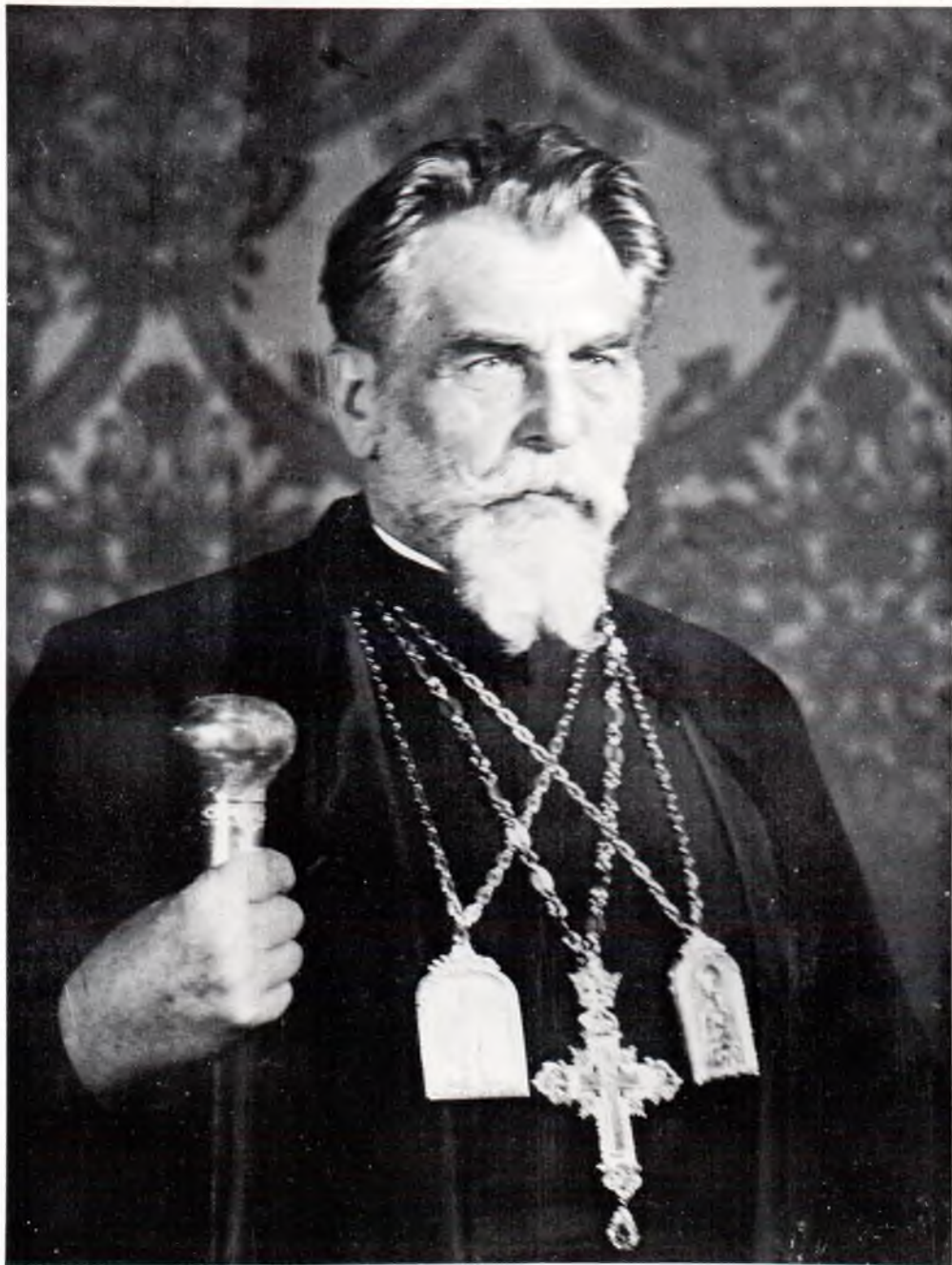




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His Eminence Josyf Cardinal Slipyi, the Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who spent 18 years in Russian prisons and concentration camps.

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Painting by Victor Cymbal

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The Present Stage of the Liberation Struggle of the Subjugated Nations

The present state of the revolutionary liberation struggle in the subjugated countries is marked by the ideological and political mobilization of the broad popular masses for the anti-Russian and anti-Communist drive for independence. It is an ideological, political, cultural and religious struggle, the goal of which is the self-assertion of the national quality, independent formulation of the national substance of each subjugated nation, as an antipod to the Russian essence. This is taking place within the plan of ideological unity, the unanimity of political guidelines for action, with loose technical links of the type uniting like-minded people and the most extreme underground which must not necessarily have a single, centralized organization in the subjugated countries, but must have an ideological and political programme and platform.

There are two forms of resistance and struggle — semi-legal and underground. With respect to the former it is mandatory to state: it is made up of fighters who have dedicated themselves, as banners of courage, character, and adherence to principles, real and personified. In the process of liberation struggle this is an inevitable heroic self-sacrifice in order to stir the people, in order to show that fear has been broken, that heroes are possible in the system of total "enlightened" and brutal terror of the KGB. It must be frankly stated that Mykhaylo Soroka, Alla Horska and others like them are heroes and beacons. They have broken the ice, the glacial period in the history of Ukraine of the last decades, of course, with the foundation of the actions of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the entire nation, with the foundation of the nationwide insurrection of 1942-1953 and later, i.e. revolts and strife in concentration camps.

With respect to the second complex, the underground complex, it is expedient to mention that it not only exists and acts, but that it is a stimulant in the processes taking on many appearances. Contacts with it from abroad have the aim of its reinforcement and development.

Furthermore, we must give them. We must be strong in our action here, in our self-sacrifice and thus win the confidence of the community. We must

defend the subjugated nations here, give them all-round assistance, act on the international forum. We must be strong ourselves, giving them first of all and not counting on receiving from them. We must give them conceptual, political, technical, material, humanitarian and foreign aid, risking our lives more than theirs . . . This is a general guideline of what must and can be said . . .

The essence of the struggle of the present state of struggle is an effective realization of two contrasting worlds: that of the subjugated nations and of the Russian one. Its aim is the preparation of the inevitability of an armed clash of the contradictory national organisms. Therefore, it is not necessary to conceal numerous actions when they are to lead to a nationwide uprising. Historicity, a reference to the past, respect and defense of traditions, the evoking of patriotism by subjects from by-gone days, and their association with the present are intended to awaken state patriotism of every subjugated nation, pointing to the attributes of sovereign statehood in the past which directly contradicts the existence of statehood at the present, but encourages to fight for it.

A direct formulation of goals, the crystallization of new leaders from the actions (Novocherkask, Vorkuta) show the people the possibility of struggle and the direction of its goals. Parallel to the type of leaders of the underground, with weapons in their hands is the type of unarmed leader having only the will, the idea, the enthusiasm, the character which he contrasts to the armed tyrant. This is the highest quality of the Christian type of leader. The motto for Morozes and Horskas of our days is, in the words of Ukrainian philosopher Skovoroda, not to spare the body so as not to lose the soul. Their philosophy of heroic activism. "Spiritual death" comes when a knight avoids a struggle and fails to fulfil the inner duty imposed on him. This is a "horrible death". Thus died those Cossacks who became noblemen instead of defending the Sich (the stronghold of the Zaporizhian Cossacks), the liberty, the honor and the truth of Ukraine. A sword, said Skovoroda 250 years ago, is not the only weapon. More important is the spirit which guides the hand, more important is the cause of God which the

knight serves. Moroz is such a warrior. Such warriors are also those recently imprisoned. This is responsible for the strengthening of the cult of Skovoroda in Ukraine. The self-immolation of Vasyl Makukh, the fighter of OUN-UPA in Kyiv in 1968, the attempted self-immolation of Beryslavskiy, the self-immolation of a Ukrainian, Didyk, in Moscow in front of the KGB headquarters and the monument to Dzerzhynsky, these acts are the imitation of the proud death of the Cossacks on Polish battlefields, or of Bayda Vyshnevetskyi, the founder of the Zaporizhian Sich, on the hook in Istanbul. Other examples of this are the Czech, Jan Palach, the Lithuanian, Roman Talanta, and another Lithuanian youth whose name has not been made public. This voluntary martyrdom, as part of the plan of national struggle, serves the same purpose as did the singing of the immortal, victorious Christians among the agitated lions of Diocletian. There is no faith, said Moroz, when there are no martyrs. In the category of moral influence on the renaissance and renewal of the nation, this is an unexampled Golgotha which brings Resurrection.

And this is the very quality which the subjugated nations need at present. This is an inexhaustible torch. In comparison to this, what is the deed of Mucius Scaevola, which we study for two thousand years already, Makukh, Palach and Talanta are that type of standard bearers whom the nation not only does not forget, but who create and rejuvenate it. The likes of Moroz were brought up on the likes of Makukh. Unusually significant is the fact that the spiritual element is being particularly stressed in the contemporary revolutionary liberation struggle. It is characteristic that the Ukrainian cultural revolution, for instance, is portrayed in the works of Ukraine's authors not as a destruction of any values of this type, but as a development of inherent Ukrainian spiritual values, linked to the millennial traditions of spiritual creativity, as it is seen by Moroz.

The political aspect of struggle in the cultural field means the creation of preconditions for creativity, based on the millennium of independent spiritual existence of the nation. Destruction means the driving out of the occupant. It means the acquiring of political power for the nation as a precondition for all types of development. Under conditions of foreign occupation it is impossible to develop national culture based on the thousand-year-old creativity of the nation, on traditions which the enemy is destroying. In order to facilitate the development of a nation's own, national culture, stemming from the millennial creativity of the nation, it is necessary for the subjugated nation to take over political power. With the nation's assumption of power, it can develop its own culture. Essential is the problem of power, and not only the problem of freedom, the problem of religious dogma, and not

the relativism of values. Freedom for everyone is not power. Power is a prerequisite of freedom for all members of the subjugated nation and it is not identical with freedom. The Ukr. SSR is not a state. Ukraine had been a state in the princely and Cossack era, for instance. The Zaporizhian Sich was a state, a Cossack Military Christian Republic, a Maltese Order in the Orthodox world — the only one of its kind. The Ukr. SSR does not possess the attributes of a state, similar to those of the state of Grand Prince Svyatoslav, or those of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. A nation's development depends on its own state, on its possessions. There were no illiterates in Ukraine, when it had its own state, writes Ivan Dzyuba.

A mobilizing slogan in the strategy of revolution is not to remodel the Ukr. SSR into the Ukrainian Sovereign United State, i.e. a colony into a state. Revolution does not know half-slogans. Hence, there is no state. It must be achieved. For a Ukrainian who is fighting for statehood, the Ukr. SSR is not a state but a colony . . . All is clear. A state must be won, i.e. POWER must be won for the Ukrainian people. This is a mobilizing slogan, while to help Shcherbytskyi, Shelest or Ovcharenko win "relief" is not. This is not the way revolution is carried out. Revolutionary slogans must be clear and non-controversial. They cannot be half-and-half. They cannot entangle the people in the chaos of evolutionary development from the Ukr. SSR, for instance, via "the satellite status" to the Ukr. Sovereign United State, because that would imply Ukraine's continuation in the orbit of the Russian bloc. This implies a colonial status for Ukraine, no matter how it would be colored. However, Ukraine is a revolutionary problem.

The young generation proceeds systematically within the frame-work of the general slogan KYIV VS. MOSCOW, putting it into effect in diverse ways. It gives every village and town of Ukraine an all-Ukrainian vision linked with a thousand-year-old existence of the Ukrainian nation. The ancient localities of Ukraine with their historic and cultural monuments: Kosmach, Yavoriv, Zhydachiv, Brustury are an inseparable part of the Ukrainian whole. Kosmach becomes a symbol against Babylon, as an national, Soviet world, or the American melting pot . . . Symonenko said: "Be silent Americas and Russias, when I speak with you (Ukraine)," while Yuriy Lypa, the heroic poet of the UPA, without whom it would be hard to imagine writers Yuriy Yanovskyi, Olzhych and Lyaturynska urged in his own way: "Forward, Ukraine! You have heavy feet. The fires of houses smoke from under them: It is not for Russia, nor for Europe to understand your sons".

In the great spontaneous plan of the nation, presumably unconsciously, there appear works in Ukraine which at times bring to the fore the thousand-year-old history of the Ukrainian cultural de-

velopment of individual villages and towns. Moroz elevated Kosmach, mentioned Zhydachiv with its Russian-destroyed ancient Crucifixion, Yavoriv, Brustury — the centers of ancient Ukrainian folk culture and art. "Culture — writes Moroz—means a centuries-long ripening, a process which it is impossible to accelerate. Every revolutionary intervention is ruinous here. Traditions are not created. They create themselves in the course of centuries . . . To create traditions is just as senseless as to make a cultural revolution". As we have already mentioned above, it is the political aspect of revolution in the cultural field which is topical, namely, the removal of foreign rule, which arrests or levels the thousand-year-old process of cultural development of a given nation, based on tradition, while the occupational regime, the Russian enemy, attempts to include his own elements into the process of spiritual creation of the suppressed nation, stifling the original spiritual sources of culture of the subjugated nation. Removing them, taking over political power by the subjugated nation, is part of the revolutionary act in the cultural sector, thus opening a free road to independent cultural growth and creativity of a nation rising to the level of sovereign life.

The emphasis on unity is another fundamental source of action in Ukraine. Poetry and literary and cultural creativity in general about Kyiv, Lviv, Chernivtsi, Uzhhorod, the Lemky and the Hutsul regions, the Volhynia and other Ukrainian parts point to the nation's unity. Denominational differences are disappearing. V. Moroz — an Orthodox from Volhynia — was capable of an unsurpassed formula of religious unity: "Catholicism — he writes — has grown into the living body of the Ukrainian spirituality, has become a national phenomenon" . . . Christianity, the Church, are the basic element of the nation's spirituality. "The main thing is to defend the Church" . . . "Even if a tenth part of a nation remains, but with full-valued spirituality — then this is not fatal yet" . . .

The concept of an armed struggle not only in "To the Kurdish Brother" by the poet Vasyl Symonenko, but also in other works, is important as a projection, as a road to liberation. Insurrection — as a Ukrainian liberational, military concept is being propagated and projected in diverse forms, primarily, of course, in the underground publications of the OUN.

"To Hope or to Act", an essay by the Estonian intellectuals provides an alternative to the march on Prague and Bratislava, by proposing a march of tanks Moscow and Leningrad. The Russians expect such an alternative. In particular, they are filled with anxiety in the face of insurgency and hence, the 1970 maneuvers of KGB troops near Moscow, the chief aim of which was to study the tactic of crushing revolts in concentration camps.

The common front of the subjugated nations, in line with the ABN concepts, as the road to liberation with united forces, "the idea of joining hands with those who are oppressed and who thirst for freedom" as one underground author puts it, is brought out very strongly, in particular by the authors in the native land. We know of poems dedicated to various subjugated nations: Georgian, Byelorussian, Turkestani, Latvian, Armenian, Moldavian. A poet sings praises to the common fate and the common aim, common experiences and a common road . . . A poet in Ukraine . . .

In V. Moroz's formulation about collectivization and industrialization of colonial nature, the national and the social are united, and "de-Christianization, collectivization, industrialization, mass replacement from village to city" are placed side by side. "In Ukrainian history all this was an unprecedented destruction of Ukrainian traditional structures, whose catastrophic results have not yet been fully revealed". The very placing of "de-Christianization" side by side with seemingly economic categories, as for instance collectivization, testifies to the profound understanding of the essence of Ukrainianism by the young generation, as a total quality and value. To speak about the national, the spiritual, and not to speak about the social is nonsense and a contradiction in itself. The social is not the material. The economic is also not exclusively material. A material value, an economic value, is not an evil in itself. As individual decides. His ethical and moral predisposition decides whether an economic value is exploited for good or evil. In one case, drugs further human health, in another, these same components, improperly used, cause death. It is absurd to disregard the economic element, also in the unfolding of a revolution which proceeds in all phases of life. Man's attitude decides as to the good or bad utilization of material value. Atomic energy can benefit mankind, but it can also destroy it. It can bring it Armageddon but it can also further the growth of civilization and improve conditions for cultural development. A human being decides. His spiritual faculty decides. Hence, spiritual revolution is inseparably bound with the manifold national one, including the social revolution, a simultaneous revolutionary process. The above-mentioned simple formula of one of the underground authors provides a concept of a political and cultural revolution as well, or more precisely, a return to the national traditions, the picking up of threads severed by the occupant. Political revolution removes obstacles which prevent the many-faceted self-expression in various spheres of life of the nation, as the highest human society.

The essential meaning of revolution in certain underground authors is the clearing of the field, soiled by Russian mud for unhindered development

of the traditional, original national elements in all phases of national life. Their understanding of the revolutionary spirit essentially boils down to the slogan: "To the sources of Ukrainian spirituality", and when we do return to them — then as a consequence, the national political, social, economic, inherently Ukrainian order will manifest itself. In numerous authors in Ukraine these Ukrainian elements reach back to the pre-Christian era of Ukraine's history. Of course, the realization of the Ukrainian way of life can take place only after the take-over of power by the Ukrainian nation on its own land. But the struggle for statehood must be and is being waged in all fields of life of the nation which contrasts with the enemy not only in the concept of the essence of one sphere of life, but in its entirety. Ukraine stands in opposition to Russia. Two worlds are opposing each other.

Ideas, methods and people are components of the process of liberation. At this stage of the revolutionary liberation struggle, organized by the underground — the revolutionary OUN — ideas and the road to liberation are distinctly visible. Nothing ever happens without people, without the commanding, leading stratum. Who, how, and what for?! — are precisely defined. It is necessary to say a few words about the "who". We have already spoken about the ideological radiation and reflex action of the underground in the complex of the ideo-political mobilization along on lines of a) semi-legal forms, with a spontaneous emission of leaders without weapons, but armed with spirit will power, character and b) underground methods: from 1959 until the present — clashes with the occupant similar to those occurring in Novocherkassk or Donetsk, where a Ukrainian commander of the "pacification" unit refused to fire at the workers and was then himself condemned to execution, later commuted to 25 years of hard labour. In these clashes, as well as in strikes and revolts in concentration camps, new leaders came to the fore, the commanders of an armed struggle, and have manifested themselves as such to the people. There is still another type of leaders — the anonymous leaders of the indestructible underground, the revolutionary OUN, who are the objects of searches, but who are difficult to be caught; yet they are present everywhere and personify the legend of the three letters — OUN. In the great strategy of the rebirth and rising of the nation, some are to encourage the people, serve as an example. In the essay "Among the Snows" Moroz argued that they must prove that Man is stronger than the appalling terror apparatus.

