

THE WACL BULLETIN

UKRAINE



Twenty centuries stand behind you! March on!

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High Time

*This is not — not the time! Not the time
To serve Russia's imperial plan,
It's high time to end Russian injustice and crimes,
Regain freedom for all captive men!
It's high time! It's high time! It's high time!
For free people to answer the call:
Stop Russian expansion's aggressive designs,
Free the captive — each one and — them all!*

*Since this time is the ripest of times,
Let's get up and be counted, and stand —
Stand for justice to all and for true human rights ,
Stand for freedom to nations and men!
This is not — not the time! Not the time
To serve Russia's imperial game.
It's high time to end Russian injustice and crimes
To regain free and sovereign Ukraine!*

— N.D.P.



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)



Our Lady of Vyshhorod, 11th Century Icon.

Editorial

UKRAINE — Stand!

Ukrainians are all over the world. They want to return to their homeland. But they want to be free—sovereign and happy — in the land where Ukrainian traditions began.

The Soviets — the Russian Imperialists — will not set Ukraine free. Ukraine is rich in natural resources. Russia needs all these riches for the triumph of communism and the destruction of human freedom.

But Ukrainian spirit cannot be bent or broken. No matter how long the fight — in God's own good time, Ukrainians will be free and happy.

Russian imperialists beware!

Ukraine — stand and fight. At the end is CHRIST and VICTORY.

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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 her influence and world domination in the guise of "peaceful coexistence", clarifies 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 transforma-

tion of national society to a structureless mass "of a single Soviet people" with the Russians playing the dominant role.

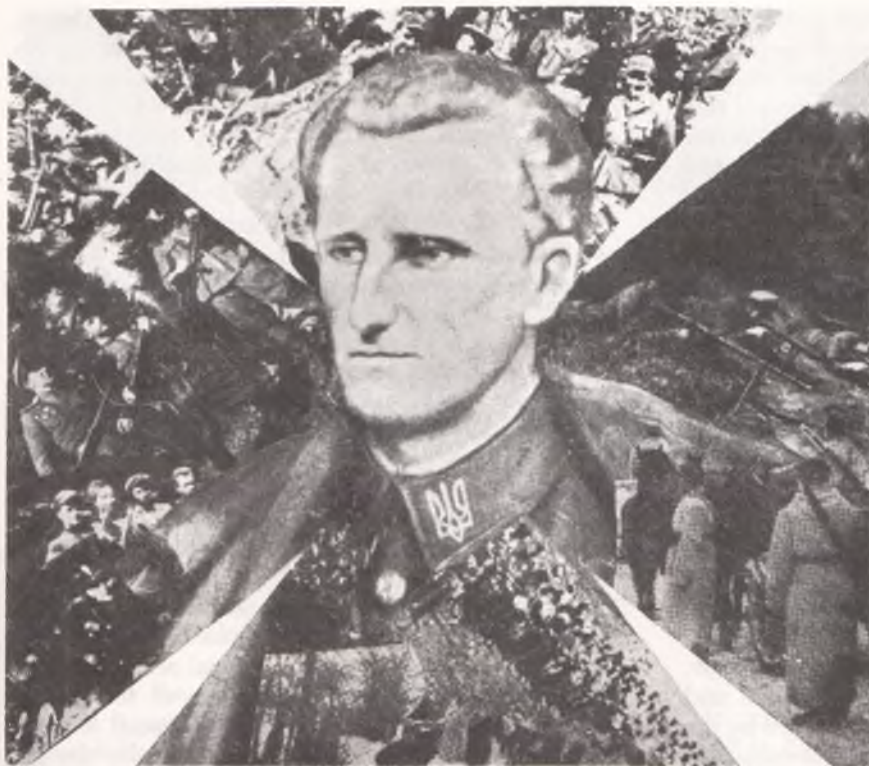
The victory in the war over Hitler's Germany in an alliance with Western democratic states and the unscrupulous exploitation of the international situation have helped Russia to extend her military, political and economic control over many countries which helps Moscow in achieving its goal of world domination. 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 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 government 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,



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

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 Panslavism 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 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 nothing 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 nations 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.

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 stage — 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 Khrushchev'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 bureaucracy. 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, dr-



Ukrainians marching in the Captive Nations Week paraded in New York City, July 12, 1970.



A Ukrainian dancing group in Bradford, Yorkshire, Great Britain.

unkenness, 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 Khrushchev's leadership the empire went from one failure to the other in foreign and in particular in the domestic policy. In his foreign policy Khrushchev 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 led 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 change. Today there are as many Marxism-Leninism as there were changes at the imperial peak;

c) The psychological revolution and the in-

tensification 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 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 the idea of a single multi-national state 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 Russian. 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



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.

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 not army of its own and does not conduct 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 propaganda 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. The 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

CPC, 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 means of deception used by 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 and 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, its 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



Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association at the Toronto rally.

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 economic 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 culture 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 waging a merciless struggle against 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."



Against Russian Colonial Rule (Ottawa, November 7, 1967)

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 place of residence and the peasants 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.

Political prisoners, released from prison or returning from banishment remain without work, living quarters and social security; exiles who have completed their term of banishment are often deprived of the right to return to their native land. Their children are given no opportunities to receive a normal education.

Facts And Figures

On The Russification Of Ukraine

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

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

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

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

In 1964 there was a total of 565,960 scientists in the Soviet Union. Out of these 373,500 were Russians and 59,220 Ukrainians. For each 10,000 Russians there were 30.2 scientists, while for each 10,000 Ukrainian scientists, one third was forced to work as the ratio in Russia.

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

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



Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko

The Russian Invasion of CSSR And Ukraine

By Yaroslav Stetsko

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 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 strategic 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, 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 Germany 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



Ukrainians demonstrating in New York against the celebrations of Lenin.

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 intellectuals, 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 militarism 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 if 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 American would try to repel them?! Surely there are no conventional armed forces in Western Europe that could be an effective counter-weight 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 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 invasion 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 Svobo-

da ...

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



Ukrainian Students' Club at the University of Toronto, together with other ethnic groups, and the Edmund Burke Society staged a demonstration to protest a banquet in honor of Lenin's 100th birthday held on April 3, 1970 in Toronto, Canada.

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 conventional 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, at it was at the beginning of the German campaign in the East, began to go over to the side of Germany until 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 so 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 simplifications 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 Communists 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*.

Thirtieth Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation of the Ukrainian State

Act of Proclamation Of The Ukrainian State

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Evher Konovalets during the past decades of blood-stained Russian Bolshevik subjugation carried on a stubborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law and order, multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

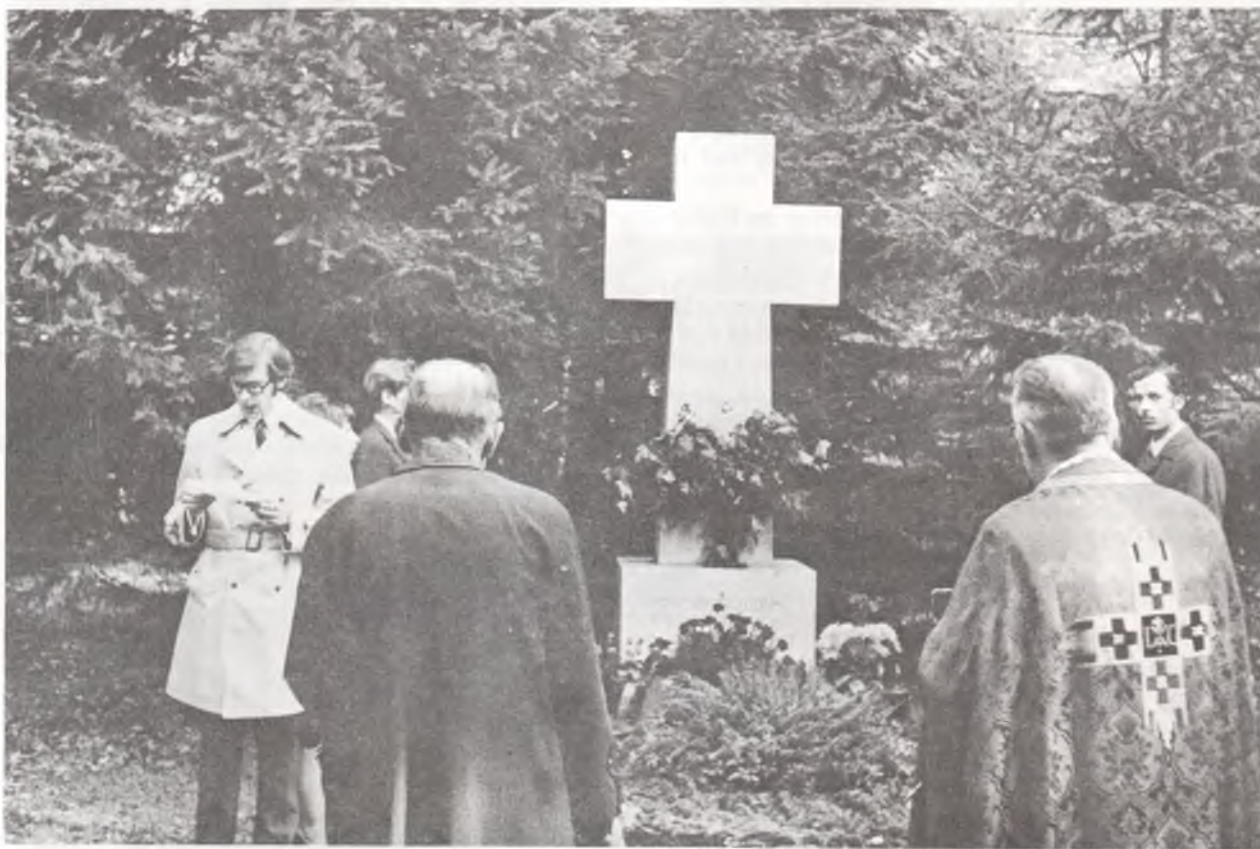
3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Russian occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Stepan Bandera!

The City of Lviv,
Head of the National Assembly
Yaroslav Stetsko



Grave of Stepan Bandera in Munich, murdered by Russian agent in 1969.

Cardinal Slipyi Visits

Canadian Ukrainians

Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which is in union with Rome, has visited the Ukrainian community in Canada in June this year. It is Cardinal Slipyj's first visit to a Ukrainian community in the Western world since his release from Soviet Russian captivity in 1963, on the intervention of Pope John XXIII, after spending 17 years in prisons and concentration camps for refusal to dissolve the Ukrainian Catholic Church and transfer his allegiance to the Russian Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow.

Over 50,000 Ukrainians from Eastern Canada and USA attended the Holy Mass celebrated by Cardinal Slipyj, assisted by several Archbishops and Bishops, in the Canadian National Exhibition Stadium in Toronto, on Sunday, June 16th.

In his address Cardinal Slipyj said that Ukrainians in Canada were right to maintain their national identity through political, economic and cultural organizations. He had praise for the work of Ukrainians in Canada, because they have been generous in supporting such Ukrainian Catholic projects as colleges and seminaries in Rome to keep the faith thriving in a way now impossible in Ukraine.

Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), Ukrainian Scouts, and pupils of Ukrainian schools in Toronto marched past the official stand. Ukrainian songs and dances by various choirs and dance groups gave colour to the great rally.

All newspapers gave front-page coverage to these events and published large, sometimes even full-page, pictures of the Cardinal.

Toronto Daily Star, June 15, 1968 writes on the first page under the title: *60,000 Welcomes for a Church's Prince*: Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, a Ukrainian archbishop who spent 17 years in Siberian labor camps, conducts divine liturgy at St. Nicholas Church today. The spiritual head of the world's 10 million Ukrainian Catholics, he is first Ukrainian cardinal to visit Canada. More than 2,000 welcomed him to Toronto yesterday and the church was jammed today. Tomorrow he is expected to conduct mass before 60,000 at CNE bandshell. Story on. P. 59."

The Globe and Mail, June 17, 1968, under a huge photo showing Cardinal Slipyi celebrating mass,

writes: "White-bearded Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, Major archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church who was released in 1963 after being imprisoned by the Soviet Government in Siberia for 17 years, celebrated a mass at the CNE bandshell yesterday. More than 40,000 attended service,"

In the following article, *Globe and Mail* writes: "...To Ukrainians, he is considered a symbol of resistance to totalitarianism.

"He was made a cardinal in 1965 and in the same year was appointed member of the Sacred Oriental Congregation and Commission for the Godification of Eastern Canon Law..."

"Transport Minister Paul Hellyer read a telegram



Cardinal Slipyj with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk. (Winnipeg, June 23, 1968)

from Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who expressed the gratitude of Canada for the Ukrainian contribution to the development of the nation.

"Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield referred to Cardinal Slipyj as a man of courage and talked about Canada as a multi-cultural country 'where a man is judged by his abilities and not by his background'. He said the 500,000 Ukrainians in Canada had made a meaningful contribution to Canadian society..."

"Ukrainian Catholic bishops from Canada and the United States accompanied Cardinal Slipyj to the grandstand."

The Telegram, June 17, 1968, under a picture showing Cardinal Slipyj and Mayor Dennison says: "The Cardinal became the first holder of a gold key to the City of Toronto during his visit. The key mounted on a walnut plaque, with an inscription, was presented instead of the usual cufflinks."

In an article on the same page entitled: "Cardinal draws loudest cheers" *The Telegram* writes: "Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield got polite applause at a Ukrainian festival at CNE stadium yesterday but the crowd saved its loudest cheers for a 76-year-old cardinal who has spent 17 years in Siberi-

an Labor camps."

Toronto Daily Star on June 17, 1968 again published a large picture of the Cardinal. "Earlier, yesterday morning, some 50,000 persons heard the cardinal sing a pontifical diving liturgy with other Ukrainian bishops and priests at the CNE. More than 2,000 received Holy Communion from the cardinal."

"Cardinal Slipyj, 76, is a tall, white-bearded symbol of Ukrainian Catholic resistance against Russian political domination, the Russification of the Ukrainian culture and the defence of Catholicism against state interference."

The Montreal Star, July 13, 1968 writes: "... The 76-year-old spiritual leader of Ukrainian Catholics around the world, named to the College of Cardinals by Pope Paul VI in 1965, is currently on a swing through the West, the main settlement of Ukrainian Canadians."

"He will be met at Montreal International Airport by Most Reverend Paul Gregoire, archbishop of Montreal, and clergymen and members of the Ukrainian community here. He will be guest of the archbishop at his residence here ..."

Ukraine Persecution of the Church in Ukr. SSR

The Lviv Newspaper Vilna Ukraina (April 25, 26 and 28, 1970) carried a series of slanderous articles against the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine entitled "On the Road of Betrayal and Corruption. The Reactionary Role of the Greek, Catholic Church in the History of the Ukrainian People." The author of this invective treatise is Yu. Slyvka, an assistant professor and chairman of the department of history of the USSR at the Ivan Franke University in Lviv.

Yu. Slyvka rehashed all that had previously been written by Halan, Belyaev and the like, added a few primitive inventions, which is unfitting for an assistant professor, and the result was a dirty pamphlet in three April numbers.

