

THE

PRINCIPLES

OF

UKRAINIAN

FOREIGN

POLICY

Dr. Bedryk
U.S.S.R.



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*на присяжних членов
Горь*

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**THE PRINCIPLES
OF UKRAINIAN
FOREIGN POLICY**

**INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
AND LIBERATION STRUGGLE**

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

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The Ukrainian Liberation Struggle in the Perspective of World History

(a) The characteristic feature of the present historical period is the disintegration of empires and the triumph of the idea of the nation state. A differentiation of the world's population on the natural basis of national organisms is universally in process, although at the same time attempts are being made by some powers to identify, for the sake of their economic and other interests, former colonial administrative divisions with the frontiers of emerging nation states.

The victory which the idea of national independence has won in the world this side of the iron curtain confirms the essential rightness and progressive character of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation struggle, which aims at the destruction of the Russian empire — no matter of what shape or colour — and its dissolution into national states. This victory also demonstrates the fact that Ukrainian aspirations are in full accord with historical development in the world at large.

World harmony can only be achieved by the differentiation of mankind into separate national organisms and by respecting the sovereignty of these individual nations.

The concept of organising the world on national principles has assumed an ideological and moral character of great force, although in the West the anti-national idea still predominates. The anti-national conspiracy wants to subjugate the European nations under the terroristic "democratic" regime of a "world government" which is to grow out of the present institution of the United Nations. These secret powers of international conspiracy are by no means

dissatisfied with the subjugation of peoples in the USSR, since they themselves pursue the same aims, only using somewhat different slogans. France today revolts against this trend, because she fears that her sovereignty and the freedom of the country might be threatened by this modern tyranny, especially if it should gain a victory over Russia.

(b) The Russian nation systematically endeavours, by means of the communist idea, to build up her own and exclusive world-embracing empire. The Ukrainian national liberation idea acts as a disruptive force within the Russian empire; it has become the opposite pole, an active counter-ideology which rejects the Russian concept of a universal prison of men and nations.

(c) In contrast to the earlier practice of imperialist powers, who sought to enlarge the physical areas of their political, economic and military power, the efforts of the present-day exponents of Russian imperialism and messianism are directed towards forcing upon other people their own, Russian, ideology in all spheres of life, including the metaphysical, since this is considered to be the best and most successful course to achieve the conquest and domination of the world. It is for this reason that the ideological struggle, as it manifests itself in foreign policy, is becoming the prominent factor in the rivalries of the world. This fact was underlined by the June 1963 session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.C. of the C.P.S.U.), according to which the ideological battle is to be considered of paramount importance in Russia's political, economic and military campaign for control of the world — an attitude unprecedented in modern history. In the world of today two opposing views confront each other in a fight for life or death.

(d) When we consider the disparagement of the ideas of nationhood and patriotism, of Christianity and every other religion, of heroism and idealism, and look at the moral and ideological decay of our time — then we see the absolute necessity in the free world of a spiritual and moral revolution, anti-materialist and anti-internationalist, a renaissance based on the lasting values of religion, on national consciousness and on the dignity of man.

(e) As a result of the war of ideologies the methods of military warfare have changed. Its typical features today are: small, subversive pseudo-civil peripheral wars, which are fought out with the help of provocative action and with support from a foreign power and, frequently, its "volunteers"; internal diversion by fifth columns and communist parties; and, finally, the threat of thermo-nuclear mass destruction.

(f) In a world which is constantly threatened with an all-out nuclear war, the partisan strategy of insurrection, as exemplified by UPA,* should be regarded as a projection, a forward-looking and

*) UPA — Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

positive instrument of a general policy which is capable of preventing nuclear war. The prerequisite for such a policy is that the Western powers, and in particular the USA, vigorously promote those political ideas by which Ukraine and other enslaved peoples are animated in their fight for freedom and independence, and give active support to the revolutionary liberation movements in these countries.

(g) Moscow uses its possession of nuclear weapons as a means of pressure, compulsion and extortion, by which it methodically seeks to wring concessions from the USA and the rest of the free world, constantly confronting them with the alternatives of either destruction or retreat.

(h) On the home front, the quarrel between Moscow and Peking creates favourable psychological conditions for revolutionary action.

In the field of foreign affairs its effect, on the one hand, is to unmask communism more effectively and clearly as a form of Russian imperialism, by uncovering the national sources of the conflict which normally remain hidden under Marxist-Leninist interpretations. On the other hand, through misjudging the danger, the Anglo-Saxon world (and not only the Anglo-Saxon) becomes more disposed to comply with Russian demands, whereby the USSR has the support of certain international circles because of their common interest in the fight against the Christian civilisation and the traditions of the West. With many people the co-operation is not due to misconceptions, it rather is a deliberate furtherance of the USSR, with whom they share the antagonism against Christian nations and, for that matter, any nation that will not be lorded over by foreigners and wants to create its own values, based on its own traditions, its own spirituality and its sovereignty.

Bolshevism is in the main a product of the Russian rather than the Chinese mind. It is also the weapon of the Russian nation. In China, bolshevism is the weapon of a relatively small, although at the moment leading, part of the population which, on the one hand, aspires to the leadership of world communism and, on the other, is motivated by the strong anti-Russian feeling of the Chinese masses.

In the world communist movement the monolithic system has once more been replaced by that of pluralism, a development which holds out some prospect of the weakening of world communism. The liquidation of world communism, however, depends on the following prerequisites: an ideological revival; a renewal of the belief in lasting values; co-ordinated action aimed at the realisation of national and social justice and at the destruction of the military, economic and political centre of communism, i.e. Russia, as a world power, which would also bring about the downfall of communism in China. Russia had been threatening the world well before the rise of communism in China. An alternative to the Chinese communist

regime is possible if the revolutionary forces in the country are strengthened by the landing of troops from Taiwan.

The June 1963 session of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. emphasised once again the ideological argument to correct the overestimation by Moscow of the importance of nuclear weapons in favour of a further strengthening of the ideological aspect in its war against the free world, a fact which will add to Moscow's strength.

The stress laid by Peking on the importance of national liberation movements this side of the iron curtain, in contrast to the Russian emphasis on communist movements, reflects and exploits Moscow's fear of the disruptive force of national liberation movements within the Russian empire; it also goes to show that Russia is a colossus with feet of clay — which, of course, it needs an adequate policy of the free world to tumble.

The Russian "prison of men and nations" cannot hope to withstand physical pressure from other powers and nations, since prisoners will not defend the prison. Only an alliance of free and independent states can put up an effective defence and rally to its support other, perhaps equally threatened, nations.

(i) The principle of self-determination is more and more gaining general acceptance in our time. It is interpreted as the right of any people to its independence as a nation state, the right to separate and cut itself off from imperial rule. This right is recorded and asserted in our plebiscite of the blood and must not be abused for purposes of fictitious self-determination without separation by any plebiscites of paper — conducted under foreign bayonets — with their formulas of 'non-predetermination' which discriminate against the nation.

