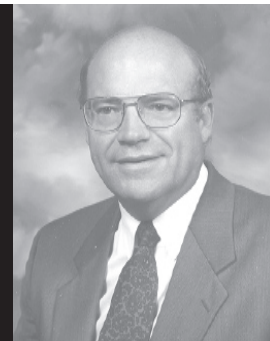




Dr. Fred Schwarz

The Schwarz Report



Dr. David Noebel

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Communist Party USA

Endorses Obama

by Aaron Klein

Sen. Barack Obama is a “friend” of the left who will make important changes to the U.S., including a hoped-for trillion-dollar stimulus package focused on low-income families as well as a reconfiguring of the role and function of the American government and corporations to favor working people, according to the leader of the Communist Party USA.

In a major speech focused on Obama, titled “A Spring-time of Possibility,” CPUSA leader Sam Webb declared the U.S. is now “on the road to socialism.”

Webb defined socialism as a “society that is egalitarian in the rough sense, eliminates exploitation of working people, brings an end to all forms of oppression, and is notable for the many-layered participation of working people and their allies in the management of the economy and state.”

In the speech, delivered at the CPUSA’s national convention Nov. 15, and posted on the party’s website, Webb stated it is “no exaggeration” to call Obama’s victory a “sea change.”

He referred to last month’s election as a “rout of right-wing extremism, a reaffirmation of the decency of our country and people, a leap forward on freedom road, and a people’s mandate for change.

“A sense of joy, catharsis and renewal is in the air,” said Webb. “Expectations are high. A new era of progressive change is waiting to become a reality. If the past eight years of the Bush Administration seemed like a winter of discontent, Obama’s ascendancy to the presidency feels like a springtime of possibility.”

He continued, “The left can and should advance its own views and disagree with the Obama administration without being disagreeable. Its tone should be respectful. We are speaking to a friend. When the administration and Congress take positive initiatives, they should be wholeheartedly welcomed. Nor should anyone think that everything will be done in 100 days. After all, main elements of the New Deal were codified into law in 1935, 1936, and 1937.”

During the speech, Webb repeatedly referred to the U.S. as “imperialist.” He called on Obama to shrink the military and the country’s nuclear weapons arsenal while redefining the role of the U.S. in the global community.

“I mean a reconfiguring of the role and functions of government and corporations so that they favor working people, the racially and nationally oppressed, women, youth, seniors, small business people, and other social groupings,” Webb clarified.

“Obama wants to be a people’s reformer,” said Webb. “In time he hopes to make substantive changes in health care, housing, education, retirement security, energy, environment, urban affairs, race and gender relations, foreign relations, and popular participation in public affairs. If the last 30 years was an era of people’s retrenchment, Obama sees the years ahead as an era of substantial people’s reforms.”

Webb called on Obama to push through a trillion-dollar stimulus package.

—*WorldNetDaily*, December 1, 2008

Founded in 1953, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, under the leadership of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, has been publishing a monthly newsletter since 1960. *The Schwarz Report* is edited by Dr. David A. Noebel and Dr. Michael Bauman. The Crusade’s address is PO Box 129, Manitou Springs, CO 80829. Our telephone number is (719) 685-9043. All correspondence and tax-deductible gifts (the Crusade is a 501(c)3 tax-exempt organization) may be sent to this address. Permission to reproduce materials from this *Report* is granted provided our name and address are given.

Bill Ayers: More Than Radical

During the 2008 presidential campaign, former Weather Underground terrorist Bill Ayers kept a low profile and attempted to play down any connections between himself and candidate Barack Obama. On election day, however, Ayers began a series of media events aimed at recasting himself as an elder statesman of the “progressive” community and the victim of a right-wing “demonizing” campaign. He is capitalizing on the recent interest in his radical past to promote the current re-release of his 2001 memoir, *Fugitive Days*.