The task of others, as organizers, is to prove to the people that armed struggle has a chance and that the occupant is not always strong enough to quell an uprising. The third must demonstrate to the people the elusiveness of leaders and their omnipresence in spite of the system of the KGB. . .

It is our task to unite ideologically and politically the leading centers of underground activity, to bring to their attention the guide-lines of political and other activity, to give to them and not necessarily to take from them, although it is important to confront ideological and political, programmatic and strategic positions.

Our movement is a nationwide movement, that is, it is united as to goals and actions, of the young leading elite and the popular masses. And this is a guarantee of success. This is not our allegation, but it has been confirmed by foreigners who have spent some time in Ukraine. It is the exact opposite of the Russian dissident movement, which is described as a movement limited to a small group of intellectuals without any resonance among the people. However, in our opinion, the overwhelming majority of these intellectuals are of non-Russian origin, with only an insignificant exceptions of full-blooded Russians. Fundamentally, Russians are reformists, revisionists, who want to save the empire by reforms and new deceptions.

Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that our movement is a popular movement with an inexhaustible source of replacement from the midst of the masses, it is the task of every revolutionary strategist to achieve his goal with the least possible sacrifices, and it is not the style of a prospective strategist to achieve instant success, or glory at all cost. Decisive is success in the long-run. The end sanctifies the deed, not the ephemeral success.

The strength of our movement was always to be found in the people, who continuously produced ever new heroes. We can use the phrase **heroic people** without exaggeration, precisely because more than once in our history many have reneged, some from the leading strata have committed treason, but the people have remained true to themselves, giving forth ever new geniuses, heroes, prophets. For long periods of time the town — alongside the village — was the bulwark of the nation. The Brotherhoods uniting townspeople and the role they played are well known. Now it is of significance to us that the burden of ideological struggle and partially of the actions passed to the cities. This does not mean that the village is not holding the front, is not a mainstay of national traditions and traditional struggle. It is significant that the city is also becoming a part of the struggle. This is an important phenomenon. The countryside was the mainstay of the OUN — UPA to the greatest extent. It is a good turn of events that the city is taking over its due role. To demoralize the village is the enemy strategy. Ukraine's reply: while defending the village, a successful advance upon the city. The intellectual elite, the students, the workers are standing on the frontlines. . . Not only an ideological but also a de facto struggle has developed, e.g. the actions of students and workers. The same things are occurring in Lithuania (Kaunas),

Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Croatia, North Caucasus, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

In this connection, it is important to draw several historical parallels or contrasts from the point of view of revolutionary strategy as a consequence of the ideological aim. Mao's main support came from the village; Lenin's mainstay was the city. From the fact that the countryside was Mao's mainstay it follows that the Maoists wager in a common front of the national "bourgeoisie" and the proletariat against the colonialists in a sense of "national liberation wars" with a deceptive bait of the national and with the concealed role of the Communist Party as the avant-garde. From the fact that Lenin's mainstay was the city it follows that the Lumpen-proletariat of the city had a distinct and clearcut role, hence the Communist Party, without the concealment of its role. The fact, that Mao divides the world into the rich, industrialized nations of the North and the developing, non-industrial nations of the South, gives rise to a racial conflict: the colored peoples vs. the whites, which is a contradictory, imperialistic Red Chinese and not internationally Communist category. Furthermore, one of the strongest industrial nations of the world — Japan — is colored. But at times a contradictory phrase or slogan attracts those who see their enemy in a white devil.

A consequence to be drawn by us, as far as historic teaching on various strategic concepts with respect to the Russian empire is concerned is that Mao's strategy of peasant uprising is one-sided. Lenin's strategy of a proletarian uprising is one-sided as well. Furthermore, it is a purely Russian concept. The national conception of an uprising is a joint uprising of town and village — the UPA and the clashes of workers and students in the cities. Wishing to make the unity between city and village impossible, the Russians demoralize the village (organized drunkenness, etc.), for a revolt in the city without the support of the village will fail. The city guerrillas without the support of and without guerrillas in villages, mountains, forests, and steppes will not achieve lasting success. Mandatory is a harmonious coordination of actions. It is a great accomplishment of our age that the ideological struggle is now being

waged by the city elite. Yet without a base and the struggle of the village, without its foundation, an uprising will be unsuccessful. The Donbas was Ukrainianized and revolutionized by the "kulaks" and other peasants, fleeing from planned, Russian-organized famine at the time of forced collectivization. These are two mutually supplementing roles and tasks: taking control of city centers of government, administration, the communication network, radio stations, and simultaneously receiving armed assistance from the countryside, an uprising in the country as a whole. This is an organic concept of our revolution, an uprising which guarantees victory. Gaining control of the capital is decisive, but its holding is impossible when there is no assistance and armed action in the village. A two-hour occupation in line with a plan of a radio station Lviv-Kyiv-Odessa and their surrender, even after a fight, would do a great deal for the mobilization of revolutionary forces. This would cost many victims, but numerous battles would also result in no lesser sacrifices.

A number of reasons existed which justified the strategy and tactic applied by the UPA, which made a great contribution in a successful development of revolution and immensely enhanced the significance of the Ukrainian factor on the world political scale.

Our present planning must be conducted with this aspect in mind. Our strategy is a national not a class strategy. Therefore, neither the experience of Lenin nor of Mao can be adopted by us. Our doctrine of liberation war — our insurgency — is nationwide, popular. This was grasped and defined not only by us here in the West, but also by the fighters in Ukraine. This was formulated by one Ukrainian author, calling the period 1942-1953 a nationwide insurrection. Thus, we are also formulating our revolutionary liberation strategy of struggle — a nationwide uprising, and not a peasant revolution, or city guerrillas, for all of the above are only fragments, while the point in question is the struggle of the entire nation, the struggle of the subjugated nations against the Russian occupant and imperialist.

E. Orlowskyj (Ukraine)

The President Situation in Ukraine

The 19th and 20th centuries are marked by the uncontrollable growth of modern national movements in the whole world. Awakened by the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century, mass nationalism grips one nation after another, first in Europe, and in the 20th century in other parts of the world as well, particularly in Asia and Africa.

The First World War led to the downfall of four multi-national empires: Kaiser's Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Ottoman Turkey and Tsarist Russia. In their place arose more or less one nation states. After the World War II, as the result of an unrestrained growth of national movements, particularly in former colonies, the British and the French empires liquidated themselves; Holland and Belgium divested themselves of their colonies with only Portugal conducting a long-drawn-out defense of its colonial possessions.

Parallel to this, an opposite process has been taking place simultaneously in the 19th and the 20th centuries: there are repeated attempts, which originate at various power centers, to create large-area political alliances, usually under the leadership of one power. Already Napoleon conducted his wars of conquest under the slogan of a united Europe. Tsarist Russia attempted to expand with the aid of Panslavic propaganda, supported by the million-strong force of bayonets. Hitler set out to conquer the world, defending the rights of the "Herrenfolk" to rule over "New Europe", while Mussolini wanted to create a New Roman Empire. The most dangerous for the national life of peoples, however, proved to be Communist Russian imperialism which is based on the Marxist-Leninist concepts of class hatred, intranational struggle and "the international solidarity of the proletariat" under the leadership of the Communist party of the strongest imperial nation. This imperialism had perfected the old Roman principle of "divide and rule" to the highest perfidy: within the nation it attempts to dominate, it first introduces the bacillus of internal mistrust, envy, class struggle, general betrayal of national interests, which in the long last brings these nations to self-destruction, to moral, spiritual and physical decline and decay, a permanent weakness and inability to resist the domination of a foreign Russian center.

The first and the most threatening imperialistic regime is Bolshevik Russia, which after the 1917 Revolution and the downfall of the multi-national Tsarist empire managed to restore it in new forms, having, at the same time, subjugated anew Ukraine and dozens of other nations which awoke to independent national life.

Russia owes this success to fantastic faith, decisiveness and political flexibility of its leader, Lenin, and the firmly welded Russian Bolshevik party.

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation in 1917-21 ended in a tragic defeat. Ukraine was quartered, with the greater part of Ukrainian territories coming under Russian occupation, attractively masked by a deceptive sign — the Ukr. SSR. In the 1920s, military dictatorship and terror led to the liquidation of the extensive insurgent movement which seethed in Ukraine after the failure of the UNR's (Ukrainian National Republic) armed struggle. Groups of OUN in Central and Eastern territories of Ukraine, the revitalization of cultural, civic, religious and political life in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv and other cities and villages of Ukraine, and finally, the long, heroic struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) against two imperialistic powers — Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia — all this was instrumental in the accelerated growth of national consciousness among the broad masses of the population not only in Western but in all of Ukraine.

And although the return of the Bolshevik occupation after the terrible devastation of the war, inhuman repressions, mass executions, arrests and deportations of the population allegedly returned the situation to prewar state when "all was silent in all languages", in reality the situation was not identical. It is true that prisons, concentration camps and the Siberian taiga became populated with millions of "doubtful loyalty", but at the same time throughout Ukraine and the entire USSR scattered the sparks of that insurgent fire which began blazing in the forest clearings of Volhynia and in the woods of the Carpathians. The spirit of resistance to the inhuman government grew in strength in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Kolyma, in Magadan, Norilsk, Taishet which housed nearly 10% of the most active human potential of the nations subj-

ugated in the USSR. The experiences of the war could not fall into oblivion. The ray of freedom, although rather weak, nurtured hopes, disturbed.

Thus, with the death of Stalin, partially spontaneous and partially organized uprisings broke out among the 20-million-strong body of prisoners. They were crushed by machine-gun fire in Vorkuta, by tanks in Kingiri and by the imposition of draconic penalties on the leaders of the insurrection. But at the same time, the new "collective leadership" headed by Khrushchev was forced to disband most of the concentration camps, leaving only a limited number for the most dangerous, highly conscious political prisoners. The former concentration camp prisoners, having dispersed across the USSR carried the bacilli of resistance to Russia to the most remote corners.

On the other hand, the 20th century places quickly growing demands before the Russian Bolshevik empire, which cannot be satisfied by the methods borrowed from Genghis Khan. The USSR does not exist in a vacuum. It has powerful and modern opponents in the West and East. In order to justify national subjugation of other nations, the Russians must continuously try to prove that their ideology is morally higher than that of their adversaries, that their political line is "more progressive". The speedy growth of military technology, science and knowledge in the whole world demand that the USSR, which had ambitions to subdue the entire globe, as well as the outer space, surpass the West in all these fields. This requires general and higher education for the training of the mass of scientists, technicians engineers, military men and administrators. And this leads to a paradoxical situation: the more educated the population becomes, the more possibilities there are for the spreading of all sorts of ideas which do not coincide with the official ideology of the USSR. Today, in the age of instant communication, in the era of rockets, radio and television it is impossible to barricade oneself from the influence of outside ideas, as could have been done in Stalin's time, in the initial stages of the industrialization of the USSR and widespread illiteracy.

For this reason, together with the "thaw" after Stalin's death, there begins a new era in relations inside the Russian empire. The taking down from the pedestal of the "personality cult" of Stalin effected by Khrushchev for tactical motives of winning popularity among the party mass and the population of the USSR, and the initiated "de-Stalinization" of the methods of government shook the entire Communist system. The uprisings in East Berlin, Poznan and Budapest set in motion the process of disintegration of the monolithic Bolshevik system. Step by step, the so-called satellite states began to extend their limited autonomy, while Red China, just as Yugoslavia before it, openly declared its full independence from Moscow. As far as the "national" republic of

the USSR are concerned, Russian centralism does not allow for any actual increase in rights, although on paper, in particular in Khrushchev's time, some manipulations were carried out in order to create the impression of the "broadening of rights of the national republics", as for instance, the experiments with decentralization of some ministries and various formal reforms in the management of agriculture and industry.

Armed struggle for Ukraine's independence, carried out by the OUN-UPA in the 1940s did not terminate with the death of the Commander-in-Chief of UPA, Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynk. As proved by various documents and eyewitnesses, the armed underground of UPA was active until 1953. Individual fighters, as for instance Oliynyk in Volhynia, were active until recently.

When the weapons became silent, the burden of struggle was transferred from the level of physical and military force to the political and culturally spiritual level. The concepts of a Ukrainian Sovereign and United State had not perished on the battlefield as their carriers had done, nor in the casemates of the NKVD, nor in the concentration camps of Siberia. They live on in the midst of the people.

The works of the young generation of Ukrainian poets and writers, the so-called *Shestydesyatyky* (men of the sixties): Lina Kostenko, Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovskyi and many others, unusual in their style and ideas, flashed like a bright meteor on the Ukrainian horizon. Among them, perhaps not the greatest due to his literary talent, but the greatest by virtue of his adherence to principle and character, his civic courage was Vasyl Symonenko who became a trail blazer of the new generation of the knights of the word, the fighters for the spiritual renaissance of the Ukrainian nation, conscious of its present and future, its independence and individuality.

One must admire Symonenko's independence of thought, his penetrating insight into the deceptive character of Soviet life, his patriotism which in essence corresponds with Ukrainian nationalism. That Symonenko had not been a stranger to the ideas which prior to that time had been more wide-spread in West Ukraine, can be ascertained from his poem dedicated to Lviv, in which he expresses his gratitude, respect and admiration.

The late 50s and early 60s, the period of Khrushchev's bureaucratic "reforms", the time when Khrushchev and Mikoyan declared that "we no longer have any political prisoners", were marked in Ukraine by a series of secret political trials. Only later did the world find out about the death sentences or long-term imprisonment in 1961 in Lviv of a group of members of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, or the so-called jurists, prominent among whom were Lukyanenko and Kandyba who urged Ukraine's secession from the USSR. Also the death

sentences meted out to the so-called Khodoriv group in 1959, the Ukrainian National Committee in Lviv in 1961 and the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine (1958) in Ivano-Frankivsk, remained unknown to the Ukrainian public in general. By tried Stalinist methods Moscow attempted to stem in the bud any manifestation of more or less organized nationalist movement, the seeds of the underground which in part drew inspiration from the traditions of struggle of the OUN-UPA.

At the same time, in the Central and Eastern territories of Ukraine, the Russian regime attempted to extinguish the spontaneous growth of national, patriotic attitudes among the intelligentsia and students by various prohibitions, obstacles and administrative measures. And thus, when in 1962-1963 the Club of Creative Youth was founded in Kyiv, where a group of young, nationally-conscious Ukrainian patriots gathered around the home of Alla Horska, the authorities closed down the club.

In 1964 the affair connected with the destruction by the Russian administration of the Shevchenko stained-glass window at the Kyiv University which was produced by Alla Horska together with L. Semykina. Panas Zalyvakha and Halyna Sevruck became notorious in Kyiv. In the center of Ukrainian science, the Russian chauvinists went so far as to

set fire in May 1964, by the hands of a Russian, Pogruzhalsky, to the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, where rare Ukrainian publications and archives were burned. This crime aroused the indignation of the patriotic Ukrainian intelligentsia, in particular the young people, and on this occasion the writer Masyutko began circulating an accusatory letter.

Towards the end of 1964 one of the first swallows of the Ukrainian "Samvydav", the "Diary" of Vasyl Symonenko, made its appearance, which then made its way abroad and was published. In December 1964 a meeting of Symonenko's friends was held in Kyiv, which was chaired by Vyacheslav Chornovil, while a speech about the poet, who had died a year earlier, was delivered by Ivan Dzyuba. In January 1965 an official gathering was held, also in Kyiv, on the occasion of Symonenko's 30th birthday, which became a turning point. At the evening a fiery speech about Symonenko was delivered by Ivan Dzyuba, emphasizing the poet's significance for the revival of the national dignity of the Ukrainian people and reproaching all sorts of "renegades and lackeys", especially among the opportunistic writers, the servants of the chauvinistic Russian regime. This speech called forth an "enthusiastic reaction of those present" and began circulating in "Samvy-



A bivouac of soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

dav". It was published by the Ukrainian periodical, **Duklya**, in Czecho-Slovakia and from there made its way to the Ukrainian press appearing in the West.

The Russian lackeys made their reply in **Literaturna Ukraina** (Literary Ukrain) in April of that year through a letter of the poet M. Nehoda, "The Everest of Baseness", and a falsified letter of Symonenko's mother in which denunciations were made against the leading Ukrainian literary critic I. Svitlychnyi and others.

This added oil to the fire and the Ukrainian "samvydav" began to flourish. Masyutko's pamphlet, "Reply to Symonenko's mother, Halyna Shcherban". for instance, began circulating.

The Russian occupation regime under the leadership of Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny decided to deal a blow to the leading figures of community life in Ukraine. Between the 24th and 28th August, 1965, nationally the most active intellectuals, students and so forth, with I. Svitlychnyi at the head, were arrested in various localities of Ukraine.

As soon as news of these arrest spread around Ukraine, protest declaration and letters began pouring in. On September 4 in the movie-house "Ukraina" in Kyiv Ivan Dzyuba publicly called on the public to protest against arrests and searches. His stand was supported by Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Their appeal was answered by prominent Ukrainian cultural leaders. Queries on their behalf were sent by "order carrying" writers, Stelmakh and Malyshko, and the composer Mayboroda. In October a now letter to the leaders of the party and government was signed by the renowned constructor Antonov, the film producer Paradzhanov, Mayboroda, the writers Serpilin, Lina Kostenko, Drach and others. But all to no avail. In November of that year, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, a poet, writer and translator who already spent 16 years in concentration camps and who was released in 1960, was arrested anew to serve the rest of his 25-year term because he dared to write a letter about the Russification of the system of education in Ukraine and national discrimination and to appeal to the foreign Communist parties on this matter requesting their intervention in defense of Ukraine's rights.