Considering the hypocrisy in words and treachery in deeds, which are so predominant in international politics, it is clear that the sovereignty and independence of the nation can neither be achieved nor maintained unless it is totally separated from the colonial and imperial centre.

In this decade our foreign policy has shifted more and more from propaganda activity to the plane of international politics.

Kyiv against Moscow

In its ideological aspect the Ukrainian problem has become the revolutionary problem of the world. In this respect it is neither "peripheral" nor "sectional" nor "East European" but a problem of universal significance. With its ideological, geopolitical, and human revolutionary potentialities of advancing just and progressive ideas of a new world based on the elimination of all forms of imperialism and colonialism, and on the recognition of the national principle of world organization, the Ukrainian problem is truly capable of revolutionizing the world.

In this sense we can speak of Ukraine not only as a geopolitical complex, but also as an ideological complex. The latter calls forth a group of creative ideas embodied in nationalism, theism, respect for the dignity of man as a godlike being, i. e. of ideas based on traditionalism, social justice, affirmation of active idealism and heroic values.

It is obvious that, politically, the Ukrainian ideology, the idea of a Ukrainian Sovereign United State, calls for the abolition of the Russian colonial empire, with all the consequences for the entire world. One may regard the prospects of the removal of the last bulwark of colonialism in the world as unrealistic, and the struggle for the realisation of this idea difficult, but the likely consequences of the abolition of the Russian empire point to the Ukrainian aspirations as the cause of the entire world.

Thus the Ukrainian cause so staunchly advocated and defended by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) since its inception in 1929, has acquired world-wide significance. Its aims have been set clearly and may be expressed in the slogan: Kyiv against Moscow, Trident and Cross against Hammer and Sickle, and against all symbols of Russian slavery and usurpation. Kyiv has been in the vanguard of a world-wide struggle against colonialism and Bolshevism, against communist ideology and the communist way of life. Kyiv has become a resolute antagonist of Moscow: Christian Kyiv, theist and national Kyiv against internationalist and atheist Moscow. In any case, the struggle for Kyiv, for its eternal values, its ideas, its pattern of life for nation and man, has already begun and is getting ever more intensive on a world-wide scale.

It is, therefore, not in vain that Ukrainian symbols, Trident and Cross, have been painted on the walls of Ukrainian cities, and it is not by chance that in exile the emigre Russian solidarists of the NTS are trying to steal the Ukrainian Trident, and it is not without reason that some of them are projecting Kyiv as the capital of a new Russian federation of the future. The struggle for eternal values of Kyiv has begun.

Principles of Our Policy

Our international policy is based, now and in the future, on the following unalterable principles:

The idea of sovereignty and the idea of the Ukrainian nation, which embraces all Ukrainian lands, to be upheld without compromise in the face of all suggestions of supra- extra- or anti-national regional substitutes for national sovereignty;

the fight against every form of Russian imperialism and the preservation of the integrity of all Ukrainian ethnic territories within a united sovereign state;

the pan-Ukrainian concept as opposed to territorial grouping and particularism;

the upholding of the national idea against the ideas of imperialism, whose main champions are Russia and Red China and, in the West, certain advocates of a supra-national 'world-government' with powers of veto for a few;

common front of all peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, in alliance with those elements in the world who are ideologically and politically friendly towards us and hostile towards Russian imperialism and communism;

the reaffirmation of the revolutionary importance of the solution of the Ukrainian problem in the context of international affairs with regard to its ideological and political significance, the country's human potential as a fighting factor, and its geo-political position in the future pattern of the grouping of international forces once the Russian empire has been dismembered;

no isolation and no dissociation of the Ukrainian fight for freedom from the liberation struggle of other nations under the bolshevist yoke;

no reliance on liberation through extraneous factors, but dependence on the nation's own strength. This conception is based on the fight in the homeland and the revolutionary processes in the country, as well as action by the Ukrainians in exile who are ideologically and politically in close connection with the home base.

The liberation concept translated into action, the anti-Russian, i.e. anti-imperial and anti-communist revolution taking place simultaneously in Ukraine and other subjugated countries, offers a possible alternative to nuclear war.

United Front of the Enslaved Peoples

Taking this into consideration, it is certainly right and proper to talk at international gatherings not only of the independence of Ukraine, but also of the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, of the resolute desire of the Ukrainian people for complete separation from Russia. It is a stern necessity dictated by the exigencies of the present world situation.

The goal which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) strives to attain is the disintegration of the Russian empire into national, independent democratic States of all subjugated peoples. Three forms of its present activities are: (a) coordinated and directed, principally simultaneous, revolutionary actions in the subjugated countries of the USSR and the so-called "satellites" of the USSR; (b) political actions by the representatives of the ABN nations in exile, advocating the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire and

destruction of communism, among the nations of the free world; (c) mobilization of the Second Front of the national forces of the free world, opposed to Russian imperialism and communism, for the support of ABN ideas and against the policies of coexistence, appeasement of Moscow, and capitulation before the advance of communism. Such a mobilization is now more pressing than ever.

Two Aspects of the ABN Concept

The idea embodied in ABN is not only an important aspect of external politics in connection with the revolt of a subjugated nation, whose liberation cannot come about without the disintegration of the empire, but is also a strong factor in the internal liberation struggle, aiming at a simultaneous rising of all the enslaved peoples — a point that was confirmed and stressed twenty years ago at the First Conference of captive nations, held in Ukraine in November 1943.

Relying on her own strength and on the concerted action by all subjugated nations, Ukraine will foil any tendencies to turn her territory into a pseudo-democratic international market-place and to exploit the Ukrainian economic and human potential for purposes other than her own. Ukraine will make common cause with all those who oppose every attempt at imperialism and internationalism and will work together with the national forces of the independent countries in the West and the freedom-loving world as a whole menaced by Moscow and the internationalist circles. In short, Ukraine will join forces with all those who uphold the ideals of independence, of the Christian civilisation and of Western traditions, and who stand for the preservation of a nation's characteristic culture and of the spirit of its people.

The mobilisation of anti-Russian and anti-communist forces in the world in support of the fight for freedom and the revolutionary strategy of accomplished facts in the homeland — these are the two aspects of ABN action.

The attempt to detach the Ukrainian problem from the complex whole of the peoples imprisoned in the USSR and include it in the so-called satellite-complex would not serve a useful purpose. On the contrary, it would reduce the characteristic value of Ukraine, weaken the common front and cause the loss of vital allies, as a consequence of reliance on extraneous forces. However, to treat the Ukrainian problem exclusively in connection with the USSR would diminish the fundamental importance of Ukraine in the universal anti-Russian and anti-communist struggle.