It is clear that the author is in full agreement with the imprisonment of the Ukrainian bishops, priest and the faithful and the forced liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Yu. Slyvka attacks Metropolitans Sheptytskyi and Slipyi, ties in the OUN and UPA with the tasks of priests, attacks all bishops, the Union of Brest, the division "Halychyna", and finally the Americans, the Germans, the Vatican, Fr. Nahayevskyi and so forth. He accuses priests in Ukraine — Fr. H. Soltys and Fr. A. Potochnyak — of "creating a sect of Uniates-Penitents". They and others state that the sect's goal is to spread the Catholic faith throughout the entire world. In their pastoral letters they are threatening the Communists with "annihilation" up to the third generation, and the non-believers with 'early death', talking the people out of socially useful activity, out of joining the ranks of the Soviet Army, preaching cosmopolitan ideas, etc."

In his attempt to attack the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priests Yu. Slyvka refers to such an "authority" as John Whir, at present a neo-Stalinist and a collaborator of Moscow, who returned to Canada from the USSR!

A "museum of history of religion and atheism" was recently established in Lviv. So far the museum has three departments — science and religion, the origin of religion, and the rise of Christianity. Leningrad's museum of history of religion and atheism delivered many exhibits to the Lviv museum.

The attacks upon the non-Russian churches in Ukraine and elsewhere confirm the fact of the existence of these church formations and their vitality.

New Voice From The Russian Concentration Camp

Extracts from "Report from The Beria Reservation"

An appeal of the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz.

To the Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR from political prisoner unlawfully sentenced at Lutsk on January 20, 1966.

The search has ended. The fugitive comes out of the bushes. "I surrender, don't shoot! I have no weapons!" The pursuer comes closer, capably unbolts the submachine gun and puts three bullets one after the other into the living target. Two more rounds are heard: two other fugitives who have also surrendered are shot. The bodies are carried onto the road. Police lick the blood. As always, the victims are brought in and thrown down by the camp gates to frighten others. But suddenly the corpses stir: two are alive. But it is impossible to shoot anymore; people are everywhere.

This is not the beginning of a detective novel. This is not a story about escapees from Buchenwald or Kolyma. This took place in the spring of 1956, after the 20th Congress had condemned the personality cult, and the criticism of Stalinist crimes was in full swing. Everything written here can be verified by Alhidas Petrusiavichus, incarcerated in camp No. 11 at Mordovia ... He survived. Two others — Lorentas and Yursha — perished. Such incidents were everyday occurrences.

Green Mordovia stretches in a narrow strip from west to east. Green on the map, green in reality. In the Slavic sea — an island of melodic Mordovian names: Vindrey, Yavas, Potma, Lyambir. In its northwest corner there is a Mordovian state reservation. Here law reigns — hunting is strictly prohibited. But there is another reservation, not to be found on any map, where hunting is permitted all the year round. If an accurate map of Mordovia were to be drawn, its south-west corner would have to be divided into squares, separated by barbed wire and dotted with watch towers. There are the Mordovian political camps — the land of barbed wire, police dogs and man-hunts. Here, the chil-

dren grow up amidst barbed wire. Their parents cut grass and dig potatoes after work. "Dad was a 'shmon'. And what did you find?" Then they will grow up and learn the philosophy of these lands: "Camp means bread". You get a pood of flour (about 36 lbs.) for catching a fugitive. It was even simpler in the Aldan camps: Yakut brought a head and received gun-powder, salt, whisky. Just like the Dayaks in Borneo, only the head was not brought to the chief who was adorned with necklaces of human teeth, but to a major or a captain, who had taken a correspondence course at the university and had lessons on legality. In Mordovia it was necessary to do away with such tradition: too close to Moscow. Such a trophy could fall into the hands of a foreign correspondent — then try to prove that it's forgery, invented by the yellow press.

Three Lithuanians were shot even though they had not been sentenced to be executed. Art. 183 of the Criminal Code allows three years' imprisonment as punishment for an escape, and Art. 22 CC Ukr. SSR even prohibits "the infliction of physical suffering or the degradation of human dignity" of the prisoners. The court of the Lithuanian SSR (a sovereign state, according to the constitution of the said country) gave permission to the KGB men to keep the prisoners in isolation — nothing more. According to the constitution, Ukraine is also a sovereign state, and is even represented at the UN. The courts try thousands of Ukrainian citizens and send them abroad. A precedent unheard of in history: a State sends its prisoners abroad. Perhaps Ukraine has no room for camps, as is the case in the principality of Monaco? However, room was found for seven million Russians, — but, it seems, there is no room for political prisoners, Ukrainians, on their native soil. Thousands of Ukrainian were transported to the East — and there were engulfed by grey

— From "Revolutionary Voices". —



obscurity. They were swallowed up by the cellars of Solovky, by the sands of Manhyshlak, later by Stalinist "stroykas" – the pramids of the 20th century which have devoured millions of slaves. They were transported not only in groups of prisoners – those "voluntarily" resettled are also devoured by the Russification meat-grinder in the boundless expanses of Siberia and Kazakhstan, and they are lost forever to the Ukrainian nation. The ancient peoples considered the place where the sun sets to be the land of the Dead. In the future Ukrainian legends such a country will be found in the East.

The Trial Of Thought

In 1958, Mohamed Kulmahambetov, a lecturer in philosophy at Frunzensk medical institute (now an inmate in camp No. 11) brought a statement to the dean's office: please settle my account. The reason? – Disagreement with the programme of instruction. This decision caused a sensation. The herd of career men, who have been outrunning each other in the attempt to reach the trough, trampling conscience, dignity and convictions under foot in order to climb higher and to profit at their neighbour's expense, could not understand how a person could refuse 120 roubles merely because his views have changed! Kulmahambetov became a blue collar worker. But in 1962 he was arrested. The court at

Kustanaya sentenced him to 7 years' imprisonment and to 3 years' exile for "anti-Soviet activity". How did it manifest itself? The chief defence witness was the head of the trust board of "Sokolovrudstroy" (ore refinery), Makhmudov. The only thing which he could say in court was to repeat Kulmahambetov's words: "I do not want to teach what I do not believe in." This was the latter's reply to the question: "Why aren't you working in your branch of specialization?" Other accusations were the same. The investigator also admitted: "In reality there is no reason for trying you, but you have a dangerous way of thinking." A typical example, almost an everyday occurrence in the practice of the KDB, but unique for its sheer arbitrariness. As a rule the KGB men try to fabricate at least the appearance of "anti-Soviet" activity. But here, in the far off province, they did not deem even this formality necessary and admitted that Kulmahambetov was being condemned for his opinions. Thousands and thousands of people have been tried according to this system, even though their cases may have been more cleverly "presented". Article 125 of the Constitution of the USSR proclaims freedom of speech, press, manifestations and organizations. Art. 19 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights speaks about "freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". Therefore Art. 62 CC Ukr. SSR is nothing more than a violation of the above-mentioned documents, a Stalinist survival. The formulation "agitation or propaganda conducted with the aim to undermine or weaken the Soviet regime" under conditions when the KGB men themselves are determining the degree of "undermining" of the material, fosters unlimited arbitrariness. In Moscow every year tens of books by foreign authors are published, filled with sharp criticism of the Soviet regime and Communist ideology. If Art 62 CC is really a law, then the publication of these books is a criminal act. A law is a law only when it is applied to all. Where is the logic: I can freely propagate the views of Hitler, published in the periodical *Voprosy istorii* (Questions of History), yet I will be tried for my own typing of Hitler's memoirs! Thus, Art. 62 is nothing but a tool of arbitrariness in the hands of the KGB, which makes it possible for them to put an inconvenient person behind bars for keeping an anti-Soviet publication.

I and my friends are condemned for "propaganda directed at the separation of Ukraine from the USSR". But Art. 17 of the USSR Constitution speaks clearly about the right of every republic to secede from the USSR. The right of every nation to separation was laid down in the pact on the civil and political rights of men adopted at the 21st session of the UN General Assembly.

The KDB likes the phrase "nationalistic literature" very much. What does this phrase mean and what is the criterion for determining the "nationali-

stic character"? Not so very long ago the works of Oles, Hrinchenko and Zerov were considered "nationalistic" — now they are no longer nationalistic. The mice have not chewed through all the brochures in which the "theoreticians" of Malanchuk's type called Hrushevskiyi "a fierce enemy of the Ukrainian people", yet *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical Journal) (No. 11, 1966) believes that he was "a scholar with a world name" and quotes an official resolution which talks about Hrushevsky's services on behalf of the Ukraine. The works of Hrushevskiyi and Vynnychenko are being prepared for publication. But where is the criterion, nevertheless? The crux of the matter is that the KGBists never had and never will have any criterion based on logical principles. They employ the old Stalinist line with respect to Ukrainian culture: "Why did we fight the Poles, why did we struggle with the hordes, why did we rake Russian ribs with swords?" He was too great to be thrown into oblivion — therefore the "academicians" from Kyiv were given an order to kick these words out of the "Kobzar" with dirty hooves. The "Russian ribs" became "Tartar, Polish, English". Shevchenko had to be suffered. But if something similar were written by a contemporary poet he would have to pay dearly for the "Russian ribs".

In the 30s the majority of names significant in Ukrainian culture were removed. It is not hard to guess the reason. It was necessary to weaken Ukrainian culture in order that it could not become a bulwark against the wave of Russification. The most prominent Ukrainian historian, Hrushevskiyi, was withheld from the Ukrainian people; instead they were given the pitiful *History of the USSR* in two volumes, where Peter I, the executioner of Ukrainian freedom figured as the chief Ukrainian national hero. At the same time Soloviov and Klyuchevskiyi, just as "bourgeois", just as "non-Soviet", stood untroubled on the shelves — they were Russian historians. Everything was done to enable a young Ukrainian to find valuable spiritual nourishment, but only in Russian culture, and to become Russified.

And if the KGBists were consistent in their Stalinist explanation of nationalism — they would proclaim all prominent Ukrainians to be nationalists, beginning with Shevchenko, and not omitting Prince Volodymyr who engaged in nationalistic agitation as early as the 10th century — "by engraving" a trident on all his coins. Furthermore, if any of the KGBists would like to receive a new star for his epaulettes and to demonstrate his "vigilance" in the struggle with Ukrainian nationalism, an interesting "task" can be recommended to him. It seems that Ukrainian nationalism was already in existence in the 7th century, a fact confirmed by the discovery of the trident image during the archeological excavations on Starokyiv Mountain. Of course, there is one obstacle: the name of the "Bandiora" who prepared these images is not known, but that is not important

for pupils of Beria who in the past were able to find Stalin's pipe in ten places at once.

It seems that there are enough facts. A conclusion can be reached: people condemned for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" — are those who think differently, or those who think, period; those whose spiritual world did not fit the Procrustean bed of the Stalinist standards which are diligently guarded by the KGBists. They are those who dared to use the rights proclaimed in the constitution, who do not want to learn the slavish, two-sided wisdom which interprets the words of the constitution "Ukraine's right to secede from the USSR" as "keep still, as long as you're alive".

Descendants Of Yezhov And Beria

A characteristic of a man or an environment can always be subjective. Therefore it is best to deal with auto-characteristic. And it is very good that the author of these lines has a fancy bouquet of auto-characteristics provided by the KGBists of themselves and their system. The KGBists were not mean with words and in general were unceremonious in their talks with prisoners, strongly convinced that their words would not go beyond the sound-proof doors of their offices, that the icy terror of silence on which they constructed their Golgatha would never thaw. But all ice thaws at one time or another, and words, which were growled into our faces at the



inquiry and in camp, as if spoken through a gigantic megaphone, were echoed with a thousand voices through the whole world.

Where are the roots of the KDB? When we have walked to the end of those paths by which the KGB-ists came down to our reality, we will find ourselves in the horrible thickets of Stalinist jungles. General Shulzhenko, assistant head of the KDB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR, was elected a deputy to the Ukrainian Parliament from the Khartsyz district. Where did this parliamentarian pursue his career? In order to become a general of the KDB in 1967, it was necessary to start as a Beria lieutenant or captain in 1937. What did the KDB captains do in 1937? They killed people for not performing a norm (or merely for sport) in Kolyma. This is not a secret to anyone anymore, Russian periodicals are writing about it. In Ukraine they shot innocent people three days after they had been arrested. Their arguments are familiar: It was all Beria's fault; they were only carrying out orders. The same argumentation was used by the attorneys at the Nuremberg trials. It would seem that only Hitler was responsible. But the number did not pass. Even a new concept "Murder behind a desk" has appeared in the German language. I have no doubts that sooner or later it will find a place in the Ukrainian language as well.

Perhaps the KGBists have changed, have become different? No, they themselves proudly consider themselves to be Stalin's descendants. A representative of the Ukrainian KDB in the Mordovian camps, Capt. Krut, told me: "And what have you got against Stalin? Of course, he had some shortcomings, but on the whole he deserved a high grade"; and in a conversation with Mykhailo Horyn, Krut frankly said: "Too bad that we are in Mordovia and not in the North". The commandant of the department of investigation of the Georgian KDB, Nadiradze, told poet Zauri Kobalia (confined to camp No. 11) in 1963 during an investigation: "Do you know that I was here in 1937? Remember that!"

Now they do not wear Stalin's uniforms and "take correspondence courses" at universities. It is a correspondence course in the full meaning of the word. A student's book is brought to the institute and the 'professorate', hypnotized from the cradle on with the word KDB records a grade without ever seeing the student. A representative of the Ivano-Frankivsk KDB, Kazakov, admitted to me: "Here you spoke about totalitarianism. But I'm no *totalizator*." And the representative of the Ukrainian KDB in camp No. 11, Harashchenko, made short work of all Masiutko's arguments on the unresolved national question in Ukraine: "You speak about a national question. But when a widow turns to the Kolkhoz head for straw — do you think he will refuse?" And these intellectulas are entrusted to decide categorically the questions which even in specialized journals are considered to be moot points. Kazakov, Krut and a Kyiv KGBist, Lytvyn, "cross examined"



Front view of the St. Sophia Cathedral 27th-28th September, 1969.



27 September 1969, procession from Ukrainian Catholic University to St. Sophia Cathedral, Rome.



Historical speech of Pope Paul VI on the occasion of the consecration.



Pope Paul VI delivers a speech in front of St. Sophia Cathedral upon the completion of customary consecration.

me together. "What else did you need? You had a good job, an apartment..." And for several hours tried to prove that an individual has nothing but a stomach and several yards of intestines. An idea? Protection of Ukraine from the threat of Russification? Here for my interlocutors the discussion clearly left the familiar ground and became part of the sphere of children's tales. They did not hide the fact that they did not really comprehend it.

An idea... Naturally, a great deal is said about it in books, and it is generally unacceptable to say that you have no ideas. But for an idea to be a motive for human activity — that they have never encountered in their midst. Mykhailo Horyn heard the following at the Lviv KDB: "Today is the day of the Chekist. — what day of the Chekist? — Payday." When one speaks seriously about it, it is a myth, with which someone has intoxicated the people and which drags a person away from normal existence based on three major concepts: money, the love of power, women. But an idea — it is a diversity of psychological disorder, not always comprehensible, it is true, but one must reckon with it, as with a factor, on the same level with the three others, normal and understandable. Captain Kozlov (Iv-Frankivsk) lectured me as follows: "One is bought for money, another by women, but some are hooked by an ideal." For an idea to be born independently in a human head — that is unsurmountable.

It would be naive to consider this state of affairs an accidental "infringement" on the social development of the society. A system in which a poet receives a catalogue of permitted pictures, an artist — a list of permitted and prohibited colours, has its roots in the past, and is a continuation of certain forces and conditions. Before our very eyes these forces are gradually thawing, and the conditions stop being the norm of cooperation among people. KGBists sense this and place all the blame on Khrushchev, who supposedly toppled the idols,

which at one time were honoured thoughtlessly. With the same success it is possible to consider a cock, an author of dawn, but this is too great a truism to be placed into the skulls of generals and majors with blue loops.

