tartars the Kremlin dictators decided to present it to the world

in a distorted image. A short while ago Soviet propaganda in Moscow organized a press conference to which foreign correspondents were invited. The chief spokesman of the Soviet regime at this conference was a Lithuanian called Palientskis who is the head of the Soviet of nationalities. He stated that on the basis of rehabilitation the Crimean Tartars have a right to return to their fatherland. However they should find work and living quarters themselves. Apart from that, according to Palientskis, only a small number of Tartars want to return. But practically, even for this small number of Tartars, the return to Crimea is impossible because as we know, in Soviet conditions they are unable to find work and a place to live on their own.

Some Western correspondents asked Palientskis about the condition of Jews in the USSR. He replied that they had equal rights and are able to live in their autonomous region of Birobidgan, but, he stated, they do not want that and prefer to live among other nations of the USSR.



## In The Russian Concentration Camps

*Below we are publishing an interview with Mr. Alexander Dinces, an American citizen, who spent 5 years and three months in various Russian prisons and concentration camps.*

• *In a way of introducing you to our readers we would like to ask you when were you held in the Soviet Russian slave camps?*

• I was arrested on the 19th November 1961 and held for the first two years in a security prison of the KGB, which is the State Security Committee.

• *When did you leave?*

• I left on 18th of January 1967, in other words after 5 years and 3 months.

• *Can you tell us in what camps were you held and where?*

• Yes. I was arrested in Minsk, Byelorussia, spent one year in the KGB prison, which is located on the premises of the KGB Headquarters, concealed from the public view, a two-story prison which submerges into the basement, and subsequently I was transferred to other prisons, — criminal prisons like Mogilov, Smolensk, Kaluga, in Moscow, in Rusayev, Saransk, Zolotoust, Omsk, Tomsk. I went to 16 different prisons and landed in a concentration camp in Irkutsk, 15 km. from the city of Irkutsk and roughly 30 km. from the Baikal Lake. There I spent three and a half months and went to the Mordovian Republic around Potma which is only a geographical indication. It was roughly about 30 km. north of Potma.

• *You mentioned the Vladimir prison and as we know there were and perhaps still are many Ukrainians there. Do you have any specific information about this prison?*

• I was never in Vladimir prison. There they have a special number of cells reserved for foreigners who are sentenced. I spent a great deal of time with Gerald Brooke, an Englishman who was sentenced to 5 years. He was an English teacher, and he arrived from Vladimir prison directly to our camp, also the students from Heidelberg, who were recently exchanged for a Soviet spy. They spent three and a half years in Vladimir prison and since we were together in

Potma (I am using the word Potma as an indication of where I was), I got a great deal of information from them as far as the Vladimir prison is concerned. It would be worthwhile to mention that there is a Georgian there who is held for 24 years in a cell. The background on him is: he was a Georgian who had emigrated to France and who visited the Soviet Union or Russia, I think in the late thirties or early forties, and was arrested and sentenced to 25 years as an intelligence agent for the French. Mr. Sonntag and Mr. Norman, who were released very recently, told me that they met him personally. At that time he had another year to go. Among others I think that Mr. Win, who was charged together with Kinkowsky, an English person, in London today, spent something like 18 months in Vladimir prison. I am sure that he would know him because every prisoner who went through Vladimir prison, every foreigner or Russian knew this case. He is called a veteran prisoner in there.

• *Could we say that these prisons and camps have the same purpose as in Stalin's times, although the methods have been rather improved and have become more sophisticated?*

• Well, they have undergone a sort of an internal reconstruction in certain ways. But the existence of the Soviet concentration camps today cannot be denied because they are still there and basically nothing has changed. Perhaps there are slightly better hygienic facilities in recent years, and the introduction of four types of regimes — general, forced, severe and special. All political prisoners are automatically confined in the "severe" zones.

• *Are the prisoners told why they have been sent to a concentration camp or are they just sent there at the whim of the administration, the police and so forth?*

• Most people of course are changed with all sorts of trumped up charges which are

ridiculous, charges which are unknown in the free world, in Western jurisprudence, but, as the Russians are saying, the Soviet penal code is very rich, and if they do not have the exact statute, they try under something similar. Political crimes are covered very extensively. For instance: expressing dissatisfaction about realities, about the Soviet regime, making all sorts of anti-Soviet jokes, trying to discourage other people from participating in various political activities which are of course sponsored by the Soviet government or local state government and so forth. And of course others are charged with resisting the Soviet power by moral vigour, more activity, storing arms illegally, or conducting harmful anti-Soviet propaganda through various religious channels. They have hundreds and hundreds of thousands of prisoners of conscience, religious prisoners, Jehova's Witnesses, Baptists, Pentecostals, and various others who are completely innocent people. The only charge against them is that they have holy Bibles in their possession or that they were trying to acquaint others with the text of the Bible, to enlighten others on religious issues and so on. These are all in reality political prisoners, charged and sentenced on the basis of political statutes.

• *Are there prisoners from the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union who are held there and charged with activities to establish de facto independent national states, i. g. separate from the Soviet Union?*

• Concerning non-Russian citizens of the Soviet Union, I was with one of them in the international zone, a special camp for foreigners. We were 38 internationals there, from Americans to Afghanistanians, from Turks to Norwegians, from Arabs to Spaniards, Greeks, etc. But while we are on the subject of foreigners imprisoned in the Soviet Union it would be worthwhile to mention that the highest bulk of prisoners was composed of Chinese and Koreans. The Chinese prisoners have experienced a very brutal treatment from the Soviet administration because of the ever growing conflict between Moscow and Peking. They were subjected to all sorts of humiliations,

discrimination, mental torture, even brutalities which I have witnessed. The Chinese prisoners were actually a legal mystery. The majority of them were Chinese who have lived for a number of years in the Soviet Union. They asked to be repatriated not to Red China but to Formosa, Hong Kong, Macao. They were told that their applications for exit visas will be reviewed in due time and eventually they will be allowed to go back, but instead they all landed behind barbed wires or iron bars. Now the Koreans have lived under Japanese rule until 1945 and when the Sakhalin Islands became Soviet at the end of the Second World War, these Koreans, hundreds of thousands, became stateless people in the Soviet Union since they lost their Japanese or Korean citizenship. They flatly refused to go to North Korea and wanted to join their families in South Korea. They were told by the Soviet officials, each individual case, that they would have to file applications with the Foreign Ministry of the USSR and after the applications were processed they would be sent to South Korea. Of course this was a trick; they were accused of sympathizing with the South Korean government, with imperialists, capitalists and as a result of this they have received very severe and very odd sentences ranging from 8 to 15 years. There was a very large number of Koreans with me in the same camp. Also there were Japanese. They were charged mainly with espionage on Soviet territorial waters since they were Japanese fishermen. There were also Arabs; some of them were students in the Soviet Union. They were arrested for expressing their dissatisfaction with the Soviet system in general in front of their colleagues.

• *You met Ukrainian prisoners there also. Could you tell us about them?*

• There were hundreds of Ukrainians with whom I came into contact. I recall Dr. Horbovyi very vividly. His case is rather a classical one. In spite of the Soviet allegation that there are no longer secret trials and everyone is entitled to an investigation, a trial and a sentence, he is the only person to my recollection who is held



without a trial, and without being sentenced, for the last 21 years. As a matter of fact, he is a citizen of Czecho-Slovakia. He was arrested by the Czech secret police in 1948 and after a brief investigation he was turned over to the Russians. He was put into a train and sent to Russia under heavy guard. Of course after 21 years his health is very deteriorated. He is very humiliated. The Russians have promised to release him provided he appears before the Kyiv broadcasting system and will reject his political convictions and of course approve the "liberation" of Ukraine through the Russian troops. He is a person of great principles and I know him very well personally. I don't think he will ever agree to do such things. Shortly before my release from the camp he told me that he has no hopes to be released or to be a free person again.

• *On what grounds are they holding him?*

• As a potentially dangerous man to the security system. In other words, his influence is very profound in Ukraine and he may contribute to further unrest in Ukraine and, of course, they hope that by continuing his incarceration they will eventually force him to meet their demands, to induce him to make a public renunciation of his views, which could lead further to the smoothing out of unrest which still exists, especially in the western part of Ukraine. This is why they are holding him, still hoping that eventually they may break his spirit, but I am quite convinced that this will never happen. Of course he doesn't have any hopes to come out. He is over 70, nearly 72 today, I think. He is a sick man besides, half blind. It is a very tragic case and yet very little has been done to improve his health. This is a very shocking thing; it is a slow and agonizing death. Of course, there were other Ukrainians whom I have met in special zones. I was working with a construction brigade in a camp with special regime, located within our complex in Potma. Many Ukrainians were held for either suspicion of participating in all sorts of illegal activities, nationalists, and in some

cases, there were people who have been charged previously with civil or similar offences. As a result of the second conviction they automatically were placed in a special regime.

• *Among Ukrainian prisoners are there many young people?*

• Yes, there are, especially in recent years a lot of young people, ranging between the ages of 20 and 25, just in the prime of life, as well as elderly people who are held since the war or since let's say 1950, the early fifties, when the Russians have finally succeeded in breaking down the active (armed) resistance in Ukraine, in the western part of Ukraine.

• *And the older prisoners, how old are they?*

• Oh, that varies of course; we had people from the age of 18 to 86. Speaking of older people, it was not unusual to see them well over 70. They didn't work; they were invalids. According to the Soviet rules, anyone over the age of 65 must not work, but in the concentration camps as long as the person is able to work they force him to work. But this particular man was a Chinese, a Chinese Moslem, who was sentenced to 15 years at the age of 84 for currency violations because they found gold on him, and for practising medicine without having a license, somewhere in the backwoods of Kirgizia.

• *How long do the prisoners have to work?*

• Officially today about 9 hours but it is not so, because by the time you leave the camp until you return it is a good ten hours. The prisoners are often violated by the administration because in order to get as much output as they possibly can we were often awoken in the middle of the night because there were some trains, freight trains, which had arrived on the side ramp adjoining our camp and in order to save a few rubles (the Russians had to pay the local railroad authorities for storage), we had to unload heavy bricks, stones, wood, in the middle of the night and then get back again and at 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning we had to get to regular work.

• *How is the food situation?*

• The food situation is dreadful. There is general starvation. The main policy of the Communist authorities is to keep you hungry because they believe once a man is hungry he works better. As an incentive, of course, to better work they allow you to buy some extra food in the local prison shop for five rubles per month. But this is only a privilege depending on good work. If you don't fulfil a norm, this privilege is taken away. You are deprived even of buying some extra food. Or they stop you from getting food parcels to which you are entitled once every four months, up to five kilograms in weight. They are trying various ways and means so that they can force you to work. But speaking of food in the camp, it was dreadful. Usually black bread, very inferior quality, badly baked, with soup in the morning, boiled water. Every 10 days you get 150 grammes of sugar. Lunch consists of soup, usually borsch, that is a cabbage soup, no meat, or a couple of mashed potatoes, and for supper you get either a potato with a herring or perhaps a bowl of soup. But really this is a starvation ration. As a result most of the prisoners have gastritis and other diseases.

• *Are there people who have been made invalids while at camp?*

• Yes. The invalids are confined in a special zone. There are very few cases that a man came as an invalid when he was arrested. Most of them became invalids while being in the camp, as a result of course of advanced age, or not necessarily older people. There were some young people, who became invalids for instance, with chronic tuberculosis, or chronic heart diseases, etc.

• *Is there a medical service in these concentration camps?*

• Yes, there is a medical service of very inferior quality. We didn't have doctors over there. We had what the Russians called a "felcher" which is a qualified male nurse with certain medical experience and unless someone is very, very sick indeed, he will be sent to the prison hospital but in most cases they view the prisoner as a sort

of a faker who is just trying to skip work and they don't pay very much attention to a man who is complaining of a stomach ache or other physical disabilities.

• *Are Russian prisoners also there? Are there any among them who are interested in giving more autonomy or independence to let's say Ukrainians or other non-Russian peoples?*

• You mean Russians? No. If I understand your question right, you want to know if the Russians are sympathizing with the Ukrainians and would they like to see improvements in Ukraine, an independent Ukraine. No, I haven't met such cases, but of course there is a certain solidarity among prisoners. But the general philosophy behind is that the Soviet Union must be integral and not divided.

• *But in reality have you noticed any national discrimination or superiority of Russians over the non-Russians?*

• Yes very much so.

• *How does it manifest itself?*

• First of all the Russians, even as prisoners, are considered more desirable and it seems to me that the administration of the prisons has more confidence in the Russian prisoners than in the non-Russians. The Russians are given better jobs in the prison camps; people in charge of the working brigades, working groups, are in most cases Russian, of course, with a few exceptions. There is a silent understanding between the administration and the Russians in the prison camp.

• *Is Russian the official language?*

• Yes.

• *Are other languages also used?*

• Yes of course. Among various nationals other languages are spoken. If there are some Ukrainians or other people they speak their native tongue, but officially the language throughout the camp is Russian. The orders are given in Russian and unless somebody doesn't understand Russian, of course, then they will find somebody who can translate

• *There are also religious prisoners. How are they treated?*

• They come of course under the status



of political prisoners. They are separated from general or criminal prisoners. They are regarded as provocateurs, charged with sympathizing with the capitalist system, or conducting harmful anti-Soviet propaganda by means of various religious channels. Surprisingly in recent years the number of so-called religious prisoners, prisoners of conscience, is still going up.

• *To which religions or churches do they belong?*

• The majority of them are Jehova's Witnesses and Baptists, but they come from various religions like Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic Church, which is the Ukrainian Church, and a number of Moslems.

• *What were these religious prisoners charged with?*

• Promoting religious activities in places where they have resided, organizing religious groups, sects (among others, I forgot to mention that there is such a thing as "Sektanti" in Russian, which is a sect), and distributing Bibles. Some of them were accused of refusing to send their children to Soviet schools or trying to educate them privately at home, prohibiting their children to join Komsomol or keeping them at home and preventing them from having any contacts with the Soviet youth. There is a number of things they are charged with. There was also a good number of clergymen in the prison camps, ex-ministers of various religious groups, priests, pastors, etc.

• *What about Communist propaganda in the concentration camps?*

• In prisons and concentration camps they are conducting political classes weekly. Everybody must attend. There are special punishments if you refuse to come and listen. The topics are carefully prepared by the so-called political department of the camp administration and it deals with a variety of subjects, such as outlining the progress of Soviet economy, emphasizing the main political events. I can recall for instance a big issue on Fidel Castro, a background on Cuba and the Cuban revolution. Of course nothing was mentioned about the

present situation, the present conflict between China and the USSR. The prisoners were entitled to ask all sorts of questions but the usual reply was that some of the Chinese comrades — not all of them — have lost their heads, but this is not an attitude of everybody.

• *Can the prisoners read papers and listen to radio transmissions?*

• We had reproductions in the prison camp and you could listen to Moscow, of course. We were allowed to listen to the Soviet news. Papers like *Izvestia*, *Pravda*, *Trud* and *Literaturnaya Gazeta* were available, but no Western newspapers.

• *What would you say are the main differences between the present organization of these camps and the organization under Stalin?*

• Well, wider isolation between political prisoners and criminals and to a certain degree they have succeeded in stamping out the criminal bands' rule in camps, although it is still practised, but to a much lesser degree. They do not terrorize prisoners much nowadays. In Stalin's days the self-crowned kings, the underworld clans, were absolute rulers in the camps. It was in my time that this transformation took place with the establishment of a sort of a camp militia which is known there as a section of internal order. This is like the "capo" system which existed in Hitler's camps. Trusty prisoners were given unlimited power over other prisoners. They do have the same thing in Soviet concentration camps. In fact officially they were told that their main function is to keep order inside the prison camps, but actually they are informers; they create disunity; they minimize the terror of criminals. This is only one major change in the camps. Another very important thing is that those who are working outside the camps' zones are guarded by regular Soviet troops instead of prison guards. In Stalin's days the guard was forcing people to work hard, but today soldiers are not concerned with hard work; the main thing is to guard you, bring you back and to make sure that you won't escape.

• *Are they using any psychological means to break down prisoners?*

• Yes they do. They use almost criminal methods. They have individual and group discussion. This is a special way of persuasion — pointing out that the prisoners are wrong in resisting Soviet power, stating facts that they are influenced by other reactionary forces, that they are victimized, that the Soviet reality is after all something that the world is gradually accepting and that Communism will become the future of the world. There are various psychological ways of breaking them down, to make them change their mind, their views.

• *Are there any activities going on among prisoners to press the authorities to improve the system, the whole regime?*

• You see there are such things as rules and regulations inside the prison camps. On one side is what you are entitled to and on the other what is prohibited. Of course, in most cases the authorities are fulfilling the first part of the list — what is prohibited. You can protest; you can object to things which are enumerated in the list of rules and regulations. For instance, somebody prevents you from sending a letter to relatives, but it says plainly that you are entitled to write 2 or 3 letters a month. You can show initiative, but trying to impose your views on the authorities, that depends on what they are. If it's something constructive in their view they will listen to you.

• *We heard that there are such cases as of a man who cut off his ears as a protest against bad treatment?*

• This is a case of self-inflicted injuries like suicide which is quite common especially in the severe and not so much in the general camps. I have personally seen cases where prisoners cut their veins with razor blades, with other sharp objects, pieces of glass. In case of this man, I have spoken to him. He cut both his ears off and put them into an envelope which he wanted to address to Khrushchov in protest against the false trial which he had had and had been

sentenced to 18 years. He is still there by the way; I saw him in 1966. He was working in the kitchen of the central prison hospital. I have also seen cases where a prisoner had simply sewn his own mouth after announcing a hunger-strike. He refused to be fed by force, since there is a rule that after 3 days they feed you by force if you insist on holding the hunger-strike.

• *What would you suggest for us in the free world to do that would help them most?*

• Well, my only suggestion is to expose all those things because I know things which I have just told you from my own personal experience. Even some of my personal friends did not believe me and said it could not have happened; it's impossible; it's beyond human imagination. Fortunately I am not the only one. There are others who have been with me and who are free today. Therefore they can confirm those things. There is a group of at least 10—15 people. I think these things should be exposed to the free world and left to the judgement of the people. The Russians are still very sensible about Western public opinion or the opinion of the free world and the more it is exposed and the more this is brought to light, the better chance we stand that this thing will eventually diminish, or perhaps even disappear. I am quite certain because I have sensed those things. They are concerned with the opinion of the free world. One of the best examples of this is that every foreign prisoner from the Western countries is entitled to see his consular authorities every 8 or 12 months and whenever he is taken to Moscow they see to it that he is well dressed and ask him all sorts of questions: how do you feel and whether you have any complaints against the administration or the guards, or whether you have any statements to make — in advance, before he sees his counsellor or anybody from the embassy. This is an indication that they are trying to minimize these things as much as possible. This is done of course only in the case of prisoners from Western countries.

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## **Russia Is Not Invincible**

Are not we of the West somewhat blindly assuming that the next war is going to be like the last — a war of unconditional surrender enforced by the threat of annihilation?

It would seem that we are, for we are pouring out our pounds, dollars, francs and florins on the production of lethal things as if we were a golden Niagara. We seek in force alone the solution of the Russian problem. We have placed guns before the whole cow and the roar of our engines reverberates round the world. We are its modern Titans, for soon in one brief battle the Americans alone will be able to unleash the destructive energy of the whole of the last war. Nevertheless, let us not forget that, in spite of their might, our classical prototypes ultimately landed themselves in Tartarus.

In assuming that the next war, now in process of gestation, will primarily be a physical struggle, and that, therefore, physical force will be the "Open Sesame" of victory, are not we taking too much for granted? Out of our frantic vulcanic lives cannot we set aside a bare half-hour in which to ask ourselves the first of all military questions — "What is the problem?"

Apparently not, for we gaze into the Russian shop-window, in which everything is decorated with the tinsel of propaganda, and for some inexplicable reason we shy off from boldly walking into the shop itself. Yet it is the things within it which will tell us what the problem is, and should we spare a little thought, will suggest to us its answer.

Among other things in the window is displayed a map of the Bolshevik Ideological Empire. It is greater than Genghis Khan's for it covers a quarter of the land surface of the globe, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the Himalayas and the China Seas and from the river Elbe to the Pacific. It includes about a third of the inhabitants of the world. It also is titanic.

But were we to go into the shop itself, we would find that everything displayed in the window is a fake or a lie, for in 1917, Lenin introduced a new philosophy. He took the basic maxim of Western civilization — "The truth shall make you free" — and inverted it. Thus in the Bolshevik vocabulary every word is perverted: a lie is called the truth, and truth is denounced as a lie, police terror is called democracy, serfdom is called freedom, conquest is called liberation, subjection is called self-determination, and the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party is called the proletariat, in the interest of which all individual freedom and natural rights are suppressed.

Why has this policy of confounding the meaning of words been adopted? The answer is, that the nations "may not understand one another's speech". It is the story of the Tower of Babel bolshevized.

The very name the Russian Empire now bears — namely, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — is a lie; for the U.S.S.R. is not a union of republics as it is proclaimed to be; instead it is the compulsory serfdom of nearly two hundred subjugated peoples, speaking different languages and stemming from different cultures, each one trampled upon and held in leash by terror. Yet in this there

is nothing new, for as the Pan-Slavism of Tzarist Russia was but a catchword for Russian Imperialism, so to-day Communism is but the catchword for Bolshevik Imperialism — the most ruthless the world has ever known.

Therefore Communism is also a lie; it is but Marxian grease paint superimposed on a fundamentally unchanged historic Russian physiognomy. Though it is true that, in 1917, Lenin attempted to impose Marxist Communism on Russia, by 1921 it had produced such confusion that to save himself he introduced his New Economic Policy. It was out of his failure and not out of his success that, under Stalin, there emerged a mixture of state capitalism and Asiatic despotism which, depending as it did on slave labour, was so inefficient that it could not compete with the so-called "Capitalist" world — that is, with free enterprise. Therefore, in order that Bolshevism may survive, free enterprise must be destroyed. To-day Marxist Communism is solely for export, because it is the solvent of free enterprise, and its precipitate is chaos, the prerequisite for the establishment of a pistol-ruled (Bolshevik) world.

Except in the concentration camps, there are now no Communists in the U.S.S.R. Of its 193,000,000 inhabitants, some five per cent are state bureaucrats — a highly privileged class — and the remaining ninety-five per cent are state serfs who, unless free enterprise throughout the world is destroyed, may one day wake up to the fact that they are living under a lie, and in consequence liquidate their oppressors.

The crucial fact is, that the Soviet Union cannot indefinitely continue to exist side by side with a system of vastly greater productivity, and how unproductive that union is may be seen in its low participation in world trade even before the upheaval of the last war. Though in 1938 the foreign trade of Finland and the Baltic States, with a combined population of under ten millions, amounted to 586 million dollars, with its then 170,000,000 inhabitants, the foreign trade of the Soviet Union was 74 million dollars less. Another pointer is to be found in the Berlin blockade. Why did the Kremlin impose it? The main reason was, in order to prevent the Eastern Germans seeing that Western Berlin was more prosperous than their own territory. It is its lies which so constantly dictate Soviet policy, and in consequence render it difficult for Western peoples of a totally different morality to understand it.

The contents of the shop reveal that there is no unity within the U.S.S.R. Instead, there is discord both latent and active. Like the Turkish Empire of the nineteenth century, the U.S.S.R. is a mosaic of subjugated peoples. According to the 1939 Russian census, out of a total population of 170,467,186, fifty-eight per cent was Russian and forty-two per cent non-Russian. Also, as in the old Turkish Empire, the Kremlin is attempting to solve its problem of national assimilation by *genocide* — that is, by massacring and deporting the indigenous peoples of the subjugated countries as well as gradually diluting them with those of Russian stock. The consequence is that, though discontent is normally inarticulate, it is nevertheless universal.

All refugees tell the same story: that the U.S.S.R. is seething with unrest and that behind the Iron Curtain everything is in ferment. Even were they not to do so, their constant influx would prove it, for between August 1945 and August 1950, no less than 15,000 Russian officers and men deserted to Western Germany,



and monthly twenty to twenty-five thousand Eastern Germans and others cross the Western German border. Another proof is the steady increase in the number of Soviet prisons. Not long ago, one of the refugees, a former director of Soviet prisons, stated that, whereas in 1930 there were 3,450 prisons in the Soviet Union, in 1950 the number had risen to 11,760, and that between ten and fifteen million people annually pass through them.

Nor is the Russian army unaffected. Since 1939, not only has its structure been shaken by contact with the West, but many of its soldiers have become disillusioned. A typical case is that of Lieutenant Bystrov, who, in December, 1950, deserted. Though before his desertion his impressions of western standards were based on nothing better than prevailing conditions in Eastern Germany, they "produced on him", we read, "an enormous psychological shock," which was followed by a second when on his return on leave to his home in the Urals — a subjugated area — he compared what he had seen in Germany with the utter poverty and misery in which his relatives lived. Further, it should not be overlooked that forty-two per cent of Soviet army recruits come from the subjugated peoples, and, therefore, inherit their discontents.

Though the Soviet army is immensely powerful, it is no coincidence that, whenever the Kremlin has been faced resolutely, it has drawn in its horns. There are two reasons for this. The first is that its inmates have realized that, under present day conditions, military occupation decides nothing; that, in fact, physical conquest is no longer a profitable aim — a question to which I will return later on. The second is, that they fear actual war like the plague. Not because the U.S.S.R. can easily be subdued by external force, but because war leads to internal disruption. This is a point of vital importance.

In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, it was not Japanese naval and military power which compelled Russia to accept the Peace of Portsmouth; it was the eruption of the revolutionary forces within her. Again, in World War I, it was not her defeat in the field which brought her to sign the ignominious treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it was the astuteness of Lenin who, cashing-in on the ruthless treatment of the subjugated peoples by the Tzarist regime, offered them liberation, fully intending, however, to re-subjugate them once he had created a Bolshevik army. The result was that Tzarist Russia disintegrated, sixteen subjugated nations declaring themselves free and independent national states. (To be continued)

*This pamphlet was published by Eyre & Spottswode, London in 1951*

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**"In unveiling this memorial to the great nineteenth century Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, we encourage today's poets in Ukraine, in Eastern Europe, and around the world to embody in their poetry mankind's demands for freedom for self-expression, for national independence, and for liberty for all mankind."**

**General D. D. Eisenhower at the unveiling of the monument to Taras Shevchenko, Washington, D. C., June 27, 1964**

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## **Lenin And The Question Of Nationalities**

At the present time the world is experiencing severe national and racial struggle. In each part of the world this struggle has unique shape with different political names and different camouflages. The most complex of these with the most significant and far-reaching repercussions is the struggle within the Red camp. The rancor of this struggle grows steadily and there are no indications that it will subside in the near future.

For almost half a century, the Kremlin has been manipulating the growth of the national movements as a weapon against the Free World. Suddenly, this weapon has refused to serve Moscow's policies and has automatically turned against the Red empire.

This change of events is of primary importance to the political development of the world, and for many years it will decisively influence the political evolution of the entire world. Each country will experience the significance of this change at different time and in a different way.

Historically, how has the national movement reached its present stage? An analysis of the last half century will reveal significant factors upon which to base a sound and practical policy.

During World War I, modern technology of warfare aroused in a natural way the dynamism of the national struggle of all subjugated nations. These are the same nations that participated in World War I in the ranks of their conquerors.

It was natural that this new current for national independence should have attacked empires that had subjugated nations of the highest cultures and the oldest traditions of statehood. In many cases, the subjugated nations were even more highly advanced than their conquerors.

The first empires to suffer from that movement were Russia and Austria-Hungary. In the third and fourth years of World War I, both of these empires dissolved,

emphasizing clearly that the new phase of world political evolution started in the proper place and at the proper time.

These events marked the beginning of the end for the principle that one nation should dominate another. Mankind was entering a new phase of its development. Whether domination was in the form of direct subjugation or in the camouflaged form of nicely worded constitution, this period marked the end of multi-national colonial empires and signalled the beginning of organization for each state within its ethnographical borders.

For most of the official world this new current was a novel and an unknown trend of international policy. But for the red rulers of Russia this factor of national struggle for self-determination was a well-known element. They evaluated it realistically and plotted a policy whereby this dynamism could be harnessed for the advantage of Moscow.

During the rule of Russia's provisional government in 1917 before the Bolsheviks seized power, the Communist policy in this matter was crystalized and instituted openly in official and quite public polemics.

At this time, in the flood of war and revolution problems, the real issue of the self-determination of nations subjugated by Russia emerged and became a primary question that caused angry polemics among all of the Russian political parties. Each faction sharply defined and justified its position in this controversy.

Historically, the most significant positions in this issue were those held by two large completely opposite parties: the Bolsheviks who became the rulers of Russia, and the "K. D." (Constitutional Democracy), because with the ideology of Kadets (K. D.) in the question of nationalities they were fighting opponents of the Bolsheviks in the Russian civil war.

These polemics took place half a century ago, but their significance today is even greater than in 1917.



Lenin and Stalin proposed the most important positions, and their policies became the strategy of the Kremlin, policies that have brought the U.S.S.R. to its present world position.

The K. D. party believed that recognition of the subjugated nations' right to separation and self-determination would lead to disintegration of the Russian empire. The K. D. proposed a primitive solution: vis-a-vis, treating the nationality problem as if it did not exist — they pretended complete ignorance of the problem.

Lenin sharply attacked this position of the "Kadets", and he precisely stated his own position in the following articles (all of these are in Lenin's Collected Works, Volume XIX):

"The Kadets and the Nationalists"

"The Kadets and the Right of Self-Determination"

"The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination"

"More About Nationalism"

In these articles, Lenin expressed the following opinions:

"The propaganda of self-determination is of very great importance for the fight against the ulcer of nationalism in all its forms."

"The recognition of the right of separation reduces the danger of the disintegration of the state."

"The question of nations' self-determination should not be linked with the problem of the implementation of purposefulness of the separation of some nationality. This question should be decided in each individual case quite independently, only from the viewpoint of the interests of the proletarian class struggle for socialism."

To understand clearly what Lenin means, we must replace his words: "the proletarian class struggle for socialism" with the words: "Russian Communist Party and Russian interests."

Stalin, also, was outspoken in this matter of self-determination. At a party conference in April of 1917, he said: "I believe that after the overthrow of tsardom, nine tenths

of the nationalities will not want to separate from the empire."

On September 6, 1917, two months before the Bolshevik revolution, Stalin wrote a special article, stating that recognition of the right of separation did not mean the duty of carrying it out, that the party reserved for itself complete freedom of agitation for or against separation, depending solely on the interests of proletariat (i. e., Russia).

Scarcely two months later, as minister of nationalities of Russia in Lenin's first government, Stalin was entrusted with the implementation of the subjugated nations' rights, as provided for in the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia.

Thus, even a superficial formulation of this question of self-determination clearly shows the goal Lenin set for the Communist Party.

In his article "More about Nationalism", Lenin stated that the purely Russian element of the empire amounted to 43 per cent, and the subjugated nations to 57 per cent. In every way possible, Lenin wanted to preserve the rule of these 43 per cent and the integrity of their empire. He wanted to achieve this goal within the framework of traditional Russian concepts: vis-a-vis, a strong despotic, centralized authority for the preservation of every inch of land fallen (one way or another) under Russian domination.

To achieve this goal Russia would need a policy that utilized every possible means, including force. Whether this policy would be called a federation or confederation, whether it created a constitution that provided self-determination, the intended results would be the same: that 57 per cent of the empire's population would obey strictly the rule of the Russian minority. In Lenin's eyes, the patriotism of 57 per cent of Russia's subjects was a national ulcer.

In the articles and speeches mentioned, it may be noticed that Stalin went a step further than Lenin. Stalin clearly stated that he regarded the future recognition of the right of nations to self-determination as a beautiful but lifeless ornament adorning the

Soviet constitution and legislation. Declaration of these principles must strengthen the obedience of the subjugated nations, not weaken it. These "beautiful ornaments" should be a camouflage for the goals of the Russian Communist Party, which are just the opposite in purpose.

Thus, even today, the Kremlin fights to monopolize upon their interpretation of Marxism. They still insist that this interpretation be compulsory for all Communist parties in the world. Today, the controversy over this interpretation is splitting the Red camp.

In summary: after the controversy between the Bolsheviks and the Kadets and after the Bolsheviks' ideas had been implemented, we can see post factum that both opponents had the same goal. Their differences were only in methods and tactics. As we have mentioned, the Kadets wanted to eliminate this question in a primitive manner, by pretending that the nationality problem was non-existent. They believed that the chief of police could take care of any exceptions to this policy.

Lenin was better informed about the empire's internal situation. He fully realized that the nationality problem was a burning issue for 57 per cent of the total population; he knew that the question could not be disregarded; therefore, to maintain the empire's integrity and preserve the ruling position of the Russian minority, Lenin resorted to a very clever political maneuver: i. e., declaration of the right of nations to self-determination.

Two different results were expected from this maneuver in the domains of domestic and international policy. Inside Russia it was to confuse and break up the movement of the subjugated nations, while outside Russia it was to unleash a struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples.

Clearly, Lenin's position was much closer to Russia's old reactionary monarchist imperialists than was the position of the rightist Kadets. If Ivan the Terrible and Katherine II — authors of the greatest "cold wars" ever waged and won by Russia — could express their opinions in this matter,

they undoubtedly would agree with Lenin and support his position.

Lenin's principle of self-determination was antithetical when applied to nations outside of the Russian empire. In his "Summary of the Discussion about Self-Determination", Lenin wrote:

"We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the great liberation war of the proletariat and for socialism, we should be unable to take advantage of any national movement directed against imperialism, in order to sharpen and deepen the crisis."

To reveal more clearly the basic meaning of this statement by Lenin, propaganda terminology, such as "revolution", "proletariat", and "socialism", should be replaced by the appropriate names of the opposing sides. This time we leave this task to the reader.

The question is best explained by Stalin in his article, "The Party's Immediate Task in the Nationality Question", in which he wrote:

"Since the Soviet states voluntarily join in the federation, the component nations of the R.S.F.S.R. will not take advantage of their right of separation of their own free will. However, in the case of colonies in the jaws of England, France, America, and Japan; in the case of such countries as Arabia, Mesopotamia, Turkey, India; countries which are colonies of the Entente — the right to separation becomes a revolutionary battle cry, and to give it up means to act in favor of the Entente."

Here, an entirely different tone is immediately evident. The right of nations to self-determination, suspended and completely blocked within the U.S.S.R., is to be used to unleash a nationalistic struggle of unending wars in the colonial areas belonging to all opponents of Red Russia.

From these policies of the Communist leaders, we can see that the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples . . .", in Lenin's political arsenal, was a simple, primitive, double-edged sword. It was designed to destroy with one edge the front of all nations subjugated by Russia, and with the



other edge, destroy the colonial empires of the West.

In this clearly defined and perfectly organized policy of Lenin's, we can see one undeniable fact: Lenin is nothing other than a Russian nationalist, whose nationalism exceeds the limits of decent patriotism and amounts to utter chauvinism and imperialism.

The whole ideology of the Communist Party, including all international slogans directed by the Kremlin to all of mankind, has only one goal and one result: realization of the Russian ideology of "Three Romes", as formulated by Filofey, Prior of the Pskov monastery in the years 1515—1521. More skilfully and more energetically than any other ruler of Russia, Lenin was pulling Red Moscow toward an international position of the "Third Rome".

Until today, many political figures have not had the courage to look at this fact with open eyes, but the fact remains and it is now undeniably supported by history. It must be fully realized that Lenin is not one of a kind, an exception among his predecessor countrymen with the reputation of famous international revolutionaries.

How did the Kremlin realize in practice its intention toward the subjugated nations before, during and after the civil war?

The first concrete steps in the question of nationalities were taken by the Bolsheviks in the very first days of their rule.

— On November 3, 1917, in the very first days of the Bolshevik revolution, the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia" was adopted, granting each subjugated nation the right of self-determination, including the right of complete separation from Russia.

— On December 5, 1917, the independence of Finland was recognized.

— On January 22, 1918, the independence of Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed.

— On August 29, 1918, a decree was issued annulling all partition of Poland.

— On December 3, 1918, the independence of Communist Estonia was recognized.

— On December 27, 1918, the independence of Communist Lithuania and Latvia was recognized.

— On February 5, 1919, the Byelorussian Communist Republic was recognized.

Of course, radiograms of these dazzling decrees caused great admiration among all naive enthusiasts of the West. But simultaneously with these decrees, practical steps and concrete action of the Kremlin had a directly opposite effect. Public opinion abroad was formed on the basis of Moscow's theoretical decrees, while actually, the subjugated nations were struggling against the practical moves of the Reds. This duality in the treatment of all political problems had already occurred in the first days of the Russian state, was adopted by the Bolshevik authorities, and has been maintained to this very day.

Let us examine how these decrees were treated in the Soviet Russian reality.

In the famous "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia", the peoples are allegedly given the right of secession; however, they must remain the property of Russia and subject to her. This political chimera has a concrete purpose, which its authors understood perfectly well and knew fully how to utilize to their best advantage. Therefore, this declaration was introduced in every successive constitution of the USSR, and in the last constitution of 1936, it was formulated in the following way:

— Paragraph 17 of the Constitution confirms the right of the subjugated nations, granting them by the above-mentioned declaration the rights enumerated by the first Bolshevik council of commissars (Soviet government — Sovnarkom), and this text is repeated almost literally.

— Paragraph 21 states that every citizen of any of the federal republics is a citizen of the entire Union, and not of the respective federal republic.

— Paragraph 133 states that the defense of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R., and any activity harmful to its power and integrity is punishable as the gravest offense.

Thus, any practical act of "self-deter-

mination" is constitutionally impossible. Beyond the constitution, itself, we must realize that, as a matter of fact, all commentaries and explanations concerning the constitution and all other declarations are to be made solely by the Soviet authorities. The Kremlin reserves for itself exclusively the right of interpreting all principles in all individual cases.

Another noteworthy characteristic of the Soviet political jugglery is the following: the governments of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Byelorussia, recognized by Soviet Russia as independent, were composed of native Russians in Moscow. These governments were supplemented with natives from the respective countries, but these "natives" were tried and true Moscow Bolsheviks and formed the first cadres of Moscow's puppets.

In every war within which Red Moscow had fought, the first line of military transport has carried a "ready-made" government for the so-called "liberated" nations. The Kremlin has used this traditional puppet maneuver consistently until the last day of World War II.

On March 3, 1918, the Soviet government signed a peace treaty with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk. In that conference, Red Russia wanted to represent all of the old Russian empire — all territories belonging to her in 1914 and all the subjugated nations.

The Brest-Litovsk conference took place five months after the issuance of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia." At that time the majority of the subjugated nations had already organized their own state machinery and legislatures and had firmly declared themselves in favor of separation from Russia. As a matter of fact, the actual separation of these nations had taken place even earlier, so that the Bolshevik declaration of the rights of these

nations must be considered only as a recognition of accomplished facts.

Even before the Bolshevik revolution, a Central Ukrainian Council, as the supreme autonomous national government of the Ukrainian people, was in existence. It proclaimed Ukraine's independence on January 22, 1918. In September 1917, Northern Caucasus declared its separation from Russia. On November 11, 1917, Transcaucasus (Southern Caucasus) declared its independence. A Transcaucasian House of Representatives convened on February 10, 1918.

Disregarding all of these facts and its own decrees, Moscow wanted to sign a peace agreement on behalf of the entire empire.

During the aggressive and imperialistic war, Lenin and his government had very different policies toward the struggle of subjugated nations at the level of international warfare and Russia's internal class struggle. Lenin was never worried about the domestic class struggle; on the contrary, he desired this struggle and devoted much effort to encourage such action everywhere. But Lenin had a great fear of any war on the national basis and avoided this in every way possible.

Stalin was the first to write officially and clearly about this element. In May of 1920, he wrote in one of his articles: "The rear of the Polish troops differs considerably from that of Kolchak and Denikin, to the great advantage of Poland. In contrast with the rear of Kolchak and Denikin, that of the Polish troops is homogeneous and nationally compact. Hence, their unity and resistance. Their overpowering feeling, patriotism, is transmitted by numerous threads to the Polish front, creating in the units national cohesion and stubbornness. Hence, the resistance of the Polish troops. If the Polish troops fought within the area of Poland proper, it would doubtless be very difficult to fight against them" (Stalin, Works, Vol. IV). *(To be continued)*



## Russian Cruelty

I have lived through and seen many cruelties. I could never find a justification for their existence. All my life I have been troubled by the question: Where does it come from, of what instincts is this human cruelty born?

Some time ago I happened to read a book with a fateful title: "Progress, the Development of Cruelty." With the help of very skilfully presented and explained examples, the author tries to prove that the progress of humanity leads to the revelation of secret, inherently human pleasure to torture his neighbour, his body and soul. I read the book with disgust; it did not convince me in the slightest, and its paradoxes were soon obliterated from my memory.

But now, after the great madness of the European war, after the bloody orgy of the revolution, I am again beginning to ponder over these paradoxes. At the same time it should be noted that as far as Russian cruelty is concerned — civilization has left absolutely no traces upon it; its forms have remained unchanged.

At the beginning of the 17th century the following tortures were used: the victim's mouth was filled with gun powder, which was then ignited. Womens' breasts were pierced, a rope was strung through the mouth and the victims were thus hanged.

In 1918 and 1919 the same methods were used on the Don; in the Urals both the Reds and the Whites tortured their victims to death.

I believe that the most outstanding trait in the Russian national personality is cruelty, just as humor is in the English. This is a special cruelty, and at the same time it is a measure of the degree of endurance and resistance to torture planned in cold blood, which can be achieved by a human being; a kind of a test of his life's strength.

The most interesting trait of Russian cruelty is its devilish finesse, its, I would say, esthetic refinement. I do not think that these characteristics can be explained by

such words as "psychosis", "sadism" or similar ones because in essence they do not explain anything. The result of alcoholism? — But I do not think that the Russian nation is poisoned by alcohol to a greater degree than other nations. Even though it has to be admitted that the influence of alcohol on the psychology of a Russian is particularly fatal because our nation's nourishment is worse than that of others.

Here I am not speaking about cruelty which manifests itself sporadically, as an explosion of a sick or perverted soul. These are exceptions, which are the concern of a psychiatrist; here I am speaking about mass psychology, about the national psyche, about collective cruelty.

In one of the Siberian villages the villagers thought up the following: they dug up a few holes, placed in them the Red Army prisoners of war, heads first, covered up the holes half way, so that only the legs (from the knees down) of the buried would be sticking out from under the earth. Then they watched with interest the convulsion of the legs.

In the Tambov region the Communist prisoners of war were nailed to trees. But they drove the nails only into the left hand and foot and amused themselves by watching how those half crucified moved their free hands and feet in the convulsions of death.

Other prisoners of war were put through such tortures: their stomachs were cut open and an end of the intestine was taken out and nailed to a tree or a telegraph pole. Then they chased the victim around a tree, and watched how the intestine was uncoiling.

And here is a detachment of captive officers, stark naked. From their backs strips of skin were cut out, the size of a knapsack, and in place of stars nails were driven in. Then strips of skin were cut out on their legs in the form of Cossack red stripes. Slowly this operation came into general use

and began to be known as "putting on a uniform." Of course, it required much time and precision. Similar and even worse crimes became more and more numerous in recent years in Russia.

Which of them are more cruel, the White or the Red? In reality both are equal in this respect, because the former and the latter are Russians. And when we are concerned with the degree of cruelty, then it can be said with certainty that the most cruel are those who possess the most energy and power.

I do not know if there is another place on earth where women are so cruelly and mercilessly treated as in a Russian village. And it is almost certain that nowhere but in Russia are there so many disgusting proverbs: "A wife is loved twice: when she enters the house when engaged, and when she is taken to a cemetery"; "For women and beasts there is no court"; "If you want your food to taste good beat your wife a little." In Russian villages there are hundreds of similar sayings which express the wisdom collected through the centuries. They are heard by children every day; the young people grow up with them.

The village children are just as cruelly treated. When recently I became interested in the statistics of crime in the Moscow province and went through documents of criminal proceedings for the years 1901—1910, I was horrified by the large number of cruelties, whose victims were children, and crimes against the young people. In Russia generally, people beat each other up almost with pleasure. "Folk wisdom" sees in corporal punishment something necessary and beneficial to a human being. This is expressed in the proverb: "For one beaten two are given."

I often asked the participants of civil war whether they detest killing one another. The answer was always the same: "There is nothing disgusting about it. They have arms, and we have arms; both we and they are in a similar situation. What difference does it make to anybody that we are killing each other? Many more of our brothers still remain in the world."

I put the same question to a soldier who fought in World War I and later became a high officer in the Red Army. He gave me a strange reply: "What is internal war? The war with foreigners is something quite different; it moves the soul. I shall tell you quite frankly, comrade: to kill a Russian, of what significance is it? There are so many of them that you don't even notice when some of them die. Look, for instance, at these villages: they could disappear from the face of the earth whenever they choose, of what use are they?"

"And finally, let the devil take our whole agriculture and all our affairs. In Prussia, for example, it was different. When we attacked, I was almost sorry. What villages, what towns, what organization! What beautiful order! We destroyed it all. And for what? One could have gone mad. I was almost glad when I was wounded and could not take part in this madness any longer . . . Later I was near Yudenich in the Caucasus. There we saw Turks and other devils, all very poor and small nations, but I felt sorry for them too . . ." This man was very humane in his own way; he treated his soldiers, who loved and respected him, well and liked his military profession.

When one speaks about Russian cruelty, one cannot remain silent about the pogroms of the Jews. The fact that these pogroms were organized with the agreement of stupid representatives of the government does not excuse anything or anybody. Those fools and canals, who permitted the killing and robbing of Jews, did not give orders to torture them, to rape women, to kill children, to drive nails into human heads. All these bloody horrors were performed instinctively by the masses themselves.

Nevertheless, it can finally be asked, where is this Russian peasant, — prudent, good, this constant seeker of truth and justice, who was so nicely and convincingly portrayed in our literature of the 19th century?

In my youth I myself searched enthusiastically for this man throughout the whole Russian land, but I did not find him. Every-



where I met only a crude realist, a sly peasant, who pretends to be stupid when it seems to him to be profitable. From nature, he is far from being stupid, this peasant, and he himself knows it very well. He created many sad songs, many severe, wild and bloody legends, thought up thousands of proverbs in which he expressed his hard life's experience. He knows that "muzhik himself is not a fool", but that the "world is a sheep", and that the "world is strong as a creek, and stupid as a pig." He says: "Don't be afraid of the devil, be afraid of a man" and "beat your own, fear strangers." He has no respect for the truth: "You cannot feed yourself on truth", — he says. He has a multitude of appropriate sayings and makes use of them at every opportunity. He hears them from childhood, and from childhood he can sense their whole brutal truth, bitter sadness and absolute hatred of people, which is to be found in them. Some — in particular the middle class — interfere with the peaceful flow of his life and therefore he considers them to be useless on this earth, in this country which he loves with a mystical kind of love and in which he believes with mystical faith. This land, to which he is held by his life, body and soul, which is his "inborn property", this land was taken away from him by robbers. Long before Byron the Russian peasant already knew that "the sweat of a peasant is worth more than God's earth."

The populist trend in our literature with its idealized muzhik, was aspiring towards a set political goal. But as early as the end of the 19th century a breakthrough has come in this literature, which dealt with the village and the muzhik: it became less merciful and more sincere. Anton Chekhov in his "Muzhiks" gave us a new picture of the people. In the first half of the 20th century the "Village" by Ivan Bunin, the master of Russian style, made its appearance. In his short stories, especially in the "Nocturnal Talk" a new point of view of the muzhik is apparent, almost critical; the truth is shown here almost without any embellishments. Bunin was accused of being an aristocrat, because he treats the peasants with

indifference, or even hostility. This is not true. Bunin is first of all an artist.

In the more recent contemporary literature, we find even more frightening examples of spiritual darkness, into which the Russian village is sinking. In particular, I would turn my attention to the stories by a peasant Ivan Bolnyi in "Youth", to a Moscovite Semen Podyachev and a Siberian Vsevolod Ivanov. Certainly, neither of these writers can be accused of any kind of aristocratic hostility towards the muzhik: they themselves were muzhiks and bound to the village with soul and body. Better than any one else they understood and knew the life of common people, the misfortunes and simple pleasures of the village, the spiritual blindness of the muzhik and the cruelty of his psycho.

I shall conclude with this little story which I heard from a member of one of the scientific expeditions in 1921 in the Urals. One muzhik from the village where the mission halted, asked my informant: "You are a learned man, then explaint to me such an event: Last week one Bashkir killed my cow. Of course, I killed the Bashkir, and then stole his cow from him. Therefore, tell me: can I be punished for this cow?" — When he was asked if he was not afraid of being punished for Bashkir's murder first, the muzhik, with complete internal peace, answered: "But, today people do not cost anything!" These words "understandably" are worthy of attention. Crime becomes common and habitual.

And here is another example of the same order which shows how village consciousness adapts itself to new ideas. One elementary school teacher, the son of a peasant, writes to me: "A well-known scientist Darwin has scientifically proved the necessity of merciless struggle for existence. Because of the fact that he does not protest against the shortening of the life span of weak and useless people, because of the fact that even earlier the old were left to die of hunger in their caves, or were hanged from tall trees, — I would like to propose the extermination by some humane methods of those who became useless in life, for I am against all

cruelty. I propose that they be poisoned with some good-tasting poison. This method will lighten the struggle for existence . . . It should be employed against the feeble-minded, idiots, against all who are ill-equipped by nature: cripples, blind, as well as the incurably ill. A law to this effect, of course, is not going to be to the liking of our intellectual youth, but the time has come when we should not pay any attention to these "ideal" reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. The support of misfits is

*(This article by the famous Russian writer was published in almost all European newspapers in 1923.)*

## For The Rights Of The Croats And Macedonian Bulgarians

The Croatian and Macedonian Liberation Movements presented a declaration on the situation in Yugoslavia to the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant. In this declaration they demand rights for the Croats and Macedonian Bulgarians under the rule of Yugoslavia. Among other things the declaration states the following:

"Favorable to her existence, Yugoslavia has always stood for the principle of non-interference in her internal affairs, and that for very good reasons. She is worried and attempts to conceal officially the fact that the included nationalities are against her. The government of Yugoslavia is fearful of the provisions of the United Nations Charter. She trembles at the very idea that the people should be given the right to decide their political destiny and also elect their national representatives.

"The national question of our peoples stands above everything else. The only salvation they can visualize is secession from Yugoslavia in which country they were incorporated against their will. It would be desirable that this separation take place by peaceful means. Such a solution would not only be in the interest of Balkan, or even world peace, but also in harmony with human justice.

"The division of Yugoslavia into six republics and two autonomous provinces, even though subjected to the rigid Serbian

costing the people too much; these expenses should be brought to nought."

Many similar letters are received in present-day Russia, similar questions and propositions. The effect is painful, but disregarding their barbarity, they give an impression that the thought of the Russian village has awoken, and even though it is still young and brutal, it is already making attempts to go in the up-to-now completely unfamiliar direction: the village is beginning to think about a state and its tasks.

government in Belgrade, in itself points out that there exists no such thing as a Yugoslav nation. Conversely, in the Yugoslav state there exist well established historically, ethnographically and culturally separate nationalities — Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Macedonian Bulgarians and others, with their own national aspirations.

"For the cause of justice and Balkan peace, the dissolution of Yugoslavia is indispensable."

### Jewish Students Demand Emigration Permits

A 21-year-old Jewish student, Ilya Ripps, who wanted to burn himself nearly three weeks ago in Riga as a protest against the discrimination against the Jews in the Soviet Union, has survived his heavy injuries. As the British Sunday paper *The Observer* writes, he is lying in the Central Hospital in Riga under heavy police guard.

Since Ripps' attempt to kill himself, Jewish students in Riga have demanded with increased vigour the relaxation of severe emigration laws to Israel. According to eye-witnesses young men and women demonstrated in front of the Riga government building, in which the few emigration permits are issued.

It is said that the demonstrators sang Hebrew songs and wore the Star of David on their clothing. The Soviet authorities have not taken any steps against them.



## Total Political War

(Continuation)

### WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS

Much contaminated by Marxism, the unions are strongholds for the Communist offensive in most of the free countries.

The importance Communist agents attach, in the free nations, to such unions, is one of the many contradictions they indulge in, because neither in Russia, nor in China or any satellite country, are Unions and Syndicates instrumental to any betterment in the workers' livelihood. They do not represent a protective shield against any curtailment of the workers' rights, and, much to the contrary, they furnish to the totalitarian state a terrible and effective tool to subjugate them and to encroach on their rights, which rights are, as a matter of fact, only symbolical, non-existent, shown as mere dead letter in the state's constitution.

### WHAT ABOUT THE RICH AND THE INTELLECTUAL

Let me consider now, briefly, the realm of those well-to-do, rich and intellectual people who are so readily contaminated by the Marxist ideas. This contamination is due to the false and alluring images presented them with so little ceremony, and with the utmost contempt for the truth and veracity, under the guise of skillful propaganda, by those who are trained experts in the field of International Communism. Such insidious propaganda is likely to affect first those people of good faith who have little knowledge of Marxism and who, possessing scanty culture concerning that doctrine, theory and practice permit themselves to become erroneously enthusiastic as to what seems a real possibility of transforming our imperfect world into what they believe will be a better world, a world free of injustices, vices and defects; and, on the other hand, it affects those people who are hungry for notoriety and who take advantage of the fertile field offered to the op-

portunists by the clever and foxy Communist agents.

These Communist agents fool both! They claim that Communism answers all problems; that it can cure the ills of mankind, all human suffering, and that it will give this planet in which we live the characteristics of Paradise, of an ideal mansion, where only ecstasy and happiness will reign.

But the Marxist agents also claim that in order to secure these worldly changes human beings themselves must necessarily be changed.

Yes, *human nature*, — such as the world has known for centuries — has got to be changed altogether before the establishing of Communism can be even thought of! That's what Marxists most positively emphasize, as the system will only work with a new type of man, the "Homo Sovieticus", exempt from all the evils and defects of the *Capitalistic Civilization* . . .

### HOW TO SNARE THE STUDENTS

And the young people, the students, either the rich or the poor, and especially the latter, how do they become ensnared and intoxicated with Marxism?

The contamination of the youth represents the first step toward converting a nation into Communist slavery. The youth is a very vulnerable spot, in any country. The young, particularly teenage and shortly thereafter, represents a critical age of transition. Generosity and enthusiasm, inexperience, not being serious, not being able to think and reflect properly, not being settled, being rebellious, nor having discipline, these are natural and characteristic signs of youth.

Very sensitive to the atmosphere in which they live, they easily acquire good or bad habits. They succumb to good or bad ideas. They are, as a general rule, disobedient to those in authority, nor are they docile to their own parents and teachers.

Many of them suffer from maladjustment and from neuroticism, according to the statistics of the psychiatrists, which help the Communists very much in their sinister purposes. Neurotic and maladjusted young men feel isolated and in antagonism with the complexities of modern life; and for that reason they listen with pleasure to the easy (and false) answers the Marxists give to their doubts and problems.

Without pity the brutal Communists launch themselves upon them, like hungry wolves. They exploit the immature mentality, the absolute lack of experience of life, the juvenile love for independence, the deficiency in culture, and the social unrest they are contending with; they take advantage of their faults and the weaknesses with which they are often endowed, and, in many cases, they succeed in transforming these hardheaded, turbulent and shallow-thinking young men into traitors.

#### NATIONALISM

The thesis of *nationalism*, which I would prefer to call false *nationalism*, is directed principally against the United States of America, and to a certain extent against a few nations still possessing colonies.

The attack on the great bulwark of democracy, the United States, is the number one key of the international Communist campaign, and aims at isolating it from all free countries. The nationalistic campaign as conducted by the Communists is profoundly cynical and illogical, since while summoning unwary citizens to the struggle for preservation of their national sovereignty, they at the same time hold in abject bondage no less than 20 nations in Eastern Europe alone.

Those nations — the ones dominated by them — are not incited by them with the flag of "nationalism". For the subjugated countries they advise the Soviet-type of patriotism — a *higher type* of patriotism involving loyalty to the Soviet ideal, and thereby independent of considerations of country, race, or creed.

In Brazil, the Communists and fellow-travellers call themselves "nationalists"; never "patriots". They try to lead the country to the camp of *State Socialism*, and

consequently hope to weaken it economically and bring it to a chaotic and impoverished situation, favorable to Bolshevism.

Brazil, by socializing its national economy, as it is gradually doing at the instigation of the Communist *fifth columns*, will head towards ruin.

However, under the influence of these treacherous *columns*, a part of the Brazilian population is now foolishly clamoring for the "nationalization" of everything or almost everything, thereby displaying real chauvinistic excess.

"Down with foreign trusts and American capital!" shouts the *nationalist* in Brazil, "doubling" as a Communist; but enthusiastically acclaims fantastic and alluring proposals of economic aid made by Soviet Russia and the satellite countries . . . Here the nationalist ties himself perfectly with the thesis of *anti-imperialism*, in particular that of Yankee imperialism.

*Anti-imperialism*, regardless of the cloak it masquerades under, and whether it appears as "Aprism" in Peru, as "Justicialism" in Argentina, as "Trabalismo" in Brazil, represents a clearly Marxist attitude. One who talks *anti-imperialism* is, willingly or not, a man working for the Communists, in the service of Communism, fit to become an active Communist.

At the same time those Communists speak of "freeing" countries from *Yankee imperialism*, they keep shamefully silent regarding the political, social and cultural oppression exerted by Russian imperialism in Hungary, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, and many other countries. land, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, and many other countries.

One of the dangerous aspects of what is now being called "nationalism" is precisely the fact that it is based on a just and laudable thesis, in essence, but deliberately falsified and distorted "ad usum diabolicum...."

This leads to the following melancholic and paradoxical situation: — the longing and desire for freedom, so natural and understandable in every people, are just the elements on which the Communists lay hold for the enslavement of those peoples. How



so? you will say. Because Marxist propaganda cunningly makes use of the same psycho-mechanical factor which governs the well-known game of "jiu-jitsu", and which consists of utilizing the weight and strength of ones opponent in order to overpower him.

Another sad and surprising paradox is: the longing for freedom is really only being used as a weapon *against* Communism by those peoples already under the Marxist yoke, whereas it serves as a weapon *for* Communism in the bosom of free nations. This shows how perplexing and distressing is the period we are passing through. An incredible disorder is maintained in the Free World by the satanic (yet satanically clever) propaganda that is directed, *urbi et orbi*, by the Kremlin!

### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The theory of co-existence merely represents a trick used by the Bolsheviks to benumb the free nations' sense of legitimate self-defense. They wish to play for time in order that the treacherous fifth columns kept by the Kremlin inside those nations may be able to proceed with their work as sappers. They strive to lead the democracies to an imprudent disarmament which will at once make them vulnerable to the blows of the Russian barbarians.

The theories of co-existence (implying the acceptance of a false "pax sovietica") and *neutralism* are the two "Trojan horses" which the criminals quartered in Moscow are trying to introduce into the citadels of the free peoples.

Yes, all well-intentioned hearts desire peace, but not a copy of the peace of Warsaw; not a fake peace dictated by enslavers; not a peace maintained by merciless terrorism, by fire and sword; not the peace of the concentration and forced-labor camps; not the peace of heretics who adhere solely to their materialistic instincts with complete disregard for the spiritual adornments of human life. I need not tarry longer in commenting the farce of *co-existence*, but I shall allude to the impact of this genuine trap on the Brazilian milieu.

*Co-existence*, in Brazil, has as its main

objective to force the Government, through pressure of the Communists, crypto-Communists, fellow-travellers, and badly informed members of the "bourgeoisie" (the latter deluded by false propaganda), to renew diplomatic and commercial relations with Soviet Russia and Communist China, and also to legalize again the Communist Party.

Commercial relations have already been renewed and steps are being taken, unfortunately, in the direction of adopting the other two unpatriotic decisions.

### MILITARY ACTION OR TACTICS

(Military Maneuvering Including Guerrilla Warfare)

Three patterns of war should be considered nowadays:

- a) *Conventional War*
- b) *Scientific War*
- c) *Revolutionary War or Total Political War.*

The last named, including "guerrilla warfare" as its principal component, is precisely the one which has been applied mostly in many countries ever since the end (1945) of the Second World War, especially aiming to expand Communism.

It is a kind of war not yet well understood by the democracies, in preparation, execution and consequences.

Erhartz, who knows a lot about it, says: — "the soldiers of democracy certainly know how to fight bravely on the battlefield, but do not know how to combat in the revolutionary war" (sic).

And the statement may be easily admitted if one stops to consider that soldiers are usually trained to fight nobly and loyally, in overt and declared wars, and not to fight in wars where treachery, craft, cunning, traps, perfidy and absolute lack of ethics are mainly resorted to.

"Guerrilla warfare" of the revolutionary type or pattern, incorporated in the Total Political War, should be carried out, in order to be effective, only after success has been obtained through *Propaganda*, or *Preparatory Strategy* (Item II of the *Trinitarian System*).

Revolutionary insurrections and uprisings in Greece, Yugoslavia, Egypt, continental China, Bolivia and Guatemala, yielded profitable lessons to the Communists and furnished them a precious experimental background.

“Guerrilla warfare” was duly codified, systematized and regulated. A thorough revision of Mao Tse-tung tactics led to the Cuban pattern, so highly successful in the period 1957—1958.

On the beautiful island, formerly the “Pearl of the Antilles” and now turned into a beach-head for the Soviet Russian offensive against America, no battles were fought (only skirmishes), no armies were necessary; and, nonetheless, Batista’s regular army was compelled to run or surrender . . . .

How and why? — In the first *place*, due to psychological conditions created and skillfully developed; *second*, because the precepts of the newly revised “guerrilla warfare” were put in force and carried out to the letter.

Psychological conditions emanated from the unhealthy climate in Cuba under Batista’s regime and, also, to the utter neglect vouched by the administrative authorities, for a long time, to the unrest brewing in the Sierra Maestra. The authorities holding the reins of power thought that the far-away guerrillas in the Oriente Province offered no danger, and, therefore, did not care to

train the army for that kind of warfare, much less to advise the people about it.

On the other hand, propaganda favoring the rebels was pushed forward on a large scale, aided by plentiful money made available to Fidel Castro.

The regular standing army, in particular, was right along the *number one* target and was completely demoralized by psychological methods, which depended too on the convincing power of money and on the lure of enticing promises.

To disrupt the army as a militarily respectable force the rebels availed themselves, too, of lessons drawn from Bolivia, Panama and Venezuela.

Things reached such a climax in Cuba and bribery became so outstanding that one might apply to Batista’s generals what the Mexican Alvaro Obregon used to say: “When the army is demoralized, no generals can be found who are able to withstand a forty thousand *pesos* gunshot . . .”.

As a result, when Castro’s rebels descended from their hiding places in the Sierra, they overran the country in sheer promenade style, meeting hardly any opposition and only having to fight small skirmishes around Las Villas.

Camaguey prairies and meadows were crossed at leisure, in parade-like fashion, fortresses and strongholds surrendering shamefully to meagre groups of guerrilla fighters . . . !

## Russian Attack Against ABN

For years the Russian press has been attacking ABN for various reasons and in connection with various events.

A new example of this is an article “Truth Will Overcome” (!) which appeared in *Soviet Union Today* (Cologne, Dec. 16, 1968), a German-language publication of the Russian Embassy in the Federal Re-

public of Germany. The author of this article, Yuri Zhukov, tries to justify Russian aggression against the Czech and Slovak nations, the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. In this connection he makes slanderous references to ABN, more precisely, to the ABN Conference in London. As is evident, ABN’s activities are worrying and enraging Moscow.



## The 40th Anniversary Of The Organisation Of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

In 1969 patriotic Ukrainians in Ukraine and all over the world are marking the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which has carried the brunt of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national freedom and independence in the most recent historical period. The OUN is now by far the strongest of all political organisations of freedom-loving Ukrainians and its influence extends to all countries wherever there are patriotic Ukrainian communities.

On the occasion of its 40th anniversary the Supreme Executive of the OUN has issued an Appeal to the Ukrainian People, the main passages of which are quoted below:

“The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists has grown on the basis of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian nation in 1917—1921 for its sovereignty and independence, on the traditions of the Ukrainian underground and insurrectionist organisations of the 1920s, such as the Central Insurgent Committee, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, and above all the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), whose founder was Colonel Evhen Konovalets and who later united various nationalist formations into the single Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929.

Ideological justification for the struggle of the OUN gave Dmytro Dontsov, the most eminent theoretician of modern Ukrainian nationalism and contemporary political thinker of Ukraine.

The OUN began a new stage in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. It placed the main emphasis on developing a mass movement, and the Ukrainian Military Organisation became its fighting arm.

The OUN closely related its national and political struggle with the struggle for social justice, defending the Ukrainian

people and all its strata from exploitation by foreign occupants.

The OUN has always been with the people and for the people. It is working amongst the people. It is a true popular organisation. An inexhaustible source of its strength is our people, the undaunted Prometheus, who gives strength to the OUN. The OUN has chosen the most difficult but, nonetheless, the most certain path to national liberation. It develops the main front of struggle against any immediate occupier of this or that part of the Ukrainian soil. The front against all the occupiers of Ukraine, reliance on Ukrainian people's own forces, and cooperation only with those external factors which recognise our conception of liberation and the future political order in the world, namely those which recognise the idea of the disintegration of the Russian empire and the restoration of a free, sovereign, united and independent Ukrainian State and other national states of the peoples at present enslaved by Russia — this is the signpost of the OUN.

The OUN has finally unmasked the unchangingly aggressive, insatiable Russia, her imperialism which hides under different masks, including Communism or a veil of Russian pseudo-Christianity; it has channelled the forces of the Ukrainian nation against the age-old enemy of Ukraine — any Russian empire — be it white or red.