On November 14, Ayers scored his biggest media coup so far, an appearance on ABC’s *Good Morning America*. In a pleasant surprise, his interviewer, Chris Cuomo, didn’t let him off scot-free; Cuomo made him squirm a number of times about his continuing refusal to repudiate his earlier violence and suggested he was being “evasive” about his ties to Obama. (During the campaign, both the Obama and Ayers camps repeated the line that Ayers was just a “guy in the neighborhood.” In his newly reissued book, Ayers refers to Obama as a “neighbor and family friend.”)

However, Cuomo allowed Ayers to get away with the egregious lie that he and the Weather Underground had “never hurt or killed anyone” and had only targeted property for their bombings. A San Francisco police sergeant was murdered and other officers were injured by a bomb planted at the police station on February 16, 1970. According to Larry Grathwohl, an FBI informant who operated inside the Weather Underground, Ayers had told him he had planned the bombing and Bernardine Dohrn (Ayers’ wife) had actually planted the bomb. The bomb was packed with nails, staples, and other shrapnel, with the intention of killing and wounding people.

The same month, Grathwohl testifies, Ayers gave instructions for similar bombings in Detroit at the Detroit Police Officers’ Association (DPOA) building and the 13th Precinct station. When Grathwohl argued with Ayers that the DPOA blast would also hit an African-American restaurant next door, Ayers coldly replied, “Innocent people have to die in a revolution.” If Grathwohl hadn’t foiled the bombings by informing police of the plot, many police and civilians would have been killed and injured.

On March 6, 1970, a townhouse in New York City’s Greenwich Village exploded, killing three Weather Underground terrorists who were making bombs they intended to place at a dance hall at the Ft. Dix U.S. Army base. They were anti-personnel bombs and fire bombs; if they had gone off as intended, they could have killed hundreds of soldiers and their dates.

—*The New American*, December 8, 2008, p. 8

Gerald Celente: Visionary

by Arnaud de Borchgrave

Although political forecasting and economic prognostication have long made astrology look respectable, there is still a latter-day Nostradamus who has defied the odds. “If Nostradamus were alive today,” said the *New York Post*, “he’d have a hard time keeping up with Gerald Celente”—the man who tracks the world’s social, economic, and business trends for corporate clients.

Mr. Celente’s accurate forecasts include the 1987 stock market crash, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the 1997 Asian currency crash, the 2007 subprime mortgage scandal that he said would soon engulf the world at a time when Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke, a macro-economist and expert on the Great Depression, told us, “the worst is behind us.” In November 2007, Mr. Celente also told UPI a massive devaluation of the dollar was coming and that some Wall Street giants were headed for total collapse. He called it “The Panic of 2008.”

“Worse than the Great Depression,” Mr. Celente opined. Beginning with a sharp drop in standards of living, and continuing with an angry urban underclass that threatens a social order that allowed the mega-rich to continue living behind gated communities with summer escapades to luxurious homes on the French and Italian Rivas or to bigger and better and more expensive boats from year to year.

This time, Mr. Celente’s Trends Research Institute, which the *Los Angeles Times* described as the Standard & Poor’s of pop culture, can see a tax rebellion in America by 2012, food riots, squatter rebellions, job marches, and a culture that puts a higher premium on food on the table than gifts under the Christmas tree.

Mr. Celente says, “There will be a revolution in this country,” though not until 2012, and it will take the form of a bloodless coup and the meteoric rise of a third party. While all this sounds like claptrap to sophisticated observers inside the Beltway, one can’t ignore the high marks his forecasting gets from such prestigious global publications as the *Economist*: “A network of 25 experts whose range of specialties would rival many university faculties.”

The George Washington blog listed all the kudos Celeste Celente received from a wide variety of newspapers, magazines, and television shows. He has a solid track record. The catastrophe that is about to hit our nation, he says, has its origin in wars we were told would be “off budget” and would not affect more tax cuts. This is the school that says there’s nothing wrong with a little deficit

funding.