Orgy On The Ruins Of Individuality

One bright engineer, when asked why he became an engineer and not, let's say, an art critic, said: "Here there are fewer x's." Here is the basic difference between the so-called exact sciences and humanistic, which stand with one foot on the plane of logic, and with the other — on the plane of the irrational, side by side with art. The so-called technical intellectual, strongly convinced that philosophy "deals with nonsense", "pours from hollow to the empty", has not matured enough to grasp the plain truth: philosophy, upon which he looks superficially, pulls the object of research from the haze of irrational underground depths and places it in his hands so that he can measure it with a metre rule. But the crux of the matter is that the entire complex of spiritual concepts, thanks to which a human being became a human being, cannot be measured by either the metre rule or the stop-watch. This is a higher sphere, outside the reach of applied sciences. "Mathematics, medicine, physics, mechanics..., the more of them we bite, the more our heart burns with hunger and thirst, and our gross stupefaction cannot realize the fact that all of them are servants of the mistress, a tail as compared to a head, without which the whole body is unreal" (Skovoroda). A chemist, taking away and adding substances in a flask, can correctly demonstrate which of them is the cause of a reaction. A historian, even one completely certain of his truth, can never demonstrate a historical phenomenon so convincingly, so graphically: he cannot perform an experiment; he has to deal with abstractions. After a defeat in the war with Japan in 1984, the Chinese came to the conclusion that the reason for their lack of success was... a change from bow and arrows to fire locks. Attempts were made to explain to them that the reason is to be found in complete stifling of individuality, which brought on stagnation in material production as well, but nobody could prove it to them exactly, with mathematical accuracy. In vain Shaw wrote: "The primary lesson of history is that people never learn anything from history."

Thus, it is much harder to learn a lesson from history, then from chemistry. This was always convenient for despots: They proclaimed themselves authors of all the achievements of society, and their adversaries — the source of all evil. Not everyone will understand that the "order" established by Stalin several decades ago is the direct cause of present bedlam in agriculture, that the "ideological work", which was forcibly fed to the people for decades, is the cause of the notorious lack of prin-



ciples among contemporary youth, and not "bourgeois propaganda". When a person is taught to take spiritual values ready-made from one source without thinking, when the mechanism for their development has been killed in a person then, it would seem, a society must become an indestructible monolith. All conditions for this supposedly exist: firstly, the uniformity of human needs and values; secondly, undeniable, even though naive, worship of one idol, which leads to unanimity. It would seem that such a society should be strong in a military sense as well. Let us take China, for example, where medical canons have not changed for 4,000 years. The Chinese really considered their empire to be an indestructible monolith, the most powerful on earth. But what happened? At the beginning of the 20th century the European states, one after the other, broke away pieces of the gigantic centralized China with hardly any opposition.

A Russian nobleman in London or Paris looked scornfully at demonstrations and revolutions, which had become everyday occurrences there, and saw in them symptoms of a weakness in comparison with stable peace in his Mother Russia. A myth was even coined about the "decaying West", which has lasted through to our days. A citizen, reading about it daily in papers and novels, does not even suspect that this great wisdom originated with Slavophiles and Dostoevsky. As early as the mid-19th century it was possible to read instructions on the page of Mos-

kvytyanya (Muscovite) "Europe is old and blind, as a dog grown sick with old age." Mother Russia blossomed and was fragrant in her unanimity and indivisibility, — the "decaying West" lived on, at the same time managing to invent theories of relativity and quantum. Russia accepted them — with a 50-year delay and a reservation that Lomonosov had foreseen these inventions 200 years ago — and continued to talk about the "decaying West". A typical example of the complete atrophy of thought! "In Petersburg they are singing songs which are no longer popular in Paris", — wrote Chernyshevskiy 100 years ago. He could write the same thing now. Thus, Russia — is strong, the West — rotten yet, what happened? The Crimean War came — and it became clear to everyone that there is no point in talking about an equal fight between these two forces. The Russian fleet was sunk at the entrance to Sevastopol Bay — it never had a chance of winning, what's more it could not even engage battle with the Anglo-French fleet. This was a clash between two worlds: 1) the one which considered individuality to be the fundamental principle of all strength and 2) the one which sees in it major evil. At times the latter was victorious, but the final victory was always achieved by the former. This was demonstrated in ancient times by the Greek phalanges and the Roman legions which, besides the gigantic armies of Eastern despots, looked like David beside Goliath, but they nevertheless defeated them — for small cogs were opposed by individuals.

Such conflicts opened the eyes of many — but not all. The majority was only able to see the consequences: “If only we had their weapons, then we could work wonders with our system.” — But the trouble is that this very “system” is the cause of backwardness both in production and armament. Nothing will change the free, unregimented thought of an individual, whose creative ability is the only stimulant of progress. The latter exist thanks to those who retained the ability to think, have kept their “I”, despite attempts to eradicate it. An individual without an “I” becomes an automation, which will perform everything, but cannot generate anything. This is a spiritual impotent, a fertilizer for progress, but not its motor. All totalitarian concepts, no matter what cloths they happen to wear, view a human being in this way — as fertilizer. “With ourselves we will fertilize the soil, like you — for future generations.” But is it possible that a human being has gone through a long path of development to homo sapiens only to become a fertilizer, and the earth—a garden plot, where Utopian despots conduct crazy experiments to satisfy their ambitions?

No programme will ever foresee everything necessary for full-blooded social development — this can be coped with only by unchained creative power of an individual. Before becoming a factor of social development and receiving aid from the state, cybernetics had to be conceived and to exist as an

independent idea in an individual brain. Sending thousands of slaves into the Ural Mountains, Peter I put Russia at the head of the world in the production of iron, on the same level as England. But through centuries England surpassed Russia tenfold in this field! It is possible to continue to use Peter I's methods — it does not require too many brains. But lasting results do not come. The cause and effect mechanism, which begins with a creative individual and ends in a practical result — is very complex and hidden from human eyes. It is hard to notice it. A savage could not connect a shot on one bank of the river with a death of a living being on the other, but the mechanism of interrelation of gunpowder, bullet and rifle could be explained to him in half an hour. If it were only possible to explain the mechanism of social causes and effects so easily!

Such lifelessness is implanted by the small cog in the moral and ethical sphere. When somebody considers the present degeneration in China as the rise of fanaticism, and a Chinese a fanatic, then this is the greatest error. During Stalin's funeral thousand-strong herds crowded around the bier of the earthly god — and the world also thought: they are fanatics. But three years have passed. The embalmed corpse of the Dalai Lama was first covered with mud and then thrown out of the mausoleum altogether. And what happened? Did a revolt occur? Did the thousands of fanatics shelter the temple with their own bodies? — Nobody even said a word! The herd trampled the corpse of the leader and then ate his remains. Those who were taken for fanatics, filled with blind devotion, revealed themselves to be quite empty. It was revealed that they were simple robots. An order was given to love Stalin — and everyone put on mourning headbands. Their anger, their sorrow, happiness, enthusiasm — everything was programmed: "anger" against "traitor Tito" which the "community" expressed at "meetings" today, tomorrow automatically transformed itself into "enthusiasm", and the "communism" itself, neatly formed along the road from the airport to the centre will obediently hold placards and wave hands.

Therefore it is useless for the "old" who have found room for themselves in cosy chairs, to wonder where the "young" come from, who "don't consider anything to be holy". The story of Stalin has shown that the old also considered nothing to be holy, — but they, in their blindness and atrophy of the mind could not see this. The "young" at last have noticed that the king is naked. This is a good sign. Only he who has rid himself of illusions and was able to see the broken through, will begin to search for new values.

A hollow man — that is, perhaps, the chief accusation against a tyranny and its inevitable rise. When a despot proclaims that he has a monopoly of wisdom, honour and conscience and prohibits the

creation of these qualities independently — this is the beginning of the spiritual draining of a man. But every living being is in need of self-expression. And when this need has no chance to express itself in the spiritual sphere, then the spiritual capabilities of man become useless, atrophy and assume an inferior position. Even thinking that a man can do something by himself is unlikely.

Both before and after the trial we were told several times that we are the "brood of Antonenko-Davydovych and Company". An idea, from the point of view of the KGBists, can be implanted in the head of an individual only from outside. And when in the midst of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia a movement against chauvinistic oppression sprang up the KGBists, first of all, hastened to find who brought it? Who influenced them?

Banished from the spiritual sphere, the instinct of self-expression throws itself with twice as much energy upon the material sphere, and we have a man before us who has "liberated" from the spiritual interior and has in its stead a greatly expanded material cover. Passions of the lowest kind become the sole mover of behavior. But nobody would dare to say this about. Officially it is assumed that the small cog is motivated by devotion, self-sacrifice, honour and so forth, but the small cog does not exhibit these traits — and comes to the conclusion that all these moral principles are simple strange superstitions, about which everyone is talking but with which you are lost in the white world. Thus dual morality is born. Hypocrisy becomes a social norm. Because of inertia the dictator is awarded divine honours, all poles are decorated with his portraits but the central attacker becomes a real god. Only in a stadium or a tea-house do the small cogs awake briefly from their lethargic sleep.

The small cog possesses an almost masterly ability to kill everything he touches. When he is told to join some newly created society for the preservation of nature — he will not refuse, and in a month the society will have as many members as there are small cogs, but nature will not benefit because of it. This society — is still born like all others, The small cog cannot be persuaded to do lively, useful work by an unknown element like an amoeba: a formless, jellylike mass without strongly designated banks, he will seep through the finest mesh. The wildest experiments can be conducted and the small cogs will accept them — thus factories are built in places where it has been planned to supply energy in 20 years or where there are no raw materials; production is doomed to vegetate for long years in a state of decay.

Thus, on the ruins of individuality, an order was being built sowing the land with death, "This is worse than a plague. A plague kills indiscriminately, but a despotism selects its victims from the flower of a nation", — wrote Stepnyak-Kravchynskyi.

US Anti-Communism

By A. Borisov

Stories in the American press, statements made by US politicians and other public figures and, finally, the actions of the US government in the international arena all point to the fact that the influence of the ultra-right reactionary forces on the shaping of Washington's foreign policy course has grown.

The American ultra reactionaries — behind whom stand the military-industrial complex — are alarmed by the development of the world revolutionary process and demand that every means of struggle against the socialist community and the workers' and national liberation movement be mobilized. The expansion of the American imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia met the approval of the reactionary circles of the USA; it was not without reason that George Wallace, the well known representative of these circles who ran for President a couple of years ago, said quite frankly that Richard Nixon's Administration "is taking some positions that we took in the campaign in '68".

With the American ultra exercising increasing influence on US government policy, the more rabid anti-communist forces are once again making wide use of a provocative campaign which goes under the hypocritical name of Captive Nations Week. This year it was held for the twelfth time in the United States and used to kindle hatred against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Such annual anti-Soviet campaigns are conducted on the basis of US Senate Joint Resolution 111 of July 17, 1959, which later, as Public Law 86-90 made it incumbent on the President of the USA to designate annually, in a special proclamation, the third week of July as Captive Nations Week.

This law was passed by the Congress at a time when American imperialism was experiencing a serious crisis in its anti-communist policy. There were those in Washington who felt that the obvious bankruptcy of the so-called "doctrine of liberation" demanded new and more flexible forms of struggle with the countries of the socialist community. Realistically thinking bourgeois figures felt that the continued pursuance of the policy of "balancing on

the brink of war" under conditions where the correlation of world forces was unfavourable to imperialism, could present a danger to the future of capitalism. Those years saw the beginnings of a tendency among such realistic politicians not to brush aside the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different socio-economic systems.

It was with these tendencies that the ultra-right forces of the USA undertook to give battle as they once again began advancing slanderous "arguments" about the enslavement by "Russian communism" of other peoples in the Soviet Union and the mythical export of revolution from the USSR. Resolution 111 accused the Soviet Union of "enslaving" the East European countries and declared the socialist camp to be a "dire threat" to the security of the United States.¹

The direct instigators of the resolution were reactionary emigre organization, such as the US based Assembly of Captive European Nations, the Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent, and American Friends of Captive Nations. Each of these organizations represents the ardent foes of socialism — people who have suffered political and moral disaster in their own countries and have found asylum overseas.

The Congress of the USA became the chief propaganda tribune for reactionary emigre circles. It is characteristic that after a special organizational centre was established for conducting the Week — namely, the National Captive Nations Committee, with headquarters in Washington and 75 branches in other parts of the country — over one-third of the members of the House of Representatives and about a third of Senators became members, prompting *The Washington Post* to write that the "annual Captive Nations charade might better be called Captive Congressmen Week".²

Indeed, many American congressmen have really been caught by the itch of anti-communism. They use this measure not only to kindle hatred towards socialism, but also to advance their personal careers. Referring to this, a Chicago newspaper,

— From "International Affairs," Nov., 1970.

1. *Congressional Record*; Vol. 105, Pt. 11, pp. 14105-14106.

2. *Washington Post*, July 10, 1967.

The Polish American, noted that the propaganda campaign provides an "excellent opportunity for our Congressmen and Senators to make stirring addresses" to their own advantage without any risk to their political careers. Last year, 53 members of the House of Representatives and six senators made unbridled anti-communist speeches during July "week". With off-year congressional elections coming up this year, a number of congressmen again tried during the July campaign to attract the votes of the Americans of East European extraction. Not only is Congress involved in conducting this bitter anti-communist campaign; the governors of number of states as well as the mayors of some large cities are adding fuel to the flames.

But all these are only the external attributes of July's anti-communist activities; the chief aim is to fight the very idea of socialism and to attempt to discredit the foreign and home policies of the Soviet

Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The organizers of this campaign vigorously oppose any relaxation of international tension and support the aggressive actions of American imperialism.

The official programme for the 1970 National Captive Nations Committee calls for "total victory in Vietnam" and contains a protest against the development of equitable trade with socialist countries. The authors of this document have proposed to establish a Freedom Academy to train personnel for carrying out subversive activity against the socialist states. They demand that the government step up its psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and its allies, thus actually advocating a complete re-examination of American policy towards the USSR and a return to the more violent methods in the policy and practice of anti-communism of the 1950s.

In this Lenin anniversary year, the organizers



10,000 Ukrainians from Canada and USA commemorating anniversaries of Ukrainian National Revolution and Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

of the Week have given special priority to the launching of an ideological campaign against Marxism-Leninism. A special resolution by the World Anti-Communist League adopted in connection with the Captive Nations Week has summoned its members to intensify the campaign against the ideology of Leninism, and has also demanded the disruption of any efforts by UNESCO and by democratic forces in the capitalist countries to honour the Lenin anniversary on a wide scale.

The campaign of the organizers and participants of Captive Nations Week against improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union manifested itself with particular bitterness when the Soviet-American consular convention was being ratified. The question of concluding this convention was debated for seven years. The National Captive Nations Committee was one of the main opponents of its ratification. Member of the House of Representatives Bray testified that his Committee and other emigrant organizations had launched and especially savage propaganda campaign against its ratification after the convention was signed in 1964. In their statements and anti-Soviet actions, the emigrant rabble and their patrons fell in line with such pro-fascist organizations as the American Legion, the John Birch Society, and the like.