The OUN has stressed that Communism and collectivisation are products of the Russian mentality of conquest, a form of subjugation of other nations by means of forcibly imposing the Russian way of life on other peoples. Against it the OUN has undertaken an uncompromising fight in Ukraine with all available means. On the other hand, the OUN has given our nation the vision of the Ukrainian way of life in opposition to the Russian one, and for this ideal the struggle against the occupiers is now going on.

In March of this year we marked the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of Carpathian Ukraine in 1939. This Act which presented the first challenge to Hitlerite Germany in contemporary Europe proved the independence of the Ukrainian policy.

In the struggle for the independence of Carpathian Ukraine the OUN suffered great sacrifices.

During the period of leadership of Stepan Bandera (1940-1959), the successor to E. Konovalts, the OUN made a great and historic decision, unprecedented in the history of other nations — to wage a struggle on two fronts: against the strongest powers of that day — Germany and Russia. At the initiative of OUN the restoration of the Ukrainian State was proclaimed on 30th June, 1941. The chairman and members of the Ukrainian State Government, the leader and members of the Supreme Executive of OUN, despite German terror and imprisonment in concentration camps, refused to revoke this historical act and to dissolve the Ukrainian State Government. The OUN then called into being the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which waged war on two fronts. Its strength grew to such an extent that in 1947 three powers — the USSR, Red Poland and Czecho-Slovakia — concluded a military pact against it. At the initiative of the OUN and UPA there took place in Ukraine the First Conference of the Peoples Enslaved by Russian Bolshevism. By now it has grown into the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which has come forward with the only realistic conception of liberation by the peoples' own forces, in other words by means of a common front of all the enslaved nations, synchronised and coordinated national liberation revolutions and a world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front, as an auxiliary front aiding the liberation fight in our home countries.

The period 1943-1950 was marked by the heroic deeds of the great strategist of the Ukrainian national revolution, the C.-in-C. of the UPA, General Roman

Shukhevych (nom-de-guerre Taras Chuprynka).

By its anti-German struggle the OUN-UPA eliminated the danger of Sovietophile orientation among the people on the territories occupied by Germany and transformed the two-front war of Ukraine into a sovereign factor in world politics.

The simultaneous front against the two greatest tyrannies in the world during World War II has become a historical way pointer at that time for the Western allies, to create a united front of free and subjugated nations against both Berlin and Moscow, and at present — against both Moscow and Peking, instead of entering into alliances with Muscovite tyrants against Peking tyrants.

The military conception of a war of insurrection, as an independent style of waging war, has been peculiar to Ukraine since the Cossack period (16th-18th C.), and has now been developed into a modern method of warfare in the thermonuclear and ideological age when ideas inspire broad masses and the armed people decides the fate of tyrannies which have at their disposal thermonuclear weapons, unsuitable however for combating uprisings by subjugated nations.

In 1946-47, representing at the time the revolutionary political sovereignty of our nation, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) which came into being at the initiative of the OUN, successfully organised a boycott of the "elections" to the Bolshevik "parliaments" by the population of Ukraine. The nation-wide uprisings in the years 1943-53, i.e. over a period of ten years, organised by OUN-UPA, saved many Ukrainians, especially in West Ukraine, from mass deportations and physical annihilation, by which methods Moscow tried to extinguish the conflagration which began to envelop the Russian empire.

In the next period, 1953-1959, strikes and uprisings initiated by imprisoned members of the OUN and UPA fighters spread in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan. The revolutionary conflagration threatened to leap over into



Ukraine and the territories of other enslaved nations. No wonder therefore that Khrushchov tried to save the Russian empire by reorganising the concentration camp system.

At present, a new young generation of Ukraine which knows no fear is being brought up on the examples of self-sacrifice, on the sacrifices of blood and on the graves of the heroes of OUN-UPA. It mobilises the people to mass actions in Ukraine, strikes of workers and youth, mass demonstrations and clashes with the forces of occupation in the streets of Ukrainian towns, including Donbas and Odessa. Demonstrations before the court buildings, in court rooms, courageous protests against the imprisonment of the fighters for freedom of creative work, for the rights of man and nations — these are the main features of the present-day struggle against the occupiers of Ukraine. The young generation which has grown up on the ideological foundations of OUN-UPA, has begun a great fight in the literary, artistic, scientific and publicistic fields, in particular by clandestine literature. It has come forward in defence of the historical monuments of the past glory and freedom of Ukraine, the great traditions of the Ukrainian people.

Ukraine is the revolutionary problem of the world, because its independence would mean the collapse of the biggest contemporary empire in the world — that of Russia. As a result the political map of the world would change radically. OUN is in the vanguard of Ukraine's struggle for freedom.

Ukraine has risen against Russian imperialism; Kyiv stands in opposition to Moscow; these two capitals symbolise two antipodes: Kyiv — the world of sincerity and goodness, freedom, truth, justice, dignity of man, sovereignty of nations, belief in God, Moscow — the world of evil, injustice, deceit, exploitation, trampling on human dignity, imperialism, militant atheism. A world front united against imperialist Russia and Communism is the key to the solution of the world ideological and political crisis.

On the 40th anniversary of the OUN we pay tribute to all the freedom fighters, heroes of Ukraine, members and non-members of OUN, who during the last 50 years gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of their country."

Among thousands upon thousands of fallen heroes of Ukrainian struggle for national freedom and independence, we mourn the leaders of OUN: Evhen Konovalets murdered in May, 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland, by a Russian agent by means of a bomb planted in a parcel; his successor, Stepan Bandera, killed by a KGB murderer in Munich, 10 years ago, on October 15, 1959, with the aid of a pistol firing cyanide gas; and General Roman Shukhevych, C-in-C of UPA and leader of OUN in Ukraine, killed by Russian security troops near Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, on March 5, 1950. Though the struggle is still far from finished, their sacrifices have not been in vain. New heroes are born and join the ranks of fighters. Truth, Justice and Freedom will prevail.

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### Deportations From Ukraine

An organ of the British Communist party recently published an extensive article which starts as follows: "Hundreds of families are going East this spring, through Siberia for settlement in fertile regions around Lake Khanka, located 150 miles north of Vladivostok."

It is evident from the article that among those "hundreds of families" there are also Ukrainians. This is also confirmed by news from Ukraine about the fact that the Russians are continuing to deport the Ukrainian population to the far-eastern regions of Asia.

## Quo Vadis, West?

This question is not directed to the author, Mr. Richard West, who wrote a ridiculous panegyric to the Yugoslav Communist dictator Josip Broz Tito in the *Sunday Times Magazine* of November 3, 1968, but to the whole free world of the West.

The Croatian people and other enslaved peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia are sick and tired of reading similar panegyrics to the most dangerous agent of Moscow and Communism, Joseph Broz Tito. Yes, he was and is Moscow's agent in spite of his periodical quarrels with Moscow's rulers, because he owes everything to the Russian Bolshevik Party and Stalin (as Mr. West quite rightly states). Tito, like his Moscow comrades, is of the opinion that there is only one Communist Party and that its centre must be Moscow. That is the Communist dogma which is unchangeable.

Tito became a Communist fanatic thanks to Stalin who was his teacher and inspirer of all his guiles, purges of his own comrades and mass extermination of all those who are opposed to the Communist dogma.

Why then did he fall out with the mighty Stalin and why is he regarded by many liberals in the West as the leader of the so-called "national Communism" and a threat to the ideals of the Communist Party.

Tito came out with his absurd idea of "national Communism" for the purpose of saving and not destroying the Russian imperialist dream of world conquest. He clearly saw that the long rule of Stalin had a negative effect on what he calls "world socialism" and wanted to regenerate it by the trick of "national Communism". Tito himself did not and never will succeed with this trick in the multi-national Yugoslavia where the Croatian people are bitterly opposed to anything coming from Belgrade and are fighting for their own national independence. Tito was convinced that his comrade Dubcek of Czecho-Slovakia was on the best road to producing "national Communism" but the Russian invasion

stopped it. Thus was stopped the process of deceit of the Czech and Slovak peoples, who have shown to the whole world that they despise the Communist tyranny and cherish freedom.

The West did not see any danger coming from Tito in 1948 and does not see it today. In those days of Tito's quarrel with Stalin for some Westerners Tito became a "hero" who was supported with arms and many billions of dollars in the naive hope that he would "destroy" monolithic Communism which he helped to build during his entire unworthy life and which he still has ambition to lead in order to destroy freedom of the whole world.

Roman emperor Nero was a poor tragicomic figure in comparison with Tito. Nero was convinced that he was a great leader and a great poet. Therefore he ruthlessly persecuted Christians, who preached humility and freedom, throwing them to the lions or burning them alive at stakes as Roman candles.

Both in his atrocities and in his ambitions Tito surpasses Nero. His atrocities during the last war against the Croatian people were greater than all of Nero's persecutions and Communist atrocities in the Korean and Vietnam wars. Tens of thousands of murdered Croatian intellectuals, priests, peasants, workers, including the old people, women and children, prove this. Tito also had his "Yugoslav candles" as Nero had his "Roman candles" when during the war his guerrillas poured petrol over the Franciscan fathers of Siroki Brijeg in Herzegovina and burnt them alive. A few days after the war Tito's Communists massacred about 200,000 disarmed Croatian soldiers near Bleiburg in Austria and on "marches of death" and for months and years they continued with this massacre and persecutions against all those who were against Tito's Communist Yugoslavia. Today when we hear and read about human rights and the sanctity of a human person I say that these crimes of the



Yugoslav Communists against the Croatian people represent one of the greatest shames of this cruel, inhuman and false twentieth century. There are so many world organizations which speak about human rights, but none of these apparently humane organizations ever said or published a single word about all those slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Croats. We Croats ask: why? The only answer is: because those who should make inquiries about this tragedy of the Croatian people and do something about it are of the same opinion as Tito, i. e. that the Croatian people have no right to exist. But since they do exist and intend to go on existing the conspiracy of silence of those whose duty is to talk represents a great fallacy which will not help either human rights or human freedom.

Mr. West's entire article is trying to convince the Western world that in Yugoslavia there exists a "one and indivisible Yugoslav people" which is united behind its "hero" Tito. There is nothing further from the truth than this invention. In these days when Britain wants to join the Common Market, Mr. West should start to study the history of the European peoples and not write rubbish when he states that inside Yugoslavia there live "various tribes". This is an insult which no living Croat will ever forget. It is quite disgraceful that a certain Mr. West, who pretends to be a "specialist" on South-East Europe, publicly insults the Croatian people who for 1,300 years live in Central Europe on Italy's doorstep and who had their national consciousness, their own state and culture long before many European and non-European states of our times.

By calling the Croatian anti-Communist fighters "Quislings" Mr. West is doing another great injustice. The term "Quisling" means traitor, and Ustashas were not traitors of Croatia but the volunteers who in the ranks of the Croatian Army fought for freedom and independence of Croatia. Today Tito calls all Croats who oppose him Ustashas. Does it mean that the entire Croatian people are traitors? Mr. West can be assured that these Ustashas will again rise one day (ustati means to rise) and shake

off the foreign yoke from the Croatian people proclaiming a free and independent State of Croatia.

Therefore, the remark of Mr. West: "Indeed he (Tito) must be one of the most loved rulers in the world" sounds very amusing and unrealistic. The truth is just the opposite: Tito is one of the most hated dictators. If Mr. West does not believe this, he should ask Tito to arrange a referendum among all enslaved peoples of Yugoslavia — supervised by neutral powers — and he will then discover the "love" of slaves.

I think that Mr. West was completely carried away when he concluded his portrait of Tito with the following words:

"Tito may go down in history as the greatest military and political commander of the century."

Here are some facts:

a) The military commander Tito never won a single decisive battle against the Croatian Army, but when this Army was disarmed by the Allies after the war, and against all international laws extradited to Tito, then on his orders this Army was "heroically" slaughtered.

b) It was not the military commander Tito who liberated the capital of Serbia, Belgrade, but the Russian Red Army, which installed him as the Communist dictator of Yugoslavia.

c) The political commander Tito has not created his Yugoslavia by any political success or support of the peoples of his artificial state, but his Yugoslavia was politically formed at Yalta by the representatives of Soviet Russia, the USA and Great Britain.

The present flood of books and articles in the Western world about the "hero" Tito is connected with the imperialist Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. Tito has publicly condemned that invasion because he believes that this Russian act is detrimental to "world socialism" and because he needs help from the West in case of a Russian invasion of Yugoslavia.

Mr. West's attempts at whitewashing Tito are useless. He can never be rehabilitated.

# News And Views

## Croatian Conference In Sweden

On April 6, 1969, on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of Croatian independence, the Croats manifested their fight for freedom and independence of Croatia through a public demonstration in Goteborg.

Present were: Dr. Stjepan Hefer, President of the Croatian Liberation Movement; Dr. Ante Bonifacic, President of the Home Defender from the USA; Dr. Andrija Ilic, President of the Central Committee of the Croatian Associations in Europe; and Mr. Oto Negovetic, President of the United Croats of Canada.

Besides the Croats living in Sweden, the Croats from Great Britain, Germany and France also attended. More than 1,000 persons took part in the demonstrations, and 16,000 leaflets on Croatian history and Croatian liberation struggle were distributed to Swedish public.

A wreath of red, white and blue roses was laid at the monument of King Gustav Adolf where the President of the Swedish-Croatian Union, Mr. Ilija Marincic delivered a speech in Swedish, and Dr. Bonifacic and Dr. Ilic in English.

During the celebration in the hall Dr. Hefer delivered a policy speech against Belgrade tyrants and demanded freedom and independence for Croatia.

Present were also Mr. Kuz, representing the Central Committee of ABN, and Mr. N. Atanasoff, representing the Bulgarian National Front.

Among many messages of greetings and solidarity the most important were those from the President of ABN, Hon. Y. Stetsko, members of CC ABN, Dr. Pokorny, Dr. Waltscheff, Mr. Kosmowicz, and Dr. I. Docheff, President of the Bulgarian National Front. Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Chairman of EFC sent a letter of congratulations and good wishes.

On this occasion the Croats reaffirmed their faithfulness to the principles of ABN and their conviction that only a common front of all subjugated peoples will bring down the Russian empire and the artificial states of Jugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, securing freedom and independence of all those peoples who are now oppressed.

## The Bulgarian National Front in New York Celebrated The Liberation Day

On March 1, 1969 in the New York Hotel "Victoria", the B.N.F. celebrated the Bulgarian Liberation Day. More than three hundred people attended. *Mr. N. Stoyanoff* was the master of ceremonies. *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, President of B.N.F., was the main speaker. Representatives of many AF-ABN National Divisions were present. In a special ceremony the following persons were decorated with the Organization Medal for their service in the struggle for liberation of Bulgaria: *The late Col. Ivan Gologanoff* — gold medal, *Mr. K. Mitov* — silver medal, *Mrs. Z. Suzmean*, *Mr. A. Andonoff*, *Mr. P. Nikoloff* and *Mr. L. Nurkoff* — bronze medals.



## Biafra And Crimes Against Humanity

A nation is dying, dying before the eyes of the world. The dead of Biafra are being brought over the television screen free of charge into the living-rooms of every continent.

According to general estimates, about 6,000 people are dying every day from starvation — in the main, children. Biafra has always been one of the most densely populated parts of Africa. In the territory still in the possession of the Eastern Province which has broken away from the Central Nigerian government, live today about twelve million people — of whom about four and a half million are refugees who have succeeded in escaping oppression and even massacre. Twelve million people are thus threatened with death. And what is happening?

For a few weeks, a wave of readiness to help has been mounting, especially in Europe. But it has been dashed on the unbending wall of politics. Donations which do not reach their destination are futile. One has to make humanity effective with force.

The Addis Ababa conference brought no result. Lagos is insisting on subjection. And the attitude of the Biafrans can only be expressed as: risking suicide from fear of death.

But must so-called civilised mankind, who has turned space into a terrestrial suburb, whose computers are to solve the problems of the century, watch passively today another act of genocide? The sight of these children, bloated, marked by death, with the furrowed faces of old men, raises the question, not only in Germany, whether "crimes against humanity" — the expression coined for the Nuremberg trials — cannot also be brought in this case to trial before an international court. The answer is short — no.

The International Court of Nuremberg clearly expressed in its judgments that, in accordance with its status, crimes against

humanity could only be punished, if they have been committed in the context of crimes against peace and war crimes. In other words, what you do in your own backyard, doesn't concern anyone else. If the National Socialist Leaders had sent only Germans into the gas-chambers, the allies' court would not have been able to accuse them of any crimes against humanity.

The General Assembly of the United Nations accepted a convention against genocide in the autumn of 1948. This defines the physical destruction of a group of people allied by common characteristics such as language, religion, common descent and race, as a crime. But — the punishment of such crimes was not embodied in international action, but was left to the legal authorities of the country concerned. Thus this convention was worth no more than the paper it was printed on.

The courts of Lagos, therefore, should, in accordance with this convention, pass judgment on the crimes of the government of Lagos — an obvious legal and political piece of nonsense.

Europe has left Africa (and other parts of the world) not only the burden of chance colonial frontiers, but also state sovereignty in the boundaries of the former colonial areas. This is the crux of the matter: Nigeria and Biafra, in the eyes of international law, count as *one* state — and so no one can intervene.

Up to now it has always been so that the Security Council of the United Nations has been unable to intervene, since the catastrophe in Biafra does not represent a threat to peace. Now there are some versed in international law who put a threat to a minority, or, in the case of Biafra, to a nation, on the same level as a threat to peace. If this is true, then the Security Council would have almost unlimited authority, as defined in article 39 of the United Nations statutes — and those concerned could not, in accordance with inter-

national law, appeal to the intervention-ban.

Something will finally happen — whether there is an embargo on weapons or the dispatch of United Nations troops. But up to now, U Thant has maintained a very reserved attitude about the murders in Biafra. Surely, when guilt is concerned, the colour of the skin should be of no importance. The blacks of Biafra can be murdered in masses by the Nigerian aggressors — and the so-called civilised world is silent! Arms are being sent to Nigeria not only by the Russian barbarians but also by the British Labour government!

(*Die Zeit*)

### Dispute Over Macedonia

The Moscow-dependent Communist government in Bulgaria, with the intention of making itself popular with the Bulgarian public, is at the moment carrying on a propaganda campaign for the reincorporation of Macedonia in Bulgaria.

The population of Macedonia is overwhelmingly Bulgarian. When the Russian Red Army occupied this country in the autumn 1944 during the Second World War, it separated it from Bulgaria and incorporated it against the will of the population into the forcibly re-established Yugoslav state-formation. As early as 1948 the Communist government of Bulgaria raised claims to Macedonia, after the outbreak of the dispute between Stalin and Tito. After the death of Stalin, the Communist government of Bulgaria was again instructed by the Moscow Communist headquarters not to disturb the "friendship" with Tito by territorial claims.

The Communist dictatorship in Yugoslavia is very annoyed and unsettled by the campaign for the return of Macedonia to Bulgaria. A high official in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry declared that "the campaign is likely to place a burden on relations between both neighbours and to aggravate political conditions in the Bal-

kans". Only the opinions of the people concerned, in this case the population of Macedonia, do not interest the Communist dictatorships, although they speak so much about the right to national self-determination.

### Yuriy Shukhevych Has Been Freed

On May 21st of this year the American broadcasting station in Munich announced that Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the late Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka has been freed from a concentration camp in Mor-dovia.

The afore-mentioned broadcasting station announced that news of the freeing of Yuriy Shukhevych was published in October of last year in the *Journal-Chronicle of Current Events*, which is published illegally in the USSR.

As previously reported, Yuriy Shukhevych was arrested in 1947 at the age of 14 and was sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp for refusing to condemn his father and what he stood for.

In 1958 he should have been released but on the basis of a decision by the KGB Yuriy was detained under the pretext of "anti-Soviet agitation among prisoners" and he was taken to a concentration camp in Mor-dovia where he was held, according to the radio station, right up to the time of his release in 1968.

On 28th June 1967 Yuriy Shukhevych wrote a letter to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in which he states that he was persecuted only because he is the son of the former commander-in-chief of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka and because he refused to renounce his father.

The letter of Yuriy Shukhevych managed to get to the West and called forth a wide response in the free world, especially among the youth.

"Amnesty International" showed an interest in his fate and a whole row of protest demonstrations took place in his defense.



## ABN Press Conference In Munich

On January 13, 1969 the Press Bureau of ABN organized a press conference in Munich on the occasion of the Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist World League (WACL) which had taken place in Saigon in December 1968.

The press conference was attended by correspondents from DPA (German Press Agency), *Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung*, *Volksbote*, *Der Punkt*, *Stimme der Freiheit*, Radio Liberty and representatives from Ukrainian, Slovakian, Rumanian, Lithuanian and North Caucasian publications. Mr. Phan Huy Oanh, Bonn correspondent for the Vietnamese papers *Tudo* and *Conghoa* was also present.

Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of ABN and former Prime Minister of Ukraine, spoke about the significance of the Second WACL Conference. He pointed out various resolutions of primary political importance. Mrs. Slava Stetsko, reported on the progress of the conference and the social events connected with it.

After the two reports President and Mrs. Stetsko answered the journalists' questions. It was evident that the participants showed great interest in the conference and the general situation in Vietnam.

The press conference was lead by Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of Slovakia and President of the Peoples' Council of ABN.

## Ohio Lives Notes

The 1968 edition of *Ohio Lives*, the Buckeye State Who's Who, has included the biography of Zenon R. Wynnytsky, M. D. of Cleveland Ohio. Besides his professional work Dr. Wynnytsky is active in many civic and political organizations. An outspoken anti-Communist he was the Executive Chairman of the Cleveland Branch of the American Friends of ABN from 1964—66. Politically he is affiliated with the Democratic Party and was a member of the Advisory Committee to Congressman Michael A. Feighan.

## Trade In Humans

Mr. Volodymyr Mayewsky, Chairman of the Washington Branch of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., sent a letter to the editors of 100 leading American dailies in which he attacked the secret traffic in refugees practiced by Russia and her satellites. This trade in humans is only one phase of the widespread exploitation of human misery by Communist governments; another is the heavy duties imposed on survival packages sent by American citizens to their loved ones behind the Iron Curtain. Such duties exceed the actual value of a package by 150%. Thus millions of dollars are collected by the USSR.

Mr. Mayevsky suggests that: "It would seem entirely appropriate for our ambassador to the United Nations to raise the question of these practices before the proper authority of the United Nations."

The letter was published in such well-known newspapers as *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), *Washington Daily News*, *Evening Star* (Washington D. C.), *Pittsburgh Press* and many others.

## Guelph Daily Mercury Reminds

On January 19, 1969 Mr. Wasyl Bycyk, Chairman of the Guelph Branch of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, sent a letter to the Editorial Board of the *Guelph Daily Mercury* in which he reminded its readers that January 22nd marks the 51st anniversary of the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Independent State and the 50th anniversary of the unification of all Ukrainian territories into one state. This independence was short lived for the Russian Communist forces invaded Ukraine in spite of their earlier recognition of the Ukrainian government. He concludes by saying that "recent events in Eastern Europe (Czecho-Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania) show very clearly that there is no finality to man's quest for freedom and that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are determined to obtain for themselves their God-given rights of freedom of worship, civil liberties and national independence."

## OBITUARIES

### JOSEPH CIEKER

On January 20, 1969 the Slovak exile politician and former diplomat Joseph Cieker died in Madrid at the age of 61.

After the declaration of independence of Slovakia on March 1939, Joseph Cieker entered the diplomatic service of the Slovak Republic. He served as ambassador first in Sofia, later in Belgrade, then in Zagreb and finally in Madrid.

After the war Joseph Cieker remained in Spain to work for Slovakia's liberation, since Slovakia had lost her independence and national statehood through the Russian Red Army. In Madrid he was director of Collegio Major Santiago Apostol, a dormitory for refugee students from countries behind the Iron Curtain. In 1949 he was entrusted with the direction of a Slovak programme in Radio Madrid. In this capacity he had the possibility to inform the population of Slovakia of events and efforts in the Free World. In 1959 he took over the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Slovak Liberation Council. He held this position until his death.

The death of Joseph Cieker is a great loss to the anti-Communist Slovak emigration.

### VJEKOSLAV LUBORIC

The liberation fight of the Croatian people always desires new victims from the ranks of the Croatian Anti-Communist emigration, which is active in the Free World. The Croatian patriots and freedom-fighters are treacherously being assassinated so as to undermine the Anti-Communist emigration and to break down the resistance of the Croatian nation.

In the last months Croatian freedom-fighters *Mile Rukavina*, *Kresimir Tolj*, *Vid Maricic* and *Mirko Curic* were murdered in Munich but the chain of these treacherous murders was not ended. On May 1st 1969 the great Croatian patriot and freedom-fighter *Gen. Vjekoslav Luboric* was murdered in his home in *Carcagente* (Spain).

When in 1945 Croatia was occupied by the Russian Red Army and the communist partisans of Tito, *Gen. Luboric*, as many other Croatian patriots, went into exile and continued to work for the liberation of the Croatian nation in the Free World. He led a very active political and publicistic life. He also established a Croatian publishing house in *Carcagente*. *Gen. Vjekoslav Luboric* was full of energy, initiative, was very active and was therefore dangerous to Tito's Yugoslavia and was consequently murdered.

Lon live his memory!



## FROM LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko,  
President of ABN

Göteborg, April 8th 1969

*On behalf of our President Dr. Hefer, Dr. Bonifacic and of all Croats who were present at our very successful demonstration and celebration of our independence day at Göteborg I thank you very much for your friendly message.*

*Our Croatian nationalists and revolutionaries always admired the heroic fight of the Ukrainian people against great Russian imperialism and we have always been best allies and comrades in arms and we intend to remain so till Ukraine and Croatia are free and independent states and then we shall be proud members of the European community of nations. Also we shall remain friends and allies of all other oppressed peoples, members of ABN, and we wait for the great moment of general uprising of all slaves against Russian imperialists whose days are numbered. The Russian pupil and stooge Josip Broz Tito is in great danger, and we hope that the naive West will not try to save this dangerous figure once again. His so-called national Communism is not directed against Russian imperialism but on the contrary with it he wanted to save it. The present Moscow rulers did not accept this conception although Tito and Dubcek pleaded that they are Moscow's sincere friends.*

*Whatever the outcome of their quarrel may be, we are sure that the nations subjugated in the Russian empire and in Jugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia will fight together against all sorts of Communism and liberate their countries. Our right to freedom and state independence is stronger than that of criminal Communist imperialists and we shall win.*

*We the Croats are very thankful to ABN and personally to you for your support of our Croatian cause and we shall always appreciate it.*

*With best wishes to you and all members of ABN I remain,*

*Yours sincerely,*

*Dr. Andrija Ilic, Assistant to the President  
and President of Croatian Organisations in Europe*

April 21, 1969

Dear Mrs. Stetsko,

*I cannot thank you enough for your adding me to your ABN mailing list. There is nothing to equal this publication anywhere in the world. If you could send me another set of the last four or five — or more! — issues I would greatly appreciate it.*

*Lesley Frost Ballentine  
New York*

Gentlemen:

Axel, May 19, 1969

*Thank you very much for your letter of May 14th. Meanwhile I also received the copy of my manuscript.*

*The reason for the publication of the book is to make the situation behind the Iron Curtain known to the peoples of the West. It is really a shame that people here know practically nothing about it. In Holland I cannot even find a publisher. They are afraid of an anti-Russian and an anti-Communist publication. I expect this will not be the case*

in America and England. It has to be impressed upon the Western peoples, both in Europe and America, that the Russian military force is only founded on slave-labor of more than one hundred million inhabitants of conquered countries. And these subjugated peoples have to be freed, because they belong to Europe and not to Russia.

I admire Mr. Stetsko for having sent the telegram to the former American president Johnson asking for help for the underground liberation movements in those countries. Of course he will not get any help from America. The reason why has been described in my book. But there must be ways to supply those underground workers with weapons . . . In all those countries, from the Baltic to the Urals, people are imbued with the spirit of rebellion.

I wrote the book in order to show people what it means to live under Russian occupation. Lately in Western Europe we know something about the situation in Czecho-Slovakia, but who knows anything about the liberation struggle in Ukraine, for instance, or about the mass deportations there and in the Baltic states, with the intention of Russification?!

I hope to be able to do something against the Russian policy of conquest and against Communist infiltration. Peoples in the West have to be stirred up.

Faithfully yours,  
A. Hobbel

## ABN Rally In Dortmund



The ABN-Committee under the leadership of S. Towarnycky organized the "Day of Nations" in Dortmund (West Germany) on May 25, 1969 to mark the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). Hundreds of people participated in the protest march: Ukrainians, Croatians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Hungarians, Estonians, Latvians and Slovaks marched with their national flags and banners through the main streets of the city, in order to protest against suppression and exploitation of their peoples by Communism and Russian imperialism. The mass rally was opened by L. Legrady (Hungary) and speakers were: Mrs. S. Stetsko, M. A. (Ukraine), Dr. Basil Mailat (Rumania), Dr. C. Pokorny (Slovakia), Mr. Bilancic (Croatia), E. Lukoschaitis (Lithuania), and G. Kowalchuk (Ukraine).



# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## Self-Immolation Of V. Makukh in Kyiv

In accordance with more detailed information on the events in Ukraine, self-immolation of Vasyl Makukh took place on Khreshchatyk (the main thoroughfare of Kyiv) near Stereokino on November 5, 1968. Just before Makukh poured gasoline over himself and ignited it, he delivered a short speech in which he said that he had just returned from banishment, where he was sent because of his activity in the OUN and UPA. On his return to Ukraine, he found such Russification and oppression of his people, that went far beyond imagination. In order to protest against such lawlessness, he decided to burn himself out of despair. Setting fire to himself and with a slogan "Long Live Free Ukraine", Vasyl Makukh began to run in the direction of Lenin's monument. There he was intercept-

ed by KGB men, who threw him into an ambulance and took him to the hospital. Vasyl Makukh died that night. He left a wife and two children.

At the same time further information was received about the activity of an underground organization, the Ukrainian National Front. Yuriy Moskalenko, a student at the National Economics Institute, and Viktor Kuksa, a 29-year-old worker in one of Kyiv factories, were arrested in 1967 and were sentenced to two years imprisonment in camps of severe regime for hanging a blue and yellow flag with a trident and an inscription "Ukraine has not died; it had not been killed yet!". Viktor Kuksa was released in January 1969 after serving his sentence in correction-labor camp No. 11 in the Mordovian ASSR.

## Demonstrations In Lviv

The Swiss newspaper *Der Bund* reports that in recent weeks the people of Lviv have demonstrated their opposition to the Russian occupation of Ukraine by mass demonstrations at the grave site of Gen. Tarnavskiy, former commander-in-chief of UHA (Ukrainian Army of Halychyna).

The paper further states that one day the KGB surrounded the "home of a teacher" in Lviv because intellectuals gathered there to discuss Russian cultural policies in Ukraine. The KGB charges them of reactivating the prohibited "Club of Contemporaries" there.

The author of the article claims that in no other place in Europe were there so many sympathizers with Czecho-Slovakia

as in Ukraine. Dubcek's reforms corresponded to the demands of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

The Russian occupation of CSSR has given rise to a number of protests in Ukraine. Among other things, a protest letter in connection with CSSR was signed by the rector of Kyiv University for which he was removed from his post. The author mentions a widespread wave of arrests in Ukraine and says that recently about 200 cultural leaders have been arrested there including Zina Franko.

The author concludes by saying that "national sentiments of a nation cannot be crushed by bayonets and concentration camps."

### Russian Poison In Ukraine

The Kyiv newspaper *Robitnycha Hazeta* in an article entitled "The Herald of Lenin's Ideas" writes about the scope of the Russian press in Ukraine. We find that only 2,600 newspapers and periodicals appear in Ukraine, i. e. a small number in comparison with the number of newspapers and periodicals appearing in the West. In France, for instance, which population-wise is closest to Ukraine, there are twice as many papers and magazines.

The number of publication names is not so important however. What is strange is that in Ukraine as many as 400 periodicals appear in a non-Ukrainian language!

What is even more important is that all those Ukrainian-language publications are heralds of ideas which are hostile to Ukraine, are spreaders of spiritual poison prepared by Russian occupants.

*Robitnycha Hazeta* quite rightly remarks that this "Soviet" press "is a promising aid of the party in the building of Communism", because Communism is nothing other than a screen which hides behind it cruel Russian imperialism. To help this imperialism is the very aim of this government press of occupied Ukraine.



### TURKISTAN

#### A Show Trial In Uzbekistan

A trial of German Lutherans took place in Angren, a small town in Uzbekistan. The defendants were eight religious leaders of German Lutherans, including dean W. Friesen. Deacon P. Schmidt, I. Wall, A. Bykov, I. Mertens, G. Eberhardt, A. Lafer and R. Sachs were also present. They were all accused of conducting illegal religious activities, secret meetings of their congregations, boycotting the so-called Soviet community life, failing to carry out civic duties, impairing the health of the faithful with the help of fanatical rites and involving young people in religious life.

The trial was held in a workers' club. Besides the prosecutor the so-called "public

prosecutors" participated in the trial. One of them, a principal of one of the local schools accused the Lutherans, whom the paper *Pravda Vostoka* calls the sect of the "Ascensionists", of playing a negative role in the religious life of the German minority in the southern parts of the USSR. The founder of this "sect" is supposedly dean W. Friesen, allegedly a "religious fanatic" who was previously sentenced in Chelyabinsk to 5 years' imprisonment for illegal religious activity. Thus it seems that this severe punishment "did not reform" him, for, according to the paper, as early as the beginning of 1967, just after the completion of his term, he came to Akhangaran and began vigorous religious activity, toured the whole of Uzbekistan, organized religious communities and conducted services.

The Angren trial was clearly a show trial. The people were rounded up and given the task of expressing their dissatisfaction and condemning the Lutherans. However, this trial took on a different character as was hitherto the case with show trials. There were no confessions, but, on the contrary, the defendants firmly rejected the KGB accusations, declaring that they are being persecuted for religious beliefs, for believing in God. Of course, "witnesses" were produced who confirmed the above-mentioned charges, and the witnesses who raised objections to the charges were not permitted to testify. On the other hand, "experts" were allowed to testify during the trial, who, from the point of view of medicine, spoke about the harmful effects of religious beliefs (!), and the spiritual corruption of the young people who took part in the services. All this was supposed to give Soviet propaganda one more "proof" in its struggle against religion, and to show the faithful in the role of "criminals".

All these are old methods of Soviet anti-religious propaganda known to us from other anti-religious trials.

As could have been anticipated, the chief defendants received 5-year terms of imprisonment in concentration camps, others from 2 to 3 years.



## Book Reviews

Sven Steenberg: *Wlassow — Verräter oder Patriot?* (Vlasov—Traitor or Patriot?), Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Köln, 1968, 256 pp.

This book is an attempt to rehabilitate a well-known Russian general, Andrei Andreyevich Vlasov, who was executed in Moscow in 1946 for collaboration with the Germans.

Since General Vlasov collaborated with the Germans during World War II with the intention of saving the Russian empire in case of Hitler's victory, his rehabilitation would be conceivable from the point of view of Russian imperialism. It would be perfectly understandable if the Russian emigrants, especially his former followers and admirers, would defend him, or even glorify him. It is less understandable when a German author does this. In this particular case, not only the author's motives, but also his criteria in the analysis of Vlasov's role are not clear enough. When reading Steenberg's book, the reader does not know whether he looks at Vlasov's political conception from a Russian, a German, or any other point of view. One thing is certain: he does look at it from the standpoint of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, since at one point he had to admit that these peoples wanted something quite different from what Vlasov proposed.

Vlasov's concept is presented by the author as an ingenious solution. Its propagation by Hitler's Germany would have made the disintegration of the Russian Red Army possible, and had it been realized the Soviet system would have collapsed. This would have pleased all the peoples concerned. In reality the Vlasov concept only foresaw a change of regime within the Russian empire and its adaptation to the victorious power. The Russian empire would have been organized federalistically and each non-Russian nation would get an autonomous state, i. e. similar to the one under

Lenin and Stalin. The peoples subjugated by Russia were not ready to put up with a federalistic facade. For years they have considered federalism to be a camouflage for Russian imperialism. They have always wanted, and still want — contrary to Vlasov — to divide the Russian empire into free and independent states and not to save it.

The author could not completely disregard these problems. He reports, for instance, that Vlasov established contacts with Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, after the latter was released from a German concentration camp in September 1944. Vlasov proposed to him cooperation with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought against the Russian as well as the German occupation forces on Ukrainian territory. Stepan Bandera wanted to act only with the consent of the Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), which had been formed "as a political board on the territory of the UPA" (p. 176). "The Ukrainians succeeded in sending a representative of this 'Liberation Council' through the front lines." He declared that "UPA is ready to cooperate with Vlasov only under the condition that he would recognize the 'Liberation Council' as a representative of a free and independent Ukraine" (p. 177). Since Vlasov failed to recognize Ukraine's independence, no cooperation between the UPA and Vlasov could ever be established.

On the present Byelorussian representative in the Central Committee of ABN, Dimitriy Kosmowicz, the author writes: "In him Vlasov saw for the first time a representative of radical separatism. Kosmowicz expressed his readiness to cooperate, provided Vlasov and the Liberation Committee guaranteed an independent Byelorussian state (p. 77). But this condition was rejected, since Vlasov was in favour of the integrity of the Russian empire.

In his effort to glorify Vlasov, the author tries to exaggerate his importance. He calls, for instance, the fact that Himmler, after a long hesitation, finally declared himself ready to receive Vlasov in the summer of 1944, as "revaluation of Vlasov." The author assigns phantastic results to this "revaluation": "Vlasov's revaluation had been made public very quickly and now also the representatives of the Slavic peoples, mainly Bulgarians, Slovaks, Czechs and Serbs, established contacts with him." Who were these "representatives" and what did they want from Vlasov? This is not to be found in the book. Vlasov's concept only considered the peoples of the Soviet Union. Bulgarians, Slovaks, Czechs and Serbs were not incorporated in the Soviet Union. Does the author want to suggest that these peoples longed to be incorporated into the Russian federation propagated by Vlasov? Bulgarians and Slovaks had their states whose sovereignty was also recognized by Hitler. Does Mr. Steenberg want to imply that they sought favours through a Vlasov? And if yes, where? Perhaps from Hitler, who was never ready to receive him, since he did not consider Vlasov to be of much importance? Or from Stalin who later executed him, since he considered Vlasov a traitor?

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

Alec Nove and J. A. Newth: *The Soviet Middle East; a Communist model for development*. New York, Fr. A. Praeger (c1966), pp. 160, maps. (Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, No. 183).

We are pleased to have a publication dealing with the national republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia, once free, later taken by force by the Russian tsarist empire and now absorbed by the new Russian empire — the Soviet Union. The republics of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikstan, Kirgizia and Kazakhstan are now colonies of the Red Russian empire called the USSR. Transcaucasia, with its old history, culture and civilization, where Christianity was

introduced in fourth century A. D. but which is hardly preserved now, have been reduced to the status of colonies in the Soviet Union. After the dismemberment of the Russian tsarist empire in 1917—1918 they became independent. By April 28, 1920 the Soviet regime was set up in Azerbaijan and in February 1921 in Georgia. In 1924 these republics together with other subjugated countries, including Ukraine, formed the USSR.

Tsarist Russia deported thousands and thousands of Ukrainians to this area. Soviet Russia has continued this policy of deportations. In Kazakhstan alone the Kazakhs formed only 30% of the population, while the deportees from the captive nations such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, etc. make up 52.1% (p. 31).

After geographical and historical presentations, the book deals with political structure, industrialization, which is a Russian form of exploitation of these nations, agriculture, finances, income, which is always collected by Moscow, and some of the social services, such as medical services, pensions, which are very low, and education. The principal aim of education is Russification of these nations, which are strongly resisting it.

Chapter 9 is dedicated to comparison of that area of Transcaucasia and the Middle East with its neighbours. It concludes with an assessment of the Russian contribution to these colonies ruled primarily by the Russians and partially by local appointees. A comparison between the cruel Russian colonial system existing today and the European colonies can hardly be found. The answer is provided in the Appendices. The statistical table shows that Russian exploitation of these nations is far worse than that of the European colonial system.

It is high time that Western powers which have liberated their own colonies should start to think in terms of liberating all captive nations — the Soviet Russian colonies. We should hope that the time would come soon.

A.S.



Peter Sager: *Cairo and Moscow in the Arab World*. Published by the Swiss Eastern Institute Ltd., Bern 1967, 234 pp.

The author of this book tries to clarify the complicated political situation and its problems in the Arab World. He describes different intrigues and incidents, actions and reactions, to which it is impossible for us to adopt an attitude.

The most important thing which we found in the book under discussion is what the author writes on Russian policy:

"Russia has been trying for 150 years to gain a footing in the Mediterranean, yesterday under the Tsars through Constantinople, principally for the safeguarding of Russia, today through Egyptian, Syrian and Algerian bases under the Soviets, for the building-up of world rule."

This statement needs only one correction, in as much as the former Tsarist Russia did not want to gain a footing in the Mediterranean in order to safeguard Russia. Tsarist Russia was not threatened by anybody from outside — as little as the Bolsheviks are. The truth is rather that Tsarist Russia also carried out a policy of imperialist expansion, even if it was not as strong and dangerous as that of the Russian Bolshevik empire today.

The author writes inter alia about the

present policy of Soviet Russia towards the Arab countries:

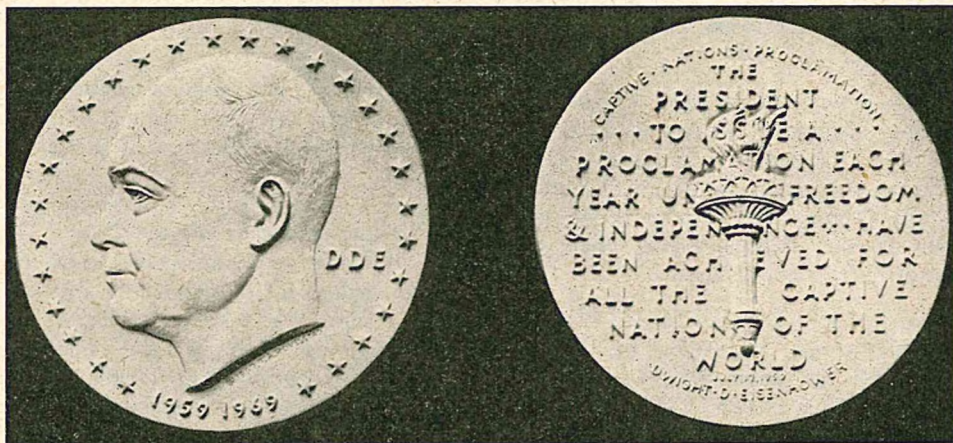
"The ruble offensive carried out by the Soviet Union in considerable measure since 1955 in the Arab area is the expression of this very strong interest. About half of Soviet military help to non-Communist countries totalling 5,000 million dollars was expended in the Middle East: to Egypt as well as Iraq, Syria, Algeria and the Yemen. About more than a third of Soviet economic aid to non-Communist countries abroad flowed also into the Arab area."

"The great aim of Soviet world policy is to gain global domination. This aim has, on the one hand, been given concrete form at different times in different ways. It can at one time be quickly pursued by the employment of military means, at another perhaps in a slow manner through peaceful coexistence, which is allowed by a scarcely noticeable growth in Soviet power and therefore provokes little resistance."

The author writes as follows on the last war between the Arab states and Israel:

"The facts known up to the present indicate that the Soviet Union actively drove Nasser on to this war from 23 May on."

"The Soviet information service falsified reports from Israel, to make an Israeli attack appear imminent. If this is correct, then it is a proof of the Soviet intention to involve the Arabs in a war."



A medal issued by the Captive Nations Friends Committee Chicago, Illinois, marking the Tenth Anniversary of the proclamation by President Eisenhower of the observance of Captive Nations Week.



*Kastus Akula: TOMORROW IS YESTERDAY.* Panhonia Byelorussian Publisher & Arts Club, 528 St. Clarens Ave. Toronto 4, Ont., 1968, Paper \$ 3.00, Cloth \$ 5.00.

Two years ago the Soviet Russian newspaper published in Moscow, LITERATURNAYA GAZETTA, carried a signed article which was little more than a scathing attack on four prominent Byelorussian writers who were living abroad. The piece, which appeared October 22, 1966, was nothing more than character-assassination.

One of the writers — who had the dubious distinction of being the youngest of the four — was Kastus Akula. This was not the first time Akula has been singled out for abuse by the Communist press, but another in the series of Russian criticisms. Why is Akula a favourite target?

TOMORROW IS YESTERDAY, his recently published novel, should provide the answer. It's a new novel — the first by this widely published Byelorussian author who now lives in Canada to be written in English — and it pulls no punches in its criticism of the totalitarian forces that enslave man.

As one character says in the book: "We (the Byelorussians) are expendable, don't you understand? Never forget that both the Eastern and Western predators have earmarked our unfortunate country for their *lebensraum*."

"The plain fact is we have no rights, none at all . . . as long as we are weak and cannot stand up against our aggressors. God help us, poor souls, for we are doomed . . . in the German and Russian books, we're only allowed to breathe and supply their wealth as contemptible serfs."

For many years Kastus Akula has championed the right to freedom of his fellow men, and his countrymen in particular. TOMORROW IS YESTERDAY is as much against Fascism as it is against Communism and Russian imperialism and this will certainly set Moscow against the author yet again.

### **A Valuable Work About Soviet-Russian Propaganda**

In June 1967, the Congress of USA published a second edition of a booklet by a well-known friend of ABN, Madame Suzanne Labin (who is also a leading member of the European Freedom Council), entitled "The Techniques of Soviet Propaganda" (54 pages).

In the foreword, Senator James O. Eastland emphasized that this booklet is a "best seller" at the Government Printing Office, which sold more than 170,000 copies.

Madame Labin states that the Bolsheviks have recognized the very important role of propaganda. But "many democratic statesmen are still living in that past when popular opinion had little influence on authority . . ." However, "where democracy rules, public opinion prevails" (p. 1).

For the Bolsheviks propaganda, political warfare, and secret police are in first place. "On the day when the telephone of the secret police cannot ring any more in all the provinces of the Soviet Union there will be no more Communism . . ." because "in all Communist countries, control by Communism is total, while belief in Communism is nil" (p. 3). The authoress aptly remarks: "There are not a billion Communists, but a billion human beings living under a Communist dictatorship against their wills. If it were not against their wills, a dictatorship would not be necessary" (p. 38). As proof of "their hatred of Communism, these peoples manifested with their blood at Vorkuta, Tiflis, East Berlin, Poznan, and Budapest" (p. 39).

After a valuable analysis of Soviet-Russian propaganda conclusions follow: "The best possibility of avoiding a catastrophic world conflict is the destruction of these dictatorships *from within* by their billion oppressed subjects" (p. 39). But to achieve this "massive moral and material assistance must be organized to the unflagging opposition, be it stealthy or violent, of the peoples groaning under the yoke of totalitarian Communism, who are our most dependable and valuable allies" (p. 50). A. W. B.



*Soviet Spies in the Shadow of the U.N.* Published by Ligue de la Liberté, Centre d'Information et de Documentation, Wavre, Belgium, 1969, 240 pp.

This informative book lists 75 agents working for the Soviet Russian Intelligence and Secret Services, the KGB and GRU, who have been active in different organs and institutions of the United Nations for some time. They were either employed by or were members of the Soviet Russian delegation to the UN. The names under which they appeared and the offices they held are also listed. In most cases their photos have been published as well.

This documentation is an irrefutable proof of the fact that the Bolshevik rulers do not hesitate to misuse various institutions of the United Nations in order to further their aims.

Johann Wuescht: *Jugoslawien und das Dritte Reich* (Yugoslavia and the Third Reich), Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, 1969, 359 pp.

In this work Johann Wuescht, research assistant at the German Federal Archives in Koblenz, describes the questionable founding of the Yugoslavian state, which until 1929 had been the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. The author tries to simplify its complicated internal political development, characterized by conflicts and tensions, which resulted from ethnical and cultural differences. Johann Wuescht also surveys the foreign policy of the former kingdom. Special attention is paid to the main topic of the book: the development of foreign and economic relations between Germany and Yugoslavia prior to the outbreak of the war between these two states on April 6, 1941. The author analyzes the causes of this war and the subsequent disintegration of the Yugoslavian state as the result of Croatia's declaration of independence (April 10, 1941). The German occupation policy in Serbia (1941—44) is also taken into consideration, as well as the activities of Mihajlovic's Serbian nationalist

and Tito's Communist partisan movements. The final chapters of the book are devoted to the German ethnic group in Yugoslavia prior to its expulsion after the Second World War. The author stresses the loyalty of this group towards the Yugoslavian state. The book contains interesting documents and an extensive bibliography.

The author's main theses are that Germany had been interested in maintaining friendly relations with Yugoslavia and safeguarding the status quo on the Balkan Peninsula. For this reason Hitler's government did not support Croatia's aspirations for independence. Trade relations between Germany and Yugoslavia have been in the interest of both states. Johann Wuescht is of the opinion that the Simovic government in Belgrade provoked the war between Yugoslavia and Germany by emotional rather than rational actions. These propositions are supported by convincing arguments and numerous proofs.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

*Völker klagen an — 20 Jahre Menschenrechte* (The Peoples Accuse — 20 Years of Human Rights). Published by Verband der Freien Presse, Munich, 1968, 272 pp.

This book provides valuable evidence on the violation of human rights in the Communist-dominated part of Europe. Its contributors are exile politicians and journalists, the representatives of the liberation movements of their peoples.

The book contains the following contributions: Dr. Stefan Yowes: *A Hard Balance*; Felix Korduba: *The Russian October Revolution of 1917*; Dr. Ion V. Emilian: *The Communist Party of Rumania*; Dr. Ctibor Pokorny: *The Communist Policy towards Slovakia*; Prof. Ratko Parezanin: *Yugoslavia — The Model of the European Form of Communism?*; Ferenc Szebeni: *The First Victim — Hungary*; Roman Redlich: *The 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Communist Dictatorship*; Paul Poljakov: *The Cossacks — 50 Years after the Revolution*;

Wolodymyr Lenyk: *50 Years of Suppression, Persecution, Murder and Russification in Ukraine*; E. Piotrowski: *The Russian Revolution and Poland*; Kristof Greiner: *The Policy of Communist Slovakia after 1945*; Juozas Kairys: *Lithuania under Soviet Communism*; M. Bukiss: *The Sovietization and Russification of Latvia*.

In the editors' concluding remarks Stefan Yowel and Antal Radnocy state the following on Brezhnev's doctrine of "limited sovereignty": "The idea of national sovereignty, the ideal of generations, has been called abstract by the Kremlin. This assault on the identity of the peoples has been made into a doctrine at the 5th Party Congress of the Polish Communists in the presence of nearly all Communist parties of the world. The states ruled by Communism are not called the satellite states without reason, for since their establishment, which was made possible by the military might of Soviet Russia, they are dependant on the USSR . . . The Brezhnev Doctrine was intended to cement the restoration of the Stalinist conditions of the forties . . . The new Soviet doctrine reduces the heretofore nominal sovereignty of the satellites to a minimum and their fictitious independence has been written off for the first time."

C. E. P.

Professore Ivan Matteo Lombardo: *L'Europa Nell'Alleanza E Nella Comunita' Atlantica* (Europe in Alliance and the Atlantic Community). A report from the conference which took place on March 27, 1968 in Rome, 41 pp.

The Center for Advanced Military Studies in Rome has published a remarkable and well thought out study by a prominent Italian scholar and an expert in military affairs, Prof. I. M. Lombardo, about the present military and political situation in Europe, which he analyzed pragmatically in the face of the great military threat from

the side of the so-called Soviet Union (USSR) which is headed by Communist Russia, and which constantly threatens the whole non-Communist world. On the basis of intense analysis from the political as well as the military angle, the honorable professor and minister turns our attention to the fact that the non-Communist world, and Europe in particular, which is relatively disunited and not so well prepared for a possible Russian attack, with particular demands of individual European states with regard to sovereignty and primacy within the European political and military community, does not fully realize the catastrophe which hangs over Europe. Russia's recent attack on CSSR clearly proves where disunited Europe can find itself some day.

Prof. Lombardo's reflections, outlined in detail in his extensive report on the present situation in free Europe, deserve the attention of all leading statesmen and politicians in Europe for them to be properly prepared for the possibility of an attack of Communist Russia on the remaining part of Europe, which normally can counteract the Russian Communist invasion with notable military assistance from the United States. For this reason the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has been created with the aim to prevent the Russian invasion of free Europe. It goes without saying that free Europe must realize that the Red danger exists and must adapt itself to it. It must be energetic, not weak as it has been in the past (p. 41).

On our part we should like to add that the potentially explosive forces inside the USSR and the Russian satellites who want to be independent from Russia, should also be taken into consideration and that the present-day USSR, which is built on force, should not be treated as a homogeneous force with the omission of forces of the peoples subjugated by Russia which are waiting for the chance to break away.

V. Churkachyk

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**He (Stalin-Ed.) destroyed several million Ukrainians but did not destroy the nation. And no one ever will. (Ivan Dzyuba, Internationalism or Russification?)**



## **Executive Board Of EFC Meets**

The Executive Board of the European Freedom Council (a co-ordinating body for organisations fighting Communism) met in Bonn, Western Germany on June 14-16, 1969. The Board sent a statement to the governments of the free world about the intensification of Russian persecution of nationalism, religion and culture in all the nations subjugated in the USSR and satellite countries, and particularly in Ukraine in recent months. The Board also emphasised the need for the West to realise the spread of the Russian military, political and psychological presence into the free world, and the use by the Russians of communist and leftist parties and individuals as a means to infiltrate and disintegrate free institutions. Realising the need for the fullest information about Russian plans to destroy NATO and extend Russian influence further into Europe, plans were made by the Executive Board to make this information available. Members of the Executive Board present were: The President, Ole Bjorn Kraft (Denmark); Chairmen, Jaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine), Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy) and members Theodor Oberlander (West Germany), John Graham (Great Britain).

### **Against the Persecution of the Church**

In defence of the subjugated Ukrainian people, the Executive Board of the European Freedom Council appeals to the free world to defend the right to national independence and all human rights for the Ukrainian people and all the subjugated peoples in the USSR and satellite countries.

Following the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia, the Moscow government intensified the national, religious and cultural persecution in Ukraine with unprecedented strength. The arrest of Archbishop Vasyl Velychkowsky of the Ukrainian Catholic underground Church and of numerous priests; the persecution of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox underground Church and of the Ukrainian Protestants; the burning of the priceless Ukrainian historical archives in the Church of St. George in the Orthodox Vyduhetsky monastery in Kiev; the burning in 1964 of the documents about Ukrainian ancient history and culture in the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR, which had a unique meaning — these are some of the latest facts about the new and cruel attack of Russian imperialism against the Ukrainian nation, so as to break its desire for freedom and national independence. The burning of a synagogue in the Ukrainian port of Odessa, which contained valuable archives, also bears witness to the unceasing violence of the Russian destroyers of religious, historical and cultural treasures.

For the Executive Board

**Ole Bjorn Kraft, President**

## Revolutionary Voices



## REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS  
CONDEMN  
RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

*This book contains articles and protests to various Soviet Russian officials which were written by Ukrainian intellectuals who are at present incarcerated in the Russian concentration camps.*

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# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Toronto rally of ten thousand Ukrainians from U.S.A. and Canada, dedicated to the memory of Stepan Bandera, Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, assassinated by Moscow 10 years ago.

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# The Struggle Of The Subjugated Peoples Continues

## *The Downfall of Empires*

The historical development of our century was marked by the downfall of colonial empires and the victorious march of the national idea. The concept of a national state, the only concept which enables each nation to choose its own political, social and economic course and guarantees freedom of creative self-expression, utmost development and social justice to the members of the said nation, has replaced the concept of the empire with its superimposed structure of political domination, economic exploitation and social discrimination of one nation by another.

The subjugated peoples of all continents, those with ancient cultures and political and state traditions and those without such traditions, as for example some African peoples, have declared war on colonialism and imperialism. They have either built their national states on the ruins of the once mighty empires, or are engaged in a fierce fight for their liberation from the remnants of imperialism and colonialism.

The march of the national idea has not even stopped at the borders of the last and the most despotic of all colonial empires — the USSR. In the last 50 years all attempts by this empire to crush the aspirations of the subjugated peoples to freedom and national independence by mass terror, deportations, resettlement and genocide, while taking a heavy toll, have failed. The new generation, born and raised under Communist domination, has rejected hostile ideas and has taken up leading ranks in the struggle against Russian imperialism and colonialism.

## *The National Liberation Struggle*

National resistance and offensive national liberation struggle is taking place in the subjugated countries themselves as well as in the places of forced resettlement or exile of the subjugated peoples. The whole Soviet-Russian prison of nations is undermined by the concept of liberation of the subjugated peoples, who are waiting for an opportunity to kindle the fire of an anti-Russian revolution. The subjugated peoples' struggle is simultaneously directed against both Russian domination and Communist exploitation and terror. Recent trials of intellectuals in Ukraine, Turkestan and other countries of the USSR indicate not only that the population is nationally oriented, but also that many members of the Communist Party are opposed to oppression and exploitation and are demanding freedom, human rights and justice for all peoples. Forced Russification, which follows the line of assimilation of languages, and integration of peoples, is viewed by the subjugated peoples as an attempt of the Russian great power chauvinists to build a Russian empire under the camouflage of the concept of Communist internationalism. Just as in the times of the Tsarist empire, when Russian expansionism had been disguised by the slogans of the deliverance of the Orthodoxy from the Turks, or the unification of the Slavs, contemporary Russian imperialism is hidden behind the cloak of liberation and unification of workers, and assistance to the liberation movements beyond the borders of the Russian sphere of influence.

The change of slogans and facades has in no way changed the nature of Russian imperialism. It remains the same. However, its expansionist aims have grown tremendously. At the time of the tsars Russian imperialism endangered only its Slavic and non-Slavic neighbours, or the Orthodox Christians who were "liberated" from Turkish domination. The modern Russian imperialism has become a threat to the whole world. The march of the national idea and the reconstruction of the world according to the principle of national states prevents the Russian neo-colonialists from realizing their imperialistic aims. The subjugated peoples' struggle for existence is carried on in all walks of life: ideological, religious, cultural, sociological and economic. Their struggle for physical survival is going hand in hand with the struggle against spiritual subjugation and religious persecution. Moscow's attempts to control all phases of spiritual life are contrasted by the subjugated peoples with man's rights to freedom of conscience, thought and press. They are combatting Russian militant atheism which attempts to take faith in high ideals and spiritual values away from the people and mold them into lifeless tools of Russian economy. They are fighting for complete freedom of spiritual life, for the preservation of customs and traditions, for faith in God and for human conscience. All classes of the subjugated peoples — peasants and students, workers and intellectuals are taking part in this struggle. A fierce battle is being waged in subjugated countries and outside their borders, at places of forced settlement, in forced labour camps and prisons, in schools and universities and behind closed doors of Soviet-Russian courtrooms.

### *Russian Methods of Terror and Deception*

Moscow counteracts the growing resistance of the subjugated peoples by the use of excessive terror. But the subjugated peoples are no longer afraid of it. After more than 50 years of oppression, exploitation, poverty, and national and social slavery, they are convinced that to live as slaves is worse than terror.

The smoke screen of internationalism can no longer conceal Moscow's malicious plans, even from professed Communists. It became very clear to the non-Russian peoples that Moscow's goal is to destroy them as nations. The process of the fusion of nations into a single Soviet, that is Russian, nation is being accomplished by Moscow by taking away all means of existence from the subjugated peoples and by making them into slaves of Russian state capitalism with all its attributes of exploitation, coercion and arbitrariness, typical of that regime. Regardless of terror, the leading members of the subjugated peoples are resisting these genocidal policies of Moscow. For them the cause of national and state independence and the dignified national life are more precious than personal comforts.

### **From Letters To The Editor**

*Dear Mrs. Stetsko,*

*While working with Bernadine Bailey on our book CAPTIVE NATIONS I had the opportunity to read a couple of issues of ABN Correspondence and was very pleased with same. You're doing a wonderful job.*

*Please do enter our subscription for one year and invoice the company for same.*

*With best wishes*

*Chicago 4/7/69*

*Sincerely,  
Chas. Hallberg*



# The White House

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1969

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## A PROCLAMATION

By Joint Resolution on July 17, 1959, the Eighty-Sixth Congress authorized and requested the designation of the third week of July as Captive Nations Week. Ten years have passed and there have been many changes in international affairs. But one thing that has not changed is the desire for national independence in Eastern Europe.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 13, 1969, 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 renew their devotion to the high ideals on which our nation was founded and has prospered and to sustain with understanding and sympathy the just aspirations of the peoples of all nations for independence and human freedom.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-fourth.

RICHARD NIXON



*ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko speaking at the Captive Nations celebrations in New York. Standing on the platform are Dr. Ivan Docheff Chairman of AF-ABN and Dr. A Plaskachevsky, Vice President of the Byelorussian Congress Committee.*

## "... We Cannot Afford to be Indifferent to Slavery ..."

PASTORAL APPEAL ON THE OCCASION OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK — 1969

Ten years have passed since our American government announced the observance of Captive Nations Week. Each year it appeals to the American people to take part in the cultural manifestations against the forced tyranny and captivity of the enslaved nations. Amongst these we find the Ukrainian people. Freedom-loving America, with her mayors and individual state governors and the President himself at the head, protests against the communist enslavement of the captive nations. We Ukrainians (Catholics as well as Orthodox) cannot afford to be indifferent to this slavery and persecution of our brothers and sisters behind the Iron Curtain, who suffer under the hammer and sickle. The prosperity of America should not blind us to the enslavement of our Church and our people behind the Iron Curtain.

Just what this communist enslavement consists of can be told us by eye witnesses who lived through the vast liquidation of the five eparchies in Galicia and the Sub-Carpathian Region with 10 bishops and 2950 priests. The Bolshevik enslavement forbade the Ukrainian Catholics to profess the Catholic Faith and lead a religious life, which was then organized into 3040 parishes and 4440 churches and chapels.

Just what this communist enslavement consists of can be told us by those peoples from whom the communist authorities confiscated private property and religious freedom. From this communist enslavement millions of people have suffered and perished from tortures in the concentration camps. Just what this communist enslavement consists of can be told us by millions of Ukrainians who died of hunger. One can write much about this communist enslavement, but time does not permit.

The communist enslavement at the same time is a warning for America and especially for the Ukrainians in the free world so that they distinguish the Ukrainian wheat from the communist cockle.

We wish happiness to all peoples, and entreat the Lord God that the communist government with its party make not their happiness at the misfortunes of the captive nations. We do not desire revenge on the cruel enemies of God and the Ukrainian people, but we beg God that today's unbelieving Sauls would be converted and amend the injuries to the Ukrainian Churches and the Ukrainian people.

Our prayers should be joined with alms. Do not forget, dearly beloved in Christ, that on the occasion of the enslavement of the Ukrainian peoples by the communist party, many Ukrainians cannot return to their native land and are forced to spend their years in exile. Sickness, old age and lack of suitable means of life cause suffering and despair. I appeal to your hearts, dear friends in Christ, have pity on them. Give your contributions through your local pastor for the Ukrainian Catholic Committee in Philadelphia, so that we may continue to aid the refugees.

On this occasion of Captive Nations Week we entreat the Lord God that in the near future our Ukrainian churches and people together will be able to celebrate Independence Day of the Ukrainian Nation and the day of religious freedom in the Ukrainian lands.

† AMBROSE SENYSHYN,  
Metropolitan  
Philadelphia, Pa.



## **In A State Of War With Russia**

*(Speech delivered at Captive Nations Week celebration in New York, 13. VII, 1969.)*

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Fathers, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen!

It gives me genuine pleasure to be with you today, Ladies and Gentlemen, and may I first of all take this opportunity to extend to all of you my sincere greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the European Freedom Council, and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Liberation Movement — OUN.

I wish that this tenth observance of the Captive Nations Week would afford your American community a greater understanding of the subjugated nations' plight and liberation struggle, for this struggle is also aimed at the preservation of freedoms in the still free countries, since it calls for a change of policy of the free governments of the world toward the Russian empire!

Our peoples oppressed in the USSR and the satellite countries will never reconcile themselves with Russian and Communist enslavement, and will continue their struggle for national independence and the rights of individuals no matter what the attitude of the still free world may be! But this world must understand that its fate is being decided in that very struggle. Whoever helps us — helps himself!

We came from our homelands not to beg someone's help in our struggle; we came to the free nations of the world to inform them of the fact that once we fall in battle against the Russian aggressor, the fate of the now free peoples will be much harsher than ours.

We know from Russian history that Peter I demanded: "Keep the Russian nation in constant state of war". He said further: "In the interests of the expansion of development of Russia, war must serve peace and peace must serve war."

The most important methods of Russian imperialism are the following: gradual conquest of the lands neighboring on Russia under the motto of securing Russian interests; furthering unrest among nations whose conquest is planned in order to create preconditions for military occupation; political, economic and diplomatic pressure on the free governments or even threats against them in order to make them pliable towards Russia.

During the time of the so-called peaceful co-existence Russia expanded her influence to new countries, and after the rescue of the Lebanese government from Communist subversion by American Marines, and after the Cuban failure, they built up their navy to a level which is today second only to that of the United States. The Russian fleet has nowadays become a powerful instrument of political pressure on the free world — 360 submarines, 55 of these powered by atomic energy, 17 cruisers, 25 destroyers — all equipped with rockets. In 1967, the Russians brought their navy, for the first time, to the Mediterranean Sea — a few days before the outbreak of the war in the Middle East. Since that time the Russian men-of-war have not left the waters between Gibraltar and Bosphorus, thus observing every move of the American fleet. For two decades the Mediterranean Sea was regarded as "Mare Americanum".