What really matters is to recognise that the destinies of all the enslaved peoples in the USSR and in the satellite countries are inextricably linked and that there is only one chance of an integral — and not piecemeal — process of liberation, i.e. that brought about by simultaneous revolt everywhere.

Who Are Our Allies?

Among other factors in the present international situation, the conflict between Moscow and Peking should find a special emphasis here. On the psychological side, this conflict may be welcome as it tends to weaken the monopolistic position of Moscow in the communist camp and strengthens the revolutionary potential of the enslaved peoples. However, on the political side it may lead to confusion, as it may call forth unfounded hopes of liberation with Red Peking's help. No liberation can be achieved with the help of Chinese communism, the essence of which is no less aggressively imperialist than that of Hitlerism or Stalinism. From this point of view our policy should be only to exploit existing antagonisms and to determine our position regarding the potential foe and his probable designs. The experience of those non-Germans who tried to collaborate with German Nazism for the liberation of their countries has certainly taught people a lesson which should be taken into consideration by all advocates of collaboration with Chinese communists for similar purposes.

The Ukrainians and other enslaved nations can expect help neither from anti-communist but pro-Russian defenders of the Russian colonial empire in the West, nor from anti-Russian communists in Peking. Neither can be true allies of the nations carrying on the struggle for liberation because both are for the continuation of enslavement in a new form.

This, therefore, is the reason why our set of ideas has had anti-Russian as well as anti-communist edge. Besides, collaboration with Peking would alienate all the truly democratic forces in the world which detest communism, recognize the national idea, advocate the annihilation of Russian colonialism, stand for a moral renewal of the world and combat internationalist plots and schemes. In the free world today these forces are legion.

Only the truly democratic forces in the free world can be our real allies in the struggle against both tyrannies. Neither tyranny can be our ally and struggle against both of them is necessary. In this, we Ukrainians follow the strategy of our great leader, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, who led the struggle of the UPA and OUN against both Nazi Germany and Red Russia in a two-front war. His strategy of a common front of enslaved nations against both Nazi Germany and Red Russia found no understanding in the West, which favoured Red Moscow and let the Russian Bolsheviks seize Berlin and, by abandoning its Chinese ally, surrendered China to communists.

Coexistence or Support of Resistance?

At present, two conceptions of the policies towards Russia have been discernible in the West.

The *first* conception suggests a policy of peaceful coexistence, appeasement and virtual capitulation. The protagonists of such a policy disregard the fact that bitter reality refutes their wishful thinking. Despite the free world's attempts at coexistence the flames of war are burning high in Vietnam, Congo, Laos, etc.

The *second* conception rejects "peaceful" coexistence in the form just described and demands the encouragement of the resistance movements in the USSR and the satellite countries, and their moral support by the free world. Such a conception comes close to our conception of the struggle against Moscow and communism.

Contradiction in the U.S. Foreign Policy

(a) The foreign policy of the USA is double-tracked. One group of US politicians, who have considerable influence over the present US government, pay attention only to the factors of material power, accept for the present the division of the world into two and, with a view to the future, promote the idea of a world-government. This group is strongly influenced by concealed pro-Russian elements and negates the dynamic force of the nationalist liberation effort.

The other group of US politicians strive for a policy that holds the nation supreme — starting from the principle that America is a nation, despite the mixture of ethnic ingredients. This group is represented by the Congress and bases itself on moral principles of the kind that prevented for more than ten years the recognition by the USA of the USSR and is still preventing that of Red China. This group favours the idea of the dissolution of the Russian empire and its division into nation states, and advocates the support of the national liberation struggle.

However, to the detriment of America, the free world and the enslaved nations, the US Administration actually pursues a policy which runs counter to the directives enacted by the Legislature with regard to the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

(b) This policy of the Administration is also followed by various so-called private institutions, such as the American Committee for Liberation (ACL), Radio "Liberty", the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich, as well as the official "Voice of America." This policy does not treat Ukraine, or the enslaved nations in general, as parties to a contract. Nor does it oppose communism on principle, but adapts itself to the state of Russo-American relations at any

given time, thereby devaluing the policy completely, since the issue of the liberation of enslaved peoples must not be allowed to become the object of a bargain or a tactical game.

(c) Regarding the idea of a so-called "Common Front Against Communism" — which overlooks Ukrainian national aims and therefore means the fight against one form of tyranny in order to impose another — the idea of the Ukrainian sovereign state must never be substituted by such concepts as a federation, a union of East-European states, a plebiscite or non-predetermination, since there is for the Ukrainian nation, besides God, no idea more sacred than that of independent statehood.

(d) The promotion of national forms of communism, as alternatives to Russian communism (e.g. Titoism or Gomulkaism), is equivalent to a weakening of the national pro-Western revolutionary forces and, through the so-called "positive neutrality" of such states, serves to strengthen the Russian positions in the world. The attempt to detach the non-Russian countries from Russia, not by the action of the national revolutionary forces, but by supporting national communist regimes, is based on an illusion, since these regimes will stand up against Russia only for so long as they do not need her might against the resistance of their own people. Any antagonism against Russia would equally collapse when the chances of a victory of the West over Russia increased, because these communist regimes can only survive with the help of Russia's superior strength. The economic aid given to such countries does not therefore benefit the peoples concerned, but indirectly benefits Russia.

Victory can be achieved not through experiments of this kind, i.e. pro-Russian ideas and forces, but through those which in essence and form are the opposite.

"Cultural Exchange" Mirage

The so-called "cultural exchange" in vogue at present has been a result of an agreement between Washington and Moscow. Its advocates want to prove their thesis of evolutionary liberalization of the communist regime, among other things through "cultural exchange" between communist and democratic States. Their thesis can hardly be proved, because communist regimes are not able to evolve, and the incitement of some minor Ukrainian groups in the U.S.A. to engage in "cultural contacts" with the oppressors of the Ukrainian people is, to be sure, like a new Yalta in miniature.

Our critique of the so-called "cultural exchange" should be advanced from the point of view of our participation in the world-wide renewal movement. It is not true that the entire world has fallen into the embraces of the policy of coexistence. At a time when the U. N. or U.S.S.R. conception of world government is becoming bankrupt, our formula of an anti-Bolshevik United Nations, with

its stress on national sovereignty, as against the internationalist conceptions advanced by some, provides a solution not only for the direction of general policies, but also for the policies concerning "cultural exchange", which is a part of general policies. Moreover, we have to demonstrate that there is in Ukraine and other subjugated countries a powerful movement which is not only offensive, and full of initiative in ideological and political respects, but also that it is identical with the OUN and ABN. This movement is in support of the policies advocated here.