One of the cornerstones of America's giant economy is the ability to borrow from other countries—primarily China and Japan—from \$2 billion to \$3 billion a day in order to maintain the world's highest standard of living, which is based on conspicuous consumption, at a time of growing world shortages. That was bound to change. But Mr. Celente does not believe we can switch to a thrifty society without a gigantic upheaval, from which a new paradigm will emerge.

On a global scale, scarce resources, including energy and water, will, at the very least, touch off regional resource conflicts. Mr. Celente is not that far removed from what the 100,000-strong, 16-agency Intelligence community has been doing with its almost \$50 billion Intel budget. A report released by the National Intelligence Council (NIC) this week, titled "Global Trends 2025," points to global mayhem, but not as soon as 2012, or in three years time, as Mr. Celente predicts.

The Mideast and nuclear proliferation, says NIC's report, will continue to be the CIA's principal concern inside the "great arc of instability stretching from sub-Saharan Africa through North Africa and the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus, South and Central Asia, and parts of Southeast Asia."

NIC's most immediate alarm is "The Prospect of a nuclear-armed Iran spawning a nuclear arms race in the greater Middle East will bring new security challenges to an already conflict-prone region, particularly in conjunction with the proliferation of long-range missile systems."

By 2025, NIC also says the United States will have to face the prospect of a relative decline of its economic and military power. In the interim, new superpowers will have emerged in China and India.

—*The Washington Times*, November 24, 2008, p. A 18

The Moral Generation?

In the last year, by their own admission, 64 percent of high school students have cheated on a test, 30 percent have stolen from a store, 36 percent used the Internet to plagiarize an assignment, and 42 percent sometimes lied to save money. These findings from a survey of 29,760 students at 100 randomly selected public and private high schools across the country are disheartening, but perhaps not surprising in today's ethically challenged society. Just look at the adult behavior these days. It's monkey see, monkey do.

It may well be that intensified pressures of achieving good grades and getting into quality colleges may prompt many students to cut corners, and that opportunities to cheat are greater than ever thanks to the Internet. It may well be that, as one educator said, "We overload kids these days, and they look for ways to survive." But that doesn't explain the most alarming statistic. Michael Josephson, president of the Josephson Institute, a Los Angeles-based ethics organization that conducted the survey, zeroed in on it: 30 percent acknowledged stealing from a store. "What is the social cost of that—not to mention the next generation of mortgage brokers?" Mr. Josephson remarked. "In a society drenched with cynicism, young people can look at it and say, 'Why shouldn't we? Everyone else does it.'"

Mr. Josephson contends that too many adults are blasé about ethical shortcomings among young people and in society at large. One look at the world of sports, entertainment, business, government, and even religion, reinforces the latter part of his observation. He adds that "adults are not taking this very seriously. The schools are not doing even the most moderate thing. ... They don't want to know. There's a pervasive apathy." His conclusion is that the results of this and other studies show "our moral infrastructure is unsound and in serious need of repair. This is not a time to lament and whine but to take thoughtful, positive actions."

On Long Island, N.Y., an alliance of school superintendents and college presidents recently started a campaign drawing attention to academic integrity problems, cracking down on plagiarism and cheating, and emphasizing the distinction between original and borrowed work. Beyond that, the virtues of integrity—the sort of old-fashioned "Duty, Honor, Country" that the West Point motto embodies—need constant reiteration. Youth groups, adult groups, schools, colleges, universities, clergy, businesses, governmental groups, Hollywood, you name it—all can and should play a part. "Leave It to Beaver" may be history, but moral certitude regarding lying, stealing, and cheating is a constant and should never, ever be rationalized as a relativism.

—*The Washington Times*, December 4, 2008, p. A 20

Gold Anyone?