In December 1965 Ivan Dzyuba introduced his book, "Internationalism or Russification?" to Shelest and Shcherbytskyi. In it he showed how Russian chauvinism was rampant in the USSR in the disguise of internationalism and Communism- Leninism, how national rights of the Ukrainian people were being violated and how anti-Ukrainian discrimination was being carried out. This memorandum was sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to 25 secretaries of the regional Communist Party committees for "discussion". From there, the book spread in numerous copies, of which one even reached the Mordovian

concentration camps, as well as abroad where it received world-wide publicity and was published in various languages.

In January 1966, 78 Ukrainian writers, scientists, students and workers signed a letter to the Prosecutor General and the KGB of the Ukr. SSR demanding that friends and acquaintances of the arrested intellectuals be permitted to attend the trials, but did not receive any reply.

On January 20, 1966 the first "open" trial of the arrested was held in Lutsk, at which Ivashchenko, a university lecturer, was sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment and Valentyn Moroz to 4 years. This trial proved a failure to the Russians from the propaganda aspect. Moroz held himself firmly, did not break down and did not recant his views. This was a surprise to both Moscow and the judges, who were accustomed to humble, repentant statements, similar to those made by the defendants in the 30s at the show trials.

On February 4-7 another allegedly "open" trial of Ozernyi, a teacher in Ivano-Frankivsk, was held, which was much better prepared. Only trusted people were allowed into the court-room. Ozernyi received 6 years, which were later commuted to 3.

Other similar trials were held in Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv and Lviv, but they were already closed.

Several weeks after the last trial, which was held in April 1966, Vyacheslav Chornovil sent a memorandum covering 55 pages and documentary evidence covering 150 typewritten pages to the prosecutor and the head of the KGB of the Ukr. SSR about the illegality of trials.

It must be recalled that at the end of 1965 writers Synyavsky and Daniel were arrested in Moscow and their open trial was held in February 1966. This trial was reported by the Western press, even by the Soviet press, although with some distortions. However, not a single report about the trials in Ukraine had appeared in the Soviet press. Only in April 1966, did the first information about the arrests and sentencing of Ukrainian intellectuals appear in the Western press.

Having deported the flower of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to the Mordovian concentration camps, Moscow expected to intimidate the public, to shut the mouths of the national fighters. However, its calculations were futile. The entire Ukraine became agitated in the wake of arrests which reminded of the times of Yezhov, although on a smaller scale. The "samvydav" began to flourish. From behind the barbed wire of Mordovia ever new works began to see the light of day, exposing the inhumanity and deceptiveness of the Russian regime which presents itself as the most progressive and humane.

In early March 1967, there appeared an unusually forceful letter by Karavanskyi about discrimination, practiced in the USSR in particular toward

Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations. For this, Karavanskyi was transferred from a concentration camp to the Vladimir prison, and later to a prison in Kyiv for an investigation.

In August 3, 1967 Chornovil was arrested and on November 15 of the same year sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment for disseminating "anti-Soviet writings". Later the sentence was commuted to 18 months. At the end of 1967, Chornovil's writings, his book "The Chornovil Papers" and his appeal to the party and government leaders of the USSR appeared in the West.

The advance of Russian chauvinism was intensified to such a degree that in Kyiv, the militia dispersed students who traditionally gathered on May 22, 1967 to mark the anniversary of the transferring of Shevchenko's remains from Petersburg to Kaniv. This gave rise to a protest letter to Brezhnev and Shelest signed by 64 citizens. At about the same time Ivan Kolasky's book "Education in Ukrainian SSR" appeared in the West, in which the author, who spent two years in Ukraine, presented documentary evidence about the Russification of education in Ukraine and discrimination against Ukrainians.

In 1968 in Kyiv, an "Appeal to All Citizens of Kyiv" was sent out, which expressed protest against

the prohibition to commemorate the above-mentioned Shevchenko anniversary.

In May of that year there appeared a "Letter of the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk" in connection with repressions against those journalists, lecturers and students who expressed favourable opinions in the press and at meetings about Oles Honchar's novel "Sobor" (The Cathedral). "Sobor" was subjected to official rebuke along the party line after a short period of indecision because in it Honchar dared to demand respect to the national spirit and the glorious historic and cultural traditions of the Ukrainian nation. In June 1969, the poet Sokulskyi and others were arrested in Dnipropetrovsk for writing the said letter and sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

In the summer of 1968, for signing a letter to Brezhnev, Kosygin and others (a total of 150 signatures appeared under the letter) prominent Ukrainian intellectuals and cultural leaders, among them historian Braychevskyi and literary specialist Mykhaylyna Kotsyubynsky, have been punished.

At the end of 1968 repressions rained down on the underground Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine. In January 1969 Bishop Vasyl Velychkevskyi and other priests were arrested and sentenced to various terms of punishment. The destruction of churches,



UPA, West Command. Soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army celebrate Easter in the forest.

which had stopped to some degree for several years, was resumed again.

Repressions, arrests and trials of individuals have not ceased during 1969. In January Zinaida Frank, granddaughter of the great Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko, was dismissed from work at the Lviv Institute; in May M. Beryslavskyi was convicted for attempted self-immolation in Kyiv as a sign of protest against Russian subjugation of Ukraine, just as Vasyl Makukh had done earlier; in July V. Ryvak and S. Bedrylo were arrested in Lviv for disseminating "samvydav", while Altunyan, an Armenian scientist, was arrested in Kharkiv for organizing actions in defense of the arrested.

1970 became a turningpoint in the development of the resistance movement and the national and political thought in Ukraine. That year there appeared a brilliant polemic essay by Balentyn Moroz entitled "Among the Snows", as well as an article by V. Chornovil, "What Is B. Stenchuk Defending and How?", which criticized those who under pressure of terror are ready to partially deviate from their previous stand and to denounce nationalism. In April, there appeared an open letter by Plakhotnyuk, "The Truth Is on Our Side", in which he reveals the background of the so-called Dnipropetrovsk case, the brutal Russification in that city, just as in other cities of Ukraine, and the deceptiveness of the Russificationist regime.

In May, Valentyn Moroz's protest letter against a search conducted at his home at Easter and the confiscation of the *hayivky* (Easter spring songs) recorded in Kosmach in the Hutsul region, sees the light of day. Already on June 1st Moroz is arrested and on November 17-18 sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to 9 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile.

One must also recall the appearance of nationalist leaflets at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute on March 26 and the violent commemoration of Shevchenko's anniversary. The end of November and the beginning of December brought a wave of protest letters from Moroz's friends and acquaintances from various localities in Ukraine against his unjust mock trial. In the course of this wave of protests, the KGB murders Alla Horská on November 28, 1970, who was the soul of a group of the courageous, who attempted to oppose the huge state machinery of the totalitarian Russian chauvinism by words alone. Another important event of 1970 was the start of the publication of an illegal organ of the resistance movement, the *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald), the first three numbers of which appeared in that year, while nos. 4 and 5 appeared in 1971.

Moroz's conviction and Alla Horská's death rendered a painful blow to the national opposition in Ukraine. Particularly in the summer of 1971, there began a highly calculated campaign of the oc-

cupation regime in Ukraine directed at the uprooting and annihilation of all those who could possibly head that movement. The flower of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, with Ivan Svitlychnyi at the head, was thrust into prison. He, just as Mykola Zerov in the 1920s, has become the luminary not only of the literary but also of the national thought. Just as Mykola Zerov in the 20s had enlightened the road of the national soul of the Ukrainian people, so in the contemporary period, the bright intellect of Ivan Svitlychnyi lighted the road of the new elite of Ukraine.

As proved by news from Ukraine, in the course of 1972 the KGB arrested and convicted to long terms in prisons and concentration camps anyone who was in any way active in the resistance movement, in particular those who after the wave of arrests in 1965 have completed their terms of punishment, but who have not repented and continued to speak up in defense of the Ukrainian truth. Ivan Franko's granddaughter, Zinaida Franko, was released for tactical reasons, after first being forced to make a statement of repentance.

Yet, it is impossible to uproot the movement of resistance to Russia. During the May 1st parade in Lviv, a sabotage of the sewerage system hindered this parade. Such spontaneous or organized mass actions are not isolated incidents. A similar incident occurred in Vilnius, Lithuania on May 18 and 19, 1972, leading to a serious clash between the Lithuanian youth and the organs of the Russian regime. Most likely, Petro Shelest's ouster from the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine at about the same time was caused not by external reasons, but by disagreements in domestic policy, in particular with respect to Ukraine and her liberation tendencies. Shcherbytskyi, the new governor of Ukraine, is an obedient puppet controlled by Brezhnev, who surrounds himself by his former associates from the Dnipropetrovsk oblast committee of the party which, as is well-known, is notorious as a fierce organ of Russification.

If we wished to briefly characterize Ukraine's liberation struggle in the period of the most recent Bolshevik occupation, beginning with the return of the Russian armies to Ukraine after the battle of Stalingrad, we could roughly outline the following periods:

Between 1942 and 1952 — a period of active armed struggle — a nationwide uprising — a period of the struggle of UPA, OUN, the revolutionary underground. It can be divided into two periods: 1942-1947 — the period of large-scale guerrilla warfare, led by UPA and OUN; 1947-1952 — a period of underground struggle in ever more difficult conditions of the most cruel repressions which ended with a physical annihilation of the underground and the terrorization of the people.

The subsequent period, 1953-1957, after Stalin's death, a period of "collective leadership" of Malen-

kov-Khrushchev-Bulganin — a period of “thaw”. In the Ukrainian national respect, this was a period of the slow healing of wounds inflicted by the Stalinist era. It is a period of revolts and uprisings in concentration camps of the North which resulted in certain concessions from the regime — the release of a large number of political prisoners. In the satellite states, it was marked by the uprisings in East Berlin, Poznan and Budapest.

The third period from 1958 until today. It can be divided into two periods: first — the Khrushchev period, approximately from 1958 till 1964, and the second, the Brezhnev period, from 1965 till 1972.

In the national respect, the first period — 1958-1964 — was a time of disillusionment by the thaw and the pseudo-reforms carried out by Khrushchev, the time of the formation of the buds of new, organized resistance movement in Ukraine. It consisted of the organization of secret groups, “parties” and “organizations”, which had the aim of working out new methods of struggle under new conditions. They were of two types: the first which was grounded in essence on the traditions of the underground OUN and UPA, such as the Khodoriv group, the Ukrainian National Front, the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine for instance, and another type which attempted to work out methods of legal struggle. Such was for instance the Ukrainian Workers’ and Peasants’ Party — people of the type of Lukyanenko and Kandyba.

The second period — the Brezhnev period from 1965 till the present, can be characterized as a period of departure from clandestine groups — as a

result of their being crushed and the impossibility to act under conditions of the totalitarian regime — and entry into an open forum of protest, a period of self-sacrifice of the most noble individuals upon the altar of the Fatherland. The “Chornovil Papers” by V. Chornovil, the letters by Karavanskyi, “Internationalism or Russification?” by I. Dzyuba, “Among the Snows” by V. Moroz, “The Cathedral in Scuffolding” by Ye. Sverstyuk and the “Ukrainian Herald” and many others, the acts of self-immolation of Makukh and Beryslavskyi and other acts of protest became the symbols of this period.

The dominant ideas of these works can be defined as an appeal to humaneness, a return to the profound, national elements of the Ukrainian soul, a love to everything native, national and at the same time a respect for everything noble in the foreign, as a struggle for truth as against slander, as a call of the lacerated Ukrainian soul to justice before the conscience of the whole world, a protest against the trampling of the most elementary rights of the Ukrainian people to their own life in their own house as they see fit, a protest against the breaking of the soul of the Ukrainian people by the Russian occupiers and native mercenaries and traitors, against Russification, the arbitrariness of the Russian regime and the violence and lawlessness of the KGB, the inhuman sentences and the cruel treatment of prisoners in distant places of imprisonment. All this is an appeal by the Ukrainian soul which believes in the victory of good over evil, justice over injustice, truth over falsehood. From it emerges faith which moves mountains and conquers death itself.



An artillery unit of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Volyn, West Ukraine during a winter march in December 1943.



Yaroslav Stetsko

The Neglected Superpower

Yaroslav Stetsko (Ukraine)

The Primacy of the Spiritual and National Element

Let us recall some of the major principles of ABN's liberation policy which we have been stressing continuously:

1) The national principle in the organization of the world and the concepts of national liberation and the establishment of national states have become the general tendency in the development of the world as an antithesis to the so-called large-area concepts. The national idea — nationalism — is the sign of the present era.

2) The two superpowers, the USA and later the so-called USSR, whose power position was determined by the possession of the atomic or hydrogen bomb, were later joined by the third superpower (Red China), while today there are almost five of them when one takes into consideration Japan and Western Europe, whose economic complex is now being joined by Great Britain with her economic "club" of smaller states (EFTA).

Hence, we can see the differentiation of the world, which continues invariably. The rapid development of technology does not contradict the emancipation of nations, while thermonuclear arms are incapable of arresting the triumphant march of the national idea and its realization, which is tantamount to the dissolution of empires. The very formula of "thermonuclear stalemate" among the superpowers signifies the self-neutralization of the nuclear threat. Thus, the thesis which we propagated for years is being confirmed, namely that thermonuclear war is an anachronistic concept, alien to the spirit of the time. On the other hand, the concept of an armed people, the national liberation revolutions, the concept of guerrilla warfare, has become the token of our age. Hand in hand with the development of military technology increases the significance of man as well, as a spiritualized being and

the significance of human communities as free nations. And when in the Western world, technological progress does not always correspond to the ethical and moral perfection of man, Christianization, spiritualization of life, its de-materialization and de-hedonization, then in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, subjugated by Russian imperialists, in particular in Ukraine, we can discern a clear process of spiritual renaissance of the individual and nation. As in the past, so today, those deprived of freedom, persecuted, oppressed, those who suffer and are ready to make sacrifices in defense of national and human rights and freedoms, are the ones who in a practical struggle become a model in the realization of the heroic concept of life, are more strongly inspired by the national ideals than those who are free, content and self-satisfied.

Today, thermonuclear weapons "neutralize" themselves, all the more so since the moment when their possession expanded from the "club of two" to the "club of five". Technological progress facilitates cheap production of thermonuclear arms, which in turn means that in time thermonuclear weapons can be produced by smaller states as well. The utilization of the atomic bomb at the end of World War II (Hiroshima and Nagasaki) was possible only because at that time the USA was its monopolistic owner. But later, neither in Korea nor in Vietnam was it possible to employ thermonuclear arms for victory over the adversary. The Russian empire finds itself presently in an analogous position. It cannot utilize thermonuclear weapons against the uprising of the subjugated nations, for instance, for it would destroy itself in the process.

Thus, in conformity with the established principles, everything continues to remain in the hands of God's Providence, which cannot be changed by any human force. Annihilation of mankind does not depend on the will of man, but on a Higher Power

which guides the whole world. In the universe there exists a law of expediency and man is incapable of guessing the plan of his Creator. Here is the source of the great and invariable faith in the fact a nation which fulfills the mission designed for it by God cannot be the object of destruction.

It can be seen quite clearly that in subjugated Ukraine spiritual, godly values are dominant today. The Russian executioners have exterminated Mykhaylo Soroka, the leading member of OUN, in the Mordovian concentration camp, have murdered Alla Horska, a Ukrainian woman-artist, have convicted Valentyn Moroz to 14 years of imprisonment, but the spiritual grandeur radiates both from the life of those who refuse to submit as well as from the death of those who fell in battle. How very wrong are the pragmatists and the sceptics who define the role of Ukraine in technical and material terms alone, i.e. compare the economic and technical potential of Ukraine to that of the Russian empire, the USA or Red China. Pygmies always degrade what is idealistic, spiritual and eternal in the life of the individual and nation. We can see from historic experience that the greatest world empires of the past, as for instance the Roman and the British, no longer exist, but the peoples and nations continue to live.

The spiritual values are incessant. Faith in truth, faith in ideals, in victory of spirit over matter, is of decisive importance for a subjugated nation, for otherwise it will be overcome by lack of confidence in its own strength and its underestimation in relation to the mighty technical, material power of the adversary — the occupying power. Therefore, the thesis about the “inevitability” of the de-ideologization of the liberation struggle and politics is a knife in the back of every liberation movement. Even the Marxists, the greatest materialists in the philosophical sense, had to become idealists in their psychology and ethics when they wished to dominate the masses of workers and to lead them to the barricades. In the struggle for an eight-hour work day alone, a vision of a different social order was concealed. Here the major stimulus was the feeling of injustice, as an ethical phenomenon. And none, even from among the “proletarian revolutionaries”, would go to die on the barricades for some petty material benefit alone, if he did not see a more profound spiritual sense in the struggle itself, a great vision which is idealistic in character. It is the contradictions between the philosophical materialism and the ethical idealism in the struggle for a different world which have driven the Communist movement into a blind alley, into a dead-end street from which there is no way out. Obviously, there are other reasons as well which are responsible for the bankruptcy of Communism which are beyond the subject under discussion.

To deprive a subjugated nation of its ideology of struggle is tantamount to disarming it, to robbing

it of its semaphores of truth and faith, to forcing it to forget that man does not live by bread alone. A feeling of justice is particularly developed in a subjugated nation. Therefore, it has a very strong feeling of injustice at the same time. And the feelings of justice and injustice do not belong to the material but to the spiritual and ethical sphere.

Those who are searching for reasons why the contemporary free world has found itself in a hopeless situation will see that first and foremost it is a consequence of a spiritual crisis. Today, spiritual revival is required in particular. Needed are great statesmen, men of vision, ideologists and leaders who unconditionally believe in great truth and pass their faith on to others.