To Support the Revolution Is in the Interests of the West

In view of the constant threat by Russia to the freedom, peace and security of the free world and the danger of nuclear war, it is in the interest of the national and Christian forces of the West to support the aspirations and the liberation struggle of Ukraine, since in this way a threatened "hot" war could instantly be transformed, with active assistance from the West, into a revolutionary campaign for national liberation.

If the West were to develop a new political strategy, which would lead to the breaking-off of relations with the enemy and to the use of the sharpest methods in fighting the enemy, this would produce inside the Russian empire a political, ideological and moral atmosphere which would greatly strengthen the domestic front and accelerate the outbreak of the revolution — provided, of course, that the aims and efforts of the enslaved nations are supported and the USSR and her puppets are excluded from all international institutions.

The Policy of so-called Peaceful Coexistence Demobilises the Fighters at the Front

The notion that by a policy of 'peaceful coexistence' a gradual liberalisation and democratisation of the Russian bolshevist regime could be achieved must be rejected as unfounded when one considers that such an evolution is against the nature of the regime and would be equivalent to its destruction. The policy of peaceful coexistence undermines the confidence of Ukraine and other captive nations in, above all, the USA, particularly in view of the fact that uprisings of these nations were not given support in the past. As a result, the subjugated nations might show an attitude of reserve if ever the West should find itself in a critical situation, and this would mean a demobilisation of the troops in the very front line. Such a policy splits the world into two parts and endorses as "de facto" the status quo of the subjugation of one nation by another. Treaties such as the Moscow Test Ban Agreement — whose only advantage is a reduction in the pollution of the atmosphere by radio-active fall-out — tend

to bring nearer the moment when this status quo of enslavement will be recognised "de jure." This would lead to the consolidation of the regime of slave-masters and to further conquests on their part. The regime would equip itself with new military, ideological and political weapons, adapted to the changed situation.

History has taught the lesson that, when dealing with Russia, only a policy of strength can lead to success, but never a policy of leniency.

National Problem Is the Achilles' Heel of the Russian Communist Empire

The present internal politics of the Russian Government are a systematic and consequent continuation of the policies pursued under Lenin and Stalin and have the following aims:

The obliteration of national individuality through: (a) cultural Russification; (b) division into economic regions which conflicts with the integrity of national territory and ignores even the present borders of the so-called Republics; (c) the setting-up of new supra-Republican administrative organs under Russian control, which limit even further the by now almost fictitious rights of the "republics"; (d) continued mass re-settlement in the so-called virgin lands; (e) persecution of church and religion, the traditional pillars of Ukrainian culture; (f) infusion of Russian settlers into Ukraine.

The fusion of all nationalities into one Soviet Russian nation is to be brought about with the aid of the Russian language which, by orders of the CPSU, is to have predominance over all others and is to be the only means of communication and transmission, and also the sole medium for news from the world outside. According to the plan, the next phase in this process of fusion is the stage by stage abolition of even the vestiges of the Republics.

From all this it should be clear to the West that in its own interest it must pursue a policy which supports the national liberation movements, fosters national characteristics, and unmasks and brands Russian chauvinism and imperialism. In the foreground of such a policy should be the furtherance of the resistance of the threatened nations (with Ukraine in the first place).

The programme of the CPSU proclaims as "the greatest achievement of socialism: the fraternity of nations in the USSR." Since it is obvious that this assertion is a blatant lie, it serves to point to the Achilles heel of the Russian empire.

Our task in foreign politics is to stress over and over again that, especially in the internal policies of Moscow, no liberalisation will ever occur.

New Forms of the Revolutionary Struggle Constitute a New Factor in Our International Policy

Revolutionary risings can be occasioned by events of an internal or external character, or both. Among the new manifestations of the fight for freedom that can be observed in Ukraine are: strikes, demonstrations, armed clashes, revolts in concentration camps. All these new forms of the revolutionary struggle should receive the support of the free world, since they must be regarded as a new phase in the unfolding of the national offensive, which aims at a nation-wide rebellion.

In the artistic and cultural achievements of the younger generation in Ukraine, even in works which receive publicity, there is clear evidence that the Ukrainian youth has remained faithful to the ideals of the nation, of religion and of the Ukrainian people. This refutes the allegations of some "experts" on Soviet affairs that the Ukrainian people, and especially the young, have become sovietised.

Trade with the Russian Colonial Empire Constitutes a Danger to the Free Word

(a) The economies of the free world, which seek to gain advantage from trade relations with the Russian colonial empire, not only run the risk of political dependence, but will find their advantage short-lived because of the inevitable eventual disintegration of the empire and the emergence of quite different factors and partners.

(b) The economic resources of Ukraine and other enslaved countries greatly increase the Russian economic potential and, in so doing, supply the material bases for predatory wars and nuclear weapons — a state of affairs which would change thoroughly, if not be made impossible altogether, once the empire had fallen apart.

(c) Detached from Russia, an independent Ukrainian state — this granary of Europe and highly industrialised country — would display the creative initiative of a free country and a free people, because it would be no longer subject to ruthless economic exploitation for Russia's imperial aims and because the production of arms, too costly for what they are worth, would cease. The Ukrainian economy would thus be greatly strengthened, and newly forged links with the countries of the free world would lead to an economic exchange complementary and beneficial to both sides.

The same would apply to all the other countries now imprisoned in the USSR when they regained their freedom.

(d) The countries and peoples that have been conquered and enslaved by Russian colonialism were culturally and economically more advanced than the country and people of Russia. Their subjugation by Russia did not improve, but degraded them, since these formerly free peoples were deprived of every possibility of free creation, and their natural free development was severely checked.

(e) The economic potential of these individual national states, once they become free and independent and are no longer compulsorily attached to the Russian imperial centre, will not permit them to produce their own nuclear weapons — a fact very desirable in the interests of peace and security in the world and of the progress of mankind.

Ukraine in Relation to World and European Unity

(a) The endeavours to bring about European unity on the basis — the only possible one — of a “Europe of Fatherlands” could succeed if, respecting the principle of the individuality and sovereignty of nations, the European countries now under Soviet domination were after their liberation to be included in this system of co-operation, and if these enslaved peoples are given assistance by the free world in their present fight for freedom. In no other way could a “Europe of Fatherlands” be made viable. The concept of Europe, dissociated from the concept of the Nation, as a specific creation of the European mind, is doomed to failure.

For the integration of Europe the disintegration of the Russian empire is a prerequisite, so that the conditions are created in which decisions by the parliaments of the liberated nations can be taken and the forces of the world can be re-grouped in an international situation no longer threatened by Russian imperialism. The new order, which will prevail after the destruction of the Russian empire and the rebirth of the all-Ukrainian state, is likely to open up new vistas reaching far beyond the problem of European unity. Any decisions on this problem should therefore be left to the sovereign states which will rise above the ruins of the Prison of Nations. This is why our own attitude to the question of European unity is, for the time being, based on tactics rather than principle. For the present, the structure of Western Europe is badly in need of fundamental changes if it is to achieve success in its struggle against bolshevism — in the defence against which the structure had its origin. The corrections to be made must also include the process of Western Europe's emancipation from American protectorship. If in the constitution of a United Europe the national principle should be negated, then such an association would prove impermanent and harmful, and would be unfit for the fight against bolshevism.