By Congressional Authorization Public Law 99-185 99 Stat 1189, it is our fundamental right as Americans to own gold. Unlike many other countries around the world, we are able to hedge and secure our currency by owning a percentage of our savings in gold. This right

was given to us as a means to protect our wealth without trusting it all to the hands of a potentially corrupt government. Every currency in history has been devalued by its government. By owning gold you can prevent that. As oil prices and the National Debt explode to all time highs, gold emerges as the only secure currency. After all, gold is real money. Compare the value of a \$20 gold piece from the 1930s and a paper \$20 bill from the same era. The \$20 gold piece to date has gained a minimum of 3500%, the paper bill, however, after inflation dropped to a value of about \$2.20 compared to its value in the 1930s.

Consider your upside potential with gold. If gold moves to \$2000 per ounce, as predicted, this is a gain of 250%. Do you see the stock market taking you there? Millions of people have already taken the initiative to own gold and sleep better knowing that no matter what corrupt CEO surfaces next, or what dangers our nation faces, their gold will retain its intrinsic value, unlike the paper that is in the bank and stock market. Ten to 20% of your net worth should be in gold according to most money managers. Conventional wisdom says to be truly diversified and safe you must own gold. Those who owned gold in Malaysia have already reaped the rewards. As their currency was collapsing, gold exploded.

As you have heard over and over, the U.S. dollar (the leading world currency) has lost over 95% of its purchasing power. The original \$20 gold piece has gained 3500%. Owning gold has saved entire economies from ruin, let alone the thousands of families who were brought out of the great depression from owning gold and silver.

The gold supply is small, especially when compared to the paper dollar, which has no limit to its printing. It takes tons of mined rock to produce a single ounce of gold. The national debt is \$9,410,834,975,749 and climbing on an average of \$2 billion per day. This enormous debt combined with a war on terror could drive gold to all time highs. As our world continues to get more dangerous, and our economy continues to pay for it, the demand for gold rises driving up the price. Don't wait until gold is at \$1000 oz. to join the new gold rush. Own U.S. Government Legal Tender Gold NOW!

—*USA Today*, November 14, 2008, p. B5

Eric Holder: US Attorney General

We predicted Obama's election would harken a return to September 10 counterterrorism, and his naming of Eric Holder to be attorney general does not dispel that fear. But Holder's conventionally liberal policy views are not the only disturbing thing about his nomination. As the Clinton administration's last deputy attorney general, Holder was a key participant in one of the most disgraceful episodes in the Justice Department's history: the pardon of Marc Rich, the mega-fraudster and international fugitive. Nor was that the half of it. Over vigorous opposition from prosecutors and the FBI, Holder signed off in 1999 on commutations for 16 unrepentant FALN terrorists who had not even applied for clemency (a prerequisite under DOJ rules) but whose release was thought to improve then-Senate candidate Hillary Clinton's appeal to New York's Puerto Ricans. Holder also supported commutations for two Weather Underground terrorists. His AG nomination confirms that two years of Democratic posturing over the "politicization" of the Justice Department were just that, posturing.

—*National Review*, December 15, 2008, p. 6, 8

Greg Craig: White House Counsel

By naming Greg Craig as White House counsel, Obama has gotten himself a skillful lawyer—Craig led Bill Clinton's impeachment defense. He has also hired a veteran anti-anti-Communist. As a student at Yale, Craig was an outspoken protester against the Vietnam War. In Washington, he helped Ted Kennedy organize hearings to defame the Contras as they struggled against Nicaragua's Sandinista regime in the 1980s. In 2000, Craig represented the father of Elián González, the refugee boy whom the Clinton administration was determined to send back to Cuba at gunpoint, even though his mother had died trying to get him to the United States. Technically, left-wing activists paid Craig's attorney fees, but he was for all intents and purposes a lawyer in the service of Fidel Castro. With the press, Craig has aimed to portray himself as an idealist. He's been closer to a dupe.