Our age is not only the thermonuclear age, but also the age of ideology. Those who flee from ideals, from the system of ideas which determine our relationship to the surrounding world and to the potential world, are perplexed by the chaos of relativism, scepticism and disbelief, and this in turn leads the “vision” of the world of hippies and drug addicts. Those who preach the inevitability of de-ideologization of our liberation struggle in this day and age have failed to comprehend the lofty processes of spiritual revival of contemporary Ukraine, its return to its traditions and the stabilization of the Ukrainian “I”. There, the cult of the Golden Gates of ancient Kyiv, the cult of the Cathedrals, the cult of the Zaporozhian Sich — the sole Christian Orthodox order of knights of the Maltese type, of the time. All this is neither material, nor pragmatic, nor “real” under present conditions and he who is a “realist” will never be a Ukrainian. Present-day Ukraine is “a flower among the snows”. Is this perhaps “reality” or pragmatism? No. Here faith comes into play first of all, and faith above all. When Ukraine’s renaissance, its struggle is “de-ideologized” only a sceptic, a pragmatist, a relativist remains. And where will Ukraine be?

Semaphores in the External Liberation Policy

Does everything said above have any relation to the foreign policy of a subjugated nation? Yes, because its own forces are the basis of its foreign policy, which forces develop and grow stronger only when they have a definite, clear content. No nation, especially no subjugated nation, can remain without a helm and sails. It must draw its strength from the spring of eternal values and fight for them, if it strives for victory. This was so in the past, when Ukraine regenerated itself and our Zaporozhian knights fought “for Christian faith and fatherland”, marched “to liberate brethren — to win glory.”

Ukraine has its own world of ideas and in our age it contrasts it with the Russian World. Among all peoples there exists a national egoism and the national interests are dominant. National egoism

exists among us as well, but it never assumed genocidal character as that of Russian chauvinism. Therefore, the path followed by Ukrainian nationalism is in no way identical with the road of Russian "nationalism" — chauvinism. We are not propagating a struggle for the sake of struggle only a struggle for victory of certain national and universal human values. The ideals of great Ukrainian giants of literature — Shevchenko, Franko and Lesya Ukrainka — philosopher Skovoroda, and today those of Moroz or Sverstyuk are completely different from the ideals of the Russian Gorky or Dostoyevsky, from the Russian ideals in which the sin of Sodom is intermingled with the immaculacy of the Madonna, fratricide — with the crocodile tears of a penitent, tyranny and slavery. Our ideals stem from the millennial tradition of the Ukrainian nation. They became a projection of the just order in the world, built on the national principle. Russia rejects the national principle, recognizing the imperialist principle alone and attempting to create a "nationless society", by mingling all nations and drowning them in the "Russian sea". Hence, this is a total de-culturalization of the world and nations, because culture only grows on the organic national soil. De-culturalization and denationalization lead to de-heroization of life, while de-Christianization results in the destruction of the traditional structures, in the de-spiritualization of life, which then loses the aspects of eternity, the immortality of spirit of both the individual and the nation, as a society of the living, the dead and the unborn. The ideals of Kyiv are a contradiction of Moscow and of every modern Babylon, deprived of spirit and traditions, a contrast to the pseudo-industrialized society which is used as a camouflage by those who attempt to liquidate nations because they, allegedly, do not fit in the contemporary atomic age, although in reality the atomic age is no less favorable to the development of nations than the Middle Ages have been.

Just as in the past Christianity grew out of the catacombs, so today the spiritual revival comes from the catacombs of Ukraine, from the underground, from the concentration camps, from the St. Sophia of Kyiv. At the time when a considerable part of the free world is becoming Bolshevized, in Ukraine and in other countries subjugated by the Russian imperialists, Bolshevism-Communism is becoming bankrupt. Despite the fact that our age is also an ideological age, in the free world its thermonuclear parallelism alone is being stressed, as a dominant second force typical of our age, while the first force — the spiritual, the ideological force — is "forgotten" completely. These are the results of the fact that the statesmen have become pragmatists-empirists. Our age requires new Richards the Lion-hearted, new Cromwells, Volodymyrs the Great, Khmelnytskyis, Catos, Leonidas and Mucius Scaevolas. But instead of anti-Lenins it has given forth

only Brandts, instead of Mosseses who lead people through seas and deserts to the promised land, it has given Pierre Trudeaus, instead of the Popes-Crusaders, it has given Popes who engage in "dialogues" with the enemies of Christ, the perpetrators of homicide and genocide. Instead of the cross and the sword, a symbiosis of the cross and the hammer and sickle is now being suggested. Instead of a new Churchill who would oppose Moscow and Bolshevism with the same firmness with which he opposed Hitler and Nazism, we have a Nixon, who is balancing between the bear and the dragon. Instead of the cult of ancestors and the credible norms of morality which were instituted by Confucius, instead of the national principles of Sun Yat-sen there came Mao Tse-tung — an imitator of the world alien to the Chinese nation, a pupil of Marx and Lenin. None of the above-mentioned statesmen, including Pompidou, have the courage to repeat Cato's words: "Ceterum censeo Cartaginem delendam esse!" — "Carthage (Moscow) must be destroyed!"

In the free world, a lack of understanding of the essence of our epoch can be sensed, and along with it, a light-hearted attitude toward the Russian-Bolshevik threat to nations and individuals. In the world a contest is in progress not for the expansion of geographic boundaries of this or that empire, as had been the case in the past, but for the preservation of nations and free men, because imperialistic Russia attempts to dominate the **whole** world and to force upon it **its own way of life**. And mistaken are those who consider democracy as the sole instrument against all types of evil, both national and personal, because democracy as such is only the framework into which the essence of life must be inserted. The idea of freedom also loses its meaning without the appropriate content. Freedom provides an opportunity to choose ideas and the substance of life, and having selected them to put them into effect. The free world enjoys freedom; yet the quality of its ideas and the content of life is very different. First of all, freedom is not an end in itself. Those enjoying freedom must have a higher purpose for which to live and work. For those who have such a goal, the service to God, the nation, the lofty ideals of justice and truth come first, while for the hedonists — selfishness, their own interests and self-satisfaction. For them national heroics and martyrdom for great ideals become the objects of ridicule. Thus, they take advantage of freedom and demoralize society.

In Ukraine, the concept of freedom has a different meaning. There, a struggle is being waged for the great spiritual values, for Ukraine's ideological position in the world. For this reason V. Symonenko says: "Be silent, Americas and Russias, when I am talking with you (Ukraine)". . . And Yuriy Lypa wrote: "Forward, Ukraine! You have heavy feet, Burning houses are smirking beneath them: Neither Russia, nor Europe, is destined to understand your

sons!"

At the time when the free world, impoverished ideologically and ethically, is only counting on technological and material power, when thermonuclear arms and the number of human robots are of decisive importance for it, we must recall the "forgotten", different world which is a component part of the contemporary age, atomic and ideological at the same time. We have in mind the individual, the ideas, and the subjugated nations. General J.F.C. Fuller wrote that ideas are stronger than atomic bombs. Therefore, the guerrilla-partisan war of an armed nation is an alternative to a nuclear war. When today one speaks of five superpowers, then it is impossible to pass over in silence the sixth one — the subjugated nations. In the future, this sixth superpower will be decisive for it enjoys superiority over the others — noble and just ideas, and cultivates the heroic concept of life, which elevates the dignity of man and nation. In addition to this, the sons of the subjugated nations who are serving in the army of the Russian occupying power, have weapons in their hands; hence they also have technology at their disposal.

The Concept of the "Balance of Power"

The United States, the greatest power in the Western world, employs the concept of the "balance of power" among the superpowers in its world policy, having completely disregarded the nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states. In its very basis, such a concept is erroneous and ruinous. It does not lead to victory but to the defeat of the free world. In the past, Napoleon lost the war with the Russian empire because he failed to see the potential power of subjugated Ukraine and other oppressed nations, striving to liberate themselves from the Russian yoke. Hitler not only ignored the subjugated nations, but also wanted to transform Ukraine and other nations into his colonies. Today the US is making a similar mistake and it will also lead to tragic consequences. Why does the US ignore a power (the subjugated nations) which at the critical moment can alone save the USA and the free world from disaster?

The first reason is that the American officials do not understand the meaning of ideological force. They define the elements of a superpower in terms of yesterday and fail to grasp the essence of the age in which they live. They pay no attention to the fact that today wars are won first in the hearts of men and then on the battlefields. Nixon's policy is influenced by Kissinger, a great admirer of Metternich and an expert on the age of the "Holy Alliance". Kissinger transferred Metternich's concept (playing the European powers of the time against each other, thus reassuring a leading position to the Austrian empire) to today's world political arena. This was also the old British concept of the "balance of

power" among the European powers, which was often advantageous for small nations as well, as for instance, for Poland, Belgium and others. But the application of Metternich's and London's concept to our age is a complete anachronism. When the spring of European nations arrived in 1848, Metternich lost in a confrontation with Kossuth, and the "Holy Alliance" of empires left the world political stage with Metternich. Today, in the age of the world spring of nations and the downfall of empires, in the age of triumph of the national idea on a universal scale, the concept of the "balance of power" is an entirely useless survival in world policy. Anachronisms take their greatest revenge when they are transferred from the time long past into a completely different age, a modernized age. Can an oil lamp compete with electricity, Can the prison of nations compete with the idea of construction of the free world upon a national principle?

The United States is living by the ideas of yesterday. Thermonuclear arms, as the world's decisive power, also belong to yesterday. Of course, neither technics nor technology is an anachronism, but only a manifestation of the progress of human inventiveness, provided the spiritual development of nations and individuals is being perfected at the same time. Besides technology and civilization, there exists culture as well, and above all — the spirit, the human soul, the moral, ethical, national and religious values. There are no contradictions between technology and culture, between technology and spiritual values, but technology is the product of the human spirit and not vice versa. It is impossible to cultivate civilization having forgotten the world's Creator. What would be the world like if destructive weapons, which would make all nations and individuals tremble, would be concentrated in the hands of several homunculuses-intellectuals? What would happen then with the will of man, with his soul, with nations as the highest forms of human society? People and nations, however, are God's creations, and this should not be forgotten.

Pragmatists and empirists, "realists" and sceptics, relativists and disbelievers can say that we are introducing mysticism into national politics instead of concrete factors. But every rejuvenation of the nations and every liberation movement must have its own semaphores in order to return the almost forgotten eternal truths of nation and man, which are the substance of their existence. And in a time like ours, when the world stage is taken up either by crusaders or by propagators of the devil, the champions of the nation or the perpetrators of genocide, the cultivators of an individual or a cog, those infatuated by the eternal truth or the carriers of eternal evil, — the "realists" and disbelievers will neither find a place for Ukraine, nor for the Ukrainian people. Only the infatuated can "cultivate a flower among the snows", states Moroz.

The forgotten superpower itself, which is composed of the subjugated nations, is not only a mystical force, but also an immense human potential, dozens of nations, huge overground and underground wealth, unusually important expanses, from the strategic and geopolitical point of view, a huge accumulated explosive force within the Russian empire, which can topple it and remove it from the face of the earth.

At one time, the official Jewish and Roman world had not accepted Christ with His new world of ideas. But in spite of the fact that Anna and Caiaphas, Pilatus and Herod, Nero and Diocletian officially had not recognized either Christ or the Christians, a new world superpower was born — Christianity. In spite of the fact that Russia and other “powerful of this world” do not recognize nations and nationalism, consider them as “survivals”, nationalism has become the sign of our epoch, as the most just and progressive idea. Nietzsche said that “God is dead” and was quite wrong. Hand in hand with the development of civilization and the exploration of the universe the belief that God lives confirms itself.

Together with the development of human societies and civilizations, the national principle becomes a cornerstone of a just order in the world. Therefore, when we speak of a forgotten or neglected superpower (the nations subjugated in the kingdom of tyranny, in particular the Russian one) we are not projecting the problem of empires as the sign of the epoch, but the significance of the nation as the standard of our age. In particular, we emphasize the importance of liberation nationalism with its noble ideas, which become the basis for the reconstruction of the world.

In his interview of last year, published in *Life*, President Nixon, as the “man of the year” — declared that the time has come to put into effect what neither Eisenhower, nor Kennedy was able to do — to establish a lasting peace on the basis of the “balance of power” among the superpowers. It is this “balance”, based on Metternich’s formula, which would constitute the “peace of the dead” for the subjugated nations, because the world of the subjugated nations does not exist for Nixon. With that in mind, Nixon set out for the “prohibited city” of Mao Tse-tung, and later for the den of the Russian chieftains, in order to reach an agreement with the greatest enemies of mankind and God about a “lasting peace” on the basis of the “balance of power” and the division of the world into spheres of influence. The naive know-it-alls consider Nixon’s trip to Peking as a consolidation of the anti-Russian front, but in reality it is only a “balancing act”. Nixon is walking a tightrope between the bear and the dragon. In line with the outdated concept of Metternich, he wants to maintain “the balance of power” with the help of separate treaties about

“peaceful coexistence” with Peking and Moscow. Therefore, the “political calves”, who — having seen new gates — think that Peking or Washington is going to bring us liberty, are cheering prematurely. Freedom guaranteed by foreign bayonets is the freedom of the one who brings it and not of the one who receives it. It is one thing to take advantage of every conflict with Moscow, including Peking, and quite another to orient yourself on liberation by a foreign power.

Our Prognoses Are Justifying Themselves

The invasion of the territory of South Vietnam by the Communist armies of North Vietnam is also a consequence of the “balance of power” politics. In the time that Nixon searched for ways to reach Peking and Moscow, the Russians supplied the Vietnamese Communists with the most modern weapons, while the Red Chinese helped. With Russian and Red Chinese weapons, the Vietnamese Communists are also killing American troops. And here we can see the greatest anachronism of our time — Nixon is shaking hands with chieftains whose weapons kill the flower of the American nation.

Our political activity in Asia has justified itself completely, for its primary aim was to show the Asian peoples their main enemy — Russia. For many this seemed unbelievable, but facts have convinced them and the subsequent course of events confirms the opportuneness of our political predictions.

Ukraine is the revolutionary problem of the world. It is the forgotten superpower together with other subjugated nations. The minimalists and sceptics are accustomed to treating Ukraine as an appendix to something “great” and “important”. Therefore for them, as Moroz puts it, there is always Pushkin and Shevchenko, Nekrasov and Lesya Ukrainka, and so forth, but never Shevchenko and Pushkin. Orientation upon Peking means orientation upon the satellite base of the Ukr. SSR of Maoist content, as a manifestation of the remnants of spiritual “Little-Russianism”. We are not accommodating ourselves to conjuncture; we have our own liberation concept and orient ourselves on the subjugated peoples’ own forces, on the national liberation revolutions. Hence, we are combating at the same time both Russian imperialism and the Communist system, which was forced upon Ukraine and other subjugated nations by Russia, as its way of life and a means of subjugation of other nations.

Our liberation revolution is simultaneously a national and a social revolution. He who propagates national revolution alone and ignores the social one, fails to understand what is the national liberation revolution, which encompasses all phases of life of a subjugated nation. He who rejects a social revolution in Ukraine will consequently arrive at national Com-

munism, at the preservation of the contemporary collectivistic Russian system, imposed on our people by force. Social revolution goes hand in hand with the national revolution, as one of the essential components of the anti-Russian revolution. National revolution must bring basic changes in all spheres of life of the nation, weed out everything Russian, everything alien and hostile to Ukrainian spirituality. The same views are held in Ukraine as well, emphasizing that de-Christianization, collectivization, industrialization imposed at the cost of destruction of the spiritual values of a people, forced migration from the village to the city and the ruining of the traditional Ukrainian structures are most tragic for Ukraine.

Ukraine has its own spiritual values. It believes in itself and unfolds a world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front across the world, fights for the liquidation of the Russian empire and for the reestablishment on its ruins of national states with their own social order. Every sovereign nation should build its own state according to its own will and adopt a system of government which is most suitable for it.

First of all, it is necessary to answer the major question: what other reason exist for the conflict between Moscow and Peking, aside from the competition for the leading position in the Communist world? This above all is a clash of two imperialistic powers for the so-called frontier strips which were taken by the Russians from the Chinese, hence a struggle for colonies. Red China wants to regain territories, which are not its own, but which are now occupied by Russia, yet they are not Russian either. Why should parts of Siberia, West Turkestan or other frontier regions belong to China? Why should Vladivostok, the Green and the Grey Wedges be under Chinese occupation? It is obvious that here only a change of the occupant is at stake — the Russian to the Red Chinese. All these lands are neither Russian nor Chinese. The Communist Chinese imperialists are laying claims to the non-Chinese lands which were conquered by the Russian imperialists. These lands, too, should enjoy the right of national self-determination. Hitler also launched an attack against the Russian imperialists with similar claims in mind. He wished to capture Ukraine and to turn it into his colony, for in the past there allegedly lived some Normans or some Germans and other mercenaries of the Ukrainian rulers.

We propose our principle of the world order, the national vs. the imperialistic principle. This means that from the moral point of view, we support everywhere and always the idea of national liberty and national independence. However, in order to liberate Ukraine we organize a political and a military front throughout the entire world against the Russian imperialists and conquerors, and he who is at that front is with us. He who supports us, our liberation strug-

gle, our concept of the dissolution of the Russian empire and the construction on its ruins of sovereign national states, will also be supported by us within the framework of our guidelines based on principle.

The dissolution of the Russian empire is in the interests of all the subjugated nations, even those in the Western sphere of influence. Russian imperialism expands continuously and threatens all nations, in particular those which are liberating themselves from colonial dependence on Western great powers. Russia promises them support, gives them Greek gifts for which they must pay very dearly, since they fall under its influence and subsequently into its slavery, far worse than the one from which they have liberated themselves. The enemy of freedom is the most dreadful, even at a time, for instance, when he gives Basques weapons for their "liberation".

Today, only one empire — the Russian empire — remains in the world, the most infamous and barbaric. The British empire granted independence to dozens of nations. And what about the Russian empire? To whom has it granted freedom and state independence? Great Britain and France are giving up colonies, while Moscow and Peking are acquiring new ones. We can see a basic difference in this. In the West, the empires are falling apart, while in the East a forceful integration with the imperial structures is taking place. Each year Great Britain grants independence to some of its last colonies, while Russia crushes with tanks the Hungarian revolution, the emancipation of the Czechs and Slovaks, and brutally avenges itself on every freedom-loving movement both in the so-called USSR and in the lands of its satellites.