In November 1968, the Secretary General of NATO, Brozzio, stated that: "the strengthened Soviet actions and influence in the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East is a very serious matter." Although the British Minister of Defense, D. Healey said that "in the eventuality of war the Soviet fleet would be sunk in a few minutes", the Chief of Staff of U.S. Navy, Admiral Moorer, stated that "They are becoming constantly more aggressive . . . USSR is striving according to plan to become a leading sea power" . . . and has asked President Nixon for approximately three billion dollars for building new warships . . . Furthermore, NATO decided to introduce a naval fire-guard against the threat of the Russian fleet!

The dreams of the Tsars thus became reality: Russia in the Mediterranean Sea, penetrating the Near East, the Indian Ocean and Africa and threatening what is left of free Europe from the South. So, a new conflict is evolving . . .

I am asking you, does not all this threaten the interests and safety of this very country? And how about the Russian influence in Latin America? Catherine II was already meddling in the internal affairs of Venezuela. And what was Russia looking for in Alaska during the Tsarist era? How did the Latin Americans — subverted by the Russians — "greet" the Governor of New York is well known. Is it possible to remain silent? Russia through Cuba is knocking on the doors of your city — New York, and she is already within your city as a fifth column. "You will never be victorious if you do not expell the agents, if you do not fight them within the walls of your city", thus Demosthenes used to warn the Athenians before the threat of Philip of Macedonia.

I wish to remind you of the following facts which are ignored by the news media: the American continent is bordering on the Russian empire through the Straits of Bering, which is not a lesser danger! The Russian submarines frequently appear in American waters! Alaska belonged to Russia once, and Russia may yet claim that piece of American land!

Dear Friends in the struggle for Freedom.

It is necessary for us to realize clearly who is our enemy: our enemy is Russian imperialism and Communism, the Russian system of life imposed on our peoples.

Who are our friends? All those patriotic and religious forces in the world that stand for freedom and real peace with justice, and therefore for the disintegration of the Russian empire of all colors, for the outlawing of Communism, for the disintegration of all artificial state structures like Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia, for active support, including military help, of the revolutionary liberation struggles of our enslaved nations!

What, then are our paths, our concepts of victory? These are: national liberation revolutions, armed uprisings of the enslaved nations against Russia, synchronized and coordinated, supported politically and morally by the freedom-loving forces of the free world. For that reason our duty is to organize all the freedom-loving peoples into one common front for an organization of the world, based on the national principle. It would be directed against any imperialist principle, against any trend toward the world government which would allow the large states to dominate the smaller nations, and which would allow the Russian empire to promote its ideas.

Our appeal: don't compromise with one tyranny against another! Don't



regard Russia as a friend in the conflict with Peking, but do stand against Russia as THE MAIN ENEMY. Join a common front with the enslaved peoples against all tyranny and for liberty, independence and justice for ALL NATIONS suppressed by imperialist domination!

The upheaval of the enslaved nations makes a nuclear war impossible, and would be dissolving the Russian empire and the Communist system from within! The Russian empire is a giant with feet of clay. It keeps saving itself by constantly fleeing forward from the revolutionary upheavals of the enslaved nations which begin to stir and will inevitably lead to a definite dissolution of the Russian empire! The Communist bloc begins to disintegrate! The Russian empire is holding out due not to its strength, but to the weakness of the ideo-political offensive of the West, and the lack of heroic and aggressive spirit within the Western societies!

Vasyl Makukh — a fighter of OUN and UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) burned himself to death exclaiming “Long live free and independent Ukraine!” The self-immolation of the student-fighter in Prague — Jan Palach — left us a statement that “it is better to die in flames than to live under the Russian yoke”. Both of them — the flaming torches of freedom, independence and justice — a testimony to the facts that ideas of nationhood can inspire an enthusiasm similar to the faith of the newly converted Neophytes during the first periods of Christianity.

The ABN — not any opportunistic associations or assemblies has a clear and solid conception of liberation, — a revolutionary, political, armed path, an all-national upheaval! The revolutionary does not know any compromise, does not know any “evolutionary” path of liberation, “legalisms”, “liberation by stages”, or appeals to the constitution of the USSR; it does not know any compromise either with Moscow or with Communism!

The enslaved nations are in a state of war with Russia. Between these warring sides no compromises are possible. There are no appeals to the laws of the invader. Between our peoples on one hand, and Russia on the other, there is a sea of blood, and where blood is being shed there cannot be any compromise.

Russia is quite aware that the independence of our peoples will mark the end of her position as a big power. For that reason — my friends — the oppressed peoples believe that only blood and steel will be the judges between them and the Russians, as nothing else can move Russia. Moscow may tolerate those “protests”, “revisionists”, and “reformists”, but will never tolerate nationalists — revolutionaries! Moscow will never tolerate ABN or willingly accept our ideas! The ABN fights for the dissolution of the Russian empire, its total disappearance, so that nothing should remain to remind us of slavery. We do not fight for the Russians to become better disposed toward us, we fight for their expulsion from our lands! For us, Brezhnev, is a tyrant of the same type as were Lenin, Stalin, Catherine II, and Peter I.

We call peoples to arms — this is the secret of success of ABN! Moscow and Communism feel a panicky fear because of our ideas and actions! For that reason ten years ago Moscow murdered the leader of OUN — Stepan Bandera. Furthermore, not long ago the Communist plotters murdered Croatian nationalist leaders in Western Europe; and before that, Slovak, Byelorussian, Turkestanian and

Azerbaijani patriots met a similar fate. The Bulgarian King Borys was poisoned by Russian agents.

ABN is against CPSU and the Communist parties — the slave drivers of scores of nations!

ABN is the vanguard of the enslaved nations; CPSU is the vanguard of the nation that enslaves!

The question of captive nations in the Soviet Russian bloc is a problem of an explosive colonial crisis. In all non-Russian countries, and particularly, in Ukraine, the struggle for national independence is breaking out into the open at last. But this is only the beginning. The same “winds of change” that destroyed colonialism in Africa are blowing from Vladivostok to Berlin. These winds will reach gale force in the '70's. And that will be the end of the cruelest colonial empire that the world has ever seen.

The realization of the ideas of ABN means the end of Russia as a big power; it is a world-wide revolution in the international arrangements of forces in Europe, Asia, Africa and the whole world!

The Russian barbarians, together with their Communist agents in various countries, proclaimed not long ago in Moscow a common anti-imperialist front, condemning the freedom-loving American nation. A nation that has never had any intentions of enslaving anybody! If Moscow and its international clique can be “anti”, why can't we!? For that reason we must fearlessly and offensively proclaim that we are ANTI-Bolshevik, ANTI-Communist, ANTI-Russian! Not only what we are for, but what and who are we against. We have got to decide as to who is for preservation of the empire, and who is for its fall! We severely condemn the imprisonment of our intellectuals, cultural workers, fighters for freedom of speech, thought, conscience, and national and human rights of all nations enslaved by Moscow and Peking! Just recently another crime was committed by Russia as confirmed by news that the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop Vasył Velychkovskyy died in a Russian prison. The free world should urge the immediate release of all the imprisoned priests — Orthodox and Catholic, Protestant ministers, Moslems, Jewish clergy, and of all prisoners — fighters for freedom and independence. The free world should demand the abolishment of all concentration camps in the Russian empire and its satellites!

We condemn the Russification of the lives of the subjugated peoples, the destruction and burnings by the Russians of cultural, historical and religious monuments, of archives, museums, churches — as for example the Vydubetskyi Monastery in Kyiv and the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR or the destruction of the Synagogue in Odessa which contained valuable archives. We urge His Holiness the Pope, President Nixon, and the leaders of all nations of the free world to condemn the USSR and its satellites as the most cruel prison-house for nations and individuals of all times.

After the latest assault of Russia on Czecho-Slovakia which completely disregarded the Charter of U.N., we consider the expulsion of Russia and her satellites from that organization, and the breaking of all relations with the empire as highly appropriate.

We call on the world to stage a patriotic crusade against Russian tyrants and Communist despots!



Three German, one American and one Jewish prisoner from concentration camps in Mordovia have been exchanged. They contacted us and suggested that a campaign should be initiated in favor of the release of political prisoners, and especially of a Ukrainian lawyer, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi. He is being confined to prisons and concentration camps for 25 years because he does not want to give up his convictions. His imprisonment is repeatedly prolonged although he never had a trial in court; only the KGB decides in his case, and such cases are in the millions.

To sum up I should like to say, that one should keep in mind the following facts which evolve from the last Russian aggressive attempts:

The armed intervention against the independence endeavors of the Czech and Slovak nations.

Russian threat to Southern Europe and Northern Africa via the Mediterranean.

Russian imperialistic attempts to establish themselves on the Indian Ocean in order to dominate the new continents.

Russian efforts to gain influence in Northern Europe.

The inspiration of civil wars in Latin America with the aim of establishing Communist government dependent on Russia and thus dominating Latin America.

The breaking down of social order in Western Europe and North America by means of general demoralization and student revolts.

The subversive actions of Moscow in Africa in order to dominate this continent eventually.

The Russian and Red Chinese aggression against independence and reunification in freedom of Vietnam, by means of armed support for North Vietnam and the Vietcong.

The national, social and cultural oppression of all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism in the USSR and so-called satellite countries which are fighting for their national independence, social justice and human rights.

We would like to sound a note of warning to the United States against a compromise with the Communists in Vietnam for this will be a capitulation before tyrants, and a threat for the whole South-East Asia! Our aim is dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, USSR, into national independent states, the restoration of national independence to the peoples of CSSR and Yugoslavia as well as the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam, Korea; and the liberation of mainland China. The young people in our countries have great faith in their nations, which was expressed by the 29 year old poet of Ukraine, Vasyl Symonenko, who was apparently murdered by the Russians:

“My nation exists, my nation will always exist!

Nobody will scratch out my nation”

Let us remember: No Peace, but a Sword! Only arms will judge us and the Russians.

Let us keep that in mind, friends! Let us revive the idea of independent states of all nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism in our hearts.

Let us help those people and the governments who seem to fail to see our point of view, to understand our ideas on this Tenth Anniversary of the Captive Nations Week.

Our strength lies within ourselves! And God helps only those who are strong!

## America's Duty And Challenge

As chairman of the Greater Philadelphia Captive Nations Committee, I warmly welcome all of you to our eleventh observance of this 10th anniversary of the Congressional Resolution of July 17, 1959. It requests the President annually to proclaim the third week of July "Captive Nations Week . . . until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world." By 1959 the Christian West — England, France, Holland, Belgium — had liberated virtually all its Asian and African colonies, so that the twenty-two nations enumerated by Congress were the ones enslaved by "Communist imperialism" and subjugated "since 1918 by the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia . . . through direct and indirect aggression."

Since 1959 the West had continued its policy of liberation, but Soviet Russia has not liberated one single satellite or captive nation. On the contrary, it has subverted new ones like Cuba, and last August (1968) it ruthlessly invaded Czecho-Slovakia and with tanks and guns crushed the precious tendrils of liberty that had become manifest.

I am especially glad to welcome our guest of honour from National China, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, as our main speaker. His country is divided and Mainland China is a Communist slave state because from 1945 to 1949 our State Department forced Chiang Kai-shek to form a coalition with the Reds whom it called well-meaning agrarian reformers, as later it designated Fidel Castro of Cuba!

We are grateful to Governor Shafer and Mayor Tate for issuing proclamations for our observance and sending representatives to read them. Our Committee is happy, most of all, to see such a fine audience, some in native costumes, some with their national banners, all testifying by their presence to their ideal of liberty for the Captive Nations — the Soviet-Zone Germans, Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks,

Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Armenians, Cossacks, Byelorussians, Cubans, Bulgarians, and others.

On July 14, President Nixon proclaimed Captive Nations Week. He, more than his predecessors, experienced the impact of the 1959 Resolution on the Soviet Russians. Just when it was first passed, he, as Eisenhower's vice-president, was visiting Moscow. The Kremlin's reaction to the policy of liberation for the Red-enslaved nations was violent and significant. Premier Khrushchov denounced it in a high-pitched voice, frequently pounded the table, said the Resolution "stinks" and spelled out what he meant in earthy four-letter words.

### *Captive Nations Observance Pin-points Soviet-Russian Vulnerability*

The Resolution's call for the liberation of the Captive Nations so upset the Kremlin because it exposed the powder-keg upon which the Red dictators are sitting. The USSR is not a union of peacefully federated states, like the United States of America, nor are its satellites willing ones, but a Soviet-Russian tyranny, bounded by a Berlin Wall and an Iron Curtain. More than twenty-two conquered peoples, each with its own language and culture, are yearning for independence, and plotting the overthrow of its Red dictators. In all these captive nations, facsimiles of the East Berlin revolt of 1953, the Hungarian one of 1956, and the Czecho-Slovak one of 1968 are forever in the making, waiting for the signal to rise and throw off the Red-Russian yoke.

And the day when enough of them do it in concert, and confident of the moral, diplomatic and material support of the Free World, the Soviet-Russian empire will collapse, the Captive Nations will be free — and for the US and the world, the threat of the world war will have been averted. That is why Khrushchov fumed and ranted



at the Captive Nations Resolution in 1959, and Premier Kosygin again during the Glassboro Summit with President Johnson in June, 1967. The Kremlin dictators know that no empire can permanently suppress the righteous aspiration for independence of civilized captive nations — if world public opinion is aroused on their behalf. The worst tyranny does not have enough guns to defy forever mass public opinion on the side of right and freedom!

That is why our Captive Nations Observance is so important.

*The Humane And Moral Duty To Support The Liberation Of The Captive Nations*

As a matter of pure humanity and justice the United States and the other free countries must do what they can, morally, diplomatically and materially, to further the independence of the oppressed Captive Nations.

And the United States has an even more compelling obligation. It was American lend-lease and unconditional surrenderism, and the shameful Rooseveltian appeasements at Yalta, which very directly delivered most of Eastern Europe into Soviet-Russian tyranny. Had America in 1945, which was before Russia had the atom bomb, honoured the Atlantic Charter, there would have been no Iron Curtain down the middle of Christian Europe, and no Berlin Wall. The enslaved nations now have a claim to American support for a reversal of those sell-outs.

But if "Our purpose is not to overturn other governments", as President Johnson assured the Red puppet regimes on October 7, 1966, then how, for example, can Germany be reunited and Ulbricht's Zone and Gomulka's Poland be liberated? For fifty years Soviet Russia has clamored for the overthrow of all Western colonial governments. How can we honourably do otherwise than to demand the overthrow of the far more tyrannical Red puppet governments of the Soviet-Russian imperialism as well? We should as a matter of

course proclaim our goal to replace all Red puppet regimes by governments freely elected by the people.

*Liberation Of The Captive Nations Averts Threat Of A Third World War*

To announce to the world this purpose is not to risk the third world war. It is on the contrary the surest, and perhaps the only way of reducing the threat of such a nuclear holocaust. A Soviet Russia, whose Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, plus satellites, is exposed for the sham that it is, whose captive peoples are encouraged to agitate for their independence in the confidence of the world's good will, cannot afford to be a threat to world peace. Such a Soviet Russia will hesitate to supply North Vietnam with its Migs, Castro's Cuba with its missiles, and will call back some of its ships from the Mediterranean and its submarines from the waters of the Western hemisphere.

It is Soviet Russia, which controls the manpower and the know-how of the twenty-two captive nations, that threatens the nuclear peace of the world, not Red China which still is short on technique. If Soviet Russia frees its Captive Nations, and is thus brought down to size, it will have no interest in endangering the world, and the Free World will have no more need to worry about its internal Communism.

Let us arouse enough public opinion to get the Captive Nations freed — be it by diplomacy or internal revolts — and the threat of a nuclear third world war would fade.

*(This speech was delivered at the Captive Nations Celebrations in Philadelphia on July 20th 1969).*

## **The Case Of Occupied Estonia**

As soon as the Communist Party had consolidated its power in Russia, it took over the Tsarist-Russian policy which was imperialistic expansion, exploitation and Russification of the captive nations. The Baltic nations — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — were victims of Russian aggression and devastation after the Bolshevik coup d'état in November 1917 by Russian soldiers. Bolshevik Russia was at this time in war with the Central Powers. The German front was by Riga. In December 1917 Soviet Russia started peace negotiations with the Central Powers, but no progress was made. On February 18, 1918 the Germans launched a new attack against Petrograd and Kyiv. An ultimatum was delivered by the Germans to the Bolsheviks on February 21, 1918 and forty-eight hours were allowed for a reply. Meanwhile the Estonian Rescuing Committee proclaimed the independence of Estonia on February 24, 1918 prior to the advance of German troops into the country. Germany, however, refused to acknowledge an independent Estonia. The German advance continued.

Facing defeat, Soviet Russia accepted the conditions in the German ultimatum and the peace treaty was signed at Brest-Litovsk. According to the treaty, the Baltic region ceased to be a Russian army began an offensive against the Baltic states. On November 28, 1918, Russian troops attacked Estonia and the war began in which the Estonian people bravely fought Communist aggression. In a short time the Russians were driven out of the Country. Estonia was also at war with Germany and suffered a considerable number of casualties in the struggle against the combined adversaries.

After having gallantly repelled the Russian Communist and German invaders, Estonia succeeded in signing a peace treaty with Soviet Russia on February 2, 1920. By this treaty Soviet Russia without any reservations recognized the independence of the country of Estonia and renounced volunta-

rily and forever all rights of sovereignty held by Russia over the people and territory of Estonia.

One of the most important tasks of the new Republic of Estonia was to establish good relations with other nations, especially her big neighbor, the Soviet Union. For this reason Estonia entered into a series of international agreements without or with the participation of the Soviet Union to ensure peace in this part of Europe.

Soviet Russian aggression started to manifest itself after the German National Socialist Revolution of 1933. Attempts were made to extend the system of security to Eastern Europe too, but the proposal was rejected by Poland and Germany. On March 28, 1934 Litvinov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, proposed to the German Minister in Moscow that the independence of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland be granted by both states, without consulting the other states concerned. Germany reacted negatively to this proposal on the grounds that the independence of the Baltic states was not threatened.

New negotiations between Soviet Russia and Germany were begun on March 15, 1939 where the Baltic states and the Baltic problem was discussed. As a result of these discussions on August 23, 1939 Molotov and Ribbentrop signed the non-aggression pact between Germany and Soviet Russia. This treaty was supplemented by the "strictly secret protocol" according to which Estonia, Latvia, part of Lithuania, Finland and certain other areas of Eastern Europe were placed under the Soviet "sphere of influence". According to this protocol the Soviet Russians hoped to advance their own imperialistic aims concerning Estonia and the other Baltic states.

On June 16, 1940 the Soviet Union presented an ultimatum to Estonia demanding the establishment of a new government "friendly" to the Soviet Union. On June 17,



"friendly" to the Soviet Union. On June 17, 1940, the day following the ultimatum the Soviet Russian army occupied Estonia. Under pressure from the Soviet government and under protection of the Soviet army a Soviet puppet Cabinet was appointed. This Cabinet could not be considered legal Government of the Republic of Estonia and the fact of its installation therefore could not have any legal consequences under article 51 of the lawful Constitution of the Estonian Republic.

Immediately after the nomination of this puppet "Government" the occupational authorities carried out an "election" to the Chamber of Deputies in an atmosphere of the most cynical illegality and terror on July 14-15, 1940.

On 21, 1940 this unlawful body, calling itself the "Chamber of Deputies" assembled and approved a Moscow-dictated declaration petitioning the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to incorporate Estonia into the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Since this procedure had no validity under the law of Estonia the legal effect of her incorporation into the Soviet Union was and is null and void.

De jure the Estonian identity and the legal continuity of the Estonian Republic is not broken and is consequently still valid today.

At the end of August 1940 the President of the Republic and most members of the legitimate Cabinet were deported to the Soviet Union.

The Government of the United States reacted to the events in the Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by a statement made by the Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, on July 23, 1940, which condemned this Soviet Russian aggression. Similarly other democratic Western Powers were aware of the fact that the Soviet Union was annexing the Baltic states by force. These Powers, like the USA, have refused to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union to this day.

The Estonians inside and outside the Iron Curtain have not recognized the annexation

and incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union. The fight for the rights, freedom and independence of the Estonian people continues.

The Estonian people under the occupation of Soviet Russia, oppressed and exploited, have not and never will reconcile themselves to the status of a Soviet colony.

The Russification policy of Tsarist-Russia and today of the Soviet Union was and is to assimilate the non-Russian peoples with the Russians. In the Communist Bible, Lenin's Collected Works XIX, it says: "The goal of Socialism is not to bring people closer together, but to fuse them into one." The Soviet Union remained, according to Lenin, true to the same goal as Tsarist Russia, to fuse the non-Russian peoples in the various Union Republics with the Russians (nowadays about 119 million). The largest of the Union Republics is the Ukraine, with over 46 million inhabitants and one of the smallest is Estonia, with 1.3 million inhabitants. It must be observed, however, that the greatest infiltration of foreign elements into Estonia has been during the past ten years, i. e., during the time since the census (1959 — 1,196 million), mainly due to the development of heavy industries in Estonia, and in the other Baltic countries, within the framework of Soviet planned economy. The non-Baltic element in the Baltic states has now reached a considerably higher percentage than in 1959. In 1959 of the total population in Estonia approximately 25 percent or about 0.9 million were Estonians. Also the large army units stationed in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, not taken into account in the total population figures, must be included.

The Baltic peoples are most exposed to this Russification which is characteristic of the whole policy of national genocide in the Soviet Union. The Baltic states are the most recent acquisitions and national features are still in evidence. Up to the Second World War the Baltic states were independent. The Western Powers still recognize the sovereignty of these states and regard them, in keeping with international law, as occupied by Moscow. In addition to this, they are

situated at the extreme northwest of the Russian empire and therefore are looked upon as bulwarks, and as bases for spreading of Communist propaganda to Scandinavia. From Moscow's point of view, the Baltic states must be rapidly made to tow the nationalist (Communist) line.

There is no doubt that passive resistance to Russification is strong in the Baltic states. Any attempt at active resistance would lead to open conflict with the Power Bosses in Moscow, and would only result in even more relentless persecution.

All aspects of public life and much of private life of the citizens 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 programs corresponding to local needs and interests, but are local sections of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. 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. 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 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 years between the wars. The second secretaries, the real leaders, of all three parties are Russians. What can such a party section, in which the native functionaries are in a minority, do to help the native inhabitants? And if in spite of everything, something is done to counteract Russification, what happens? Active resistance to Russification may lead in the best case to deportation and in the worst case to extermination.

The policies of Russification and colonization through deportations are continuing

in the Baltic states as well as in the other so-called Soviet "Socialist" Republics. Nowadays the Soviet Union has stopped the brutal mass deportations of non-Russian national groups and is using more "humane", but more efficient, methods to hasten the process of assimilation.

In connection with the border clashes between Communist China and the Soviet Union, the latter is trying to fill the disputed border areas with settlers, among others, also from the Baltic states. For example, in Estonia the Soviet regime has established what the population calls "Deportation Bureaus" where Estonian youths in their twenties are conscripted as "volunteers" to settle the empty Chinese border areas at the Ussuri River. On April 26, 1969 Radio Tallinn announced that to begin with five "Bureaus for Resettlement" to the Ussuri River Basin have been established at Tallinn, Tartu, Pärnu, Viljandi and Kohtla-Järve.

In East Siberia the Soviet regime has started to build a gigantic electric power station which is not far from the Ussuri River and where on March 2nd and 15th, 1969 the Soviet Russians and Communist Chinese battled each other. The electric power station is situated at the Bikini River which is a tributary of the Ussuri River. The above disputed areas are now the destination for the conscripted volunteers (most of whom are volunteers against their will) who are secured through the Resettlement Bureaus. The settlers of the Chinese border get monetary aid of 3500 rubles to build a house, 300 rubles to buy a cow, 150 rubles to buy a calf or a goat, . . . etc. The loan (monetary aid) must be repaid within ten years.

A number of Estonians have already been deported to these areas. Young people who are not trusted politically are sent there as "volunteers". They are dismissed from work and are not given "space for living" (room, apartment . . .) in Estonia. Thus many of them are forced to accept voluntarily the deportation to Siberia. Transportation to the resettlement area is free and they are allowed to take with them from Estonia



up to 2000 kilograms of baggage.

From other sources it is known that in the course of this year an additional 5000 workers will be needed in Estonia to fill the plan. While Estonian youth is sent to settle the Chinese borders areas, from Russia are brought into Estonia Russians proper to make up the shortage of workers. Thus the Soviet Russians are nursing the process of destruction of small nations within the Soviet Union.

Soviet Russian colonization policy with

Russification of the Estonian people is an oddity, especially at the time when the principles of freedom and self-determination for all peoples in the world have found universal recognition as the officially guiding idea of international life of this century and are being practiced everywhere outside the Soviet Russian empire. The Estonian people, especially in the homeland, are fighting for the recognition and application of these same principles in the Soviet Russian empire.

### **Archbishop Velychkovsky's Death Reported**

ROME, Italy — The Ukrainian-language monthly newspaper "News from Rome" (Visti z Rymu) in its June 25, 1969 issue reported that it had received confirmation of the death of Archbishop Vasył Velychkovsky. It had been thought that the Archbishop was under house arrest.

The report also indicated that religious persecution in Ukraine has been increasing recently; that religious objects from homes of priests, monks and laity had been confiscated and that priests had been arrested for conducting secret liturgies.

People are reportedly protesting the transformation of churches into wheat storehouses by refusing to work in the fields, and cases have been reported of the government bringing in students to milk the cows.

The report quotes the appeal of the faithful to its Episcopate to intervene for them in the United Nations, inasmuch as the Soviet government has signed the Declaration of Human Rights.

Archbishop Velychkovsky's plight first came into public notice early this year, and contradictory rumors regarding his health and safety have been reaching the West since that time.

### **Russian Crimes In The Baltic States**

In the past 29 years at least 600,000 Baltic citizens have been liquidated by the Soviet regime. Similar crimes have been committed in Poland, Rumania, Hungary and the other East and Central European countries under Russian dominion.

We charge the rulers in the Kremlin with genocide in the Baltic States under the UN Convention on Genocide, dated Dec. 9, 1948, which has also been ratified by the Soviet Union. We charge further the rulers in the Kremlin with neo-colonialism and with the Russianisation of the Baltic States. Since World War II more than a million Russians have been settled in the Baltic States while tens of thousands of Baltic nationals, and more particularly young people, have been deported to Russia.

We appeal to the free Press and to world public opinion: to support the Baltic nations in their struggle for freedom, for their historical, political and moral right to national independence, and for their right to self-determination.

## Russia Is Not Invincible

(Continuation)

In World War II, as verified by captured German archives, no sooner did the German armies enter the Baltic States, Byelorussia (White Russia) and Ukraine than they were acclaimed as liberators, and vast numbers of Russian soldiers deserted to them. At the time, so encouraging was the German reception that Count Schulenberg, former German Ambassador in Moscow, proposed that the invasion should be turned into a civil war in which the Russians themselves would help in overthrowing the Bolsheviki. He suggested that Germany should announce that she had no territorial claims, that she would agree to each conquered territory setting up its own local government, and that she would recognize these governments as her allies.

But Hitler's suicidal policy of "*der vollkommenen Vernichtung des ukrainischen und der anderen osteuropäischen Völker*" ("the complete extermination of the Ukrainian and the other East European peoples") prevailed. Instead of liberation, the destruction of the Ukrainian and other underground movements was ordered, with the result that for self-preservation the subjugated peoples, both in their countries and in the ranks of the Russian armies, turned against the Germans.

This was the beginning of the collapse of the Third Reich, which was hastened by Stalin's astuteness in adopting non-Bolshevik tactics, though, like Lenin, his intention was to discard them once the war was won. Had Hitler but offered the subjugated peoples freedom and self-determination, the high probability is that the U.S.S.R. would have collapsed before the end of 1941.

Besides not being able in war-time to rely on the loyalty of its subjugated peoples, the Kremlin is fearful of invading Western countries, because should it do so its soldiers will discover that the U.S.S.R., instead of being, as they have been brought up to believe, the most advanced country in the world, it is one of the most backward, and that they are the victims of a gigantic lie. For this reason alone — though there are others — Stalin has been compelled to substitute what is called "cold" war for "hot". Its aims are: (1) To confuse the thought of Russia's adversaries by turning every argument upside down, and reap a propaganda value out of the confusion. (2) To rot her opponents internally, by means of fifth columns, and discount their democratic principles should they resort to repressive measures. (3) To compel them by constant military threat to expend such large sums on armaments that they will cripple their finances and undermine their economies. (4) To distract their military forces by drawing them into distant regions, such as Malaya, Indo-China and Korea, in which only Satellite troops are engaged.

For the Kremlin, cold war is the only type of aggressive warfare which fits Russian psychology. Its strategy is that of dissolution and not of destruction: the attack on the mind of the enemy in order to gain control over his body and not on his body in order to influence his mind. It is not, as with the Western Powers when they talk of psychological or political war, an auxiliary of actual war, but instead it is the real war — the decisive conflict.



In its outlook upon war, the Kremlin is far more up to date than its antagonists. It realizes, as Engels did over eighty years ago, that in modern industrial and scientific conditions, physical warfare is increasingly becoming mutually too destructive to be a profitable instrument of policy. As the last two world wars have clearly shown, the victor comes off almost as badly as the vanquished and this, politically, does not make sense.

We simply cannot ignore the fact that to-day cold war is increasingly ousting hot war as an instrument of policy — it is the new diplomacy — and that unless we learn how to wage it in all its forms, political, ideological, economic and military, so that in wartime we win over the allegiance of the enemy's masses instead of destroying them, the very means of destruction we employ will end in defeating us.

Now that we have inspected the contents of the Bolshevik shop, the answer to the question "What is the problem?" becomes clear. It is to frustrate the Kremlin's two-front strategy by adopting a two-front strategy of our own. (1) To be strong enough physically either to prevent the outbreak of war, or should war come, to be in a position to contain Russian military operations, and (2) under cover of our physical forces, to be astute enough to wage a war of disintegration within the U.S.S.R. and its Satellite countries, not only after the outbreak of war, but from this very moment. Should its aim, successful counter-revolution within the U.S.S.R., be attained without actual war, so much the better; but, war or no war, it will remain unattainable, unless the war of disintegration is ultraoffensive.

Our existing solution of the problem — if solution it can be called — is ultra-defensive because it is based on the conception of containing Communism; (1) by military action on fire brigade lines wherever an aggression may take place; (2) by economic betterment in the Western countries in order to prevent Communism from spreading; and (3) by building-up what is called the Atlantic Alliance as the progenitor of a defensive Atlantic or European Army.

Because military action on fire brigade lines is a purely defensive policy, it leaves the initiative in the hands of the Kremlin. Worse still, it does not face up to realities. What is the use of a fire brigade system as long as the fire-raiser is left at large? Further, this dispersion of force emasculates the Atlantic Alliances which is equally unrealistic, for it is based on regional planning, involving over fifty committees, and includes France and Italy, countries with large Communist elements. As regards economic betterment in the West, this is excellent so far as it goes, yet it is frequently overlooked that economic betterment in itself can no more remove an ideology than filling an empty stomach can cure a deranged brain.

This confusion of defensive measures has strengthened the political position of the knock-out school who say that the simplest way out of the tangle is to cut the Gordian Knot, in other words, to rely on physical force alone. After all, have not we got the atomic bomb, and should the worst come to the worst, cannot we blow Russia to hell?

This, however, is a somewhat crude solution, for instead of curing the patient (the world crisis) it knocks him on the head.

Though a sufficiency of force is the first half of the solution, the amount needed

will depend as much on the moral state of the Russian peoples as on the strength of the Russian army. The lower the first is, the weaker will the second be, and the weaker it is, the less will be the physical force required to vanquish it.

The second half of the solution centres in the unbearable Bolshevik rule, which has established a ready-made second front in every country behind the Iron Curtain. Wherever Bolshevism is sown anti-Bolshevism can be reaped, for though by terror a people can be compelled to obey their masters, they cannot be compelled to cease hating them.

Hatred is the Uranium 235 of second half, and without it its physical prototype remains purely a weapon of material destruction. And of all explosives, psychological fission is the one the Kremlin dreads most, because it blows the bottom out of its ideology. Therefore to turn the U.S.S.R. into a gigantic psychological bomb is the second half of the solution.

Thus far, this half has been almost entirely neglected by the Western Powers, yet it is by far the easier to arrive at, because the U.S.S.R., being ethnographically divided into Russians and non-Russians is, in consequence, packed with psychological Uranium.

## Man On The Moon And Universal Freedom

*Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
President of the United States  
White House  
Washington, D. C.*

*July 24, 1969*

*Dear Mr. President,*

*The epochal landing on the moon and the triumphant return of our heroes will certainly mark a milestone in the history of mankind. The spectacular feat of American ingenuity, technical know-how, the combined efforts of thousands of peoples in many walks of life can fill each of us with deep pride and feeling of accomplishment.*

*The free world is justly happy to note that it was a member of a free society that walked first the surface of the moon. America, who has defended the frontiers of freedom in two world wars, in Korea and now in Viet Nam, conquered the unknown frontier of the moon.*

*For the American Friends of ABN it is significant that this great achievement took place during the Captive Nations Week which this year is observing the passing of Public Law 86090 for the tenth time. For those millions who are now held captive by Russian oppression, the American triumph has added significance. To the Captive Nations, Ukraine among them, the fact that the race was won by free people has enormous meaning. It will give them added impetus to carry on their struggle for freedom and their independence.*

*It is to be hoped that the great American nation will not let down the great tenets of universal freedom for every nation and every human being. For we firmly believe that only when each nation on earth attains national sovereignty, the full scope of the American technological success will enter the annals of history also as a spiritual triumph.*

*May I express our sincere congratulations and our admiration of the exceptional bravery of the astronauts.*

*Respectfully yours,  
Nestor Procyk, M. D.*



## Resistance Movement in Bulgaria

by Dr. K. Drenikoff

Amongst all the countries of the Communist bloc, Bulgaria holds a particular position. This has a considerable effect on the Government policies as well as on the behaviour of the major part of the population. First of all, Bulgaria is the only country in the Communist bloc which does not border on the USSR. Consequently, it does not have any territorial claim against the "Great Slav Brother". Paradoxically, this fact — the relative distance from the epicentre, Moscow — hinders all sorts of liberalization and approach to the West. The Communist team which leads the country today descends from the same generation of revolutionaries who, twenty-five years ago, assumed power with the support of the Red Army and established their dictatorship in the years 1945—47. This team of politicians is closely associated with mass executions, arbitrary liquidations carried out by the Bulgarians themselves following the advice and instructions of Soviet Russian specialists. The part taken in these events by the Bulgarians themselves is another specific feature of the Bulgarian Communist regime, very different from what is in force in other satellite countries. The young Bulgarian Communists, who never took part in the purges personally and who can be qualified as the technicians of Communism, sometimes broader-minded and open to new ideas, are not allowed to reach the upper grades of government leadership and impress their personality upon the country policies as well as upon the economic life.

This preamble was necessary to understand better the present situation in Bulgaria, the "key country in the Balkan", and study the various elements and causes of the dissatisfaction with the Communist regime and of the resistance movement against it, as well as the Government's counteraction.

Dissatisfaction is general and the bad economic situation of the country contributes to its amplification. Shortages in food supplies are frequent. Agriculture is the greatest fiasco of the regime which often has to proceed to imports of cereals, meat and other items, for internal consumption. The whole economy is the prey of a crisis due to bad management, fancy plans and estimates, a number of frauds, voluntary damages — most of the time to be credited to private and local initiative; to sum it up: — all the defects and deficiencies of a State-led economy, planned along economic principles long ago out of date. The bad economic situation of the country is magnified by two important factors:

1. The Bulgarian participation in the COMECON which controls all Bulgarian imports and exports and obliges Bulgaria to carry on a deficit trading and develop an economy the primary aims of which are planned according to the needs of third parties, and not according to the needs of Bulgaria proper. The COMECON organization requires that Bulgaria remains an exclusively agrarian country, and the COMECON Headquarters of the Committee for Agriculture are located in Sofia.

However, it is precisely in the field of agriculture that the Bulgarian economy was less successful. The change from land exploitation based on

family patterns into land exploitation based on modern, extensive and industrial patterns was a complete failure. It is in the interest of and a necessity for the Bulgarian economy to effect free and continuous commercial exchanges with the countries of Central and West Europe. However, exports and imports are not planned in Sofia, but in Moscow. Bulgaria can expect no advantages whatsoever from an integration in the COMECON scheme, in which its industrial potentialities are estimated as representing 1.7 % of the whole scheme, and may reach 1.8 % in 1980 according to the overall plans, i.e. a problematical increase of 0.1 % within 10 years.

2. The economic situation is made even more difficult by the fact that Bulgaria has to maintain a numerous and modernly equipped armed force. Bulgaria keeps an army of 153,000 men, 2000 tanks, 250 aircrafts, 3 warships, allowing her to proportionally take the lead of all the satellite countries for military expenses per capita.

The general dissatisfaction has now spread among nearly all the classes of population. It comes on top of the anti-Communist opposition and of the anti-Russian feelings which were always present in the Bulgarian soul and merge, from time to time, to resist an excessive and blind obedience to "Grand Father Ivan". The liberal tendency of the moment is felt in some university and literary circles. It may be judged as extremely cautious when compared to similar movements in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, but one must not forget the character of patience and prudence of the Bulgarian people, terribly disappointed on two occasions: once in 1956, when the Budapest rising was crushed by the Soviet Russian tanks, and in 1968 when the troops of the Warsaw Pact invaded and occupied Czecho-Slovakia.

It must also be mentioned that, in 1944, almost the whole political elite of the country was reduced to nothing following over 3000 death sentences and thousands of hasty and summary executions.

Last but not least, to finalize this Bulgarian background, the psychological action of the Communist Party is not negligible. Regularly and skillfully, alarming and puzzling news spreads out, such as: "next spring a new World War is going to break out; no use starting doing anything before . . ."

In spite of all these unfavourable conditions, we know of the existence of a resistance movement in Bulgaria, and very often it has proved to be spontaneous. Several political trials have been instituted against people impeached for endangering the State. The Communist regime itself had acknowledged the presence in the mountains of armed groups formed by "desperados", whom the Communist newspapers call "agents of Imperialism" or "representatives of the so-called middle-class". The Militia never misses rejoicing when one of these resistance workers happens to be killed in a fight.

In the past few years we have not heard about mass uprisings such as those of Pleven or Sliven in 1953, but these were sort of desperate enterprises damaging rather than helping the more conscious and organized struggle against the regime. They only made hundreds more victims and martyrs and refrained the opposition for a time. Strikes are forbidden and their leaders severely punished.

In order to catch the attention of the youth and of the Army, the Government is trying to operate a certain and spectacular withdrawal from Slavonic Russia,



insisting on the non-Slavonic origins of the Bulgarian people, encouraging studies and panegyric works on the Proto-Bulgarians. They have also made a complete turn-over on the nationalist question, and express today hardly hidden claims: the aim at reunifying a million Bulgarians from Macedonia to their Mother-Country appears even in official speeches. Such a matter is likely to catch the attention of the whole nation which would not hesitate to sacrifice itself in order to realize a generations-old ideal. Implementing such a policy, the Government is retracing its traditional position, but realizes that it is a necessary step to take in order to check and stop the growing dissatisfaction of masses of people, chafing under the yoke of enslavement and ready to break it at any minute.

### **From WACL Joint Communiqué**

At its meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, to prepare for the Third Conference of the *World Anti-Communist League*, the Executive Board resolved to manifest its determination to make every possible effort to prevail upon the Free World to stop retreating in the fight against Communism.

The battle for freedom must be pursued with a more intense fervour in all countries of the world regardless of their stage of development in the fields of politics, economics, mass media, and defense capabilities. The Free World can no longer afford the luxury of complacency with regard to the anti-Communist struggle in Vietnam, China, Korea, India, Europe, and Latin America. We must take the offensive and take the battle into the hitherto protected strongholds of Communism.

For this reason, the Executive Board took as its first point, the presentation of cabled messages to both President Nixon and President Nguyen Van Thieu, then meeting at Midway Island expressing full support of

President Thieu's firm stand against Communism and urging the US never to yield to the Communist demand for a coalition government in Vietnam, never to consent to a unilateral withdrawal of Vietnam's allies, and never to accept the Viet Cong's plot of destroying the constitution of the sovereign Republic of Vietnam.

The Executive Board invites the attention of the Free World to the increasing menace of Communism in institutions of learning to the extent of inducing the youth into licentious conduct, riots, and violence. The youth must be imbued with the ideal of freedom, with responsibility and with the mission to preserve inviolate freedom and independence for the human race.

Finally, the WACL Executive Board, realizing the strategic and historical importance of Thailand in the war against Communism resolved to meet in a General Conference in this very city of Bangkok from December 3—8, 1969.

### **More Attacks Against The Vatican And The Anti-Communist Emigration**

The Minister of Internal Affairs of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Gen. Egid Pe-pich, attacked the Vatican and the Slovak anti-Communist emigration in Munich at a meeting of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of Slovakia in June 1969. He accused them of wanting to undermine by propaganda the "socialist" (Communist) order in Slovakia.

## **Saint Olha – Empress Of Ukraine**

The Xth century is an interesting time in the history of Europe, and especially of its Eastern part. This was the era among the Slavs when new state-organizations arose, united by their national characteristics. Czechs, Poles, Bulgars, Serbs, Croats, all created their own states, abandoned paganism and embraced Christianity. First place among these Slav states was held by Ukraine-Rus, with its famed capital on the Dnipro, Kyiv. It was formed as a result of the unification of a number of Slav tribes. Contributing to this unification were the Norman conquerors, the so-called "Varangians" who in the IX century attacked various countries of Western Europe, in some places establishing their rule. This was also happening in Eastern Europe, where the Varangian princes subjugated Slavic tribes, and shortly were assimilated by them: they adopted Slavic customs, language and laws. Princess Olha belongs to this transitional period of Ukrainian history.

To better understand her place in the Xth century history of Ukraine-Rus, a few words should be said about her predecessors. At the turn of the IX-Xth centuries, Prince Oleh was on the throne of Kyiv. He united most of the Slavic tribes and created a great state, which stretched from Lake Ladoga to the lower tributaries of the Dnipro River. Oleh's state was not only sprawling, it was also rich. The chief source of riches in Ukraine was trade: she had widespread trade connections with the whole cultural world of that day — with the Caliphate of Arabia, with Byzantium, Scandinavia and Western Europe. Beaver, fox and marten furs, (for which there was a tremendous demand in all countries of the world), as well as wax and honey were exported from Ukraine. In the beginning of the Xth century, Oleh attacked Byzantium, defeated her and in 911 concluded a trade agreement with her, which proved very profitable to Rus. Agreement with Byzantium was the

first international trade agreement made in Eastern Europe.

Oleh's successor, Ihor, continued his policy. He made many expeditions, crossed Caucasia to the Caspian Sea; attacked Byzantium, but unsuccessfully. As a result of the war with Byzantium, a new trade agreement was drawn up in 944, which gave evidence that in Kyiv there were many Christians, who along with pagans, signed the agreement, and who already had their own independent church, of St. Elijah. From this action, from the activities of the two princes, it can be seen that Rus in the first half of that century was a great and rich country. It is also seen that it had also begun to become Christianized, and Christianity brought with it a higher culture and morality.

The Kievan state of Oleh's time was already well known to foreigners: the Icelandic and Scandinavian sages, the writers and travellers from Arabia, Persia and Byzantium, the chroniclers of Western Europe — all mentioned the Rus state and its capital, Kyiv. Ihor left a widow, the Princess Olha, and a little son, Sviatoslav.

Similar calamities even in much later times, caused turbulence, chaos; pretenders to the throne appeared, young heirs were brushed aside, and often new dynasties arose. Nothing of the sort happened after the death of Prince Ihor. A young woman made her appearance on the throne and into her frail woman's hands she took the administration of the largest state in Europe, which stretched from Lake Ladoga in the north to the Black Sea in the south; from the Volga in the east to the Dnister in the west. The appearance of a woman on the throne was an outstanding and exceptional event. One cannot forget that in the Middle Ages, the thing most appreciated in a ruler was his military aptitude, that a ruler was primarily the commander of his army both in war and in quelling unrests and uprisings.



We do not have positive information about the parentage of Olha, nevertheless a number of legends give various versions. In one she was the daughter of a prince; in another, of a boyar. However, the most widespread legend has her as the daughter of a peasant who operated a ferry-boat on a river. Here she was seen by Prince Ihor, who was attracted by her beauty and wisdom and took her for his wife. In this legend she is endowed with the marks of character which characterize her whole life: extraordinary wisdom and feminine charm.

The Ukrainian chronicle gives us a picture of Olha as an exceptional ruler. Olha personally toured her country. She established new villages, towns. She was in Novgorod, Pskov, on the Msto and Luh. These travels under conditions that existed during the Xth century, were heroic deeds. She rode in crude wagons, or sleds, through forests and marshes, among people who had but recently been conquered. Her contemporaries appreciated the heroism of her travels, and in Pskov, they treasured for 100 years as a relic the sled she rode. In hamlets and towns she established new centers of administration, and by this means brought about order in the newly-annexed lands. The chronicler relates that Olha, first of all princes, established, "tributes" and "levies"; that is, she fixed the exact amount of a tax assessment, which precluded the possibility of misappropriation by administrators.

Very significant are the words of the chronicle, that Olha established "hunting ground" and rights to transport goods. As was mentioned above, the chief source of government income was the fur trade. By establishing "hunting grounds" and selling "rights to transport goods", Olha fixed the exact sites of hunting as demanded by circumstances. She did the same regarding the wild-honey industry. (Wax and honey were also important items of export). Olha, as reported in the chronicles, "affixed her sign", that is, mark of ownership, on trees housing wild-bee swarms. By such acts Olha brought about order in the various branches

of internal government: — she established new points where representatives of the government were located, where they held court; she levied taxes, and was the first to introduce hunting rights, to the profit of the government.

Singularly, the chronicles relate the varied activities of Olha in state administration, but not one word is mentioned of the similar activities of her predecessors. Truly, there is a great difference between the works of Oleh or Ihor and those of Olha. The former subjugated tribes and engaged in warfare — Olha organized an empire, strove to bring about order in it. For 20 years, she did not carry on any warfare, did not stir up any rebellion. The great empire benefited from peace, and obviously conceded the supreme authority of the Empress.

Significant is the fact that with the reign of Olha, paralleling that of the Normans (from whom a large part of the royal army was recruited), the Slavs begin to play an important role. This is evident in the Slavic names of Olha's son and grandson: Sviatoslav, Volodymyr.

It is possible that with the growth of Slavic influence at the court of Olha, the Christian element too, received strength and under this influence Olha became a Christian. According to the chronicles, this happened in the year 955. In 957 Olha made a journey to Constantinople. All details of her stay there were recorded by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. He wrote that Olha arrived accompanied by a vast and splendid retinue. There were high dignitaries of her own state, ambassadors of other dignitaries, a nephew, merchants and, most important, Olha's Presbyter — Hryhorij. This clearly shows that Olha already was a Christian. Constantine Porphyrogenitus from the first accorded her a splendid audience and later invited her to a banquet where she was seated at the same table with the members of the royal family. This is further evidence that she was a Christian. Unfortunately, the Emperor did not record what exactly prompted the Empress to undertake such a difficult journey:

perhaps it was trade negotiations, or perhaps she wanted to renew diplomatic relations which had been broken off by Ihor.

In 959 Olha sent ambassadors to Otto the Great, King of Germany. German chroniclers relate how ambassadors came to Otto I from Olena (Olha's Christian name) with the request to send a bishop and priests to her capital. The departure of the bishop was delayed and it was not until 961 that Bishop Adalbert set out for Kyiv with his priests. Their mission, however, was unsuccessful.

I shall not go into the object of both of Olha's diplomatic appeals to the two Emperors of Europe of that day: Byzantium and Germany. The appeals themselves are significant. Unusually significant is this: that Olha established diplomatic relations entirely peaceful and perhaps far-reaching.

This was the activity of this exceptional woman, who by her achievements far surpassed her predecessors. Olha introduced something new: her reign of peace, free of wars; her tremendous administrative activities; her provisions to regulate finances; her brilliant diplomatic activity, which set up relations with the two mighty empires, and chiefly — her baptism, which made possible these relations on an equal footing with Christian governments. All this makes

Olha an exceptional ruler of the mid-Xth century. She was the first to make the Kievan State known to the world, not only as an armed military power, not only as a prosperous partner in world trade, but also as a young but mighty state, which had already ended its struggle to enlarge its borders and was concentrating all its efforts on putting its internal affairs in order. Olha was the first to tie the Kievan government with the two mighty empires of the Xth century: Byzantium and the German Empire. Even though she did not make Christianity the official religion of her state, by her baptism Olha became the equal of the Christian rulers of Europe. Olha lived in the age when there was no separation in the Church between the East and the West, and for her the two worlds of Rome and Constantinople shone equally.

She died in 969. According to her last will, a pagan funeral feast was not held for her. She was buried according to the Christian rite by the chaplain-presbyter. The Church calls her saint and an equal of the Apostles. The chronicles, which devote space to her, call her "dawn before the day", "morning star before the sun . . . She was the first from the land of Rus, to enter the kingdom of Heaven . . . and after death she prays to God for Rus."



*Sarcophagus of Saint Olha*



## **A Slovak Soviet Republic Fifty Years Ago**

It is little known in world public opinion that Slovakia was already to have been drawn into the sphere of influence of Soviet Russia fifty years ago. For on June 16, 1919 Slovakia was proclaimed a Soviet Republic.

When the Communists under directions from Moscow had seized power for themselves in Hungary in March 1919, they had undertaken the attempt to win the Slovak nation also for Communism. They had large numbers of leaflets printed in the Slovak language and smuggled into Slovakia. Although they made efforts in this to take into account the disappointment of the Slovak people over the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak state and their aversion to the Czech foreign rule established, they could attain no notable success.

After the outbreak of the war between the Hungarian Soviet Republic and Czecho-Slovakia in April 1919, the Hungarian Red Army temporarily occupied large parts of Slovakia and introduced a Communist regime there.

On June 16, 1919 a formally independent Slovak Soviet Republic was proclaimed in the area occupied by the Hungarian Red Army. The proclamation contained the following i. a.: "The independent Slovak Soviet Republic was formed today on the Slovak territory freed from imperialism. The first self-confident, instinctive act of the proletariat freed from the yoke of Czech imperialism was to put into effect the right of self-determination, which was announced with so much noise by the oppressed, but which in reality was falsified."

At the same time a provisional "Revolutionary Executive Committee" was formed. It was transferred to Kosice, since this city had been decided on as the capital of the Slovak Soviet Republic. There it was constituted into a "Slovak Revolutionary Government Council". This body consisted of twenty members, the majority of whom were not Slovaks.

The "independence" of the Slovak Soviet

Republic was only a fiction. In reality it was dependent on the Hungarian Soviet Republic, which in its turn was dependent on the Russian Soviet Republic.

The regime of the Slovak Soviet Republic, a Communist dictatorship of Leninist stamp, was anxious to win the favour and confidence of the Slovak people. Therefore it also took some popular measures: it abolished, among other things, the direct taxing of the small peasants. But even such "bait" could not alter the negative attitude of the deeply-religious Slovak people. Thus the Communist rulers were forced to rule by use of terror. They had to rely on the Hungarian Red Army.

The withdrawal of the Hungarian Red Army from Slovakia on July 5 1919 meant the simultaneous collapse of the Slovak Soviet Republic. Its representatives fled together with the Hungarian Red Army to Hungary and then from there to Russia.

In an effort to exploit for their own aims the negative attitude of the Slovaks towards the Czecho-Slovak state, the Communists made use of the national independence of Slovakia for purposes of agitation, even after the collapse of the Slovak Soviet Republic.

The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was also instructed by the Comintern to do the same.

The Vth World Congress of the Comintern in 1924 adopted a resolution "on the national questions in Central Europe and in the Balkans", which contained, i. a., the following: "The Congress notes that no uniform Czecho-Slovak nation exists in Czecho-slovakia and the Czecho-Slovak state consists, in addition to the Czech nationality, of the following nationalities: Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Ukrainians and Poles. The Congress considers it necessary that the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia announces and puts into effect the battle-cry of "the right of self-determination of the nations", including the right to separation,

with regard to the national minorities; above all the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must support the struggle of the Slovaks for their independence and make continuous efforts to remove this struggle from the influence of the nationalist bourgeoisie and to join it to the joint struggle of the workers against capitalism."

Despite this agitation, the Communists could not achieve their aims among the Slovak people.

Communist agitation with the national independence of Slovakia did not end until in 1935 a treaty of alliance was signed between Soviet Russia and Czecho-Slovakia.

When on March 14, 1939 the Slovak Provincial Diet proclaimed the independence of Slovakia, Soviet Russia raised no protest against it. On September 16, 1939 the Kremlin recognized the Slovak Republic de jure. Diplomatic relations between the Slovak Republic and Soviet Russia were also taken up.

After the Slovak Republic had declared war on Soviet Russia in 1941, following the outbreak of the German-Russian war, and had begun to take an active part in the war as an ally of Germany, Italy, Finland, Rumania, Hungary, and Croatia, Moscow suddenly changed its attitude towards Slovak statehood. It gave recognition to the Czech exile government of Benes and declared itself in favour of the re-establishment of the Czecho-Slovak state-formation.

When in the spring of 1945 the Russian Red Army occupied Slovakia in the course of military operations, it re-established against the wishes of the Slovak nation the Czecho-Slovak formation and introduced there a "People's Democratic" regime, dependent on Moscow. This regime developed

within a few years into an open Communist dictatorship.

The Slovak people, however, was not prepared to accept this solution forced on them. Within the limits of what was possible it put up resistance against the foreign rule and the "People's Democratic" regime. When even after two decades the Communist dictators had not succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Slovak nation with acts of terror, they were forced to make concessions. Thus at the beginning of 1968 the loosening of the governmental system and the promise of the federalization of the "Czecho-Slovak Socialist Republic" (CSSR) took place. The Slovak nation was and is not prepared to accept this half-solution. Large meetings attended by masses and demonstrations for the independence of this country took place in the spring and summer of 1968. Soviet Russia replied with armed intervention, with a new occupation of Slovakia, with a new violation of the right to self-determination of the Slovak nation.

Following federalization Slovakia has now a greater autonomy than she previously had within the CSSR. The Slovak Socialist Republic is even officially described as a sovereign state. Its sovereignty, however, is only fictitious, since the CSSR itself, in which it is incorporated, and all other "socialist" regimes dependent on Moscow are only in possession of a "limited sovereignty."

This has been the behaviour of Soviet Russia in the past fifty years towards the right of self-determination and of sovereignty of the Slovak nation. This is how she has behaved and behaves towards all other nations.

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#### Dr. Horbovyi Inspiring Gerald Brooke

"Another source of inspiration to me was Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, the Ukrainian Nationalist leader, who has spent more than a third of his 70 years in Soviet and other prisons.

Despite his suffering, he remained a strikingly upright man who refused to compromise". (Gerald Brooke)



## Russian "Reclamation" Of Land In Turkestan

### 1. The land reclamation project and its present condition.

The food crisis in the Soviet Union and the increased need for agricultural produce brought about by maintenance of countries in the Eastern Bloc induced the Soviet Government to undertake reclamation of barren and uncultivated land, large expanses of which are at hand above all in Siberia and Turkestan. Even before the Second World War the Soviet authorities had ascertained that there were in Turkestan 388.9 million hectares\*, which had been classified according to the quality of the soil as follows: woodland, 3.4 million hectares; black soils, 31 million hectares; high mountain soils, 26.2 million hectares; reddish-brown soils, 148.3 million hectares; sandy and saline soils, 74 million hectares; brown soils, 107 million hectares. In 1938 it was estimated that cultivable reserve areas in Turkestan amounted to 38.74 million hectares, or 44.53 % of the total reserve areas of the Soviet Union.

According to the Soviet plan the total area under cultivation in Turkestan was to amount to 13,079 million hectares by 1950 and the remaining reserves to stay uncultivated. The reasons for this lay in climatic conditions which made the breaking of new ground more difficult. Not until the food crisis in the Soviet Union began did the Soviet Government start the feverish search for easily reclaimable reserve areas; such areas were predominantly concentrated in Kazakhstan, the northern part of Turkestan.

This project for reclaiming barren and uncultivated land is not the first measure taken by the Soviet Union, for it has been attempting for years to obtain newly cleared land. In the year 1954 the efforts of the Russians in this respect were, however, so intensive that they assumed the character of a major economic project. Through land reclamation it was intended to increase the grain growing area as early as 1954. Only

recently have the Russians once again become aware of suitable possibilities in Siberia and Turkestan. Khrushchov said:

"We were of the opinion that the most fertile land in the Soviet Union was in Ukraine. But Turkestan and Siberia are, in comparison with Ukraine, much more fertile areas. I became aware of this during my stay in Kazakhstan, Altay and Novosibirsk."<sup>1</sup>

At first research was undertaken on the possible utilization of 82.5 million hectares in 14 areas in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan and it was established that 15.6 million hectares could be easily cleared.<sup>2</sup> The Soviet land development project was thus principally concentrated on the areas Kustanai, Akmolinsk, Karaganda, Kokchetav, Pavlodar, Aktyubinsk. West Kazakhstan, East Kazakhstan and Semipalatinsk, and less emphatically on Dzhambul, Alma-Ata and Taldy Kurgan. The first project for land clearance began in February 1954, after Radio Moscow had announced on February 22nd, 1954 that the first 100,000 youth workers had been sent to Siberia and Turkestan. By employing this labour the Soviet Government succeeded in gaining 7,973,800 hectares of land in Turkestan by the autumn of 1954; areas in the individual regions were as follows: Kustanai, 1,706,100 hectares; Akmolinsk, 1,634,400 hectares; Kokchetav, 1,406,100 hectares; Pavlodar, 975,400 hectares; North Kazakhstan, 753,900 hectares; West Kazakhstan, 533,700 hectares; Karaganda, 231,300 hectares; Aktyubinsk 400,000 hectares; Semipalatinsk, 185,500 hectares; East Kazakhstan, 83,000 hectares; Dzhambul, 72,000 hectares; Alma-Ata, 41,000 hectares; Taldy Kurgan, 40,000 hectares.<sup>3</sup> It was planned to make another 8.5 million hectares productive in 1955.<sup>4</sup> Whilst the area in Kazakhstan amounted to 9.2 million hectares in 1953 and 18.6 million hectares in 1954, it was now planned by clearance of new areas to increase the area under cultivation to 28.5 million hectares in

1956.<sup>5</sup> The chairman of the Cabinet Council for Kazakhstan, Kunayev, announced on August 14th. 1955 that 16,086,000 hectares of barren and uncultivated land had been cleared in the years 1954-55 (1955: 8,122,200 hectares). Although the plan had been for only 8,500,000 hectares, in 1955 it proved possible to cultivate 9,870,000 hectares, producing all kinds of grain crops. According to a Tass announcement on October 4th. 1955, 17,460,000 hectares of uncultivated and reclaimed land had been developed between the opening of the project and October 1st. 1955. These results were not yet sufficient for the Soviet Government. It was, for example, announced that there were another 26 million hectares of cultivable land in Kazakhstan.<sup>6</sup> Barren and cultivated land, principally in the following areas, was to be cleared by 1956: Kustanai, 3,000,000 hectares; Akmolinsk, 1,962,000 hectares; South Kazakhstan, 1,600,000 hectares; Alma-Ata, 1,460,000 hectares; Pavlodar, 1,400,000 hectares; Karaganda, 1,039,000 hectares; West Kazakhstan, 937,000 hectares; Dzhambul, 44,000 hectares; Aktyubinsk, 100,000 hectares.<sup>7</sup> In 1956 in Kazakhstan the spring sowing was to be over 27 million hectares, 22 million of this to be grain; the autumn sowing was to comprise 1,738,000 hectares; this meant that a total area of 28,738,000 hectares would have to be reclaimed.<sup>8</sup> Years of effort (1954-1962) were, however, required before the Soviet Government was able to clear 42,840,000 hectares (25,500,000 of which were in Kazakhstan) of formerly barren areas in the Soviet Union.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1954-56 370 new *Sovkhoses* [state farms — trans. note] were set up in the newly developed areas in Turkestan.<sup>10</sup> The number of *Sovkhoses* in Kazakhstan thus rose to 810 in 1956. In 1956 they cultivated 10.5 million hectares of land and in 1959 tilled an arable area of 18.9 million hectares. In March 1961 it was announced that a further 130 *Sovkhoses* must be formed in the new areas. This goal has so far not been reached. According to planning a further 250 *Sovkhoses* are still to be established.<sup>11</sup> In 1955 new warehouses were to be built for

the storage of 6 million tons of grain<sup>12</sup>, but only buildings for 804,900 tons were completed.<sup>13</sup> By the end of 1955 some 4.6 billion roubles had been spent on the organization<sup>14</sup> of *Sovkhoses* and 6,105 invested in land reclamation.<sup>15</sup> After 1956 the development of further barren and uncultivated land proceeded more slowly. For this reason areas reclaimed in the next four years (1957-60) amounted to only 5.6 million hectares.<sup>16</sup>

The reclamation of land remained an unsteady factor in the life of the Soviet Union. In 1954 greater yields could be achieved because of heavy rainfall and resultant ground moisture. In 1955, however, a period of severe drought made it impossible to equal this total for 1954. This catastrophe in 1955, however, did not mean that the Soviet Union would change its former policy on land reclamation. It was intended in 1956, by such measures as autumn tilling, clearance of weeds, ploughing to a depth of between 30 and 35 centimetres and by collecting snow, to increase productivity in the reclaimed areas.<sup>17</sup>

In the years 1954-62 the Soviet Government, thanks to the breaking of land in Kazakhstan, succeeded in producing grain crops at a yearly average of 10,152,000 tons.<sup>18</sup> During the years 1954-59 the Soviet Government invested some 20 billion roubles in land development in Kazakhstan and obtained a profit to the value of 31 billion roubles.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless the Soviet Government did not succeed in achieving regular successes in the areas of reclaimed land. There have been some bad harvests since 1956; the planned goal for corn has never since been reached. Not until 1964 were 11,270,800 tons of grain produced. The Soviet Government contented itself with blaming first, bad climatic conditions and second, bad management for failures. Although the areas under cultivation in Kazakhstan increased from 9,716,900 hectares in 1953 to 27,883,100 hectares in 1956 — 28,66,500 hectares in 1958,<sup>20</sup> and was said to be 31,117,900 hectares in 1962, no increase in produce could be achieved. But in comparison to 1953 the Soviets suc-



ceeded in increasing grain produce in 1958 (1953: 3.30 millions tons; 1958: 15.66 millions tons); this could be the result not of land development but the increase in the area under cultivation.

As early as 1954-55 the area producing grain crops in Turkestan had overtaken that of Ukraine and was thus, in size, second only to Siberia.<sup>21</sup> But this could not become a permanent state of affairs, chiefly because the Soviet Government failed here in its policies. The Soviet Russians were not able to increase the yield pro hectare in the reclaimed areas. The yield pro hectare fell from 12,600 kg. in 1956 to 3,600 kg. in 1963. The Soviet Government complained for years that productivity in the lands that had been reclaimed was very low. Then the Soviet Academy of Agriculture organised a conference, to be held from 31st. January to 6th. February 1960 in Akmolinsk and to consider the problem of increasing productivity in the areas of reclaimed land. Academics and party functionaries observed that the problem of overcoming climatic difficulties had not been solved. In the areas of reclaimed land only 115-120 days of the year were without frost. The conference concluded that everything possible must be done to increase the yield pro hectare to 14,100 kg.<sup>22</sup>

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan produced approximately 60 millions tons of grain in the course of 7 years (1958-65), with an area under cultivation of some 31 million hectares.<sup>23</sup> Whether or not these results mean that undertakings of this sort are profitable or not must be left to the analysis of agricultural experts.

As well as purely economic interests the land reclamation project also has strategic significance for the Soviet Union. Up until the Second World War Ukraine, Byelorussia and the North Caucasus had been producing 38 p. c. of the Soviet Union's grain and this share was missing after the German occupation of these areas. Therefore the Soviet Government had endeavoured to guarantee the safety of her agriculturally strategic areas under all circumstances, above all those areas in Turkestan. The Soviet Russians have made progress

strategically by settling large numbers of Russians in Turkestan, to strengthen the status of Soviet Russian power in this area, especially above that of China.

## 2. *The colonization of Turkestan in the pretext of the reclamation of land.*

The Soviet Russian policy of colonization had until the land reclamation policy never made itself so clearly felt as it does at present on the pretext of the utilization of barren and uncultivated land. Moscow under Soviet domination has never openly admitted that Turkestan was being colonized by the Russians. The former policy of colonization was hidden behind a mask of "internationalism" or "the fraternal assistance of the former backward colonial territories of Tsarist Russia by the greater Russian nation". The land reclamation project, however, provided a reason for changing over from the process of colonization which had remained hidden to open colonization, for the utilization of such large areas in Turkestan required large labour forces. In 1954 over 100,000 young Russians and Ukrainians were sent to the barren and uncultivated areas; they were, however, not able to manage this tremendous task. Furthermore, labour forces had to be mobilized for permanent settlement in the Steppes. Since this could not be achieved by mere orders, the Soviets attempted to make use of the Russians' patriotism. Thus the official newspaper of the Soviet Government, *Izvestia*, wrote, for example: "Wherever the Russians grow the countryside grows green . . . with the arrival of Russian grain farmers untouched earth became fertile. Following the Russian example the Kazakhstani began to settle . . . The rush of people moving from the interior of Russia was especially large at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The grandfathers and great-grandfathers of the present-day Komsomol members\*, driven away by shortage of land, came here". The newspaper called upon young people to follow the example of their forefathers, go to Turkestan and make the land "grow green".