Anti-communist propaganda took on such a frantic nature that even the businessmen's mouthpiece, *The Wall Street Journal*, had to write that "the pact's foes have their heads in the clouds. It hardly serves the US interest to sabotage a deal in its own advantage".³ Soon after this admission, the Senate approved the Soviet-American consular treaty with a vote of 66 for, 28 against and 6 abstentions. Thus, its opponents lacked only 3 votes to block ratification.

Along with a demand for "total victory in Vietnam", the programme of Captive Nations Week also includes rejection of expanding trade with socialist countries if they show no readiness to make "political concession".⁴ The reactionary circles have lost all elementary sense of reality, the organizers of the Week state that socialism "will not last" without trade support from the capitalist world.

Using this kind of propaganda, many prominent members of the US ruling circles try to show that to trade with the countries of the socialist community is the same as giving them economic aid. In this connection, *The Washington Post* wrote of the "Neanderthalic view" of most of the members of Congress, according to which "ordinary commercial trade is equated with foreign aid"⁵

But it is precisely this view of the Congressmen that turns out to be decisive when the matter comes to considering foreign trade questions. Here is one

example. As far back as May 1966, a bill was introduced in Congress on expanding trade between the West and the East, although *The New York Times* did warn at the time that American trade policy towards the socialist countries "still is little changed from the most frigid days of the cold war".⁶ And, indeed, the bill was buried by the congressmen, just as were subsequent similar proposals introduced in Congress during Richard Nixon's Administration. It was a question of tariff reductions on goods from the socialist countries according to the most-favoured-nations principle, which has long become standard practice in international trade. But even this meagre measure was subjected to violent criticism in the Congress.

In February 1968, through the efforts of the placemen of the reactionary emigrant circles in Congress, the Export-Import Bank of the USA — created during Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency for financing foreign trade — was deprived of the right to offer even short-term credits to socialist countries, because the latter are aiding the people of Vietnam in their struggle against American aggression. Member of Congress Fino, who played an active role in getting this decision adopted, stated: "If a Soviet bloc nation stops aiding North Vietnam, it becomes eligible for Export-Import Bank dealings."⁷

Of course, concentrated reactionary pressure has not always had complete success in political

clashes within the US ruling circles, and there have been voices raised in Congress urging a more realistic appraisal of the international situation. After a sharp fight, the Senate in late 1969 approved a draft bill (with a vote of 49 to 24) reducing the number of categories of so-called strategic goods from 1,300 to 200. In doing this, the Congressmen undoubtedly took into account the difficulties of the American balance of payments and the fact that the volume of the Eastern European market is steadily expanding.

The facts show that the provocative activity of the organizers of Captive Nations Week increases sharply whenever the international situation is aggravated. For instance, in July 1968, the Week was held under slogans calling for support of the anti-socialist counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia. The ring-leaders of the reactionary emigration demanded that the Johnson Administration interfere in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia in order to isolate it from the socialist community and facilitate the restoration of capitalism in that country. As *Look* magazine frankly wrote, the anti-communist development of events would have ultimately made it possible . . . to sweep the communists out of power. If this had happened, Czechoslovakia would for all practical purposes have left the Communist camp.⁸

3. *Wall Street Journal*, March 14, 1967.

4. *Congressional Record*, No. 153, Sept. 23, 1969, p. H8324.

5. *Washington Post*, June 10, 1968.

6. *New York Times*, May 23, 1966.

7. *Congressional Record*, No. 16, Feb. 6, 1968, p. H826.

8. *Look*, Oct. 1, 1968.

When five fraternal socialist countries came to the aid of the Czechoslovak people, the ultra-rightists in the USA increased their pressure on Washington. The programme of the extreme reactionary forces was soon concretised in a letter to Secretary of State Dean from the head of the National Captive Nations Committee, Dobriansky. The letter demanded that diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria be severed immediately that trade agreements and cultural exchange pacts with these countries be suspended, that a NATO meeting be called to work out a more aggressive policy, and that full use should be made of the UN tribune to oppose the USSR and other socialist states. Dobriansky called on the American government to give "immediate and unstinted support of the Captive Nations".⁹

Meanwhile, a violent anti-Soviet campaign broke out with new vigour in Congress. Senator Hruska urged that the whole American policy towards the Soviet Union be re-examined, while his colleague Dodd called for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the UN and the use of economic sanctions against the five socialist countries.

As a result of the fierce pressure from the reactionary forces, implementation of the cultural exchange programme with the European socialist states was halted, inauguration of air service between Moscow and New York was postponed, and ratification by Congress of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was held up for more than six months.

Having lost touch with reality, the emigrant reactionaries clung to the hope that capitalism would be restored in the socialist states. In the autumn of 1967, Dobriansky's book, with the pretentious title

of *The Vulnerable Russians*,¹⁰ was published. In it a big build-up was given to bourgeois nationalists and all kinds of renegades who had taken up arms against the Soviet people. The author of this vindictive scrawl literally falls over himself, attempting to prove that the Soviet Union is "vulnerable in the national respect". This preacher of fascist openly advocates a preventive war against the USSR.

The American ultras wasted no time in latching on to Dobriansky's book. They sung its praises in their speeches in Congress and published enthusiastic reviews in many newspapers and magazines.

The designs of our political and ideological adversaries for weakening the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union in one way or another are, however, far from new. "It is, of course, no secret," said L. I. Brezhnev, "that our class adversaries and the various reactionary forces outside our country still gamble on subverting the unity of the peoples of the USSR. It is well known how similar calculations by the Hitlerites ended in an inglorious fiasco; they were smashed to pieces when they came up against the monolithic unity of our people. But reactionaries are called reactionaries because they are unable to heed the lessons of history. However, their present insidious machinations are doomed to dismal failure. The unity of the Soviet peoples, who have learned the power of friendship, brotherhood and allround cooperation through their own historical experience, is unshakable."¹¹

The present tactical plan of the leaders of the reactionary emigration in the USA and its influential patrons is obvious. They have taken stock of the fact that it was precisely when the Republicans occupied the White House that Captive Nations

9. Quoted from *Congressional Record*, No. 170. Oct. 12. 1968, p. E8950.

10. Lev E. Dobriansky, *The Vulnerable Russians*, New York, 1967.

11. *Pravda*, April 15, 1970.



Captive Nations Week Observance in New York City. An AF-ABN protest demonstration in front of the Soviet-Russian U.N. Mission, July 12, 1970.

Week originated. In 1964, the slogans of this campaign in essence became an inseparable part of Goldwater's platform. And it was none other than Dobriansky, as the Republican Party's adviser on nationalities, who succeeded in 1968 in getting a special point on "assistance to the Captive Nations" introduced into the Republican platform.

The organisers of the notorious Week and their patrons stand on the extreme right flank of American reaction. Indeed, this is the miserable rock bottom of anti-communism in the United States. The aims and methods of these groups even from the viewpoint of American politicians are so odious that representatives of the US ruling circles often have to restrain the ardour of the emigrant leaders.

While the American leaders feel it unwise under present conditions to comply with some of the more militant demands of the organizers of Captive Nations Week, they are not against using their anti-communist slogans, especially since the patrons of the reactionary emigration actively support the US government's militaristic course. For example, in August 1969, of the six senators who gave traditional anti-Soviet speeches during the Week, five voted to continue the missile armaments race.

Recent years have a consolidation of the alliance between the reactionary emigration and a number of government, military and public figures in the United States who share the views of the ultras. Active participants of anti-communist campaigns conducted within the framework of the Week have been, for example, former Commander of US armed forces in Vietnam and present US Army Chief of Staff General Westmoreland; FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, and racist Senator Thurmond. The well known American reactionary trade-union leader, George Meany, has been Honourable President of Captive Nations Week Since 1965. The traditional parade in Chicago in honour of the Week has been headed for a number of years by Chicago's Mayor Daley and Commander of the American Legion Murphy, both acting in close contact with the ringleaders of emigrant organizations.

By supporting Captive Nations Week, official Washington contradicts its own declarations. Richard Nixon, who has often spoken in favour of moving from the "era of confrontation" to an "era of negotiations", admitted in his book *The Crises* that the Weeks have brought about a worsening in Soviet-American relations. According to columnist Drew

Pearson, Richard Nixon, during his visit to the Soviet Union in 1959, had to apologise for the action of the American Congress, saying that "Congress was foolish to pass the resolution".

The American communists have repeatedly exposed the inspirers of Captive Nations Week. They have emphasised that the reactionary emigration acts in close alliance with such ultra-Right organizations as the Minutemen, the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. The US Communist Party's *Political Affairs* magazine wrote that "in addition to neo-Nazi parties and the ultra-Right movement, there are a large number of war criminals in our country who, during World War II, helped the Nazis rid Europe of Communist and Jews".

Criticism of the activity of the organizers of the Week also comes from within the liberal bourgeoisie of the USA. A characteristic appraisal in this connection was given on the pages of *The Washington Post* by George Kennan. He wrote; "Needless irritations, such as the Captive Nations resolution and various antiquated trade restrictions, are still permitted to impede the development of Soviet-American relations".

Such a position unquestionably takes into account the attitude of ordinary Americans. As T. Sorensen, a former Adviser to John Kennedy, admitted, the American people would not be willing "to turn back the cold war clock to a point where we broke off diplomatic relations with Moscow . . . forbade trade relations of any kind with the USSR and refused to listen seriously to any of its disarmament proposals."¹²

It is obvious to the majority of American that the reactionary emigre group based in the US has long been a political corpse. It would be naive to suppose that anti-communist provocation activities could represent any kind of threat to the socialist states. However, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the anti-Soviet commotion made by this reactionary emigre group is having some effect on US foreign policy.

There is no question that improvement in relations between the United States and the socialist states is possible only on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence. Only such a policy — and not the organization of provocations and anti-Soviet Slender — meets the interests of world peace.

12. *Congressional Record*, No. 76, May 12, 1969, p. S4942.

Last U.S. Aid Grant To Korea:

An Economic Milestone

In May 1970, the Governments of the Republic of Korea and the United States concluded in agreement providing for a \$10-million (3-billion *won*) supporting Assistance Grant to Korea. The money is being used to finance the foreign-exchange costs required for import from the United States of raw materials, machinery, and equipment needed by Korean industry.

The significance of this agreement is no measured in the amount of money involved, nor in the extent of continuing good relations between the two nations. Instead, this agreement, the last of its kind to Korea, represents the ROK's steady and determined progress toward economic self-sufficiency.

The agreement was the final free grant of American economic assistance to the ROK. Korea has

received over \$4-billion (120-billion *won*) in various kinds of assistance since 1945. This aid was invaluable in helping the recovery of Korea's economy in the 1950's, and gave impetus to the ROK's growing economy in the late 1960's.

At the signing of the agreement, Economic Planning Minister Kim Hak-yul said, "This last agreement represents a significant milestone in the history of Korean economic development."

Termination of grant-assistance to Korea marks the ROK as the 24th developing nation to no longer rely on free supporting-aid.

Howard E. Houston, representing the United States Agency for International Development (U.S. AID), adding to Minister Kim's remarks, said, "The termination of U.S. grant-assistance signals a forward step for the Korean economy toward self-suf-

From: "Friends of Freedom", January, 1971.



Minister Kim Hak-yul (seated left), Economic Planning Board, and Mr. Howard E. Houston, U.S. AID director, conclude the final agreement for grant-type assistance.



The Korean Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), a major example of American assistance to Korea, was financed, in part, by a 2.16-billion won (\$7.2-million) grant from the United States.

efficiency and continued development in the 1970's. We [the United States] terminated grant-assistance to Korea as the nation no longer needs the assistance, not because of our budget or a policy change."

ROK Economic Grows

The policy of AID programs has consistently been to provide assistance in the hopes that assistance would not always be needed. Korea began to show its economy potential with the successful implementation of the first Five-Year Plan (1962-1966). By the time the second Five-Year Plan (1967-1971) was being developed, the Korean economy began growing at an outstanding rate and has been cited by world economic experts as a model example of a rapidly developing nation.

This is apparent in the ROK's decreasing budgetary reliance on foreign financial aid. For example, the percentage of foreign aid in the Government's budget has declined from 34.6 percent in 1960 to 5.1 percent in the 1970 national budget.

Since 1962, when the nation's first Five-Year Plan was launched, the Government has tried to increase its domestic tax revenues and develop the nation's manufacturing and export industries. Korea's Gross National Product (GNP) — the total monetary value of all goods and services produced in the country — for 1967 achieved an impressive 15.9 percent growth rate

Historic Aid Role

Korea has benefited from United States assistance programs since 1945. The first, from 1945 to 1953, was relief aid — food, grain, clothing, and medicine — for war victims. The aid was administered from 1945 to 1948 by the Government and Relief in Occupied Areas (CARIOA) program. From 1949 to 1953, the aid was given by the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) and the U.N. Civil Assistance Command in Korea (UNCACK). Other agencies were formed to manage and direct the flow of relief goods and services; during the period from 1950 to 1954, Civil Relief in Korea (UNKRA) was operated from 1950 to 1959. The Foreign Operation Administration (FAO) established a Korean office in

1953 and, at the same time, the Office of the Economic Coordinator for Korea (OEC) was established in the United Nations Command.

Foreign assistance changed from relief-aid to grant-aid in 1954, when the Republic of Korea desperately needed help to rehabilitate the industries that had been destroyed during the Korea War.

Aid Evolution

The United States Congress passed the Foreign Assistance Act in 1961, establishing, in 1962, the U.S. AID programs which were to prove so valuable to Korea's economic progress.

As Korean leaders, armed with ambitious economic plans, began to construct key industries, United States assistance provided machinery, equipment, and raw materials.

Grant-assistance, such as that provided in the last agreement signed in 1970, is in two types, project- and nonproject-assistance. Project-assistance provided machinery and equipment for the development of agriculture, transportation, electric power, public works, mining, manufacturing, and housing construction. Nonproject-assistance provided materials for agricultural development and development of fuel and industrial raw material resources.

The largest, and perhaps the most impressive, result of project-assistance in Korea is the Korean Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), which was financed primarily by grant-assistance funds,

Desired Aid Objective

Korea's economic progress, and the nation's determination to achieve economic self-sufficiency, are heartily approved by the United States Government. For the role of American assistance has been to help other nations help themselves. Dr. John A. Hannah, administrator of U.S. AID, acclaimed Korea's economic progress during a recent visit to the ROK when he said, "Your country is not blessed with an overabundance of natural resources. But what has been accomplished by your people and by your government in recent years — not only in providing for your own defense, but in moving in the direction of increasing your economic resources,

Pyongyang Trains 2,000 In Guerrilla Warfare Tactics

The north Korean Communists have, since 1966, trained in guerrilla tactics more than 2,000 persons who came from 25 countries and two organizations, with the aim of helping them overthrow their legitimate governments, it was learned yesterday.

According to authentic sources, north Korea also sent six guerrilla warfare instructors to Cuba to engage in guerrilla training programs there.

The trainees, who come from Central and South America, Asia and Africa go through guerrilla training programs which are divided into three divisions according to the length of time — six-month, one year and one and a half years.

This secret training program of the north Korean Communists was first disclosed to the world last week as the Mexican government rounded up a ring of antigovernment agents who were taught guerrilla tactics in north Korea.

The sources said that the Pyongyang regime has been carrying out the training program at 10 special bases provided in the north.

When necessary, the sources revealed, the Communists have used even the north Korean army's special training centers for the foreigners. In this case, north Korean officers and non-commissioned officers provide the training.