The concept of a confederation of the so-called United States of Eastern Europe with the United States of Western Europe is no more than a manoeuvre by the Russian imperialists, aimed at preserving or extending the Russian empire in a new form.

(b) Since it is quite possible that future independent states will, through resolutions of their parliaments, come to mutual agreements about some kind of federation, which may be suggested by the geo-political situation of the countries concerned (e.g. Transcaucasia),

a new form of world unity might well emerge on such a pattern once the Russian empire has been destroyed. One could conceive of a world institution, based on the equality of its members and respect for their sovereignty, in which the independent nation states would work together to bring about the unification of the world on the principle of differentiation, i.e. its organisation on national foundations, in accordance with world-historical development. The United Nations Organisation of to-day, among whose members is the Soviet Union with its puppet states, the constant violator of human and national rights, cannot fulfil its duties. The law-breakers should therefore be expelled and the UN transformed into an anti-bolshevik institution. If it is to fulfil its function in accordance with the mandate given it by its honest members, the UN would have to respect the sovereignty of nations without regard to their size or wealth. The present UN is the embryo of a Mafia world-government, and its members, even if they are anti-communist, are still pro-Russian as long as they disregard the principle of the sovereignty of nations.

(c) ABN aims at the setting up of an 'Anti-Communist International Centre for Effective National Independence and Freedom', whose programme provides for practical assistance to the revolutionary liberation struggle against Russian colonialism and communism and for the mobilisation of the anti-Russian and anti-communist national forces in the world, with the ultimate purpose of creating or maintaining for its members free and independent states.

The Ukrainian Problem in Relation to Certain Countries of the Free World

(a) **France** could play an historical and useful role in the anti-Russian world campaign if, to her policy of maintaining her sovereignty and developing her own strength, setting great store by the national idea, fostering the emancipation of the free parts of Europe and the awakening of Europe's dynamic power — if to all that she would add a policy that aims at the liberation of the suppressed and at the destruction of the Russian empire. But if France were to strive for an inter-continental Rapallo this would be disastrous for Europe and the freedom-loving world.

(b) **The Franco-German Treaty** could lead to fundamental changes in French foreign policy and influence it in favour of furthering the disintegration of the Russian empire, provided the treaty's permanence is preserved on the part of Germany, and the national-revolutionary potential of Ukraine and other enslaved nations in the USSR is taken into account.

(c) **The partitioned countries**, like Germany, Korea, Vietnam and China, who are classic examples of the dichotomy of the world and who, by nature, are revisionists, constitute — despite their depen-

dence on the great powers — a useful ferment that acts against the policy of “peaceful coexistence” and resists the consolidation of the status quo, even if this happens, as in the case of Germany, only on a local level.

Considering the realities in world politics and the nature of Russian imperialism and communism, the separate and isolated liberation of any one of the so-called **satellite countries** is impossible; they can only become free if Ukraine and other enslaved peoples in the USSR are freed at the same time.

(d) Some government and opposition circles in Germany are of the opinion that the **re-unification of the two Germanies** can come about independent of the liberation of all the other nations enslaved under the Russian empire. This is a hopeless error. Such expectations only prove the shortsightedness in political thinking, so typical of many German politicians, and the failure to understand the world-revolutionising processes of our time. These hopes also reflect the attitude of the present US State Department, whose wishful thinking programme does not include the liberation of the enslaved peoples in the USSR, nor the re-unification of Germany, but favours the preservation of the status quo. German foreign policy is by no means that of a sovereign power, but merely an extension of US policy.

(e) If **Great Britain** were to join the Common Market, her relations and economic activity with the Russian colonial empire would decrease and the national foundations of the European structure would be reinforced. Moreover, London's aspiration to the role of mediator between Washington and Moscow would very much recede into the background. Britain's entry into the Common Market would increase the importance of free Europe as a whole, as the fruitless competition between two West-European economic blocs would cease. At the same time dependence on other partners would make a revision of Britain's foreign policy with its at times neutralist tendencies necessary.

De Gaulle and Ukraine

Among other factors influencing the present world situation, it is necessary to discuss the policies of De Gaulle. His conception reflects two purposes: (a) affirmation of the idea of national sovereignty, with which we fully agree; (b) affirmation of the Messrs. Rusk — Rostow conception of peaceful coexistence, with which we disagree. His recognition of Red China, his advances to communist satellites in Europe follow in the steps of coexistence policies which, essentially, do not differ from those of the U. S. State Department, and are based on the same unrealistic approach to the problem.

However, De Gaulle's conception of a “Europe up to the Urals” may have different facets. In one respect, this conception might have been influenced by Bonn's turning to the United States exclusively after Adenauer and, therefore, by De Gaulle's desire to have a Russian card to play against Germany if necessary. This German

attitude may determine De Gaulle's approach to London and weaken his resistance to Britain's participation in the European Common Market. In fact, contradictions between the conceptions of De Gaulle and those of Wilson or Heath with regard to West European problems, Moscow, China, and even peaceful coexistence, etc., are superficial only. In fact, De Gaulle's position is much closer to London's than it appears. Essentially, plans for a national principle of the unification of West Europe as well as for a gradual dissolution of the communist world via Peking, have been British. The British statesmen would, however, endeavour to realize their plans with the calm and restraint of a William Pitt, while De Gaulle, in conducting his policies, has often been posing as a modern Joan of Arc.

The two facets of De Gaulle's conception of a "Europe up to the Urals" may be pro-Russian or anti-Russian, depending on situation. It may be pro-Russian in the event of Bonn playing the role of a vanguard for the U. S., or it may be anti-Russian, given a situation of Bonn-Paris unity. Of course, such a unity cannot be realized by declarations only; it means the practical participation of Bonn in the political, economic and military designs of De Gaulle, and, in addition, an engagement under his political primacy. The anti-Russian facet of De Gaulle's conception can be realized also without Bonn in the case of London's agreeing to side with Paris in order to make Europe a truly independent partner in the world's affairs instead of its being a mere U. S. dependant. The anti-Russian facet of De Gaulle's conception may take on distinct Ukrainian undertones. The vision of a future alliance of London, Paris and Kyiv may stimulate the acceptance of such a Ukrainian colouring of the conception and a pro-Ukrainian formula of this kind may easily enter into De Gaulle's planning in the event of pro-Ukrainian forces in the United States and elsewhere playing a Ukrainian card. In case of aggravation of relations with Moscow, such playing of a Ukrainian card becomes inevitable.