We do not defend any imperialists, for our concept is national and hence anti-imperial, but we do point out how deceptive and harmful is the "suggestion" of various saboteurs and critics to create fronts against those states which themselves are surrendering their imperialistic positions, instead of concentrating our forces against the Russian empire.

No lesser nonsense are the "suggestion" to abandon the anti-Communist positions in order to take advantage of the conflict between Moscow and Peking. We have already mentioned that our world of ideas is quite the opposite of the Russian world, with its **obshchina** (commune) and Communism. Therefore, to fight only for the form of the Ukrainian state, while negating its substance means to capitulate and to accept a system alien and hostile to Ukraine. To cleanse the national revolution itself from the ideological content and to boil it down to one aspect — taking over the government with the help of national Communists or Maoists is tantamount to the establishment of the Ukrainian "Socialist Republic" as a colony of Peking, instead of the Ukrainian SSR — a colony of Russia.

Of course, every conflict between Moscow and

I. Vovchuk

The Stupid Russian Despots Rage

And my dear graves
The Muscovite is plundering.
T. Shevchenko

In the Russian Bolshevik imperial headquarters a resolution on the "Literary and Art Critique" was adopted in January 1972. It was published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the eve of the plenum of the executive board of the Union of Writers of the USSR, devoted to the problems of literary and art critique. Following an all-union plenum of "engineers of human souls", this resolution was "critically analysed" and explained at a party meeting of litterateurs in Kyiv, upbraiding the Ukrainian (bourgeois!) nationalists, Zionists and Maoists for "court services to subversive centers of American imperialism". V. Kozachenko, Yu. Zbanatskyi, and D. Pavlychko tried to outdo each other in the traitorous trade, emphasizing the party's "concern" for the development of the nation's spiritual culture. They called to a struggle with nationalism.

Moscow's literary lackeys have said nothing new. Neither was there anything new at the Moscow plenum. In Kyiv the appeal for vigilance in literary critique was connected by some with the preparations for the 50th anniversary of the incorporation of Ukraine into the imperial complex of the USSR. But they were only guessing. Apparently, the notes from Moscow to which this tragic anniversary for Ukraine

was to be sung, convincing the people of the "indivisibility in conformity with established law" of the totalitarian complex, had not arrived yet.

All resolutions of the CC CPSU are filled to the brim with boasts about the "succeses", and afterward a — but ... is placed and all the errors, shortcomings, underperformances are enumerated, and then — comes a demand to eradicate them. The resolution about critique emphasizes that "party committees, cultural institutions, creative associations, the press — all have directed their efforts to the realization of the directives of the 24th Party Congress about the raising of the level of the literary and art critique". But their level, as it is apparent from the long list of "shortcomings," "does not correspond in full to the requirements." The critique is superficial, formal, on a low level. It — according to the resolution — "lacks analysis of the development of processes in Soviet literature and art, the mutual enrichment and convergence of the cultures of Socialist nations."

The resolution obliges and orders all to intensify criticism and to force the critics "to analyze in depth the phenomena, tendencies and conformity to the established principle of the contemporary artistic process, to promote in all possible ways the

any other power or state is to our advantage for it weakens our enemy and assists in the psycho-moral mobilization of revolutionary forces in the Russian empire. But this does not mean that freedom and statehood will be brought to us by foreign forces on their bayonets. We still have not forgotten that Nazi-Germany's bayonets had brought us new slavery. Therefore, taking advantage of every conflict between Russia and other states, we must remember that we cannot reimburse our conditional "ally" by accommodating ourselves to his domestic political, social and ideological system, for then we shall

become a colony of the new 'liberator'".

Ukraine, together with other nations subjugated by Russia, is for the time being a forgotten superpower of our age. But its lofty semaphores are not growing dimmer. On the contrary, they are glowing ever brighter and pointing to the only road to be followed by those who search for a way out of the blind alley of the world political, ideological, social and even religious crisis.

"It is better to die in flames, than to live under the Russian yoke." — **Jan Palach**, a Czech hero who immolated himself in Prague in 1968.



Young Ukrainians, wearing their national costumes, marched through the streets of Bradford, England in January 1972 demanding the release of historian Valentyn Moroz and other recently arrested Ukrainian intellectuals.

consolidation of the Leninist principles of partisanship..." The resolution outlines a number of state efforts including the training and "retraining" of cadres which are to carry out the party's orders and to prove "the conformity to the established principle" of the convergence of national cultures and their "merging" into a single Soviet one, with its Russian spirit and servile mentality.

According to the principles of partisanship, as it is stated in the program of the CPSU, "the study of the problems of world history and the contemporary development in the world should reveal a regular progress of mankind's movement toward Communism..." In line with this dogma, criticism should not assist in the perception of the many-sided national life of human societies and people in literary and artistic creativity; in the Russian kingdom it should show the "regular movement" of the subjugated nations toward Communism, under the disguise of which the Bolshevik khanate dreams about the "merging" of nations into a single "Soviet society".

The Ukrainian nationalism struggles against these dreams, with their vandalism in practice. B. Buryak, a doctor of philology, in an extensive article — having linked nationalism with world anti-Communism — calls to a struggle with Ukrainian nationalism. "This should be remembered at all times", — he admonishes in the article "The Poverty of Anti-Communism and Literature" (*Radyanska Ukraina*,

Jan. 28, 1972). The learned doctor ends his didactic prattle about "the poverty of anti-Communism" thus: "... Therefore all degrading of socialist ideology, all deviation from it is tantamount to the strengthening of the bourgeois ideology." An instructive warning also appeared in the official organ of the so-called government of the "sovereign" colony, the Ukr. SSR, shortly after the wave of arrests rolled over Ukraine. One can see planned consistency in the actions of the imperial guards: arrests, and in their wake a warning to the learned hirelings from Kyiv.

In the news reports which reached the West from Moscow, where the representatives of the Western press have certain ties with government circles, it is stated that the Ukrainian cultural leaders were arrested for "nationalist activities" and "deliberate dissemination of slanders against the authorities." Twelve people were arrested in Kyiv, seven in Lviv, in other cities the "suspects" were searched and questioned. Among the arrested the Western press named: I. Dzyuba, I. Svitlychnyi, V. Chornovil, Ye. Sverstyuk — all of them are well-known leaders in the field of Ukrainian culture.

The press mentions that some of the arrested were surveilled for a long time by "the eyes and ears" of the watch dogs of the KGB in order to discredit and arrest them. This detail is not new; it is self-understood, yet important. It points to the sharpening of the antagonism between two opposing forces:



One of many demonstrations held by Ukrainians throughout the world, urging the release of Valentyn Moroz from the notorious Vladimir prison.

the national idea and the Russian system of Bolshevism, in whose political snares Ukraine has been entangled. One can assume that the Russian government in Ukraine in its as yet unsuccessful struggle with nationalism is preparing some trial — a political “extravaganza”, in order to link Ukrainian nationalism with foreign powers.

Two documents: V. Moroz’s “Instead of the Final Plea” and V. Chornovil’s “Statement” which were distributed to the press by the Ukrainian Central Information Service (UCIS), made their way to the West through different channels. We know how the Russian Bolshevik government avenged itself on historian V. Moroz in November 1970. They tried him behind closed doors, having first surrounded the building where the trial was held with guards and soldiers. His relatives and friends were not admitted to the mock trial, while the people from various parts of Ukraine swarmed about the building making demands, showing indignation, protesting. Sentenced to 14 years, V. Moroz boycotted the mock trial. It was boycotted as well by the witnesses: I. Dzyuba, B. Antonenko-Davydovych and V. Chornovil.

Their firmness and noble posture transformed the mock trial into a battle of the Ukrainian idea with the rotting Bolshevik system. “There are epochs when decisive battles are fought on the plane of social morality, civic conduct, when even elementary human dignity, resisting brutal pressure, can become an important revolting, revolutionary force. In my opinion, our epoch also belongs to such epochs.” — Thus spoke I. Dzyuba seven years ago, on the 30th anniversary of V. Symonenko’s birth, calling him the poet of the Ukrainian idea.

These were the beginnings, when the “poets of the sixties” tossed the first national sparks into Ukrainian reality frozen by the imperialism of Russian Bolshevism. The sparks broke through the wall of fear by which Bolshevism enveloped the people in the present Russian empire where there is neither national nor personal freedom. Where there is no human freedom, there cannot be national freedom, for national freedom is first of all the freedom of individuals.

The present rulers of the Russian kingdom always refer to the “infallible tenets” of Lenin in brutally combatting the Ukrainian national idea. And side by side with this, they stress the “great and vanguard” role of the Russian people, with the bayonets of which Lenin and his party renewed the Russian empire toppled in national revolutions. This combination is not accidental, for Lenin embodies the Russian national soul, while Stalin — the Russian statehood with its servile history. Continuing his master’s work, Stalin strengthened the revived monster, brutally imposing the Russian spirit of historic servitude in the empire. Amidst economic ruin, while destroying historic cultural and national structure of the subdued nations, with mounds of

corpses the architects of the contemporary Russian empire have attempted and are still attempting to return the subjugated nations to Russia’s historic path, imposing bondage and slavery upon them.

Unbending forces, united by the national idea, the forces of Ukrainian nationalism, are waging a struggle against the contemporary imperial dreams. The wave of arrests is a subsequent expression of rage of the imperial guard against the nationally creative people, who are melting the ice of great-powerism with their deeds, and undermining the imperial foundations. Stifling freedom, the Russian Bolsheviks are at the same time forced to appeal to it, which proves its immortality. Fear of it forces the leadership of a totalitarian state to stage “extravaganzas” of it with puppets in national councils and governments, in unions of writers, in labor unions and even in the committees of national Communist parties. The actors in these “democratic” models “discuss matters”, while everything is decided at the imperial summit.

Several years ago, Lev Lukyamenko, convicted for his activity directed at Ukraine’s secession from the Russian kingdom, asked KGB Capt. Denisov: “...What is the purpose of Article 17 of the Constitution, which gives every republic the right to secede from the USSR?” And the KGB investigator replied: “For foreign countries.” The answer is true. To the leaders of the empire and its guard which protects the imperial indivisibility, it is clear that the USSR Constitution, as well as all “democratic” institutions of that empire — are a “showcase” created out of fear of freedom.

The struggle initiated by the “poets of the sixties” on a social plane for the defense of human rights, for the respect of the constitution and laws, is today transforming itself into a political attitude and the struggle of the nation for its natural and historic right to live in its own state with all-round freedom of the individual; hence, it is a struggle against the colonial status of present-day Ukr. SSR with its Russian Bolshevik slavery. The national and political formation (V. Moroz calls this process “national renaissance”) is extending ever more and encompassing various spheres of the life of the nation. In its underground rumbling the imperial guard can discern a demand to remove the decaying and fictitious supports, ambiguous and violated laws, to remove people grown wild from arbitrariness and irresponsibility, the accumulation of injustices and lawlessness in order to build really strong foundations of Ukrainian statehood of the reborn individual and nation.

They hear in the Kremlin that the spirit of energy is awakening in the depths of national life frozen by the Russian Bolshevik tyranny, forming itself into a national political force. The leaders of the empire fear the inevitable, when the dispersed energy of the nation will unite into a single force,

and lightening will strike and thunder roar from the national depths. The people, having confidence in themselves, will destroy all obstacles which put the brakes on the national energy. They will clear away all foreign historic brushwood and consolidate the national idea on restored land. In the document "Instead of the Final Plea" which is circulating among the population, V. Moroz says that the various schemes of the government by which it attempts to arrest the national formation of Ukraine are already powerless.

"Your (imperial — I.V.) dams are strong and promising, but they stand on dry ground. The spring waters have by-passed them and found new beds for themselves." The national and political revival has become "many-planed and multilayered. It manifests itself in thousands of forms." The jailers of the USSR are not strong enough to stop it, "for the national sentiment lives in the soul of every human being, even the one who, it would seem, has died spiritually." The times when the entire spiritual life was squeezed into "official framework have passed beyond return."

Independently of the official culture of socialist realism, restricted by regulations and paragraphs, there exists as a counterbalance to it "a culture outside the Ministry of Culture and philosophy outside the periodical *Voprosy filosofii*." Self-published

literature (*Samvyday*), which publishes works of individuals without official control and censorship, "grows, enriches itself with new forms and genres, attracts new authors and readers." It has taken root so deeply in life, maintains the convicted historian, "that no increase in the staff of informers, no Japanese magnetophones will help."

For people who view contemporary life in Ukraine by the categories of the 1930s, through the then glasses of fear, such a statement can seem unbelievable. This is responsible for the underrating of the new phenomena which emerged in the life of Ukraine and of the empire as a whole. I shall attempt, at least briefly, to pause over the above assertions.

The authors, readers and all those "attracted" to the *samvydav* are people who were born mostly in the '30s, or even in the '40s. They grew up in a somewhat different climate. The party, or more precisely, its omnipotent top echelon, saw that the terror machine of the times "of the great Stalinist fear" directed against "the enemies of the people" has become dangerous for the party itself as well as for the party leaders. It was necessary to change the methods of administrative and political pressure in the imperial realm.

Encounters with soldiers who returned from the West, and there were millions of these, provided



UPA Leaflets (1949) — Woodcuts by UPA fighter and artist Nil Khasevych
 ft: USSR — The Peoples' Prison; Freedom for Peoples — Freedom for Individuals
 t: For a Ukrainian Independent State — For Freedom and a Better Life

people with an opportunity to compare life in "bourgeois" countries with the life in the socialist "fatherland".

O. Herzen, analyzing the socio-political background of the Dekabrist revolt (1825) wrote that "the direction of thinking after the War of 1812 has become completely different", in the then empire. After World War II the trend of thought in Ukraine changed all the more and became different.

The people who today are snatched by "Black Marias" for nationalism, just as those who formulate the opinions of the *samvydav* have matured and moulded themselves in the psychological climate of intense struggle of the Russian Bolshevik occupation regime with Ukrainian nationalism. The military and political struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian

selves people having today's national and political attitude, in which a great, or perhaps a decisive role is played by the *samvydav*. By its censorship and repression — attempting to direct creativity into a single channel "of the one and indivisible statehood" with its "fatherland" patriotism and persecuting national creativity — the occupation regime inadvertently assisted the spread of Ukrainian *samvyday*. And the development of radio-electronics, the extension of technical means of information (a considerable increase and accessibility of typewriters, magnetophones, radios, etc.) provided technical means for the *samvydav* and the national and political revival.

Under the influence of technological progress, changes have also occurred in the structure of na-



Ukrainian National Customs.
Christmas Guests, Painted by
Edward Kozak.

Soldiers of independent Ukraine of
the Princely, Cossack and Modern
Period (1918-1921).

Insurgent Army) under the political leadership of the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) continued until 1950. A year after the end of the war, the population of West Ukraine boycotted the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. And when the weapons were knocked out of their hands, the sparks of that struggle spread across the expanses of the Bolshevik kingdom. It is not by chance that Vasyl Symonenko, the poet of the national idea, called Lviv, the then center of the national liberation struggle, "the capital of my dreams, the epicenter of my joys and hopes."

And he came to the epicenter:

"...with the fascination of a son
From the steppes, where Slavuta spins his legend,
So that your impetuous lion's heart
Will breathe a drop of strength into my heart."

In such psychological climate formulated them-

tional society. The significance of intellectual work has risen, and under changed conditions individualities emerged from among the popular masses and the role of highly educated experts was strengthened. Many of them have means for duplication: typewriters, magnetophones, cameras, and so forth. Provided a small percentage of them will chose to support some work, this will already guarantee its duplication and dissemination in thousands of copies. Creative thought which does not fit into the standards of the "fatherland" patriotism with its official socialist realism, searching for expression — finds it in *samvydav*.

Samvydav seizes upon only that which finds a response in society due to its national authenticity, pointing to the root of evil in the harsh reality which is sensed by the absolute majority of people. The reader sees that what he has read reveals the root

of the evil and calls the evil-doers to account; therefore he becomes the author's assistant. He invests his work and money in order to protect the author from informers, circulating the read material among people holding similar views. This helps in uniting the people and ideologically cements public opinion as a counterweight to "Soviet society" which the Russian Bolshevik government in Ukraine imposes with the help of official mechanical means with the assistance of renegades and slaves of a "foreign country."

"Nothing has helped the activization of public life in Ukraine so much as your repressions", — V. Moroz told the court. Ridiculing the illegal protectors of the laws of a foreign government, he declares to them that trials and repressions "have not frightened, but have aroused the interest". The main thing is that a belief in the national truth has emerged among the people. The national and political formation (V. Moroz call it renaissance) has not yet become a mass phenomenon, but in times of such mass media as radio and technical means, when in Ukraine about 6 million people own short-wave radios, it is socially becoming a profound phenomenon. (On the basis of information by the Ministry of Radio Industry, there were 18 mil. radios in 1963, 27 mil. in 1968, and today perhaps 30 mil. radios in personal use of the population of the so-called USSR.)

Significant for the development of the national attitude further is the fact that Ukrainian forces which direct it have distanced themselves from the programmatic outlines of oppositional anti-regime trends in ethnic Russia. In the third issue of the *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (The Ukrainian Herald)/so far six have appeared/ this extremely important statement was published: "In the Russian *samvydav* and abroad a document entitled: 'The Program of Democrats of Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic Region' was disseminated. The *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* with all responsibility states that Ukrainian democratic circles have not participated in the preparation and approbation of that document which pretends to set a program. The word 'Ukraine' was either inserted in the said document out of conjectural motives, or it gives evidence of some relation to the document of Russian or Russified circles, which are in Ukraine."

The distancing of the Ukrainian political forces from the forces of Russian empire which defend the indivisibility of the imperial complex is an extremely important thing. The Ukrainian nationalist circles, moulding themselves into a state political force, declare that they are not going in the same direction with those who in the program of the future conceal Russian imperialism of the Bolsheviks by a "democratic" element, preserving the wholeness of the



СВЯТ-ВЕЧІР В УКРАЇНІ

"Preparing for the traditional Ukrainian Christmas Supper".