—*National Review*, December 15, 2008, p. 8

Comrad Daniel Ortega

For more than a decade, Daniel Ortega was a dictator of Nicaragua. Then, in a strange twist of history, he was elected—with 37 percent of the vote, in 2006. But he has not exactly gotten the hang of democracy. In recent municipal elections, he and his Sandinistas threw their weight around, inflicting violence on the opposition. They had the support, financial and otherwise, of their partner in Venezuela, Chávez. They barred the Organization of American States, the European Union, and the Carter Center from observing the elections. (If you're a Sandinista and you fear what Jimmy Carter will think—you're really behaving badly.) As the *Wall Street Journal's* invaluable Latin Americanist, Mary Anastasia O'Grady, pointed out, Ortega “even barred Nicaragua's highly respected independent watchdog, Ethics and Transparency—which had recognized [Ortega's] 2006 victory—from the polling stations.” The Sandinistas declared that they won these municipal elections; the besieged opposition said no way—not legitimately. Democracy is a sometime thing in Nicaragua, as elsewhere in Latin America, and it is especially fragile when Sandinistas hold sway.

—*National Review*, December 15, 2008, p. 14

An EMP Attack

by Mark Steyn

If September 11, 2001, was “the day everything changed,” November 4, 2008, was the day everything changed back—at least as far as the rest of the world is concerned. The “global war on terror” was a Bush concept and will expire with his presidency, long past its sell-by date, as far as the “international community” is concerned: Weary Europeans find it unhelpful to the cause of mollifying their own restive Muslim populations, and wealthy Arabs want to get on with buying up the Western world's banks and soccer teams with a somewhat lighter level of scrutiny than they've been subject to these last seven years.

As for President Bush's own citizens, Code Orange is fine if it's just taking your shoes off at the airport, but as a 24/7 mindset it's kind of exhausting. So the United States elected a chief magistrate who talks about health care and job creation and hardly mentions terrorism, except for occasional effusions about invading Pakistan, which one assumes is one of those back-burner midway-through-the-second-term-things after he's lowered the oceans and healed the planet. Certainly, in the chancelleries of Europe they don't take it too seriously. The Bush fever is assumed to have passed.

Still, there remain a handful of us who think “the war” was not entirely a construct of Rove-Cheney's dark imagination, and valiantly tootle around town with our “FEAR, NOT HOPE” bumper stickers. Brian T. Kennedy of the Claremont Institute had a grim piece in the *Wall Street Journal* the other day positing an Iranian-directed freighter somewhere off America's shores capable of firing a nuclear-armed Shahab-3 missile that explodes in space over Chicago, “Gamma rays from the explosion, through the Compton Effect, generate three classes of disruptive electromagnetic pulses, which permanently destroy consumer electronics, the electronics in some automobiles and, most importantly, the hundreds of large transformers that distribute power throughout the U.S. All of our lights, refrigerators, water-pumping stations, TVs and radios stop running. We have no communication and no ability to provide food and water to 300 million Americans.

“This is what is referred to as an EMP attack, and such an attack would effectively throw America back technologically into the early 19th century.”

If Brian Kennedy were to switch it from an Iranian freighter to an Iranian freighter secretly controlled by a Halliburton subsidiary, he might have a scenario he could pitch to Paramount. But he's got a tougher job pitching it to America. This is the Katrina nation: Our inclination is to ignore the warnings, wait for it to happen, and then blame the government for not doing more. That last part will prove a little more difficult after an EMP attack. I doubt there'll be a blue-ribbon EMP Commission for Lee Hamilton to serve on, or much of a mass media for him to be interviewed by Larry King and Diane Sawyer on. “An EMP attack is not one from which America could recover as we did after Pearl Harbor,” writes Mr. Kennedy. “Such an attack might mean the end of the United States and most likely the Free World.”

—*National Review*, December 15, 2008, p. 60

An EMP Attack—II

by Brian T. Kennedy

As severe as the global financial crisis now is, it does not pose an existential threat to the U.S. Through fits and starts we will sort out the best way to revive the country's economic engine. Mistakes can be tolerated, however painful. The same may not be true with matters of national security.