Here for the first time the Soviet Government showed themselves to be the successors of the Tsarist colonization policy, tearing off the mask of their former colonial policies in time of necessity. Khrushchov expressed himself even more clearly on January 1st 1955 at a meeting of young people who were to go to the barren and uncultivated areas. Then he said:

"When we were discussing questions of land reclamation in Siberia and Kazakhstan, the problem regarding the fact that these areas are a great distance from Moscow arose. At that time very few people from Moscow were there. But now the situation has changed. Thousands have been there, worked and wrote letters which strengthened patriotism . . . We must occupy free territories in the east quickly and establish ourselves there . . . It could be that when difficulties occur some of you will return to Moscow. In any case we will send you off with honours, but no honours will be conferred on those who come back . . . Some of you are going to Kazakhstan, there are plenty of rushes there and you can build yourselves homes from them. You must bring your city culture to the steppes. Anyone who comes here from outside the town must be convinced that newcomers from Moscow are living there, are living well and have established themselves."<sup>1</sup>

These plans of the leader of the CP of the Soviet Union were in fact transformed. To start with more than 100,000 Russians, Ukrainians and other Slav elements were settled in Turkestan in 1954.<sup>2</sup> The secretary of the Central Committee of Komsomol, Shelepin, announced at the beginning of January 1955 that some 500,000 young workers had registered as "volunteers" for work in the barren and uncultivated areas.<sup>3</sup> At the same time the sending of Russians, Ukrainians, inhabitants of the Balkan provinces and North Casusus to Turkestan was continued.<sup>4</sup> The end of this stream of colonists cannot yet be foreseen. For the leaders of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union are of the opinion that the organised recruiting and dispatch of wor-

kers to the regions where reclaimed land is being utilized must be considered to be "the fulfilment of an important task set by the Party and the Government, as a patriotic deed,"<sup>5</sup> which requires the infiltration of further colonists. From a speech of N.S. Khrushchov on 15th. March 1961 in Akmolinsk, it is evident that the reclamation of land is considered to be an affair of political significance. He said:

"The population of the reclaimed land areas has increased within seven years to 1,185,000. These are not abstract figures. There is in them an economic and political meaning."<sup>6</sup>

For recruiting colonists a special distinction, the "Medal for Land Reclamation", was awarded. The colonists' medal is awarded to those who emigrate permanently with their families or who distinguish themselves by special achievements in the colonial areas. In the year 1962 a Golden Book of Land Reclamation in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan was published; in it were entered the names of all the new settlers and all those who had taken part in the reclamation work.

Administration centres for settlers were established in the Ministries of Agriculture of the Soviet Republics in Turkestan and the Soviet Union. Under the Tsar a similar institution had been concerned with problems of recruiting colonists. The task of this administration centre consists of furthering the colonist movement and keeping the colonists under control. The State offered the colonists numerous facilities. Thus, for example, every person who settles in the new territories receives a grant for building a house of 1,000 roubles, 65 p.c. of which had to be repaid in the course of 10 years. A grant of 1,500 roubles is made for the purchase of cows and has to be repaid in three years. Every colonist is exempt from tax for two years. The land for building of a house and garden are provided free of cost. Every settler receives a "settler's book". To cover further costs further grants are made, of 200 roubles to the head of a family and 100 roubles per person to other members of the family. The head of every



family receives 150 kg. grain credit and other members of the family 50 kg.; this is to be repaid within three years. Travel expenses to the new territories are paid by the State.<sup>7</sup>

Those colonists who had settled in Turkestan could call their settlements after their home towns and villages. This step seems to have called forth great enthusiasm among the Russians for the young people of Moscow emphasised in the appeal for settlement in the new territories: "We, the youth of Moscow, are proud of the fact that many of the *Sovkhozes* and settlements which have grown up in the new territories bear the names of districts of the capital . . . We are proud of our compatriots who have become experienced mechanics and farmers."<sup>8</sup>

As well as by means of recruitment, the rousing of Russian patriotism, the granting of credit and free travel to the new territories, the Soviets also tried to increase the speed of colonization by building railways. Thus a railway line was built from the upper course of the Tobol to the River Irtysh with a length of 2,132 kilometres and crossing about 1,740 square kilometres of the colonization area in Turkestan. This railway is to facilitate the colonization of a further 18 million hectares of land. The Soviet Trades Unions newspaper *Gudok* wrote on this subject: "The railways require quicker settlement and lead to the development of new settlements. People from the RSFSR, Ukraine and Byelorussia are settled there to build the railways. In a few years time the total grain production in the area where railways have been built will exceed that of England, Holland, Denmark and Australia.<sup>9</sup> It was planned that the areas utilized in regions where railways had been built would require a labour force of 1,307,000 by 1956.<sup>10</sup> This plan was not realized until 1959.

The more intensive measures for land reclamation became, the greater the numbers of colonists became. In fact the constant increase in the numbers of Russians in the region to the north of the Aral Sea presented a great danger for the whole of

Turkestan. According to a statement by the former secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, Ponomarenko, Turkestanis had to go over to the breeding of cattle in the regions in the south, centre and west. Grain growing areas had to be left to the new settlers.<sup>11</sup>

The official statistics of the numbers of colonists after 1939 were not announced for a long time. The territory which suffered most under the colonization policy in Turkestan was and is the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan. The population there in 1939 consisted of 67.1 p.c. Turkestanis and 32.9 p.c. Slav and Caucasian elements. Experts estimated, however, that the population of Turkestan in 1950 would be 6,655,100, 52.3 p.c. of which might be Turkestanis.<sup>12</sup> The census of 1959 finally gave a clear picture of the speed of the colonization policy of the Soviet Government in the new territories in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan. In the newly cleared areas 2,753,139 people were living in 1959. Of these 1,743,087 persons belonged to Slav national groups (Russians, 1,242,374; Ukrainians, 395,957; Byelorussians, 64,274 and Poles, 40,382). The number of native Kazakhstanis — the real masters of the country — amounted to 512,352 persons. The same is true of the whole of the Kazakhstan SSR, since in this area of Turkestan 3,974,229 Russians (47.7 p.c. of the total population) are there as opposed to 2,794,966 Kazakh-Turkestanis (26.6 p.c. of the total population). In 1959 the population of this Soviet Republic consisted of 65.8 p.c. Slavs and 34.2 p.c. Turkestanis.<sup>13</sup>

In accordance with their present policy of colonization the Soviet Russians forcibly resettled numerous non-Russian Slav national groups, such as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, etc., in Turkestan. Their purpose in this was firstly to decrease these national groups in their own countries, in order to be able to guarantee a Russian majority there too, and secondly to conceal their own colonial aspirations from the Turkestanis, by emphasising that other nations are also taking part in the "development" of Turkestan under the motto of "fraternal

help". The Ukrainians nonetheless, despite the privileges granted them by the Russians, feel united with the people of Turkestan. Thus, for example, many of the Ukrainians who came to Turkestan under the rule of the Tsars acted loyally towards the Turkestanis after the national uprising in 1916 and after the revolution of 1917. It may be that the feeling that they too are oppressed in their own country and are sent to Turkestan has contributed to this attitude. Therefore the presence of the Ukrainians in Turkestan can present no danger for the Turkestanian people. One of the major reasons for Moscow's bringing the colonization of Turkestan into prominence at present is the growing power of the Chinese. China is colonizing East Turkestan step by step and attempting to increase her prestige in Asia. By colonizing West Turkestan Russia is making an attempt to halt the Chinese penetration into northern Asia. For this reason the land reclamation project in Turkestan had and still has traits not only economic but also political.

After the fall of Khrushchov in 1963 his land reclamation policy was severely criticized, however, it was not changed. New settlers are still being sent from the European part of the Soviet Union to Turkestan despite the unbearable conditions under which they have to live.

\* hectare = 2.5 acres. (Trans. note).

<sup>1</sup> Pravda, 8. Jan. 1955; Kizil Uzbekistan, 9. Jan. 1955, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Turkmenskaya Iskra, 8. Oct. 1954.

<sup>3</sup> Pravda, 8. Nov. 1954; Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 10. Nov. 1954.

<sup>4</sup> Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, (leader), 5. April 1955.

<sup>5</sup> Pravda, 27. Nov. 1954.

<sup>6</sup> N. Pokoromenko, Narodnokhozyaistvennoe znachenie osvoeniya tselnykh i zaleznykh zemel' v Kazakhstane in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 15. April 1955.

<sup>7</sup> ibid, 16. Oct. 1954.

<sup>8</sup> ibid, 10. Aug. 1955.

<sup>9</sup> ibid, 5. April 1955.

<sup>10</sup> ibid, 1. 1955.

<sup>11</sup> ibid, 10. Aug. 1955.

<sup>12</sup> ibid, 12. Jan. 1956.

<sup>13</sup> ibid, 21. Jan. 1956.

<sup>14</sup> F. K. Mikhailov, Narodnoe dvizhenie za osvoenie tselnykh zemel' Kazakhstana, Alma-Ata, 1964, p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 21. Sept. 1955.

<sup>16</sup> Socialistik Kazakhstan, 28. Dec. 1962.

<sup>17</sup> According to Khrushchov 30.7 bill. roubles were invested in the Sov. Un. from 1954-58 for reclamation of land. For this the state received 48.9 bill. roubles. Turkmenskaya Iskra, 17. 12. 1958.

<sup>18</sup> S. A. Nejshtadt, Ekonomicheskoe razvitiye Kazakhstanskoi SSR, Alma-Ata, 1960, pp. 186 & 189.

<sup>19</sup> Kazakhstan's share in grain production in the Soviet Union amounted to: 1949-53, 5.6 p.c.; 1951-53,

5.3 p.c.; 1954-58, 19.3 p.c.; 1956-58, 24.9 p.c.; 1958, 27.2 p.c. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 24. Aug. 1960, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 9. Feb. 1966, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> ibid, 11. March 1966. Bread grain over this area amounted to 18 million hectares. Yearly average of bread grain production was 8.6 million tons. cf. Pravda, 31. March 1956. The above mentioned papers remark that the land reclamation policy in Kazakhstan was a Communist success.

\* Abbreviation for Kommunisticheskiy soyuz molo-dezchi — Soviet Youth Organisation. (trans. note)

<sup>1</sup> Kizil Uzbekistan, 9. Jan. 1955.

<sup>2</sup> At first some 140,000 young workers were mobilized; about 100,000 of these went to Kazakhstan, cf. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 16. Oct. 1954 and 9. Jan. 1955, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pravda, 8. Jan. 1955.

<sup>4</sup> The following examples provide a general survey of the course of the Russian colonization of the country:

At the end of 1954 1,500 leading functionaries and 12,000 workers were sent to organise Sovkhozes. cf. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 2. Jan. 1955. At the beginning of 1955 1,000 soldiers arrived in the Pavlodar area; they had been demobilized from the Red Army in autumn 1954. In the autumn 12,000 youth workers came to the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan from Russia and Ukraine. cf. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 20. Jan. 1955, p. 1. After the appeal at the Moscow Youth Assembly on 7. Jan. 1955, 12,000 men from Moscow registered "voluntarily" for work in Kazakhstan. cf. Socialist Kazakhstan, 15. Jan. 1955. On March 17th. 1955 400 Ukrainian families arrived in the Kokchetav area and 500 in the Pavlodar area. 200 families came from Lviv and Poltava to the banks of the River Ishim. cf. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 15. March 1955.

At the beginning of 1955 10,000 young workers from Baku were mobilized and went to the reclaimed land areas. cf. Kizil Uzbekistan, 19. March 1955. In 1954 and the first half of 1955 about 40,000 "agricultural specialists" and 2,594 settler families came from Kokchetav. cf. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 30. Aug. 1955, p. 3.

3,200 threshing machines were sent to Akmolinsk, Kustanai and Kokchetav from Ukraine, together with operators. cf. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 4. Jan. 1955.

In the Taldy Kurgan area the Sovkhoz "Pogranichnik" (frontier guard) was formed from demobilized border security soldiers, at a cost of 4 million roubles. cf. Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 4. 1. 55. In the Kokchetav area the Sovkhoz "Kantimirovich" was formed from soldiers of the "Kantemirov" division. cf. Komsomolskaya Pravda, 23. Oct. 1954. It must be noted that the newly formed Sovkhozes consisted of Russian and other Slav elements. By May 1954 some 80,000 agricultural specialists had been sent to Kazakhstan. By the beginning of 1956 some 600,000 people from the European parts of the Soviet Union had settled in Kazakhstan.

<sup>5</sup> Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 16. March 1961.

<sup>6</sup> ibid, 16. March 1961.

<sup>7</sup> Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 20. Oct. 1954.

<sup>8</sup> Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 9. Jan. 1955.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 2. Nov. 1954, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Dergl, Munich 1955, no. 2, p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> Findeisen, Hans, "The Witches", "Cauldron of Kazakhstan", in ABN Correspondence, Munich 1955, no. 9, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Gerhart von Mende, "Kazakhstan" in Geopolitik, Hamburg 1952, no. 7, p. 428.

<sup>13</sup> Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda, Kazakhstaya SSR, Moscow 1962, pp. 63 & 168.



## Lenin And The Question Of Nationalities

(Continuation)

Every subjugated nation knows very well the further developments of history. Every nation sustained national tragedy on its own soil, but the historical significance of these events has not been exhausted by these individual tragedies or local temporary advantages.

At the present time, the world is entering a new stage of mankind's development: the world has reached a new crossroad. To clarify this new stage of events, we must summarize the individual struggle of each subjugated nation during the past half century. This new significance must be observed at the international level and measured on a world-wide scale. Mankind must at last realize why, even today, world equilibrium has not been attained.

In 1920 and 1921, the Kremlin was not fighting for the reconquest of Poland, Ukraine or any other country previously subjugated by the Russian empire. The direct goal of Moscow was Europe, itself, and never before in its own history had Russia been given such a magnificent opportunity for European conquest. The general political situation of Europe at this time was as follows:

Defeated in World War I, the states of Central Europe were experiencing the worst possible anarchy. Only a few months before the end of civil war in Russia, Hungary was ruled by a Communist government. In Germany, the Communists participated legally in the provincial governments, and, as in Austria, the Communists were fighting repeatedly on the barricades to seize power. The central government of Germany and even the rightist elements were seeking close cooperation with Red Russia.

As far as the victorious powers were concerned, the Communists were strongly undermining the government of Italy. England and France were strongly influenced

by the defeat they had suffered several months before in Russia.

Under these circumstances, no one in any part of Central Europe was able to resist the Communist inundation. The only thing that barred Russia's way to conquest of Central Europe was the flimsy barrier of re-born and not yet firmly established Poland and Ukraine.

The Soviet government had accurately evaluated the situation. The Kremlin's objective was quite openly discussed — it was never a secret matter. Since November of 1918 (the capitulation of Germany), Stalin had written several articles about this "barrier" (Stalin, Works, Vol. IV), declaring that the Reds would join hands with their German friends over the dead body of Poland and other subjugated nations.

The Red army set out to conquer the West. The fate of Europe was hanging in the balance. The burden of this entire struggle fell on the shoulders of Poland, Ukraine and Byelorussia. Of the Western Powers, France alone dared to offer only material aid. Poorly equipped, with administrations not yet crystalized, and having fought amongst themselves only a few months previously, these subjugated nations barred the way to the West against a united and victorious Red Russia.

Contrary to all predictions, this "barrier" stopped Russia's invincible army.

All policies and events of the last half century indicate that the West has been unable to understand this riddle until today. Yet the explanation of this extraordinary riddle is quite simple. In these kinds of struggles, as for the fate of Europe or all the world, the decisive factor is not "omnipotent" technology, but the human spirit and human ideology. The fate of Europe in 1920 was decided by the ideology of national liberation and human spirit fighting for this ideology. Since the defeat of Na-

oleon, this principle has triumphed throughout the world.

When the formal war against Poland began, the Bolsheviks were strongly entrenched only within the ethnographic borders of Russia. Ukraine had only recently been occupied. Russia felt very insecure there, because, despite their formal conquest, the Ukrainians continued to fight.

During this war, Russia was not able to take one man for her army from the Caucasus. On the contrary, the armed forces of the Transcaucasian republics amounted to eleven divisions, all of which were animated against Russia. To prevent open upheaval in Northern Caucasus and Turkestan, the Red army had to station large forces in these territories.

As a result of these conditions, Moscow's goal of conquering Europe was undertaken only by Russia herself, relying solely upon manpower and material sources from within the ethnographical borders of Russia. Consequently, Russia was unable even to reach Central Europe.

Most of the fighting subjugated nations were unable to save their own freedom and paid dearly for their struggle. In spite of their defeat and tragedy, these nations fulfilled their historical role by protecting the West from Bolshevik inundation. Yes, it is a fact that the freedom of Europe in 1920 was preserved by the common struggle of these subjugated nations against the Russians. Therefore, today, these nations have earned the right to ask the West: "What have you done with these 24 years of peace which we have granted to you at the price of our greatest tragedy?"

The West is viewing the historical events of this last half century through the unreliable reports of short telegraph messages. In this blurred and superficial observation, the West is overlooking the significance of many decisive events. A sober review of this period gives us the following practical conclusions:

Although he was inclined to be negative about this question of national self-determination, Lenin was better informed and prepared in this question than were any

other political leaders of that time. Lenin fully understood the systematic way of the development of this problem.

Lenin was one of the leaders of the Russian political party, in the rank and file of which were working representatives of all the nations subjugated by Russia. Therefore Lenin became acquainted with the elements of self-determination in 1907 when a split began within his own party. Ten years later in 1917, the question was again raised on the scale of the entire Russian empire. At that moment, Lenin had a ready-made prescription for the problem.

Based on his experience with subjugated nations, Lenin forged a simple but powerful double-edged arm. With one edge, he would defeat the common front of the nations subjugated by Russia; with the other edge, he would defeat the colonial empires of the West.

On April 20, 1920, under pressure from a third state, a group of the Azerbaijan government carried out a coup that enabled Bolshevik units to enter Baku in railroad transports. It should be emphasized strongly that this coup in Azerbaijan was carried out under pressure from followers not of Red Russia, but of a third state. The Azerbaijan people and the army did not approve of the coup and reacted to it with an armed uprising.

Immediately, after occupying Baku, units of the Red army headed for the borders of Georgia. Regular military operations began. Because of its success in Azerbaijan, Russia had hoped to take Georgia by surprise, but failed. Consequently, Moscow took a last desperate chance: i. e., to carry out a coup in Tbilisi. The brawl ended as a comedy of compromise for Russia.

Thus, all attempts to seize Georgia without an official war failed. Full-scale military action began. In the Ganja (Kirovabad) region, the Azerbaijan army, which was not yet disarmed, started fighting against the Russians. Beyond any doubt, Armenia was against Red Russia.

At this point, the Kremlin hesitated. Moscow realized that this fighting was no



ordinary fragment of a class struggle, but something quite different.

Behind the front, in the rear of the Red Army was the newly-occupied Northern Caucasus. Soviet Russia did not feel secure in this territory. Beyond the Caucasus, the Cossacks had always tried to fight on their own national ground, and although General Denikin had broken, the backbone of the Cossacks' national movement, at the moment, they were capable of full-scale military action.

These circumstances outlined before Lenin the greatest danger. The fire of an official war against the small country of Georgia would very easily re-ignite all the fronts of the previous war — not as an internal class struggle of Russia, but as an international war against the foreign invader — Russia.

Lenin and his government were panicked by this turn of events. He was quite familiar with the potential strength of the national movement, remembering past events of his own party at the time of its friction in 1907, and the significant position of representatives of the captive nations at that moment. In addition they realized the current battles on their present Western front.

After the first regular clash with the Georgian armed forces, Moscow was convinced that Georgia would fight decidedly. Russia began peace negotiations at the front.

As these negotiations with Georgia continued, the Red army was suffering defeat after defeat on the Western front. For lack of railroad transportation, Budienny's cavalry was marching toward the Polish-Ukrainian front from its position in the Caucasus. Moscow was quite uncertain about where Budienny's troops would be most necessary: on the Western front or on the Caucasian front. Further, Moscow realized that the worst could happen. If military operations erupted simultaneously on both fronts, Budienny's army may be late for participation in operations on either front.

Moscow could not delay. At any price Moscow had to extinguish the Caucasian volcano before it gained full strength.

On May 6th, the Polish-Ukrainian army occupied Kyiv. On May 7th, the Georgian envoy in Moscow received an undersigned peace treaty, which acknowledged and accepted all of the Georgian postulates. This treaty was entirely independent of the negotiations taking place on the eastern border (front) of Georgia.

These characteristics concerned not only the Polish units, but all of the subjugated nations, who were fighting for independence. Animated by the same feelings of patriotism, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian armed forces were fighting for the establishment of their own indivisible sovereign states. In every political action, the Kremlin was very anxious and extremely careful about this problem. This fact was most clearly demonstrated by Kremlin's policy toward Georgia, during the first Russo-Georgian war in 1920.

At the end of the Russian war of aggression in Europe the majority of the Red armed forces found themselves in the Northern Caucasus. By the time the Red army reached the borders of the Caucasian republics — Armenia and Azerbaijan already possessed their own parliaments and parliamentary governments.

In Georgia a Constituent Assembly had been in session since March 12, 1919, elected by direct, equal, universal, secret, and proportional suffrage of the citizens of both sexes. At its first meeting, the Constituent Assembly unanimously confirmed the act of Georgia's independence proclaimed on May 26, 1918.

According to the principles declared by the first government of Lenin, Red Russia actually had no formal justification for not recognizing the independence of these states. Contrary to all of these principles, Moscow tried in one sweep to regain the old southern frontiers of the Russian empire. But the initial clashes convinced Russia that the Caucasian republics were determined to defend their freedom. The situation was undecided, and Moscow interrupted its military operations. (To be continued)

# Statement of the Central Committee of ABN

## on the Growing Expansionary Pressure of Russia

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) concerned itself at a meeting held on June 26, 1969 with the growing expansionary pressure of Russia and its present consequences. In particular it analysed the latest manifestation and development tendencies of Russian-Bolshevist imperialism and condemned it, since it is incompatible with the freedom and independence of the nations, and threatens national traditions, genuine culture, social progress and religious belief all over the world.

The Central Committee of ABN declares that it advocates without qualification the independence of all peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism and is for the reunification of all countries divided by force.

The Central Committee of ABN condemns the armed intervention by Soviet Russia against the efforts to achieve independence of the Czech and Slovak nations. Through this intervention not only the two countries directly concerned, but also all other peoples subjugated by Russia are shaken in their resistance to Russian domination and Communist dictatorship. The ideological reasons given for this intervention with the "limited sovereignty" of socialist states is in its essentials nothing new. Even Lenin at first used the right to self-determination and national sovereignty for purposes of agitation. At the end all that was left of this for Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, the states of the Caucasus, the Baltic and others was only a "limited sovereignty" inside the so-called Soviet Union. All these "Socialist Soviet Republics" are nothing but Russian colonies, which are rapaciously exploited. The same is true of the fictitious "sovereignty" of the so-called Russian satellites.

The Central Committee of ABN in particular draws attention to the following acts of aggression and expansionary tendencies, which it decisively condemns:

1. The effort to gain influence in Northern Europe through the domination of the Baltic States;
2. The effort to gain influence in Southern Europe and Northern Africa through the domination of the Mediterranean;
3. Pressure in the direction of the Indian Ocean with the intent of incorporating new parts of the world into the Russian sphere of influence and power;
4. The subversion of the social orders in Western Europe and North America through general demoralisation and student revolts with the intention of expanding the Russian sphere of influence in this part of the world;
5. The organisation of civil wars in Latin America with the aim of introducing there governments dependent on Moscow and thus to dominate Latin America;
6. Moscow's subversive actions in Africa with the tendency to dominate this continent step by step;
7. The Russian and Red Chinese aggression against the independence and reunification of Vietnam in freedom through military support for North Vietnam and the Viet Cong;



8. The national, social and cultural oppression of all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism; which are fighting for their national independence, religious freedom, social justice and human rights;
9. The persecution of the churches and the intellectual elite and forcible Russification;
10. The Communist assassinations of freedom-fighters even in the Free World.

## OBITUARIES

### **Nahid Kulenovic Assassinated**

Once again an outstanding Croat patriot and fighter for freedom has been treacherously murdered by the Communists. On June 30, 1969 the Croat exile politician Nahid Kulenovic, 40, was found murdered in his flat in Munich.

The deceased was descended from a noble Bosnian family. His father was a minister in the government of the independent state of Croatia. Nahid Kulenovic emigrated with his family in 1945. He studied at Aachen Technical University. After the completion of his studies, he devoted himself to political work for the liberation of the Croat nation. He published a Croat newspaper in Munich and played a lively part in the public life of anti-Communist Croat emigrants. His political activity had already caused the Communists to make an attempt on his and his family's life four years ago. His wife and his father-in-law, the former Croat diplomat Berislav Dezelic, were severely injured. Nahid Kulenovic himself only escaped by chance. But he did not allow himself to be deterred by this and continued to work courageously for the freedom and independence of Croatia — until his violent death. He left behind a widow and a four-year-old son.

The funeral took place on July 4 in Munich, in accordance with the Moslem rite. He was accompanied on his last journey by his widow, his relatives and many of his fellow-countrymen and friends. On behalf of the Association of United Croats

Franjo Vljacic took leave of the deceased. The condolences of the Central Committee of ABN were expressed by Dr Ctibor Pokorny and those of the Free Press Association by Dr Stefan Marinoff.

Nahid Kulenovic's death is a great loss for anti-Communist Croat emigrants.

### **Tshombe — Congo Leader Dies**

Moise Tshombe, former Congo premier who was kidnapped aboard an air liner two years ago, has died of a heart attack in an Algerian prison, according to the official Algerian Press service. He was 51 years old. He spent two years in Algerian captivity. The medical bulletin indicated that Tshombe suffered a heart attack but in recent months Algerian officials have claimed he was in good health.

Tshombe was first kept in military camps and later in heavily guarded villas. He was moved regularly from one villa to another in an effort to keep his whereabouts secret and guard against possible rescue attempts.

The burly ex-premier, who fled the Congo in 1963 to live in exile in Spain, had been sentenced to death in absentia by a Congolese military court on March 13, 1967, on charges of "high treason".

Tshombe fought and died for the independence of Katanga. He was a devoted friend of Western civilization and stood for the self-determination of African nations and for cooperation between coloured and white peoples.

# News And Views

## Captive Nations Week — 1969 Celebrated In New York

### AF-ABN PLAYS THE MAIN ROLE

*Yaroslav Stetsko — President of ABN guest of honor and speaker.*

According to U.S. Public Law 86-90 of 1959 the third week of July is designated as Captive Nations Week in the United States and is celebrated annually. President Nixon, Governor Rockefeller of New York State, and Mayor Lindsay of New York have issued special proclamations for this occasion.

July 13th, 1969 the Opening Day of the Captive Nations Week — 1969 was celebrated in New York with a great parade and mass rally organized by the New York Captive Nations Committee — *Chairman Judge Matthew J. Troy*, sponsored by AF-ABN — *Chairman Dr. Ivan Docheff*, with the main speaker at the rally being *the President of ABN, Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko.*

The parade took place on Fifth Avenue from 10:00 to 11:00 A.M. Sunday, July 13th, 1969. More than 1000 participants from Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, North Caucasus, Rumania, Slovakia, Tibet, Ukraine, and other groups of friendly organizations took part.

The parade was led by a large unit of the Catholic War Veterans Organization of Queens with their uniforms and flags, under the command of *Col. R. G. Goff*. The participation of the veterans in the parade was a demonstration of support of the American veterans for the cause of the Captive Nations.

The display of the national flags of all participating Captive Nations, the marching of hundreds of people in costumes of various nationalities, the uniformed unit of the Ukrainian SUMA, and the many signs

made the parade very colorful and attractive. All TV stations, the press and radio gave full coverage and stressed the success of the event.

The open rally took place at the Band Shell — Central Park from 11:00 AM to 1:30 PM. The Rally was called to order by *Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN*, and Master of Ceremonies on this occasion.

The Rally began with a religious service performed by the *Rev. Serhij K. Pastukhiv*, Administrator of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Exile, with the participation of priests of other nationalities.

The American National Anthem was sung by the Estonian singer *Miss Vaike Turi*, accompanied on the piano by *Miss Frederica Tanner*.

*Miss Brigita Zajac* of the Ukrainian-American Youth Organization (SUMA) read the Captive Nations Law passed by the US Congress in 1959.

*Judge Matthew J. Troy*, Chairman of the Captive Nations Committee of New York, addressed the rally on behalf of the Committee.

Main speaker was the Hon. *Yaroslav Stetsko*, World President of ABN. In his speech he emphasized that ABN is fighting for the freedom and independence of all Captive Nations. He stressed that ABN does not recognize the creation of nations such as Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia and demands the recognition as separate nations of all nations enslaved within the borders of Soviet Russia, such as: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Cossackia, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and others, as well as Slovakia, Croatia, and all Soviet satellites such as Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and others.

The music and dance program consisted of: Byelorussian singers — *Mrs. R. Kosiuk*,



Mrs. L. Machniuk, and Mrs. H. Petisch; at the piano — Mrs. L. Scors. The Ukrainian Dancing Ensemble of the Ukrainian-American Youth Association of New York, under the direction of Mr. O. Genza.

The proposed Resolution was read by Mr. Charles Andreanszky Vice-Chairman of AF-ABN and was unanimously adopted, as follows:

*Resolution adopted by a Mass Meeting held on July 13, 1969 in Central Park, New York City on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of THE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK RESOLUTION (Public Law 86-90)*

WHEREAS both Houses of the Congress of the United States adopted in 1959 a most far-reaching and farsighted resolution committing the United States Government and People to the idea of eventual liberation of all nations and peoples from the oppression of foreign military or political occupation and

WHEREAS people in many parts of the world, namely The Albanians; The Armenians; The peoples of Azerbaijan, of Bulgaria and of Byelorussia, The People of Mainland China; The Cossacks; The Cubans and The Czechs; The Estonians; The Georgians and The People of East Germany; The Hungarians and The People of Idel Ural; The North Koreans; The Latvians; The Lithuanians; The Peoples of Mongolia and of North Caucasus; The Poles; The Romanians; The Serbs; The Slovaks; The Slovenes; The People of Tibet and of Turkestan; The Ukrainians and The People of North Vietnam, are still living under the political and military oppression of Russian expansion executed by the political machinery of the Soviet Union, and

WHEREAS political changes in the world structure did not alleviate the sufferings of the oppressed millions as improved material conditions in some of the oppressed countries are no substitute for the loss of FREE EXPRESSION OF THOUGHT, the loss of FREE EXPRESSION OF BELIEFS or loss of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, and

WHEREAS the political expansion of Russian Communist ideas has increased

rather than decreased the danger for the free world, adding to the dangers of outright Russian military expansion the far greater danger of internal revolutions with ever increasing civil disobedience leading the downfall of democratic societies and governments, therefore,

all people assembled here today on the occasion of the first day of Captive Nations Week 1969, have resolved

TO DOUBLE OUR EFFORTS in the task of making available all information about the struggle of all oppressed peoples as it really is, to counter official propaganda of Russian imperialism and its puppets, as well as to rectify slanted reporting in the free world's press,

TO REDEDICATE ourselves to the cause of ultimate liberation of nations and individuals everywhere, and

TO IDENTIFY OURSELVES with the young people, students and workers, who so courageously stood up for the rights of mankind against overpowering odds in many countries now under Russian Communist military and political occupation, and

TO EXPRESS OUR CONVICTION that the United States and the American People by its history, political structure and tremendous potential must lead the rest of the world on the complex and very difficult road toward achieving freedom and national independence on our globe.

The Benediction was offered by Rev. Octavian Rosu of Rumania.

After the Rally at 2:00 PM. at the Windsor Ballroom, Hotel Commodore a Lunch-meeting for the leaders of the participating organizations took place. Master of Ceremonies was Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Vice-Chairman of AF-ABN. Opening the Lunch-meeting, he expressed the high respect of all national leaders for the Hon. J. Stetsko who in reply delivered a short address.

Mr. Michael Spontak, as Secretary General of AF-ABN expressed the respect of the AF-ABN leaders for Judge Matthew J. Troy, who as Chairman of the Captive Nations Committee of New York served as

a true American Friend to the cause of the Captive Nations. In reply *Judge Troy* delivered a short address. He thanked the Veterans for their participation and introduced their leader *Col. R. G. Goff* and the commanders.

*Mr. Bill Larkin*, AF-ABN Public Relations Director reported for the Press, TV and Radio coverage. His work was highly esteemed by the leaders of all Captive Nations.

Further, *Mr. Spontak* expressed his thanks and introduced the present leaders of the organizations and groups who contributed to the success of the parade and rally, as follows: *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, Chairman of AF-ABN, whom Mr. Spontak described as the backbone of the organization; *Ataman of the Cossaks — Ignat Bilyj* and the prominent Hungarian Leader *Cap. Zoltan Vasvary* were described as co-founders of AF-ABN. *Dr. A. Plaskachevsky*, Vice President of the Byelorussian Congress Committee; *Mr. A. Nosich*, President of the Croatian Guard of Liberty; *Lt. Col. N. Nazarenko*, President of the Cossackian War Veterans; *Mr. E. Barron*, Federation of German-Americans; *Mr. E. Derrik*, President of Estonian War Veterans; *Mr. L. Reicherzer*, American-Croats; *Col. A. Tchankely*, leader of the Georgians; *Cap. Arslan Bek*, President of the North-Caucasus Organization; *Mr. M. Aquilera*, Leader of the Cubans; *Mrs. R. Davenport*,

Riverside Conservative Club; *Miss C. Huyler*, Friends of Tibet; *Mr. E. Lipping*, Estonian National Representative; *Mr. N. Stoyanoff*, Bulgarian National Front; *Mr. A. Nikolaie*, Rumanian National Representative; *Mr. V. Michel*, Chelsea Conservative Club;

*Mr. Andreansky* introduced *Dr. Nestor Procyk*, President of AF-ABN of Buffalo, who delivered a short address.

Further *Mr. Andreansky* introduced the present Ukrainian leaders and guests — *Rev. S. K. Pastukhiv*; *Mr. Lew Futala*, Vice President of the Ukrainian Liberation Front; *Dr. Alexander Sokolyszyn*, Vice President of the Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine;

*Mr. Kornely Vassyluk*, President of the New York Ukrainian American Youth Association; *Dr. Walter Dushnyk*, Ukrainian Congress Committee; *Mr. Wladimir Pielesa*, Treasurer of AF-ABN.

*Mrs. R. Kosciuk*, *Mrs. L. Machniuk*, *Mrs. H. Petisch* sang Byelorussian Folk song, accompanied by *Mrs. L. Scors* at the piano.

*Miss Vaike Turi* sang Estonian songs, accompanied at the piano by *Miss Frederike Tanner*.

The closing address was delivered by *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, Chairman of AF-ABN, who thanked all who had given him support and cooperation and extended appeals for still more togetherness and action to secure more and more success in the future.

### Reports In The New York Times And Sunday News.

*About 1000 people dressed in the colorful aprons and wide trousers of European folk costumes gathered in Central Park yesterday morning to solemnize their continuing opposition to Communist rule over "captive nations".*

*"It is easier for us to break the bonds of gravity which God has forged than it is for us to break the chains of cruelty, prejudice and tyranny that bind many people on earth," the Very Rev. Serhij K. Pastukhiv, administrator of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Exile, told the people who grouped around the bandshell near 72d Street.*

*As part of the tenth annual observance of Captive Nations Week two organizations sponsored different meetings here yesterday.*

*One of them, the Captive Nations Week Committee, which arranged the program of speeches, folk dances and songs in the park, includes among its long list of captive nations such countries as North Korea, Cuba, and formerly independent countries like Ukraine and Byelorussia now in the Soviet Union.*

*The other group, the Assembly of Captive European Nations, held a mass simultaneously at St. Patrick's Cathedral at 10 A.M. It limits its opposition to Communist*



control of European countries, such as Rumania and East Germany.

(*The New York Times*, July 14, 1969)

Captive Nations Week, the annual commemoration of those nations and peoples living under Communist rule, begins here today with church services, a rally in Central Park and a luncheon at the Commodore Hotel.

A Mass of the captive nations was to be offered at 10 a.m. at St. Patrick's Cathedral and similar services were to be held an hour later at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

At 10:30 a.m., the Very Rev. Serhij K. Pastukhiv, administrator of the Ukranian Orthodox Church in Exile, was to open the

Central Park ceremonies at the band shell with a prayer for the success of the American Apollo 11 moon mission.

"It is easier for us to break the bonds of gravity which God has forged," said Father Pastukhiv, "than it is for us to break the chains of cruelty, prejudice and tyranny that bind many people on earth."

After the prayer there will be an address by Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of the Ukranian Republic, one of 28 captive nations, and folk dancing by groups wearing their national costumes.

The 1:45 p.m. reception and luncheon at the Commodore is sponsored by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. On Tuesday Deputy Mayor Robert Sweet will issue a Captive Nations Week proclamation at City Hall. (*Sunday News*, July 13, 1969)

## RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AT THE MASS RALLY (PHILADELPHIA, JULY 20, 1969)

WHEREAS, the U. S. Congress on July 17, 1959, requested the President annually to proclaim the third week of July CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK "until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world"; and

WHEREAS, President Nixon on July 14 proclaimed July 13-19 Captive Nations Week for 1969, and Governor Raymond P. Shafer on July 9 for Pennsylvania, and Mayor James H. J. Tate on July 10 for Philadelphia; and

WHEREAS, the twenty-two captive nations enumerated by Congress in 1959— "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 Vietnam"— continue to be subject to communist colonialism, with Cuba off our shores added to the list, and South Vietnam in danger of a like fate; and

WHEREAS, U. S. interventions in both World Wars were proclaimed as crusades for the self-determination of peoples; and

WHEREAS, the captive nations enumerated have proved or can be shown to have the capacity for self-government and independence, for which they yearn and strive as their inalienable right;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Captive Nations Committee of Greater Philadelphia and this assemblage gathered at historic Independence Mall this July 20, 1969,

THAT the U. S. government should vigorously re-affirm its good will towards the captive nations and its determination to advance their liberation with all moral, economic, and diplomatic means at its disposal and feasible; and

THAT the U. S. should conduct its cultural and economic relation with the Communist bloc and negotiate any treaties so as to seem a partner of the puppet governments against the populations and with the frank purpose of helping, not hindering, their liberation; and

- THAT, American delegates to the United Nations and to other conferences should when—and wherever practicable press for exposure of communist Sino-Russian imperialism; and*
- THAT, America should pursue a clear policy of good will towards any agitations, movements, even revolts behind the Iron Curtain aiming at liberation—and short of military intervention, of all practicable support; and*
- THAT the U. S. government should make known throughout the Red Empire our determination never to acquiesce, by deals or defaults, to the permanent enslavement of captive nations and ever to seek by all peaceful means their eventual freedom; and*
- THAT, however compelling the wish for peace may be, the U. S. should not expose South Vietnam to Red domination but should rather blockade North Vietnam's harbors and bomb its installations until it retreats from South Vietnam; and*
- THAT, in the tension between Soviet Russia and Red China, the U. S. should consider Soviet Russia not only the greater threat but also by far the more extensive tyranny, with a Berlin Wall and an Iron Curtian in the middle of once free Europe, and its army in seven satellite nations, and its commissar in fifteen captive nations within the U.S.S.R.; and*
- THAT, the nuclear non-proliferation treaty because it in effect makes the U. S. a partner of Soviet Russia and guarantees both Moscow's enslavement of the Captive Nations and permanent military supremacy over the NATO countries, these Free Nations should not be pressured to sign it; and*
- THAT, the House of Representatives should establish a Special Committee on the Captive Nations and initiate a Congressional Review of U. S. policy towards the U.S.S.R.; and*
- THAT, a Captive Nations Freedom Stamp series should be inaugurated and a Freedom Academy established; and finally*
- THAT copies of these RESOLUTIONS be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, both senators from Pennsylvania, all the representatives of the Greater Philadelphia area, and to the newspaper, radio, and television stations of the area.*

Presented by the Captive Nations Committee of Greater Philadelphia

*Austin J. App, Ph.D., Chairman*  
*Ignatius M. Billinsky, Executive Vice Chairman*  
*Margit Rohla, Executive Secretary*  
*Albert Bagian, Treasurer*

## **Captive Nations Week In Sydney**

*From Letters To The Editor*

July 20, 1969

This is to inform you that the Captive Nations Week in Sydney, Australia, held on July 13th-19th, 1969, was very successful this year, more so than ever before.

We are particularly pleased with the new President of the Captive Nations Week Committee, Mr. Douglas Darby, who proved to be an excellent organizer and leader. Mr. D. Darby is a Member of the Legislative Assembly and a very influential person in Sydney.



Our programme started with the march from Town Hall to the Cenotaph, where Mr. Darby placed a wreath and a Ukrainian priest, Father I. Shewtsiw offered a prayer. Literature was distributed to the public. 1,500 people took part in the march. The participating national groups were Croats, Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Rumanians, Slovaks and Ukrainians.

The guest speakers at the Town Hall Opening Meeting, besides the Chairman, Mr. Darby, were Mr. W. C. Wentworth, M. H. R., Mr. J. B. M. Fuller, M. L. C., Mr. P. D. Hill, M. L. A., Mr. P. J. Kane, Secretary of the Democratic Labour Party and His Excellency Dr. S. C. Shen, Consul of Free China. A prayer was offered by Rev. Father E. Burton.

The Arts and Crafts Exhibition was held from July 14 to July 19 in the excellent premises in the centre of the city by courtesy of Curzon's Shopping Centre.

The Film Evening was held on July 16th, at 8 p. m., with Mr. E. Wilson from the Anti-Communist Crusade as narrator.

The crowning event was the International Cultural Festival on Saturday, July 19th, at 8 p. m. in the Ukrainian Youth Hall, Lidcombe. The guest of honour was Sir E. Langker, O. B. E. On the stage 8 nationalities performed. Attendance was overwhelming, including many Australian guests.

The whole Captive Nations Week's programme was televised and carried on the radio; also Mr. Darby, Mrs. Louvier (Estonian) and Mr. Mentsinskyi (Ukrainian) were interviewed on local channels. Local Australian newspapers printed short information.

Yours faithfully,  
*R. Dragan*

### **BANQUET IN HONOUR OF KU-CHENG-KANG IN NEW YORK**

The Hon. President of the World Anti-Communist League, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang of National China (Formosa) visited the United States during the Captive Nations Week in the second half of July 1969.

On July 22, 1969 Dr. Ku Cheng-kang visited New York where a big banquet was organized in his honor at the Commodore Hotel.

AF-ABN played an important role in the special committee formed for this occasion. A very large delegation of representatives of all nationalities participating in AF-ABN attended the banquet. The Chairman of AF-ABN, Dr. Ivan Docheff and the top representatives of national organizations — Mr. John Kosiak from Byelorussia, Mr. Michael Spontak from Ukraine and Mr. Miro Gal from Croatia were leading them.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang delivered a speech in which he said: At a time when American soldiers are dying every day in Vietnam, I can see no reason why you should allow the slightest amount of trade which will inevitably give Peking the foreign exchange it sorely needs to bolster its war-making ability — which it is currently using to assist North Vietnam."

"The regime is poverty-stricken in Red China, and the people have been squeezed dry of any purchasing power. What little foreign trade there is with free nations only enables Peking to carry out infiltration and subversion in Africa, Europe and Latin America and even in the United States."

"The Anti-Communist forces inside and outside the Chinese mainland will soon emerge into a confluence and the Communist regime will melt like snow before a fire", Dr. Ku Cheng-kang predicted.

# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## *Strengthening of Trade Unions in Hungary*

Two Hungarian trade unions have given prevailing work conditions a "new look", by taking action to bring an end to disputes with the management. In both cases the trade unions based their action on the provisions of the new labour law, valid for the last 18 months: they applied their veto to new work plans, when the management refused to enter into negotiations. In the subsequent settlement negotiations as well they were able to make their views prevail. These are the only two known cases of trade unions in Hungary making use of the new labour law provisions, and successfully. This could lead to other Hungarian trade unions also working in the interests of their members.

The Party encourages the trade unions to do so, especially when they have a justified case, such as deteriorating conditions of work, overtime or breaches of collective agreements concerning the enterprise.

The most recent case, reported on by the Party official publication *Nepszabadsag* on June 1, refers to the attempt by the Budapest Athenaeum publishing house to demand considerable overtime. In another case, which took place in January of this year, the management of the large vehicle factory in Györ had demanded the immediate increase of work norms by 28.5 %, especially in the carriage building enterprises. The wages of the workers concerned were to be lowered until the new norms were filled.

In both cases the trade unions represented in the enterprises (in each work or enterprise there is only one trade union) appealed to the new labour law provisions, which allow for a veto against management suggestions, if they are contrary to the law, or are directed against a collective agreement made

with the trade union, or have anything to do with a breach of the "rules of socialist morality and treatment".

The Athenaeum Publishing Company, one of the largest in the country, produces about 80 periodicals as well as several daily newspapers and employs about 2,000 people. The labour dispute began at the beginning of March, when the management demanded massive overtime to make up the loss in production caused by the renovation at the same time of parts of the enterprise.

The provisions provided that overtime may only be ordered when the enterprise trade union agrees to it. In this case the trade union had withheld its agreement, since the planned overtime would have considerably shortened the interval between shifts (expressly forbidden in the collective agreement) and especially because the overtime payment would have had to be paid into the general profit fund.

The trade union declared itself ready for negotiations, but a week later the enterprise management ignored this offer in silence and ordered the immediate introduction of overtime. Previously this would have been the end of the story: the trade union would have ignored its opposition to the work schedule and the measures would have come into force. In this case however the trade union responded with a total veto on any overtime. The case was then referred to the compulsory mediation of the competent ministry and ended after a month with the complete victory of the trade union. The overtime was limited to an extent acceptable to the trade union and the wages no longer had to be transferred to the above-mentioned fund.

This case resembles in many respects that of Györ in January of this year. There too the trade union applied its veto when the management passed over their objections to the new work norms and tried to introduce them through the back door.



In this case also compulsory mediation led to a success for the trade union as well as for their suggestion to raise the work norms by only 16 %, with wage equalization payments in the transition period.

As *Nepszabadsag* emphasized, the right to veto represents one of the most important weapons in the hands of the trade unions for the protection of their members from wrong or illegal decisions. It is of particular importance at the very moment, since the individual managers possess the responsibility for obtaining maximum profit, their own salary being coupled at least in part with the level of profits (re.e-3/26-2.7.69).



## RUMANIA

### *The Moldavian Peasants — Brave Fighters*

Since the collectivization of agriculture in Rumania was carried out, the general economic position has been constantly deteriorating. This worsening of the economic position has caused a corresponding anti-Communist mood in the population in general and among the farmers in particular. The hostility of the peasants towards the regime has taken on various forms and is becoming greater from year to year, so that the problem of the peasants has become at present insoluble for the party leadership.

Twelve years after total collectivization the agricultural collectives (now described as "Agricultural Production Cooperatives") which make a profit and which are not deeply in debt can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The fact that these present Agricultural Production Cooperatives (APC) were in nearly every case founded by use of pressure, threats and force is generally known. Not yet so well known is the extent of the unrest and the number of victims caused by this total collectivization.

The party sent first of all so-called "enlightenment teams" into all the villages,

to convince the peasants of the advantages of a collective economy. The "enlighteners" were in the overwhelming majority members of the police or state security service in civilian clothes. It wasn't hard for the peasants to find out whom they were dealing with. The most courageous of the farmers were not afraid of unmasking the "enlighteners" in public. In some cases the enlighteners unmasked themselves by arresting on the spot any peasant who made known his hostility to collectirization.

Moldavia had to suffer much in the spring and summer of 1944, through the violent fighting which took place here and through the fact that this area was then occupied by the Soviet Russians. The soil was fertile, but the population dense and the farms small. The peasants of this region were far from being rich and were, perhaps for that very reason, helpful and very hospitable. They clung passionately to the little they could call their own. They were prepared to sleep on the ground, to be able to offer their bed to the guest. They were ready to share their last piece of bread with anyone — but never the small piece of land, however small it might be, which they possessed . . .

The peasants of Zlatunoaia, a village which today forms part of the community of Lunca (38 kms south of the town Botoshani) were poor peasants but *in 1957 this village decided unanimously not to accept collectivization.*

In early 1958 the party leadership of the then district of Botoshani decided to send several tractor brigades and about 50 Party "activists" to Zlatunoaia, with orders to plough up the fields of the peasants across their breadth, so that in this way the field boundaries would disappear. When the tractor drivers began to carry out the given orders, they were attacked by the whole male and female population of Zlatunoaia armed with pitch-forks, scythes and hoes. All the tractors were put out of action and the drivers and party-workers driven into flight. There were, however, no dead or seriously injured. The next day Zlat-

unoaia was surrounded by two battalions of troops of the Ministry for the Interior (MAI) and a house to house search carried out. That night 42 inhabitants of Zlatunoaia were arrested and taken away. *Since then none of these 42 has returned home, even at the beginning of 1969, almost five years after the so-called general amnesty. It is thought that all 42 were shot in a wood some hours after their arrest.*

The name of the State Security Service colonel who gave the order to shoot is known to us. There is no point in revealing it today to the so-called world conscience, since those who make themselves out to be representatives of this world conscience are only one-sided accusers. The matter will one day have to be settled by us ourselves.

The peasants killed in Zlatunoaia decided the carrying-out of collectivization in the Botoshani region. But this does not mean that since then everything has taken place as the Party wants it in this region.

In the autumn of 1962 the majority of the farmers in the former district of Pashkani and Hirleau refused to accept the amount of wheat intended for them by the collective farms, with the reason that the quota laid down was far too low for the work performed. Apart from this refusal to accept the wheat quota, the peasants remained quiet everywhere and no police reported any incidents. Nevertheless the Party leadership of the Suceava region reported to Bucharest that the peasants of both regions "had entered into revolt". As a result troops from Birlad and Huschi, the police NCO school from Tecuci and all available police and State Security Service officers of the Jassy region were sent to the districts of Paschkani and Hirleau. The leader of the whole operation was Colonel Pandeale, the then Head of State Security Headquarters of the Jassy region. Only when the peasants heard of this operation did they actually enter into revolt. *For five days* the communities of Stolniceni, Siretzel, Lespezi, Harmaneshti, Stroeshti, Valea Seaca, Mogosheshti, Hlauceshti and Mir-

*cesti were in the hands of the peasants.* Everywhere the party offices were laid waste, the party secretary and the Head of Collective Farming beaten up. This time, however, the police had orders to bring the peasants to reason without use of force and only arrested those who were found in possession of fire-arms. The first Party Secretary of the Pashkani district, Ioan Aioanei, went to Harmaneshti to restore order there but was attacked and beaten up immediately after his arrival by women armed with pitch-forks. His chauffeur was able to prevent a worse fate. When Aioanei returned to Pashkani and related what had happened to him in Harmaneshti, *all leading Communists left the town and didn't come back for a week*, despite the presence of police and troops. After the occupation of the communities, the peasants were asked what they wanted. In all ten communities they answered unfrightened: *"Return of fields, abolition of collective farms and the right to decide themselves on the community administrator"*. These wishes were not carried out. The collective farms only received a new name, without anything being changed.

In the following years the peasants reacted, and not only in the communities named above, but in the whole of North Moldavia: the men left the villages and spread over the whole country, looking for work in road building or as casual workers in various factories. The APCs are for the most part dependent on the work of women. More and more land is uncultivated and military units must be employed to bring in the harvests. The Communist government will never be able to overcome the wretchedness of agriculture and the enormous deficits of the APCs. This is the effect of the passive but tremendous resistance of our peasants.

Ion V. EMILIAN



## Book Reviews

Wolfgang Strauss: DIE DRITTE REVOLUTION (THE THIRD REVOLUTION).

Der Aufstand der jungen Generation Osteuropas im Zeichen von Nationalismus und Sozialismus. Special edition of the periodical "Junges Forum", Hamburg, December 1968, 27 pp.

In this informative pamphlet the young German author and journalist Wolfgang Strauss presents the thesis that the young generation in the countries subjugated by Russia and Communism, both inside and outside the USSR, has found a third road, different from Communism and capitalism: liberational nationalism. This nationalism is against enslavement, chauvinism, imperialism and suppression. It is striving to overcome socialism as well as capitalism in the revolutionary way.

The revolutionary Hungarian youth entered "the third road" in the stormy November days of 1956: Party of Students, Pupils, Young Workers, Poets, Soldiers. At the beginning of the second half of the 20th century Europe was shaken by four revolutions, which were the revolutions of the nation and the youth: The June Revolution in Middle Germany, the forced-labourers' revolution 1953/54 in North Russia and Siberia, the Posen workers' revolution in 1956 and the Hungarian October revolution. The flood of revolutions has not stopped since then. This year the world listened to the underground peal in Poland, Serbia and Croatia, in Czechia, Slovakia and Ukraine.

Wolfgang Strauss' thesis doesn't lack proof, in particular when referring to Ukraine, Slovakia and Czechia. He reports about mass demonstrations for sovereignty and independence of Slovakia in 1968 before the Russian intervention. He extensively covers the resistance of Ukrainian poets, writers, scholars, journalists, teachers and students to the Russian rule and the

demand for full sovereignty of the Ukrainian state.

The author comes to the conclusion that Communism and Russian colonialism have no future, for they will be destroyed by the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

Otto Molden: ZWEIKAMPF UM DAS GELBE REICH (DUEL OVER THE YELLOW EMPIRE), Wer überlebt in Ostasien? Verlag Fritz Molden, Wien, München, 1968, 269 pp.

In this interesting book Otto Molden, the Austrian politician and journalist, describes the complicated situation in three divided countries of East Asia: China, Korea and Vietnam on the basis of his knowledge and personal experience. The contents of the book is very abundant. The author makes the reader familiar with facts, problems and personalities. He doesn't just render a realistic picture of the present situation, but also explains the events which led to it and proposes solutions for the future.

Otto Molden cites very convincing proofs for the fact that Communism does not have any real attraction in all these countries and that it can only maintain itself by brutal force. The free parts of these countries are visibly superior to those with Communist dictatorships in view of their economic and social achievements.

The author comes to the conclusion that the world overestimates Mao's power and his possibilities. One thing is certain: Mao is weaker than is generally presumed. It is also undoubtedly true, that he appears stronger because of the unfortunate and unsystematic policy of his potentially most dangerous enemy, the United States, than he really is in the light of the internal political situation in Red China and the small military importance of the "People's Liberation Army".

"The cultural revolution on the Chinese Mainland and the ever-increasing chaos in Red China connected with it lead to a definite weakening of the Communist regime and to a still greater international isolation of the People's Republic of China and has increased Chiang Kai-shek's chances of landing troops successfully on the shores of Fukien and Chekiang provinces while the steadily escalating Vietnam war until the Johnson speech of March 31, 1968, at the same time made it always more probable that this conflict would be further extended."

The author sees the following possibility as a temporary arrangement: "Should the national Chinese armies be successful in breaking through their bridgeheads and through the mountainous Fukien front, reach the plains of Nanchang and Yangtze-kiang and simultaneously to provoke greater revolts, so that sooner or later the territory south of the Yangtze-kiang will belong to them . . .

One of the fundamental questions which will arise in such a development concerns the behaviour of the Soviet Union at the return of Chiang Kai-shek to Mainland China . . . This could be easily and unobtrusively misused by them (the Russians C.E.P.) to support friendly Chinese revisionistic Communists in North China and thus gaining control over the north, whose Communist government would be especially dependent on the help of the Soviet Union if Chiang Kai-shek should seize power in South China. That Mao and his extremists, who in any event have only a small base, would not survive such a development, is certain . . . For Chiang Kai-shek and his people who will never reconcile themselves to a lasting division of China, a temporary division for them would be the first step onto the mainland."

The author is of the opinion that under these circumstances the collapse of the Communist regime in the rest of China and in all of East Asia would ensue.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

Arthur Koestler's powerful novel "DARKNESS AT NOON" is a political work inspired by Stalin's "Great Purge" in the 1930's.

The main theme is the Moscow "treason" trials, as a result of which many Old Bolsheviks were liquidated, usually by the new "Soviet generation" whom the author calls "Neanderthals".

Rubashov, a former Commissar of the People and a Commander of the Army is arrested at night and taken to a G. P. U. prison. Later on we learn that he is accused of holding counter-revolutionary views and even of plotting the death of No. 1 — Stalin. Although his crimes are imaginary, Rubashov's life ends with a shot in the back in the prison's cellar.

In the course of the novel we discover why Rubashov and many others "confessed". The accused, a fictional composite of the liquidated Leo Kamenev, Nicholai Bukharin and others, is induced to sign a false confession and declare at the public trial that he is indeed guilty of treason. His two inquisitors were Ivanov and Gletkin, who, although using different methods, succeed in making Rubashov "confess". However, Gletkin's "Correct Brutality" is the acceptable method of investigation to the new class of rulers. Due to this, Ivanov, being an old timer, like Rubashov, is also executed for the "misconduct" of Rubashov's case. Gletkin is an example of a generation with neither memories, nor traditions of the Revolution, that dethroned the Old Bolsheviks, using the same means as the latter exercised in overthrowing Tsarism, or Kerensky's regime.

Rubashov was aware that there are only two possible ethical positions: the humane one which maintains that the individual is sacrosanct, and the other one based on the principle that a collective aim (social) justifies all the means to achieve it, and demands the sacrifice of the individual for the common cause.

The accused, Rubashov who believed for forty years in the latter position becomes at the end sentimental and hesitant. He finds it harder and harder to accept the price exacted by the Party whose ". . . line



was sharply defined. Its tactics were determined by the principle that the end justifies the means — all the means without exception.” (p. 199) even terror and “physical liquidation”. In view of this, Rubashov’s only guilt was “. . . to have followed sentimental impulses, and in doing so to have been led into contradiction with historical necessity . . . to have placed the idea of man above the idea of mankind . . .” (160-161). After years of cold logical pursuits Rubashov — like Koestler himself — understood that “The bastion would be preserved but it no longer had a message or an example to give to the world . . .”, that “. . . one cannot build paradise with concrete . . .” (p. 216), and that “man is reality, mankind an abstraction, the end justifies the means only within very narrow limits” (p. xiii). And yet this Old Bolshevik had remained faithful to the Communist ideal, to those principles of action or rules of the game he no longer believed in, by sacrificing his life for the cause through a “confession” of “guilt”. He let himself be used as a scapegoat in the service to the Party, and for the sake of the “most promising experiment in human history”: a future Communist socio-political order.

In view of the above it would seem that the system upheld by these men — Rubashov, Ivanov, and Gletkin — is based on cold and pure logic and reasoning. But reason and logic lead to thin-

king, and thinking is dangerous to a system which demands blind obedience and faith. A clear paradox, due to which Ivanov and others like him paid with their lives.

“Something had obviously gone wrong with Ivanov.

. . . perhaps because he was mentally superior and too witty, and because his loyalty to No. 1 was based on logical considerations and not on blind faith. He was too clever; he was of the old school: the new school was Gletkin — the “Neanderthaler” — and his methods”. (p. 157)

In the midst of this robot-like environment the unseen and unknown occupant of the cell No. 402 is the person who embodies those human traits now discarded by the system as obsolete: virtue, honour, etc. “402” is the antithesis to Communism. It thrives, even though the system attempts to keep it buried in prison.

Finally, “Darkness at Noon” illustrates two sets of everlasting conflicts: the first one, between the interests of the individual and the interests of the totalitarian society; and the second one, between moral and ethical values in general as opposed to the purely logical and rational approach to man’s social, political, and economic affairs. These two conflicts may be considered as the main theses of Koestler’s book.

*A. Romanyszyn*

## CAPTIVE NATIONS OUR FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

by

*Bernadine Bailey*

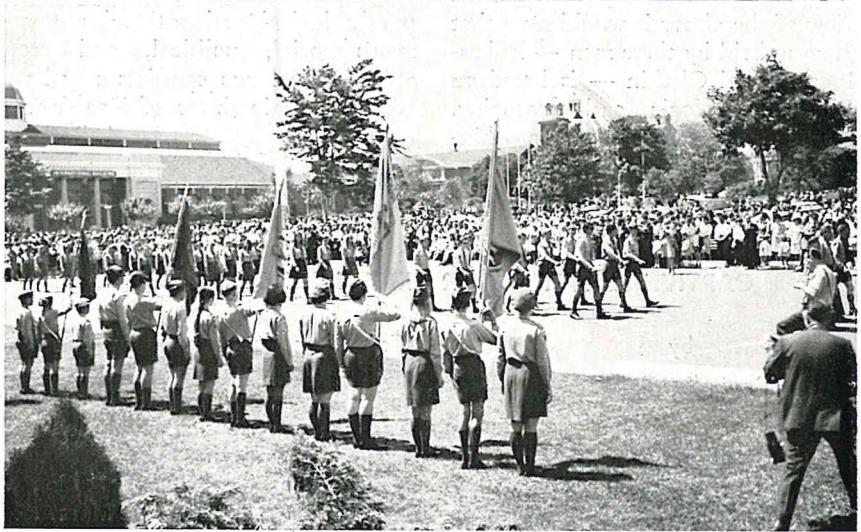
The author tells the who, what, why, where, and when of the 14 “captive nations” inside the USSR as well as the stories of the satellite nations. Readers will be surprised to learn what strenuous efforts the captive nations have made — and still make — to free themselves — for the activities of the underground in the USSR and elsewhere are carefully kept from the

Western world. Even more surprising is the idea that these captive peoples may well be the West’s staunchest allies and best defense in any serious confrontation with the Russian Communists.

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100 copies	\$ 0.50	”
500 copies	\$ 0.40	”

6000 participants in the annual rally of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, (July 5th 1969) dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the 10th anniversary of the death of Stepan Bandera.



Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association at the Toronto rally.



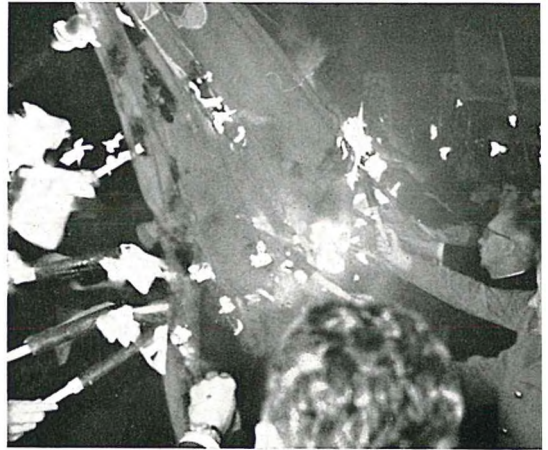
# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## 10th Anniversary Of Bandera's Heroic Death



*Demonstrations in Munich, West Germany, October 11, 1969*

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## In Memory Of Stepan Bandera

On October 15, 1959 in Munich the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement Stepan BANDERA was treacherously murdered, prepared long before by the Moscow government and perpetrated by a hired agent named Bohdan Stashynskyi. On behalf of all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism and their spokesmen in the Free World, we bow on the present day in gratitude and reverence before the personality of the great freedom fighter, Stepan BANDERA, before his supreme sacrifice and his historical work. He united in one person a far-sighted political thinker and an intrepid fighter, versed in both the theory and practice of the struggle for freedom, a burning patriot and revolutionary.

Conscious of his vocation, BANDERA placed himself unreservedly at the service of his nation, inspired with the sacred idea of liberty and Christianity. His whole life was devoted to the liberation of his oppressed people and the achievement of its national independence. Determined energy and unparralleled accomplishments placed him at the head of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation.

BANDERA was convinced that the Ukrainian nation had to rely principally on itself in its demand for freedom and independence. At the same time he was deeply conscious of the community of fate shared by his nation with all other enslaved nations in the Soviet Russian sphere of power. Thus he advocated the idea of a common front of these nations against Soviet Russia as their common adversary and oppressor. Stepan BANDERA was realistic and experienced enough to indulge in no illusions at all about a possible liberalisation of the Communist regime and to cherish vague hopes of a liberation of the subjugated nations in an evolutionary manner. He wrote the following in 1957 on this subject:

“It may be held against me that the liberation of a nation in a revolutionary manner under the conditions of the Bolshevik rule of force is impossible and unintelligent, that liberation must be striven for much more through evolution. Such a way of thinking is synonymous with naive self-deception. The 40 years of the history of Bolshevik subjugation of foreign nations are rich in proof of the fact that although the Bolsheviks may at a set time grant a degree of freedom in certain spheres of life, they do so only again suddenly to tighten the reins and to destroy once more with one blow all the seeming freedom already achieved by evolutionary means, together with its supporters. As soon as the slightest sign appears of the Communist system and the Russian foreign rule being brought into danger and being overthrown, Moscow takes drastic and ruthless measures. Any development along evolutionary lines also gives the Russian rulers the opportunity to proceed systematically and to strike back at the favourable moment.

“In a revolutionary rising, on the other hand, the initiative is not reserved for the oppressors alone. The decisive factor for the success of the national revolution in such a case is however the destruction of the whole apparatus used by the Bolsheviks to gag the nation concerned and to keep it under their tyrannous rule. But every national revolutionary rising in itself weakens the Bolshevik system of subjugation and improves the position of the nation in its hard struggle for freedom, provided that it carries on this struggle uncompromisingly, irrespective of how many sacrifices it entails”.