Painting by J. Krajkiwsky.



СВЯТ-ВЕЧІРНИЙ ДІЛУХ

Ancient Ukrainian Christmas custom — Father greeting his family with a sheaf of wheat symbolizing the Bread of Life. Painting by J. Krajkiwsky.

empire. The program only calls for the removal of the arbitrariness of the Bolshevik dogmatists and the preservation of the imperial whole under a new label. The statement about the distancing points to the maturity of the political thought in Ukraine.

In this state of affairs repressions (an old tried weapon of Russian imperialism) will not give the enemy the expected results. "Why don't repressions give the usual effect? — asks V. Moroz of his 'judges'. The times have changed; this is the whole answer. Stalin had enough water to extinguish the flames ... You are destined to live in the epoch when reserves have been exhausted ..." Present-day repressive measures of the occupation regime can slow down, but they cannot stop the agitated political development in Ukraine. "You have taken a stick into your hands in order to scatter the fire, but instead of this you have only revived it. You have no strength to do more. This means that the social organism in which you live has entered such a phase of development when repressions produce the opposite effect."

V. Chornovil in his statement to three officials of the so-called Ukr. SSR, describing vandalism of the occupation regime at the Yanivskyi cemetery in Lviv, also talks about "revival". "Under the supervision of specially assigned people a bull-dozer mows down Riflemen's graves, while the spades of grave-diggers upset human remains," — writes the journalist. He calls on the officials (not begs them), the Russian hirelings in Kyiv, in the name of humanity "to intervene in the actions of the provincial despots and to stop the mockery of the Riflemen's graves." The furious government rages in its weakness and — in order to revenge itself upon its enemies who half a century ago defended the Ukrainian

territory, Halychyna, from Poland's colonialism — cuts the heads of Riflemen's crosses with a bull-dozer. A special guard protests the machine.

What does the occupational regime fear? National freedom, for which a struggle is currently being waged in Ukraine, in defense of which the Riflemen have laid down their lives. Prior to the Bolshevik occupation, still under the "Seigniorial" Poland, as the Russian press refers to the Polish republic of that time, the people of Lviv annually paid tribute to the Riflemen, thus extolling national freedom. The then Polish government looked cross-eyed at these celebrations, tried to prevent or hinder them, but did not resort to such vandalism. Only Russian Bolshevism which attempts to keep Ukraine in its imperial grip and combats every manifestation of national and human dignity and freedom decided upon such overt vandalism. And this is because in spite of the fact that memorial services at Riflemen's graves have been banned, and people have been punished and persecuted, they still managed to decorate the graves with flowers secretly at night, paying tribute to freedom.

The government of the Russian empire, the most infamous prison of nations in world history, thrown off its course by the blows of nationalisms, even fights with Riflemen's crosses, by which it "revives" the flame of national sentiment. "Thousands of Halychanians have in these days passed by the desecrated and plundered graves", — writes V. Chornovil. "There is confusion and indignation among the population". It spreads across all Ukrainian territories, and together with it as a rousing bell sound the words of V. Moroz: "... We shall fight!"

НИНІ У СВАТІМ ЙОРДАНІ ЩОБ НАС ВІДНОВИВ !



"Traditional Blessing of the water in Ukraine, commemorating the Baptism of Christ". Painting by L. Denysenko.

Maria Ovcharenko

The Poets of Spirit and Truth

(Lina Kostenko and Vasyl Symonenko)

Along the thorny path of its development, the Ukrainian literature has exhibited the attributes of the mythical Phoenix, who —having died —was born again from its ashes. We know from our literary history that — relegated by political conditions to the state of almost non-existence—it flourished again with luxurious blossoms of renaissance. This was the case in the time of T. Shevchenko; this occurred in the time of I. Franko, and then L. Ukrainka. This was the case in the 1920s, and finally a similar miracle repeated itself in the past decade, a time least expected by us.

After almost a total necrosis and sterilization of creative forces during the evil days of Stalin, when the literary remnants, not quite tortured or shot to death, strained themselves in the hoarse rattling of outdated and stale phrases in the spirit of so-called socialist realism, composed noisy, hollow odes in honor of the tyrant or masked themselves with folklore sentimentality on the pages of so-called Soviet literary journals, suddenly the first swallows of genuine poetry appeared. After almost a 30-year stagnation, genuine poets, real people, and not some obedient, spiritless robots began to talk again from printed pages during the short-lived "thaw" (de-Stalinization). This had the effect of a current of fresh air which unexpectedly burst into stale atmosphere, of a spring of living water in a barren desert.

The greatest surprise and at the same time joy were caused by the fact that the poets who began speaking in a new voice all belonged to a young generation. They were either born in the years of brutal collectivization or on the eve of the Second World War. Their early childhood passed in times of great misfortune precipitated by the war, their school years in the time of post-war Stalinist terror. Some of them grew up under the care of their mothers alone, for their fathers either perished or failed to return from the war. Of great significance is the fact that their first but completely mature works of art appeared in print at a time when their average age was 22-23 years.

Even more than by these biographically historic facts, they are united by spiritual aspects: a genuine

literary talent, an almost identical poetical ideology and a similarity of basic motives and themes. Regardless of the fact that each of the poets of the sixties is a unique phenomenon in himself, they are united into one group by traits which are common to almost all of them. In their creative work they unconditionally deviate from socialist realism which made free creativity impossible through restrictions determined by the party. In defiance of the socialist code created by Zhdanov to please Stalin and perpetuated to this day in the Russian empire, the poets of the sixties assigned the first place to the lofty right of every artist to transmit to his readers his own internal world of ideas and experiences, and not the worn out clichés dictated by the party. Speaking in a human tongue, they created a real revolution in literature.

In the formal expression of their creativity, the young poets generally do not break with tradition, in particular with regard to rhythm and stanzas, but in their poetical metaphors, intellectualism and original new vocabulary they deviate from the traditional form of poetry. Extremely important is the fact that they, having rejected the wearisome stereotypes of so-called Soviet poetic art, rest with absolute consistency on Ukrainian national traditions, absorbing into their creativity the most essential elements of folk songs and inhaling the fervour of Shevchenko's ideas. Having grown out organically from the national foundation, they are thoroughly national poets, or rather ardent patriots of their native land. They manifest their patriotism in a whole series of beautiful verses, each in his own way, dedicating their works to Ukraine or to Shevchenko. Hand in hand with their patriotism goes their humaneness, their love to man, not to abstract mankind, but to concrete individuals from their own surroundings, exhausted by work and wounded by the inhuman system, their love to their mother and to the Ukrainian nature.

In the works of the poets of the sixties a prominent place is occupied by satire, for years proscribed in the Stalinist era. In it they denounce the system which gave rise to graphomaniacs, flatterers,

careerists and liars. Condemning the errors and mortal sins of their parents in the age of Stalin, they become uncompromising champions of truth and sincerity, without which no genuine art can exist. In contemporary so-called Soviet Ukraine there are many poets — their number ranging from 500-600. Still, one should not assume that all of them belong ideologically to the same group of poets of the sixties under discussion. Quite a few of them consider themselves "Soviet patriots" and produce works which differ little from the works of their parents' generation. The poets of the sixties, the innovators, from under whose pens came valuable works, amount to several dozen. Here we shall consider only two, from various aspects the most prominent representatives of this group, and with examples we shall attempt to illustrate how some motives which form the basic essence of their poetry are reflected in their works.

Lina Kostenko

The first place among the poets of the sixties is due to Lina Kostenko, not only because she is the oldest among them (born in 1930 in the Kyiv region), but primarily because she was the one who initiated new trends in literature, discussed here, as well as because she is one of the most talented poets of that group. The appearance of her first small, containing only 60 pages, collection of poetry (1957) was something unexpected and seemed a miracle of sorts, just as the first spring flowers which break through the frozen earth in defiance of frost and wind can seem miraculous. The collection's title, "Prominnya zemli" (Rays of the Earth) aptly transmits the general character of these poems. These are real rays which shine with artistic and human truth, warm with love and optimistic enthusiasm. In a year another collection "Vitryla" (Sails) (1958), and in 1961 the third — "Mandrivky sertsya" (Journeys of the Heart) were published. They are even more daring and dynamic, more profound intellectually and as far as viewpoint is concerned. In them the poetess gladly shares with the reader her own world of ideas and feelings, not borrowed from anyone. Following Stalinist stagnation a genuine poet has spoken for the first time, liberally scattering the precious stones of artistic pictures and brilliant metaphors, creating new sounds and melodies from the treasures of our language and folk-song motives.

L. Kostenko has entered the literary arena already as a mature poet, as a genuine master of verse with harmonious and crystalized world outlook, with a feeling of responsibility for a poet's high mission, with a sense of human dignity. She chose two forces as her guide post: her own conscience and truth:

"Neither fear,
nor compromise.

Conscience, follow every challenge!"... (343*)
"Poetry is a sister of mine.

And human truth is our mother." (163)

In full awareness, the poetess follows the not-too-easy path of her calling:

"I have chosen my Fate for myself...

And I have accepted it as law..." (163)

Only the feeling of spiritual strength and ancestral pride could have inspired the poetess to a courageous manifestation of her leading concepts:

"I am glad that I have strong hands..." (53)

And her heart:

"...knows no fear, with reason,

My great-grandfather was a Zaporizhian (Cosack),

Led boats down the rapids." (142)

Not only her courage and lack of compromise which compelled her to "swim against the swift current", but also her conception and sensation of the world have grown out of her native ground. She speaks about it with classical simplicity and profound lyricism. Below are some excerpts:

"I grew up in orchards,
where warm pear trees ripened...

I grew up in the fields,
where the sunrise, as conflagration...

I grew up in the forests,
where the rosy trunks of pinetrees glowed...

I grew up on the Dnipro...
And the hues of these distant years —

No matter where I'd disappear now,
No matter what I'd write, as reflection,
Lie upon the white paper." (10)

The poetess leads the reader to the "full-eared fields in golden sleeplessness" where her dreams matured and her soul became manly, where distant journeys appeared to her as if in a dream. And then, when the years rolled by, "as hurricane clouds", and her heart passed through storm and fire, she returned in her thoughts to the native fields "in the lullabies of the winds", to the roots of trees in her native soil. The dominant trait of Lina's world outlook is dynamism, a constant forward movement, a glorification of life and growth, while her favorite pictures are storm, hurricane clouds, rapid currents, sails, meandering horizons and, most often, wings, but all of her dynamic poetical visions merge in the central picture of her native land as a lasting value:

"Only having (firm) ground under ones feet

Is it possible to start soaring."

*) The numbers indicate pages in L. Kostenko's collection: "Poeziyi" (Poems)
(Published by "Smoloskyp", Baltimore, 1969.)

Resting on native soil gives her assurance and strength:

"There are beautiful countries in the world,
For me however that land is the most beautiful,
Where my wings have grown up." (Ground, 350)
"Even floating flowers

have a root in the soil." (62)

L. Kostenko expresses her love for her native land without undue affectation, yet each of her words shows how she is organically bound with it. Unequalled illustrations of her native landscape belong to her best works, while to the Dnipro along which the poetess has grown up, she dedicates one of her better poems, identifying in it its beauty and grandeur with the attributes of her nation (excerpts):

"Oh Dnipro, Dnipro,
you are gentle, straight and grand,
as my people..." (160)

L. Kostenko's second great love belongs to man. The poetess does not love abstract mankind, but real people to whom she is bound by the feeling of gratitude:

"Every moment of my life
was saved by someone.
Otherwise I'd've perished long ago from hunger,
cold, loneliness or smallpox.
Everything which I return to people, —
is but a tiny fraction of my debt." (338)

The poetess asks nothing of people —
"except faith

in every word heard from me,
in every glance of my gray eyes." (50)

The source of Lina's humanism is to be found in her optimistic outlook on the world and in her boundless confidence in people who keep our land warm with the warmth of their palms. The poetic image of her human being is idealized and inspired by truth, aspirations, dreams, love, sincerity, generosity...

As a true lyricist (L. Kostenko is first and foremost a lyrical poet), the poetess devotes much attention to the lyric of love. Her collections contain about fifty poems on the subject of this most intimate human emotion, but here, just as in her other poems, her originality manifests itself. Instead of cheap sentimentality or exalted emotionality, L. Kostenko utilizes in her love lyrics, just as in other works, the technique of contrasts: encounter and parting, agreement and disagreement, the fullness of love and the cold, intimacy and alienation:

"You and I —
as the sea and sky —
are both distant and close at the same time.
We should meet at the horizon.
But the horizon flies from us." (150)

Just as L. Kostenko's entire outlook on life, so her ideas on love are full of movement and dynamism. Her dreams about the chosen one are not some idyllic pictures, but the dreams of the sea about hurricanes (131):

"...I don't know yet:
whether you're flash of lightening
which will burn me down,
or a blissful ray,
which will make me blossom". (132)

The poetess' greatest wish is not happiness in simple human terms, but the preservation of her own personality, her own truth. She wants to preserve:

"one thing,
her own,
unique." (130)

The awareness of the worth and uniqueness of their own personality constitutes a clear motive in the works of other poets, the contemporaries of L. Kostenko, as for instance in the poem by Vasyl Symonenko:

"Are you aware that you are a man.
Are you aware of it or not!
Your smile is unique,
Your suffering is unique,
Your eyes are the only ones of their kind."

To a genuine artist any type of suppression of free thought is tantamount to creative death. And in the name of true art, L. Kostenko sharply denounces sick poets and graphomaniacs who trample artistic and human truth, producing poetry "of nondurable metal, obliterated thoughts and hollow words" (118). Sunny, good-natured humour, which interlaces some of L. Kostenko's poetry, here transforms itself into merciless, sharp satire. With it the poetess scourges the cheap verse-makers who "know how to rhyme", and condemns base opportunists who "toss cigarette butts of thought", having forgotten the fact that even "the highest buskins in the world will not change one's own stature" (174). Idle prattle and fuss surrounding verse-making, and even more the undignified cringing around "those having power" become the objects of the poetess' sharpest criticism.

Perhaps, since the second half of Shevchenko's "Son" (Dream), Ukrainian literature has not heard such sharp satirical condemnation of servile flattery and careerism. In Shevchenko's "Son", the inhuman Russian imperial system, the tyrannical tsar and the spiritless mass of his subjects, who have made a god out of the despot, are ridiculed in grotesque forms. In L. Kostenko it is some autocrat, an all-powerful literary **aparatchik**, perhaps, the editor of "an influential newspaper", surrounded by "secretaries and cherubs", around whom crowd the pitiful opportunists, "in order to flatter him and to have a drink together". And thus, amid the smell of radish and wine, when "all the guests are lying side by side" in the agony of fear that the almighty ruler will divert his attention from them, he (the almighty) surpasses the Sabaoth Himself by turning not the clay into man, but man into clay ("The Seventh Heaven", 185-186). The glowing sarcasm of the poetess turns into unrestrained anger against those who "have munched on ideas" and "upon instructions, taking measure from pressed blockheads and elastically spiral scoundrels" — "have maimed and bended thought". The lofty thought of the epoch "ached with truth, cried through

poetry, learned to keep silent or went to enjoy northern lights, having travelled in a bolted train. . . " To get artistic gold from the fusion of falsehood and fright is a hopeless alchemy, says the poetess, for genuine art can rise from the ruins only after being sprinkled with the living water of truth.

Although the poetess speaks in general terms throughout her works, it is immediately possible to guess whom and what she has in mind, having heard the angry lines about "press blockheads" and "elastically spiral scoundrels", about the northern lights and the bolted trains where lofty ideas and truth are imprisoned. No less expressive indictment of the prison system is provided by the poetess in the poem-fable "Journeys of the Herat" in the chapter entitled "Basilisk's Eyes". Basilisk is a horrible reptile, the cause and the constant source of human misfortune. Flattering dogs, former people, serve the monster in exchange for food and meat which it tosses to them as reward. Real people who engaged in a duel with Basilisk turned to ashes under his gaze. The traveller (the fable's hero), made strong by the force of goodness, wishes to overcome the monster. But semi-people come to the aid of Basilisk, putting the Man-Traveller in shackles and imprisoning him. The executioner-jailer tortures the starving Traveller, tempting him with a piece of bread. But then, his unbreakable spirit which succumbs neither to weariness nor death appears to the Man-Traveller, who — it would seem — is already undergoing the agony of death, and frees him from bondage, returning to him his confidence in man. The allusions of this unusual poem-fable to the Russian Bolshevik system of terror, whether Stalinist or post-Stalinist, are all too clear, making it unnecessary to discuss them separately.

As can be seen from the analysis of certain basic motives, L. Kostenko's creative power is an extraordinary phenomenon in contemporary Ukrainian literature. She is deeply rooted in our national traditions, closely associated with the freedom-loving ideas of T. Shevchenko and L. Ukrainka, and in brilliant aphorisms with the wisdom of Franko's "My Emerald". Her harmonious and optimistic outlook, coupled with faith in truth and human goodness, organically grows out of the Ukrainian national concept of life: "A human being doesn't fly it seems, yet he has wings. These wings are not made of down feathers, but of truth, virtue and confidence, of loyalty, of constant striving, of sincerity, of song, hope, dream" (348-349). Her faith in the human spirit as the highest value is thoroughly humanistic and idealistic and even Christian in essence, which is proved by the fragments of her polyphonic poem "The Starry Integral" (1968). In the "lyric toccata" of that poem she formulates an unusual prayer in which she prays for that which is dearest to her:

"Conscience, peace, art, wisdom,
musical muscles of beauty,
smile, intellect, dignity, manliness,
save, O Savior, save".

After this prayerful prelude there follows the picture of the Messiah, just as it is reflected in the popular mentality, represented in the monologue of the old man Musiy: He is "both a relative of God. I a brother of men, a sower of goodness. He divided bread. Cured madness. . . He was cursified. . ." (340) The people could not perceive His holiness.

The primary source of L. Kostenko's idealistic world outlook can be found in her poem "Temples"

"My Grandfather Mykhaylo was a temple builder.

He was a monk, a fighter against the devil. . .

He was a loner. He was quite severe.