Thus, De Gaulle's Pythian formulae may evolve in different directions, depending on the situation. They enable him to bet on different horses. However, the present age does not resemble the age of Pythia, neither does it resemble the times of Richelieu, Mazarin or Talleyrand. The time of "Holy Alliances", of Metternichs and Talleyrands is past. Now is the time of Apostles, of Garibaldi and Mazzinis, the time of Chuprynkas. The thermonuclear age has been the epoch of ideologies and ideological wars. It is the epoch of Richards Cœur de Lion, of Khmelnytskys and Mazepas, of Washingtons and Lincolns. It is the epoch of crusades for national liberation. It is the epoch of religious wars for freedom. It is a pity that the adversaries of the free world perfectly understand what this is all about, something that the Rostows hardly do. The dark demon of ruin — Mao — is playing with national-liberation movements, and not with Marxism. Moscow is preaching "national

liberation", and not Leninism. Consequently, national liberation has been the principal idea of the thermonuclear epoch, the idea defining the overall strategy of the struggle for the domination of the world.

Is it too late for De Gaulle to realize the true meaning of the present world situation and to find out definitively that by his conception of "Europe up to the Urals" one can conceive only Europe in which there is place for Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, the Caucasus, etc., and not for "one and indivisible" Russia which stretches beyond the Urals? The realization of this truth will help De Gaulle in his determination to influence world developments. Once he influenced them with success. That was the time when France became a thermonuclear power. This was a checkmate to all those who thought of world government on the basis of their world monopoly in thermonuclear arms. And it was the beginning of the end of the conception of world government by the U. N. and the U.S.S.R.

Unfortunately, the present policies of De Gaulle have been those of coexistence. De Gaulle sees in coexistence both diagnosis and therapy. This is false. One cannot commit suicide in order to avoid death.

The Newly Independent Countries and Ukraine

(a) This side of the iron curtain the dismantling of empires and the transition from the colonial order to the setting up of independent nation states is almost completed. These changes do not fail to affect the Russian colonial empire in an ideological and moral sense and further tighten the rope around the empire.

Our sympathetic regard for the emerging countries of former colonial empires would develop into full political support if these countries were to take up a clear, anti-Russian position. Any neutralism, and above all so-called positive neutrality, increases the power of Russia in the world and thereby consolidates the enslavement of Ukraine.

Economic aid to the developing countries must be made subject to their anti-Russian and anti-communist orientation and to internal social reforms, measures which are in their own best interests and which will protect them from becoming the objects of Russian or Red Chinese fraudulent intrigues. Both Moscow and Peking are preparing to make themselves the heirs to the Western empires. Economic support without conditions only encourages internal decay, weakens the anti-Russian and anti-communist national elements and makes it impossible for the sound national forces of the country to bring about such changes in policy and rulers as may be necessary.

(b) Moscow and Peking promote the forcible formation of new multinational state structures under totalitarian regimes (e.g. United

Arab Republic, Indonesia), whereby one of their motives is to gain sympathisers with whose help they hope to conceal the colonial character of their own-multi-national giant states.

(c) In countries which are in the very front line of the battle against the world danger of communism the State Department seems to inspire coups d'état on the pretext of defending religious or "democratic" rights and freedom. This course can only damage the fight of the free world against communism. These coups can be connected with the intention of dividing the world into two or rather three sections among, on the one side, the USA and the USSR and Red China, on the other. The national liberation movement opposes this concept, since, for it, the criterion of values is the Nation. As a result of this bias, the State Department encourages neutralism not only of the Titoist but also of the Laotian stamp, a neutralism which balances between and is dependent upon both the Moscow-Peking and the Washington power blocs.

The case of Cambodia provides the best example of how countries with an originally non-communist and somewhat feudal state system slide from their position of "positive neutralism" into the communist camp as a matter of course.

In the same line of policy is the establishment of neutral buffer areas between the power blocs, the formation of puppet states under the patronage of these blocs. As a result of this consistent policy, sovereign political structures disappear from the world map to make room for "popular front" regimes, whose exponents are encouraged and supported by both power centres.

The Vatican and Ukraine

In the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people the national idea is inseparably linked with the Christian idea. This makes the Ukrainian people extremely sensitive to any changes in the attitude of the Christian world-front against the militant atheism which, in all its forms and variants, is inherent in communism. The Russian Orthodox Church, which allied itself with the Kremlin, shares the responsibility for the liquidation of both Ukrainian Churches. It is a conscious tool in the hands of the atheist government. Each and every communist government has exterminated and is exterminating religion by all possible means, for there is no room for religion in a system which is based on the totalitarian, communist ideology. When against this background attempts are being made by the Vatican to come to terms with the Russian Orthodox Kremlin-controlled Church and the communist regimes, such a course is bound to be in conflict with the notions of our freedom fighters about the role of the Church. In our opinion the Church is to be the vanguard in the war against atheism and injustice.

The members of the two Ukrainian Churches, now underground, will never consent to collaborate with the caesaro-papist Kremlin Church, the instrument of the imperialist, atheist regime. For the genuine Church it is better to be persecuted than to be protected. Concerted action by the real Churches is most important; they must be united in their spiritual and ideological crusade against militant atheism, against injustice and slavery, against the trampling down of the dignity of man — who was created in God's image, and against the disfranchisement of nations — which are "thoughts of God"; they must be united in their crusade for the embodiment of Christ's teaching in all aspects of our life. They must join forces for the protection of the genuine, clandestine Christians, their Churches and their martyrs, who in our day fight and suffer for the truth and for justice among men and nations. A Church re-born, its priests and faithful, must once more imitate the life of the followers of the true faith, the neophytes, and appreciate the spiritual strength which lies in martyrdom and in the persistent fight against all evil.

We consider it to be a grave error that the aim now being pursued is no more than to reach a compromise with the imperialist, atheist regime and its tool, the caesaro-papist church, in exchange for ephemeral concessions to the faithful in the outward practice of their religion, while at the same time the existence of the atheist regime, the arch-enemy of Church and Man, is being prolonged.

The imperialist atheist regime is incapable of improvement; it must be brought down and destroyed. The Church must become and remain the strongest and very last bulwark in the defence of the truth; it must have no truck with the centre of evil and must not allow the distinction between good and evil to become blurred. In its fight for the good and the truth the Church must never make compromises, regardless of the victims who fall for the sake of eternal life.

By their courageous protests against the presence at the Vatican Council of observers from the Kremlin church and against a policy of accommodation with the communist regime, the Ukrainian Catholic bishops have rendered a great service to the cause of Christianity and of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian community expects our Orthodox Church abroad to lodge with the competent international authorities a strong protest against, and condemn the impertinence of any attempts by the Kremlin-sponsored emissaries of the Russian Orthodox Church to figure as the representatives of Ukrainian Orthodox believers.