Through his inexhaustible activity orientated on these principles, Stepan BANDERA became a symbol of the revolutionary struggle for liberation and the common anti-Communist front of the nations subjugated by Russia and the Communists.

The rulers in the Kremlin recognized very well the attractiveness of his ideas, the dangerous import of his struggle and also the symbolic worth of his personality. After several unsuccessful attempts the Soviet secret service, the KGB, succeeded in assassinating Stepan BANDERA on October 15, 1959 in Munich. The order to carry out the murder came from the then Head of the Committee for State Security and later deputy Premier of the USSR, Alexander SHELYEPIN, while the execution was carried out by the hired agent Bohdan Stashynskyi. The murder of Stepan BANDERA on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic forms a striking proof that for the Russian government murder is a completely normal political weapon and is also practiced as such, even accompanied by flagrant violation of generally recognized international standards of law.

Scarcely two years after the perpetration of the assassination, Bohdan Stashynskyi had to flee to the West, since he began to feel no longer safe in the Soviet Union because he possessed important state secrets. He made a full confession in West Berlin and applied for an asylum. He confessed that on October 15, 1959 he had murdered the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan BANDERA, on the orders of the Soviet government, after he had also done away with the Ukrainian exile politician Lev REBET on October 12, 1957 on the same orders and in the same way. For successfully carrying out these assassinations he was awarded the Order of the Red Banner with a deed of honour signed by the then Soviet State President VOROSHILOV.

On October 19, 1962 the accused was sentenced to eight years of penal servitude after a trial in the West German Federal Court in Karlsruhe, but only for acting as an accessory to murder in the two cases mentioned. In the summing-up given in the Federal Court it was expressly stated that the murders of the two Ukrainian exile politicians were perpetrated on the orders of the State Security Service of the USSR, that is, the Soviet government, for which reason it was regarded as the chief perpetrator, while Stashynskyi himself had played the role of a mere tool in perpetrating these murders and was therefore to receive a correspondingly milder punishment.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations must once more state with indignation that the leading powers of the Free World have drawn none of the consequences now as ever from the criminal methods of the Russian-Bolshevik dictatorship. The Free World acts as if it did not want to learn from these murders legalized by Moscow and from the other monstrous crimes committed by the rulers of the Kremlin, as if it still wanted to persist in its subservient and undignified policy towards Moscow.

The political development after Stepan BANDERA's sacrificial death and not least the recent events in the CSSR completely confirm the correctness of his ideas. BANDERA is dead, but his ideas live on in the consciousness of the Ukrainian



nation and in the other nations subjugated by Moscow. Eloquent testimony of this is supplied by countless items of news and documents from our home countries.

We proudly declare our belief in Stepan BANDERA's ideas and remain unswervingly loyal to his legacy. We want to honour his memory by continuing more determinedly than before the struggle against Communism and Russian imperialism for the freedom and independence of all nations enslaved by Bolshevism, until final victory.

October 15, 1969

Central Committee of ABN

## Chicago's Mayor With The Captives

### PROCLAMATION

*WHEREAS, the imperialistic policies of Russian Communists have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation and enslavement of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechia, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, Slovakia, North Vietnam, Cuba, and others; and*

*WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86—90 establishing the third week in July each year as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such a week with appropriate prayers, ceremonies and activities expressing their sympathy with and support for the just aspirations of captive peoples for freedom and independence; and*

*WHEREAS, the City of Chicago is linked to these captive nations through the bonds of family, since numbered among the people of Chicago are hundreds of thousands of our citizens who through nativity or ancestry treasure the heritage which endowed them with the culture and industry which are theirs; and*

*WHEREAS, these nations have been made captive by the imperialistic, aggressive and heartless policies of Communism; and*

*WHEREAS, the peoples of these Communist-dominated nations have been deprived of their national independence and their individual liberties; and*

*WHEREAS, it is appropriate and proper to demonstrate to the peoples of the captive nations the support of the people of the City of Chicago for their just aspirations for freedom and national independence; and*

*WHEREAS, the people of Chicago, as do all the people of the United States, want for the peoples of the world the same freedom and justice which is theirs:*

*NOW, THEREFORE, I, Richard J. Daley, Mayor of the City of Chicago, do hereby designate the week beginning July 13, 1969 as CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK.*

*I urge the people of Chicago to join in the programs arranged for observance of the occasion, and I urge all of our Churches, our educational institutions and all media of communication to observe the plight of the Communist-dominated nations and to join in support of the just aspirations of the people of the captive nations.*

*I especially encourage everyone to concretely demonstrate his or her interest in the people imprisoned in the captive nations by their attendance at or participation in the parade to be held on State Street on Saturday afternoon, July 19, at 12:00 P. M.*

*Dated this 26th day of June, A. D., 1969.*

*S. Richard J. Daley  
Mayor*

## The Conflict Between Moscow And Peking

This is not a clash of ideologies, but a clash of imperialisms. Communism is a modern form of Russian imperialism; Bolshevism is the synthesis of Russian imperialism and Communism. Communism has also become a form of Peking's imperialism. Peking's and Moscow's interpretation of the concept of world revolution of the proletariat is dictated by their imperialistic interests, and not by the interests of the world proletariat. Moscow is not concerned with the welfare of the hunted and the hungry of Africa, Latin America or Asia, but with its own egoistic imperialistic interests exclusively. What is it looking for in the Mediterranean Sea?

To us it is clear: it is looking for an access to the warm seas which was dreamed about by Catherine II and Peter I. What is more, it is striving to cut off the free part of Europe from the supply of fuel of the Middle East, from the Arab world.

Moscow is stressing the proletarian aspect of world revolution and the role of the Communist Party in this revolution, while Peking, a combination of the revolutionary national "bourgeoisie" and the proletariat. The goal of both is the same: imperialism. For Moscow, as well as for Peking, Communism, i. e., one or the other of its variants, is only a form of imperialism. We have argued for decades that Communism is a modern form of Russian imperialism, but this has been forgotten for some reason. What does Communism have in common with the liquidation of the Communist Dubcek, who in his naivete has saved CSSR for the Russian bloc, just as Gomulka has saved Poland. How can one be so naive and pass resolutions, of which Moscow is aware, which say that in the event of armed intervention, the army will not put up resistance. This can be done only by a politically naive child or an individual who is captivated by Russian ideas, as Dubcek was and still is, as were Skrypnyk or Lyubchenko before him.

The interests of Russian and Chinese imperialisms in its Maoist edition are clashing, but this does not mean that an armed conflict between Moscow and Peking is imminent. Why? Because the "third party", in this case Washington, would benefit.

Peking's aim is to come to an understanding with Moscow in the sense that it would support Red-Chinese expansion southward and south-eastward into Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia and Malaysia, including the threat of nuclear war against the United States. Moscow is afraid to give such a guarantee for it is aware of the indestructible technical and military might of the USA. And this, in our opinion, is the major source of conflict.

A free hand for Peking to move south with the protection of its advance by the thermo-nuclear weapons, in case the United States intervened, is the gist of the matter. So far Peking has failed to receive this "free hand" from Moscow. Moscow is waiting for Mao's death, conscious of the fact that Liu Shao-chi would be ready to reach an understanding with it. This was already tried by the governor of Manchuria, Cao, who lost his head in this attempt, but Moscow has not given up yet.



One must reckon with the fact that in their calculations the rulers of Moscow and Peking are taking all possibilities into consideration: the conflict between them would mean the victory for the USA. Where two are fighting, the third is profiting! This third is the United States. Furthermore, Moscow is aware of the fact that in the event of an armed struggle with Peking the nations which it is subjugating will not wait for its victory, but will take up arms against Russia, and the outcome of the war is completely unpredictable. On the other hand Peking is counting on the possibility of a descent of the armies of Taiwan on the mainland in the event of a clash between Red China and Russia. This means a war on two fronts — even if the United States remains neutral.

Today the United States is declaring itself to be on the side of Moscow, fearing the “yellow danger”, but whether America would support Russia in the event of an armed conflict remains to be seen. This would rather be a position analogous to the one taken by Stalin in 1939-1941. Therefore the leaders of the Kremlin will think long and hard before they start something serious against Peking.

We are inclined to believe that both sides will look for compromises at the expense of the division of the spheres of influence in the world, that is, with the loss to the United States. Moreover, Moscow has only one choice in the event of an armed conflict: a thermo-nuclear war, a preventive war, for it would never be possible for it to defeat Peking in a conventional or a guerrilla-type war. Peking can wage war for decades, provided Communism will last that long there. Let us remember that the national armies of Taiwan are also ready for a landing. Of course, the leadership of the world Communist movement is also at stake, but at the base of these aspirations lies imperialism of both sides. Russia would rather agree to a division of the spheres of influence between Peking and Moscow than between Washington and Moscow. To support Moscow in its struggle with Peking is the major fault of the US, just as it was to support Stalin against Hitler instead of fighting against both tyrannies. The USA should at most treat both tyrannies equally and let them fight each other, as Churchill said, let them baste in their own sauce!

The United States should support the revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by both Russia and Peking with the aim of disintegrating the Russian empire and liberating the peoples subjugated by Peking. This should be the guiding principle of Washington.

What should be expect from the Russian-Chinese conflict?

First of all it is naive to orient oneself upon Red China, just as it was completely naive to orient oneself on Nazi Germany in her imperialistic war with Russia — as was the case with the opportunists. Imperialist wars have the subjugation of peoples as their object. Today a struggle is being waged in the world for all types of domination: economic, military and geo-political domination over the subjugated peoples or nations whose sovereignty is dubious. Orientation upon Red China contains the same essentially negative elements as those found in the orientation upon Nazi Germany. The subjugated peoples can take advantage of the war between the imperialists themselves, but can never trust either of them. Red China is not our friend. Just like Brown Germany it needs a “Lebensraum” (living space) and such “Lebensraum” can be provided by Australia, Malaysia

and Indonesia, or Turkestan, Ukraine and Siberia. This however does not mean that the subjugated peoples are ready to defend the Russian prison of nations, just as no prisoners in history were ever ready to defend their prison, or wanted to remain behind bars. The nations subjugated by Russia are her Achilles' heel. This should be pointed out. It should also be pointed out that these nations are not ready to exchange the Russian for the Red-Chinese yoke. In that event, a war on two fronts would await Peking, just as it awaited Nazi Germany.

We would like to make it perfectly clear to those who believe that new perspectives are opening up for the liberation revolution in view of the Chinese-Russian conflict, that all psychological, moral and political difficulties encountered by Russia are strengthening our determination and revolutionary struggle, but, once and for all, our orientation is upon our own forces and the common front of the nations subjugated by Russia, on ABN and on those freedom-loving forces of the free world which are for the dissolution of the Russian empire into national states.

**"No nation is ever truly free unless all nations are free"**

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union issued a statement condemning Soviet-Russian mass deportations of Lithuanians to the Siberian slave labor camps. Below we are publishing some excerpts:

"The Fifteenth of June, marks a very sad and tragic anniversary for Lithuanians everywhere. On this day, twenty-eight years ago, the Soviet occupation forces and the secret police began mass deportations of Lithuanians to the Siberian slave labor camps . . . Their only 'crime' was the love of country, a certain name, or a particular profession. Their destiny was death by genocide.

"Thousands perished on the way from starvation, disease, beatings and executions. Many more thousands died in the wilderness of the Siberian tundra. Only a few lived to tell the gruesome tale of degradation and inhumanity as well as that of heroism and sanctity.

"They were neither the first nor the last in the unending stream of millions of Communism's victims. Scores of nations have a claim on the frozen Siberian soil which is consecrated with the blood of their sons and daughters.

"If there is any lesson to be learned from the Siberian graves, it is this: no nation is ever truly free unless all nations are free, and the human-beast can only be conquered by firmness, morality, and justice for all. Lesser goals and smaller endeavors only placate the apocalyptic beast and encourage it on the road to death and destruction."

*Against the Oppression of Albanians  
in Yugoslavia*

At the beginning of July, the National Democratic Committee for a Free Albania and the Union of the Kossovars sent telegrams of protest against heavy sentences recently passed by the courts of Prishtina and Skopje on 36 Albanians, and the constant oppression of the Albanian population of Yugoslavia to the President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon, the President of the French Republic, Mr. George Pompidou, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Harold Wilson and the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. U Thant.

(*Flamuri*, Rome, Sept. 25, 1969)



## Why Lenin And Not Bandera?

Lenin, the creator of the cruelest system of terror of all time, is being extolled by certain circles in the West as a hero. The year 1970 is being proclaimed by UNESCO as "Lenin Year". Why doesn't the Free World honour those men who fought and were killed for freedom and national independence of their native countries, for the rights both of nations and of individuals? Why is there in Munich a Lenin memorial plaque, an honour, that is, for a man who is considered the creator of the modern Russian empire, to which Eastern and Central Germany has already been forcibly incorporated? Why isn't there instead a memorial plaque for Stepan Bandera, who was assassinated here in Munich on the orders of the Soviet government? Stepan Bandera died, it is true, in the first place for the freedom of Ukraine, but also vicariously for freedom in general, for the world which is still free and for the reunification in freedom of the countries which have been divided by force.

There is no separate way for the liberation of a country; the only possibility is the synchronized coordination of all efforts towards liberation of the nations subjugated within the Soviet Union and the so-called satellite states. A simultaneous coordinated liberation struggle is at the same time a guarantee for avoiding an atomic war. Bandera activated the liberation front in Ukraine. He categorically rejected the policy of coexistence, since it led only to the increase of the Russian-Bolshevist spheres of power and influence, as became clear through the examples of Cuba, the Mediterranean, North Africa, etc.

We will never tire of reminding the Free World of the suffering and fighting subjugated nations, who are also indirectly fighting for the preservation of peace in the West. In this lies the importance of the role of the political emigrants, who are also far from being underrated by Moscow — for one does not kill the weak. Anyone considering emigrants as a dying generation will have to pay for it dearly one day. Was not Lenin also once an emigrant, or de Gaulle, or the Greek, Norwegian and Dutch royal families? But did not the future of their countries finally lie in their hands? Who is today forming the new German federal government? Two former emigrants, Willy Brandt and Herbert Wehner. We are not driven out by our nations; we did not want to save our lives from a foreign occupying power, but we came to defend our cause, which is also the cause of the Free World. Our ideas are those of the youth behind the Iron Curtain, as one can easily convince oneself through the recent events in our countries. It is ridiculous to try to trace the murders, carried out by the Communist occupying regimes on emigrants in the West, back to the "jungle conditions" among emigrants.

Such a relationship with the victims of the Russian-Bolshevist foreign rule, the victims whose duty of conscience it is to raise their voices from the Free World for freedom and what is right on behalf of their silenced nations, must be condemned. It appears even stranger since the host countries, such as Germany for example, are already in part, languishing under the same foreign rule or are themselves threatened by the Bolshevist world danger. The once sacred right of asylum even for spokesmen of hostile ideologies and political tendencies is paradoxically enough in our days not sufficient for the protection of the elementary

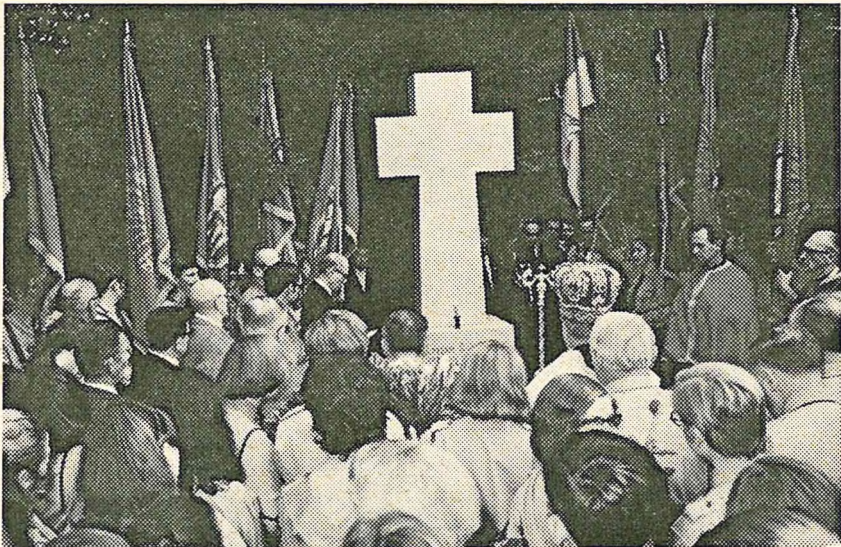


right to life and body of the natural allies of the West, in resistance to the common Russian Bolshevist world danger.

We must express our extraordinary regret that through the Federal government the German courts did not demand that those who ordered the murders of Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet should be brought before an international tribunal, that the UNO Commission for Human Rights, the Court of Human Rights of the Council of Europe, the International Court in The Hague and the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva have merely maintained silence, especially since the sovereign rights of the Federal Republic of Germany have also been most flagrantly violated.

In conclusion we call attention to the renewed persecution of the churches in Ukraine and the other subjugated countries, to the arrests of bishops, priests and nuns, to the persecution of intellectuals and writers. We call upon the Free World to commence a political offensive against the criminal Moscow regime. Do the governments of the Free World really believe that the Bolshevist executioners will spare them, if they have spared neither Dubcek nor Smirkovsky, neither Maleter nor Nagy?

Finally we cherish the expectation that the political institutions of the West will draw due conclusions from the assassinations of the very leaders of the national liberation struggle of the nations behind the Iron Curtain — and not for example orient themselves on the former coalition partners of the Communists — in waging psychological and political war against the Moscow rule of force. These assassinations prove more convincingly than anything else that the main danger for the continuance of the Russian Bolshevist rule of force lies directly in the activation of the *National Liberation Idea*, and that Moscow recognizes its enormous potential. It would be irresponsible if the West did not understand how to interpret this omen correctly either and in the future not only ignored national, political exiles but indifferently accepted even the physical liquidation of their leading representatives.



*At The Grave Of Stepan Bandera*



## Byelorussia Fights For Independence

Memorandum of the Byelorussian Liberation Front to the members of the United Nations, the President of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the International Conference of Human Rights of the United Nations, Paris — France

In connection with the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the General Declaration of Human Rights, the Byelorussian Liberation Front in the free world has the honour of drawing the attention of the Governments of the Free World to the brutal outrage for human rights of the governments of the USSR and the BSSR, both members of the United Nations.

On December 10th 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations accepted the General Declaration of Human Rights and the member states undertook, in co-operation with the United Nations, to effect general respect and realization of human rights and fundamental liberties.

The following statements are promised by writ in the Declaration of the General Assembly of the United Nations of December 14th 1960:

“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 co-operation” therefore it

“Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.”

In the European Convention for the Defence of Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties held on November 4th in Rome, which was recognized by the European Council, the following are particularly emphasized in Section I, Article 4, § 1, 2, Article 5, § 1 and Article 9 § 1: the right of all human beings to life, the right to liberty, the right to freedom of thought — conscience — and religion.

In order to facilitate a better understanding of our nation, which is suffering under Russian colonialism, we will give a short

description of the grievous fate of our people during the past century.

Two hundred years ago Moscow destroyed our state, conquered our country and made our homeland into its colony. Moscow practically exterminated our nation and Russified it, exploited our mineral resources mercilessly, destroyed our culture, our tradition, our historical monuments, almost obliterated our language, our belief and our religion.

Within the framework of the USSR today the so-called Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) exists; it is forced upon our people by Moscow in its form, constitution and borders.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is one of the Founding Members of the UNO. But the government of this Republic, like the representative of the BSSR in the UNO, Chernushchenko, is merely a puppet of Moscow, and they have never defended the human rights of the Byelorussian people.

The real Byelorussian Democratic Republic, which was proclaimed on March 25th 1918 by the Rada of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic in Miensk, was destroyed, and our people enslaved, by Moscow's military force.

Moscow, as an active member of the UNO, is obviously violating the fundamental liberties and human rights of people and nations to a free, independent way of life, not only in Byelorussia, but in all those countries which are subjugated by Moscow. This conduct on the part of Moscow is a fundamental contradiction to the Declaration of Human — and National — Rights, which was accepted by the UNO.

Therefore we, the representatives of the Byelorussian People in the free world, empowered by the Byelorussian Nation at the Second All-Byelorussian Congress in Miensk in 1944, make a vehement appeal

to the free world to assist our enslaved nation in its struggle for liberation, for its human rights, for its national and state rights, and for its fundamental liberties.

Byelorussia is principally an agricultural state, but nowadays important industrial products are also manufactured, such as textiles, timber and other building materials, chemicals, tractors, automobiles, agricultural machines and electronic articles, e.g. television sets. Her natural resources include peat, hardwood forests, abundant supplies of salt, phosphates and other chemical raw materials; in 1957 oil was discovered and recently rich coal fields.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when the whole of Byelorussia was conquered by Moscow, the Russians banned our books, our newspapers, our language and began with all the power they had to Russify our people. In true colonial fashion Moscow appropriated our cultural, historic and economic wealth. The Byelorussians attempted to defend their rights with arms. But all the uprisings were suppressed in their early stages by the cruel terror of the Russians. One of the largest uprisings took place in the year 1863. The leader of this uprising, Kastus Kalinouski, was arrested and executed in Vilna by the Russian governor for Byelorussia.

Not until the beginning of the twentieth century were Byelorussians able to speak frankly in their own defence.

At the end of the First World War, on December 15th 1917, the First All-Byelorussian Congress was convened in Miensk. But this Congress was soon broken up by armed units of the Bolshevik army. In spite of this the Rada of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, authorized by the Congress, on March 25th 1918 succeeded in proclaiming the Independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic officially in the Third Constitutional Manifesto.

This Byelorussian State, which had at last succeeded in casting off its chains, was recognized by fourteen states, including Austria, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Estonia, France, Finland, Georgia, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Tur-

key, and Ukraine. Yet the Byelorussian Republic had to endure a hard turn of fate. At that time Poland and Russia were waging war — and between the two enemies lies Byelorussia.

In order to weaken Byelorussian resistance and to win over Byelorussia in the war against Poland, Moscow proclaimed an "independent" Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on January 1st 1919 in Smolensk.

During the first years of "independence" the Soviet Republic of Byelorussia embraced only 50,000 square kilometres and had 1.5 million inhabitants, but in the years 1924 and 1926 it was extended to include a further 75,000 square kilometres and some 3.5 million inhabitants. But the partition of Byelorussia by Poland and Soviet Russia in the Treaty of Riga on 18.3.1921 brought Byelorussian independence to a violent end.

At that time the military forces of Byelorussia were too weak to be able to oppose the Poles and Russians successfully. In spite of this the Byelorussian forces succeeded, at the end of 1920, in gathering in the area around Slutsk to defend the independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic.

But the Byelorussians were defeated by the Russian hordes and the rest of the army, which retreated into the region occupied by the Poles, was maliciously disarmed by the Polish allies.

Between 1918 and the Second World War many hundreds of thousands of the best sons of Byelorussia gave their lives for a free Byelorussia in the bitter struggle against the Russian occupants. More than 50 uprisings against Moscow failed. Byelorussia was divided for more than 20 years and her people suffered greatly under the Polish and Russian yoke.

These occupants attempted systematically to wipe out the cultural, historic and spiritual essence of the Byelorussian people. To emphasize this once again: the people and their riches were exploited and impoverished in the most terrible colonial manner. The Byelorussian intelligentsia was mercilessly exterminated: politicians, scientists, men of literature, all cultural representatives, were



tortured and died behind the walls of the NKVD prison.

The victims included the "Prime Minister" of the BSSR, D. Shylunovich, the "Minister" of Agriculture, Dimitry Pryshchepov, Soviet-Byelorussian politicians, such as Adamovich, Tarashkevich, Rak-Michalouski, Miatla and Valoshyn.

Other victims included the famous Byelorussian academician Professor Usievalod Ignatouski, the author of the history of Byelorussia, and the true founder and President of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences in Miensk, and the famous Byelorussian poet, Janka Kupala (Janka Lucevich).

Then Moscow attempted to Russify the population by force, with the help of Russian administrative personnel, with Russian schools and by compulsory transportation to Siberia and Kazakhstan. The expression of national feeling was not allowed even on a purely external level. Every form of national spirit and thinking, which is the supreme right of every nation, was brutally censured and expunged.

Nor did matters go any better for the Byelorussians in the West who were suffering under Polish knout. Thousands of Byelorussians were arrested, sent to concentration camps like Bereza Kartuska and sentenced to death by special courts. Byelorussian schools were closed. Many Orthodox churches were senselessly demolished. Both the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church in Byelorussia were persecuted.

This national and religious persecution only intensified resistance in Byelorussia to the occupants.

Moscow continually contrived new means of exploiting the population. With the help of the Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz systems the occupants succeeded in enslaving the Byelorussian farmers anew: for almost the total income and produce had to be handed over to the regime.

The notorious Stakhanov-system sapped the last strength from the Byelorussian workers.

The Byelorussian cultural elite, in order to escape persecution, must subject their

thoughts and intellectual powers to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Industrial products, agricultural produce, transport vehicles, building materials, chemicals, textiles, oil and other mineral resources, were stolen from Byelorussia.

During the Second World War Byelorussian ground was the arena of battles between Russia and Germany.

Despite its weak conditions on the front, despite the German occupation, the Byelorussian nation made use of every chance to acquire its national and state independence again. Byelorussian partisans fought in the extensive forests against Russian gangs and the Nazi occupants, with help from the active people in towns and villages. Byelorussian military units, such as the Byelorussian Self-Defense (OD), the Byelorussian National Defense (KBA) and Byelorussians under the allied colours, fought for a better future for their nation, in the hope of liberation and the re-establishment of Free Byelorussia.

All Byelorussians obeyed the common call: "Long live Byelorussia!" This highly patriotic call, which kindled every heart in Byelorussia, was a sign of the eternal striving of the people for a free and independent way of life.

At the end of the Second World War the Byelorussians once again took the opportunity to proclaim their independence. Thus the Second All-Byelorussian Congress convened on June 27th, 1944 in Miensk. This Congress declared null and void all treaties which had been made by the governments of victorious powers against Byelorussia, reaffirmed the Proclamation of Independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, elected the Byelorussian Central Council as the only Byelorussian Government and gave it the power to fight for this independence until such a time as the whole of Byelorussia should be freed from foreign forces of occupation.

But soon the Byelorussian people was once again enslaved by Russian Communism.

Under pressure of nationalist forces of the Byelorussian people and in order to

deceive the free world about the real colonialist nature of the system of government in the USSR, Moscow re-established the BSSR as an "independent" Republic, which then entered the UNO as a founding member.

The constitution of the BSSR exists for appearances sake only. The so-called Byelorussian Government of the BSSR has no direct diplomatic representation in the free world, in the East, in the sphere of influence of the USSR and in the so-called satellite countries. The BSSR maintains no army and in all spheres of political, cultural and economic life is standing under Moscow's dictate.

The Russians are gradually liquidating all the Byelorussian ministries and are directing their central government from Moscow. Since 1963 the Russian Government has taken over the Ministry for Economic Affairs of the BSSR, likewise the Office for State Planning of the BSSR, the State Committee of the Council of Ministers for Construction and Architecture of the BSSR, the Ministry of Commerce of the BSSR, the Ministry of Public Order of the BSSR, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Rural Construction of the BSSR.

In the course of almost 50 years under the Russian-Communist colonial rule 7 million Byelorussians have been exterminated by the Russians, have been shot, sent to prisons and concentration camps, sent to Siberia and other Asiatic parts of the USSR.

In a more extensive new programme, which dates from 1961, the Russian Communist Party resolved to carry out the Russification of Byelorussia and the other non-Russian peoples in their sphere of influence as soon as possible.

In order to carry this genocide to its most extreme point the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided to eradicate all forms of national consciousness in the Byelorussian people for ever. For this purpose, over a period of ten years, from 1964 until 1973, hundreds of thousands of Byelorussians are to be resettled in other Soviet Republics, in Siberia and other Asiatic regions.

According to Soviet press announcements

(*Zviazda*, Miensk, 18. 6., 18. 7., 1. 8. 1964; (*Chyrvonaya Zmiena*, 30. 7. 1964) and information of Soviet radio and press in 1968, thousands of Byelorussian specialists, students and intellectuals, together with thousands of Byelorussian families, have been sent to the Far East, as far away as the Chinese border, within four years.

There our fellow-countrymen are exploited in newly built economic centres and at the same time serve as a bulwark on the Russian-Chinese border.

By the resettlement projects Moscow is also trying to achieve an elimination of national influence of the intellectuals on the people.

Between 1958 and 1960 the Kremlin carried out a purge which covered all leading personalities in the life of the state in Byelorussia and other Republics of the USSR. This purge dealt in particular with those circles which defended Byelorussian national interests. At the same time the Communists discriminated severely against the Byelorussian language. Byelorussian as a compulsory language for teaching was, for example, abolished. Educational books in Byelorussian were published in very small quantities only, so that each class has only one or two. Byelorussian works of literature are also printed in limited numbers only, whilst Russian works flood the Byelorussian market. The Russian Government in Moscow has likewise forced the Russian language upon Byelorussian government and public offices.

But no amount of force can drive the Byelorussian language from the private lives of the people.

The Russian-Communist Government in Moscow and the official departments run by them in Miensk abuse the articles and paragraphs of the United Nations' Charter and the General Declaration of Human Rights to an ever increasing degree.

Articles 19, 20, 21 and 27 of the Declaration of Human Rights, which officially guarantee human rights to freedom of thought and opinion are especially brutally outraged and violated by the Government of the USSR.



At the same time as its Russification action, Moscow has also begun a widespread attack on the Church and creed in Byelorussia. The Kremlin Government grossly violates Paragraph 18 on human rights, which guarantees the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion in public and private life.

The Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which was restored by Metropolitan Melkhisiedek in 1922, was autonomous for a time and then existed illegally after 1937. Re-established again in 1942, it is now incorporated into the Russian Church. Many clergymen, about two thousand in all, were liquidated. 2,500 churches and 23 monasteries were destroyed or closed. The other religions met the same fate.

After the Second World War religious life flickered into being again, but the Communist Party began its suppression and destruction of every form of religious expression.

According to recent Party conferences and special sessions of the Party Plenum the Bolsheviks want to abolish the Church and religion as soon as possible. All these Bolshevik measures are carried out under a cloak called "demands of the public" or "resolutions of the employees." Thus even those churches where divine services are still held, are turned into atheistic clubs, museums or shops. Thousands of atheistic propagandists are raised by the Bolshevik Government in the Kremlin against religion.

These functionaries direct a systematic, atheistic propaganda campaign with the support of the state, whilst believers and clergymen are forbidden to give any religious instruction.

The Russian Orthodox Patriarch in Moscow surrendered to the godless Russian Government fifty years ago, instead of defending the Church and its members firmly and stoutly against the terror of the Kremlin, thus contributing to the increase in strength of the atheistic, Communist, Russian Government.

The entry of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchy into the World Council of Churches,

the participation of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Vatican Council, the establishment of diplomatic relations of the Russian Government with the Vatican, the participation of representatives of the Vatican and Protestant Churches of the West in the celebrations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the re-establishment of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchy in Moscow, have made it possible for the Kremlin to prevent all Christian Churches from expressing opinions in defence of freedom of belief and religion in the whole of the USSR.

The Government of the USSR is striving for an increase in contacts by the Moscow Church with the free world above all with the intention of serving the interests of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union internationally in the name of religion. The Russian Church therefore attempts to appoint personnel true to the Party in all its branches abroad and to suppress the free opinions of Churches and courts abroad, which concern themselves with defending religious freedom in the USSR.

Recent events in Czecho-Slovakia on August 21st 1968 have provided the whole world with clear evidence of Russian imperialist aims: i.e. the enslavement of all peoples of the world.

Even in the anniversary year of human rights the Russian regime in Moscow has shown again that it breaks international conventions and declarations brutally and maliciously, that it outrages the fundamental rights of peoples and nations to a free life and shamelessly explains its actions by saying that the peoples themselves ask to be enslaved, exploited, Russified and exterminated.

It can be clearly seen from a consideration of all the above-mentioned facts and historical references under what severe colonialist conditions and brutal national, cultural, economic and religious terror the entire Byelorussian nation is living.

We, the authorized, free representatives of the Byelorussian nation, appeal therefore to the conscience of the free world, to the Governments of the free world, to the

UNO, to the European Parliament of Free Nations, to the Commission on Human Rights of the UNO, to condemn the Government of the USSR for gross contempt of the Declaration of Human Rights in Byelorussia and demand that the Government of the USSR:

1. restore all human and national rights to the Byelorussian people immediately;
2. stop the deportation and extermination of the Byelorussian people;
3. end the Russification of the Byelorussian people;
4. cease religious persecution in Byelorussia;
5. withdraw all Soviet troops from Byelorussia;
6. recall all non-Byelorussian personnel, the Russian Police Force, and all Russian Communist functionaries to Russia;

7. release all political exiles and all political prisoners and aid their return to Byelorussia;
8. recognize the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, which was proclaimed on March 25th 1918 and June 27th 1944, with its ethnographic boundaries.

We ask the United Nations to help our people to free themselves from the Russian Communist yoke, to introduce free elections under the control of a UN Commission, to affirm our ethnographic boundaries and thus guarantee the human and national rights of the Byelorussian people.

On behalf of the Byelorussian Liberation Front

**Dimitry Kosmowicz**

Head of the Byelorussian Liberation Front

### **Croatian Declaration**

*The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia recognized the provisional revolutionary Government of Viet Cong as the legal Government of South Vietnam.*

*On this occasion the Croatian Liberation Movement, compelled to interpret the wishes and will of the vast majority of the Croatian people, states the following:*

*1. The Croatian people who have their historical State right more than a thousand years and the inalienable democratic right to national self-determination, rights which they never renounced, do not and will never under any circumstances recognize the State of Yugoslavia which has been imposed upon them without their approval and against their will by the agreement of three Great Powers at Yalta in 1945.*

*Therefore, agreements, acts or declarations made by any Government of this imposed State of Yugoslavia, do not bind the Croatian people.*

*Consequently, also the recognition of the provisional revolutionary Government for South Vietnam by the Yugoslav Communist Government is null and void and does not bind the Croatian people because this is against their will and democratic feelings.*

*2. The free people of South Vietnam have their legal Government, constituted in a free and democratic election.*

*Therefore, the Croatian Liberation Movement declares that Yugoslavia and its Communist Government under Tito's leadership, by recognizing the illegal revolutionary Government which Communist Viet Cong imposed upon the people of South Vietnam by force — merely proves again that it is a faithful and disciplined member of the world Communist family which under the leadership of Moscow and Peking tries to conquer the entire world.*

*Buenos Aires, August 1969.*

*For the Croatian Liberation Movement  
Dr. Stjepan Hefer  
President*



## **Russia Is Not Invincible**

*(Continuation)*

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 A.B.N. — 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.

From the value of the A.B.N. as a disruptive instrument, I will next turn to its ability economically and strategically to strangle the U.S.S.R. in another war.

Ukraine, with a population stated to be 42,000,000, is the economic hub of the Soviet Union. This is why Hitler's aim was to wrench it from Russia. It supplies over fifty per cent of the whole of Russian production, and there is no possibility of destroying the Bolshevik Empire without severing Ukraine from it. Still to-day a Ukrainian insurgent army, known as the U.P.A., is engaged in guerrilla war against the Kremlin.

The following percentages show the importance of Ukraine and other subjugated countries to the over-all Soviet economy: coal sixty per cent from Ukraine and nine per cent from Turkestan; iron ore, sixty per cent from Ukraine, and thirty per cent from Idel-Ural; manganese, one hundred per cent from Georgia and Ukraine; copper, forty per cent from Turkestan and Caucasia; lead, eighty per cent from Turkestan; zinc, eighty per cent from Caucasia and Ukraine; mercury, one hundred per cent from Turkestan and Ukraine; and sulphur, eighty per cent from Ukraine, Caucasia and Turkestan.

Almost the entire production of oil in the U.S.S.R. comes from non-Russian soil: Baku in Azerbaijan, Grosny and Maikop in N. Caucasia, on the Emba in Turkestan, in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Idel-Ural and in Ukraine. Finally, as regards agricultural products, thirty-three per cent of Russian wheat comes from Ukraine and N. Caucasia, seventy per cent of sugar is produced in Ukraine, and one hundred per cent of cotton is grown in Turkestan and Caucasia.

Therefore the conclusion is, should in wartime organized guerrilla war be fostered in the subjugated countries and adequately supplied by the Western Powers, the high probability is that the whole economy of the U.S.S.R. would collapse.

Historically Russia's strength has been based on two factors, the vast expanse of her territory and her vast man power, and this held good as long as weapon power remained simple and movements were governed by horse traction. But this is no longer the case, for weapon power has been industrialized and air power has reduced her expanse.

Communications in Russia have always been indifferent because expanse and movement are incompatible. Even today, after more than a century of railroad construction, there are no more than 58,000 miles of railroads in the U.S.S.R.,

whereas in the United States there are 227,000. Further, many of the Russian railroads are still single track, and because those linking the Pacific to the frontiers of Poland and Rumania pass through the subjugated Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine, they are open to sabotage both in peace and war.

In order to secure her industries — her arsenals — against air attack, Russia has adopted a policy of dispersion; but, seemingly, has overlooked that the remoteness of many of them from the more probable theatres of war permits present-day aircraft to cut them off from the latter by destroying the inter-linking communications. Actually, there would be no need to destroy the industrial centres themselves, for if the few main rail junctions in the U.S.S.R. are put out of action, the fewness of the railroads in most cases will render the deflection of traffic impossible.

Further still, the greater the dispersion the more difficult does it become for the Russian air force to prevent either the systematic destruction of the industrial centres or the railroads leading to and from them. Relative to this, it should not be overlooked that, on account of climatic conditions as well as the great distances to be travelled, the replacement of railroad traction by motor transport will generally be out of the question. Also, that, unlike the United States, the U.S.S.R. possesses no extensive system of pipe lines for the distribution of oil and petrol.

The conclusions to be drawn from this strategical survey are: (1) that the technical equipment of Russia's fighting forces will be at its best at the opening of war, and that, should her railroads be paralysed, it will rapidly deteriorate; and (2) that, because of this, it may be expected that, as in the past, Russia will rely on mass manpower attacks in order to make good her technical deficiencies.

Clearly, then, adding to the demands of the Russian army within the U.S.S.R. will lead to its numerical reduction in the areas of operations, and this can be effected by the assistance of the subjugated peoples. For them, the expanse of the U.S.S.R., when coupled with outside air supply and assistance, facilitates revolt, which simultaneously will be difficult to suppress should rail communications be paralysed. Also it should not be overlooked that a vast belt of labour and concentration camps, in which millions of slave workers are imprisoned, stretches across Northern Siberia and Manchuria, and that the first of these areas is within transpolar air range of the United States, and the second at no great distance from Korea and Japan. All these camps are potential centres of revolt. Therefore the more the Kremlin can be compelled to garrison them, the less numerous will be its troops in the areas of military operations.

When all these factors are considered, it will be seen that Russia's fighting manpower, great though it is, can as a whole no more be concentrated than can that of her opponents. Though the latter are an association of autonomous nations tending to diverge rather than to unite, the U.S.S.R. is a despotism of subjugated nations, forcibly united by terror, and inhibited by disruption. In fact, Russia is a giant with feet of clay, and the more her fighting forces are dissipated on internal security, the more formidable do those of her opponents become.

From what I have now written, I hope I have made it clear that, in order to overthrow the fire-raising Colossus, the technical superiority of the Western nations is not in itself enough. What they are lacking is not power to wage war, for though power may still be insufficient, there is no insuperable difficulty in



rendering it sufficient. Instead, it is lack of faith in their way of life, and lack of courage in proclaiming it.

They must understand that the sword of liberty is but dead metal as long as it is sheathed. It is because they fear to unsheath it that they lack a positive policy towards the nations forcibly and fraudulently incorporated in the Soviet Union. Yet without a positive policy they can never hope to exploit the seething discontent behind the Iron Curtain, and be it remembered that, without counting the subjugated peoples of the U.S.S.R., ten independent states of old Europe, inhabited by some 100,000,000 people are now under Soviet dominance. Of these millions and the millions more in the U.S.S.R., the vast majority are potential allies, but until the Western nations openly proclaim them to be such, the sword of liberty will remain sheathed.

If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic, and though the atomic bomb has its uses, they must be weighed against the psychological effects they are likely to produce. To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder, and the way in which it is used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples in Europe and the U.S.S.R. are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow.

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

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

The duties of the first should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries, and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

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

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

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

## Underground Reports On Repressions In Ukraine

"A reply to the bourgeois propaganda" was demanded of Ivan Dzyuba, the author of the book *Internationalism or Russification?*, but he refused to make such a reply.

In the beginning of 1969 Dzyuba was called to the KGB headquarters at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR. There he was told that his book had been published abroad and that he must set the record straight: an answer to the slanderers is in order. Dzyuba replied that his book is Marxist in spirit, that he had nothing to do with its publication and that he is outraged by the proposition to write a "reply" when the information about the book was supplied to him by the KGB.

A report on this interrogation as well as many other facts was contained in the underground *Chronicle of Current Events* which appears in Russian in the USSR in a mimeographed form. So far seven issues of the *Chronicle* have appeared providing information on the expressions of free thought in the Russian Federated Republic as well as in Ukraine.

### Clergy

The Greek Catholic Church which was forcefully liquidated by the KGB in Western Ukraine continues to "function" in the underground. In the last few years it accelerated its activities. At the same time the instances of arrests and beatings of the Uniate priests by the militia have become more frequent.

On October 18, 1968 the homes of ten priests have been searched, and the objects of religious cult which are not prohibited, including the Blessed Sacraments, have been confiscated. This is a glaring intrusion into the sphere of religious practices. At the end of 1968 two priests have been arrested — one in Kolomyia, one in Lviv.

In January 1969 an "underground" bishop of the Greek Catholic Church, Velychkovskyy, was arrested.

In the beginning of 1969 new searches were conducted among priests.

### V. Chornovil

On February 3, 1969, journalist Vyache-

slav Chornovil, who was convicted on the basis of Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR in 1967 and who served his sentence in the camp of general regime, was released. Two months prior to the completion of his term Chornovil was placed in solitary confinement of the Ukrainian KGB where he was told of a decision of the Assistant Prosecutor of the Ukr. SSR, Samayev, to conduct an investigation into the newly revealed evidence in the case. This investigation was ordered in connection with the fact that the book *Lykho z rozumu* (The Chornovil Papers) on the 1965—1968 repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, compiled by him, was published in the West.

V. Chornovil was already convicted for the compilation of this book. In spite of this he was warned that his case will be reclassified according to Article 62 CC Ukr. SSR and his term will be prolonged.

Chornovil went on a hunger strike as a protest against this illegal investigation. Before the expiration of his term the investigation was suspended.

Chornovil's hunger strike lasted from May 29th to July 16th, 1968.

### Karavanskyi

Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, sentenced to 25 years in 1944 for his participation in a Ukrainian nationalist organization during the Rumanian occupation of Odessa, is confined to the Vladimir prison. Amnestied in 1960, he was imprisoned again in 1965 after writing an article on national discrimination practices in the admission to the schools of higher learning and sent to Mordovia to complete his 25-year-term. Prosecutor General of the USSR R. Rudenko protested against the granting of this amnesty.

In the summer of 1967, Karavanskyi, together with Valentyn Moroz, Mykhailo Horyn and Mykhailo Masyutko, was transferred from Camp No. 11 in the Mordovian ASSR to the Vladimir prison for three years, for writing complaints to official institutions and for reading materials on the situation in Ukraine.



During the trial which was to decide on the question of the change of camp regime, Karavanskyi demanded a translator. Court proceedings in camps are held without counsel, but of course, there were cases where the verdict was declared null and void because the case was heard without a translator.

In reply to Karavanskyi's demands the judge, Ravenkova said: "Let him have a Khakhol" (a derogatory term for Ukrainians used by Russians). Karavanskyi then moved that the judge be dismissed from the case. The prosecutor was astonished and said: "Well, the woman got carried away", and dismissed the motion.

The regime in the Vladimir prison is much more restrictive than in camp. For example, the prisoners are allowed only two half-hour visits a year and conversation must be carried on in Russian.

But even under such unfavourable conditions, where every deprivation can be felt very strongly, Karavanskyi assembled enough strength to make a political protest. At the end of October 1968 he went on a hunger strike demanding the dismissal of the government on the grounds that it conducted an erroneous domestic and foreign policy.

The hunger strike lasted 28 days. The reason for its interruption is unknown. Karavanskyi was punished for it by 15 days in the lock-up room.

#### *Osadchyi*

Mykhailo Osadchyi, candidate of philology at the Lviv University, poet, author of a book, instructor at the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Party, was convicted in 1965 under Article 62 CC Ukr.SSR for circulating Ukrainian underground publications. In 1967 he was released after the completion of his term but until recently could not get a residence permit or work.

He was arrested for "passport violations" in Lviv, in the midst of his own family, i.e., in his own home.

Only recently was he able to register in the Lviv oblast and to get work in the deaf-and-dumb combine.

#### *Moroz*

In the beginning of April 1968 Valentyn Moroz was again transferred to the Vladimir prison after spending more than one year in the investigating isolator of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR. He was accused of writing a letter to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR entitled *A Report from the Beria Reservation*.

It is definitely known that V. Moroz "did not cooperate in the investigation in any way and did not provide any evidence."

The investigation was suspended, perhaps because it could not be proved that Moroz actually was the author of the said letter.

Moroz should have been released on September 1, 1969.

#### *Zarytska*

After 20 years of imprisonment Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husak and Halyna Didyk were sent to the Vladimir prison to serve out the 25-year-term of strict regime. All three were members of the anti-Stalinist freedom movement in the first few years after the war and organizers of the underground Red Cross.

Mrs. Zarytska's husband, Mykhailo Soroka, is an inmate of Camp No. 17 of the Mordovian complex of camps with severe regime.

#### *Svitlychnyi*

On March 28, 1969 there searches were conducted in Kyiv: in the house of literary critic Ivan Svitlychnyi, at the place of work of his sister Nadiya, and in the house of Nataliya Karazin.

The KGB came to Svitlychnyi's apartment without a search warrant and demanded that he hand over the photostat of the book *The Technology of Power* by Avtorkhanov. (Note: Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov's book on the techniques of the Stalinist rule and the Stalinist purges was published in 1959 in Russian in Munich and in English in New York.)

Svitlychnyi said that he did not have the book. But the KGB officials had definite information. They asked for the search war-

rant by telephone, waited for it and then found half of the photostatic book. The other half was found in the library where Nadiya Svitlychna is working.

From Nataliya Karazin they confiscated a typewritten copy of O. Solzhenitsyn's novel *The First Circle* and a typewriter on which she began to retype it.

#### *Nazarenko*

In March 1968 the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR heard the appeal in the case of Nazarenko and friends. Their lawyers demanded that the case be reclassified from Article 62 CC Ukr.SSR to Article 187-1 CC Ukr.SSR.

One of the arguments was that the defendants were found guilty under Article 62 for circulating V. Chornovil's book while Chornovil himself was convicted under Article 187-1.

The verdict however remained unchanged.

#### *Kochur*

In November 1968 a search was conducted in Irpen in the home of Hryhoriy Kochur, a translator by profession, who in the beginning of 1968 signed a protest letter against the illegal trials in Moscow and Ukraine.

Besides the treatise by A. D. Sakharov and several mimeographed works in Ukrainian, a leaflet which Kochur had never seen before "was confiscated" from him. The people who conducted the search found this leaflet unusually quickly, pulling it out of a book on a shelf.

Kochur is certain that this leaflet was planted on him previously.

#### *Kalynets*

*Khrystiyanskyi Holos*, a Ukrainian newspaper published in Munich, reprinted a poem by Ihor Kalynets. In the Lviv Oblast Archives, where he works, Kalynets was given a "going over" and the Secretary of the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Party Chugayev, spoke about "the subversive activities of Kalynets several times while appearing before the Lviv intelligentsia.

"It must be noted that the poem was not political in character and that Kalynets was not aware of its publication."

#### *Repressions*

During 1968—69 out-of-court repressions were applied in many instances. A large number of people lost party membership or were dismissed from work for having a favourable impression of Honchar's *Sobor* or for writing letters to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the invasion of CSSR, or because of the appearance of signs of Stalin's rehabilitation, for copying underground literature or for participating in meetings connected with the events in CSSR.

#### *Searches*

In the beginning of 1969 a search was made in the home of Yaroslav Kendzyr of Lviv "in order to confiscate slanderous materials written by Chornovil." Only an old edition of the novel *Chorna Rada* by a Ukrainian classic writer P. Kulish was taken. At the same time this book was being reprinted by the republican publishing house *Dnipro*.

In Kharkiv people are still being questioned under Article 187-1 CC Ukr.SSR. The questionings are conducted in connection with underground literature. The home of Henrykh Altunyan was searched for the second time and a typewritten copy of *Cancer Ward* (a novel by O. Solzhenitsyn) was confiscated. This novel was suppressed by the censors after it was set in type in Moscow.

Altunyan was dismissed from the Party.

#### *Released*

The following political prisoners have been released from the Mordovian camps of severe regime after the completion of their terms:

*Ivan Hel* of Lviv after 3 years, convicted under Art. 62 CC Ukr.SSR for circulating underground literature. After his return he could not get a residence permit in Lviv, nor was he reinstated in the Lviv University, where he was completing his last semester and from where he was expelled after his arrest.

*Bohdan Horyn* of Lviv, art critic, prior to his arrest on the staff of the Ukrainian Arts Museum, 3 years, under Art. 62 CC



Ukr. SSR, for circulating underground literature. After his return he failed to obtain a residence permit in Lviv, and works as a carpenter on construction sites in the Lviv oblast.

*Borys Zdorovets*, a Lutheran from Donbas, spent 7 years at camp, exiled to the Krasnoyarsk region, where the militia tried to "reeducate" him demanding a public

denunciation of his religion.

*Myroslava Tershivska* of Drohobych, received 3 years under Art. 62 CC Ukr.SSR for preparing and distributing hand-written leaflets together with her husband. She was exiled to the Krasnoyarsk region; her husband, presently an inmate of Camp No. 1 of the Mordovian camps, was sentenced to 5 years of camps and 3 years of exile.

### From The Leaflet By Canadian League For The Liberation Of Ukraine

*The Captive Nations summon us Canadians — regardless of our origin, race, or creed —*  
TO ACKNOWLEDGE

*that over twenty-six nations, and millions of human beings, are subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism and colonialism;*

*that while hundreds of millions of Asians and Africans have been granted national independence by the former Western empires, Communist Russia has extended its ruthless rule over many nations since 1917. The largest of these being Ukraine, whose people became nation-builders in Canada;*

*that Ukraine was the first nation to fall to Communist Russian imperialism, as Czechoslovakia was its latest victim in 1968;*

*that Ukrainian national leaders are being assassinated by Russian agents even on foreign soil. The latest victim being Stepan Bandera — leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement — whose murder in Munich, West Germany, October 1959, was expressly ordered by A. Shelepin, chief of KGB at that time and approved by the Soviet Russian government;*

*that political murder is one of the weapons of Kremlin policy makers for the last fifty years;*

*that hundreds of thousands of innocent people are rotting in Russian prisons and concentration camps;*

*that in recent years Moscow intensified again national, religious, and cultural persecution, specially in non-Russian lands. The arrest and murder of Archbishop V. Velychkovskiy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; the persecution of Ukrainian Catholics, Orthodox, and Protestants; the burnings of the Church of St. George in Kyiv, of the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, of a synagogue in the Ukrainian port of Odessa, all bear witness to the unceasing violence within the modern Russian empire;*

*that the destruction at Sir George William University, the current disruption of North American campuses — which has nothing to do with genuine need of reform — the glorification in our midst of mass-murderers such as Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Mao, and others, are clear examples of Communist-Bolshevik tactics — deceit and subversion — which concerns YOU!*

The Captive Nations summon YOU

to condemn all these anti-Canadian, anti-human, and anti-democratic actions which you have just acknowledged;

to preserve your national and spiritual values, and your democratic way of life, against the intensive onslaught of the hammer and the sickle!

to act on behalf of a stronger Canada by supporting the struggle for freedom, independence, and peace with justice, of the enslaved millions behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains;

Remember that **THE CAPTIVE NATIONS ARE THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE FOR CANADA and the FREE WORLD!**

## **Somber Anniversary – A Source Of Renewed Dedication**

*On the Tenth Anniversary of the Heroic Death of Stepan Bandera, the Leader of O.U.N.*

Ten years ago — on October 15, 1959 — Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O. U. N.) was brutally assassinated on orders from the Russian Government by a specially trained agent. The Russian State Security Committee — the KGB, headed then by Alexander N. Shelepin succeeded in eliminating a man who represented a grave danger to the Russian colonial empire. Bandera was seen as a great and imminent threat to the security of the Russian empire not only in terms of his leadership of the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the Ukrainian people and for the re-establishment of the national independence of Ukraine, but also in terms of his untiring efforts to coordinate the independence struggle of all non-Russian peoples oppressed by Russia. Thus it must have appeared imperative for the Kremlin masters to destroy Stepan Bandera in the hope that the entire revolutionary movement for the liberation of Ukraine and other nations would receive a deadly blow. This was, certainly, the reason why Shelepin himself issued the orders to assassinate Bandera, why he closely followed the plan of attack and why he personally — on behalf of the Moscow government — bestowed the Order of the Red Banner for the successful “liquidation” of Bandera, congratulating B. Stashynsky — the agent-assassin. This was verified by the latter’s confession and testimony during his trial at the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, Germany. Consequently, the main burden of guilt for Bandera’s death rests with A. N. Shelepin and the Soviet Russian Government. Sooner or later, the leading men in the Soviet hierarchy will have to account for their crime before the Ukrainian people, before O. U. N. and before humanity at large.

Admittedly, Stepan Bandera’s death, through assassination by the Kremlin’s agent, was a cruel blow to O. U. N., a bloodstained page in Ukrainian history, a page of pain and sorrow to the Ukrainian people. However, Moscow failed to attain her desired objective, namely to deprive the Ukrainian liberation fight of leadership. On the contrary, this heinous political assassination aroused new, or enhanced old, feelings of detestation towards the surreptitiously treacherous Russian cowardice.

Neither Bandera nor the members of O. U. N. ever denied being open and avowed adversaries of Russian colonial imperialism or its totalitarian regime in Moscow. The Russians, on the other hand, have publicly proclaimed friendship and brotherly dedication to the progress, prosperity, cultural development and happiness of the Ukrainian people, but in practice they hamper every move of the Ukrainian people to attain genuine satisfaction and achievements in life. The Russian occupational forces in Ukraine, while proclaiming brotherhood, dragged independently-thinking Ukrainians out of their homes, out of their beds at night, out of their work or school or church, using most perfidious inhuman means or methods, separating husbands from wives, children from parents, brothers from sisters, bringing them to secret trials, before firing squads, to prisons or jails for



slow death or sentencing them to distant labor and concentration camps. Should this go unheeded or forgotten . . . ? Thousands, hundreds of thousands and millions of Ukrainian patriots — men and women, old and young — have perished under Russian invented tortures and maltreatment with sheer disregard for the most primitive framework of human freedom and in an atmosphere of mockery of human rights, drafted so clearly and splendidly into the United Nations' Charter of which Russia was a "revered" co-signatory . . . Should that be disregarded, too? . . . To talk, or even to carry a thought, of national independence for the Ukrainian people has been considered the most alarming crime within the realm of the Russian empire — the so-called Soviet Union, notwithstanding the democratically worded "Soviet Constitution".

Yet, the Ukrainian nation remained unbent through the years and decades of intolerable pressure and the Ukrainian people, having overcome the fear of terrorist Russian oppression, are actively engaged in the search for ways toward their national fulfilment and final perfection. This the Ukrainian people owe to the heroic figure of Bandera and his acts of ideological, political and practical perseverance throughout his life.

Bandera's untimely martyred death through blatant political assassination has elevated him to the level of his heroic predecessors on the Ukrainian Olympus: Hetman Ivan Mazepa, President Symon Petlura, Col. Evhen Konovaletz, Gen. Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych. Bandera, also, left a legacy of dedicated followers and a most worthy successor. The Ukrainian nation has given ample proof to that heroic heritage through the centuries, the last decades in particular, and neither Shelepins nor Kosygins or Brezhnevs, nor any other slaughterers of human life and dignity, will be allowed to hold their position indefinitely against those, who, through faith in God, love and dedication to their nation, patience and perseverance in their worthy struggle, will be ready to sacrifice their energies and lives for their people's brighter future.

**"If they kill us we shall but die . . ." (2 Kings VII. 4)**

During the first decade after Bandera's untimely death we have witnessed a long stride made by the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and abroad. The young intellectuals in Ukraine, born and brought up during the "Soviet" system, begin to raise their voices in revolt against injustices imposed and inflicted by the foreign Russian invaders. In their own blunt way these Ukrainian patriots demand the right for their people to claim title over their own land. The Ukrainian prisoners of Russian labor and concentration camps write open letters with accusations directed toward the highest Russian public officials, pointing out the injustices and criminal acts perpetrated upon the Ukrainian people and institutions. All this takes place against the background of continuous Russian efforts at Russification of Ukrainian schools, institutions and people; continuous secret police and court trials of Ukrainian intellectuals and patriots; continuous persecution of Ukrainian Churches, their clergy and faithful; continuous bloodshed and frustrations. Such is the situation of the struggle for national independence on Ukrainian soil within the "Soviet Union" — the disguised Russian colonial empire.

Simultaneously, Ukrainian communities in the Free World are being harrassed

both openly and secretly by Russian Bolshevik propaganda through various communication media and under various disguises, in an attempt to disgrace, defame and humiliate Ukrainians in general, and their liberation movement, led by O. U. N. in particular. By means of threatening letters, attempts to sow discord within the Ukrainian organizations and communities, smearing "information" about leading Ukrainian individuals, the Russians have tried — with little success — to undermine the inner strength and closeness of mutual cooperation within and between the Ukrainian emigration groups. By means of underhand denouncing, unfounded charges and untrue information, they attempted — and often with some success — to approach the official circles and members of various governments in the Free World with a clear objective of destroying or undermining these circles' confidence in the cause of the national independence and sovereignty of Ukraine and in the sincerity and integrity of O. U. N. and its leaders. The high political echelons of many Western countries and nations still seem to be blindfolded. These blindfolds, placed by deceitful Russian propaganda and diplomacy, still seem to remain in place with too many Western leaders and governments. Neither the deportations or massacres, massive strikes or upheavals of countless Ukrainian patriots nor the heroic endeavors of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Ukraine and other areas of the "Soviet Union", nor the Hungarian uprising, nor the impudent Russian aggression upon Czecho-Slovakia, depriving the Slovak and Czech nations of tiny crumbs of freedom — none of these seem to have managed to pull down these artificial blindfolds. It appears that the peoples of the Free World need more victims and more sacrifices of innocent nations, now in Russian bondage, before they come to believe that it would have been better, and with less sacrifices on their own part, to bring justice earlier to those enslaved and to the world.

On behalf of O. U. N., we wish to reiterate on this Tenth Anniversary of the heroic death of Stepan Bandera — the eminent Ukrainian and brilliant leader of our Organization that, notwithstanding the distressing pain and shocking sorrow caused by this great loss, Bandera's name, his life, his legacy and his death will serve us and the Ukrainian people as a source of never ceasing inspiration and of renewed dedication to our cause and people; notwithstanding Moscow's attempts at intimidation, regardless how brutal and cruel the means of these attempts may be, we are going to increase and amplify the measures of our struggle against Russian imperial occupational forces in Ukraine and abroad, for . . . "if they kill us we shall but die . . ." and we number millions around the world; notwithstanding the utter indifference, lack of understanding or open reluctance in various circles and governments of the Western world, we are going to continue, and more vigorously, to inform, penetratingly to appraise and to convince these circles of the righteousness of our cause and of the imminent need to change the policy of the Western democracies toward the Bolshevik Russian and Red Chinese colonial empires for the sake of genuine peace in the world.

We not only firmly believe but we are totally dedicated to the ideo-political platform professed by Stepan Bandera. This platform is well expressed in the slogan: Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals! Recently O. U. N. added a further war cry: Kyiv versus Moscow!

For we profess, as Bandera did, that freedom and national independence for Ukraine is a MUST and no one can deny or disregard this objective. The



Ukrainian people have the undeniable right to be masters of their Ukrainian ethnic territories. Kyiv, the capital city of Ukraine, is known from the most ancient history as the cradle of culture and the most noble traditions of the Ukrainian people. It is therefore a symbol of devotion to our Ukrainian ancestry, tradition and entire cultural heritage that Moscow tends to destroy. We aim therefore to raze Moscow as a symbol of Russian colonial imperialism, red totalitarianism and a source of all that is evil, against God and humanity. We further profess that the same rights as we claim for our Ukrainian people are due to all nations and men, oppressed by Russian or any other imperialism. Russians cannot bluff or pretend any longer!

We call, therefore — as Stepan Bandera did or would — on all the oppressed peoples and their kin in the Free World:

Unite with us — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — in the struggle against Russian and all Red imperialism for your freedom and ours!

Unite in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)!

1969

**Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O. U. N.)**

## **Metropolitan Nikodym For A Church That Does Not Recognize Baptism**

On September 12—23, 1969 a meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches was held in Canterbury, England. 120 members of its Program Committee — both Protestants and Orthodox — took part in the deliberations. The World Council of Churches is an ecumenical organization of Christians who believe in the Blessed Trinity and recognize the necessity of Baptism. For the first time in the 21-year history of the WCC, its Central Committee accepted for membership "The Church of Christ on Earth", an African religious organization with a following of 3 million, which does not believe in Baptism. Its bid for membership was strongly opposed by the Orthodox members of the Central Committee but they were outvoted. With the aim of subversion and the winning of sympathy of some Protestants, the Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgograd, Nikodym Rotov, supported the entry of this basically non-Christian religious organization, and with this gained the applause of fellow travelers.

In spite of strong criticism, most of the

resolutions passed by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches are purely political in character. The CC accepted a resolution which called on the US government . . . to renew its relations with Cuba, and on all Latin American churches to do the same. It took an anti-Israeli stand and condemned all great powers which did not support Nasser; it confirmed its "neutrality" in the conflict between Nigeria and Biafra, condemned the government of Rhodesia and so on.

The June 1969 issue of *Science and Religion*, a Marxist periodical, carried an article by P. Kurochkin entitled "Russian Orthodoxy and Ecumenism" which expressed joy that "The ecumenical center has ceased to be the forum of anti-Communist propaganda", because "the ecumenical activity of the Russian Orthodox Church and other Christian organizations of the Socialist countries, as well as the Churches of the Asian and African countries, has contributed toward the strengthening of the realistic course in the activity of the World Council of Churches."

## Courageous Declaration Of A Slovak Writer

The new student periodical "Reflex", published in Bratislava (Slovakia), contained an interview in its first number of April 7, 1969, with the well-known Slovak writer Rudolf Sloboda, on current political problems. Sloboda gave the following answer to the question of the editor: "Do you think that federation has united us with the Czechs or mutually divided us?":

"I wish to make the following declaration to your periodical: *I am for an independent Slovak state of any type.* Of course it must not be a state of a type which does not suit the Slovaks. *The Slovaks are not disposed in the way that might be thought from the character of the present state.* Their government should be composed of representatives of all political shades of opinion. If there were such a state, it could call itself *a free state.* In my view there exist in Slovakia the following representative political opinions: *an extreme anti-Communist stream, a middle section, which adopts a practical attitude and always adapts itself, as well as the so-called pure Communists.*"

Rudolf Sloboda had the courage to say openly that he — like the Slovak nation in general — was unsatisfied with the present

position of Slovakia. He is — like the Slovaks in general — not for an autonomous Slovakia, dominated by Russia and incorporated into a Czech-Slovak federation with "limited sovereignty", but for a free and independent Slovak state. He also makes no secret that he does not consider the present Slovak Socialist Republic even internally as a free state, since only the Communists there take part in the exercise of state power. It is also very significant that when he speaks of the political attitude of the population in Slovakia, he mentions the Communists last. In this way he obviously wants to express the fact that they are the smallest group.

If a Slovak stated such facts in the Free World, if he expressed such views or wishes, it would be probably considered as completely natural. But the Slovak writer Rudolf Sloboda was speaking in Slovakia, occupied by the Russians and administered by Communists! So we can only admire his courage. We are pleased that he has also confirmed our reports on the position in Slovakia.

After the appearance of the first issue of the periodical "Reflex" with this interview, it was banned for two months.