Although President George W. Bush has accomplished

more in the way of missile defense than his predecessors—including Ronald Reagan—he will leave office with only a rudimentary system designed to stop a handful of North Korean missiles launched at our West Coast. Barack Obama will become commander in chief of a country essentially undefended against Russian, Chinese, Iranian or ship-launched terrorist missiles. This is not acceptable.

The attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, have proven how vulnerable we are. On that day, Islamic terrorists flew planes into our buildings. It is not unreasonable to believe that if they obtain nuclear weapons, they might use them to destroy us. And yet too many policy makers have rejected three basic facts about our position in the world today:

First, as the defender of the Free World, the U.S. will be the target of destruction or, more likely, strategic marginalization by Russia, China and the radical Islamic world.

Second, this marginalization and threat of destruction is possible because the U.S. is not so powerful that it can dictate military and political affairs to the world whenever it wants. The U.S. has the nuclear capability to vanquish any foe, but it is not likely to use it except as a last resort.

Third, America will remain in a condition of strategic vulnerability as long as it fails to build defenses against the most powerful political and military weapons arrayed against us: ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads. Such missiles can be used to destroy our country, blackmail, or paralyze us.

Any consideration of how best to provide for the common defense must begin by acknowledging these facts.

Consider Iran. For the past decade, Iran—with the assistance of Russia, China, and North Korea—has been developing missile technology. Iranian Defense Minister Ali Shamkhani announced in 2004 their ability to mass produce the Shahab-3 missile capable of carrying a lethal payload to Israel or—if launched from a ship—to an American city.

The current controversy over Iran's nuclear production is really about whether it is capable of producing nuclear warheads. This possibility is made more urgent by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmandinejad's statement in 2005: "Is it possible for us to witness a world without America and Zionism? But you had best know that this slogan and this goal are attainable, and surely can be achieved."

Mr. Ahmadinejad takes seriously, even if the average Iranian does not, radical Islam's goal of converting, subjugating, or destroying the infidel peoples—first and foremost the citizens of the U.S. and Israel. Even after 9/11, we appear not to take the threat seriously. We should.

Think about this scenario: An ordinary-looking freighter ship heading toward New York or Los Angeles launches a missile from its hull or from a canister lowered into the sea. It hits a densely populated area. A million people are incinerated. The ship is then sunk. No one claims responsibility. There is no firm evidence as to who sponsored the attack, and thus no one against whom to launch a counterstrike.

But as terrible as that scenario sounds, there is one that is worse. Let us say the freighter ship launches a nuclear-armed Shahab-3 missile off the coast of the U.S. and the missile explodes 300 miles over Chicago. The nuclear detonation in space creates an electromagnetic pulse (EMP).

Gamma rays from the explosion, through the Compton Effect, generate three classes of disruptive electromagnetic pulses, which permanently destroy consumer electronics, the electronics in some automobiles and, most importantly, the hundreds of large transformers that distribute power throughout the U.S. All of our lights, refrigerators, water-pumping stations, TVs and radios stop running. We have no communication and no ability to provide food and water to 300 million Americans.

This is what is referred to as an EMP attack, and such an attack would effectively throw America back technologically into the early 19th century. It would require the Iranians to be able to produce a warhead as sophisticated as we expect the Russians or the Chinese to possess. But that is certainly attainable. Common sense would suggest that, absent food and water, the number of people who could die of deprivation and as a result of social breakdown might run well into the millions.

Let us be clear. A successful EMP attack on the U.S. would have a dramatic effect on the country, to say the least. Even one that only affected part of the country would cripple the economy for years. Dropping nuclear weapons on or retaliating against whoever caused the attack would not help. And an EMP attack is not far-fetched.

Twice in the last eight years, in the Caspian Sea, the Iranians have tested their ability to launch ballistic missiles in a way to set off an EMP. The congressionally mandated EMP Commission, with some of America's finest scientists, has released its findings and issued two separate reports, the most recent in April, describing the devastating effects of such an attack on the U.S.