The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement protests vehemently against the endeavour of the Russian church to speak on behalf of Ukrainian Orthodox Christians, whose Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church has been persecuted and driven into the catacombs by the Russian imperialist atheist regime with the help of the Russian church.

The Intercontinental Aspect of Co-operation by Treaty

(a) According to the treaties concluded, and on the basis of the ABN platform adopted at the 1958 conference in Mexico, ABN co-operates with the Asian Peoples' Anti-communist League, Nationalist China, the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent (ICDC), and with the anti-communist organisations in Latin America and in sixty-five countries of the world. As the result of such ABN activity, the liberation of the subjugated peoples in the USSR and satellite countries is very much a live issue with all the treaty partners, as well as at numerous international and inter-continental conferences. In certain circumstances it leads even now to a direct partnership between the national liberation organisations and official or semi-official bodies in the free world for the planning of liberation actions, and it provides for such partnership in the future on the basis of the ABN platform.

(b) Considering the basic significance of the revolutionary liberation struggle of Ukraine and the oppressed peoples in general, as well as the great changes to be expected in the future composition and grouping of world forces after liberation, it is evident — and the global discussions on the subject confirm this view — that the problem of Ukraine and other enslaved nations has become an inescapable permanent and essential element of the world crisis, which can never be resolved unless the Russian empire is broken up and divided into nation states.

(c) Turkey, Iran and other states bordering on the USSR are, in accordance with their own vital interests, Ukraine's natural allies on the anti-Russian and anti-communist front. At the decisive moment they could become in the international forum the advocates of the dissolution of the empire.

(d) Japan, who has lost some of her ethnic territory to Russia after World War II, can also be counted among the natural allies of Ukraine.

(e) Owing to the geographical isolation of Australia and the danger of Chinese communist aggression, the universally valid concept of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation has a political partner in Australia, too.

(f) The countries of Africa and Latin America should be made aware of the vital issue of Ukrainian liberation. In the moral and political sense, the importance of the smaller states in the international arena is steadily increasing, a process directly related to the growing strength of anti-colonial, national liberation movements.

(g) The political importance of smaller countries is often far greater than their military or economic importance. This applies also to the countries of the Atlantic complex (e.g. Holland). With

their support, therefore, we shall have a chance of getting our political ideas onto a wider and authoritative international platform.

(h) In countries, who have won their fight against Russia and communism (e.g. Spain) and who cherish the national idea, we are enabled to carry on our activities (e.g. radio broadcasts) for propaganda in Ukraine and behind the iron curtain in general, without being hampered by restrictions.

(i) Canada, a country of economic and military strength and with a large nationally conscious Ukrainian element in its population, could make a valuable contribution towards expounding the Ukrainian cause within the Commonwealth. On the wider, international forum the historic initiative taken by Mr. Diefenbaker, who was the first Head of Government in the western world to put the Ukrainian problem on the agenda of the world institution, should serve as an example.

The Common Front of White and Red Russian Imperialists

There is no Russian political group which takes up an anti-imperialist position and which would declare itself for a Russian state limited to Russian ethnic territory. There is, on the contrary, a common front of the Russian nation against the Ukrainian nation, and white and red Russians aid each other in their fight against Ukraine, despite all their social-political differences of opinion and regardless of the sociological conflict between the rising generation of new leaders and the old and out-of-date ones whom they seek to replace.

Particularly dangerous is the white Russian imperialist NTS group, who (following the example of the CPSU) not only try to speak for the Russians themselves, but have deceitfully and hypocritically appropriated Ukrainian symbols of independence — e.g. the Tryzub (Trident) — and Ukrainian social and political ideals, and thus have caused confusion in the international forum. They are trying to do the same inside Ukraine through their radio transmissions. Financially, NTS is dependent on certain Western interests.

The Ukrainian nation must prepare itself for a war on two fronts: against the red as well as the white Russian imperialists, whereby the latter may conceivably receive support from Polish imperialists and, perhaps, from some anti-national circles in the West.

The Attitude of Polish Exile Groups

The policy of the more important exile groups invariably insists on the restoration of the eastern frontiers of the Polish state as they stood in 1939 and does not advocate the disintegration of the Russian empire into national states. It thus makes itself in effect an ally of the Russian imperialists and an anachronistic defender of colonialism

in Europe, and that at a time when even in Africa colonialism is being abolished.

This policy separates Poland from the common revolutionary front of the enslaved nations and turns the Polish liberation concept into a policy of intervention, even in relation to other, now subjugated nations. With the help of foreign bayonets, even in alliance with the white Russian imperialists, Poland hopes to restore in the east her frontiers of the year 1939 and, at the same time, to preserve the present state of her frontiers in the west. This policy utterly destroys the co-operation, initiated in the 40's, between the Polish and Ukrainian underground movements in their fight against the common enemy at home, and it causes subversion in the front of free and captive nations in the anti-Russian and anti-communist campaign.

The Jewish Problem

(a) The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, in full agreement with all Ukrainian political groups, stands firmly for the equality, in principle and in practice, of all citizens of Ukraine without regard to race, religion or national extraction. On this basis all Ukrainian citizens of foreign descent, and therefore also Jewish citizens, are offered full scope for their development in every direction (without, however, allowing any minority ascendancy or special privileges). This equality presupposes, of course, the positive attitude of the minorities towards the idea of Ukrainian independence and their active support in this respect.

(b) In accordance with Christian and humanitarian principles and from a sense of justice and national dignity, the Ukrainian liberation movement condemns and combats anti-Jewish excesses and pogroms, which are inspired, organised and carried out by the enemies of Ukraine in an attempt to bring the Ukrainian liberation struggle into disrepute.

(c) We stress the fact that Ukrainians, and especially members of the Ukrainian liberation movement have, under directions from their leadership, exposed their own lives and their own freedom to the gravest risks in order to succour and save Jews hunted by the Nazis.

(d) We call attention to the harm done to the Ukrainian people by those Jewish elements who, as members of the bolshevist occupation authority, and in rank and number second only to the Russians themselves, ruthlessly destroyed the national potential of Ukraine together with the country's cultural monuments and churches. We further point out that in the past centuries the majority of influential Jewry have always supported the enemy occupation of Ukraine.

(e) The Ukrainian revolutionary movement calls on the Jewish citizens of Ukraine to support the national fight for liberation and

the idea of an independent Ukrainian state. It also appeals to them to use their influence in the appropriate quarters of world Jewry in order to bring about a change in the negative attitude of the latter towards the re-establishment of the Ukrainian independent state, so that favourable conditions are created for co-operation and friendly relations between all the inhabitants of Ukraine.