He never divided his soul between God and devil.

He drove out traders from the temple.*)"

*) **Duklya**, Pryashiv, 1967, uu. 216-217.

*) "The Bulging Sun", 241-242, "Ukr. Calendar", Warsaw, 1968.

On the basis of this short excerpt one can already recognize that the basic traits from which the soul of "temple-builder Mykhaylo" was forged are traits characteristic of the author herself. For the motive of loneliness ("wise tranquility of loneliness", 192), which sets her apart from the fidgety graphomaniacs, and the motive of proud severity and lack of compromise which do not permit her to divide her soul between God and the devil, as well as a firm determination to drive the verse-makers-traders from the temple of art often pass through her poetry. . .

L. Kostenko's great adherence to principles, the broad diapason of her poetic scope which includes both gentle lyricism and philosophical intellectualism, and the brilliant artistic form of her works place her in the ranks of the greatest contemporary Ukrainian poets.

In the monstrous empire of the Bolshevik type, where for over half a century thought is being systematically maimed and truth killed, as could have been expected, L. Kostenko's works found themselves under fire of Russian Bolshevik criticism. Therefore, at present we hardly hear anything about her anymore. It is hard to make a prognosis about the fate which she will meet and the path that she will follow in her future works. However, one can be certain of one thing: the eagles who built a nest for herself on a cliff will not settle in the garbage dump. A poet of the caliber of L. Kostenko will not join the herd of "pressed blockheads" and "elastically spiral scoundrels". A person who has written the following lines: "Neither fear, nor compromise, Conscience follow every challenge!" (343), cannot reach a compromise with evil and falsehood. Confident in the staunchness of her spirit, we shall repeat after her in her own unsubdued words:

"Let the variegated small fry bustle about,

changing fur according to the weather...
 O poet,
 know how to search and wait!
 The best poem is still walking in freedom". (184)

Vasyl Symonenko

The appearance of L. Kostenko was a turning point in the development of our modern poetry. By their daring and lack of compromise, her collections could have become an example to be followed to a large extent. Numerous motives and poetical images of L. Kostenko repeat themselves in the works of younger poets of the sixties, but it would be erroneous to assume that they are imitating her. Similarity in the selection of themes is caused by the fact that all of them emerge from the Ukrainian national foundation.

The closeness of the motives of Vasyl Symonenko, the boldest and therefore the most popular of the poets of the sixties, to the motives of L. Kostenko does not exclude the fact that he is a thoroughly original poet both in his intimately personal lyric and — primarily — in his civic and patriotic poems. We know him chiefly as the author of patriotic verses by which he profoundly moved the souls of the young generation and addressed it in the voice of unfortunate yet unsubdued Ukraine. His first collection "Tysha i hrim" (Silence and Thunder) was a real thunder. It was like a call of the archangel's trumpet which wakes the dead, as was once said by P. Kulish with reference to T. Shevchenko's poetry.

In his short life Symonenko managed to write several dozen poems which appeared in three collections. After his death the collection "Zemne tyazhinnya" (The Earth's Gravitation) (1963) was published; "Bereh chekan" (The Shore of Expectation) (1965) appeared in the West, while a collection of his "selected" works entitled "Poeziyi" (Poems) appeared in Ukraine in 1966. The favourite themes of the poets of the sixties which we mentioned at the beginning are dominant throughout all these collections. Here we cite only two motives which by the force their expression elevate him above all the poets of that generation. These are the motives of patriotic lyricism and those denouncing the Communist system and Russian despotism in Ukraine. In his works Symonenko reaches the heights of Shevchenko's genius. Shevchenko's followers usually took from him that which suited their sentimental viewpoint: the black eyebrows, the hazel eyes, the cherry orchard, the tearful mother-Ukraine. Out of all the poets, Symonenko came closest to Shevchenko's understanding of Ukraine and his relation to it. Symonenko's love of Ukraine, just as Shevchenko's, is a tragic passion with which his soul speaks; it is his destiny, his earth gravitation, for it is a force from which he emerged and himself became part of it.

His destiny is as follows:

"You can chose everything on earth, son,
 The only thing you cannot chose is your fatherland."

("Bereh chekan", 97)

No matter where in the world he would go, "His mother's eyes and whitewashed house" will always wander after him (just as in the poetry of L. Kostenko)... He is bound with his native land for ever:

"I live by you and for you,
 I emerged from you, will turn into you".

(Ibid., 120)

His love for Ukraine is torn between joy and sorrow, between a blessing and a curse, between life and death, about which he speaks with the aid of poetic contrasts, generally accepted in the poetry of the poets of the sixties, in the poem "Ukraine", one of the masterpieces of his patriotic lyric:

"Then I rejoice in your name
 And in your name I grief...
 I bless in your name,
 Curse in your name...
 I then die with your name
 And in your name I live."

(Ibid., 102)

His tragic love for Ukraine at times reaches religious pathos: "Ukraine, you are my prayer, You are my eternal despair" (146-147). This almost religious sentiment occurs in other poets of the sixties as well, as for instance, in Ye. Hutsalo's poem about his native language:

"I receive communion
 Near your springs, clear and pure
 And gain intoxicated strength"

("Panorama", 93)

Symonenko reached genuine, Shevchenko-like heights and the highest tension in tragic patriotism in works in which he indicts Russian tyranny and the deceptive system of the Bolshevik regime. Having in mind these works, one of the underground critics said the following about Symonenko: "... Among us there never was and is no poet of greater civic courage, greater determination, greater inability to compromise, than Vasyl Symonenko."

In the cycle of these poems, the most strongly-worded condemnation of the criminal system is expressed in the poem "Granitni obelisky" (The Obelisks of Granite) published in the collection (Kyiv, 1967) under a strange title "Prorotstvo 1917" (The Prophecy of 1917). How can one prophecy having been born 19 years after the events of 1917? Such a title is a glaring falsification of the publishers and editors of this posthumous collection. In this poem the pathos of poetical wrath reaches the heights of Shevchenko's "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus) and "Poslan-nya" (Message). This is a terrible verdict to all the tyrants who have deceived and torture the people (I quote excerpts):

The concluding lines of this poem are on the par with the pathos of Shevchenko's "Poslannya":

Compare Shevchenko's: "The shackled people will soon break their chains..."

Angry denunciation of the Russian Bolsheviks for the modern system of slavery on the collective farms is provided by Symonenko in the poem "Zlodyi" (The Thief), which — banned by censorship — is circulating in Ukraine in transcripts. Here the poet tells the story of a terrified aged peasant (or perhaps not one aged peasant but all the deceived peasants in the kolkhoz system) who is to be tried for stealing from a kolkhoz field. "The aged peasant grimly scratched his head and enjoyed strong cheap tobacco... blinked his heavy eye-lashes Caught into his fist". Following the portrait of the old peasant, painted in several strokes with such distinctness had tragic pain come the lines filled with anger against those really responsible for the peasant's transgressions:

"Why is he a thief? On what grounds?

Why did he go to steal his own?... .

Who robbed and fleeced his soul?

Who tied the hands of his conscience?

Where are they — these well-fed, gray,

Stuttering demagogues and liars... .

They should be placed behind bars, they should be brought to court,

They should be locked in a prison cell for robbery!:

No one in Ukrainian literature, except Shevchenko and, perhaps, I. Vyshenskyi, has uttered such a fiery word in defense of the "smallest brother". This is already something greater than poetry.

This is a cry of the soul torn by pain, the voice of Justice at the Last Judgement.

When the creative genius of the poet who boundlessly loved life, who "wanted to embrace the whole world" and "to go searching for unprecedented adventure" (Poeziyi", 196), was approaching its zenith "death with a rusty trumpet" sounded over him. Having a premonition of the inevitable end Symonenko wrote—

"I burned for you,

Ukrainian nation...

You are in my breast

In my forehead and in my hands.

I shall fail as a star,

My immortal nation,

Upon the tragic and long

Chumak path of yours". ("Poeziyi", 186-187)

Milky Way

In the 28th year of his life the heart which burned and suffered for his people ceased to beat. In the constellation of our Milky Way a new bright star began to shine, a fiery torch began to glow whose flames spread to every corner of land and reached us across the seas. His flame burns brightly in our sky, both there and here.

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El Amanecer Americano de la Liga Mundial Anticomunista (WACL)

por el Profr.
Lic. Raimundo Guerrero G.



América es — en varios sentidos — el continente de la esperanza. Aún no sabemos si será capaz de colmar las ilusiones que el optimismo de la humanidad ha forjado en torno a ella.

El VI Congreso de la WACL representa la primera incursión de la Liga fuera del martirizado — sobre todo por el comunismo — continente asiático y de ahí la grave responsabilidad contraída por la Federación Mexicana Anticomunista (FEMACO), de hacer honor a la hidalguía latinoamericana y a los valores nacionales y a los universales depositados en el nuevo continente, primero por las culturas autóctonas de inconfundible cariz oriental — y siglos más tarde — por la civilización cristiana europea.

¿Cuáles son los títulos que pudieran invocar Latinoamérica globalmente y México en lo singular, para merecer la sede de una organización como la WACL, que comprende en su seno a los más ameritados movimientos anticomunistas en la guerra caliente de hoy día contra la agresión comunista, tales como los heroicos pueblos de China, Corea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Tailandia, Indonesia, además de los representantes de los pueblos cautivos?

El merecimiento más reciente lo constituye, sin duda alguna, la liquidación de la guerrilla de Ernesto Guevara — y de él mismo en persona — por el ejército boliviano, contando con la decidida ayuda de los campesinos de la región y acabando así con los delirios de grandeza, tanto del “Che” como de Fidel Castro, y con sus expresas pretensiones de convertir la cordillera de los Andes en la “Sierra Maestra” del continente americano.

No carece de enormes méritos la ejecutoria de gobiernos como los de Pacheco Areco y Bordaberry en Uruguay; el de Garrastazu Médici en Brasil; el anterior gobierno argentino encabezado por el Gral. Juan Carlos Onganía; el del Gral. Anastasio Somoza en Nicaragua; el de Carlos Arana en Guatemala y tantos otros gobernantes patriotas — así como la mayor parte de los ejércitos latinoamericanos — que han sabido conjurar en sus respectivos países los complots con que los comunistas, tendientes a uncir a los pueblos latinoamericanos al terrífico Estado policíaco que inviablemente instauran los comunistas en cuanto triunfan en cualquier parte del mundo — incluyendo

Chile bajo Allende — quien a pesar de su hipócrita actitud falsamente democrática, ya sabemos cómo está destrozando a su país y preparando golpes subversivos en Sudamérica.

Por lo que al caso de México se refiere, hay que destacar la defensa que nuestra nación ha venido haciendo de sí misma, tanto recientemente como desde hace por lo menos cuarenta años, en contra de los diversos intentos comunistas de apoderamiento de nuestro país.

Desde 1967 pudo advertirse que el comunismo desplegaba inauditos esfuerzos para derrocar al gobierno mexicano, entonces presidido por el Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz.

La maniobra inicial consistió en la malamente llamada “marcha de la libertad”, con que los comunistas amagaron la zona más central de México, denominada “el bajo” y que comenzó provocando un accidente ferroviario intencional en la vía México-Guadalajara, cerca de la escuela normal rural denominada “El Roque”, totalmente dominada por los comunistas.

Al año siguiente y como fruto de una paciente y muy anterior organización y de un desaforado proselitismo, pudieron los rojos levantar el mal llamado movimiento estudiantil de 1968, que puso en ebullición a los principales centros educativos de la capital de la República mexicana; pero no así a los de provincia, que permanecieron impasibles. El terrible saldo de muertos y la furia de la violencia desatada entonces fue conocida en todo el mundo.

Por último, hace poco más de un año volvieron a la carga los comunistas el aciago 10 de junio de 1971; pero en esta ocasión ya no encontraron la respuesta que esperaban de parte de los estudiantes y el movimiento subversivo murió en su cuna.

Sin embargo de la gravedad de estos otros atracos comunistas en los últimos cinco años, el mayor peligro para que México fuera comunizado ocurrió en la década de 1930 a 1940, cuando desde el poder público se empeñaron, primero Plutarco Elías Calles y luego Lázaro Cárdenas en apoderarse de la mente de la niñez y de la juventud mediante la llamada “educación socialista — en realidad marxismo de II y III Internacional mixtificado — añadiendo Cárdenas la agitación obrera y el des-

**Discurso presentado por
el Presidente Honorario, Dr. Ku Cheng Kang,
ante el Sexto Congreso de la WACL**



Sr. Presidente; distinguidos huéspedes; delegados y observadores; damas y caballeros:

Aquí, en este hermoso país, entre gente que ama apasionadamente la libertad, la Liga Mundial Anticomunista ha dado principio a su Sexto Congreso. Congregando a los combatientes anticomunistas y a los que luchan contra las tiranías en todo el mundo, este Congreso tiene la responsabilidad de encontrar la mejor forma y los mejores medios para hacer despertar al pueblo y alertarlo en contra de las intrigas comunistas, de fortalecer la unidad anticomunista y consolidar el frente de batalla en pro de la libertad y de la democracia, de tal manera que podamos detener la infiltración y la expansión comunistas, ayudar a las gentes esclavizadas a obtener su libertad y cumplir nuestra misión histórica de victoria sobre el comunismo. Creemos firmemente que la historia dejará escrita la contribución de este Sexto Congreso de la WACL, en favor de la lucha del hombre por la libertad y la democracia.

Representantes de pueblos amantes de la libertad, de todo el mundo, se reunieron en la República de China en 1967 y fundaron la Liga Mundial Anticomunista. Debido a que el Movimiento de la WACL representa adecuadamente las aspiraciones de nuestra era, se ha extendido y desarrollado rápidamente en todas partes del mundo.

Esta reunión es la primera que la WACL realiza fuera de Asia, y por lo tanto tiene una significación enorme. Este Congreso simboliza el crecimiento global del Movimiento de la WACL y atestigua que el tradicional espíritu de los pueblos latinoamericanos en pro de la libertad es, hoy por hoy, la corriente

anticomunista más importante del hemisferio occidental.

Todas las naciones y los pueblos libres, dentro y fuera de la Cortina de Hierro, que luchan por la libertad, actualmente llevan a cabo cuatro tipos de lucha en contra del comunismo internacional. Estos cuatro tipos de lucha incluyen: la agresión y la anti-agresión; la esclavitud y la anti-esclavitud; la subversión y la anti-subversión, y la negociación contra el enfrentamiento. En todas estas luchas hemos observado dos desarrollos diferentes.

En primer lugar, no importa cuán malvado y maligno aparezca el comunismo internacional, su agresión combativa no es sino reflejo de su crisis interna, que es cada vez más intensa. Debido a la actitud y falta de cooperación con los comunistas por parte de los pueblos esclavizados tras la Cortina de Hierro, a su lucha decidida contra la esclavitud, al levantamiento indómito de las víctimas contra sus agresores, y a las vigorosas medidas de los pueblos libres contra la infiltración y la subversión, los comunistas se ven rodeados de enemigos por todas partes sin tener a dónde ir ni a quién acudir.

En segundo lugar, debido a que su ambición por conquistar el mundo por medios militares ha sido seriamente obstaculizada, los comunistas se han lanzado a una guerra "de sonrisas" con el mundo libre, esperando en esta forma dividirlo, aislar a sus miembros uno de otro y crear confusión y aumentar la fricción en todas las naciones libres. Los comunistas quieren que los pueblos libres sean neutralistas y aislacionistas para poder atacar y derrotar a una nación tras otra.

Fundamentalmente, ambos desarrollos indican

quiciamiento, tanto de la economía agraria, como de la industrial, a extremos de heredar a sus sucesores en el gobierno una hipoproductión nacional caótica.

Fue precisamente luchando contra los intentos callistas y cardenistas de marxización, como surgieron a la lucha — en defensa de la juventud y de la nación y a costa del sacrificio de varias vidas y no pocas penalidades — los dirigentes universitarios que en 1967 acordaron constituir formalmente la

Federación Mexicana Anticomunista (FEMACO), a cuya fundación en Guadalajara ha seguido un esfuerzo de expansión por diversos ámbitos de nuestro país.

Y es ahora la FEMACO quien — como capítulo mexicano de la Liga Mundial Anticomunista (WACL) — recibe como anfitrión a los delegados al VI Congreso de la misma y al IV Congreso de la WYACL, Liga Mundial Juvenil Anticomunista.

la inevitable caída del comunismo internacional. Muy lamentablemente, sin embargo, ciertas naciones libres no se han dado cuenta del uso alternado que los comunistas hacen de la paz y de la guerra; viéndose presionados frecuentemente por la amenaza de una agresión armada, algunos han estado tratando de convencer a los comunistas de que respeten la paz. Erróneamente se han propuesto fórmulas de balance y vigilancia múltiple para lograr una coexistencia con los comunistas. La admisión a las Naciones Unidas de los comunistas chinos, ocurrida el otoño pasado, las visitas de Nixon a Pekín y a Moscú este año y los grandes deseos del Primer Ministro Japonés, Tanaka, de establecer pláticas con los comunistas chinos para la llamada "normalización de relaciones", todo esto, en fin, constituye la expresión del deseo de un rápido apaciguamiento por parte de los que ingenuamente sueñan en un mundo libre. Todos estos ejemplos han ocasionado el desarme espiritual.

Damas y caballeros, la idea de reemplazar el enfrentamiento con la negociación, no importa cuán plausible parezca la justificación, no toma en cuenta para nada las contradicciones básicas tanto de pensamientos como de sistemas entre la democracia y el comunismo. El comunismo presupone la eliminación de la libertad y de la democracia. Ello exige el terror de la supresión interna y constantes intentos expansionistas hacia el exterior. A menos que el comunismo desaparezca de la faz de la tierra, la tiranía comunista continuará apoyándose en la esclavitud para su control interno y en la conquista mundial para efectuar su conspiración contra la humanidad.