AF-ABN demonstration in front of the Russian Embassy, New York, October 18, 1969



## 25 Years Of Communist Yoke In Bulgaria

*A quarter of a century ago Bulgaria was occupied by Soviet troops and the people were subjected to a most cruel political slavery. This Communist ruthlessness imposed upon the country on the 9th of September 1944 is the darkest period of Bulgaria's existence since the country obtained its independence from 500 years of Turkish rule.*

*The Soviet Armed Forces invaded Bulgaria in a most perfidious way. The country had at that time a democratic system of government with various political parties represented in the government and had normal diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union. Bulgaria was also at war with Germany. The Russians had no excuse whatsoever. No sooner did they invade the country, then they began by order from the Soviet Satraps in Moscow to force upon Bulgaria their Communist regime and Communist ideas by violence and blood. Thousands of innocent Bulgarians were brutally murdered, thrown in camps or jails, or forcibly interned. Thus began the "Re-education" of the people which continued with the so-called "Labour educational Communes" — nothing else but brain-washing camps as the name itself suggests. Even the first days of the Communist dictatorship became a bloody orgy — an orgy which is unknown in contemporary history. The victims included one Bulgarian Prince, two Regents, twenty-two Ministers, sixty-five Members of Parliament, Senior Clergymen, the whole intellectual elite of the country and many, many more Bulgarians. Their only fault was their love for their Nation.*

*The list of bloody crimes is endless, but perhaps the most brutal was the economic exploitations to which the Bulgarian people were subjected. All resources and goods were used by the Soviets anywhere in the world, and unaccounted for to further Bolshevistic imperialism.*

*The nation was virtually imprisoned. The iron curtain and barbed wire at the borders did not permit any contact with the free world.*

*For the last twenty-five years the Communists continue to deceive the world with all permitted and unpermitted means. They preach that Communism is a good philosophy and claim that the Bulgarian people are prosperous and are practically enjoying the "climax of their happiness." Despite everything, the people have not lost all hope in the GREAT IDEALS OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES FOR FREEDOM AND RIGHTS. They believe firmly, that sooner or later FREEDOM will be wrenched out and they will again be able to chart their own destiny.*

*Far from home, on this black day, the 9th of September, we want to tell the FREE WORLD in a loud voice, that Communism is a bold lie, which disintegrates as soon as the ray of freedom shines upon people. We firmly support the eternal and unchangeable principles of human rights and freedom and we shall fight for them until their full realization is felt in our TORTURED COUNTRY of birth. We shall not cease to fight for its FREEDOM AND FOR THE PROSPERITY OF ITS PEOPLE.*

*LONG LIVE BULGARIA: FREE AND INDEPENDENT!*

*Toronto, August 1969*

*Joint Bulgarian Committee  
Toronto, Canada*

### **Maoist Move In Malta**

Valetta — A report from Malta stated that the Maoist Communists have formed a "Malta-China Friendship Society". Its circular described the new society as being "affiliated with the anti-imperialist front."

The new society called for the placement of Malta under Chinese Communist domination. The circular, signed by a Mr. L. Scarri Taylor, the society's secretary, boasted that the thoughts of Mao "have penetrated into the Mediterranean and are being radically established in Malta."

## The Situation In Ukraine And In The USSR

The USSR is the last great colonial empire of the Russian people at the present time. It is, no doubt, the greatest paradox of our era, for all the European empires have already fallen and in their place many new states have arisen. In the national revolutions of 1917—18, the Russian Tsarist empire also collapsed, but the Bolsheviks, after liquidating the national states which had been established after the downfall of the Tsarist empire, renewed the Russian empire with treachery and the force of arms. Recreating in it the Russian spiritual foundations and resting on the dictatorship of the imperial party — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union they are keeping the empire intact by terror and with ever improved administrative and political means.

Masking themselves with slogans of “socialism” and Communism, and in recent decades assuming the role of the defender and protector of the national liberation movements on the other side of the Iron Curtain, the Russians, with brutal force, unheard of terror and systematic realization of genocide, are subjugating scores of nations, particularly the Ukrainian nation, which is ceaselessly struggling against enslavement and for its independence.

In the early years of the building of the Bolshevik regime the new rulers of the empire placed all their hopes on the European proletariat, at a time when countries outside Europe were considered of secondary importance in their plans to conquer the world. Today the imperial strategy temporarily centres its major forces in non-European areas, where it deceptively supports the national liberation wars by all methods according to the theory of “just and lawful wars”, and in Europe, reinforcing Russian influence and demoralizing the West with the help of “fifth” and “sixth” columns, the imperial policy defends “peaceful coexistence”. The continuous war waged by Bolshevik Russia for the expansion of its influence and world domination in the guise of “peaceful coexistence”, clari-

fies the contradiction, unnaturalness and paradoxicality of the imperial monster — the USSR. Its rulers are proclaiming freedom and state independence for one-time colonial countries, and in their own empire, covering themselves up with the building of Communism, are directing their policy of assimilation to the transformation of national society to a structureless mass “of a single Soviet people” with the Russians playing the dominant role.

The victory in the war over Hitler's Germany in an alliance with Western democratic states and the unscrupulous exploitation of the international situation have helped Russia to extend its military, political and economic control over many countries which helps Moscow in achieving its goal of world domination. For its imperial aims Moscow utilizes the nuclear arms build up and the intercontinental missiles in particular. The emergence of the so-called world system of socialist states, which constitutes half of Europe and large parts of Asia, even including bridge-heads on the American and African continents, should be evaluated as a dangerous success of Russian imperialism which has reached a decisive phase in its drive to dominate the world.

The Russian-Bolshevik government conducts its policy of expansion, employing all means of power at its disposal, unscrupulously exploiting the subjugated nations. The territorial expansion and the establishment of political and economic control beyond the borders of the USSR is taking place under the slogan of so-called proletarian internationalism and allegedly in the name of national liberation and defense of the rights and interests of colonial or economically underdeveloped and dependent peoples and states.

Russian Bolshevism which took the place of Russian Tsarism and received the support of the Russian people, the master in the empire, acts through the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the govern-



ment of the USSR are continuing the traditionally Russian imperial and colonial policy, taking advantage of the so-called republican Communist parties — branches of the CPSU on the territories of the enslaved nations, which were especially created for this purpose, and the cruel apparatus of terror.

An invariable principle of the colonial policy of Moscow always has been and still is complete national oppression, social and cultural pressure and ruthless economic exploitation of the non-Russian peoples, and particularly of the Ukrainian people.

In the 1917—18 revolution two opposing worlds clashed and today continue to clash, worlds with different sociological structures, different cultural modes and worlds which distinguish themselves by their system of spiritual attributes and values, which make up the essence of a nation. The Ukrainian world clashed with the Russian, and Moscow's victory for the time being has not put a stop to the historical struggle between them.

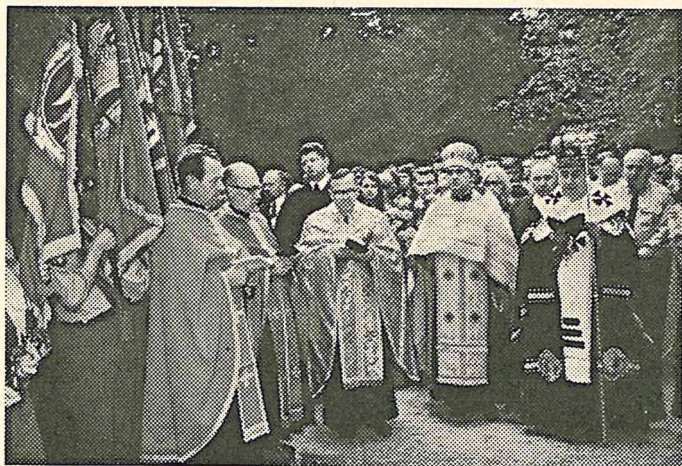
The Ukrainian world, as an opponent in the struggle with Russian Bolshevism, with its quelling of human and national freedoms, which has to lead to the ruining of spiritual culture and slipping into barbarity

and the end of progress, opens a wide field of creative competition, human initiative and harmonious cooperation of social groups in the national state founded on justice.

A temporary Bolshevik victory has not broken the national spirit of Ukraine and the struggle for the realization of the national ideal in a sovereign state with a just order, for the fullness and sovereignty of the national contribution into the world treasury, does not cease. The forms and methods of its conduct have undergone changes during the last half century, because the conqueror has also changed his tactics.

Behind the sign "USSR" all the basic attributes of national Russia have been preserved and cultivated. The doctrine of political infallibility characteristic of Russian spirituality has been reinforced and intensified by remade laws of Marxism and Leninism. The messianism of Russian Orthodoxy and the idea of Pan-Slavism under the tsarist crown have been turned into "international unity" under the leadership of the imperial Communist party.

Terror in all its modifications in the hands of the Kremlin chieftains is one of the major methods of spiritual and physical oppression of individuals and nations. Just as in the tsarist times, terror, robbery, political



*H. E. Bishop Platon Kornilyak and the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox clergy holding a memorial service for Stepan Bandera at his grave site. (Munich, West Germany, October 11, 1969)*

murder, spiritual and physical pogroms of the Ukrainian nation were raised to the level of state policy.

Bolshevik ideology views the state as "an organization ruled by an economically dominant class", and describes democracy as "a form of dictatorship of the ruling class", therefore in essence it recognizes the division of society into two classes: the masters and the slaves. From this point of view it is evident that the Soviet state is also a society of masters and slaves. The propaganda about the "development of socialist democracy" does not change the attitude of the Bolshevik rulers towards retaining at all costs their domination over the mass of slaves deprived of all rights.

In the half century of its rule, the Russian-Bolshevik empire has experienced many upheavals. Its leaders have changed very often, and the dogma of Marxism and Leninism has been changed in line with new demands. But one thing has remained unchanged: a permanent, year in year out destruction of human freedoms and the subjugated nations, and side by side with it the strengthening of Moscow's central rule in all aspects of life. Totalitarian centralism of superpower Russia, raised to the highest level in the empire, became the absolute law in the economic life of the empire.

The formal changes which from time to time are put into effect by the Bolsheviks in the structure of their rule, the rewriting of the constitution of the USSR and the "union republics" does not change the essence of the ruthless dictatorial imperial system. The so-called "most democratic Stalinist constitution" of 1936 has in reality changed noth-

ing of the lawless situation of the subjugated nations and individuals. What's more, the period after the introduction of this constitution was marked by genocide, bloody terror and lawlessness, to which millions of people fell victim. The changes which were effected after Stalin's death, especially by Khrushchov, did not bring any changes to the position of the subjugated peoples and human rights, did not liquidate the totalitarian mono-party system.

The Fourth Congress of OUN confirms the great threat to the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its independence which flows from orientation upon the liberalization of the Communist regime. Such orientation relegates national liberation to a secondary position, because the determination of the fate of Ukraine and other subjugated nations does not have unbreakable bonds with any state or socio-political regime of the so-called metropolis, as proven by the liberation struggle of Ireland, India or Algeria. The complication for the national liberation struggle of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Moscow, is to be found in the fact that the yoke, evil and hardship of the nation is seen solely as caused by the Communist system and not by foreign domination. The Communist system has different stages of oppression, but with its liquidation national oppression and the violence of Russian imperialism over the rights of individuals and nations will not end. Consequently, the solution to the problem of Ukraine's liberation cannot be simplified to the so-called democratization of the regime in the Russian empire.

(To be continued)

### **Onetime Leader Of The Estonian Social Democrats Arrested**

Fritz Menders, 84, the former leader of the Estonian Social Democratic Party was arrested by the organs of the Russian occupation regime in September, 1969 for "anti-Soviet propaganda abroad". He was accused of having given information to an American which was unfavourable to Russia. This American was gathering material for a book on the history of Estonia. In the

course of his journey he was detained by Russian authorities, and his notes which incriminated Mr. Menders were confiscated. Also the manuscript of Mr. Menders' memoirs was taken.

Mr. Menders was already convicted to ten-year imprisonment in 1947 on the orders of Stalin, but was released in 1955 before the expiration of his term.



## In Defense Of The "Church Of Silence"

An Appeal to the World's Conscience by the Ukrainian Bishops of the U.S. in Defense of the Religious Freedom and Human Rights of the Ukrainian People.

*To All Men Of Good-Will And Believers In Freedom*

For the past several months we have been receiving sad and discomfoting news from Ukraine, where 46 million of our brethren are undergoing harsh treatment and persecution inflicted by the government of the USSR. Currently, the great powers are endeavoring to reach a measure of *détente* with the Soviet Union. The free press has been extremely careful not to report any occurrences and happenings behind the Iron Curtain which might upset the precarious balance of West-East relations. Yet the tragedy of the Ukrainian people under the domination of Russian Communism is so overwhelming that no amount of censorship, official or tacit, can cover up the widespread suffering of the Ukrainian people.

On February 27, 1969, *The New York Times* reported from Vienna that the Soviet secret police, the KGB, arrested in Lviv the Most Rev. Vasyl Velychkovskiy, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which, although outlawed and destroyed by the Soviet government in 1945—46, continues to exist as the "Church of Silence", as did the Church of the first Christians who worshipped Christ in the catacombs for fear of persecution by pagan emperors and rulers. It was further reliably reported that Archbishop Velychkovskiy was arrested on January 27, 1969, as he was visiting a sick person. After his arrest, the KGB searched the private homes of several known Ukrainian Catholic priests in Lviv and in other Ukrainian cities.

Archbishop Velychkovskiy, a member of the Redemptorist Order, was arrested after the end of World War II along with some 1,000 Ukrainian Catholic priests, and sent to Siberia for refusing to abandon his ancestral Catholic faith and to accept spurious

and Communist-controlled Orthodoxy. Released in 1957, he had been allowed to live in Lviv.

There were further reports that Archbishop Velychkovskiy had died suddenly in a Soviet prison (*The Washington Post* of March 17, 1969, *The Toronto Telegram and Star* of March 17, 1969 and in the Italian newspaper *L'Avvenire* of March 16, 1969). However, subsequent reports have denied his death, stating that he has been transported to the "capital" — which could be either Kyiv or Moscow.

### *Catholic Church Alive In Ukraine*

The arrest of Archbishop Velychkovskiy provides undeniable proof that Catholicism in Ukraine is alive despite the attempt at the complete destruction of the Catholic Church in 1945—46 by the Soviet government.

We recall with deep grief the sad fate which befell our Catholic Ukrainian brothers and sisters after World War II, the time when the USSR occupied Western Ukraine. The Soviet government arrested the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy — over 2,000 priests, monks and nuns — abolished the church organization and broke our Church's bonds with the Vatican, bonds which had existed since the Union of Brest, concluded in 1596. Together with Carpatho-Ukraine, which was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR in 1945, this compact Ukrainian ethnic territory encompassed over 5,000,000 Ukrainian Catholic faithful, 1 archbishop-metropolitan, 10 bishops, 5 dioceses, 2 areas of Apostolic Administration, 2,950 diocesan priests, 520 monastic and religious priests, 1,090 nuns, 3,040 parishes, 4,440 churches and chapels, 195 monasteries and convents, 540 seminarians, 1 ecclesiastical academy, 5 ecclesiastical seminaries, several thousand Catholic elementary schools, high schools, several Catholic colleges, 35 Ukrainian Catholic publishing houses, 28 Ukrainian Catholic journals and hundreds of Catholic institutions, libraries, welfare and aid associations, orphanages,

student and youth leagues, women's organizations and so forth.

All these were totally destroyed by Moscow and the Eastern-Rite Catholic Church in Ukraine was placed outside the law by the Soviet government. Of all the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops but one survived. He is Metropolitan Joseph Slipyi, who spent 18 years in Soviet jails and concentration camps. Released in January, 1963, upon the direct intervention of the late Pope John XXIII, he was allowed to travel to Rome, where he was made Archbishop-Major in 1963 and appointed Cardinal in 1965 by Pope Paul VI.

The destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine was deplored by the late Pope Pius XII in his two outstanding encyclicals *Orientales Omnes Ecclesias* (December 23, 1945) and *Orientales Omnes* (December 15, 1952).

In a statement issued on April 4, 1946, Archbishop Constantine Bohachevskyi and his then auxiliary Bishop Ambrose Senyshyn, said: "We speak for a nation whose Bishops, priests and faithful find themselves powerless to express themselves as they wish — a nation whose people have been rendered helpless by the well-known repressive measures of Communist activities. It is of this nation that the recent shocking announcement came from Moscow on March 17, 1946, in which it was declared that her people had broken, on March 8, at the Synod in Lviv, the 350-year-old unity with Catholic Rome in favor of Russian Orthodoxy. Because it would be a grave injustice to these people and their Church if the world should accept this announcement as the truth, we, former sons of Ukraine, reared and nurtured on her lands and thoroughly familiar with the history of her people and her Church, feel it is urgent that a statement should be made so misrepresentations may be rectified and falsehoods be made evident..."

#### *Communist Fear Of Catholicism*

It is clear that the rulers of the Soviet Union are still fearful of Catholicism and of all other religions, for they know that their souls and atheistic Communism can-

not begin to compete with the Church of Jesus Christ.

Some among us believed that the post-Stalin Kremlin leadership was sincerely bent on peaceful coexistence with the West and would as a consequence, be more tolerant as regards organized religion in the USSR. But no such thing came to pass. Yet the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR are both signatories to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, signed on December 10, 1948, which assures freedom of religion. Moscow makes much of this lip-service to freedom in its massive propaganda drives outside the USSR.

Article 18 of the *Declaration* reads:

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

Clearly, the Soviet Union and its subservient Ukrainian SSR are prime violators of the U.N. *Declaration of Human Rights* and the U.N. Charter as well and should be exposed as such before the world bar of opinion.

The Soviet Union is guilty not only of destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It also annihilated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the 1930's by slaying over 30 archbishops and bishops and 20,000 clergy and monks. It persistently harasses and persecutes other Christian adherents in Ukraine — the Baptists, Evangelists, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and others — by imposing heavy taxation and by arresting pastors and preachers. The Soviet government is relentlessly persecuting the Judaic faith by closing down synagogues, molesting religious leaders and terrorizing worshippers.

Yet, only recently (December 2, 1968) the United Nations saw fit to present a U.N. "human rights award" to Peter E. Nedbailo, a representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the U.N. Human Rights Commission for "outstanding achievements in human rights." In view of the systematic and unbridled



persecution of all religions in the USSR and the denial of human rights to the Ukrainians and other peoples in the USSR, such an award is a parody of justice and elemental human rights.

The religious persecution in Ukraine is only one aspect of the oppression of the Ukrainian people. For the past few years hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals have been arrested and tried by Communist courts in Ukraine simply for opposing the Russification of Ukraine and demanding the application of the provisions of the U.N. *Declaration of Human Rights* and of the Soviet and Ukrainian SSR constitutions as well.

On May 14, 1964, a great fire destroyed the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv; a few months later a library employee was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for the deed. Among the priceless manuscripts destroyed were records of Ukrainian folklore, literature and history, including documents of the short-lived independent state of Ukraine. Then, on November 26, 1968, another fire destroyed the Church of St. George at the Vydubetsky Monastery in Kyiv, along with irreplaceable Ukrainian and Hebraic manuscripts. The suspicion is general that these mysterious fires were deliberate acts of arson on the part of the KGB to wipe out archives that could have been strong rallying points for Ukrainian nationalist sentiments and ideology.

#### *Impact Of Czecho-Slovak Liberalization*

Moscow's intensification of religious persecution in Ukraine, especially of Ukrainian Catholics, was stepped up in the wake of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in August, 1968. The brief period of Alexander Dubcek's liberalization program had a great impact upon neighboring Ukraine. The Prague government had allowed the restoration of the Eastern rite Ukrainian Catholic Church in Slovakia and had released Bishop Hopko after 13 years of Communist captivity. Ukrainian-language radio broad-

casts and newspapers, which had been permitted to the Ukrainian minority in Slovakia, created considerable fear and apprehension in Moscow lest the liberalization should inflame Ukraine and thus threaten the Soviet Russian domination of Ukraine.

There is increasingly abundant evidence, including that appearing in the official Soviet Press, that millions of Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine have remained faithful to their ancestral Church and practice their faith in secret, despite the fact that the Catholic Church organization has been abolished.

Numerous attacks against the Ukrainian Catholic Church, appearing recently in the Soviet press in Ukraine, speak eloquently of Moscow's fear of Catholicism. A professor of the T. Shevchenko University in Kyiv, V. Tancher, wrote in *Pravda Ukrainy* (Nov. 28, 1968):

"All churches serve the interests of the exploiting classes. But the Uniate Church played a particularly reactionary role. Uniate believers desired opposition between the Ukrainian and Russian nations; they wanted to see the countries quarrel, they attempted to isolate these two friends from each other. Religious differences shook the foundation of Ukraine's national unity . . ."

An even more inciting article against the Ukrainian Catholic Church appeared on January 3, 1969, in *Kultura i Zhyttia* (Culture and Life), written by one Taras Myhal, who assailed the late Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytskyi and the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops in the Free World.

The article, "Myth and Reality" said in part:

"The Vatican, where in the 16th century this monstrous child (Uniate Church) was spawned by the Roman Catholic Church, still ignores the 1946 decision by the Lviv Sobor. It has retained the "Collegium Rusicum"; a special congregation of priests works there for the cause of the Greek Catholic Church, a large number of religious publications are produced — earmarked for

illegal entry into Western Ukrainian territory. Along the narrow streets of the Pope's capital, Uniate bishops and monks thread their way, and priests are ordained who (the Vatican hopes) will be future missionaries... New Uniate bishops are being ordained at an accelerated rate. They have included Hermaniuk, Gabro, Boretskyi, Senyshyn, Schmondiuk and Malanchuk. Like vultures they fleece the immigrants of their money, with which to build churches; they have created parishes, various religious societies, unions and publications . . ."

The entire article is directed against the late Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi and his alleged cooperation with the Germans. Moreover, the Communist writer labels all Ukrainian Catholic bishops as servants of "American and certain Western European intelligence services . . ."

Such official pronouncements in the Soviet press in Ukraine clearly indicate the attitude of the Soviet government toward Catholicism, which is deliberately identified with all real and imaginary enemies of the Soviet Union in order to justify the official persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The Soviet government, risking adverse world opinion, continues the traditional persecution of Ukrainian Catholics for no other reason than its intense opposition to religion as such in general and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in particular.

#### *Appeal For The "Church Of Silence"*

We, the undersigned, hereby appeal to all men of good-will, their religious beliefs notwithstanding, to pray earnestly for the persecuted "Church of Silence" in Ukraine. For a quarter of a century the Soviet government has been engaged in the cruel persecution of some 5 million Ukrainian Catholics, subjecting them to all the abuses of which only the totalitarian regime is capable, including executions and deportations.

Yet it has failed in its efforts to destroy the faith of the Ukrainian people in their God and their ancestral faith.

We earnestly beseech you to do the following:

- 1) Make the contents of our appeal known to your Church hierarchy, whether you are Catholic or not; your defense of the persecuted Catholic Church in Ukraine is no more and no less a defense of the right of all men everywhere to profess their religion without restriction and without fear of arrest and imprisonment;
- 2) Intercede on behalf of the persecuted 46-million Ukrainian nation with your government by making it keenly aware of the incessant violation of human and national rights of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet government, a member of the United Nations and a so-called champion of the "national liberation" of the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia.

In doing so, you will be lending invaluable moral support to the suffering people of Ukraine, thus providing them with a ray of hope in their martyrdom and misery, reminding them they are not alone or forgotten by the peoples of other countries who are blessed with the good fortune to live in freedom under a government of their own choosing.

Yours in Christ

*Ambrose Senyshyn, O. S. B. M., D. D.*

Archbishop and Metropolitan  
Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia

*Joseph M. Schmondiuk, D. D.*

Bishop  
Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Stamford

*Jaroslav Gabro, D. D.*

Bishop  
St. Nicholas Diocese of Chicago for Ukrainians

April 18, 1969



## Lenin And The Question Of Nationalities

(conclusion)

As was previously mentioned, for almost half a century the Kremlin has been manipulating the growth of the national movement as a weapon against the Free World. Suddenly, this weapon has refused to serve Moscow's policies and has automatically turned against the Red Empire. This fact is the beginning of the new phase of development of mankind's history.

At present the world is witnessing the decisive struggle of two opposite ideologies: on one side we have the ideology of liberation and self-defense, on the other side we have the last wave of hysteria of conquest and subjugation.

Desperately fighting against the process of liberation is the last wave of aggressive imperialism, cloaked under the mask of Communism. When the Communist ideology in the neighboring countries of Russia was deciphered, it lost all of its attractiveness. Today this ideology is serving as a successive mask of fiscal propaganda for the aggressive nation which is well known for its hysteria of savage conquests throughout history.

The present final and decisive struggle between these two opposing ideologies represents the main content of political development in the twentieth century. Tension in this struggle has reached such a point that the problem of any further existence of a free Europe and the continuation of European culture today depends on the result of this struggle for liberation of the entire category of subjugated nations.

Today all captive nations make up one category of nations which are fighting for the same goal — liberation from foreign supremacy. All their actions are coordinated and united by history itself, by the fact that all of them are under the subjugation of one and the same conqueror; in other words their actions are coordinated by the logical absurdity of the hysteria of conquest. The year 1956 is a successive proof of this fact.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the active struggle for liberation of subjugated nations ceased temporarily, but even in this most difficult period the idea of their struggle indomitably continued and developed.

With the appearance of the first possibility, all the subjugated nations renewed their active struggle for the restoration of liberty and the reestablishment of their own statehood. They all gained their chances simultaneously by the end of World War I. Since this event every action of each subjugated nation is going on simultaneously.

In the existing situation the first menace to peace is the USSR — as a last colonial empire. Its pretensions of dominating the world are based only on the military potential of the captive nations, on their economic sources and manpower, which in 1917 represented 57% of the population of the Russian Empire, and on the strategic location of the territories of these nations.

This military potential of the subjugated nations in the hands of Russia is destroying the world's political equilibrium and is depriving mankind of the chance to establish a lasting peace. If the military potential of the subjugated nations is removed from Moscow's military apparatus, the world will be able to found a solid and durable peace.

The Kremlin understands that this huge military potential is slipping from its hands, and therefore, it is in a panic to utilize this strength for the conquest of the world before it loses it definitely. In this situation the fate of the Free World in the next inevitable collision depends on the position of the captive nations as a category — will they fight for Russia's fantasy of world domination, or for the freedom of the Free World?

Here the question arises: what is the Free World doing today for the defense of its freedom tomorrow?

# News And Views

## Stalin's Nationalities Policy

*Stalin's reputation is being assiduously repolished* in the Soviet Union, while in the other Communist countries (with the exception of China and Albania) no one is in the least worried about it. The revaluation of Stalin as a military leader is in line with the wishes of the Soviet generals, since they were the people largely affected when his reputation sank. The more Communist ideology becomes undermined and what is represented by Moscow as Communism appears increasingly in its true dress, that is, as unmistakable *Russian imperialism*, the more the elevation of Stalin to the position of Father of his Country, a new Peter the Great, becomes a political necessity. So it is not surprising to see Stalin appearing on the stage again as a scientist, as a beaming cultural-prize politician, as a national manager, foreign-policy maker and circum-spect party leader. No excuse is made for the terror under Stalin — silence reigns over it as over everything else which could cloud Stalin's memory. Soon Russian school reading-books will have as their main content the life of Father Stalin. *The fading away of the "international" ideology*, which Moscow certainly still makes a pretence of serving, makes necessary the build-up of an international figure surrounded with much more of the glory of national history than the internationalist Lenin. But this shows also the limits set to the efforts to rehabilitate Stalin. For *Russian nationalism means the simultaneous violation of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union*, and this violation remains in the consciousness of the nationalities concerned connected above all with the name of Stalin. These problems are now clear also to the "orthodox" *Czech and Slovak Communists*. Their country may have been changed into a *federative state*, but, as is insistently announced in *Rude Pravo*, this does not mean

the *federalisation of the party*, which has to continue to be centrally controlled and will exercise central control itself.

The Baltic Communist Justus Paleckis, chairman of the Nationalities Council in the Supreme Soviet and a leading force in the *Sovietization of the Baltic republics*, recently dealt with the *nationalities policy of Lenin* in an essay in "Novoye Vremya". He attempted to represent Stalin also in his policy towards nationalities in a mild light. But this was a very difficult task. He tried to skirt the difficulty by writing that in his policy towards the nationalities, Stalin did not share Lenin's point of view. But Paleckis took care not to quote Lenin, who had once accused *Stalin of Great-Power Chauvinism* and thus hit the nail on the head.

Stalin was responsible for the *deportation of the Volga Germans* to Siberia, in which many tens of thousands perished and a native culture was destroyed. The *Crimean Tartars* met the same fate. And *Stalin's hatred of Jews* was notorious. Even from his sick-bed was this hatred still effective and only the death of the tyrant rescued the large number of doctors, whose destruction he had ordered.

But *Stalin's nationalities policy* has lost hardly any of its *brutality* with the reestablishment of his image. Of course *the Volga Germans* and the *Crimean Tartars* remain expelled and of course the *Russification of the Baltic peoples* will be continued. *Not to endanger the Rumanians in annexed Bessarabia* through the influence of Bucharest, the Rumanians in Bessarabia are forced to write their language in Russian letters. The Turkish population of Southern Russian was ordered to do the same. Police and other measures are taken to ensure that the national consciousness of the oppressed peoples is never expressed too obviously. *The persecution of intellectuals and above all of*



writers makes the message clear inside the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

Yet the dissatisfaction of these peoples with their national fate is spreading more and more. Many of these peoples, above all the Baltic states, have a higher standard of living than the Russians themselves. This promotes their endeavours towards the emphasis of national characteristics and greater right to share in decisions. In addition there is the fact that the increase in population in some of the oppressed nations is much great-

er than in Russia itself. It is well known that the Russians are slowly becoming a minority in the Soviet Union. Thus the protest movements in the oppressed peoples are especially dangerous for the men in the Kremlin. And they are becoming more and more dangerous — even in Ukraine the striving for national self-determination is becoming stronger and stronger.

*Karl Kern*

*(Sudetendeutsche Zeitung, September 12, 1969)*

### Help For Captive Nations

An appeal to religious leaders in Great Britain to help in publicising the plight of the nations captive in the Russian Communist empire, and particularly in drawing attention to the intensification of religious persecution by the Russians, has met with quite a remarkable response.

The Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, and Editor of Anglo-Ukrainian News, Mr. John Graham, has just completed the mammoth task of writing to every religious leader in Britain about the persecution, giving the example of the arrest of Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi, of the Ukrainian Catholic underground Church, and the many arrests of other religious leaders and laymen and their imprisonment without trial.

The Lord Bishop of Wakefield, the Right Reverend Eric Treacy, was the first to respond to the appeal. "When I was a parish priest in Halifax and Keighley, I had a lot to do with the emigre communities — Ukrainians, Latvians, and Estonians — so I am familiar with the fate of their countries."

Bishop Treacy suggested a "Week of Prayer" in all Churches in Great Britain.

The "Week of Prayer" — for the Captive Nations and for the persecuted Church will coincide with the British Captive Nations Week, now being organised by the British League for European Freedom for November 9th — 16th, 1969.

Up to Friday, July 25th, Mr. Graham had received nearly twenty replies from Bishops of the Church of England — all promising the fullest cooperation. The Bishop of Bradford writes: "I am convinced that we are not sufficiently conscious of the intensified religious persecution which is taking place in the areas you mention. You can rely on my support." And this letter is typical of the many received.

Altogether 42 Bishops of the Church of England were written to, as well as 16 Roman Catholic Bishops in Britain and the leaders of the Methodist, Baptist and Jewish faiths. "Replies are coming every day, all pledging support. It is good to think that for one week in November, worshippers in Churches throughout Great Britain will be reminded they have a moral responsibility for the fate of the millions in the Russian prison of nations," says Mr. Graham.

## Colonialism — Practised In Asia

Background report by HORST ELISEIT  
(Welt am Sonntag No. 30)

Port Moresby (New Guinea) 26 July.

Is there a threat of another Biafra in the Far East? In West Irian, the western part of New Guinea, a plebiscite is being attempted at this moment, as to whether almost a million Irianians want to be independent from Indonesia or not. They obviously do not: but Indonesia's rulers do.

In a short while the otherwise unlucky UN 'Secretary' General U Thant will be able to point to success. He will give the official blessing of the world organisation to a "plebiscite", which is in fact only the final act in a long political tragi-grotesque play. It is — according to the claims of its originator — to crown a victory over imperialism and colonialism and yet only legitimize the new imperialism and colonialism with which one Asian nation has raised itself to supremacy over other Asians.

It is not, however, completely impossible that U Thant's moment of success will have to be once again postponed at the last minute: since a new rebellion will break out in the jungle village and mountains of the Irian Bharat, the western part of the large island of New Guinea ruled by Indonesia. Since Brigadier-General Sarwo Edhie, the Indonesian military commander, will have once more to keep his promise made three months ago, when he was preparing to suppress with the machine guns of his paratroopers the rebellion of some ten thousand men of the Papuan tribes still living, for the most part, in the Stone Age. "If they set themselves against Indonesia", General Edhie said then, "I have no choice: I will smash them."

### *Only 600 Kms Of Roads*

Sarwo Edhie kept his promise three months ago. In a petition handed in by the exile movement "Free Papua" to the UN Secretariat in New York 50,000 people were spoken of as having been "smashed" in the six years of Indonesian rule.

But who can check this in a country which

— twice as large as West Germany — is almost completely covered with thick jungle, crossed by 5,000 metre-high mountains, full of steaming swampy lowlands; whose total network of roads comprises just under 600 kms; which can only be "travelled" through by helicopter, plane, boat or by least half of the estimated 800,000 inhabitants have not even a vague idea of what exists beyond their tribal area.

Who can in such a country find out exactly how many of its naked poison-arrow warriors were killed in the normal tribe feuds or in the numerous local unrests caused by the arbitrariness, corruption, and exploitation of the Indonesian administrative posts. How many were killed simply because of revolt against the newcomers, the foreigners, who look so different in their height, the colour of their skin; the soldiers, who never go out without weapons; the smart officers and well-groomed officials from distant Java, who lead the gay party life of a small colonial upper class in their air-conditioned bungalows, with their graceful, elegant wives — screened against the pitiless sun, attended by numerous servants.

Incidentally Indonesia's all-powerful military commander, the Papua-smasher Edhie, didn't come to Irian Bharat without practical experience. On his native Indonesian island he played a considerable role when at least two hundred thousand people were killed in the "purges" after Sukarno's fall.

U Thant, however, who never grows tired of accusing the White Rhodesians of oppression, has taken no note of these large scale massacres.

After Indonesia became independent in 1949, Sukarno demanded the surrender by Holland of West Guinea also, which had been a Dutch colony for about 120 years and whose Papua and Pygmy population stood in the same relation to the inhabitants of the main Indonesian islands as the Congolese to the Eskimos. When Holland refused to hand it over, Sukarno bought weapons in Moscow and sent invasion troops to New Guinea. Thereupon the UN



felt forced to act. Together with Washington, it pressed the Dutch to hand over the colony to Sukarno, and as quickly as possible.

To camouflage the change in colonial rulers as "liberation from colonial yoke", the agreement reached in 1962 provided that the natives of West New Guinea should at the latest by the end of 1969 vote whether to remain with the Indonesians or become independent. This "act of free decision", which is to extend over several weeks, has now begun. For this purpose Indonesia has selected a thousand "electors" who are to express and discuss a "free opinion" as representatives of their 800,000 countrymen during the "plebiscite".

Naturally these "electors" include those head chiefs who in several plane-loads flew to Djakarta, to the almost 3,000 kms distant capital of "their" Indonesian fatherland, where the astonished head Papuans were splendidly received and even introduced to General Suharto. Deeply impressed by the respectful welcome and the unusual attractions of the never before enjoyed life of a large city, the head Papuans assured the

"all-highest chief" that he could count on their loyalty.

Thus Indonesia is viewing the result of the vote with confidence. In the UN Team also no one is in doubt about the result. And certainly at the moment hardly any other possibility is imaginable than remaining with Indonesia. Neither the UN nor anyone else in the world would like to be burdened with the development of West New Guinea. A "Free Papua" couldn't exist economically and is politically also inconceivable, as long as a large part of the island still lives in the Stone Age.

#### *Abominable Hypocrisy*

Nevertheless, colonialism is colonialism, even when it is blessed by the UN and practised not by whites but by Asians. Particularly bad and old fashioned — after the historically determined colonial epoch has come to an end — this neo-colonialism, however, appears, which refuses ever to develop its colonial conquest to independence; but which — as is happening today in Indonesia — advertises hypocritically the annexed area as an "eternal part of the holy fatherland."

### **Forced Labour In The "Workers' Paradise"**

The UNO has had before it for a long time a map of the Soviet Russian forced labour camps, up to now without any reaction. The following camps, i. a., have been named: Alma Ata, Anurmin, Beresniki, Bogoshi, Dudina, Gandala, Isma, Yaroslav, Ivashka, Kadluga, Kaluga, Kara, Kum, Karabash, Krivyi Rih, Kurgam, Lemborskaya, Naviersk, Noska, Pervomaisk, Saborovo, Shukhugar, Sukhobesvodnoye, Tbilisi, Ufa, Uka, Ulanude, Ushta, Wanger, Voloshkodka, Vorkuta, Voronesh, Vkhodnoy. The largest group of Soviet Russian forced workers belong to the nations subjugated by Moscow: Bulgarians, Germans, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Finns, Jews, Kalmucks, Kirghizians, Poles, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs and Hungarians. The death rate of occupants

of these camps is high for the following reasons: unaccustomed climate (especially in the north), bad clothing and food, too heavy work, no real medical treatment, bad accommodation.

As is known, it has been claimed not only by Western Communists but also by serious publications and reporters time and again, that since the death of Stalin there have been no more forced labour camps in the Soviet Union. Even the statements of people returning, including also Germans, have not been enough to get rid of this claim. This page of Soviet reality today does not fit the illusionary climate which at present determines the attitudes of many Western writers and journalists.

(WEHR political information).

# Thousands Of Americans Appeal To Us Government

## RESOLUTION

adopted by Mass Rally of AF-ABN in Chicago, Ill., USA, July 1969

*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 whereas Russian and Chinese Communism continues to build up its vast colonial empire and threatens the peace, security, and independence of the Free World, carrying out subversive conspiracies in Latin America, Africa, and even in our own country, conducting open, aggressive warfare in South Vietnam, neighboring countries of Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, having made deep inroads into the Arab countries, and building up its threatening military power in the area of the Mediterranean;*

*NOW, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Proclamation of Captive Nations Week, we feel a particular urgency and a sacred obligation to speak on behalf of the millions of human beings under the tyranny of the Communist colonial empire.*

*THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the American Friends of ABN, to urge the United States to assume the role of leadership by taking a course motivated by the most sacred human obligations; the horrible fact that one third of mankind is already enslaved by Communist and Russian imperialism necessitates a new policy which would encourage the aspirations and movements for national independence of all enslaved peoples by an expressed and unequivocal commitment of the United States of America to support, by all means possible, such aspirations for national freedom and independence;*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that in view of the indivisibility of freedom and peace, the restoration of the sacred rights of all the nations based on principles of democracy, self-determination and sovereignty within their respective ethnic boundaries, is of paramount importance to establish the freedom, security, and stability of the entire world. Consequently this policy is in the best interest of our country for the present and in years to come,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we at this very critical and perhaps fatal moment for the entire Free World support unreservedly the United States' resistance to Communist aggression in South Viet-Nam and the building up of forces of freedom in that part of the front of the Free World; in this spirit we salute the members of the United States and Allied Armed Forces,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that following the anniversary year of the Proclamation of Human Rights and in view of the flagrant violations of these same rights by the Soviet Union through the suppression and occupation by Russians of Czecho-Slovakia during that very year, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations place on the agenda of the United Nations the following demands:*



1. *the abolishment of slave labor, mass deportations, all concentration camps, and all forms of genocide,*
2. *the guarantee of a free 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 the United Nations Organization,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we oppose the admission of the Chinese Communist regime to the United Nations Organization;*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we oppose "One-way Bridges" and the opening of a Russian Consulate in Chicago;*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that since every nation has the right of self-determination this right belongs also to the Biafrans; in the name of humanity we most urgently appeal to the United States government to help the suffering and starving human beings being murdered in masses by the Nigerian aggressors, armed by the Russian barbarians and the British labor government,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that special efforts must be made by the United States towards an awakening and strengthening of all moral forces, particularly at a time when we are warned by the burning martyrs in the interest of freedom; it is frightening that at this time we are faced by an unparalleled loss of ethical concern and incredible callousness towards the enslaved, abandoned to their ordeal,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the United States government stop building up the Russian Communist empire, particularly the Russian military power by selling it important military equipment,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the United States government stop trading with the Communist countries because in so doing, it helps them to tighten their grip on the enslaved; whatever is gained at great risk by the desperate, enslaved men and women through sabotaging Russian economy is completely destroyed through trading,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, to appeal to the United States authorities to undertake utmost efforts in the interest of the sacred values in cultural, social, and educational institutions so vital for the preservation of freedom. It is appalling to see how free men let themselves be used in the portrayal of anarchism, nihilism, defeatism, amorality, pacifism, and atheism in the service of the blood-stained Red Empire,*

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this Committee reiterates its support for the establishment of the permanent Captive Nations Committee (House Resolution 211) and Freedom Academy; there is a desperate need for a forum in which the Free World would have confidence; the U.N. has failed to be such a forum to handle the issues of injustice and crimes against humanity; the recent appeal of 54 citizens of the USSR which has been ignored up to this day speaks for itself; the UNESCO's decision to commemorate the centenary of Lenin by peddling this criminal as a humanist is an insult to the civilized world community and reveals the real interests of this organization; by the establishment of a trustworthy forum, the United States will prove to the entire world that it will not cease in its efforts until all subjugated nations are able to enjoy their God-given rights in their sovereign states.*

## Russian Glacier

To the Editor: As a Canadian and a student of international affairs I am ashamed of the NATO policy the government is pursuing. We are weakening the whole structure and betraying our friends and allies.

It is not a matter of the actual power of the Canadian forces overseas but of their symbolical quality. Prime Minister Trudeau seems determined to destroy the symbol. He gives aid and comfort to those who might tomorrow be our enemies.

First, our forces overseas, small though they may be, ensure that an attack on them would draw in all the rest, even the French. Second, the solidarity of the West is just as necessary as it ever was.

If Mr. Trudeau knew his European history as a man of his attainments should, he would know something about (1) the nature of an empire; (2) the course of Russian expansion.

The brute fact we face is not Communism but Russian power. If Mr. Trudeau will review his Russian history, he will learn that it consists mainly of the story of Russian expansion from the ancient centre of the Principality of Moscow.

How would Mr. Trudeau and Mitchell Sharp like to have the Russians on the Atlantic coast of Europe? We would look rather funny, would we not, with an un-

friendly coastline presented to us on the other side there? Yet, sooner or later, this glacier-like expansion, unless it can be checked, may well bring Russia to the Atlantic, incorporating Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and even Germany.

All imperial powers are glaciers and it takes an enormous amount of persistence to check them in their course. In this respect Russia is no different in her expansion (though more successful) than was Great Britain, and no different from the United States.

It will take the combined, prolonged and perpetual efforts of the West over an unforeseeable period of the future to stop or divert the Russian glacier.

And here is Canada shortsightedly sabotaging the efforts of her friends. I hang my head in shame. Men who sabotage the grand western alliance against the most obvious of dangers are no true liberals, for they are helping to betray freedom.

A. R. M. Lower, C. C.  
History Professor at Queen's  
University  
Kingston, Ont. Canada

Kitchener-Waterloo Record,  
Friday, July 11, 1969

## NATO Cut By Canada 'A Betrayal'

A prominent Canadian historian said on Friday that the country's reduction in its commitment to NATO amounts to "betraying our friends and allies."

A. R. M. Lower, history professor at Queen's University, Kingston, and former president of the Royal Society of Canada, said in a letter to the editor of *The Telegram* the presence of Canadian troops in Europe ensures the support of other European countries in case of attack by the Soviet Union.

Criticizing Prime Minister Trudeau, he said that if the Prime Minister "knew European history . . . he would know something about the nature of empire and the course

of Russian expansion."

Prof. Lower said that Russia's history during the last 600 years was one of expansion, culminated by last year's takeover of Czecho-Slovakia.

Under Peter I, he said, Russia expanded to the Baltic Sea and under Catherine the Great, she reached the Black Sea.

"This glacier-like expansion, unless it can be checked, may well bring Russia to the Atlantic, incorporating Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and even Germany", he said.

Kitchener-Waterloo, Record,  
Sat., July 19, 1969



## Memorandum Of The Serbian National Committee To President Nixon

The Serbian National Committee sent a memorandum to President Richard Nixon to attract his attention to the Communist danger.

We would like to quote the following excerpts from the memorandum:

"The Serbian National Committee in its struggle for freedom of the Serbian people has always held as a basic truth that Communism by its nature is the greatest enemy of every free nation. It is first of all the greatest enemy of the American nation, since the American nation is the most powerful of all the free nations of the world. The Communist world knows that if the American people fall the Free World will fall too. This hostile policy directed against all the free peoples of the world was and is the basic policy of the most powerful Communist country, the Soviet Union. This is the policy followed by all, we repeat all, Communist regimes including Tito's regime. They have all risen against 'American imperialism'. Not daring to risk an open war, the Soviet Union is directing its efforts at destroying the United States, from within . . . All Communist regimes — from that of Mao to those of Tito and Brezhnev — are unanimous in their condemnation of the United States. All, without a single exception, are unanimous in their condemnation of 'American imperial-

ism' which is their definition for the American and South Vietnamese struggle for freedom."

"In addition to confiscated private capital, Tito received from the West over four billion dollars, of which more than two billion was contributed by the U.S.A."

"Mr. President, all Communist regimes, all Communists find themselves now in one and the same dilemma. On one hand they are threatened with complete economic bankruptcy, and therefore they fear the menace of public discontent unless they follow the path of 'liberalization'. On the other hand if they follow the path of 'liberalization' they jeopardize their very survival."

"There exists the following incontrovertible fact: if Communism falls in the U.S.S.R., practically simultaneously all Communist regimes in Europe will fall. If Communism were to fall in any other country, in spite of the seriousness of the situation, this would not bring about its fall everywhere."

"This difference, the fall of Communism in the U.S.S.R. or elsewhere, is quite clear to the Communists in Europe, from Gomulka to Tito from Todor Zhivkov to Enver Hoxa. This is why they are not to be considered as allies of the West either in the permanent conflict between the Free World and the U.S.S.R. or in an open war."

### 500 Slovaks Received by the Pope

On September 13, 1969 Pope Paul VI gave an audience to about 500 pilgrims from Slovakia. The Pope urged them above all to allow no compromises with ways of thinking (in opposition to the gospel), which had penetrated a large part of modern society.

### Soviet Penetration

The Sudeten-German Social Democrat writer and journalist Karl Kern now living in Sweden has published an article under the title "West and East" in a bulletin pub-

lished in Munich. We reproduce it here in shortened form.

The Soviet penetration into the Mediterranean is precision work. We must respect it — it is a matter of reality! The Russian empire is pursuing a world policy, while the West is kindly retiring. Good old imperialism is now travelling on ideological lines. And it is going well. At a party in Rome recently, a Soviet diplomat said to his American colleague: "You're interested in oil, we're interested in victory. The subtle difference is that victory will get US the oil as well!"

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## New Arrests And Repressions In Ukraine

News of new imprisonments and repressions by the KGB of the creative intelligentsia and young people, who are not afraid to defend the right to freedom and to fight, within the framework of the constitution of the USSR, against oppression and national discrimination, was received from Ukraine.

It became known that in the fall of 1963 Zenon Krasivskyi was arrested in Lviv with a group of young people, including some members of the militia, who were accused of belonging to the nationalist organization, the Ukrainian National Front.

Hryp was arrested in the beginning of 1969 and Bohdan Chaban, a construction engineer, born in 1939, in June, for allegedly possessing various underground publications.

Reliable sources in Ukraine inform that parcels, containing food and clothing destined for Ukrainian political prisoners confined to the Mordovian concentration camps, which were sent by relatives, friends or countrymen from abroad, or the Amnesty International, were not delivered to Ukrainian prisoners. Similar parcels sent from abroad to prisoners of other nationalities were delivered to them.

(Such conduct by the KGB organs demands that new steps be taken by the appropriate organs of the United Nations, the International Red Cross and the Amnesty International.)

Some imprisoned and repressed Ukrainian intellectuals whose works, letters and petitions were published abroad and circulated among foreigners wholeheartedly support these endeavours and express their disappointment and astonishment at the

fact that since the Teheran conference on human rights actions in their defense of both Ukrainians living abroad and the people of the West have ceased completely.

News from Ukraine on this subject was confirmed by Gerald Brook, an Englishman who was recently released from the Mordovian concentration camp. He was confined to the international zone together with Dr. V. Horbovyi who was sent to Mordovia without a trial and who spent 23 years there already. He is due for release in 1971. G. Brook considers Dr. Horbovyi a patriarch of the political prisoners of the Mordovian concentration camps and recommends that attempts be made to obtain Dr. Horbovyi's release prior to that date and, taking into consideration the fact that Dr. Horbovyi is not a Soviet citizen, permission for him to go abroad.

*Svoboda* of September 20, 1969 reports that in Dnipropetrovsk a young poet and journalist, Ivan Sokulskyi, was sentenced to three years of imprisonment. In the beginning of the year he was dismissed from work on the editorial staff of the factory newspaper *Enerhetyk* for lack of solidarity in the pogrom-like campaign against the novel *Sobor* by Oles Honchar. Ivan Sokulskyi was born in 1940 in the Dnipropetrovsk region. He worked in the factories of Dnipropetrovsk and then in the mines of the Donbas and the Lviv and Volyn Basin. Ivan Sokulskyi was tried for allegedly writing the well-known "Letter of the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" which was circulating throughout Ukraine and was published in the West. He was found guilty in spite of the fact that he categorically denied being the co-author of the said letter.



## UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM UNDER ATTACK

Kyiv, Ukraine — On February 13-14, 1969 the third plenum of the Union of Writers of Ukraine was held, during which a number of Communist writers attacked Ukrainian nationalism. In opening the plenum, Oles T. Honchar, first secretary of the Union, called on Ukrainian writers to stick closely to the "all-Union literary process." Another writer, Leonid Novychenko, followed suit in the same vein.

It was the same Honchar who last year was scathingly assailed for his book *Sobor* (The Cathedral), which was adjudged by party censors to be a "nationalist" work, opposed to "socialist realism."

Honchar criticized Ukrainian writers outside Ukraine whom he accused of falsifying the literary processes in Ukraine, and called on Soviet literary critics to vigorously op-

pose the "enemy ideology."

Novychenko assailed a number of young Ukrainian writers who were said to be "confused" and who commit unpardonable blunders by exposing an "incorrect philosophical outlook." He also assailed non-Communist Ukrainian writers outside Ukraine, stating:

"A permanent front of our critics as of all other literary forces, should be an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology, against enemy assaults on Soviet literature and on its creative method — socialist realism. In the ranks of the enemies we have an especially clever one — Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. These professional masters in Munich, Canada and New York not only smear us, but deceitfully flirt with some of us, who they believe may be easy

### A Political Trial In Kyiv

Only recently we have received news that in Kyiv a trial of A. Nazarenko, a worker at the Kyiv Hydroelectric Station, was held. He and two other defendants, Kondryukov and Karpenko, were tried for conducting anti-state propaganda and agitation.

The indictment stated that they sent illegal leaflets through the mail, which condemned Ukraine's Russification by the Russian invaders.

Nazarenko took all the blame upon himself in an attempt to protect his friends.

The court sentenced the defendants on the basis of Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the USSR as follows: Nazarenko to 5 years, Kondryukov to 3 years and Karpenko to 13 months of imprisonment under harsh conditions.

### A Protest Against The Occupation Regime

On May 28, 1969 the Russians tried Mykola Boryslavskiy of Berdyansk, Zaporizhe oblast, for "anti-state action". The trial was held behind closed doors.

What "crime" has been committed by the defendant?

At the beginning of this year (February 10th) Boryslavskiy, 45, a teacher and father of three children, and a former inmate of the Russian concentration camps, has put up placards in the vicinity of the university, condemning the Russification policies of the Russian occupation regime in Ukraine. Thereafter he attempted to commit suicide. But passers-by and the militia prevented this and he was arrested.

The KGBists tried to implicate Ukrainian journalist Volodymyr Sydorenko of Dnipropetrovsk in the Boryslavskiy case. The police searched Sydorenko's apartment but failed to find any compromising materials. Then Sydorenko was taken all the way to Kyiv and forced to sign a denunciation of Boryslavskiy.

As the result of this "trial", which the public was not permitted to attend, the Russians sentenced the defendant to 2½ years of hard labor in a concentration camp.

## Chornovil's Wife Arrested

We have received an unconfirmed report that the wife of Vyacheslav Chornovil, a physician by profession, who supported her young son and husband, who could not find work anywhere, at a time when he was allegedly "free", was arrested by the KGB. What happened to the Chornovils' little boy is not known.

Is the KGB really resorting to such methods in order to break Chornovil, who is longing for general recognition of human rights in the whole world?! It seems that, contrary to the allegations of the coexistentialists, nothing has changed in the USSR.

## Valentyn Moroz Released

According to news coming from Ukraine, Valentyn Moroz, a young historian from Lutsk in Volhynia, born in 1936, arrested at the end of August 1965 and sentenced to four years in a forced labor camp in January 1966 by the regional court of Volhynia for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", was released at the beginning of September of this year. Valentyn Moroz's name is known from the "Report from the Reserva-

tion called Beria", which was disseminated in Ukraine with his signature. After being held for two years in Mordovian concentration camps Moroz's was taken to a prison in Volodymyr in May 1968 and remained there in solitary confinement for over a year, accused of having written the previously mentioned report. He was finally taken to a Mordovian concentration camp again.

## Christianity — A Dynamic Force In Ukraine

In order to document the fact that Christianity is alive in Ukraine we are reprinting excerpts from an article-letter by M. Klympotyuk which appeared in *Molod Ukrainy* (Sept. 7, 1969), an organ of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, published in Kyiv. M. Klympotyuk is a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1929 and lives in Uzhhorod. In the editor's note, *Molod Ukrainy* added: "Publishing M. Klympotyuk's letter, the editorial board shares his view on the work of I. Chendei.

"We hope that the office of the editor-in-chief of the publishing house *Molod* after considering M. Klympotyuk's stand (and the position of the organ of the CC of Komsomol — *Molod Ukrainy* — Ed. Note) will give the readers of our newspaper an exhaustive explanation in view of the remarks expressed by the author."

Both the letter of the member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the

editor's note of *Molod Ukrainy* must be interpreted as attacks on Ivan Chendei for his novel *The March Snow*. The very title of the article-letter "Beyond Historic Truth", with a sub-title "The reader expresses his view" is designed to condemn the book's author and to stigmatize its contents.

"We have picked up the book of the well-know Transcarpathian writer Ivan Chendei *The March Snow*, which was recently published by the *Molod* publishing house, with great interest.

"We did not have to search hard for facts. Let us only take the story "Ivan", which is an introductory work, and for that reason, also an ideological prelude to the whole book. The main characters of the story are the former head of the village Council, Ivan Kalamar, a priest, Ivan Stakh, and the priest's son, also Ivan. In other words, "three Ivans", as one of the chapters was called.



It is not strange that the author takes off his hat before "the good pope" Ivan Stakh, bows before him. I Chendei made Ivan Stakh appear as one of the most humanitarian, good, honest and wise men of the village of Zaberezhzha. In the author's opinion he should be an example and a standard for those who manage all village affairs. According to the writer, Ivan Stakh and all priests, are able and fair men, who love their neighbors and help them; these people are jacks of all trades: both priests and gardeners, "healers of human ills", first rate workers and wise peasants. In other words, Ivan Chendei attributed to Ivan Stakh all those human qualities which, as it appears from the work, are not shared by anyone else in Zaberezhzha.

And Ivan Kalamar? The author does not even have one warm word to say in his defense. He is a horrible man, a drunkard, who takes the law into his own hands and with whose will everyone must reckon for otherwise he will resort to his fist, and thus try to prove that he can do whatever he pleases. The author praises Ivan Kalamar's individuality, gives it a stereotyped characteristic.

Who is this Kalamar? Has he no experience in life whatsoever? No, Ivan Kalamar, as the novel reveals, is a son of a hardworking peasant, who grew up in poverty and want and himself experienced persecution on social grounds. A protest against injustices was brewing within him since adolescence; he witnessed how the older people of his village were fighting against the bourgeois and fascist forces of occupation. He decided to fight too, became a partisan and then in 1944 joined the heroic Soviet Army as a volunteer and waged an armed struggle for freedom and the union of the Transcarpathian region with Soviet Ukraine. Upon returning to his native village, Zaberezhzha, Ivan Kalamar has himself elected head of the village Council. Then he becomes an official in charge of state purchases, later the head of the village consumers' association, and finally the manager of cafeterias.

But no matter what office he would hold, no matter what job he would do, Ivan Kalamar was always drinking and having a good time. Everyone knew that now freedom reigned and he was free to do what he pleased. He imposed his will on all, including Father Stakh, without even mentioning the common people. He was in essence resorting to robbery; "in the name of the Soviet government" he confiscated hay here, a sewing machine and other household goods there.

Visiting the home of Father Stakh on one occasion, Ivan Kalamar spoke to him in a raised voice, filled with arrogance and scorn, which should not be done by an honest man, let alone a Communist. Ethics does not permit this. But Ivan Kalamar said to the priest: "I — Ivan Ivanovych! Understand . . ."

And on another occasion: "The people cannot have their Easter bread blessed this year."

"And the reader wonders. Was Ivan Kalamar not taught by the brave partisans how to become worthy of the noble tasks of a man? Did not the Soviet Army, whose volunteer he was, have any influence on his spiritual development? And did not life itself, which prevailed in the Transcarpathian region in the years following liberation, help Kalamar to become a worthy representative of the Soviet government in the village?

"In my opinion, the writer is attempting to make the reader believe that religion is a great and powerful weapon which cannot be equalled by anything else. Perhaps, it is strange to say this today. In particular, by a man who, in view of his role in society, is called upon to propagate and to reinforce the progressive tendencies in social life.

"I, as a representative of the older generation of Communists of the Transcarpathian region, am bitterly disappointed by the appearance of the book *The March Snow*."

## Book Reviews

Hermann Raschhofer: *THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATIONS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS*. The Legal Report in the Aaland controversy of September 5, 1920. Published by the Publishing Co. Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne, 1969, 87 pp.

This academic publication from the Study Society for Central and Eastern European Partnership in Wiesbaden concerns itself with the controversy which arose after the declaration of independence by Finland (on December 6 1917) over the island of Aaland. This island was claimed by Finland, Sweden and Russia.

The author of this publication, Dr. Hermann Raschhofer, Professor of International Law at the University of Würzburg, holds the view that this report by a committee of lawyers from the League of Nations on this international controversy "represents not only an important stage in the development of the right of self-determination, it has also importance for serious present-day problems." A party to the dispute, Sweden, appealed before the Council of the League of Nations to the national right of self-determination. At that time the right of national self-determination was not generally acknowledged as a principle of international law. Even in the statutes of the League of Nations (in contrast to the later statutes of the United Nations) it was not included.

Professor Raschhofer describes after the introductory chapters the origin of the controversy and comments of the report of the legal commission. He points out its importance for the history of the right of self-determination. The publication also contains the authentic English and French texts of the report of the legal commission and its German translation.

In the description of the history of the right of self-determination the author also mentions the declaration on the "rights of

the peoples of Russia" of November 15, 1917, in which the Russian Bolshevist government expressly acknowledged the sovereignty of these nations and their right of self-determination to the point of complete separation and the formation of independent states. The questionability of this recognition is shown by the author in the case of Finland. The Russian-Bolshevist rulers behaved similarly to the Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Armenians and all other peoples who made use of their right to self-determination after the Bolshevik coup d'état, separated themselves from Russia and declared the independence of their countries.

The author also quotes the 17th article of the valid constitution of the Soviet Union, which "guarantees" the right of every "Union Republic" to leave the Soviet Union freely. He also points in this connection to the discrepancy between the text of the constitution and reality in the Soviet Union.

Professor Raschhofer states the following: "The Soviet arguments for the justification of the forceful occupation of Czecho-Slovakia in the summer of 1968 are an immense proof of the unbroken continuation of Stalin's doctrine of self-determination in the present." It remains to be added to this that Soviet Russia violated the right of self-determination of the Slovak nation not only with this occupation, but also with the forcible reestablishment of the artificial Czecho-Slovak formation in Spring 1945 against the wishes of the Slovak nation.

Dr. C. E. Pokorny

*CZECHO-SLOVAKIA 1968*. Published by the Economist Newspaper Ltd., London, 1968, 56 pp.

This pamphlet contains commentaries on the political position in the "Czecho-Slovak Socialist Republic (CSSR)" during the Dub-



cek regime (before and after the Russian invasion), reprinted from the London Economist. They were written by editorial writers and correspondents of the Economist.

The position in the CSSR is compared with that in the satellite states and mostly considered from the Czech point of view. The Slovak question is only exceptionally referred to in passing. Thus for example in the article "Dubcek rides his tiger" (March 30, 1969), we find the following remark: "Finally, there is the card that only a Slovak like Mr. Dubcek, playing for high stakes in Prague, can use: the pressure of discontented Slovak nationalists." Over the efforts of the Dubcek regime to counteract through compromise solutions the attempts towards independence of the Slovak people, only the following is written (in the article: "You may argue but don't oppose", April 20, 1968): "There is . . . the promise to give Slovaks a new deal in a 'socialist federation' (the Slovaks have been told to draft a new constitutional law by the end of June) . . ." It is never mentioned that the Slovak people are endeavouring towards a free and independent state.

In the article "Dubcek gets his chance" (August 10, 1968) the following claim is made: "Mr. Dubcek has preserved his country's sovereignty; there is no longer any talk of permanently stationing Russian troops — or even Russian military observers — on Czech soil. By "Mr. Dubcek's

country" obviously the CSSR is meant and by Czech soil also Slovak soil. Although this is an article written even before August 21, 1968, the quoted claim made about Dubcek does not correspond to the situation even then. Mr. Dubcek could not maintain what in reality did not exist. The Czecho-Slovak formation even then — and in general since its forcible reestablishment by the Russian Red Army in Spring 1945 — possessed no real sovereignty. Since then it has been without break a satellite state of Soviet Russia. The Dubcek regime was, it is true, concerned with converting the fictional sovereignty of the CSSR into a real one, but these efforts failed.

The reprinted articles are in general written in a very nebulous manner. Particularly confused is the argumentation in the article "Towards the Next Russian Revolution" (September 14, 1968). There a nebulous reference is made to the possibility of a new Russian revolution, through which the Russians would free themselves. Probably only a change of regime in the Russian empire is meant. It would be fully unrealistic to assume that the Russians would carry out a revolution to dissolve the Russian empire and to liberate the subjugated peoples. The authors of this article probably did not have this in mind, since in their articles the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union are not even mentioned.

C. E. P.

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### **Legal Proceedings Against Demonstrators**

The Communist paper *Pravda* of Bratislava reported that 107 persons have been summoned to appear in court to answer

charges of "disturbing public order." They were accused of having participated in a demonstration against the Russian occupational forces, which took place on August 21, 1969, on the first anniversary of the Russian invasion of the country.



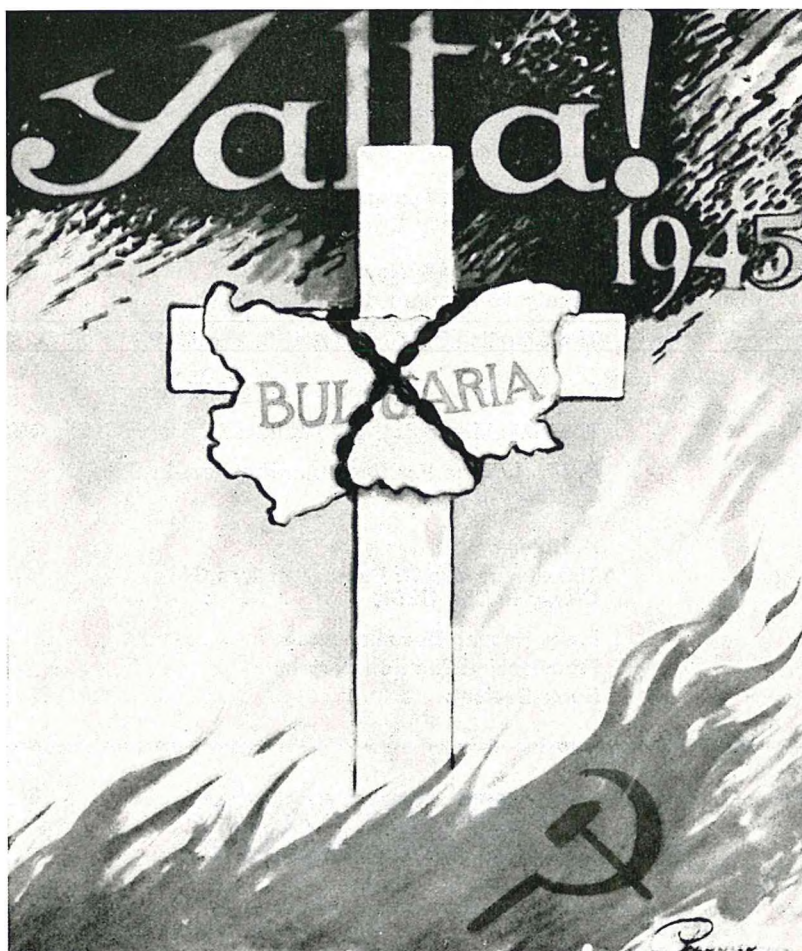
**Thousands of Ukrainians from all over the world and friends from the subjugated nations gather in Munich to pay tribute to Stepan Bandera.**



# **ABN** CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



9.9.1944 ~ 9.9.1969

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# **An Appraisal Of Captive Nations Week**

*by Congressman Edward J. Derwinski*

This year, the tenth observance of Captive Nations Week was celebrated in the United States and seventeen Free World countries. Since that first July in 1959, after the United States Congress passed the Captive Nations Week Resolution and President Eisenhower signed it into law, we have conducted ten annual weeks in symbolic behalf of the Captive Nations.

The purpose of the basic motivation by Captive Nations Week was to maintain the spirit of the captive peoples and to provide an expression for their views which is denied them behind the Iron Curtain. The Captive Nations have been properly described as the "Achilles' Heel" of Communism, and this description is certainly accurate.

Captive Nations Week is accomplishing what it set out to do. The apparent disintegration of the Communist monolith favorably reinforces the course and goals of the movement, particularly the force of patriotic nationalism which is stressed.