Those who are receiving the guerrilla training in the north include 1,300 persons from Central and South American countries and 700 from Asian and African countries, the sources said.

The tactics taught at the north Korean centers cover politics, geography, radio, guerrilla warfare for both urban and rural regions, taekwondo (the Korean version of karate), fencing, marksmanship and the handling of explosives of various types.

The foreigners are given lectures on the speeches of Kim Il-sung, boss of the Pyongyang Communist regimes, all aimed at having them instigate riots against their governments, according to the sources. The sources said Pyongyang's plots were well reflected in Kim's books and official addresses.

— From "The Korea Herald" March 23, 1971 —

the GNP of your people, and your successful efforts in increasing your exports — should be a matter not only of great pride to you, but to the people from

the United States that have had an opportunity to work with you and to provide some assistance and encouragement over the years."

War of Lost Opportunities

(a) *MacArthur in Korea*: Had the General been given 1/10th the combined strength used in Viet Nam operations, he could have pursued the Chinese division reeling back in the spring of 1951. Had he been permitted to bomb the sanctuaries north of the Yalu, the Chinese advance would have been slowed down, if not stopped altogether. Instead, with 73 Red Divisions partly consumed or in retreat, the Reds were given a breathing spell and eventual recovery via the U.N.

(b) *Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs*: Had the invading C.I.A. trained Cuban refugee force been supported by air, they could have maintained a footing and ultimately destroyed the Castro menage. This would have been a logical war — to remove a threat in the Caribbean, a lethal missile base threat against Florida.

(c) *Korea and the Bay of Pigs*: Examples of tactical opportunities, lost or evaded, with endless after results totally beneficial to the enemy.

That enemy is revealed again; Communist Russia and its relentless drive toward world domination. The gullible "liberals" who control the press and the book-market are equally revealed as crypto-communists rendering aid and comfort the enemy. Between the "New York Times" and "Life", they supported Castro while the "pincoes" supported Ho-Shi-Ming and the Russo-Chinese maneuvers in South-East Asia. "Life" managed to blow-up the May Lai incident in 1968, they have done it again in 1970 in emphasizing Clark Clifford in his anti-Nixon diatribe "set a date and get out of Viet Nam." The significant feature about this performance is that this is the voice of a former Presidential adviser and Secretary of Defense. What does he think Nixon is doing — except getting out? The only President to physically reduce our troop strength while exploring every diplomatic and political channel.

(d) *Fluctuating global military factors*:

In appraising lost opportunities, one must ac-

knowledge the rapidly changing geopolitical and strategic factors like armaments, relative troop strengths, relative status of foes and alleged allies, viz:

i While the U.S. enjoyed a virtual monopoly on nuclear weaponry (1950) it could take all sorts of geopolitical liberties.

ii When it lost this monopoly to effective Russian espionage through British and Canadian channels, the picture changed; American geopolitical capacity was and is rapidly shrinking.

iii Comparison between Cambodia (1970) and Korea (1951) are no longer valid — except the myopic American unwillingness to use mass interdiction weapons.

iv The capabilities of the Air Arm has been grossly abused and totally misapplied (in Washington).

v It is not a weapon suitable for jungle and tropical forest areas, the ideal guerrilla playground.

vi As delivery of "interdiction", defoliation and chemical belts, it can become again effective.

vii The sharp pilot and plane losses are a waste, chasing 20/30 tons truck columns when 10,000 ton ship deliveries could be stopped in a single flight.

viii The Cambodian bru-ha-ha by pacifist and draft-dodgers will only lead to ultimate American surrender. There is still an opportunity, in a race against Russian build-up to a risk situation: Seal forest areas and Red routes of supply, maritime and on land, to halt Hanoi (and Chinese) movements. The answer lies in the chemical characteristics of phosgene or other viscous gas (land areas) and the mining of enemy harbours.

As stated previously: "... a dangerous imbalance in manpower (Asiatic cannon fodder armed with Czech, Russian or Chinese machine guns) requires a new strategic (and tactical) policy: The calculated employment of nuclear (or chemical) mass destruction weapons to offset the inexhaustible manpower of Asia...imposing no more moral dilemma than Truman's use of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima..."

From: *Foreign Intelligence Digest*

There Can Be No Return

By Svetlana Alliluyeva

In the years following the Twentieth Congress a great deal happened: thousands of innocents returned to life from prisons and concentration camps, the terror of the secret police was abolished, a few timid contacts established with the outside world, efforts made to decentralize industry and agriculture. Tensions slackened, the threat of war moved away, and hope for a sound peace began to take root. Science, art, ideology made attempts to free themselves from dogmatism. But also, in those same years, the bloody events in Hungary took place, and the execution of university students in Georgia and of workers in Novocherkassk.

In March 1956 hundreds of Georgian students, as well as other young people and intellectuals, gathered in front of the building of the Central Committee in Tbilisi, demanding a clarification of Khrushchev's "secret" speech. Rumors of it had just reached Tbilisi and, as always in the U.S.S.R., no one knew anything about it, except that "potraits were to be taken down," this time Stalin's. The frightened secretary of the Georgian Central Committee called out the army. The demonstration was a peaceful one. As an expression of a long-standing protest against "Russian oppressors," it carried pictures of Stalin — the pictures that had been ordered taken down. All this was mostly due to a feeling of trampled national dignity, which in Georgians was strongly developed. Everything could have been settled peacefully if it hadn't been for the army's encirclement of government buildings.

When a group of students, after sending a telegram to Moscow, emerged into the street, they were seized. Comrades rushed to their defense. A scuffle resulted and the soldiers opened fire. Dozens of bodies remained lying in the street. The rest were chased away. But relatives were forbidden to carry away the dead and bury them. It was feared that the funerals might end in mass demonstrations against the Georgian Central Committee and the central

government in Moscow. Bodies of dead students were dispatched somewhere under guard, arousing the indignation of the entire small nation. Students threw rocks at trains leaving for Moscow — the trains arrived with all the windows smashed. The result of it all: a growing hatred of Moscow.

The official Moscow explanation of these events — not in print, of course, but in one of the Central Committee's regular secret letters — proclaimed that in Georgia "nationalist elements" had tried to secede from the U.S.S.R. . . .

Soon after the Twentieth Congress, it transpired that the former creators and participators in the "cult of personality" did not wish to and could not tell the truth, and that they would not let anyone else tell it, be it historians or economists, artists or poets.

The Party and State apparatuses, brought into being and trained during the past decades, did not wish to make any concessions to liberalism and democratization. Khrushchev's efforts in this direction met with resistance at every step. Every "case" concerning the posthumous rehabilitation of victims of the years of 1937-1938 had to be "pushed" with immense efforts through the Central Committee. O.C. Shatunovskaya, an old Communist from Baku, spent seventeen years in prison and in exile in Siberia. When, after the Twentieth Congress, she had been freed and rehabilitated in the Party, the Control Commission of the Central Committee took her on to work on rehabilitations — mostly posthumous ones — of Party workers who had suffered in the "purges." But despite the support of Khrushchev and Mikoyan, after a few years she was squeezed out of her job by the same people who in former days had arrested and jailed many. Shatunovskaya told me that she simply could not go on; the entire apparatus of the Central Committee was muttering almost openly against de-Stalinization.

And no wonder, when one of the most reactionary men, the most devoted to the old way, M.A. Suslov, who began his career in the apparatus of the



In a Ukrainian country store a peasant couple contemplates a purchase. The abacus at right will be used to compute the sale.

Central Committee in 1937, had remained its Secretary, gathering around him all those opposed to the "new course."

Khrushchev was unable to get his way with the Party apparatus. Too much had to be smashed. He was afraid to do it. In the end he paid for it — the *apparatchiki* got rid of him.

Khrushchev couldn't openly declare that the Party itself had supported the "cult of Stalin" and that, after yielding him the full measure of power, it had become the obedient agent of his absolute will. By fearing to admit the Party's guilt, and dumping all the blame on the terrible dead man, he had eloquently discredited not only himself but the entire Party. For this the Party could not forgive him. It became clear to the whole world what a totalitarian regime could neither accuse nor transform itself: suicide was not in its nature, it could only kill others.

Once again the well-tried method of palace revolution was successfully resorted to, and the new Premier, Kosygin, together with the new "leader," Brezhnev, swore allegiance to the same old despotic tradition: that the nation remain mute, while the Kremlin alone spoke and made decisions.

But the unrestrainable process of liberation was strong and bold in the lower echelons. While the ugly battle for power went on upstairs, progress followed its own course. It grew and spread from below, pressing like hot steam on those on top, forcing them to give in one moment and in the next to resist. There was no halting the process. Progress pushed its way through like bright grass among flagstones.

The same slow, unyielding process of inner li-

beration from the past went on in my soul: a liberation from my country's past and from my own.

It moved along its own line. Khrushchev's "secret" speech was of no help to me, nor did it come as a surprise. Among close friends we had often discussed the inevitability of a change.

At the end of February 1956 Mikoyan gave me the opportunity of reading the speech. He sent his car for me, asking me to come to his home. "Read this. Afterward we'll discuss it, if necessary," he said. "Don't hurry. Think it over. We shall wait for you downstairs for supper."

I spent several hours that evening in the library of his home on the Lenin Hills. The most terrifying thing was that I believed every word I read. It was impossible not to. And as I read on, I remembered what my aunts had told me upon their return from prison. My mother's sister, Anna, had gone mad in prison and had come home a sick woman. Yevgenia Alliluyeva, the widow of Mother's brother, bore it all, but she said that she had signed all the accusations set before her: spying, poisoning her husband, contacts with foreigners. "You sign anything there," she would say, "just to be left alone and tortured! At night no one could sleep for the shrieks of agony in the cells. Victims screamed in an unearthly way, begging to be killed, better be killed. . ." She spent six years in solitary confinement, forbidden to correspond with her family, of whom she knew nothing during all that time. In 1954 all the accusations were admitted to be false, and she was allowed to go home.

I kept thinking of the fate of Svanidze and that of Redens, of the tragic destinies of many others I had known, and my heart continued to sink into

a dreadful void. If only I could have refuted it all, not believed it; if only I could have exclaimed, "It's a lie! He didn't do it!" But I could not. I recalled certain talks with friends and the little that was accessible from unofficial sources, for official sources always presented everything in a false light. Again the postwar years and that grim winter of 1952-1953 came to mind, when with my own eyes I had seen how much was done under my father's direct orders.

At last I went into the dining room, where Mikoyan and his wife were anxiously waiting. "Unfortunately," I said, "it all looks very much like the truth." Mikoyan heaved a sigh of relief. He had probably feared that I would start weeping and disputing it all.

"I hoped you would understand," he said. "Let's go to supper. We didn't want you to hear it unexpectedly at some meeting. In a week's time this document will be read to all the Party's organizations."

I told him I was grateful. That evening we touched on the subject no more; we kept reminiscing about my mother, with whom Ashkhen Mikoyan had been friends.

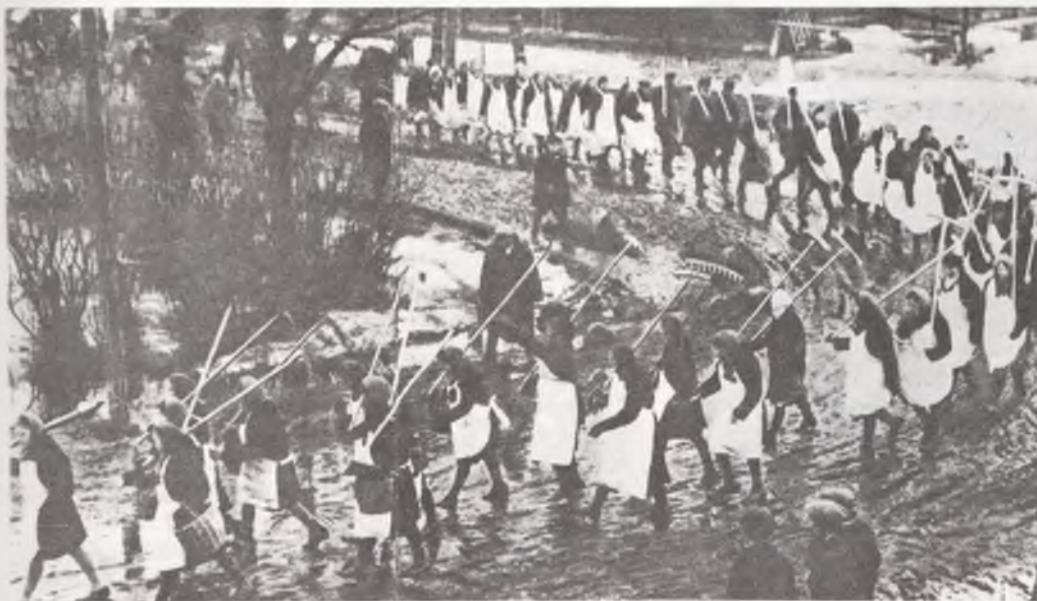
A few days later I was present at a Party meeting in the Institute of World Literature and sat listening to discussions of Khrushchev's speech. The representative of the Central Committee tried to restrain passions, but everyone spoke of changes, demanding them: changes in the life of the whole country, freedom from dogmatism — all the things the Central Committee feared most. I sat listening to what was being said and shared in the general opinion of those around me. Toward me, personally, nothing changed after Khrushchev's speech. My friends treated me as before. I never felt any animosity directed at me.

Although during the last years my father and I had grown far apart, it was only now, after his death, that my consciousness began to be cleared

of myths, of idealizations of canonized lies, of everything with which the minds of my generation had been saturated: the false image of the "wise leader," false history of the Party, false representation of the "glorious development" of the country.

Because of the general isolation of the U.S.S.R. from the rest of the world one couldn't obtain a single book published abroad on Soviet history. All approaches to such "secret sources" were strictly guarded. Such books were to be found exclusively in State libraries and handed out only to those who held special permits for research work. But even the little which we managed to read in this way to us a revelation. Actually, the material contained nothing but historical facts; but by this same token, to me they were far more significant than the sensational and cryptic way in which the Soviet press exposed the "cult of personality."

In 1954 I was able to read two books on the history of Soviet literature published in the U.S. one by Marc Slonim, the other by Gleb Struve. These books were issued to me by the library from its special collection solely because I was due to make a report on them to a seminar. In these books I came across a conception of the literature of the twenties which to Soviet students was totally unexpected. Those years were called the flourishing period in Russian literature, which had blossomed freely until "Socialist realism" was proclaimed in 1934. There was such richness of style, such a variety of directions, so many new names — *The Serapion Brothers*, "The South-West School," Pilnyak, Babel, Zamyatin; a struggle with the "proletarian writers" who tried to claim a monopoly on arts; a totally new picture of Gorky's role, protesting violently against the "inhuman cruelties of the Revolution," all of it unretouched, unedited. And again, hovering over it all, the Party's Secretary General, reputedly a patron of the arts but in reality one who had chased art



Women workers in the U.S.S.R., forced to neglect their children and homes, march out to do a hard day's work on a collective farm.



Victims of collectivization, starving waifs huddle in the streets of a Russian city.

up the dead end where he had wanted it in the first place. In conclusion there was a list of writers arrested and destroyed, all of whom had sung praises to the Revolution, to the Red Army, to a new life, artists who had served the Party with their pens and hearts. . .