Por esto quiero insistir en que el enfrentamiento entre el comunismo y la democracia es constante y no encontrará solución mediante negociaciones. Los Estados Unidos han mantenido relaciones diplomáticas con la Unión Soviética por más de tres décadas, pero el feroz enfrentamiento entre ellos se ha manifestado en la competencia de armamentos nucleares y en la lucha por acaparar esferas de influencia en los dos bloques del mundo. Los que buscan tener relaciones con los chinos comunistas y tratan de establecer negociaciones en lugar de enfrentamientos abiertos, no están tomando en cuenta absolutamente la lección de la historia y el correr del tiempo.

Aunque el desarrollo de la historia del hombre parece zigzaguear con frecuencia, la dirección del tiempo en esta era presente sigue las reglas de la historia y nunca cambia. ¿Qué quiero indicar al decir la dirección del tiempo en nuestra era? Quiero decir el deseo de libertad y la lucha en contra de la esclavitud que la humanidad ha demostrado desde tiempos inmemoriales. ¿Y qué quiero decir con "reglas de la historia"? Quiero decir la victoria del hombre en su lucha por la libertad.

Sin embargo, actualmente los comunistas están todavía masacrando a las gentes libres en Indochina, esclavizando a las gentes que están tras la Cortina

de Hierro, a las de Asia y Cuba, haciendo surgir la violencia y realizando actividades de infiltración y subversión por todo el mundo, y a pesar de que el ámbito internacional está dominado por una atmósfera de apaciguamiento y de negligencia, estoy absolutamente seguro de que hay tres factores que pueden ampliamente hacer resaltar y aumentar nuestra fé en que la victoria final será de los anti-comunistas.

Primeramente, debemos reconocer que el comunismo no es sino una combinación de guerras, violencias, esclavitud, pobreza y atraso. El comunismo lleva en sí los elementos de su propia destrucción. Debido a la constante lucha contra la tiranía por parte de los pueblos esclavizados y a los interminables pleitos por el poder que los dictadores comunistas tienen, el comunismo no puede ser nunca firme y estable. Puesto que la tiranía comunista no puede suavizar los enfrentamientos con el pueblo oprimido y tampoco puede, en una forma pacífica, transferir el poder de mando de un grupo a otro, el comunismo está destinado a perecer entre estas dos luchas.

En segundo lugar, las gentes del mundo libre que abogan por las negociaciones en vez del enfrentamiento, tan pronto como cosechan los amargos frutos de sus esfuerzos, se darán cuenta, de la manera más cruel, que las tácticas de paz y de negociación de los comunistas son únicamente una extensión de sus prácticas agresivas. Se empezarán a dar cuenta, al mismo tiempo, de la contradicción fundamental que existe entre comunismo y democracia y de que esta contradicción no desaparecerá hasta que los regímenes comunistas sean derrocados y se restaure la libertad en los pueblos esclavizados. El desarrollo zigzagueante de la historia es sólo un fenómeno pasajero. La justicia, el derecho y la libertad obtendrán la victoria final.

En tercer lugar, las fuerzas anticomunistas y antiesclavistas están creciendo cada vez más en el mundo, especialmente en Asia, América Latina y Europa Oriental. La lucha por la libertad crece en todas partes, tanto tras la Cortina de Hierro como en el mundo libre. Gracias a la lucha decidida de los pueblos esclavizados y al despertar de las grandes masas de las naciones libres, la dirección del tiempo va irremediablemente contra el comunismo y los comunistas.

Señoras y Señores, ahora que nosotros, los militantes anticomunistas y los que abogamos por la democracia, estamos reunidos bajo el mismo techo para planear nuestra lucha en todo el mundo, nos damos cuenta de que estamos en un punto crítico de la historia, en que la oscuridad se retira para dar paso a un amanecer, y en que es necesario adoptar las graves responsabilidades de continuar antiguas tradiciones y abrir un nuevo camino para los que vendrán. ¿Qué contribuciones es preciso que hagamos a nuestro tiempo, y qué fuerzas podemos aportar

para que la historia regrese de su dirección torcida nuevamente a su curso normal? Nos enfrentamos a pruebas verdaderamente serias. No podemos evitar sentir que dependiendo del resultado de este Congreso y de la manera en que se realice en el futuro nuestra lucha por la libertad humana, se decidirá de una manera u otra el destino mismo de la humanidad de hoy en adelante. Tomando en cuenta todas las tendencias y situaciones positivas y negativas, deseo ahora proponer ciertos objetivos de realización común:

Debemos expresar insistentemente la voluntad común de todos los pueblos amantes de la libertad y formar una corriente formidable en contra del comunismo. Debemos iniciar una campaña pro-libertad con la participación de todo el pueblo, de los cuerpos parlamentarios, de los que dirigen la opinión pública, y de los medios de comunicación masiva. Más aún, la lucha anti-comunista del pueblo debe llevarse mediante actos abiertos contra el comunismo hasta el nivel gubernamental. La cooperación regional anticomunista, deberá crecer y convertirse en una gran unidad anticomunista que abarque a todo el mundo.

Debemos oponernos vehementemente a la ansiosa pero errónea política del gobierno japonés para llegar a las llamadas "relaciones normalizadas" con los comunistas chinos.

Debemos solemnemente reprochar al gabinete de Tanaka porque sus intentos actuales violan las obligaciones del tratado y la buena fe internacional; van contra los deseos de las mayorías japonesas, prolongarán y harán más penosa la esclavización del pueblo de China Continental y ocasionarán graves daños no sólo para el futuro de Japón, sino también para la libertad y la seguridad de Asia, así como para el futuro del Pacífico y del mundo. Esperamos sinceramente que el gobierno de Tanaka se detendrá antes de que sea demasiado tarde y abandonará todos los planes de relaciones diplomáticas con los chinos comunistas.

Debemos también oponernos a los pactos diplomáticos secretos de América con los chinos y los rusos comunistas, ya que dichas naciones sacrifican inevitablemente los intereses del mundo libre; perjudican la unidad de los anticomunistas, del mundo libre; lesionan seriamente el destino de todo el mundo. Debemos al mismo tiempo oponernos a las actitudes de ambigüedad y de entrega que adoptan ciertas naciones ante los agresores comunistas, prolongando de esta manera la esclavitud de las gentes que se encuentran tras la Cortina de Hierro y esclavizando cada vez más a un mayor número de gentes.

Debemos difundir ampliamente los resultados de este Congreso y promover la unidad de los anticomunistas de las naciones libres latinoamericanas. Se debería pedir ayuda a todos los países libres para que presten más atención y cooperen

más con América Latina, con el fin de que esta parte del mundo se desarrolle mejor, se acelere su prosperidad y su democracia sea defendida. Todos los que formamos parte del resto del mundo deberíamos estrechar fuertemente la mano de nuestros amigos latinoamericanos y luchar junto con ellos en contra de la infiltración comunista, de la subversión y de la violencia en esta región. Tenemos que aplastar los planes comunistas para comunizar a América Latina.

Debemos movilizar todas las fuerzas libres del mundo y apoyar abiertamente la heroica lucha del pueblo indochino contra la agresión comunista. Debemos ayudar a la República de Vietnam a destruir los planes comunistas de crear un "gobierno de coalición". También se debería dar ayuda efectiva a las empresas anticomunistas de otras naciones libres de Asia, como la República de China, la República de Corea, Tailandia, las Filipinas y Malasia. La unidad anticomunista de todas las naciones libres de Asia y del Pacífico debe fortalecerse continuamente para reafirmar la indestructible seguridad de la región.

Debemos pedir a todos los gobiernos y pueblos del mundo libre que tomen inmediatamente medidas efectivas para impedir que los comunistas continúen perpetrando secuestros aéreos, masacres, asesinatos, narcotráfico y otras actividades terroristas. Los que violen las leyes deberán ser severamente castigados. El mundo libre debe protegerse contra el sabotaje decidido de los comunistas. La vida del pueblo debe ser completamente segura y libre de amenazas comunistas.

Debemos fortalecer y desarrollar aún más nuestra Liga Mundial Anticomunista y a través de ella establecer frentes anticomunistas de batalla, unidos, en todas las regiones del mundo. La WACL debe crecer como una sólida fortaleza y brillar como un faro para todos los pueblos que aman la libertad. Su función como organización internacional debe ser la de preservar el espíritu de las Naciones Unidas, de una mayor destrucción y decadencia.

Señoras y señores, una regla invariable de la historia es que la libertad triunfa finalmente, mientras que la tiranía no puede escapar a su doctrina de destrucción. La tiranía comunista de hoy no tiene precedentes. Pero al mismo tiempo la crisis interna del mundo comunista tampoco tiene precedente. Y asimismo, por otra parte, no hay precedentes del gran deseo de libertad y de la magnitud de la fuerza anticomunista.

Hay que contemplar hacia dónde van los tiempos, aprovechando su dirección adecuadamente, y hagamos un llamado a todos que aquellos que no quieren ser esclavos de los comunistas para que se alen y se unan con el fin de cumplir la misión histórica de la lucha en pro de la libertad.



Progreso

Discurso del Dr. L.G. Paik
de la República de Corea, Orador Principal;
ante el VI Congreso de la WACL

El hecho del progreso en los asuntos humanos es tan real que no requiere discusión. Pero la percepción del hecho, es de creación moderna y tiene muchas facetas e interpretaciones. Un distinguido profesor, hace algunos años, escribió un libro sobre este tema. Yo no trataré de hacer una presentación semejante, sólo deseo poner a su consideración algunos comentarios sobresalientes acerca del concepto de progreso para que sirvan de base a esta conferencia.

El difunto profesor de la Universidad de Cornell, P. Smith, señalaba con toda claridad que los pueblos occidentales pre-modernos desconocían por completo la idea de progreso. "Los antiguos miraban las edades primitivas como una época de oro definitivamente perdida; la edad media consideró los tiempos pasados como más felices. Los humanistas del Renacimiento ansiaron una nueva era octaviana y la Reforma trató de restaurar la pureza de la era apostólica. Pero al comenzar el siglo XVIII los hombres empezaron a ver, en busca de perfección, no al pasado, sino al futuro. La razón de esto es simplemente el triunfo de la ciencia." El concepto se hizo universal en el siglo XIX y posteriormente, trajo una era de optimismo. Ese blando optimismo ha continuado en nuestro período contemporáneo de revoluciones.

Cuando volvemos nuestra atención al mundo oriental, encontramos algunos desarrollos similares. La idea de transformación y cambio es tan antigua como el antiguo pueblo de China y sus países vecinos. Los libros registran los cambios desde tiempos inmemoriales hasta el presente, y nos dicen que cuando el desarrollo de algo se lleva a los extremos, ocurre un cambio en el extremo opuesto; la idea puede expresarse en términos hegelianos: cada cosa implica su contraria.

Los libros antiguos dicen que un extremo suscita un cambio, el cambio se propaga y luego se hace permanente. El objeto de todos los cambios, sin embargo, ha sido regresar a la edad de oro de aquellos emperadores legendarios del siglo XXIII antes de Cristo. Ellos creían que la paz y la felicidad de la edad de oro, regresarían debido a este proceso de cambios. Además de la idea de cambio, existía el principio de la "áurea mediocridad", que evitaba

los extremos. Sin ir más adelante en nuestros intentos de clarificar la filosofía china, y menos en la presencia de colegas eruditos, quisiera decir que el oriente y el occidente han tenido experiencias similares en su búsqueda de una edad de oro que existió en el pasado, hasta que nos hemos encontrado en el campo común de la fé en el progreso regido por la ciencia y la historia.

¿A qué llamamos progreso? Hay diversas acepciones, según dijo recientemente el historiador Edward H. Carr, de la Universidad de Cambridge, tales como la ecuación del progreso de la naturaleza del mundo, de la evolución y otros hechos similares. No puede afirmarse la idea de que la naturaleza no es progresiva, pero tampoco avanza constantemente hacia su objetivo. La ecuación de progreso con la teoría darwiniana de la evolución, pareció agradable a muchos, pero se funda en las tambaleantes bases de la herencia biológica que implica el proceso inevitable de nacimiento, crecimiento y muerte.

El profesor antes mencionado, cree que el progreso es una adquisición social. Dado que el hombre es un ser racional desarrolla sus capacidades potenciales por medio de la acumulación de experiencia de pasadas generaciones. En esta forma, el progreso es posible a través de la transmisión de conocimientos y habilidades adquiridas de generación en generación.

Hay personas que creen en el progreso como si fuera una línea recta sin quebraduras, desviaciones ni reverses. Sin embargo, es preciso darse cuenta de que no todos los adelantos suceden en línea recta. Hay períodos de regresión y períodos de progreso y es muy poco probable que en el correr del tiempo pueda decirse que todo adelanto partió desde el mismo punto. Para explicar estos fenómenos, aparecieron los conceptos de preponderancia y decadencia de las civilizaciones. La civilización es una, pero su interpretación varía de acuerdo con los diferentes grupos y lugares. El grupo puede ser "una clase, una nación, un continente, una civilización que aunque juegue un papel principal en el progreso durante un período de tiempo, no es probable que tenga ese mismo papel en el período siguiente.

El teólogo Paul Tillich expresa su idea de progreso en las siguientes palabras: "La actividad del

hombre va de la potencialidad a la realidad de tal modo que todo lo que se realiza, le proporciona más potencialidades para una mayor realización." De acuerdo con Tillich, es hombre aquél que trata de realizar todas sus potencialidades y sus potencialidades son innumerables. "Ahora, el hombre tiene que modelar al mundo y a sí mismo, de acuerdo con los poderes creativos que le han sido dados".

Tiene el progreso algún objetivo? Los primitivos pensadores europeos, de orientación religiosa, creían en un propósito siempre en aumento que invariablemente conducía a cierto fin. Este concepto teológico ha sido secularizado por muchos pensadores europeos. Condorcet, por ejemplo, creía en la perfectibilidad como el fin fundamental del hombre. En su concepto, la verdad, la libertad y la igualdad eran sinónimos. Su visión adelantó la idea de que la victoria de la verdad es un paso a la libertad política y a la igualdad y que el fin de la perfectibilidad humana sólo puede obtenerse — paso a paso —, por medio de la educación.

Acerca de esto mismo el Profesor Carr, a quien ya he citado, presenta su concepto de progreso en los siguientes términos:

"Creer en el progreso no significa creer en un proceso automático e inevitable, sino en el desarrollo progresivo de nuestras potencialidades humanas . . . Yo no tengo fé en la perfectibilidad del hombre o en un futuro paraíso en la tierra . . . pero en cambio, estoy contento con la posibilidad de un progreso ilimitado, o por lo menos, no sujeto a límites que podamos ver o percibir . . . hacia metas que podamos definir solamente porque nos acercamos a ellas y la validez de cada una pueda verificarse solo en el proceso de obtenerlas. No sé hasta ahora de ninguna sociedad que haya sobrevivido sin un concepto de progreso similar a éste".

Yo como estudiante de ciencias sociales, estoy de acuerdo con los puntos de vista del Prof. Carr y los presento a esta asamblea como lineamientos para nuestro pensamiento común.

Al analizar el problema de los objetivos del progreso, no debemos olvidar el punto de vista marxista. De acuerdo con Marx, el progreso es el resultado de una crisis y de la lucha de clases, y la meta del progreso es lograr una sociedad sin clases bajo la dictadura del proletariado. El Profesor Harold L. Wilensky, de la Universidad de California, repudió recientemente los puntos fundamentales de la teoría marxista de la lucha de clases. El descubrió que en una sociedad desarrollada, como los Estados Unidos, pertenecer a una clase social o tener conciencia de ello, no es en modo alguno un factor importante, sino que más bien, la educación, la religión, la nacionalidad y la raza, son factores importantes que

determinan la conducta y el pensamiento de los americanos.

Hay numerosas evidencias en la historia que contradicen la teoría de lucha de clases. La lucha más enérgica realizada en la segunda mitad del presente siglo por nuestros colegas del Bloque Anti-bolchevique de Naciones, y el levantamiento reciente del pueblo croata en la Yugoslavia de Tito, son ejemplos notables. Ellos tenían un valor indomable basado en el nacionalismo y un deseo de libertad para sus pueblos, pero de ninguna forma basado en la conciencia de clase. Estamos por saber aún, si existe una clase de personas que puedan unirse a los "compañeros de viaje" marxistas en contra de su propio pueblo aunque vivan en un ambiente de completa libertad. Los contactos recientes respecto a las prácticas de unificación en nuestro país, Corea, fueron impulsados por el espíritu de homogeneidad del pueblo, y que va más allá de las diferencias de ideas, ideologías y sistemas sociales. Una nación permanece y dura mientras las ideologías y los sistemas sociales cambian.

A pesar de las dos sangrientas guerras mundiales y de los enormes esfuerzos del mundo libre para evitar la franca agresión de los comunistas, no nos hacemos solidarios del poeta Robert Browning cuando dice: Si Dios está en el cielo, todo está bien en el mundo". La democracia no está libre en el mundo, está más en peligro que nunca. Los intelectuales de hoy, en todas partes del mundo, son infelices y tratan de evadir la realidad de la vida.

¿Por qué tendemos a perder nuestra confianza en el progreso? El comunismo en Asia, como forma de totalitarismo, representa una amenaza formidable a nuestro progreso, paz y prosperidad, a pesar de la llamada "actitud conciliadora". Nuestra frustración, políticamente al menos, parte del hecho de que el mundo libre debido a sus propias debilidades no ha podido vencer al comunismo. Si la democracia es incapaz para resolver el problema de la incompatibilidad entre libertad e igualdad, el progreso no será nunca real y tendremos que vivir bajo el comunismo, que es, como filosofía de vida, contrario a la naturaleza humana.

Debemos declarar sin avergonzarnos, que la democracia es el objetivo de la historia. La humanidad tiene un solo origen y una sola meta. Cuando la luz de la democracia se extingue y llega a ser sólo un símbolo anticuado, nosotros nos sentimos desanimados, deprimidos, y frustrados. El progreso es imposible cuando la gente deja de trabajar.

Renovemos nuestra fé en el progreso y alcémonos para lograr la victoria final en favor de la democracia.



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Shin Hyun Joon

Managing Editor:

and Kyong Su Yun

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President and Mrs. Richard Nixon in front of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, the capital of, occupied Ukraine, during their brief visit to Ukraine on May 30, 1972.