Growth of Anti-Communist Forces

Anti-communist and anti-colonialist forces in the free world have been growing from day to day and their steady increase bears witness to the fact that a powerful movement for a moral and ideological renewal has begun in the free world, with its ideas of patriotism, heroism, idealism, an uncompromising attitude towards tyrannical regimes and systems. We are able to adduce many facts testifying to the growth of the forces of freedom and justice in the free world, as e.g.,

— Mass support for the ABN action in the Scandinavian countries at the time of Khrushchov's visit there. Mass participation of the Scandinavian youth in our action must be stressed;

— Unanimous support for the ABN conception at the 10th and 11th International Conferences of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Taipei and Manila, in which representatives of over 50 nations took part;

— Staunch support for ABN ideas and conceptions by leading American legislators of both parties;

— Resolute support for the ABN conceptions by leading Australian politicians, especially those who realize the imminent threat of communist aggression to their Commonwealth;

— Mass vote (27 million) for the new and revolutionary platform advanced by Barry Goldwater. It is true that the Republican Party was defeated in the U. S. elections, but we can speak only of the success of the platform which was advanced in this form for the first time and assembled such a big vote in the elections;

— Emphasizing of the national idea and national sovereignty by De Gaulle;

— Growth of the national liberation movements in the world and their victorious march to independence;

— The beginning of a fundamental change in the public opinion of the world, evidenced by the growing demand for our information services in different circles. On the other hand, public opinion has been resolutely turning against various circles sponsoring utopian internationalist and anti-national schemes. The fact that the technological basis of the nuclear age has been creating favourable conditions for "separatism" has been acknowledged even by theoreticians of federalism, and the ultimate destruction of imperialism and

colonialism in the course of the next decades has been prophesied. In view of these facts it has become evident that, in the opinion of the public, the monopoly of the U. N. or U.S.S.R. conception of the world government has been broken.

The formation of the new political and ideological camp in the free world, its considerable success in the U.S. elections, favourable response to the ABN conceptions in the United States, Canada, Australia, Scandinavia and Asia, has been the best proof of the fact that we are not isolated, nor do we represent a group of last Mohicans. Instead we have remained a fighting vanguard of the forces which stand for revolutionizing world policies and for a renewal of traditionalist values. We are not alone and we are marching with forces to which the future belongs.

There can be no doubt that momentous changes are beginning to take place in the free world. These changes are in our favour, as can be attested by increased desire for our participation in international actions. This can be attested also by a marked turn of public opinion in our favour. Newspapers, radio, television, which were opposed to our conceptions in the past, are now willing to draw public attention to our ideas, offering space on their pages and time in their programmes. Our ideas have been advertised as suggestions for a new policy of the free world in its dealings with Moscow (Montreal, Toronto, Philadelphia, Denver, Phoenix, Omaha, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Australia, not to speak of Asia) and discussion panels have been organized, where we are able to promote our conceptions and often find understanding and encouragement among the participants. The acceptance of our ideas by young people, as we witnessed in the Scandinavian countries, has a special significance for the future success of our ideology. It is youth which is destined to take the reins of world affairs into their hands tomorrow.

Given the existence of a renewal movement in the world, our task has become unmistakably clear. We have to support the movement for the renewal of the world with all our forces. The growing forces of the movement will sooner or later call for a new elite able to lead the free world in a spiritual offensive against tyrannical colonialist powers and systems. Prerequisites for such an offensive exist in an ideological rearmament which has to be preceded by a moral rebirth. With all these prerequisites brought into effect, the world will be the witness of a gigantic spiritual revolution in which we will have to act with all our forces in order to exploit every available opportunity.

The growth of an elite is no mechanical process. The transformation of the ruling elite in a democracy cannot be effected in the way it has been effected in the totalitarian countries. The advent of the Leninist elite in Russia was marked by the annihilation of the old elite, and the advent of the Stalinist elite followed the same course. The change of the ruling elite in Nazi Germany was effected practically overnight. With the deposition of Khrushchov, all his "pals" had to yield their posts to the "pals" of the new regime. In a democracy, the change of the ruling elite is a problem of its growth. An atmosphere for change should be created, as was the case with Chamberlain who at one time was an undisputed leader of the British Parliament, having only Churchill and three more M.P.s in opposition to himself. However, Churchill and his small group were able to create an atmosphere favouring change, and the change was effected. In the United States of today, President Johnson, in his Vietnam policies, has been following the recommendations of Barry Goldwater, but his policies have only superficially been identical, without ideological support of the recommendations included in the platform of the Republican Party.

The epoch in which the ruling elites in a democracy are about to be changed is truly a revolutionary epoch. However, it is a revolutionary epoch from the point of view of its aims, and not from the point of view of its methods. In a democracy, the change has been a peaceful process; violence and usurpation have been the methods of totalitarianism.

The creation of an atmosphere favourable for the transformation of the elites has been a very important task of the revolutionary forces. We have to participate in the realization of this task, showing the maximum of ingenuity and a great deal of diligence.

The Vanguard of World Renewal

In the confrontation of different ideas moving the present world we shall remain in the vanguard of the ideological forces aiming at the reshaping of the world on the basis of moral renewal. We shall continue to promote the traditional values of patriotism, heroic devotion, freedom of nations and dignity of men, freedom of religion. We shall continue to point out the fact that the maintenance of these values, their universal acceptance, is the only way for the world to stay "neither red nor dead", and that other ways lead only to catastrophe. In the fulfilment of this programme we shall join our efforts with no specific party or group because at the present time the division of the world into two camps cuts across parties and groups and we can find defenders of different ideologies in different parties or groups. Thus, for instance, taking the American political parties as an example, we find that American Democrats,

such as Feighan, Flood, Dodd, O'Connor and others, are much closer in their political thinking to a Republican, Sen. Dirksen, than to a Democrat, Sen. Fulbright. At the same time, Sen. Fulbright, a Democrat, has views on world problems almost identical with those of Gov. Rockefeller, a Republican. In Australia, the Democratic Labour Party with Sen. MacManus displays a much more uncompromising attitude towards Moscow than the Liberal Party. Furthermore, the division cuts not only across nations, parties and groups, but still more across the entire society. We must realize that the great movement of moral and ideological renewal is just beginning, its ideology just beginning to be formed, and, as far as the Anglo-Saxon society is concerned, the ideological tenets are being shaped in this way for the first time in history.

Taking into consideration all these facts, our Organization will guard the principle of sovereignty and will not enter any coalitions and confederations, except with the forces identical in ideological respect, with similar fighting spirit and political concepts. As hitherto, we will reject any compromises with forces advocating peaceful coexistence, appeasement, colonialism or communism.

The sovereignty of our policies has always made friends for our cause. The OUN has always been strong in having courage to take and carry out great decisions.

Our separation from the forces of capitulation cannot be interpreted in terms of isolation. On the contrary, we shall confront the forces of capitulation by uniting all forces that are akin ideologically, and spiritually determined to fight Moscow and communism.