In 1957-1958, in the Institute of World Literature, a group of junior researchers — Andrei Sinyavsky and I among them — undertook to work on a literary chronicle of the twenties and thirties. This gave us access to newspapers and magazines of that period. After looking through the back numbers of *Izvestia* for 1922 and *Pravda* for 1934, I made quite a few discoveries for myself.

Trotsky's articles, establishing to Party line on literature and art in those days, advocated the free development of styles and total independence for the creative artist. Lunacharsky wrote in the same vein. Gorky, abroad as an emigre at the time, published a series of articles entitled "On the Russian Peasantry," a virulent attack on the bloody cruelties of the Revolution (these articles are not to be found in any edition of Gorky's works published in the U.S.S.R.). In the Russia of those years action had been brought against leftist SR's (Social Revolutionaries), and these former allies of the October Revolution had been condemned, their party prohibited. On the other hand, more and more publishing houses had been founded all over the country, and the NEP (the New Economic Policy), recently proclaimed, had given a certain freedom to private initiative. The literary life of 1922 truly offered a wealth and variety of creativity. We dug out of limbo and oblivion the names and works of writers whose books had been excluded from libraries during many decades. We collected an immense amount of material, but it was cut by our Party editors and censors. Half of the facts and names were thrown out, among them Gorky's articles "On the Russian Peasantry", it wasn't permissible to "vilify the icon."

If Stalin's name was never once to be found on

the pages of the principal newspapers of 1922, in 1934 it literally never left the pages of *Pravda*,

In that same year — 1934 — the first Congress of Writers took place, which put an end to a variety of styles and freedom of creativity, and abstract "Socialist realism" was accepted as the only formula for writing. This, in essence, meant that literature entered the service and control of the Party, which is what the Secretary General had wanted all along. While looking through the stenographic accounts of that first Congress of Writers (until then also excluded from libraries), I first came across Bukharin's report on poetry, delivered by him at the Congress. It was a brilliant report dealing with the essence of poetical art and given by a politician who spoke to writers as an equal to equals. Next to it Zhdanov's speech appeared pale and paltry.

At the Party's Seventeenth Congress — the so-called "Congress of Victors" which had taken place that same year, hymns of praise to Stalin had been heard every day in every speech. Everything that year had seemed to promise economic improvements, peace and democracy in the country. But on the first of December Kirov was assassinated, and instead of democracy came terror, arrests, trials, and "purges," in which the delegates to the "Congress of Victors" perished along with Bukharin and the delegates to the first Congress of Writers.

My father not only did nothing to save his old comrades from destruction, but on the contrary seemed to pull up by the roots everyone who was talented and capable of independence of thought in the Party, the army, the arts, so that there should remain no colorful figures capable of attracting attention and a acquiring popularity.

In 1956 Khrushchev was the first to denounce this and hint at Stalin's direct participation in Kirov's murder. He hinted at it, then got scared. Having promised further investigations of the mysterious circumstances surrounding the plot, he never again permitted any spoken or written reference to it.

I kept thinking: Is it possible? Is it possible? Wasn't Kirov an old friend? Hadn't he vacationed in Sochi with my father that very year? The awful answer came of its own volition: How about Bukharin? Wasn't he an old friend, too? Hadn't he been a summer guest at our dacha back in the days when Mama was still alive? And if it was possible for my father to accuse and execute Bukharin, what was there to stop him from using the club on Kirov? All this was so terrible that I felt like howling and running away from everyone, myself included. . .

In September 1957 I changed my name from "Stalina" to "Alliluyeva" — under Soviet law children could bear either their father's or their mother's name. I could no longer tolerate the name of Stalin: its sharp metallic sound lacerated my ears, my eyes, my heart. . .

I addressed myself to the President — Voroshilov at the time, an old friend of the family who had

greatly loved my mother. The Chancery of the Presidium could hasten the lengthy process. What's more, I wanted to know what Voroshilov himself would have to say about my decision. He was not surprised and merely said, "You have done right."

I had wanted to take my mother's name when I graduated from school and entered the university. I told my father about it at the time. "Stalin," after all, was an adopted name, his political pseudonym. He didn't say anything, but I saw by the look he gave me that he had been stung, and I didn't continue the conversation. Now I was free to do as I pleased. Many people in the U.S.S.R. criticized me in a tone of commiseration: "So they forced you to change your name?" and refused to believe that it had been done at my own request.

In 1966 Isaac Deutscher's *Stalin: A Political Biography*, published in England in 1949, fell into my hands. Strange as it may seem, only then was I able to visualize for the first time the long history of the struggle within the Party and of the gradual process whereby the Party of Russian Communists had been transformed into a caricature of itself. Once again, I was making discoveries...

I learned of the sharp differences between my father and Lenin during the last years of Lenin's life. All Soviet sources and political propaganda presented their relationship as an ideal friendship of many years. I already knew of Lenin's "Last Testament," in which he had demanded the removal of my father from the post of Secretary General. But now it appeared that this had been preceded by a long-standing difference on national problems. It also turned out that the idea of the kolkhoz (collective farming), which my father had always associated with Lenin's "cooperative plan," in reality had nothing to do with it. On this, too, their points of view had differed. And as I read on, I learned how power had gradually been gathered into one pair of hands, how adroitly former colleagues — opponents later on — had been outflanked. I learned of the inimitable cynicism and savagery with which possible rivals had been removed, and got a clear picture of the deterioration and ruin of the Party, ending in its complete enslavement to one man by means of terror: In sum, everything about which Lenin had sounded a warning.

I understood the great role played by Trotsky in the Party and the Revolution. Knowing my father well, I could now clearly perceive the origin of his anti-Semitism. Undoubtedly it had stemmed from the years of struggle for power with Trotsky and his followers, gradually transforming itself from political hatred to a racial aversion for all Jews bar none. Just to enumerate to oneself the names of all the Party members annihilated by my father on his way to power was enough to make one go mad...

It was at this same time that I read Milovan Djilas' *Conversations with Stalin*. Someone had brought to Moscow the Australian edition of this

book, I didn't get it from a library but from friends. I was struck by Djilas' lively and authentic portrait of my father. I recognized his manners, his way of speaking, the whole setting. And the more authentic the details, the more convincing became the whole outline of Stalin's political cynicism even toward "fraternal" Socialist countries; Let no popular leader stand out too far, be it Dimitrov or Tito, let absolute power not slip out of our hands. To this end "fraternal internationalism" was forgotten and the Soviet Union often behaved in the same way as Imperial Russia had done. And, of course, there was, too, the eternal vigilance of the secret police over each of those "brother-leaders"!

Some time shortly after 1956, *Ten Days That Shook the World* — John Reed's book about the October Revolution — was republished in Moscow. In the twenties it had been published in a Russian translation, and in the thirties taken out of circulation, together with all books in which nothing was said of Stalin's role in the October Revolution. This new edition carried the original introductions by Lenin and Krupskaya: they both had considered Reed's book a very authentic, exact, and lively presentation of the events. But now the publishers added still another introduction — their own — saying that there was a great deal that John Reed, an American correspondent, hadn't known about Russia, hadn't understood and hadn't seen, and that, therefore, it was impossible to depend on the authenticity of his book...

And yet John Reed had objectively described all the facts: the role of Trotsky in the Revolution, the role of leftist SR's then the allies of the Bolsheviks. This differed too much from the official version



Samarkand silk spinner, an Uzbek woman, operates silk-milling machinery in the fabled Soviet Central Asian city.

adopted in the U.S.S.R. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to "correct" Lenin's introduction...and this after the Twentieth Congress!

A Brief History of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), re-edited, altered, and added to by Stalin in 1938, continued to serve for many years as the standard for distorted history. (The original version had been compiled by a group of authors.) My father needed this "textbook" to throw out of history, once and for all, those who had been in his way, those who had actually founded and created the Party and had brought about the Revolution; first and foremost among them, Trotsky, his greatest rival. Also it eliminated those who had been in the opposition or had disagreed with him. They were called "agents of foreign imperialism." And those who had not taken part in any opposition but had simply been victims of the 1937-1938 "purges" were also tagged with the same label. It was the simplest and surest way of discrediting politicians in the

eyes of the people. As for *A Brief History*, it had been conceived as a credo for the nation for many decades to come. That was the reason for my father's editing and altering it with such diligence. In this history of the Party, as rewritten by him, he appeared as Lenin's true, constant friend and comrade-in-arms, and no other names could be found in it. More than ten years have gone by since Khrushchev's speech and still an objective history of the Party and the Revolution remains to be written; and it will be along time before such a history gets written in the U.S.S.R.

However, more important than books and documents was life itself around me. In those years I made many friends among people older than myself who lived through the thirties as mature men and women and had "learned history" on their own backs.

They were members of several intellectual families, interconnected by blood ties and friendships of many years: literary critics, musicians, astrono-



Medical Students of Stalinabad, the capital of the Rodzhik Republic in Central Asia, attend a lecture beneath portraits of Lenin and Stalin.



In the Stalin era, to overcome peasant resistance, party agitators wrote and distributed leaflets in the field. Typical slogans were: "Glory to Great Stalin," "First Grain to the State!"

mers, physicists, journalists, artists, all of them united by a creative life and by Russian culture passed down to them from their fathers and grandfathers. Among them were Russians and Jews, Russified Germans, Dutch, Italians — there was a time when Russia had indeed been an open country, receiving everyone. These people were at once creators and keepers of our culture during the dreadful deterioration that had surrounded them since their youth, and had carried the light with them throughout their lives, giving light to others.

Marina had spent seventeen years in prison and exile, although she had never been in any way connected with politics. In her youth she had worked as a surgical nurse; her first husband had been an artist. This small, fragile woman, gay as a lark, was more full of the love of life than most of my own contemporaries. God alone knows what she had had to endure; she herself considered her second arrest the worst of her trials: her first, ten-year term had come to an end, and it looked as if life was to begin anew, when suddenly—prison again, then exile to Kazakhstan. There, in a small village lost in the steppes, she took care of the sick, taught, and helped others to live. She found friends there — intellectual women like herself, who had had no connection with politics; translators from English, French, Dutch, who had been exiled because of their foreign origin. None of these women ever lost courage, they all returned after the Twentieth Congress; I met them at Marina's. They had never stopped believing in life, had not grown disillusioned with mankind, bore no resentments, and had not hardened their hearts against anyone. Looking at them, I thought to myself that human souls were

not destroyed by external blows but by some inner worm, if a man had been born with it in him. These wholesome natures had tried to help in every way possible the poor Kazakhstan villagers — just like the wives of the Decembrists who had followed their husbands, exiled to Siberia by Czar Nicholas I.

But how did it happen that in Soviet Russia a medieval tyranny had been reinstated by none other than "the Leader of the International Proletariat"? Is it possible that Russia was so hopeless that every progressive beginning was inevitably doomed to become its own antithesis? No. Nobody thought this; these people believed in Russia's great supply of energy and vigor, which would yet show itself and throw off the yoke with which the nation had been burdened.

My new friends were fond of me. They never hesitated to "think aloud" in my presence. "You are from our *Profsoyuz*, (Trade Union)," they would say. This was the highest praise, and I knew that in their midst I was not "the dictator's daughter," but just a human being.

Marina's husband, a journalist, who had also spent many years in prison, often traveled through the country, visiting large factories and building projects, arbitrariness, theft. Exceptionally kind and responsive to the misfortunes of others, he managed somehow to help everyone, forever tramping government offices with requests and demands on behalf of others, something that under Soviet bureaucracy is not only difficult but exhausting.

He once took me with him on a journalistic trip to the extreme north — he wanted me to see how much things had changed there. The plane flew for hours over the tundra, that desert of snow, un-

crossable on foot, from which no escape was possible. Norilsk, beyond the Arctic Circle, had sprung up near the Yenisei River after 1953, when the frightful concentration camp at the coal mines, worked by prisoners, had been closed. Many of the former sufferers remained to live and work in the new town as free men — the pay in the extreme north was double what it was anywhere else in the U.S.S.R. Norilsk had grown into a modern city, with shops, theaters, hotels, a public swimming pool. New houses had been built near the coal shafts, and instead of the former prison barracks they now had a club, a theater, a movie house. But the old mine settlement had retained its name — Kayerkan — which in the native tongue meant “black death.” Yes, only after my father’s death had a normal, free life come here. Nowhere else was this as evident as in Norilsk.

And it was Norilsk that I was particularly anxious to see, for my mother’s brother Paul had been to that region in 1922 with the Urvantsev expedition, the first to discover the immense wealth here in coal and iron ore. Could Paul and the geologist Urvantsev ever have dreamed that their discovery would be turned into a concentration camp, into a Black Death?

I also made new friends among my own generation, whose critical minds had begun functioning long before mine. These were literary critics, poets, mathematicians. My contacts with Andrei Sinyavsky, a connoisseur of Russian art, were of

great importance to me. Andrei never propagandized, never tried to convince, but his whole personality couldn’t fail to influence those who knew him, making them think and search after truth.

All these young people had long ago made the discoveries which I was only beginning to make for myself.

“Just you follow the whole chain of the Party’s self-exposures, revealing its odious self,” they would say to me. “For forty years now those beasts have been devouring each other, just as in Dostoevsky’s *The possessed*. Except for Lenin, all the other leaders have sooner or later been accused and condemned. It turns out that for forty years the country has been governed by scoundrels! No other party in the world has ever had such a performance of self-destruction.”

Dostoevsky and his *Possessed* came to mind very often. Dostoevsky had suddenly captivated the young generation with his earnest, passionate sermon on religious humility, his hatred of Socialism. And fifty years of Soviet revolution had thoroughly prepared the soil for this: the nation was so soaked in blood that as a counterbalance the Sermon on the Mount suddenly resounded with unprecedented force. Young people went to church because it was one more way of saying “No!” to the Communist State.

In May 1962 I was baptized in the Orthodox Church. My baptism was a profound, symbolic event in my life. Of importance to me were not the dogmas



Under the watchful supervision of camp guards, slave laborers construct the Canal of the October Revolution at Dagestan in the Caucasus — one of Stalin’s “Great Construction Projects.”

of Christianity, nor the ritual, but the Eternal Life, the Eternal Good. The sacrament of baptism consists in rejecting evil, the lie. I believed in "Thou shalt not kill," I believed in truth without violence and bloodshed. I believed that the Supreme Mind, not vain man, governed the world. I believed that the Spirit of Truth was stronger than material values. And when all of this had entered my heart, the shreds of Marxism-Leninism taught me since childhood vanished like smoke. Now I knew that no matter how much sinful, cruel man might strengthen his power on earth, sooner or later Truth would triumph and the past glory would turn to dust.

And it was then that my father's whole life stood out before me as a rejection of Wisdom, of Goodness, in the name of ambition, as a complete giving of oneself to Evil. For I had seen how slowly, day by day, he had been destroyed by evil, and how evil had killed all those who stood near him. He had simply sunk deeper and deeper into the black chasm of the lie, of fury and pride. And in that chasm he at last had smothered to death.

I tried to show this downward trend of his soul in my *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, which had been written shortly after my baptism and under its strong influence. This, my first effort at writing, was to me like a confession, and it also served to cleanse me of the memory of what had been.

When I was writing the *Twenty Letters*, the words of the priest who had baptized me were constantly with me: "Do not judge your father. A higher judgment has already been passed on him: during his lifetime he raised himself too high, now there's nothing left of his glory. God straightens out and corrects what is wrong. But you can't, you are the daughter."