The international Communist conspiracy is the great threat to world peace and stability. True peace and freedom, the legitimate goal of all mankind, will come to Vietnam, Cuba, China, Bulgaria and other oppressed lands only when the peoples are represented by governments of their own true choices.

Let me briefly review the Captive Nations question and its importance to the Free World. The First period of Communist expansion affected those nations of Eastern Europe formerly a part of Tsarist Russia, which were incorporated into the Soviet Union soon after the Bolsheviks established power. The second wave of expansion occurred following World War II when the Soviet Union dropped the Iron Curtain of terror between the East European nations and the Free World and provided massive support to the Communist forces in China. By direct use of its forces in nations occupied at the close of World War II, Soviet Russia established puppet governments whose power was insured by Soviet military might and terroristic policies against their populations. Resistance to the Communist regimes was crushed by mass executions and deportations. Tragically, millions of people survived the attempted world conquest by the axis powers only to fall prey to Soviet Russian domination.

Communism attempts to eradicate the individuality of people and thus runs head-long into the deep-rooted age-old nationalistic traditions of the captive peoples. That is why in our struggle against Communism we can remain confident of the ultimate triumph of free men over the evil ideology which we combat.

For years Communism has claimed to be the "wave of the future." Its pressures in diplomatic, propaganda, economic and military fields created the image of an irresistible force. However, the failure of any Communist government to provide true progress for the people it controls and the outright rejection of Communism in election processes throughout the world clearly demonstrates that Communism is a self-defeating philosophy.

In Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America the Communists continue their efforts to subvert governments. However, their efforts are basically non-productive.

Just a few years ago many Free World statesmen naively proclaimed that "Communism is mellowing" and the day would come when Free World cooperation with Communist tyrants would be possible. The Soviet Russian occupation of Czecho-Slovakia and the direct military activities by the Communists in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia show that far from mellowing, the Communists are actually striking out with greater intensity. I regard their efforts as desperate moves by tyrants who know their defeat is inevitable.

I believe that we in the Free World have clearly gained momentum in world affairs but to reach maximum effectiveness we must develop a totally coordinated attack against the Communists in propaganda, diplomatic and economic fields. The Communists must be kept on the defensive in all fields and the internal dissent which exists in every Communist-held nation must be effectively nurtured by Free World forces.

I re-emphasize that one of the main reasons Communism will meet defeat is the failure of Red efforts to suppress legitimate nationalistic aspirations. The Soviet Russians are attempting to achieve the dreams of the Russian Tsars for territorial expansion, and the people of the Captive Nations realize that they must maintain their traditional language, culture, religious beliefs and distinctive traditions as weapons to overcome false Communist ideology.

I strongly oppose any liberalization of trade with any Communist government. Trade experiences with the Red totalitarian states since World War II provide solid historical lessons for not repeating mistakes. There is ample evidence that governments such as the French and British have failed to achieve any positive results for themselves or the Free World by recognizing the Peking government. As a matter of fact, the positive and effective steps the Free World governments should take are to terminate diplomatic relations with the Communist governments that do not honestly serve and represent their people. An international quarantine of Communist governments would hasten their collapse.

I am absolutely confident that the Free World will triumph over Communist tyranny and that all peoples will ultimately enjoy the blessings of freedom and international tranquility.

In recent years we have seen Communist setbacks in Indonesia and Vietnam, new unrest in Czecho-Slovakia, and failure to make any progress in Latin America and Africa. The Soviet Union and its puppet governments are at a low point in their effectiveness at the United Nations. On the other hand, the crisis in Czecho-Slovakia reminded the Free World that Communism cannot mellow and that Red governments automatically suppress any attempt at intellectual, economic or social freedom.



## From The Declaration By H. M. Simeon II, The King Of The Bulgarians

The Communist regime in Bulgaria celebrated the 25th anniversary of its seizure of power. A quarter of a century of political assassination, persecution, intellectual and religious oppression is praised as the dawning of a new Utopia.

The reactionary Sofia regime has done away with the Constitution of Tirnovo and all its guarantees. The country's energy is squandered, its labour and wealth wasted on the imperialistic goals of international Communism. Inspiration is poisoned, artists and writers are forced to follow cramping political directives. The truth is distorted and only fear, through the countless abuses and privations, holds back the people's resentment. Born in deceit, nurtured in lies, the Communist regime celebrated on September 9 amidst irrealities and more lies, nothing but its utter failure.

Is it possible to ask the Bulgarian people to celebrate this anniversary, which recalls its thousands of victims, its prisons, its concentration camps, the so-called people's courts, poverty and the suppression of civil rights and liberties?

The little that has been accomplished in 25 years — insignificant compared to the progress in economically independent countries — is not due to the regime's efforts, but to the people's toil. Even if the Communist party were to fulfil its vain promises

to raise the standard of living, this could never satisfy the Bulgarians, because nothing can compensate for their loss of freedom.

Our people are tough and will survive. They possess great qualities and our beautiful homeland has the resources to rise again and take its place in a strong and united Europe. The example of our neighbour's independent policies heartens us, but so long as an outdated ideology with nineteenth century tinges guides Bulgaria's retrogressive leaders — at a time when man has conquered the moon — there is no hope of change, for the evils of servility, disregard of professional opinions of experts and economic exploitation for the benefit of a foreign power will continue to plague our country.

With the support of all the Bulgarian people — for right is on our side — we shall create together a just and modern government. We Bulgarians look confidently to the future convinced that freedom, justice and welfare will finally triumph in our land.

This is the ultimate goal in the life Him who is still King of the Bulgarians and whose thoughts are constantly turned towards Bulgaria.

Simeon II R.

*Where the famous Valley of Roses  
still pours out its scent, but songs  
of former days no longer resound,  
and the hearts are lonely and sad,*

*"There today injustice reigneth . . .*

*There they weep and pray for freedom . . ."*

*Ivan Vazov*

# The Truth About Bulgaria

## 25 YEARS OF RUSSIAN COLONIAL RULE

In September of this year it was 25 years since the Red Army marched into Bulgaria and incorporated this centrally-situated Balkan country into the Soviet Russian sphere of power. On this occasion we are publishing the interview printed below with the first Bulgarian representative on the Central Committee of ABN, Dr Dimiter Waltcheff, whose statement will serve to put right historical relations and be of general interest.

The Editor

*Question: Recently in Sofia and in the Bulgarian embassies in Western capitals the 25-year jubilee of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was celebrated, as the historic turning-point in the life of the nation, which prepared the way for an unprecedented advance. Does this claim correspond to the facts?*

*Answer:* It is not to be disputed that with the revolution of September 9, 1944 a really historic change for Bulgaria took place. But this is only true if one means by this the disappearance of national sovereignty in favour of the authority of Moscow and the loss of all basic rights and liberties enjoyed by Bulgarian citizens in the pre-Communist national state. For this reason the anniversary of this revolution forms no kind of occasion for rejoicing for our nation, but will rather pass into Bulgarian history for all time as a day of national mourning. Bulgarian emigrants all over the world will observe this day with Masses for the souls of the countless innocent victims of an inconceivable bloody terror, in which the Bulgarian Communists surpassed by far their Bolshevik teachers.

There can be no talk of a "socialist" or any other "revolution" in the sense of a popular uprising which is supposed to have broken out in Bulgaria on September 9, 1944, the leaders of which have been today retrospectively glorified into a so-called "partisan movement". This last was in reality only a question of sporadic acts of sabotage by Communist partisan bands, combined with acts of arson, plunder and murder, which caused only revulsion among the population. It is true that in the past

25 years the whole social and governmental system has been subject to a revolutionary transformation in Bulgaria, but not at all in accordance with the will of the people, only rather through decrees of a Communist controlled authority, after it had already usurped the power of the state on September 9, 1944. Thus the 25-year jubilee recently celebrated is in reality no more than an usurpation, in no way a real revolution.

*Question: But how was it possible for the Bulgarian Communists to seize over night the power of the state and to become sole rulers, if they in fact are not supposed to have enjoyed any support with the masses of the people?*

*Answer:* An authentic answer to this question has already been given very convincingly by the present rulers in Bulgaria themselves. Even during the recent jubilee it was once more solemnly declared even in highly official statements that the seizure of power of September 9, 1944 would have been impossible and unthinkable without the help of the Red Army and without the existence of the "Fatherland Front". It only remains to add to this confession that the so-called "Fatherland Front", which even today still serves the homogeneous Communist dictatorship as a front, had been created by Moscow before the revolution simply to serve as a disguise for the Bulgarian Communist Party and their intentions to form a Bolshevik government. But after this puppet coalition had played out the role allotted to it, the leading non-Communist coalition partners were abruptly shelved according to the well-tried recipe and even executed. One need



only think of the left-radical peasant leader Nikola Petkov, the head of the militant Sveto Circle Damjan Veltchev and others, whose help in the revolution was immediately rewarded with execution, banishment and imprisonment. But if the Communist party and its representatives were already able to act in the first revolutionary government of the "Fatherland Front" in such a way as if they were sole rulers, this was only thanks to the presence of the Red Army in the country, which is now receiving its truly earned praise and thanks.

An authentic statement of the smooth carrying-out of the September 9 Revolution itself is to be found last but not least in the recently published memoirs of General Ivan Marinov. As a member of the General Staff of strong Russophile and Germanophile views he was shortly before appointed defence minister in the last constitutional government, as a proof of loyalty to the Russians, and in the naive belief that this could prevent their attacking the country. Marinov openly admits that in the critical days before the revolution he had maintained as defence minister close contact with his fellow-conspirators of the militant Sveto Circle and in the night from the 8th to the 9th of September he had opened the back doors of the defence ministry to the action unit of the revolutionaries so that his fellow-ministers and even the regents could be arrested. A battalion of partisans waiting ready for action under the command of the present day party and government head Zhivkov in the city garden opposite the War Ministry didn't even need to go into action. Then, after the sudden declaration of war by the Soviet Union on Bulgaria, the regency and government were taken by surprise and, to avoid senseless bloodshed, had given the order for no more resistance to be made to the Russian invaders and also against actions by the "Fatherland Front". This step is again explained by the precarious situation of the war at that time and in particular by the mood in domestic politics in the country, which after the ten-year regime of King Boris without any parties and especially after his death was

characterized by uncertainty and lack of decision and amounted to a political vacuum, in which the conspiracy of the "Fatherland Front" was able to thrive and prosper.

*Question: Was there no objective possibility for Bulgaria to frustrate the revolution and to escape Russian invasion?*

*Answer:* It was certainly too late for that in autumn 1944. Bulgaria had maintained up to then strict neutrality to the Soviet Union in the naive belief that it would be respected by the Kremlin. The mood in the army was also the same, within the officer corps irresponsible tolerance being allowed to a small group of rebels in the Sveto Circle. Beyond this it was already known to everyone that Bulgaria's fate had already been sealed at Teheran as a Russian "sphere of influence".

The last chance for a possible rescue of the country had already been nullified by the assassination of the former War Minister General Hristo Lukov on February 13, 1943. As an exponent of combat-ready national forces and with outstanding influence in the army among similarly-minded officers, this outstanding statesman and army leader represented the conception of a determined defence on the Danube, if need be with the openings of the southern frontiers to the Western allies. After Lukov had thus become an acute danger to Moscow's plans for conquest, he, together with several of his followers, was murdered in the open street long before the revolution by Communist terrorists, which was also not inopportune for the official policy of the government, dedicated to strict neutrality to the Soviet Union . . .

*Question: The view prevails in Western public opinion that the Bulgarian nation was always inspired with a deep-rooted love of Russia and that the Bulgarian Communist party had always played an outstanding role under its world-famous leader Georgi Dimitrov in the world Com-*

*munist movement. Is not the maintenance of Bulgaria during these 25 years as a model satellite of Moscow possibly to be traced back to these two component factors?*

*Answer:* Such a conclusion is equally as false as the premises from which it comes. There is no doubt that the Bulgarian nation felt manifold and very close ties with its great Russian brother nation of Slavs as early as the time of Turkish rule, especially since from them alone liberation from Ottoman rule could be expected, as also actually happened in 1878. After St Petersburg immediately after the liberation undertook brutal attempts to bring the liberated country to heel, as a Danube province, the Bulgarian nation was largely cured of blind love for Russia and feelings of gratitude. Various occasions in the subsequent developments cooled sympathies for Russia still further, so that in the political consciousness of the nation justified mistrust of the Russian Balkan policy gained ground. All the experiences with the "second liberation" by Soviet Russia after September 9, 1944 still had to come for the souls of our people to be possessed by a deep-seated hatred of everything Russian. Even for Bulgarian Communists the rhetorical words of Georgi Dimitrov, to the effect that there could be no Bulgarian patriotism without love and loyalty to the Soviet Union, have today lost all validity. Even the former orthodoxy and loyalty to Moscow of the BCP in its totality is long since past. It must not be forgotten that even in the honeymoon of Communist rule in Bulgaria the Communist leader Traytcho Kostov, the second most powerful man in the state, was the first of the Soviet satellite countries to revolt against Stalin's colonial rule and had to pay for this "national Communist" venture with his life. Even Georgi Dimitrov himself, who is celebrated today as the idol of the BCP and as an authority of international Communism, died under questionable circumstances in the Soviet Union, where he had been brought for a "health cure", after he had presumed to form plans on his own initia-

tive for federation with Tito, for which he had to carry out repentant self-criticism. The period following saw the fall of several party and government leaders, such as Valiko Tchervenkov and Anton Jugov, all because they had tried to loosen the stranglehold of Moscow on Bulgaria. The reputation of being a model satellite in no way fits our nation itself and not even the BCP in its entirety, but only the present leadership of the party under the Moscow favourite Zhivkov, whose oligarchical rule had to be rescued and consolidated in April 1965 by Suslov's personal intervention from an attempt to carry out a national Communist revolution.

*Question: How is it to be explained that despite all this the Communist regime in Bulgaria was able to carry out successfully the revolutionary reshaping of the country and for 25 years has shown a relative stability, so that the country today counts as a bastion of Moscow strategy in the Balkans?*

*Answer:* To answer this question I can once more refer you to official admissions and publications of the present day rulers in Sofia and its press. There for example the day of the so-called "organs of the Ministry for Home Affairs and of the State Security Service" is solemnly observed every year. Even in this 25-year jubilee it can be read black on white in declarations of leading representatives of party and government that not only all revolutionary reforms such as collectivisation of land, "socialisation" of private property, purging and reshaping of the "People's Army", were carried out by the regime primarily by the employment of well-tried state security organs, composed of former Communist partisans and political prisoners, but also that the stability of the regime itself was due to this, the continuance of which is watched over night and day by these "best sons of the party", who had to fight out countless bloody struggles. If anyone should doubt the size and the bitter-



ness of the resistance in Bulgaria itself, he only needs to look up this official appreciation of the state security organs, to learn details of countless conspiracies hostile to the regime. Thus beginning with the secret organisation of "Neutral officers", "Zar Krum", those in the Bulgarian national Legion, among others, in the first years of Communist rule, and down to the countless victims of the Resistance and the illegal frontier-crossers, who even today night after night must pay for the attempt to escape from the Russian colonial rule with their blood and their life.

*Question: One has heard again and again recently that present-day Bulgaria is making national claims to Yugoslavian Macedonia and that Bulgaria is anxious to cultivate a generally extreme national spirit among the younger generation. How can it be explained that the Communist government is following in the footsteps of the Greater Bulgarian chauvinism of the past in this respect?*

*Answer:* First it must be said that there has never been in the past either a Greater or a Smaller Bulgarian chauvinism. The Bulgarian nation at all levels has always been inspired with a national ideal, which consisted of the uniting of all Bulgarians in their own national state, with readiness at the same time for integration into larger areas on the basis of equality of rights. There is no doubt at all about the Bulgarian nationality of the Slav population of Macedonia based on all authentic sources and historical monuments. The assertion of irredentist claims suits only the Communist rulers in Sofia badly, since this takes place not as coming from a sovereign national Bulgarian state, but solely and alone in the service of Soviet strategy in the Balkans and in the interest of Russian plans for world domination.

*Question: In the world press reports emerge of the preparation of a new state constitution for the People's Bulgarian Republic. Is it known what concrete purpose this should serve?*

*Answer:* According to declarations on this subject in the party and government official press the new constitution is in the main to embody constitutionally the eternal ties between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, total economic integration in the so-called COMECON and the indisputed and absolute leading role of the Communist party, and to declare these also as unchangeable facts for all future. This provision shows in reality the insecurity of the regime particularly with regard to the traditional aims of Russian colonial rule in Bulgaria, which have obviously already begun to waver within the BCP itself and will be rejected by the people even more decisively. The new constitution, in a word, is designed to stop any possible evolution of the regime in the direction of liberalization and democratization.

*Question: Do you consider possible any evolution of the Communist regime in Bulgaria?*

*Answer:* As has recently been shown with striking clarity by the events in Czecho-Slovakia, all trends towards evolution in the countries within the Soviet Russian sphere of power in the sense of relative democratization, humanization and above all any loosening of Russian domination always have their limits at the point Moscow's authority is called into question. For Bulgaria, which has since the time of Peter I been earmarked as a stepping stone to the Dardanelles, this maxim has more than ever its validity. The primary problem of the present world crisis in general consists not in the Communist system itself and its possible evolution but much more in the Soviet Russian superiority, which was extended by force of arms and is maintained in the same way. Viewed in this light, all forecasts about possible changes in the Communist regime in Bulgaria or in any other countries appear completely without importance, as long as the unlimited right to rule and to military invention in the territory of its European colonial empire remains conceded to Moscow.

# The Russian Nature

by James Ramsey

The Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the important Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate, published in the Congressional Record an article on the character of the Russians from the pen of James Ramsey, the President of "International Affairs Associates". The article had originally appeared in the *Foreign Service Journal*. Considering the great interest and importance of the questions dealt with in the article, said Fulbright, it should be printed in the Congressional Record. Fulbright, who belongs to the left wing of the Democratic Party, is regarded as one of the keenest advocates of the policy of relaxation of tension and co-existence with the Soviet Union. The fact that he identifies himself with an article which gives a by no means favourable picture of the Russian character, must be regarded as a political sensation of the first rank.

Despite the flooding of the West with contemporary literature on everything concerning the Soviet Union, the same ignorance over the Russians as human beings exists as a century ago. But, if we wish to live with them in peace, we must learn to understand their character, which, like that of all people in the world, is both virtuous and unchaste, rich in imagination and vision, yet poor in organizational talent, which is so important for life in the twentieth century.

Separation from the forces of international life has made an important contribution to the development of the way in which the Russian people behave, which has often been regarded by the surrounding world as an unacceptable deviation from generally acknowledged standards.

In the eyes of the foreigner, most inhabitants of the Soviet Union appear as people filled by a grim feeling of national or personal inadequacy. Some of them manage to live with it with dignity, others bear it like a cross, and those who indulge more in their feelings, wield it like a sword against all superior challengers. This feeling of inferiority is of ancient origin, and it is rooted in the consciousness that the USSR lags behind other countries, especially those in the West, in some fields of human development. It explains some seemingly inexplicable aspects of Russian behaviour, such as, for example, the endless claims made to outsiders that a Russian owns everything, usually even more, and his claims to a long list of scientific discoveries.

His inferiority complex towards the West has created a definite chauvinistic explosivity. Many visitors to the USSR complain that comments on Russian life made by foreigners not containing unlimited praise, are taken by the Russians as hostile sneers.

The compulsion to conceal many real or imagined defects often tempts a Russian in his contacts with foreigners exaggeratedly to pride himself on the superiority of everything Russian. This is a side of the national character which provokes so many visitors, who find realities everywhere which contradict the splendid picture presented to them by their guides.

A Russian probably shows his greatest weaknesses in the field of the application of his knowledge. He thinks here in terms of extremes or contradictions. Marxism, with its Hegelian theses and antitheses, is, when one looks more closely, not far from the Russian psyche.



The average Soviet citizen has no clear picture of any relationship to property, as is understood in the West. Personal property, with all its fixed rules, privileges clearly formulated by law, is in the USSR an expression without any deeper meaning. The possession and use of a thing, that is, the legal title to ownership, has always been more important for the Russian. The concept naturally blurs the difference between what belongs to him and what belongs to others, and is the source of much friction in a society in which so much belongs in the unpersonal category of state or public property. Theft from socialist property is the most common offence in the USSR.

The attitude of the Russian to money is typical of his lack of interest in property. Money is not an important article for him. When he has it, he spends it freely, without a plan, even boastfully. If he has none, then he makes debts easily and is angry if he has to face the consequences. Money means so little to a Russian that he takes seriously the Communist suggestion that money is to be done away with as an unnecessary evil of society.

Since a Russian lacks a precise imagination, he often has a tendency to allow reality to be clouded by visions of what he would like to see. The drawing up of plans is very often equated with their fulfillment.

## Declaration

### Concerning the Hungarian Political Prisoners in the USSR

*The Hungarian National Liberation Committee issued a statement on October 23, 1969 drawing the attention of the Free World to the fate of the Hungarian political prisoners deported to Soviet Russian concentration camps after the Hungarian national liberation revolution. The declaration contained the following:*

*"According to our information, which has been thoroughly checked, there are in camps in the USSR a large number of young Hungarian women, who when they were deported in 1956 were between the ages of 14 and 18. It is practically impossible to give the exact number of Hungarians engaged in the 1956 revolution who were deported to the USSR by the Red Army."*

*"During the year after the revolution the Hungarian prisoners were found in general around Lake Baikal and in Central Asia in some 20 work camps, whose line extended to the Far East. According to our investigations conditions in these camps are catastrophic and the death rate is very high there."*

*"We have learnt that there are Hungarians in one main camp and three transit camps in Lumbovka, near the Finnish border, in Sukhobetsvodnoye, east of Moscow. A group of Hungarians was transferred in 1968 from Ufa to an unknown destination. Three camps in Lebmorskaya, east of the Caspian Sea, three camps in the Kirgisian Steppes and in Tiflis itself have been indicated to us as places where Hungarians have stayed. There is also a large number of Hungarians in Dudina, south of Moscow, in Loplei 28 miles north of the notorious camps at Potma, in Yaroslav Kamenets Podolsk, in Pervomaisk and Kryvyi Rih in Ukraine and in a number of camps along the Tobolsk-Sverdlovsk railway line. This is also the case in camps in the Kamchatka region, as well as in Bogoshi, Komso-molsk, Gandala and Vangar in the Far East."*

## **The Rise Of Russian Power**

There is an assertion that President Roosevelt himself had difficulty in grasping the complex issues of politics during World War II, and that his advisers hammered out the American policy in Yalta. And this fact is already supported with adequate evidence throughout the voluminous literature on the Yalta agreement. Even more, this agreement has been regarded for a long time as a hidden betrayal of the peoples in Eastern Europe.

The conclusive facts of Yalta during the final period of the Roosevelt era, however, do not suggest that this nation had no leaders of political vision.

Former President Hoover predicted in 1941, "If we go further and join the war and we win, then we have won for Stalin the grip of Communism on Russia and more opportunity for it to extend in the world." He maintained that an alliance with the Kremlin tyranny would reduce Roosevelt's crusade for the "four freedoms" to a "gargantuan joke", and that America's interest was to let the totalitarians exhaust one another.

In addition to President Hoover's warning, and even at a much earlier time the geopolitical concept of Eurasia was a common diplomatic knowledge in Europe.

Until World War II, Soviet Russia was mainly preoccupied with her internal power struggle and with achieving political stability. But the alliance with the West, the military and economic land-lease aid to Stalin and the unconditional surrender of Germany opened the roads for the Red Army to Western as well as Eastern Europe. Now the U.S.S.R. became aware of its historic role inherited from the dynastic times to expand not only to the East but, unexpectedly by this chance, to Western Europe, too. East Germany became the keystone of the Russian position economically, militarily and strategically by establishing naval bases on the Baltic seacoast. This dividing hand of Europe made,

incidentally, the reunification of Germany, illusory for the time being.

Similarly to the former little Entente between Germany and the Soviet Union, there was created a group of buffer states from the Baltic to the Black Sea organized in the Warsaw Pact and subordinated economically and militarily to the Soviet Asian System. Occupying half of the European continent, the Soviet Union fortified in this way its Western frontier of Eurasia and established the strongest commanding position ever known in Europe. And the Soviet maneuverability and striking power in this sector proved their effectiveness in Budapest, in 1956, and in Prague, in 1968, when the Western world remained an impotent observer only.

In the past quarter of a century the Soviet policy used superbly the geographic conditions for the economic and strategic growth of Eurasia, of course, at the expense of its borderlands — the countries of the Warsaw Pact. A direct contribution to Communist military and industrial strength was made by the United States and its allies. Since 1962, their exports to the Soviet block totaled \$ 3.9 billions a year. This policy of the US administrations for relieving tensions by "building bridges" of trade and friendship to our deadly enemy will remain a strange historic phenomenon.

Another important factor in keeping a balance of the Soviet power is the organization of the competing peoples. This human element, next to the natural resources, in building the world's greatest empire, is not as constant and measurable as the geographic conditions. However, the Russians are controlling their Captive Nations behind the Iron Curtain through their puppet governments "peacefully". And where they meet resistance, as it was in the Hungarian people's uprising, the liberalization of Czecho-Slovakia, or elsewhere, they have been ruthlessly using force. The latter



alternative found its justification in the so-called Brezhnev doctrine.

For the defense of this greatest land mass, also the age of space power had arrived in Eurasia. Its protection against any air striking surprise attack seems to be well secured. The Soviet Russian nuclear power is gradually closing the gap with the United States nuclear power. Also, the Soviet admirals have never given up their demands for the development of Russian sea power.

Realizing the importance of the free access to the open seas, already at Yalta Stalin wanted a revision of the Montreux Convention of 1936 which restorted the Turkish sovereignty over the Dardanelles. The detailed Russian proposal, expected to be moderate, reclaimed the free passage of their warships through the straits and it was accepted uncontested in principle by Churchill and Roosevelt.

As always attempted in the past, now the Soviet-Russians have been planning to stretch, indeed, their second strategic arm based on a substantial navy in the Mediterranean Sea. For a first step toward such expansion, they demanded the clearance of all American anti-balistic bases in this area. And US administration, obsessed by a détente, or lessening of tensions with Moscow, ordered the dismantling of all defensive installations in the early 1960s. The next step was to establish suitable naval stations in those distant parts of the mainland. French observers describe, for instance, Algeria today as a "super Cuba", by which expression they mean a vast Soviet Russian military base. In the Eastern area, a permanent naval presence is based on supply facilities in Egypt and Syria. And the actual naval strength of the Soviet Union, according to most recent information, exceeds that of the powerful US 6th fleet.

At present, this development of Russian design to encircle Western Europe from the south, deems to be completed. As the American Security Council has reported, the strategic naval balance of the world is changing "to the advantage of the U.S.S.R."

The third strategic arm, which we may

consider included in the Russian design of global domination, is the extension of the Soviet sea power in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. It appears as a logical ownership of all the Eurasian land whose weight tends to break through to the south seas. The presence of Russian warships reconnoitering this region might be evidence to the above conception. This sea route aims at the same time to establish a connection with the Far East naval force stationed in Vladivostok, the only ice-free port and main outlet of the U.S.S.R. to the Pacific Ocean.

This imperialistic Russian expansion of power, however, cannot be viewed in isolation from the Sino-Soviet conflict which is going back, in fact, to the 19th century. Today it looks only more intensified than at any former time. To whatever extend the complexity of the problem shall develop, its most serious implications imperatively dictate the determination of the Western position.

Since World War II, the American foreign policy corroborated with and rehabilitated, politically and economically the Soviet Union to an unprecedented degree on its way to power. Should we again support the USSR against China to form finally the envisaged world empire which shall include two-thirds of the earth's land and seven-eighths of its population, then what? Or should we let both giants exhaust their war arsenals? But, before anything happens, we must prepare for war. To maintain our military superiority is reasonable and considerably inexpensive for the security of our survival.

The late President Eisenhower warned: "We face a hostile ideology — global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration, . . . A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction."

## **Moscow's World Conspiracy**

At the present time a fierce struggle is going on to subject the American people in particular, to world conspiracy, for the government is already under its influence. The nation's strength and the possibility of a popular insurrection is known to the conspirators and therefore they do not want to risk a defeat or a failure. In order to conquer the peoples of the American continent, especially the people of the USA, the Communist conspiracy is consistently doing the following:

Expedient and mass breaking-up of all morality, common sense and religious influences, especially among the young people.

Constant indoctrination of the young and old through the system of education, and through mass media, by stressing "welfare" and "security" as against responsibility and the use of opportunity.

Making an ever greater part of American industry, trade, agriculture, education and human individuality dependent upon the government and conditioned to receive help.

The constant increase in newer and newer laws, taxes, and bureaucracy, which leads to big and strong centralization of government.

The constant transformation of the USA from a constitutional republic to the so-called democracy, e. g. a state of legalized dictatorship of the masses.

The creation of disturbances with the aim of preparing for revolution, under the pretext of the present struggle for "civil rights".

The transformation of the present so-called racial disturbances into the so-called "proletarian revolution" by setting the "haves" against the "have nots", or a typical class struggle of the rich against the poor.

The undermining of strength, authority and prestige of the local police force, so

that there will be no order and protection for law-abiding citizens.

The constant escalation of fictitious war against the Communists, as for example in Vietnam, for both parties to this war are controlled by the conspirators. A war of this type helps government to get tighter control over the smallest details of the life of citizens.

A carefully planned programme of artificial famine in the USA, in the future, in order to break all will and resistance of the American people to Communist conspiracy, as it has been done in Ukraine, by Menshikov in Poland, where the threat of famine was enough, and by the followers of Madam Sun-Yat-sen in China.

Eventual establishment of alleged peace a few years after the conspiracy had been able to convince the US of the necessity to place its armed forces and sovereignty under the control and the flag of the United Nations, and to permit the Communist police "to control and maintain" order, peace and security within the USA. This would put an end to the opposition, and bring about eventual introduction of constant terror, as in other countries.

Besides the great threat of artificial famine in the USA, which is still being concealed from the American people, all other things mentioned above are taking place before our very eyes and with the passiveness of the majority of people. If the people are not completely blinded by Communist propaganda then they will understand that all these things do not stem from natural causes, by normal processes of life, but are artificially planned for the destruction of truth, goodness and men.

Nevertheless the best method to prevent these acts of conspirators and the plans of Communists is to grasp them and to bring them out into the open. Conspiracy of any kind is most afraid of exposure, of light. If an adequate number of people in the world understands this, there is still time



to reject the jingling chains which the Communists are holding out.

The Communist conspirators are afraid of a large-scale uprising of peoples, and the American people in particular, and therefore they are consolidating their basic gains in the USA in all possible ways, combatting by propaganda and other methods all attempts by anti-Communists to expose and destroy these gains. Here are the basic gains on which the Communists are counting:

a) The honest and conscientious American people are only partially familiar with Soviet Russian activity, and the thinking of this honest people is blinded to such a degree and saturated by propaganda, that it is unable to understand the fact that a group, the Communist clique, headed by the conspirators, can really be so diabolical, with such horrible, unscrupulously criminal plans.

The best medicine for this mental blindness is adequate study of the acts of conspiracy and the study of their crimes, murders, and misery which they bring to the world.

b) The conspirators are going so far that they even demand or themselves create opposition to themselves, so that it will not look like war of ideas. This is one way of turning attention from their conspiracy. And when conspiracy-created "conservatives" who scorn conservative ideas of the past, or laugh at the existence "of some conspiracy in the world", or when the "liberals" appear who scorn the principles of true liberalism of the 19th century, leaning to the convictions of contemporary "demoliberalism" it becomes clear who benefits the most from such "anti-Communists" created by the conspirators themselves.

The so-called ideological struggle initiated by the Communist conspirators is yet another way, a method of involving and deceiving the free world.

c) Also many people, aware of the danger of Communist conspiracy, believe that an attack can come from the Communist armed forces, and this is where the main danger lies.

For years the Communists have worked in this direction, so as to make the danger from allegedly the best armed forces seem real, for expectation of an attack from outside largely turns away the attention from activities and preparations of a takeover by subversive forces from inside. The propaganda machine in the West will not let the slightest occasion go by to compare the military power of the USSR to such a power as the USA whether in conventional arms, or in missiles, etc.

At the time when the frightened people look at these Soviet cannons and wonder when they will start firing at the US for example, reinforced subversive activity is taking place inside the USA in order to take this country over by the forces of conspiracy.

d) At present there are many such people in the West who for years have seen a kind of interest in giving help to those evil forces of the world, and therefore you will find these people either in academic, social or even financial world. And now for various reasons it is hard for these people to get up and say loud and clear "I was mistaken". The Communists are counting on them as on "joiners". Only the appearance of another force, the anti-conspiratorial force, will give them the courage to straighten up their backs.

e) Finally we come to the people who know and see what is going on in the world, but are not certain whether the march of conspirators can be stopped or not. Nevertheless, they have not even the slightest desire to get mixed up in these matters and are waiting for the brave people with backbones and the true warriors to curtail the activities of the conspiracy.

Such people feel that it is best to be quiet now, for in the event of victory by the forces of conspiracy a police state will be instituted in the whole world, and since then they will have to live there too why have a blot on your name now.

These people are not only cowards, but are also naive. Did the Communist monster pardon at least one person in Ukraine at the time of the so-called struggle against class

enemies, regardless of the fact whether this person offered armed resistance against Communism or not.

On December 25, 1918, Lenin wrote the following in *Pravda*:

"We are not fighting separately with individuals only. We are destroying the bourgeoisie as a class. Do not ask for incriminating evidence which would prove that the prisoner opposed the Soviet government by words or arms. Your primary duty is to ask to what class he belongs, of what stock he is, what is his education and profession. These questions should determine the fate of this prisoner. *This is the essence and the meaning of red terror.*"

The essence about which Lenin spoke has not changed even today. It is being realized in every country where Communists usurp power.

In the 20th century the modern man is exploited and deceived by an immoral and cruel clique of international conspirators and criminals. These conspirators are trying at all costs to get absolute control over humanity, turning them into enslaved robots, with a ruling class of selected racists, destroying all traces of civilization.

Their power is founded and based on lies, deception, fraud and cunning. They are sitting on a very large keg of powder.

And even though they express convictions, at times arrogantly and proudly, on their superiority, nevertheless they know and feel themselves that sooner or later this powder keg will explode and will destroy the cruel force and manipulation in all corners of the world.

The resurgence of mankind, which can change into a spontaneous force of such dimensions and strength that the world has not seen yet, will be the source of the moral principles of man, his love for freedom and his desire of truth, God's peace and cooperation of all nations.

#### *How To Counteract The Communist Threat In Practice*

1. We should familiarize ourselves with the activities of the conspiracy through patriotic press. We must understand on what

basis and principles does a free man build a life for himself in free countries and to compare it with Communism in history, philosophy, in deeds, practice, tactics, infiltration, propaganda — and to tell other people about our newly acquired knowledge and understanding.

2. Being citizens of countries in which we are living, we should express our opposition to and actively conduct our struggle with Communism by writing letters, petitions, appeals to the government, the parliament or legislature, newspapers and other means of communication, taking a stand against such matters which openly help Communist propaganda.

3. It is necessary to familiarize ourselves with the names of possible Communists and their sympathizers, their front organizations, in our own community as well as in the country as a whole. Much material on this subject is published by patriotic organizations, and in the USA by the Congress Committee on Un-American Activities, which conducts numerous investigations of Communist activities.

4. It is mandatory to participate with other patriotic-minded citizens in civic and political activities, exposing the Communist danger at every opportunity. Without fail we must take part in elections and vote for candidates who are not openly or secretly Communist. We must also maintain contacts with elected officials and send them patriotic publications.

5. We should not participate in any activities of the mob and in demonstrations which are sponsored by "peaceniks" and demo-liberals, for all these events are infiltrated by Communists, and all beautiful and dear slogans such as peace, freedom and so forth are exploited by the Communists for their anti-human aims.

6. It is necessary to take an active part in all anti-Communist, patriotic activities, rallies, meetings and so on,

7. It is necessary to teach our children strong moral and religious principles and the elements of human life, based on faith in God and the love of their country. Such



education is the greatest enemy of the Communist conspiracy.

8. We should not give financial and moral support to such firms, newspapers, periodicals, television, radio, films, organizations and groups which show sympathy for Communism or its heroes. We should not buy products sent or imported from Communist countries and express our protest against these products to the store owners. These products are stained with the blood of slaves, the victims of Communist terror.

9. We should pay more attention to local schools, teachers, and textbooks which the children are using, and at the same time try to understand the educational program which the children are given. We should ex-

press our protest when we notice pro-Communist trends in education. We should also take up organized action in cooperation with civil and educational institutions to institute native language in schools.

10. We should take broad interest in the activities and literature of patriotic organizations and groups, the anti-Communist movements, get acquainted with people and write them thus giving them both moral and financial support in their struggle against Communism.

We should not forget that the struggle against Communism in the world is also the struggle for the liberation of the subjugated peoples from the Communist Russian yoke.

*Dumitru Danielopol*

### **Tribute To Lenin Is Insult To Millions Of His Victims**

WASHINGTON — "...to honor Lenin for his supposedly having served the interests of humanity and justice is pure burlesque and is an insult to the millions of innocents who have died through Lenin's terror...", said the American Legion in a resolution adopted at its convention.

The veterans have touched on an issue that is being ignored by too many free men. The centenary of Nikolai Lenin's birth will be marked next April and two United Nations subsidiaries, UNESCO and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights are planning to take part in the celebrations.

They have endorsed the Lenin symposium to be held in Helsinki, Finland, next year and will send their representatives to glorify the Bolshevik leader for his "historical influence of his humanistic ideas and activity on the development and realization of economic, social and cultural rights."

This is an outrage. As the veterans say, it is an insult "to the hundreds of millions now living under Leninist dictatorship, from the Soviet Union and the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe to Red China and Castro's Cuba."

The Kremlin is giving great importance to the centenary and will use it in an at-

tempt to regain lost prestige and to reassert influence in world Communism.

In this they are bound to fail.

Lenin's predictions have been proven wrong time and time again and his theoretical heritage has been subjected to many widely-different interpretations by various Communist parties.

Both Moscow and Peking are using their versions of Leninism in their ideological struggle. The Chinese are accusing the Russians of deviation and of "pseudo-leninism". They never cease to remind the Kremlin that Lenin condemned the seizure of Chinese territories by Czarist Russia.

That, however, is their problem.

What is our problem is the fact that these U.N. groups, supported by American dollars, should join any observance.

It is farcical, for example, that the U.N. Commission on Human Rights should glorify the memory of Lenin when, under the banner of Leninism, hundreds of millions of people are deprived of every right prescribed in the Charter.

The American Legion deserves support in its call to the American U.N. delegation to block any further activity which would glorify Lenin as a "humanist".

## Prisoners Are Served Poison With Food

On October 8, 1969 a special messenger of the "Amnesty International" in England delivered a letter of three Ukrainian political prisoners — Mykhailo Horyn, Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukyanenko, to the United Nations in New York. The letter was addressed to the Human Rights Commission at the UN. The full text of the letter is published below:

We, the Ukrainian political prisoners, are turning to you as to the highest organ of the defense of human rights. We were arrested because we demanded improvements in the conditions of the Ukrainian workers and defended the rights of the Ukrainian language, educational system and culture. As far as these demands are permitted under the constitution, we are still endorsing them. Failing to break us morally, the KGB organs are trying to turn us from intellectuals into primitives through biological means.

Last year Lukyanenko was taken to the Vladimir prison on March 3rd, where he was confined till September. There chemicals which cause poisoning were mixed with his food. At the same time he was given to understand that with an extended use of poison human organism degenerates.

In camp poison is added to food as well. We are sure of this. The symptoms of poisoning are as follows: 10—15 minutes after eating one begins to feel a slight pressure in the temples, which later turns into an unbearable headache. It becomes hard to concentrate, even to write a letter home. Reading a paragraph one forgets at the end what had been written in the beginning. To reach the normal state one must starve for 24 hours. In this manner we are alternating days of fasting with days of poisoned food.

Food parcels from home are poisoned to a greater degree, so that we had to throw them out completely, even though we are allowed to receive them only twice a year. And the nourishment in camp constitutes only 2,000 calories per day.

This happened both last year and this year. The symptoms of poisoning are somewhat different: 10—15 minutes after eating one begins to feel slightly dizzy, then strong cramps in the center of the brain appear; hands begin to tremble; one is unable to concentrate. Headaches last for days.

When we complained to camp authorities that we were being poisoned we were transferred to separate cells with frosted windows, where besides bars there are also blinds which do not let in the light of day and we are spending whole days with electric light with the exception of an hour's daily walk. This is the way the Russian officials of the KGB are treating Ukrainian patriots and honest citizens.

Highly esteemed Commission, if you feel that such methods of reeducation of human beings are inconsistent with the right of humaneness, we beg you to raise a voice of protest.

June 1969

Mykhailo Horyn  
Ivan Kandyba  
Lev Lukyanenko

The President of the UN acknowledged the receipt of the covering letter of the "Amnesty International" as well as of the letter signed by three prisoners on behalf of the numerous Ukrainian political prisoners. We have every reason to believe that this letter will reach the Commission of Human Rights at the United



Nations and then the representative of the Ukr.SSR, or perhaps the USSR, will have to provide an explanation. Of course, his explanation will be evasive, or will constitute a denial, as had been done by the Soviet representative on previous occasions.

## **Bishop Velychkovskyi Convicted**

Bishop Vasyl Vsevolod Velychkovskyi, 66, arrested this year in Lviv, was sentenced to three years, was said in a report from Ukraine sent by a man who is interested in Church affairs and is familiar with them.

The Ukrainian Catholic bishop was arrested by Soviet police in Lviv on January 27th. The "Associated Press" carrying news of the arrest also included an unconfirmed report about the death of Bishop Velychkovskyi. Rome has denied this report.

The convicted bishop is a native of Ivano-Frankivsk. He belongs to the Redemptorist Order. In 1925 he became a priest. He spent ten years in Siberian exile, then lived in Lviv with his family.

Velychkovskyi's episcopal status was neither officially proclaimed nor denied.

## **A Unique Protest By Scandinavians In Moscow**

The Moscow militia detained two young Scandinavians who gave out leaflets in one of Moscow's department stores (GUM) calling for the release from prison of General Hryhorenko.

Harald Bristol of Oslo, Norway and Elizabeth Lie of Uppsala, Sweden entered the store, climbed to the balcony on the second floor and from there scattered hundreds of leaflets among shoppers.

When the shoppers snatched away all leaflets and without reading them put them away into handbags or pockets, the two Scandinavians chained themselves to the rail of the balcony. Shortly thereafter the KGB men arrived, sawed through the chains and arrested them.

The demonstrators conducted themselves very quietly. The leaflets explained that in order to support their demands about the release of General Hryhorenko they decided to stage a hunger strike until Premier Kosygin had given them a guarantee that

General Hryhorenko, arrested in Tashkent, where he appeared in defense of the persecuted Crimean Tatars, would be released and given a fair trial.

Both Scandinavians are members of the Swedish-Norwegian-Danish organization called "Smog"; this is the name of the now non-existent organization of Russian writers. The said Scandinavian organization is fighting for human rights and is not affiliated with any political organization.

## **Harassment Of Parcel Recipients**

The Soviet-Russian postal employees received new directives regarding all those who receive parcels from abroad. They have to ask recipients the following questions: who is sending the package; why is it being sent when there is plenty of everything in the USSR and what do they intend to do with the items received. At the end they pressure the package recipients to send them back "for their own good". The censorship of letter has also been intensified.

## AN APPEAL TO THE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

### **Russian Lawlessness Toward Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi**

For 23 years Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi has been confined to a concentration camp in the Mordovian ASSR, p/o Yavas, p/ya zh kh 385/7.

Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi was born on July 30, 1899 in Dolyna, Halychyna, formerly Austria-Hungary. He is a Ukrainian by nationality. His citizenship was first Austrian, then Ukrainian. Later he became a citizen of Poland and in 1947 temporarily accepted the citizenship of Czecho-Slovakia. He was never a Soviet citizen and as a free man never lived in the USSR. Before the Second World War he was a member of the Council of Advocates of Lviv, during the war a judge at the Polish Court of Appeals in Cracow, and after the war a legal consultant at the Ministry of Agriculture of CSSR.

His imprisonment has no legal basis. It occurred as follows: in July 1947 the government of Poland proclaimed him a "war criminal" for alleged cooperation with the Germans during the war. For this reason, upon the demands of the said government, he was arrested in Prague on August 1, 1947, and extradited to Poland on August 7, 1947. In the note which was issued by the Polish government it was said that he would stand trial. But this trial was never held, and could not have been held, for a whole year of persistent investigation did not produce any incriminating evidence. On the contrary, Dr. Horbovyi proved that he was critical of Hitler's political course and in general was not guilty of any crime, and that the "document" which provided arguments in support of his extradition was unskilfully fabricated. The Polish government was embarrassed, but instead of sending him back to CSSR, it handed him over to the Soviet government on July 9, 1948. For this purpose it fabricated a new document which this time accused him of being a Ukrainian nationalist.

In the USSR the Polish "history" repeated itself. The second year of investigation, including the MVD, did not produce the desired results. It is well-known what atmosphere prevailed within the MVD at that time. Instead of giving him an opportunity to return to CSSR and to continue his work there in peace, Dr. Horbovyi was sent to a forced labor camp by an administrative order on the basis of a closed-door decision of the Special Conference of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR, No. 2906-49 of July 6, 1949, under Article 54-2, 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR, for a term of 25 years. The Ministry of State Security does not exist anymore. Its "special conferences" have been formally dissolved, but their strange fruits still carry legal force.

The following facts will provide a characteristic of Soviet legality and justice:

a) The Soviet Criminal Code and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which was signed by the Soviet Union, permit the punishment of an individual only on the basis of a decision of the court, and, at the same time, guarantee the right of appeal to the defendant. Regretably, in the USSR the above legal principles are only propagandistic in nature, for reality is something quite different. In Horbovyi's case there was no trial, no sentence, no opportunity to defend himself, yet he has been suffering imprisonment for the last 23 years.



b) According to a decree of March 24, 1956 the Commission concerned with the investigation of cases of individuals who are serving for political, violation-of-duty, or economic crimes, should have reviewed the grounds on which each person was imprisoned at the place of confinement. This commission summoned Dr. Horbovyi and interrogated him on October 1, 1956, but a negative verdict had already been reached on September 29, 1956. On October 1, 1956 the Chairman of the Commission formally notified Horbovyi that his case is being scheduled for an additional investigation.

c) Dr. Horbovyi's petition in his case dated May 22, 1960 was reviewed on August 31, 1960 by the Prosecutor General's Office of the Ukr.SSR, re: its decision No. 01-20776/60 which said: "The Prosecutor General's Office of the Ukr.SSR can find no basis for an appeal of the decision of the Special Conference of the MVD of the USSR No. 2906-49, for the Committee of State Security declares that the accusations have found confirmation." Formally, the Prosecutor General's Office should watch the activities of the security organs and not the other way around.

d) In the period from July 2, 1960 to November 22, 1960, Dr. Horbovyi was confined to the investigating isolator of the KGB of the Ukr.SSR in Kyiv. Therefore, an investigation in his case was being conducted. According to the Criminal Procedural Code, an investigation can end either with an indictment and subsequent trial, or with the suspension of an investigation and the release of the arrested. In Dr. Horbovyi's case neither one nor the other occurred.

e) In 1955 the Soviet government formally agreed to the repatriation from the USSR of all foreigners, but in practice, Dr. Horbovyi was unable to take advantage of this, even though he demanded to be returned.

f) The decree of September 3, 1955 and the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, No. 0323 of August 1956 on the release from imprisonment of invalids has not been applied to Horbovyi, even though he is an invalid since January 11, 1952.

g) ChK, GPU, NKVD, MVD, KGB — are various names for one and the same institution, which is represented by one and the same element. Therefore, it would be strange if the same people and the same institutions now worked for the restoration of the so-called socialist legality, which they themselves discredited. It is not hard to imagine what this restoration of legality actually looks like when it is implemented by the same people and the same institutions.

Dr Horbovyi never committed any crime, or was he ever mixed up in anything bad. His only blunder was the fact that he thoughtlessly believed Soviet propaganda about Soviet humanitarianism and legality and remained within their reach.

As early as 1921 he began to be interested in jurisprudence, has years of experience and knows many things. Reading declarations of the representatives of Soviet justice on the genuine renewal of socialist legality in the USSR, or hearing statements by political leaders of that state to the effect that no political prisoners are to be found in this state anymore, and comparing all this with the situation of people like him, he cannot help but wonder at the chimerical and malicious Soviet morality, which he is unable to grasp.

One can get a true picture of the situation of a political prisoner in the USSR only on the basis of an impartial committee investigation of the places of his con-

finement, and by questioning him or people like him, and listening to their explanations.

It is mandatory that the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations and the European Council in Strasbourg become interested in the plight of Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi and his case, and help him to avail himself of the rights which are due him as a man and a citizen, and most of all — help him to free himself from illegal imprisonment, to enjoy freedom of movement and to obtain satisfaction.

*Elmar L. Csaba*

### **Freedom Brutally Crushed By Russians**

(Reflections on the address delivered by the late Congressman Alvin M. Bentley)

It is entertaining, beautiful, rewarding, nostalgic and sad to take a long look into the past and sift through the sand of time. As I did just that innumerable memories brought relieving teardrops into my eyes; I reached as far back as few months following the Hungarian uprising of the Fall of 1956. This was the time, you remember, when Hungary sank deeper into the Red sea, amidst tears and blood, while the whole world looked on in amazement and utter disbelief! Everyone marvelled at the heroics of this brave nation... for a few days... weeks... then the fog of great distance, fresh sensations... uninvolvedness took over... Is it not true what has been said centuries ago by one wise man: "Indifference is destruction, if given some time!" Measuring by the unbroken succession of days past, we may state as fact, that almost thirteen years is "some time"... consequently that indifference, indeed, did bring destruction of many great ideas, intentions, resolutions and the like... Do you hear anyone talking about the heroic Magyar people lately? I do not! This is one of the reasons why I reached back into the past. Yes, I wanted to listen to a very strong voice that still keeps ringing through the thick fog of indifference: "I am still firmly convinced that one day the Hungarian people will be free! Their sufferings and sacrifices of recent months revealed a

great victory for freedom everywhere throughout the world. But it still remains for us as leaders of the free world to do more than we have done to help to keep this spark of freedom alive!"

These are the words of the then U.S. Congressman Alvin M. Bentley, the untiring champion of Hungary's cause, the esteemed and well remembered friend, spoken on May 25, 1957, in Chicago. It was the yearly Memorial Day celebration in honor of the American Patriots and Magyar Patriots of past years. This time it had a very special sad annotation. Congressman and Mrs. Bentley accepted the invitation extended to them by the Chicago Post of the Hungarian Veterans, whose Commander I happened to be at that time. Congressman Bentley spent a couple of years in Hungary as the head of the U.S. Legation, preceding his election to the Congress as a Representative of the State of Michigan. On January 7, 1957, a few weeks before the invitation, he made his name even better known, especially in Magyar circles, by delivering a fiery speech on the House floor on behalf of Hungary! Here, on that memorable celebration in Chicago, he repeated some of his convictions: "...It may be that there is little in the way of concrete positive action, that we as a nation can take at this time in honor of the brave and courageous people of



Hungary. But certainly we must all unite in paying tribute to these brave men, women and children of Hungary, who showed the world not only an example of the highest form of courage, but also that there are still ideals in this world worth fighting and dying for . . .”

As he was delivering his address, Mrs. Bentley was sitting near him, wearing a more than a hundred-year-old Magyar national costume, that was made by hand. Until a few years ago this richly embroidered beautiful dress was owned by a lady descendent of one of Hungary's foremost field-m Marshalls, the hero of Hungary's freedom fight of 1848.

Mr. Bentley went on enumerating all eight points of recommendations presented by him to and adopted by a Congressional Committee on Foreign Policy on behalf of Hungary and all Captive Nations. “First of all and beyond all questions and shadows of a doubt . . . whatever the uprising may be, wherever it may occur, . . . we should have a plan. God knows there was no plan last fall, no plan for Hungary. There has got to be a plan! Secondly, . . . following the completed report of the fact-finding committee of the U.N. on Hungary, the General Assembly should take appropriate action after hearing that report. Thirdly, we recommended that it is about time for the U.N. Charter to be revised to eliminate Soviet obstruction tactics . . . Fourth, that under no conditions should the U.N. accept the credentials of representatives of the Kadar regime of Hungary!” He went on telling about the recommendations of economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, further for the creation of observer teams, etc. He concluded by saying: “. . . our Committee termed the failure to aid the cause of freedom in Hungary, the lost opportunity of our generation! The words of hope and encouragement which we broadcasted to Hungary and which were not implemented by action in truth have left the blood of the Hungarian Patriots on our hands!”

I clearly recall, that we all believed him sincerely on this occasion again; here was an American patriot, a true friend of Hungary. We have felt that no Magyar could have represented Hungary's cause—any better!

And now . . . in retrospect . . .

Whatever became of all the worthy recommendations Mr. Bentley and his congressional committee made? What did, in fact, the most powerful nation of the world do? Did not we turn from confrontation to accommodation instead? And just how far have been the once lofty principles of the U.N. Chapter stretched to justify inaction in the case of Hungary? How much more faith and trust is requested from the suffering Magyar and other enslaved peoples? Did not, in fact, indifference take over? That ultimately means destruction. — Destruction of trust, faith, hope and future!

Here, I cannot help but remember the seemingly harsh words of a well educated oriental visitor to this country, a grand lady, a statesman. She said, in fact, that most of us in the Western Hemisphere, particularly in the United States, are guilty of accepting the privileges, while rejecting the responsibilities! We became nations of fair-weather-citizens, who seek only financial or material advantages and luxuries. We became a nation of sloths, who try to bribe uncommitted nations into cooperation. We are people who are afraid to speak on unpopular issues and clamor for more leisure time without knowing how to use it, whose self-indulgence has blinded us to the real dangers of our times. We concentrate on life's comic strips and try to avoid the bruises of realities! “It makes me sad”, she concluded referring directly to this nation, “because you are such a wonderful people and such a pure nation!”

My only hope is that this pure nation will wake up to its true mission while there is still time and that the hard work and noblest intentions of such great sons of America as our friend Alvin M. Bentley will not remain unredeemed.

## ABN Representative Pays Tribute To Bandera

Ten years ago the treacherous and murderous hand of the Russian oppressor has fired a deadly shot into the manly heart of the best son of Ukraine — Stepan Bandera.

The great revolutionary liberation fighter of the Ukrainian people has sacrificed his life in the struggle against barbarism, tyranny and slavery, and for the happiness of his people.

Entering the road of revolutionary struggle for freedom and independence of Ukraine, Bandera was aware that this struggle will not be an easy one, that it requires a great deal of sacrifice, perseverance, determination and faith in the righteousness of this struggle.

Bandera also realized that the struggle of the Ukrainian people against all kinds of occupying powers and oppressors is tightly bound with the forest and the struggle of all peoples subjugated by Moscow. For this reason he was one of the active initiators of the organization of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which unites the peoples subjugated by Russia in their fight against the occupying power.

Having executed the murder of Bandera, the Kremlin oppressor rejoiced. He thought, he believed, that with the death of Stepan Bandera the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people will lose its edge, will cease.

However, Moscow was gravely mistaken in this. Conscientious active members of the Anti-Bolshevik movement were not frightened by terror and treacherous murders perpetrated by Moscow, the victims of which became outstanding freedom-loving sons of the subjugated nations.

Bandera's name, his personality, strong in spirit and action, has become a symbol of the struggle for liberation for the whole Ukrainian nation. What is more, his fearless, heroic person has also become a legendary model of a fighter for justice, freedom and independence of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Let our enemy beware of the fact that neither bullets nor terror will frighten the

leading sons of his people, will destroy the spirit, the striving of the people to free and independent existence.

In place of one fallen fighter, hundreds, thousands and even millions of fighters devoted to their nation arise, grow and multiply.

Bandera's guiding principle is the guiding principle of the Ukrainian people, is the guiding principle of all nations subjugated by Russia — to live their own independent state life.

This can be proved by historical facts and the constant struggle for liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

In spite of the fact that the Free World, whether consciously or unconsciously, is always trying to close its eyes to the criminal methods employed by Moscow in its struggle with the subjugated peoples and their representatives, in spite of the glaring examples of Russian atrocities in Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia and other countries —, we are convinced that with joint efforts of all the nations subjugated by Russia, Russia will be overcome and all subjugated peoples will achieve their freedom and independence.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, as well as on behalf of all Byelorussians, I bow my head before the grave of the Great Fighter and express deep conviction and faith that the idea which motivated Stepan Bandera will lead all the nations subjugated by Moscow to the desired goal.

Eternal glory to the Hero-Fighter Stepan Bandera and to all those who have laid down their life in the fight for a better future of their own nation as well as of all the subjugated peoples.

*D. Kosmowicz*

Representative of the Byelorussian Central Council

President of the Byelorussian Liberation Front

Member of the Central Committee of ABN and the European Freedom Council

Munich, October 11, 1969



## The Situation In Ukraine And In The USSR

(Continuation)

Beginning with the 22nd Congress of the CPSU the tendencies were to strengthen imperial centralization and the restriction of rights of the "union republics" in order to intensify the process of Russification in the direction of the "fusion of nations" into one "Soviet people" which is motivated by "the passing to the highest state — Communism". As a consequence this can lead to the liquidation of nevertheless fictitious boundaries between the so-called Soviet republics and to the creation of a new administrative division of the USSR according to the principle of the so-called economic expediency, which had been the case at the beginning of the Soviet rule as well as partially in Khrushchov's time. This is the next stage of unification which has to lead to the transformation of the formal Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into a monolithic Russian empire.

The allegation of the Russian-Bolshevik propaganda that "CPSU is part of the whole people", about the "unanimous support of the party by the people" and about the fact that "the USSR is the most progressive socialist democratic state in the world" — do not lessen the natural aspirations of the subjugated peoples for independence. The absence of opportunities for the existence of any kind of opposition even inside the Communist party strengthens the dissatisfaction of the masses and provides an additional excuse for the revolutionary forms of struggle. The subjugated peoples see the downfall of the empire and the destruction of the hated system as the only way out of their situation.

Contrary to the proclamations of the Russian-Bolshevik propaganda, no just social order has been constructed in the USSR. In place of the Tsarist social order which marked itself by social and national injustice, the Russian Bolsheviks by the use of violence and terror have established such an order in which the great majority of the population of the subjugated peoples was reduced

to the level of real proletarians — slaves of the all-powerful imperial beurocracy. Referring to the authority of the state which has been raised to the absolute, the caste of imperial rulers and millions of Russian colonists are exploiting Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals, and with resources thus obtained they are realizing their policy of grasp in the subjugated countries and in the whole world.

Together with the national subjugation and social exploitation of nations, the Russian Communist authorities which preach their "progressiveness" and "humaneness" are causing inhuman suffering to tens of millions of people, breaking up their families, setting children against their parents, giving rise to mutual suspicion and denunciation, hooliganism, drunkenness, bribery and all sorts of abuses which lead to the decline of morality in all spheres of social life.

After the death of Stalin the leadership crisis in the Russian empire reached its climax. Under Khrushchov's leadership the empire went from one failure to the other in foreign and in particular in the domestic policy. In his foreign policy Khrushchov was unable to preserve the state of indivisible authority and domination of Moscow in the so-called international Communist movement, where two centers have been created — Moscow and Peking. The economy was in a state of constant crisis, and an acute shortage of food and items of everyday use brought on mass dissatisfaction and disturbances and strikes on the territories of the subjugated peoples, especially in Ukraine, which were dangerous for the empire. At the base of these mass disturbances lay the national and political movement and the socio-economic foundation provided an opportunity for its strengthening and expansion. Collective leadership in the Kremlin did not put an end to the crisis and did not bring an end to the internal

power struggle in the empire, instead it lead to an open break with Peking.

The growth of military strength in the Russian empire and its territorial expansion coincided with the process of internal deterioration and with a deep crisis in all aspects of life. The present situation is characterized by the following basic qualities:

- a) Political and ideological policentrism and fragmentation of the system;
- b) In the USSR the Marxist-Leninist ideology has lost the sharpness of the political instrument of the superpower politics of the party. After each change at the imperial peak this ideology has been turned about and changed. Today there are as many Marxisms-Leninisms as there were changes at the imperial peak;
- c) The psychological revolution and the intensification and expansion of anti-imperial and anti-regime attitudes are assuming defined organized forms;
- d) The presence of anti-Russian resistance and struggle among the subjugated peoples in the USSR and in the countries dependent on the USSR, the deepening and the sharpening of the crisis as a result of constant attempts of the Russian center to increase the dependence upon it of all other non-Russian peoples;
- e) In recent years the subjugated nations, and especially the Ukrainian have resorted to strikes and other disturbances (Donbas, Odessa, Kazakhstan). With the help of force they were subdued and the spirit of revolt was reinforced. It is significant that these disturbances began in concentration camps, where most of the prisoners from the subjugated countries, especially Ukraine, are to be found, and among whom many were former soldiers of UPA and members of OUN;
- f) During half a century of "building socialism", by which yedynoderzhavstvo is covered up, the USSR does not leave the state of economic crisis, which like malaria shakes the whole system. Senseless and impractical centralization of economic life, which is a method of imperial policy, freezes human initiative,

stops the development of productive forces in the occupied countries and causes economic stagnation. Contrasts in social life (party bureaucracy and deprived peoples) unprecedented exploitation of the people, have strengthened the struggle of the peoples for their rights and freedom.

The so-called Ukrainian SSR is part of the empire — the USSR. Its colonial status has been concealed by the state sign. In the economic respect Ukraine has been transformed into a colony of Russia. The centralized economic system of the USSR deprives Ukraine of any kind of elements of independence in economic life. The ministries of the Ukrainian SSR are merely branches of all-union ministries, and ministers are supervisors and drivers who watch over the performance of economic plans of the all-union government.

The Ukrainian SSR, as a false creation, has neither a parliament, nor a government elected by the free will of the Ukrainian nation; its political leadership has been thrust upon it by a foreign center—Moscow; its sovereignty does not manifest itself in any way whatsoever. Ukraine cannot decide the question of war and peace, has no army of its own and does not conduct any foreign policy of its own, and the so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR only executes the dictates of the CC CPSU in Moscow. The majority of members of the "government" of the Ukrainian SSR are even formally provincial officials of the Russian union and "union republican" ministries. The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR has been drawn up not by the representatives of the Ukrainian people, but by agents of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party. This constitution is even formally dependent on the constitution of the USSR. The so-called political, civil and cultural organizations of the Ukr. SSR are local branches of the "all-union organizations". The so-called soviets on all levels are completely bound by party discipline to carry out the orders of the CC CPSU.

The assertions of the Bolshevik propa-



ganda on "voluntary admission" of Ukraine into membership in the Russian empire is a total lie. The Pereyaslav Treaty was trampled by the tsars from the very beginning and the sovereign rights of Ukraine recognized in this treaty were finally liquidated in the 18th century. They newly created Ukrainian state of 1918 was conquered by the armed forces of Bolshevik Russia in the 1920s. No general and free referendum of the Ukrainian people about the Ukr. SSR's entry into the Soviet Union was ever held.

The Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) is the most important instrument of Russian domination in Ukraine. A decisive part of membership of CPU is made up of Russians and their henchmen who hold key positions in administrative, economic and socio-cultural life. Ukrainians — members of CPU — are in no position to change the political face of the CPU, which is an instrument of subjugation of Ukraine and the party of traitors of the Ukrainian people, opportunists and selfish people. The hopes of some individuals for a gradual transformation of the CPU into a truly Ukrainian party have no real basis, are illusions of dreamers or deception of traitors.

Mass organizations in the Ukrainian SSR such as Komsomol, trade unions, councils and so forth are also weak-willed tools of the Russian-Bolshevik occupational regime for regimentation of all phases of life of the Soviet man. The prohibition of the existence of organizations which would not subordinate themselves to the Bolshevik party, makes it impossible to create an effective legal opposition to the existing dictatorship in the occupied Ukraine, the carrying out of a "legal" political struggle, and dooms to failure all attempts at evolution of the colonial tyrannical system in the direction of national liberation. This prohibition is the greatest crime against human and national rights, unprecedented lawlessness which testifies most glaringly to the absence of all freedom for individuals and social groupings in the Russian-Bolshevik colonies.

The Russian-Bolshevik government

through its policy of resettlement attempts to liquidate the Ukrainian ethnic substance. The intermixing of people, the planned deportation of Ukrainians from Ukraine and bringing in of Russians, intensified Russification of schools on all levels, offices, army — are all measures which have as their aim not only to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people, to crush their struggle for liberty and political and state independence, but also to destroy it as a national entity and to transform it into a component part of the so-called Soviet people using Russian language and culture. Disregarding constant attempts of the superpower Russian chauvinism to uproot the basic substance of Ukrainian spirit and to pour into Ukrainian forms the spirit of treason, Janissarism limited provincialism, inferiority complex in relation to the Russian imperial idea — all these attempts are breaking up against the spontaneous nationalism of the Ukrainian people which falls into the organizational framework of underground struggle which is based upon traditions of the national liberation activities of revolutionary organizations in particular OUN and UPA.

Ukraine, the richest country in the Soviet Russian empire, is an object of ruthless economic exploitation, and the development of Ukraine's economy is taking place from the angle of its integration with Russia. In Ukraine, the sectors dealing with the extraction of raw materials and their initial processing are being built up mostly of those industries which involve the manufacturing of products for export or military and aggressive ends. The only task of agriculture is to supply food products for the imperial needs of Russia. In the building up of transportation, communication as well as trade, the principle of imperial expediency is dominant.

The Russian Soviet regime is attempting to keep Ukrainian culture on the level of provincial ethnographism. Its development is systematically hindered and in its place the Russian language and culture are being spread. In secondary, special and higher educational establishments, instructions are given mainly in the Russian language, and

any attempts to return its rightful place to the Ukrainian language is evaluated by the occupational regime as an anti-state act. At the present time a great majority of Ukrainian cultural leaders are either in prisons or concentration camps and the rest is forced by terror to be silent. Free cultural ties of Ukraine and the Free World are impossible with the exception of those which the government purposely allows.

At the same time the Russian government is conducting a merciless struggle with religion in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been liquidated, forcing them into catacombs. The Russian atheistic propaganda is assuming ever greater dimensions, and the faithful are cruelly persecuted. Religious rites and everyday customs are exchanged for Bolshevik rituals.

Great social inequality between the impoverished and enslaved people and the Russian ruling class with its local henchmen is evident in Ukraine. In comparison with Russia, in Ukraine work norms are higher and pay is lower. In the Soviet system of wages, Ukraine, with the exception of a few places, is in third and at times in last place. Ukrainian peasants, robbed of their property, are brought down to the level of state serfs, without passports, without social

security — the most deprived category of the population of “the workers’ and peasants’ state.” Ukrainian workers virtually deprived of the protection of trade unions, exploited by the monopolistic Russian colonial regime have no right to direct their own enterprises, to share the products of their labour. Living conditions in cities, and in particular in the workers’ districts are unbelievably hard in comparison with the living conditions of the workers and peasants in the Western world. Ukraine, the chief agricultural and meat producing area, is constantly short of food and other items of everyday use (textiles, leather and household goods). As a result of the shortage of widely used items and low wages, the workers resort to black marketeering for which they are severely punished by the occupational regime. The draconic passport system forbids the population to change places of residence and the peasant are deprived of passports altogether.

The women and teenagers belong to the most overworked and deprived strata of the population of Ukraine. No precedent is to be found in the whole of the civilized world for the overworking of women and mothers, who are protected by legislation of common law of all civilized nations, who (women and mothers) have to work in mines, construction road building and in heavy industry and transportation.

### The Country Of Roses

*The world-famous and beautiful valley between the Balkans and the Middle Mountain in Bulgaria is named the “Valley of Roses”. Bulgaria’s most distinctive product is the attar of roses, of which she produces three-fourths of the world’s supply. The petals needed to make an ounce of the attar weigh 200 pounds. Thus, comparing with the price of the pure gold (\$ 35 an ounce), the “Bulgarian gold” is more valuable (\$ 45 an ounce).*

*As a symbol of beauty, the rose has originated countless legends and inspired songwriters ever since it was “born with Aphrodite from the sea foam or sprang from Rosalie’s wound inflicted by the chaste but intolerant Diana.”*

*Today the Bulgarian folklore tells as that the roses, formerly pink, have now turned blood red, and that the attar of roses now are maiden tears.*



## The Present-Day Vatican And Ukraine

Although we find it unpleasant to write about the subject, "salus rei publicae — suprema lex", the good of Ukraine is our first and foremost concern. We are writing about the Pope not as the Head of the Catholic Church who has the authority to pronounce upon faith and morals, upon the teachings of Christ which are mandatory for every true Catholic, but as we would about a statesman and politician, because to a great extent the present Pope is playing this role.

In numerous speeches the Pope has drawn attention to, and appealed for the redress of, the injustices suffered by those who are oppressed in any way, underprivileged or persecuted, but his references apply only to people who live in countries of the Free World, where in some places injustice, racial discrimination and other evils are unfortunately to be found.

Many times we have heard the present Pope condemn nationalism, without however differentiating between the *liberating* nationalism of the *enslaved* nations and the chauvinist "nationalism" of the *ruling* nations. We have heard a list of all the evils caused by nationalism, as if such evils were also attributable to the liberating nationalism of enslaved and oppressed nations. The present Sovereign of the Vatican City State appears not to see the differences between, for example, racist nazism, Russian chauvinism, i.e. imperialistic "nationalism", and the nationalism of little Estonia, Georgia or the indestructible Ukraine, or other nations which have fallen victim to the insatiable imperialism of chauvinist nations. Even Moscow, in all its baseness, differentiates between *liberating* nationalism and *imperialistic* nationalism; Red China too makes the same distinction; the Catholic de Gaulle was able to see it. But unfortunately Pope Paul VI does not want to see the difference between what is noble and good and what is evil and base. *Liberating* nationalism, the fight for the deliverance of one's

own nation from the foreign yoke, is in accordance with God's commandment, and the duty to fight for one's friends is placed on our conscience by Christ himself. However the Pope does not see this. For him the nationalism of liberation, the honourable struggle for justice, equal rights and the independence of all nations of the world, does not seem to exist. Pope Paul VI visited the United Nations Headquarters, but there he did not even mention Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia and other enslaved nations. The Pope also forgot about us, the enslaved, at Christmas and Easter. He sent out his Easter greeting in Russian (although, as we all know, there are only a handful of Russian Catholics), but had no greeting for the Ukrainian Catholics, of whom there are several million, in their own language. The Pope made use of many languages for this purpose, so as to stress ecumenism, but apparently he does not know these few words in Ukrainian. Is he the Pope for all nations and peoples, or only for the *ruling* nations, including the Russian?

His trips to Geneva, to India, to Bogota, to the countries of Africa, his speech in defence of the technicians in Biafra, the special audience granted them — all these are noble acts, but they concern people on this side of the Iron Curtain only.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Russian Patriarchate, Pope Paul VI sent a letter of congratulation to "the most holy patriarch of Moscow and the whole of Russia", Aleksei, known to be the Kremlin's servant, who blessed Stalin as a "messenger from God." Yet to Pope Paul VI Aleksei is the "most holy patriarch." This helped the patriarch to liquidate our Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and our Ukrainian Catholic Church, by putting them under his "protection". How tragic, then, that for the Pope he is "most holy"!

The Pope sends telegrams to Biafra, Jordan and other countries in the Western

hemisphere so as to give moral support to the unfortunate, while we and other nations under the Russian yoke are ignored. Why is the Pope silent when the Russians cruelly persecute the underground Ukrainian Church, which is within his jurisdiction; when the Father Superior Velychkovskyi (it is said he has the title of Archbishop) was arrested, together with numbers of priests and of the faithful, and was taken to prison in Moscow? Why does he say nothing?

Why does the Eastern Congregation, to which our Catholic Church belongs say nothing at all? Why is the State Department of the Vatican silent? Why is the Congregation for the Union of Churches silent? Is it because in the Russicum there are actually people from the Moscow patriarchate, which supports the atheist regime and in the name of which Aleksei approved of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia? Is it because Cardinal Villebrant is engaged in talks about establishing contacts and an exchange of representatives between the Vatican and the Russian patriarchate, since it would be awkward for the Vatican to accredit its representatives to the Kremlin? Is it because the Kremlin's representative would in fact be the "patriarch"? Do our Catholic Church and its martyrs, with Velychkovskyi at the head, have to be sacrificed on the "altar" of diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Vatican? Maybe that is why at the airport in Rome during Nikodym's flight to Moscow he was greeted by *no less than two cardinals* from the Eastern Congregation and the Congregation for Union? Is it possible that we are living in a time when the Pope reigns in the Vatican for the sake of the ruling nations alone?

It is as if our martyred Catholic Church "does not deserve" to nominate His Eminence Cardinal Joseph Slipyi as patriarch, because that church has had to be sacrificed to the Russian patriarch, to whom Pope Pius XII referred as a servant of evil. The present-day Vatican is silent while martyrs for the Church of Christ are suffering in Ukraine and all the other countries where the Russian boot treads and where the "patriarch" Aleksei reigns. But the Vatican did

not always discriminate between these countries. Pope Benedict XV, who understood the importance of Ukraine, specified her particular role as a vanguard of Christianity in Eastern Europe. The Vatican politicians of today deliberately forget this, but the fact remains that there have been Popes who understood the specific importance of Ukraine and other countries enslaved by Moscow.

In the Russicum, which seems to have become the gathering place for all Aleksei's emissaries, plans are being made for the return of the Russians, and through them the return of the "East" . . . Blessed believers! This will happen when the capital of Catholicism is no longer Rome but Moscow, when Aleksei or his successor Nikodym becomes the "Pope" of the Catholics too!

When will the Pope finally speak out in defence of the martyr for the faith, Velychkovskyi, and of all those who are persecuted for Christ's faith, *for their loyalty to the Apostolic See*, which is headed by Pope Paul VI?

When will the Pope defend our writers, poets, scientists, intellectuals, artists, priests, and the Red Cross workers of the Vladimir prison, who are being persecuted in concentration camps; when will he defend Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, a dying old man who has spent 23 years in Mordovia without a trial, or the martyr Katrya Zarytska, whose only "fault" lies in the fact that she was a worker of the Ukrainian Red Cross and for this "crime" has spent 20 years in prison?

We are waiting for a word of protest from the Pope — we Ukrainian Catholics who consider His Holiness Pope Paul VI the Head of our Church too — we Ukrainian Christians who consider that the Pope should defend our persecuted Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church . . . Our criticism is not aimed at the institution of the Head of the Church, the authority of which is acknowledged by the Ukrainian Catholics; and *we do not link the functions of the successor of the Disciple Peter with the policy of the present Head of the Church, Pope Paul VI*. But because the pre-



sent Pope has entered *the political sphere of action*, and because he underestimates our nation and our Church, we must complain to the Pope, who is also the Head of our Catholic Church, about his neglect of our martyred Church and nation.

Christ was on the side of those who are persecuted and oppressed, and not on the side of the persecutors and oppressors. We ask not only for a Pope of the ruling na-

tions and peoples, but for a *Pope of those who have been martyred and deprived of their freedom*, who are fighting for the truth, for justice and independence, for Christ and against the atheists from the Kremlin.

When will we find a Pope for the enslaved, a Pope to deputize for Christ who came to earth *to teach us to fight evil, and not to sign pacts with the persecutors of the faithful of His Church?*

### Communist Presentation Of SS. Cyril And Methodius

An erroneous picture of SS. Cyril and Methodius has been presented in the style of "Socialist realism" throughout the world. The prescribed Party line in the arts eliminated all the symbols of traditional pictures that reminded us of the religious background of these patron saints who are recognized by the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church as well.

For twelve centuries the Bulgarian SS. Cyril and Methodius have become well known in the Christian world not just as the creators of the Bulgarian alphabet but also as the apostles of the Christian faith.

Today through secular indoctrination the Bulgarian youth is being reeducated in an anti-religious spirit. "Every religious father

and mother should remember that, to make life easier for their children, they should avoid filling their heads with religious prejudices." (*Otechestven Front*, Sofia, 3. 30. 1956) — "An attempt to impose only atheistic views in schools is an encroachment on the citizen's most cherished freedom and is inevitably doomed to failure." (Holy Synods *Duchovna Cultura*. No. 12, 1956, Sofia).

Painting in Bulgaria remains firmly anchored in the Party line. That art is a weapon of Communist propaganda is quite obvious. A political worker in the cultural field is forced to promote the kind of art which disseminates the socialist idea most effectively.

### RED LEADER ASSAILS YOUTH IN UKRAINE

Kyiv, Ukraine. — On February 18, 1969 a congress of Ukrainian student activists was held in Kyiv, at which Petro Shelest, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, scathingly assailed Ukrainian youth for its lack of vigilance against the "enemy propaganda".

According to the February 20, 1969 issue of *Kultura i Zhyttia* (Culture and Life), Shelest stated:

"... Some young people, including students, are nibbling at the rotten imperialist propaganda. It is no secret that in student ranks there are people who spread various

rumors and inventions, borrowed from the dirty waves of foreign broadcasts, disseminate cynicism and bow before the decadent bourgeois "culture" of the West. In doing so they make believe that they express their "independence" and "heroism". Some accept liberalism without thinking what a pernicious influence these bearers of bourgeois propaganda may have upon the youth... Life demands most resolutely to fight against the smallest manifestations of the alien ideology and morality, petit-bourgeoisie and individualism. In these matters there can be no compromise..."

## Assassination – Moscow's Political Weapon

Ten years ago, on October 15, 1959, the leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, *Stepan Bandera*, was murdered on the orders of the Soviet Russian government by the KGB agent Bohdan Stashynsky. On August 12, 1961, one day before the erection of the Berlin wall, Stashynsky gave himself up to the German authorities in West Berlin, from the justified fear that he would be liquidated as a bearer of secret information by the men behind him, the KGB. In October 1962 the Federal Court in Karlsruhe sentenced Bohdan Stashynsky to eight years imprisonment for "being an accessory to murder". The summing-up in the Federal Court stated: "The Soviet government thought it fit to have a murder, decided on by them, carried out by means of a poison gas (potassium cyanide) pistol, specially developed for this purpose, on the sovereign territory of the Federal Republic, as a state commission. The deputy Premier of the USSR and head of the state security service (KGB), Alexander Shelepin, was entrusted with the organization of the murder. The order to commit the murder was carried out by the agent Stashynsky". Later it continued: "Stalinism is dead, but individual murderous terror continues. The change which has really taken place so far has not the slightest to do with lawfulness. The Soviet secret service no longer at present carries out murders according to its own fancy. These now require an express order from the government. Political murder is now, so to speak, institutionalized".

The following, therefore, is true:

- a) The Soviet government violated the sovereignty of the Federal Republic;
- b) trampled under foot the Declaration of Human Rights signed by all the member-states of the United Nations — and thus also by Soviet Russia;
- c) has paid the most flagrant disregard to the acknowledged rules of international law.

Then the Federal Foreign Minister Dr Gerhard Schröder protested against this murder ordered by the Soviet Russian government and the late CDU/CSU party leader Dr Clemens von Bretano called on the Federal government to bring the case before the International Court in The Hague and before the United Nations.

The Federal Court further stated: "The murderer, that is the person who gave the order, is the Soviet government. There is no reason for the immediate perpetrator to share the guilt of the people behind him, the Soviet government. As the holder of high functions in the sovereign territory of a foreign power, they are outside the scope of our efforts towards justice, although ultimately no one can escape from his just punishment and no one can in the long run get away from his guilt".



## **Why Did Bandera Have To Die?**

Stepan Bandera, for long a prisoner in Nazi concentration camps, fought for the national independence of Ukraine and for the dissolution of the Russian empire into national independent states formed from all the nations subjugated in this empire, and for the reunification in freedom of all countries divided by force.

His idea was as follows: the simultaneous, coordinated revolution of the nations subjugated in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries against the Russian Bolshevik foreign rule and colonial exploitation, at the same time avoiding an atomic war: that is to say, the destruction of the Communist system and the dissolution of the Russian empire from within.

For this purpose Bandera built up the Ukrainian underground movement. Through the revolutionary activity of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) he prepared the liberation of the Ukrainian nation. He mobilized world public opinion against Russian imperialism in favour of the liberation of the subjugated nations and worked closely with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations for the formation of an anti-Communist and anti-Russian world front.

After all the great empires of history have been broken up, the question may be asked as to why the last and cruellest — the Russian empire — should exist and force highly-civilized nations in Europe and Asia to endure its foreign rule?

On the tenth anniversary of the murder of Stepan Bandera, we remind the Free World of the brutal subjection of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union and of the ruthless colonial exploitation of the so-called satellite countries.

We remind the Free World of the heroic death of Stepan Bandera, who was killed for the freedom, justice and independence of all subjugated nations, for the realization of Christian ideals.

We call on the Free World not to be lulled to sleep by false phrases such as "co-existence", but to realise fully the desire for world conquest of Soviet Russia, its militant atheism, its brutal methods of government and its pitiless exploitation of foreign nations.

In this way the murder of Stepan Bandera, whose name has become a symbol for the 50 million Ukrainians in their home country and in the USSR and for the 3 million Ukrainians in the Free World, is at the same time a warning and a guide — for the Western world also.

**Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)**

October 1969

# The Main Ideological And Political Principles Of The OUN

## I

1. Ukraine and Russia, Kyiv and Moscow — these are two national and cultural antipods. This is a permanent struggle of two nations, two opposite cultures, two mutually contradictory tendencies.

2. Ukraine's ideas are a contradiction to the Russian world of ideas which is grounded in the denial of individuality, dignity, freedom and human rights, the negation of a nation as a cornerstone of the universe, its sovereignty and completely independent development. The totalitarian imposition of the Russian-Bolshevik way of life upon other nations is one of the means employed by Russia to subjugate freedom-loving nations and rule over them.

3. In contrast to the Russian world of ideas Ukraine places in the heart of the construction of the new world the idealistic values of life, the eternal truths of God and Country, the dignity of man, the heroic concept of life and liberation nationalism which rejects any kind of imperialism and Communism as historical anachronisms of the present day and age and recognizes the independence and sovereignty of every nation.

## II

1. Our epoch distinguishes itself by the fact that under the pressure of the national liberation movements colonial empires are disintegrating and are being replaced by independent national states.

2. The present-day development of the world, which follows the lines of the downfall of empires and the creation of national states — completely reaffirms the independent aim of the Ukrainian people to topple the Russian empire and to reestablish independent and sovereign states of nations subjugated within it. Thus, the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Sovereign Unified State corresponds to the trends of world development, and the ideas of the Ukrain-

ian nation are the most progressive ideas of our epoch.

3. The Russian empire, as an historical anachronism and a violent offspring of the Russian people, is the main obstacle on the road to the reconstruction of the world according to the principle of sovereign national states, because with the help of force it follows the road of destruction of nations leading to the nationless constructions encompassing large areas. Historical development of the world fully confirms the ideological bankruptcy of the Russian empire as well as the inevitability of its disintegration.

4. Ukrainian nationalism rejects all concepts of large international states, which do not recognize the rights of all nations to have their own independent national states. As shown by historical experience multinational empires, spreading over large areas of land were always the grounds of national persecution and exploitation by one nation of another nation. Therefore the liquidation of imperial states, especially the Russian empire, which at present is disguised under the name of the USSR is an absolute precondition to the guarantee of lasting peace and justice in the world. The liberation of all subjugated peoples, their independence and sovereignty are possible only when the concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which is the same as the liberation strategy and policy of Ukrainian nationalism, will be victorious.

5. The sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation is understood not only as political independence from external forces, but also as independence from such forces which undercut its independence from within in order to make it a satellite of international, foreign and other secret conspiracies which with the help of their agents inside the nation, are assuming influential positions.

6. In planning and organizing its liberation struggle, Ukrainian nationalism de-



depends on the strength of the Ukrainian nation itself and does not make its hopes for Ukraine's liberation dependent upon external intervention or the evolution of the occupation system existing in Ukraine. OUN feels that external factors or internal political, social, cultural and economic processes on the territory of the Russian Bolshevik empire can ease and quicken the successful termination of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people but its final success depends only upon the organization of the revolutionary and liberation forces and resources of the whole nation.

7. The most topical and the most necessary form of struggle for national and social liberation are synchronized national liberation revolutions and guerrilla-insurgent wars which as a double-edged sword are at the same time a road to the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia and a way to avoid nuclear war.

8. Ideological, moral and political crisis of world powers which has been created as a result of fear of nuclear war, can be removed when free nations understand that it is in their own interest to support the national liberation revolutions, against which Moscow would be unable to employ nuclear arms.

9. In our epoch the historical role of the Ukrainian nation and state, marked by the national heritage of Christian faith and culture and geo-political situation of Ukraine as a front guard in East Europe, has been confirmed again. The great task of all generations of the Ukrainian people is to defend the chivalrous and Christian Ukraine from the Russian genocidal messianism and usurpation.

### III

1. Ukrainian nationalism recognizes the Ukrainian national state as the sole form of organization of the nation, which guarantees the best conditions for an all-round development of its spiritual and physical forces. The idea of one's own national state which guarantees a sovereign government to the nation, stems from the deepest feelings and aspirations of every nation which

wants to be master of its own land and to exercise its authority there.

2. Every nation of the world is entitled to have its own national state just as the people of the whole world are entitled to have personal freedoms. The organization of the world on the principle of national states is a guarantee of peace and justice in the world. Unity of the world, liberated from colonialism and totalitarianism, as well as real international cooperation are possible only on the basis of equality and sovereignty of all nations.

3. Ukrainian nationalism knits into one whole centuries-old and invariable truths, values and achievements of the Ukrainian nation. On the social plane it realizes the concept of such an order which is based on the principles of legality, social justice, human dignity and harmonious balancing of individual aspirations with the demands and needs of society as a whole. It rejects exploitation of man by man or regime, acknowledges the right of individual creativity and private property, creates opportunities for the disposal of income derived from work as one sees fit. It rejects the Marxist-Bolshevik concept of class struggle and contrasts it with the concept of cooperation among all social strata of a nation.

4. The social order as understood by Ukrainian nationalism, springs from Ukrainian spirituality and Ukrainian traditions of everyday life which are characteristic to it only. It does not imitate foreign socialist, capitalist or liberal speculative doctrines. It transforms technical gains and social achievements of other nations of the world independently, according to its own needs.

### IV

1. The nation — the most enduring human community, the roots of which spring from the depths of centuries, and whose development leads into unfathomable future, is endless and unconquerable. Just as the nation, Ukrainian nationalism, which is the product of the nation, is endless and unconquerable.

2. The guiding principles of the Ukrainian nation, and at the same time of the Ukrainian nationalism are the historical truths of Christian national Kyiv, the idea of national freedom, expressed in its own independent state, and the idea of social justice which guarantees human freedom and development.

3. The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism is the product of all-Ukrainian unifying ideas of all generations. Therefore Ukrainian nationalism is a dynamic, unifying, national liberation movement which acts according to the principles of unity of all revolutionary forces of the nation in the struggle for freedom and statehood. It is a conscious formulation of aspirations and the expression of the intellect, heart and will of the Ukrainian community as a whole which in the present stage is fighting for power in its own nation, for its all-round development, and for better living conditions of the nation on its own national territory.

4. Ukrainian nationalism has passed through many stages of development, formation and testing of its positions, experience and action. It is a general phenomenon for it manifests itself in various forms: as spontaneity in the masses of the Ukrainian people, as creativity and activity of its outstanding individuals and as an organized ideological and political movement. It grew, developed and hardened in the struggle for the spiritual, political and national as well as social liberation of the Ukrainian people, in the struggle for freedom and justice, for free cultural development of the nation and the individual, for personal freedom and social well-being of man.

5. The concept of Ukrainian nationalism of the 20th century is much broader than the concept of liberation of the nation itself. In the present struggle Ukrainian nationalism is a complex of ideas in the spiritual sphere with the aim to renew and to form the Ukrainian nation into a single political, cultural, religious, ethnic and moral whole with its own traditions and determination to realize them in life.

6. Ukrainian nationalistic outlook sprang up from the thousand-year-old spiritual heritage of the Ukrainian people and the singularity of its historical existence which was formulated by Christianity. Therefore there is harmony between it and the Christian philosophy and morality. The fight for the Ukrainian national state is at the same time the fight for Christian truth.

7. The substance and the dynamics of modern Ukrainian nationalism arose from creative expressions, profound thoughts, immortal deeds and deliberate conscious sacrifices of a number of generations of Ukrainian nationalists-revolutionaries and statesmen, who overcoming the indifference of their own surroundings — were able to awaken pathos in the broad masses of the Ukrainian people and to raise their national and political aspirations to a higher level, to guide them in the struggle for the restoration, the strengthening and building-up of the Ukrainian Independent United State.

(To be continued)

### **Dr. C. I. Untaru In Munich**

As part of his world tour, Dr. Constantine Ion Untaru, a well-known Rumanian exile politician and President of the Central Delegacy of ABN for Australia and New Zealand, also visited the ABN Headquarters at the end of September 1969. The President of the Central Committee of ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko, the President of the Peoples' Council, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, the Chief of the ABN Press Bureau, Mrs. Slava Stetsko, M. A. and the Chairman of the Organization Committee, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny conferred with Dr. Untaru. The meeting was held in a very cordial atmosphere. During his extensive Munich visit Dr. Untaru had an opportunity to meet with influential German friends of ABN and to speak with them on current political questions. From Munich Dr. Untaru flew to London and from there to New York.



## British League For European Freedom In Support Of The Captive Nations

Just two hour's flying time from Britain tens of millions of ordinary people live in constant fear of arbitrary arrest, imprisonment without trial, or banishment to remote areas far from their homeland. They live in the countries oppressed by the Russian Communist government and its puppets in the Captive Nations, which lack the clean, fresh air of freedom which we take for granted.

The events in Czecho-Slovakia are still vivid in our minds. So far the leading powers of the free world have refused to lift a finger in defence of their friends behind the Iron Curtain with the excuse that any support for the rights of the enslaved nations would mean war with Russia.

This is sheer nonsense! Over the past 50 years, while accusing the West of "imperialism and colonialism", the Russians have fomented trouble on every continent, and extended their own empire further into Europe. They have indulged in every form of tyranny. They have enslaved men's minds and bodies, destroying ancient cultures and persecuting religion.

The rising crescendo of misery is voiced by writers and intellectuals who beg us to heed their words. They draw our attention to the awful statistics, the price that humanity has paid — nearly *100 million souls obliterated by one means or another in 50 years.*

First Russia crushed the national independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the North Caucasus, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Siberia and Turkestan. Then Russia occupied Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and installed Communist tyrannies in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, East Germany and the Czech and Slovak lands. Communism has been imposed by Tito on Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, with Moscow's and Peking's aid and encouragement, in Mongolia, Albania, mainland China, Zanzibar, Tibet, North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba.

The British League for European Freedom believes that the tide of Communist penetration can be halted and turned back. We believe that if Ghana is free, Hungary should also be free. We believe that if the Indian nation is free to speak with her own unfettered voice, that of a free Lithuania, Georgia or Turkestan should also be heard. In fact we believe in self-determination for all nations, and the application of the Declaration of Human Rights to all men everywhere.

In our view nothing is impossible and we are therefore holding this Captive Nations Week from 9th to 16th November to commemorate and rededicate our efforts to the restoration of freedom wherever it has been extinguished by Communist tyranny.

If you care about human liberty, truth and honesty, we ask you to REMEMBER the enslaved nations with us and REMIND others of their continuing plight. If the martyrdom and suffering of these enslaved people disturbs you, you must help them by co-operating with the British League for European Freedom — especially during Captive Nations Week.

### THE PRICE OF COMMUNISM

The number of persons killed as a result of the application of Marxist-Leninist ideology:

#### IN THE SOVIET UNION

(Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Cossackia, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Siberia)

Bolshevik Revolution and Invasions of Non-Russian countries	1,500,000
Civilian Deaths Caused by Wars against Non-Russian Nationalities and Famine 1921/22/23	13,000,000
Liquidation of Class Enemies and National Minorities	3,000,000
Famine Caused by the Collectivisation Drive (mainly in Ukraine — 1933)	7,000,000

Communist Purges	1,500,000
Deaths in Slave Labour Camps, 1921—	
1960	19,000,000
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>45,000,000</b>

#### IN EASTERN EUROPE

Invasions	500,000
Liquidation of Class Enemies	2,000,000
Communist Purges	1,000,000
Deaths in Slave Labour Camps since 1946	100,000
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>3,600,000</b>

#### IN ASIA

The Chinese Civil War, 1927-49	20,000,000
China, Liquidation of Class Enemies	9,500,000
China, Famine Caused by Great Leap Forward	13,000,000
China, Deaths in Slave Labour Camps since 1950	2,000,000
Tibet, Invasions and Revolts	200,000
The Korean War	1,500,000
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>46,200,000</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL:</b>	<b>94,800,000</b>

## The Captive Nations Week In Australia

In Adelaide the observances of the Captive Nations Week have already become a tradition. Just as in previous years the week of July 19-25, 1969 was filled with events corresponding to the character of the observances. On Saturday, July 19th in the busiest hours of the morning, a procession of cars with placards and slogans passed through the main streets of Adelaide, reminding thousands of passers-by of the horrible living conditions in Communist-dominated countries.

On Sunday, Mr. A. Gilles, the Chairman of the Captive Nations Committee, laid a wreath at the monument dedicated to the victims of war. 300 persons participated at the wreath-laying ceremony.

In spite of heavy rain, the participants formed a dignified demonstrative march to the Town Hall where a protest rally was held. Mr. I. Jess, Member of the Federal Parliament, was the main speaker. He flew from Canberra especially for this occasion. At the conclusion of the rally resolutions were read, which were handed over to the Premier of the government of South Australia.

The resolutions spoke about the Communist threat to all nations, and Australia in particular. They ended with a call to the government, the press and the general public to condemn Communist tyranny, which in cold blood has trampled upon all human rights of individuals and has subjugated so many nations.

On Monday the local daily *Advertiser* carried a short report and the picture of the protest march.

The third event of the week was a banquet at which the members of the Captive Nations Committee and the invited guests participated. Here interesting speeches were delivered by representatives of various nationalities. Mr. Irynei Mykyta, a member of the young generation and the son of the founder of the Captive Nations Committee of South Australia spoke on behalf of the Ukrainian Antibolshevik League.

The speeches touched upon the need to raise funds for the propagation of the ideas of the C.N.C. as well as upon the problem of contemporary youth and its political attitude.

The Captive Nations Week ended with an international concert held in the Latvian community hall on Friday, July 25th. The highlights of the program included the young Latvian string ensemble, folk songs performed by a Macedonian singer and Ukrainian folk dances by a group of school children under the direction of Mr. V. Labaz.

In conclusion it must be emphasized that even though the participation at this year's observances was greater than in previous years, it was far from satisfactory. With adequate preparation the number of participants could have been ten times greater.

S. H.



## Captive Nations Day In Sweden

On October 28 the June Committee and the Baltic Committee in cooperation with about 50 exile and Swedish organizations arranged the Captive Nations Day in Sweden. A special manifesto was issued on that occasion.

The Captive Nations Day began with a large scale open air rally on Sergel Square in the heart of Stockholm, attended by some 2,000 people. The rally was opened by Mr. Lars Eric Nyman, deputy chairman of Democratic Alliance. The next speaker was deputy chairman of the Conservative Youth, Mr. Leif Brink. A representative of Czecho-Slovak youth, Mr. Milos Senahl, who escaped from Prague a few weeks ago, was warmly applauded. Mr. Andrejs Straubergs spoke on behalf of the Latvian exile youth organizations. The demonstration was concluded by Mr. Anders Larsson, secretary of Democratic Alliance.

A protest meeting held in the big assembly room of Town Hall was attended by about 1,800 persons. It was opened by the chairman of the June Committee, Prof. Birger Nerman, who stressed that Communism and Russian colonialism "the last and the most despicable in world history — will be swept away." He demanded that the Swedish government sharply protest against Soviet Russian espionage in the Stockholm Archipelago and that it stop to cater to the Russians. He was followed by the former leader of the Liberal Party, Prof. Bertil Ohlin, the deputy chairman of the Conservative Party, Mr. Gösta Bohman and the new chairman of the youth organization, Democratic Alliance, Mr. Gunnar Ragna, who stressed that his organization represents this part of Swedish youth which is dedicated to fight for real freedom and democracy, not forgetting Nazi as well as Communist crimes.

The main speaker at the meeting was Mr. Ole Bjorn Kraft, former Danish Foreign Minister and at present President of the European Freedom Council. He said inter alia:

"Of all the names given to our century, I find that 'the century of the refugee' is the most apt. The refugees can be counted

in millions. The beginning of the tragedy... was the division of East Europe as signed 30 years ago by Hitler's Reich und Stalin's regime. This was the most despicable agreement ever made in civilized world.

"But people outside Europe also flee from oppression. In Tibet which has ceased to exist as an independent country, her ancient religion and civilization have been eradicated completely..."

"Hundreds of thousands have fled south from the Stalinist dictatorship in North Vietnam. Nevertheless, Ho Chi Minh's agricultural collectivization cost the lives of 100,000 peasants."

"It seems that those who demand that USA shall leave Vietnam do not consider the fate that would befall the people and refugees in South Vietnam if the country were taken over by the Communists. Why no pressure on Hanoi?"

Subsequent speakers were Mr. Juhan Kokla, editor of the Estonian-language daily in Stockholm and Mr. Teodor Berkovits, a representative of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

The manifestation was concluded by the secretary of the June Committee and the Baltic Committee Mr. Bertil Häggman, who stressed that the extreme left in Sweden consists of a small minority which has attracted attention by using spectacular methods, and that in every West European country, including Sweden, there is a "silent majority".

The Captive Nations Day aroused considerable attention in the Scandinavian press. In the framework of this action the distribution of a large quantity of various materials and publications was included. 200,000 copies of the Bulletin of the June Committee, leaflets, posters, brochures and the Captive Nations Day stamps were distributed.

This was the first occasion on which it was possible to introduce the internationally known Captive Nations Week to the Scandinavian public. The action was carried out with great success.

## The Conference Of Representatives Of Clergy In The USSR

From the 1st to the 4th of July 1969 a conference of the representatives of all religions in the USSR was held in the Troitsa-Sergieva Lavra monastery in the town of Zagorske. Numerous invited guests from 44 countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and America, who represented churches and leading religious organizations of their respective countries, also participated in the conference.

The Zagorske conference was officially called by the patriarch of "Moscow and All Russia" Alexei. Nevertheless, everything points to the fact that it was practically organized upon orders from the Soviet government since the conference did not deal with strictly religious issues, but its agenda consisted of miscellaneous questions of political nature, the solution of which is a direct function of the governments of the various countries. The fact becomes even more irrefutable, when one takes into consideration that at the first session of the conference the representative of the Soviet of Religious Affairs at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, V. A. Kuroedov, was present and delivered a message from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. N. Kosygin.

Soviet Premier Kosygin in his message greeted the participants of the conference and pointed out that the Soviet government is pursuing the policy of peace firmly and consistently and wished success to the participants of the conference in their work for the cause of peace.

Nevertheless, one must say, that these statements by Kosygin do not correspond with reality. In practice the Russian government is conducting a policy of aggression and the country's economy and the education of the young generation is built in a military way. It is appropriate to remember that the Russian government prevents the reunification of Germany, that

the USSR is practically holding East Germany under its occupation, and that the Soviet armies only recently — on August 21, 1968 — occupied Czecho-Slovakia.

According to the information provided by *Izvestia*, the organ of the Soviet government, on July 2, 1969, the major address at the Zagorske conference of religious leaders on the subject "The Role of the Church in the Strengthening of Peace and Friendship Among Nations" was delivered by the metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod Nikodim.

West German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of July 7, 1969 reported that the conference accepted a resolution calling for the struggle with the so-called American aggression in Vietnam and the Israeli aggression in the Middle East, dealing with the problems of South-east Asia, the guarantee of European security and calling for assistance to the freedom-loving peoples in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. This conference was not the first of its kind. It was intended to confuse the faithful in the question of policy of the Soviet government.

At the time of the threat of the expansion of the Korean War to the Soviet and the Chinese territories, a war which was instigated and began by Stalin and Mao Tse-tung with the aim of capturing South Korea, the Soviet leadership was holding a conference of the clergy of all religions of the USSR. At that first conference, also held in Zagorske, a resolution was adopted which accused the United States of aggression in Korea.

By convoking clerical conferences the Soviet leadership is trying to conceal its own really aggressive policy and to mislead the general public, in particular the faithful. However, it will not achieve this goal.



## From Recent Documentation

Richard M. Nixon  
The President of the United States of America  
*Washington D. C.*

July, 1969

Mr. President,

After the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia the Russian occupational government intensified the national, religious and cultural persecution in Ukraine. The arrest of Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi of the Ukrainian Catholic underground Church and of numerous priests; the persecution of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox underground Church and of the Ukrainian Protestants; the burning of the priceless Ukrainian historical archives in the church of St. Yuriy in the Orthodox Vydubenskyi monastery in Kyiv; the burning in 1964 of the documents about the Ukrainian ancient culture and history in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, which had a unique meaning — these are some of the latest facts about the new and cruel attack of the Russian imperialists against the Ukrainian nation, so as to crush its desire for freedom and national independence.

The burning of a synagogue in the Ukrainian port of Odessa, which contained Jewish archive documents also bears witness of the Russian unceasing destruction of religious and cultural treasures.

On behalf of the fighting Ukraine we are appealing to you, Mr. President, to defend the right of national independence of the Ukrainian nation and to defend the human rights of the Ukrainian individual especially when even those nations of various continents which were never independent are enjoying these rights with a considerable amount of help from the freedom-loving nation of America.

At the same time we ask you to use all the means available to the American government so as to halt Russian lawlessness in Ukraine, the trampling of national and human rights by the Russian invaders. The breaking up of the Russian empire and the renewal of a sovereign Ukrainian country lies in the national interest of all freedom-loving mankind.

Respectfully yours,  
Yaroslav Stetsko  
Former Prime Minister Of Ukraine

### From World Anti-Communist League Resolutions:

#### To Enable Youth Leaders To Attend Seminars

Whereas, the only obstacle to the attendance of students from the member-units at Seminars, Symposia, and Institutes organized and conducted by the WACL Secretariat is the cost of air travel to and from Seoul, Korea;

Whereas, these seminars, symposia, and institutes are intended for the edification

and instruction of the youth of the world in general and not for any particular country or region exclusively, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

THAT all member-units lend every possible effort to award TRAVEL GRANTS to scholastically competent youth leaders to enable them to attend Seminars, Symposia, and Institutes organized and conducted by the WACL Secretariat.

### **On The WACL Freedom Prize**

Establishing an annual prize to be awarded to the most distinguished anti-Communist fighter of the year.

Be it resolved:

THAT an annual prize to be known as THE WACL PRIZE be awarded to the most distinguished anti-Communist fighter under the following conditions:

1. The WACL PRIZE shall consist of a medal of honor, a testimonial plaque, and the sum of \$ 500.00 (U.S.).

2. The most distinguished anti-Com-

munist fighter shall be selected not only among members of the WACL but from outside the confines of the LEAGUE.

3. There shall be a BOARD of three JUDGES appointed by the WACL Executive Board to carry out the provisions of this resolution.

4. The WACL Executive Board shall raise the necessary funds for this purpose.

This Resolution shall take effect immediately and the First WACL prize shall be awarded at the 3rd WACL Conference.

### **From Letters To ABN:**

*Dear Mr. Stetsko,*

*Chicago, Ill., USA*

*I regret very much that I was unable to see you personally at the time of your stay in Chicago during the Captive Nations Week and to extend to you the admiration of all members of the Bulgarian National Front and our thanks for honoring us with the appointment of our President Dr. Ivan Docheff as Vice President of ABN.*

*By means of this letter I want to express to you our admiration and thanks.*

*You can rely on the Organization of the Bulgarian National Front and be sure that you will always have our support.*

*Sincerely yours,*

*Dr. George Paprikoff, Vice President BNF*

### **Services, March On Red Embassy To Mark Bandera's Anniversary**

New York, N.Y. — State Senator John Marchi, the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York, headed a list of distinguished guests at ceremonies on Saturday, October 18, commemorating the tenth anniversary of Stepan Bandera's death.

The commemoration began with a solemn Requiem service at the Central Park Bandshell, at 72nd Street, beginning at 12.30 p.m. Senator Marchi paid tribute to the memory of Stepan Bandera and other Ukrainian martyrs. After the Senator's address there was a parade to the Russian UN Mission on 67th Street, where a protest rally and demonstration was held. Main speakers at the rally were Ivan Vovchuk, Roman Huhlevych, and William Larkin, public relations director.

Representatives of several nationalities and patriotic organizations, including a large delegation of Hungarian Americans

joined the demonstration. The anniversary of Bandera's murder coincides with the thirteenth anniversary of the Hungarian uprising which Khrushchov crushed with Russian tanks.

This was the second mass rally of Ukrainian Americans commemorating the 10th anniversary of Bandera's murder. On October 11, a rally was held at the Shevchenko Monument in Washington, D.C. followed by a march to the Russian Embassy.

A feature of both rallies was the delivery of a "Wanted for Murder" poster to the Russian embassy staffs. This poster, patterned after the FBI notices in U.S. Post Offices, accuses Alexander Shelepin, the Russian Politbureau member who ordered Bandera's murder, of that crime, plus numerous assassination plots against such Ukrainian leaders as Yaroslav Stetsko, former prime Minister of Ukraine.



# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## BULGARIA

### Concentration Camp Terror

In the "Voice of Freedom" of July 1969 an article appeared under the title "Concentration Camp Terror in the Era of Relaxed Tension." The article, a report of experiences in the Lovetsh Concentration Camp in Bulgaria, is reproduced in extracts as follows:

Monday, April 10, 1961: Leaving the camp proceeds slowly and watchfully... I was allotted to the section working in the big quarries... when about half the way to the quarry had been covered, one of the guards gave the order to halt. All sick men had to step forward. They were placed at the head of the column. They were not allowed to hold each others' hands, so as not to support each other. There were ten sick men, all barefoot, covered with wounds, and they could scarcely keep themselves on their legs. When the work place had been reached, several guards drove the sick men with blows from buttends up some steps made of big blocks of stone. One man collapsed. The unfortunate man was stoned before the assembled workers. The executioners ordered two prisoners to take the corpse by the legs and to drag it out of the quarry. "Do you think he's going to try to escape?" one of the guards mocked the dead man... The prisoners were as powerless to act against the crime as they were against the guards. They could confide in nobody... it is incredible that humans can endure torture of this kind and in addition to the physical torment endure a mental burden almost to the limit... But one underestimates the will to live. This instinct gives strength, which one never would have thought one had. One wants to survive and achieve the impossible. By the midday break, 45 trucks have to be brought to the railway loading ramp, so that there is enough to

load the train. If this is not attained, and the train has to wait, then God help anyone who has not done his quota!

Every prisoner strains himself to the extreme in loading. At a command, they all rush to the heap of stones. The loading begins with ear-splitting noise. Armed guards are continually running along the wagons being loaded, always beating with sticks every prisoner, no matter whether the work is taking place quickly or slowly. Is there anything more pitiful, than to die under these conditions? The people of the Stone Age cannot have been such barbarians as the Communists who are ruling today in Bulgaria.

The names of the executioners in the Lovetsh Concentration Camp:

- 1: Colonel Tschakarov, about 60, Head of the "Camp" Department in the Ministry of the Interior
- 2: Colonel Dimov, 55, leading official in the Ministry of the Interior, responsible for concentration camps
- 3: Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Gogov, about 55, Head of Lovetsh Concentration Camp, Sub-Section 0739
- 4: Major Goranov, 40, Head of the "Regime" in the camp
- 5: Captain Gasdov, 42, deputy Head of the camp, Head of security at the camp
- 6: Major Neshev, 55, before his transfer to Lovetsh Head of the Women's Concentration Camp near Botevgrad

#### Guards

- 1: Head of Guards, Captain Bajev, 45
- 2: Deputy Head of Guards, Sergeant Mutafov, 42

#### Sergeants in charge of duties

- 1: Sergeant Krastev, 35
- 2: Sergeant Mutafov, 42
- 3: Sergeant Ivan Pantaleev, 50

### **Anti-Russian Struggle Continues**

Arrested Chornovil is confined to a prison in Lviv on Chapaev Street. He is receiving many letters and postcards, which help to keep his spirit high.

Ukraine in general is indignant at the burning of the Vydubitskyi Monastery where Shevchenko's manuscripts as well as manuscripts from the princely era were destroyed.

During last Christmas workers protested in Lviv because they were forced to work on those days. Many participants of the protest were arrested and dismissed from work or universities.

In 1968 on the anniversary of T. Shevchenko's birthday commemorative meetings were held throughout Lviv. Shevchenko's poetry was recited, in particular the poem "Reve ta stohne" (Roars and Groans). This poem is considered a de-facto anthem.

The Boiko Sisters protested and refused to sing Russian songs as they were instructed to do while performing abroad.

The underground organization, Ukrainian National Front, was liquidated in 1967. At that time the UNF members were arrested in Lviv and Stanyslaviv. At the same time secret trials were held in both of these cities. The following were arrested in Lviv: Hubko, Krasynskyi, Prokopovych, Melys; in Stanyslaviv: Kravetsko, Dyak, Lesyn, Kalynych. Hubko is now in prison in Dubravnoye, Mordovian ASSR, Krasynskyi in the Vladimir prison, Kalynych in Dubravnoye.

Archbishop Velychkovskyi was arrested in January 1969. In the beginning he was confined to the so-called Brygidky jail in Lviv. The faithful from all parts of the country came to his aid. It is said that the Archbishop was arrested because of the

Church's underground activities. In the meantime it was rumored that Archbishop Velychkovskyi died in a Moscow prison.

On Pentecost Sunday 1969 wreaths were laid and torches lit on the graves of Ukrainian soldiers at the Yanivskyi cemetery in Lviv and at the cemetery in Horodok Yahailonskyi. This made a great impression on the people.

In the winter of 1969 an anti-Russian organization was uncovered at the polytechnic institute in Lviv. Its members were not only Ukrainians but also representatives of other nationalities, in line with the ABN concepts. The aim of this organization was: the struggle with Russian colonialism, the overturning of the government and the change of the regime. The names of those arrested and convicted have not been made public by the KGB, although they are generally known. Nothing has been said about the trial either. This trial has been surrounded with complete secrecy. It seems that the concepts of ABN are unusually dangerous for Russia.

The news about the economic-financial conflict between Kyiv and Moscow, intensified by Ukrainian nationalists, has been widespread.

In 1967 an underground youth organization OPVU (Association of patriots for the liberation of Ukraine) was active in the Kolomyia and Rozhnyativ regions and in Broshnev whose members allegedly were B. Hermanyuk, I. Strutynskyi, M. Ploshchak, Ya. Tkach and others. All of them were convicted but they conducted themselves with dignity at the trial. This has a very good influence on the young people.

In the sixties approximately 8—10 underground organizations or more precisely groups were uncovered by the KGB. They were active in Lviv, Kyiv and Ivano-Frankivsk. Almost all of these groups were nationally oriented when it came to their ideo-political content.



## Ukrainian Resident Of Cleveland Executed In Kyiv

Charged with "war crimes", a Western tourist was arrested while visiting Kyiv, Ukraine. — Andrey Litowka, a Ukrainian resident of Cleveland, Ohio, was executed sometime this year by a Soviet firing squad for "war crimes" alleged to have been committed during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in World War II. The news of his execution was reported in the June 1969 issue of *Visti z Ukrainy* (News from Ukraine), a monthly in the Ukrainian and English languages published by the "Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad" in Kyiv, and reported in the August 5, 1969 issue of *America*, Ukrainian Catholic daily appearing in Philadelphia, Pa.

On November 3, 1968, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that Andrey Litowka, of 3015 Monroe Avenue, S. W., Cleveland, was arrested on charges of having been a Nazi collaborator during the German occupation of Ukraine in World War II. He was seized by Soviet police in Kyiv between September 17 and 21, 1968, while on a tour with 15 other Ukrainians from Cleveland. Although Litowka came to the United States in 1952 he had never tried to take out U. S. citizenship for fear of failing the test, according to his daughter, Mrs. Luba Sereda, of Parma. An attache at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, Sergei V. Kruglov, told the *Plain Dealer* at that time that Litowka had been "charged with collaboration with the Germans."

During the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in the last war, a town council with a police force, made up of local people, had been set up in Kaminka, Litowka's home town

in Ukraine. As a former kurkul (prosperous farmer), Litowka was drafted into the service. When the German *Wehrmacht* retreated, Litowka, his wife and his daughter were taken along as slave laborers in Germany, where they were liberated by French troops. Subsequently they came to the United States under the DP law and settled in Cleveland.

### An Attack On Ukrainian Baptists

The *Radyanska Ukraina* of October 10, 1969 levelled a filthy attack against Pastor Oleksa Harbuzyuk, the head of the Association of Ukrainian Evangelic-Baptist Churches for his broadcasts on the waves of various radio stations of the USA and informed its readers that more about him is said in the tenth issue of the periodical *Lyudyna i svit*. The author of the slanderous article about the director of the Baptist radio broadcasts is some S. Krasnjuk. *Radyanska Ukraina* is most upset by the fact that he informs his listeners in Ukraine about repressions, persecution and even death in the Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps.

### Moscow Afraid Of Emigrants

The Bolshevik rulers in the Kremlin know precisely that the political emigrants from the countries subjugated by Moscow are the free speakers of their nations and, as the conscience of the Free World disclose clearly and plainly Moscow's plans. For this reason Moscow attempts by threats, terror and murderous assaults on the active leading representatives of the enslaved nations to isolate and render their influence neutral by slandering and defaming political emigrants as fascists.

## The Kyivites Demonstrate

At 10:00 P.M. on June 28, 1969, a demonstration of a large group of young people took place in the First-of-May Park in Kyiv, near the Leninist Komsomol Square.

The demonstrators marched in the direction of the said square and chanted among other things: "Out with him". One of the demonstrators called out: "With whom", and the others replied: "With Leonid himself".

After reaching the square the demonstrators entered a tunnel and then dispersed.

## Book Reviews

Helmut Wolfgang Kahn: *THE RUSSIANS ARE NOT COMING*. Mistakes of Our Security Policy. Published by Rütten and Loening, Munich, Bern, Vienna. 1969, 263 pp.

The author of this book, written in the frivolous style of the popular press is concerned with the question of justification of the existence of NATO and in particular of the German armed forces. He attempts with demagogic arguments to bring the German armed forces into discredit. Thus he seeks to persuade the reader of his book that they serve only the political ambitions of German Christian Conservative politicians. They are, it is claimed, also a 'milk cow' for the Anglo-Saxon armaments industry.

The author's argumentation is very primitive. He claims that the Russians will never make a military attack on the German Federal Republic. As proof of this claim, he cites the fact that up to now they have never attacked the Federal Republic. According to his portrayal, the Russians have already had enough favourable opportunities and if they had used them, the armed forces would not have been anyway in a position to successfully defend the Federal Republic.

But in reality Russia has had no such opportunities, or either its leaders have refused to exploit them, on account of the risk involved. An offensive war by Russia against the Federal Republic of Germany could in fact cause a new World War. In this case Russia would have to run the risk of being in a position to lose the war and thus also the non-Russian countries ruled by it (both within and without the Soviet Union). The risk of a new World War would be so much the greater for Russia, because it would have to fight against not only its outer enemies but also against the resistance of the nations subjugated by it. Against this, if the Federal Republic had no army, or one only equipped with defen-

sive weapons, the Russian-Bolshevist rulers could be tempted to exploit the situation at a moment favourable for them, and occupy West Germany. C. P.

Reading this book forces one involuntarily to ask the question, is it a put-up job by an "idiot" useful for Bolshevism and Russian imperialism or only a provocation for domestic politics from motives of small party politics?

Richard Wurmbrand: *IN GOD'S UNDERGROUND*, Edited by Charles Foley, Published by W. H. Allen, London 1968, 254 pp.

The West still does not believe that the Communist devil is as dreadful as it is being painted by the opponents of Communism. The author of the above book wonders at the naivety of the Western world and assigns to it all the misfortunes which we experience on this side of the Iron Curtain because of Communism. In the first place the West is supporting Communist regimes by its shameful cooperation and trade with them which in most cases serves to defeat the West itself with its democratic and Christian way of life.

In this publication the author points out all the horrors of tortures, starvation and other methods of physical destruction which the author himself has experienced in the Rumanian Communist jails. These were not prisons, however, in the Western meaning of the word, but simply Middle Ages-type casemates, often underground, without light, where hunger, cold and everyday tortures were the rule. Wurmbrand himself was tortured to such an extent that his body looked like a sieve. The people in the West wondered that a man could live through such tortures at all and come out alive. Faith in God gave the author of this publication strength to live through these inhuman sufferings and tortures. Wurmbrand was arrested by the Reds as a "spy" and a Christ-



ian fanatic and was held for 14 years in the so-called Communist prisons, full of horror and bloodshed.

These scenes described by the author are almost unbelievable. The Communist despots treated the prisoners as the worst criminals who did not even deserve one good word. Even though these tortures extended over a long period of time and the Rumanian Communists tried to extract a confession of crimes which Wurmbrand could never have committed, nevertheless, the torturing continued almost endlessly. Later Western missions were able to save Wurmbrand after paying a ransom for him. Rumanian Communists were joking that they could have sold their own Prime Minister in this manner if there would have been any buyers.

The book is written in popular style but at the same time it describes the whole torture apparatus very extensively.

The fact that last year several editions of this publication appeared in England shows great interest in the experiences of the author in that country. Although the book deals strictly with the tragedy of one man, a Christian and a leader, we come across apt irony and bitter laughter over phenomena which are connected with Communist tyranny and which are inherent not only to Communism in Rumania but also to all Communist countries because Communism can only perpetuate itself with the help of terror and by taking away freedom not only from individuals but from entire nations.

Rumania is only one of those unhappy countries, where Moscow has introduced its bloody Communist regime. The newest example of Russian tyranny are the events in Czecho-Slovakia where even the Czech Communists are being mercilessly destroyed by Moscow if they have even the feeling of national independence from Moscow.

The publication of Mr. Wurmbrand's book is a valuable contribution to world anti-Communist literature.

V. Chernivchanyn

James Bunyan: *The Origin of Forced Labor in the Soviet State, 1917—1921; Documents and Materials*. Baltimore, published in cooperation with the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford Calif. by the John Hopkins Press, 1967, 276 pp., bibliography: p. 267—272.

The labor problem is an important problem in the free world. The labor unions are very strong in some countries even influencing the political life, as is the case in France, Italy and other countries. Labor has an important place in the Soviet Union where the first socialist country was established over 50 years ago as a workingman's paradise. After overturning the tsarist regime in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in 1917. It proved to be a paradox because the new Communist regime in Russia established the so-called workers' state which was not free from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of nations by nations. In the Soviet Union the exploitation of the non-Russian peoples is in progress. This exploitation by the Russians has an imperialistic background with strong Russification and economic exploitation of the non-Russian peoples in order to build a strong Soviet Russian aggressive state. In 1917—1921 the new Communist regime in the Soviet Union has introduced a system of labor regimentation, a forced labor practice, forbidding the workers to strike and to change plants freely. This new system is the most cruel in modern history, with the Stakhanov system of competition, party encouragement and certain labor hero decoration for the leaders of the workers' groups. A production quota was established, a standard of production which destroys the worker himself. The worker cannot demand more wages or another place in which to work. Demanding better working conditions would be considered as undermining the Soviet economic might. Such a worker would be considered an enemy of the people and deported to the forced labor camps of Siberia. The Communist slogan in the beginning of the revolution called on the workers to take control of industry and

trade unions. This was accompanied by labor mobilization and the slogan "who doesn't work, doesn't eat."

The author has given us an accurate account of this special labor problem of a socialist state in six chapters with original documents in English and a good bibliography. His chapters on labor militarization are very valuable, especially the Mensheviks' opposition to this idea. On p. 141-142, he describes the case of the Ukrainian Labor Army, which served as "an instrument of compulsion" in Ukraine. On p. 145-46 a Sovnarkom decree of January 21, 1920 dealing with the Ukrainian Labor Army Council, and signed by Lenin and G. Petrovskiy, the chairman of the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee, is presented. With the publication of a series of mobilization decrees the militarized form was introduced in civil labor in order to combat desertion, absenteeism, the decline in skilled labor, the decrease in the industrial production. The use of incentives, wage differentials according to production, payment in food, especially bread, was put into effect in order to stimulate labor production. On p. 236-37 the management of the workers' standard of living is described. Workers' opposition to party dictatorship, attacks on Trotsky's method, labor courts, etc. conclude this work.

A. S.

Louis Réau: *L'art russe* (The Russian Art). Published by Verviers, Gérard & Co., 1968, 2 volumes, illus. (part. col.), Marabout université, n. 162-163).

This work was first published in Paris in 1921 under the auspices of "Institute d'Etudes Slaves" containing 387 pages. Volume I deals with the Greco-Scythian art of medieval Kyiv and Novhorod and Volume II with the renaissance in Moscow and the baroque in St. Petersburg. Volume I gives an historical account of the territories around the Black Sea as presented by Herodotus dealing with Scythians and Greeks. Further the author presents the Byzantine art of Kyiv and Novhorod, which the book calls "Russian art". This should not have occurred because Kyiv was never

Russian and is not so at present. Kyiv has been the capital of Ukraine for centuries. This is a well-known historical fact. In the second part of this volume, chapter three deals with the Kyivan civilization and its splendors of the XIth and XIIth centuries. Chapter four is devoted to the monuments of Kyiv and Chernyhiv, such as the Cathedral of St. Sophia, St. Michael, etc.

In the chapter about the Kyivan civilization (p. 113) the author starts with the introduction of Christianity to Ukraine in 988 from Byzantium, which he calls the Christianization of Russia (Le baptême de la Russie). It is evident that the author is following the old Russian imperialist line of historiography which began under the tsars. Even Soviet historiography has not dared to follow this old unscientific line. It claims that the Kyivan Rus' state was Ukrainian and not Russian which did not exist at that time. It was then the Principality of Moscow. The Soviet-Russians claim that at that time the Kyivan Rus' was a commonwealth of the Ukrainian, Muscovite (Russian) and Byelorussian nations, which separated themselves at a later date under Mongolian pressure. It should be clear that an unscientific statement to the effect that Kyiv was Russian or Muscovite and the Kyivan relations with Byzantium were Russian relations is untrue and historically false. This ought to be finally corrected by a true scholar of the Western world. Spreading the Russian imperialistic ideology in modern times is a crime against Ukraine and all the captive nations of the Soviet Union. It is known that even the Novhorod principality was occupied by the Muscovites by force. Before it was the creation of the Kyivan principality.

In Volume II on p. 117 the Ukrainian architectural baroque is described in detail. This volume begins with the history of Muscovite-Russian colonization, or more precisely with the Muscovite-Russian imperialistic conquest. On p. 9 it is stated that the Muscovites have even taken the names for their cities from the Ukrainian Kyivan Rus' state, which was overrun by them. On



p. 10 it gives proof of this colonial operation by mentioning that the icon of the Virgin Mary from the Ukrainian city of Vyshhorod was taken away and brought to Vladimir on the river Klyazma. Today it is passed for the Mary of Vladimir icon. The Suzdalians-Muscovites took over Novhorod and other cities, including the whole of Ukraine which is now struggling for her independence. The author recognizes this imperialistic policy of Russia, which is perpetuated by the Soviets now. There are enough available sources dealing with Ukrainian art and he can use them in order to present a true picture without incorporating Ukrainian art into the history of Russian art.

A. S.



Bernadine Bailey:  
*THE CAPTIVE NATIONS: Our First Line of Defense!* Chas. Hallberg & Company, Chicago, Ill., 1969, 191 pp., illus.

The author of this book is an American of English ancestry, with no family connections in Communist-controlled countries. A deep inborn sense of freedom — for which her ancestors fought in the American Revolution two hundred years ago — impelled Mrs. Bailey to write this very excellent book on the Captive Nations. In a succinct, highly readable style, she tells the story of the fourteen non-Russian republics (inside the USSR) and the satellite countries — showing how and when they became captives. More important, she describes their unending efforts to free themselves from the Russian Communist despotism.

The underlying theme of her book is the idea that Communism would fall of its own weight if the Captive Nations were enabled to win their own wars for liberation. Mrs. Bailey points out specific measures that can be taken by the West to help to bring this

about — and thus avoid the possibility of a nuclear war.

This book should be required reading for every adult in the Free World, because it shows that the West need not choose the lesser of two evils: Communism or nuclear war. There is a third possibility, one that can be achieved if the Free World so chooses.

Bernadine Bailey is an experienced writer with an international reputation. Her books and articles have been published in the United States, England, Germany, and Australia. When not travelling, Mrs. Bailey makes her home in Chicago.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny

#### *A Dutch View Of European Problems*

Under the title "European Unification from the North Sea (Atlantic) to the Urals", our Dutch friend Mr Arthur Hobbel has written an interesting book in English about present political problems. The book has not yet been published. Mr Hobbel has been kind enough to show us the manuscript. He has given us a pleasant surprise. He has performed good work. We can only congratulate him on it.

Arthur Hobbel's work differs to its own great advantage from usual books on similar subjects mainly because it surveys not only the Western part of Europe but the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Of course as a democrat he advocates only a re-unification in freedom. He does not belong to those "realist politicians" who have already written off those nations subjugated by Russia and Communism, or who confuse these nations with their oppressors, with the Communist government concerned. He analyses the situation in the Western and Eastern parts of Europe critically, states important facts and draws attention to burning problems. In doing so he does not remain on the surface but goes deep beneath. And that is the second strength of his book: the author does not want to simplify problems and to embellish the situation.

The subject matter covered by Arthur Hobbel is very extensive.

We hope that this topical and interesting book will soon be published.

Wolfgang Höpker: *HOW RED IS THE MEDITERRANEAN? Europe's Endangered South Flank*. Published by Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, 1968, 164 pp.

"The Russians are no longer pressing towards the Mediterranean, they are in it. About fifty warships with the Red Star are ploughing through the wide sea basin between the Nile delta and the Straits of Gibraltar. It is old-fashioned to speak of the danger that the Soviet Union could envelop the southern flanks of Europe. This danger has become reality."

With this statement Dr Wolfgang Höpker begins his topical report on the penetration of the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean. He comments realistically on this historic event and its effects. "It is not necessary to dramatize things, the new state of reality in Southern Europe is dramatic enough . . . For centuries the Russians, hemmed in at the edge of the sea, have tried to get out of the "coat with the sewn-up sleeves", the drive towards the "warm seas" is a part of Russian history. What the Tsars dreamt of, is now beginning to be realized by the Soviets."

The author analyses the individual stages of this process. He reports on the composition and the strength of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean. In doing so he cannot naturally leave out of account the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Dr Höpker also describes the political and military situation in these countries. A special appendix contains details of their fleets.

Dr Wolfgang Höpker gives in his book which is written in an easily accessible style, a survey of the whole situation and problems of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean. "Thoughts on the Defence of Europe" by General Hans Speidel (retired) are published as a postscript, while the book contains also a historical survey of "Russians in the Mediterranean" by the writer on naval themes, Jürg Meiser. C. E. P.

Paul Guirand: *Codreanu et la Garde de Fer* (Codreanu and the Iron Guard), published by "Dacia", Rio de Janeiro-Munich, 1967, 79 pp.

An active Rumanian publishing house "Dacia" has published a new book on the events of the 1940s in Rumania, which were unusually tragic not only for the Rumanian people, but also for Rumania's neighbours. One of those sad moments in Rumanian modern history was June 24, 1927, the time when a young Rumanian enthusiast, Cornelius Codreanu, established the Legion of St. Michael the Archangel. Codreanu wished to revive the spiritual life of the Rumanian people and to improve their social conditions. Several years later violent events took place in Europe.

Then great political and social chaos set in in Rumania, which greatly shook the Rumanian monarchy, and forced King Charles to leave Rumania forever in the midst of a hailstorm of bullets. Codreanu himself and some of his comrades-in-arms were choked to death and later their bodies were massacred beyond recognition.

The Codreanu period cannot be eradicated from Rumanian history. His friends abroad (and probably in Rumania as well) maintain that this was the struggle of Codreanu's Iron Guards against Russian Communism in order to save the Western civilization from the Russian barbarity.

This work provides us with valuable information on the legionary movement of Codreanu and therefore can doubtlessly serve as a valuable source material in studying the Codreanu movement in Rumania, which was still pretty strong even after Codreanu's violent death (the night of Nov. 29—30, 1938).

V. Kapotivskiyi

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#### Professor Yalman In Munich

Professor Ahmed Emin Yalman, Chairman of the Turkish Press Institute in Istanbul, who is an old friend of ABN, came to Munich in the late summer of this year, to take part as the Turkish delegate in the Congress of the World Liberal Union from 29th August to 1st September 1969. Professor Yalman used this opportunity to visit the ABN Office in Munich. Our Turkish guest received a hearty welcome from President Yaroslav Stetsko and ABN leaders.



## Bulgaria's Double "Liberator"

The present aggressive expansion of Soviet Russia cannot be viewed as an unpredicted event resulting only from the postwar political development in Europe. Rather, it is caused by the ignorance displayed in Yalta by the Western statesmen about the permanent Russian foreign policy, which ignorance may be blamed for the massacre of the captive nations by the Red Army today.


March 3rd has been observed by the Bulgarian people as Liberation Day from the Turks ever since the end of the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. In this connection, it would be worthwhile to recall some essential facts.

On March 3, 1878, Bulgaria, indeed, achieved her independence only because the Western powers were strong enough to force the withdrawal of the victorious Russian army before having reached the Mediterranean Sea — the dream of the Russian tsars. At that time the West well knew the real motivation of the Russo-Turkish War, which was not the mere liberation of Bulgaria.

In his *Diary of the Writer*, F. M. Dostoevsky describes the Russian aims in the "Eastern Question" of which Bulgaria was an important part in this way:

*"The conviction is spread throughout the Russian people that entire Russia lives to serve God and to protect the Orthodox peoples in the world against the Ottomans. The Slavic or Eastern Question is not something incidental, temporary and externally political only; it is related of itself to the very substance of the Russian people, i. e. eternal till its final solution. In this respect Russia cannot give up her movement to the East and cannot change her aim because in this way she must disavow herself."*

This political rehearsal of the previous century, however, set the stage for the Bulgarian drama — a drama that was brought about by the "liberation wars" of the Soviet Russia in 1944—45. Now, because of the consistent inaction of the West, the "double liberator" succeeded in establishing a powerful base in Bulgaria. The Russian policy at the moment is to "protect" the Bulgarians from the Western "capitalists". Thus, not in the name of God, as Dostoevsky wrote a hundred years ago, but in the name of the Kremlin, the Soviet Russians are ruthlessly exploiting the Bulgarian economy and barbarically suppressing the elementary human freedoms which we take for granted in this country of ours.



*The compliments of the season and sincere wishes  
for the coming year to all our friends and readers of  
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