And I tried not to *judge* but to *show* how that to which my father had given his life had destroyed

him. At the peak of his glory and power he had experienced neither happiness nor satisfaction; instead, he was tormented by an eternal fear. Having created a void around himself, he then had led up a blinding alley all those who had gone on blindly believing in him.

A man is judged by history, by life, and by the highest justice of all. To us the Lord gives the strength to understand and accept the justice of the sentence. But no one can take away from me the right to have my own opinion of the so-called "Epoch of Stalinism." It had come to me at too great a price, had been reached through hardship and pain, and cleansed in tears. . .

In prisons and concentration camps many men and women preserved their integrity and survived because they were religious and were convinced that Truth would triumph in the end. Others, even in prison, continued to believe that "Stalin did err but the Party could do no wrong." I couldn't agree with Communists who, having returned from prison, still clung to their fanatical faith in the "righteousness of the Party's cause." Where was it, this "righteous cause"?

For fifty years the Party had tried to do away with all independent thought in Russia, reduce the intellectual life to nothing, bury the freedoms which had existed under the Czars, render all political activity tasteless to the many millions who had been double-crossed, blinded, and made to slave for a piece of bread. Those half-literate millions had been trained for centuries to suffer and have faith in the justice of their "little father" the Czar, to bow their heads before the yoke and the knout. As the great poet Pushkin wrote with bitter irony in his day:

Graze no, ye peaceful sheep and cattle.

The call of honour cannot grip

Or charm you into freedom's battle.



Woman being tried by court of "People's Judges." Trial by jury is unknown.

For you — the knife, the shearer's clipl
Your heritage — the herdsman's rattle,
The yoke, the chain, the crover's whip!*

The Revolution, basing itself on Karl Marx, gave the nation a new cross and a new throne. When the bloodiest of wars had come to an end, my father, in all sincerity, thanked the Russian people for their *patience*.

And well he might, for what other nation would ever have stood for this new yoke, this new Czar!

"The yoke . . . the rattle": sputniks, festivals, jubilees, and consciousness drowned in vodka every occasion: "We are the greatest!" "We are the best, the fastest, the foremost! We shall overtake and conquer everyone!"

When the Party needed atom bomb or a sputnik, nothing was spared, and the talent, in which Russia still abounds, conjured up what was needed, in such cases everything was forgotten: Jewish, German, noble origins, all forgiven. No matter who the creator, the Leader showered him with dachas, automobiles, prizes. But the recipients of such generosity and munificence were obliged to live under the strictest police supervision. Their names were kept a secret from their own people as well as from the rest of the world. And these captive creators were never allowed to know the joys of a well-deserved glory.

I had known some of them. Their position never changed even after 1953. Talented, charming people, who had brought fame and might to their country, lived like recluses. Not only were they forbidden to go abroad; they were not even permitted to meet in Moscow such innocent foreigners as the Indians. No one ever heard of the numerous secret prizes and decorations they had received. The most insignificant government official high-hatted them, little suspecting that he should be bowing and taking his hat off in their presence.

The government exploited brains when it needed them. Not a single Jew worked within the apparatus of the Central Committee — those were executive jobs. But when information was required on economics, foreign policies, philosophy, then such work as done for that same Central Committee by specialists — Jews. They merely supplied the information; they were never called in to discuss and decide. Often they signed their articles in magazines with Russian pseudonyms. Of course, compared with 1952, when they were about to be exiled from Moscow, even this represented an advance. But that was about the full measure of progress in the U.S.S.R. up to this day.

And when a talented young man with a special diplomatic education had been singled out for work in the Soviet Embassy in the U.S., Minister Gromyko turned his candidacy down for one reason only: a

Jew. This happened in the year 1966, not in 1952!

"The Party's righteous actions?" Oh no! I could sooner agree with those who affirmed that the events of October 1917 had been a fatal, tragic mistake. Such a conclusion was far closer to what I felt as a result of everything I had seen with my newly opened eyes, of everything in history, which I had to learn all over again from the very beginning.

My own life in the Party was unsuccessful. In general, political activities are not much in my line, and in the U.S.S.R. they amounted to just a "semblance of activities," to idle talk at meetings. I was forced to join the Party in 1951 after many reproaches that it was "unseemly for the daughter of such a man to remain outside the ranks of the CPSU." I joined and paid my dues, silently sat for hours at meetings. Only twice in all that time was I moved to stand up and speak.

The first time was in 1954 (this was still before the Twentieth Congress) when the Party's criticism had fallen on Ilya Ehrenburg for his novella, *The Thaw*, in which for the first time mention was made of the U.S.S.R. and of the thaw that had come since 1954. Ehrenburg was accused of presenting Soviet life in "much too dark a color, and of imitating "Western patterns." I stood up and said that I could not understand in what way Ehrenburg was to blame, when our own Party's press admitted the mistakes of the past, and innocent people, wrongly condemned, were returning from prisons.

Professor A.S. Myasnikov, the Party's well-known exponent of Gorky's works." Myasnikov's book about Gorky's writings was an example of how history was a "corrected," a regular habit in the U.S.S.R.: Gorky's criticism of the Revolution, of the Bolsheviks and Lenin was not to be found in Myasnikov's book.

The second occasion on which I stood up and spoke was even less successful. It happened in 1966 (ten years after the Twentieth Congress), when a regression to former methods had become discernible. The shameful trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel had just taken place, with its sentences of seven and five years in concentration camps. In the Institute of World Literature, the leadership and the Party committee started a campaign, not against protesters, but against those who had dared abstain from approving the sentences, who in some form or other had sympathized with the condemned, and who, knowing Sinyavsky for many years, still considered him an outstanding literary critic. A witchhunt was started against all those who had refused to sign an official letter to the *Literary Gazette* approving the court sentences. A certain research worker in the Institute, who had publicly expressed his gratitude to Sinyavsky for his help, was struck off the list and eventually expelled from the Party. Older members of the Institute said that the sickening atmosphere reminded them too much of 1937.

I protested at a Party meeting, saying that it

* *Poems of Pushkin*, selected and interpreted by Henry Jones, New York, Citadel Press, 1965.

was shameful to treat members of the Institute in this way; that the trial had been a mistake; that with writers one had to speak professionally as one of them, and how was this to be done if we were not even allowed to read their works? We had no right to throw groundless political accusations in the faces of our colleagues; and in conclusion I said that everyone was free to sign or not to sign any declaration, no matter what it might be.

The meeting was tempestuous. It lasted two days. Many supported me, but the Director of the Institute, Professor I.I. Anisimov, accused us all of "political immaturity." In literary circles the "politically nature" Ivan Ivanovich Anisimov had been long since nicknamed "Vanka-Cain" for his betrayal in 1937 of numerous fellow writers.

The ugliest feature of Soviet life was the endless dissimulation and double-facedness infused into the Soviet people from their schoolroom days, so that it became almost second nature. People not belonging to the Party were never heard, they were not called upon to express an opinion; but Party members and Komsomols were in duty bound to stand up and express themselves. It had become a habit with them to express one opinion aloud while convinced of something quite different. And the same man half an hour later, would be telling friends in the corridors his real opinion.

What an ominous return to the past this closed trial of the writers had been, and all the circumstances surrounding it! I couldn't bear to remain any longer in the Institute. In the summer of 1966 I left it, to the delight of the directors.

Now I was at home, without a "collective," alone with my children and with a hopelessly ill Brajesh Singh.

This man had brought into my life the real wisdom of India, the kind I had read about. I long ago fallen under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi's life, for whom nonviolence and "persistence in truth" were not only an abstract teaching — Indian philosophy had taught it for thousands of years — but an everyday mode of life. When living India entered my home, I learned the real meaning of "Harm not thy neighbor." And again I thought about those two Communists — Brajesh Singh and my father.

What two approaches to life could have differed more drastically? The tolerance of one, the dogmatism of the other: calm and fear, trust and suspiciousness, modesty and ambition, forgiveness and revenge, kindness and wrath, the strength of the spirit and the strength of arms — Singh's character, his life, his death, were not only an antithesis but also a challenge to the entire bureaucratic system of the Soviet State. That is why that State rose up against this harmless, quiet man. He died, but he won.

He vanquished them all forever in my heart, and in the hearts of many who had known him in Moscow. No! Khrushchev could never explain any-

thing to me, and he wasn't able to free me from the past. The kindly wisdom of India liberated me from my spiritual bondage. All that was left to do was to cut myself off from physical and formal ties.

Nothing had been more terrifying in the U.S.S.R. than when, with the removal of Khrushchev, people sensed a reverse movement, a rolling back toward norms more habitual and convenient to those in power. Once again I would hear, "Your father was a great man! Just wait, he will be remembered yet!" The government suddenly became interested in how I lived; Kossygin and Suslov insisted that I return to the "collective," declaring that now I would be "treated differently." But this "different treatment" was just what I feared most, having been all too familiar with it in the past.

Shortly before my departure for India the directress of the Stalin Museum in Georgia came to see me, proud that Brezhnev had sanctioned the reopening of the museum. In the presence of this poor woman, whose joy I was unable to share, I felt embarrassed. I felt embarrassed. I understood too well that if Brezhnev succeeded in "reinstating Stalin's merits," it would be disastrous not just for the U.S.S.R. but for the world.

The directress continued to exult, inviting me to stay at her house in Gori, while I vividly pictured to myself what would be going on all around me if I did. I felt sorry for her and for other Georgians, still drugged by the lie which at a distance had a majestic appearance, easily acceptable to simple souls. This was well understood by conservatives in the Central Committee: they hoped to play on just such feelings.

And unfortunately not conservatives alone. To my astonishment even Mikoyan — that same Mikoyan who had given me Khrushchev's speech to read — had now forgotten what he himself had said at the Twentieth Congress. During the summer of 1966 he invited me with my children to his dacha and several times, during dinner, spoke of my father in warm, conciliatory terms. And when we were leaving, he brought out a large bundle and gave it to my Katie, saying, "Here's a present for you — a rug. You can hang it up on your wall." At home we unrolled the rug: woven into it was a portrait of my father. Katie looked embarrassed and was glad when I rolled it up and put it away. In her consciousness my father existed neither as a grandfather nor a "Great Leader". She had not been taught anything like that.

It was hard for my father's former comrades-in-arms to forget the past. Together they had created all that later they had called a "cult of personality." Together they had crushed the opposition, shut their eyes when comrades were being destroyed. They had supported the "cult" because it spelled power for them, too. And how reluctant they were to lose that power! Hence their inability to write an authentic history of the Party: it would have re-

vealed their appalling nakedness.

How unanimously they all threw themselves on Solzhonitsyn in order to silence him about his one day: *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich!* How scared they were that the whole world would learn of the thousand days in the lives of millions of other martyrs!

The eleven years of Khrushchev's rule will be remembered for his effort to call things by their real names. The timid half-efforts of this vital, jolly, pigheaded man broke the silence of many years. The ice broke and was on the move. No one could stop it now. More and more the angry waters of the river could be seen through the widening fissures. . .

It was more difficult for me than for the rank-and-file Stalinists to free myself of myths and lies. All that the term implied had always been alien to me. But it was hard for me to realize what my father had really done to Russia, simply because such a realization was too terrifying for me. And the deeper I saw into the truth, the more shattering it became. Even when I had already learned a good deal, it still seemed to me for a long time that my father had been a victim of this horror rather than its author and perpetrator.

No, others were its victims. Millions of them. My mother among them. He gave his name to this bloodbath of absolute dictatorship. He knew what he was doing. He was neither insane nor misled. With cold calculation he had cemented his own power, afraid of losing it more than of anything else in the world. And so his first concentrated drive had been the liquidation of his enemies and rivals. The rest followed later. In postrevolutionary Russia he had resurrected the absolutism, terror, prisons, bureaucratic government officials and police of over a hundred years ago, and had revived the chauvinism and imperialistic foreign policy of the Imperial Government. In a country in which democracy in 1917 had turned out to be a miscarriage of history and had died at its inception, such actions only served to strengthen his power and glory. In England, France, America, nothing of the kind could ever have sprung into being. Totalitarian ideologies create totalitarian regimes, and in this sense Communism doesn't differ in any way from Fascism.

It was this kind of force that had seized power in 1917. My father was the instrument of this ideology. Lenin laid the foundation for a one-party sys-

tem, for terror and the inhuman suppression of all dissenters. He was the true father of everything that Stalin later developed to its furthest limits. All efforts to whiten Lenin and make a saint of him are useless: fifty years of history tell a different story. Stalin did not discover or devise anything new. Having inherited from Lenin a totalitarian Communist regime, he became its ideal embodiment, the most complete personification of power without democracy, built on the suppression of millions of human lives. And those who managed to survive physically were reduced to slavery, deprived of the right to create and think. In this land, enslaved and half-choked to death, leaning on a cowardly and mute clique of accomplices, he created his own version of pseudo Socialism. And an old witticism of the twenties became incarnate truth: To build Socialism — *you can*, but to live in it — *you cannot*. The construction of this half-prison, half-barracks was the sum total of my father's "great historical merits."

Once this had fully sunk in, there was no way back. It became impossible to shut my eyes to all that went on around me. And it was not enough simply to condemn, then wash my hands and step aside. It was easy to condemn Stalinism as a political phenomenon and a period in history — it was too repulsive. No, I had to do something myself, live differently. In the U.S.S.R. shades of the past always surrounded me in a vicious circle. But here, in India, it became clear that if I found the strength not to go back, therein would lie my salvation, and only then would another life be mine for the taking. Fate itself had laid the choice before me. . .

I fully understood that for me this meant a point of no return to Communism in general. So much the better! My position would be infinitely more honest than it could ever have been in the U.S.S.R. There, a "collective" would again be awaiting me. To go back and openly break with the Party, to criticize and protest, would only mean ruining the lives of my children. On the other hand, secret underground activities, conspiracies, cloak-and-dagger existences have always repelled me.

No, I could only live and act in the open, as a free person, and in such a way as to have my children completely separated from me, bearing no responsibility for my actions. . .

For me all this was possible only outside the U.S.S.R.

ANNOUNCEMENT

With profound regret, we are announcing that the Secretariat is issuing the Bulletin VOL. 5, NO. 3 as March-April Edition with special coverage on Ukraine.

— Secretariat. WACL —

**Disertación del Dr. Apeles E. Márquez,
Presidente de la Federación Argentina de
Entidades Democráticas Anticomunistas,
el Día de la Libertad en Argentina,
23 de enero de 1971**



Dr. Apeles E. Márquez

Como acaba de hacerlo el Exmo. Sr. Embajador de la República de China, con esta Conferencia de Prensa se desea que se hagan eco los medios informativos del país, del significado del día 23 de Enero, denominado "Día de la Libertad" que se rememora anualmente de acuerdo a resolución de la Liga Anticomunista Mundial, por haber sido en esa fecha que a 23,000 habitantes de Corea del Norte que eligieron la Libertad, se les permitió dejar ese país comunista bajo un programa especial de la ONU.

En el hecho de tal liberación gravitó fundamentalmente el Gobierno de la República de China, que, bajo la conducción brillante del Generalísimo Chiang Kai Shek, se ha convertido en emporio de progreso y bienestar para el pueblo chino libre; y también, en "tierra de promisión" para muchos que pudieron escapar y siguen escapando de otros países del Asia caídos en garras de los de la hoz y el martillo. Al par que con su ejército, que en parte vive instalado bajo tierra en la isla de Quemoi, llamada "Fortaleza de la Libertad", contienen a las bestias de Mao Tse Tung con sacrificios que los seres libres del Orbe tenemos que reconocer y agradecer justiciara y ardientemente.

Como miembros que somos en la Federación Argentina de Entidades Democráticas Anticomunistas (FAEDA) de la Liga Anticomunista Mundial (WACL), hemos recibido de su Presidente Honorario Vitalicio, Dr. Ku Cheng Kang y del actual Presidente de la Liga, Sr. Osami Kuboki, de Japón, sendas comunicaciones para que intensifiquemos nuestra campaña contra la ofensiva roja de China comunista.

Es por ello que aprovechamos esta oportunidad para expresar que el "Día de la Libertad" lo es, no sólo por lo dicho respecto a los coreanos liberados, sino porque tiene alcance universal siendo símbolo del deseo de los pueblos libres, entre los que se encuentra todavía el nuestro, para que apoyen la liberación de los sojuzgados por los déspotas imperialistas de Moscú, Pekín, La Habana y demás satélites y colonias bolcheviques que como afirmó Brezhnev cuando invadieron Checoslovaquia en 1968, no son países soberanos sino dependientes de los jefes de turno en el Kremlin; situación en la

que lamentablemente ha caído, aunque los cómplices o idiotas útiles no lo quieran aún ver, Chile, donde ya se está permitiendo la invasión masiva de su territorio por "misiones" y "delegaciones" disfrazadas con toda clase de máscaras, de Cuba, Corea del Norte, Nor Vietnam, Rusia, China roja y de incontables agentes y activistas foráneos, cuyo objetivo es ahorrarse a los desgraciados chilenos que, dentro de poco, estarán despojados de los derechos humanos, esclavizados, miserables y rotos, cual nunca lo estuvieron, y serán sometidos a "trabajos forzados" como ya se ha anunciado que será facultad de los "tribunales populares" imponerles, para explotarlos en beneficio de las minorías oligárquicas de gangsters, asesinos y ladrones que mandan detrás de las cortinas de hierro, de bambú, de la caña de azúcar y, ahora, allende los Andes y costas del Pacífico Sur.

Cuba, de donde ha emigrado ya más del 10% y siguen emigrando los cubanos a pesar de que les roban todo y no los dejan salir más que con lo puesto en los llamados "Vuelos de la Libertad", Miami, o por todos los otros medios que les es posible, aún a riesgo de perder la vida, tratando de ir a refugiarse a los Estados Unidos, significa un peligro cada vez más grave para el Hemisferio, pues el bandido, invertido sexual y drogadicto Fidel Castro y sus compinches, la han transformado en una isla de los rusos y chinos que se han instalado allí con sus armas y tropas, y mandan como los dueños que son porque para ello pagan a Castro y su pandilla un millón de dólares por día.

Ahora vemos la situación agravada terriblemente con la formación del Eje Cuba-Chile que, en definitiva tiene que desencadenar la guerra contra las demás naciones de América que no se enrolen en ese Eje. No en vano vemos hoy a Chile convertida en la mayor cloaca o estercolero de América, donde se recibe, se alimenta y se da refugio a los más conspicuos criminales rojos, desde un Regis Debray por quien vaya a saber cuánto cobraron en Bolivia para ponerlo en libertad entre "gallos y medias noches", hasta los 70 que acaba de soltar Brasil en canje por el Embajador suizo.

No podemos en esta ocasión extendernos sobre estos particulares. Pero sí — para concluir — recorda-

**Discurso del Exmo. Sr. Tuan Mau-Lan,
Embajador de la República de China
en ocasión de celebrarse el Día Mundial
de la Libertad, en Argentina**

Es para mí muy grato el que se me haya invitado a participar de esta reunión, cuya celebración, dadas las actuales condiciones internacionales, no podía ser más oportuna. La tendencia al apaciguamiento, o a ignorar los peligros que para las naciones libres representa el comunismo, nos obliga a redoblar nuestros esfuerzos para crear en esas mismas naciones la conciencia de la amenaza que pende sobre su presente y su futuro.

Debemos recordarles que hace 17 años, al término de la guerra de Corea, más de 14,000 chinos y más de 8,000 nordcoreanos, que habían sido hechos prisioneros por las Fuerzas de las Naciones Unidas, prefirieron abandonar cuanto tenían en sus lares natales para buscar la libertad en el territorio libre. Esa fecha, 23 de enero, fue primero el Día de la Libertad en la República de China y, posteriormente, desde diciembre de 1968, y por la decisión de la segunda Conferencia plenaria de la Liga Mundial Anticomunista, reunida en Saigón con representantes de más de 60 naciones y de más de 20 organizaciones anticomunistas, se convirtió en el Día Mundial de la Libertad.

Creer que la distancia geográfica o que la promoción del comercio puedan poner un freno eficaz a la expansión y la agresión comunistas es totalmente ilusorio. Los períodos que median entre agresiones armadas desembozadas por parte de los comunistas, no son sino hitos estratégicos durante los cuales se acelera la infiltración ideológica, tomando como base de acción a aquellos países que, creyendo

en la coexistencia pacífica, abren sus puertas a pseudo-diplomáticos, cuya misión es establecer las células que corroerán a esa nación y a sus vecinos.

Es menester, en esta cruzada que nos une, advertir a aquellos países que toman compromisos con Mao Tse-Tung y comercian con él, que sus acciones perjudican y hacen peligrar los principios de la libertad y la propia Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Que se debe estar muy atento ante los preparativos que está realizando Mao para llevar la agresión contra todo el mundo, y que todo el mundo libre debe formar una sólida frontera común y unida que desbarate los planes y la estrategia comunistas para esclavizar al mundo.

Dos son los ideales que han hecho del hombre el rey de la creación: la libertad y el amor. Por eso, los profetas del odio y la esclavitud han tenido reinados efímeros. En el curso de este siglo hemos asistido al crecimiento y al apogeo del comunismo que, como ensayo social es el más costoso, doloroso y trágico fracaso en la historia de la humanidad. Actualmente estamos asistiendo a su decadencia y, muy pronto, asistiremos también a su desintegración total.

Pongamos, pues, nuestro grano de arena para que este proceso se acelere y podamos llevar al tan ansiada bendición de la libertad a ese cuarto de la humanidad que sufre bajo las despiadadas cadenas de la esclavitud comunista.

Muchas gracias.

mos que el periodista Eudocio Ravines, fundador del partido comunista chileno y dependiente por años de Kremlin hasta que renegó al comprender que el comunismo es "La Gran Estafa", como lo explicó en su conocido libro del mismo nombre publicado en el año 1952, concluyó tal libro con el siguiente párrafo de permanente actualidad:

"En América Latina falta conciencia lucida del peligro. Florecen las peores formas de apacigua-

miento y la más estafalaria fauna de apaciguadores. Se rehusa aceptar la aplastante y compacta conclusión de los hechos de nuestros días: no sólo es que Rusia quiere la guerra, prepara la guerra, está movilizad para la guerra y está desarrollando su propia manera de hacer la guerra. Es que hoy EL COMUNISMO ES LA GUERRA. Y es a esta verdad dura y repugnante a la que todo hombre libre tiene que hacer frente sin remedio en los días que vendrán".

SE REUNIO EN TOKIO LA IV CONFERENCIA INTERNACIONAL DE LA WACL

A fines del año pasado, Tokio fue la sede de la IV Conferencia Internacional de la Liga Anticomunista Mundial (WACL), entidad que fundada en el año 1954, viene llevando a cabo una valiente labor de esclarecimiento y de lucha contra el enemigo declarado de la civilización occidental que es el comunismo soviético, cada vez más peligroso y amenazador por su política de conquista ideológica primero y luego, válido de su inmenso poder material, de sometimiento de aquellos pueblos que tienen la desgracia de caer bajo su férula.

Interesante es consignar que esa organización, que es un baluarte defensivo de la libertad, se sostiene sin la ayuda de los países libres; son sus adherentes que van en aumento, quienes con sacrificio soportan el inmenso esfuerzo de la lucha contra un enemigo tan poderoso cuya meta bien conocida es la de conquistar el mundo entero. Esa asamblea fue en verdad una movilización de las fuerzas de la libertad. Se señaló en un mensaje que: *"La presente es una década crítica si nos dormimos y, satisfechos de nosotros mismos, abandonamos la lucha, las hordas comunistas sencillamente nos llevarán por delante y esclavizarán el mundo entero. Debemos movilizarnos ahora — nuestra cultura, nuestras políticas, nuestra diplomacia, nuestra educación, nuestros medios masivos de comunicación y nuestras fuerzas militares — para lograr la libertad del mundo."* Cerrándose con esta rotunda afirmación: *"La libertad es un don precioso; debemos ser dignos de ella si queremos seguir siendo libres."*

Fueron leídos numerosos mensajes de dirigentes de países enrolados en la cruzada anticomunista mundial a través de cuyas palabras se destaca la urgencia de unir voluntades y medios para que la lucha emprendida pueda dar los resultados esperados y que la humanidad estera reclama.

Hizo una detallada exposición de las condiciones en que se encuentran muchos pueblos, especialmente en Asia, frente al comunismo destacando los esfuerzos de ciudadanos e instituciones defensores de la libertad concordantes con el pensamiento y la acción de la Liga para enfrentar al terrible enemigo, adquiriendo sus palabras especial patetismo cuando dijo que "La Liga tiene que estar

compuesta por hombres y organizaciones resueltos no sólo a vivir en libertad, sino a poner en libertad a más o menos un billón de personas sometidas a la servidumbre por los comunistas". La única institución de resonancia universal que reta a la lucha sin cuartel anticomunista es precisamente la Liga Anticomunista Mundial, que debe recibir el apoyo moral, personal y también financiero para cumplir sus irrenunciabiles finalidades de defender la libertad, la dignidad y los derechos más sagrados de hombres y pueblos.

Fue el doctor Apeles E. Márquez, que presidió la delegación de Argentina ante esa asamblea. Después de referirse al cuadro que ofrece en el ámbito latinoamericano la penetración comunista con sus crímenes, secuestros, asaltos y delitos de toda índole, dijo que "nuestros países están sufriendo cada día más intensamente el vandalismo de los agentes y asesinos asalariados de la funesta conspiración". Propongo, dijo cerrando su discurso, "la pronta creación de una fuerte Organización Anticomunista Regional, desde México hasta el Polo Sur, de modo que unidos podamos oponernos sin desmayo a los proyectos de los bolcheviques que buscan convertir a nuestros países en nuevas colonias o satélites por medio del castrismo, que existe en todas partes, incluyendo las filas políticas y aun miembros de gobiernos".

Un discurso que impresionó a la asamblea fue el pronunciado por Juanita Castro, hermana del dictador cubano. Constituyó una emotiva pieza a través de cuyas palabras, quien tenía, dijo, sobrados motivos para conocer perfectamente bien lo que había ocurrido en su patria; el drama que en ella hoy se vive, que pintó con elocuentes palabras, y por ende el deber que de señalar a América toda y al mundo el inmenso peligro que representa para su futuro la expansión del comunismo.

Se dieron a conocer, al finalizar las reuniones de esta IV Asamblea, el texto de las 33 resoluciones que se aprobaron, de entre las que destacamos especialmente las siguientes:

- Se fijaron los principios orientadores de la lucha por la libertad en la década del 70.
- Se insta al mundo libre a superar, unido la crisis del sudeste de Asia.
- Se refirma la oposición a la entrada de China Roja en las Naciones Unidas.
- Promover la solidaridad mundial de la juven-

LA SUBVERSION DE ALLENDE

por Juanita Castro

Lo que va a hacer el comunista Salvador Allende en Chile no es un secreto, ni es una interrogación, ni será un sistema marxista constitucional o diferente a los conocidos.

Tanto Salvador Allende como sus ministros y voceros están declarando públicamente lo que fueron, son y serán.

Nadie, pues, debe llamarse a engaño ni pensar, ingenuamente, que lo de Chile será más moderado o distinto.

El propio Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile, Clodomiro Almeyda, acaba de confesar que los propósitos del Gobierno de Allende *son los mismos* que los planes subversivos de la organización "OLAS" que se organizó en La Habana en el año 1967, con la finalidad de extender la revolución fideło-comunista a las demás naciones de las Américas.

Como consecuencia de la organización subversiva "OLAS", se produjo la invasión del aventurero internacional Ernesto "Che" Guevara y los oficiales cubanos que lo acompañaban en territorio de Bolivia.

Como consecuencia de la organización comunista "OLAS", se están produciendo constantemente secuestros de naves aéreas, diplomáticos y asesinatos de funcionarios públicos.

Como consecuencia de la organización "OLAS", una ola de terror invade al Continente desde el Norte hasta el Sur.

En la creación de "OLAS" participaron agentes del comunismo internacional destinados a apoyar

las tácticas de la violencia, sin que por ello fueran a desechar cualquier otra oportunidad de ocupar el poder, como es típico de la "doble cara" que emplean los marxistas.

Salvador Allende y Clodomiro Almeyda fueron los delegados chilenos a la conferencia de "OLAS" que se efectuó en La Habana.

El actual Presidente de Chile, Salvador Allende, fue el Presidente de "OLAS" en Chile. También era el Presidente del Senado. Con esos dos cargos, amparó y dirigió a elementos terroristas, entre ellos a los invasores cubanos que acompañaron al "Che" Guevara a Bolivia. Ya Chile es una puerta de entrada para los agentes de la subversión preconizada por la organización "OLAS" que tiene su dirección central en Cuba. A esa organización subversiva pertenece Allende. Del Régimen agresivo de Fidel recibe instrucciones y órdenes precisas.

La organización "OLAS" antes contaba con el Presidente del Senado de Chile. Ahora cuenta con el Presidente de la nación chilena. Ha sido una conquista, una presa territorial lograda por un agente de la "OLAS".

En el Régimen de Cuba Comunista y en esta organización, está la raíz de la ... *ola de terrorismo* que azota al Continente.

Por eso no me canso de repetir y denunciar que mientras permanezca en el poder Fidel y el sistema marxista que lo acompaña, habrá nuevas *olas de terror* en las naciones de las Américas, y el ejemplo malo de Cuba no servirá de lección.

tud para asegurar un mejor porvenir a la humanidad.

- Condenar el secuestro de aviones, de naves, de personas, asesinatos y otros crímenes.
- Llamar la atención sobre el reciente Tratado Soviético-Alemán (12/8/70).
- Formas y medios para llevar a la práctica las resoluciones de la Conferencia.
- Pedir ayuda a los países en desarrollo.
- Buscar medios para eliminar las condiciones que crean el comunismo.
- Apelar al Consejo Americano de Libertad Mundial para que fortalezca sus vínculos con la Liga Anticomunista Mundial.

Se condenaron, además, todos los actos de vio-

lencia y de avasallamiento de países libres; el régimen de cautividad de los países satélites y la agresividad ideológica y militar de la URSS en procura de sus planes de sometimiento.

Tal ha sido en sus grandes rasgos la labor cumplida por esta calificada reunión de decididos luchadores contra el comunismo llevada a cabo en Japon, país que acogió a los delegados y rodeó a la reunión de los mismos de particular simpatía, expresión de su repudio al enemigo común de nuestra civilización occidental, que para defenderla y salvarla, necesita la solidaridad y la acción conjunta de los pueblos libres del mundo, que con tanta oportunidad se postuló en la asamblea que acabamos de reseñar.

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

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Before the United Nations Ukrainian youth demonstrate against the Russian extermination of Ukrainian freedom-fighters, 1970.