The only solution to this problem is a robust, multi-layered missile-defense system. The most effective layer in this system is in space, using space-based interceptors that destroy an enemy warhead in its ascent phase when

it is easily identifiable, slower, and has not yet deployed decoys. We know it can work from tests conducted in the early 1990s. We have the technology. What we lack is the political will to make it a reality.

An EMP attack is not one from which America could recover as we did after Pearl Harbor. Such an attack might mean the end of the United States and most likely the Free World. It is of the highest priority to have a president and policy makers not merely acknowledge the problem, but also make comprehensive missile defense a reality as soon as possible.

—*The Wall Street Journal*, November 24, 2008

Murder by Starvation

by Cathy Young

This year marks the 75th anniversary of one of the most horrific chapters in the history of the Soviet Union: the great famine the Ukrainians call Holodomor, “murder by starvation.” This catastrophe, which killed an estimated 6 to 10 million people in 1932-33, was largely the product of deliberate Soviet policies. Inevitably, then, its history is fodder for acrimonious disputes.

Ukraine—which, with Canada and a few other countries, observed Holodomor Remembrance Day on November 23—seeks international recognition for a Ukrainian “genocide.” Russia denounces that demand as political exploitation of a wider tragedy. Some Russian human rights activists are skeptical of both positions.

Meanwhile, the famine remains little known in the West, despite efforts by the Ukrainian diaspora. Indeed, the West has its own inglorious history with regard to the famine, starting with the deliberate cover-up by Pulitzer Prize-winning *New York Times* correspondent Walter Duranty.

In the late 1980s, the famine gained new visibility thanks to Robert Conquest’s *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (1987) and the TV documentary *Harvest of Despair*, aired in the United States and Canada. A backlash from the left was quick to follow. Revisionist Sovietologist J. Arch Getty accused Conquest of parroting the propaganda of “exiled nationalists.” And in January 1988, the *Village Voice* ran a lengthy essay by Jeff Coplon (now a contributing editor at *New York* magazine) titled “In Search of a Soviet Holocaust: A 55-Year-Old Famine Feeds the Right.” Coplon sneered at “the prevailing vogue of anti-Stalinism” and dismissed as absurd the idea that the famine had been created by the

communist regime. Such talk, he asserted, was meant to justify U.S. imperialism and whitewash Ukrainian collaboration with the Nazis.

By the time Coplon wrote, however, the Soviet regime was dying. The partial opening of Soviet archives soon confirmed the extent to which Stalin and his henchmen knowingly used hunger to punish resistance and beat the peasantry into submission. Among the finds was a direct order by Stalin to cordon off starving villages and intercept peasants trying to flee in search of food. The post-Soviet leadership of both Russia and Ukraine was willing to acknowledge the Terror-Famine, though differences soon emerged on whether it should be regarded as a Ukrainian genocide or equal-opportunity mass murder.

Ukrainian-Russian relations began to deteriorate after the “Orange Revolution” of late 2004. Russia under Vladimir Putin was sliding deeper into authoritarianism and anti-Western nationalism, while Ukraine, led by President Viktor Yushchenko, sought closer ties to the West. Even as the political mood in Russia began to emphasize the alleged positive aspects of the Soviet past, Yushchenko promoted a view of Soviet-era Ukraine as a “captive nation” under a foreign boot.

In November 2006, the Ukrainian parliament passed a bill proclaiming the Holodomor a genocide and making Holodomor denial “unlawful.” An escalation of rhetoric followed; a 2007 statement by the Russian Foreign Ministry accused “certain political circles” in Ukraine of insulting the memory of non-Ukrainian famine victims. Since then, the pro-government Russian press has published dozens of articles assailing Ukraine’s stance on the Holodomor as an insidious anti-Russian ploy. This year, President Dmitry Medvedev declined an invitation to Holodomor Remembrance Day ceremonies in Kiev in a petulant letter that dismissed “talk of the so-called Holodomor” as an “immoral” attempt to give a shared tragedy a nationalist spin and also took a swipe at Ukraine’s desire to join NATO.

Some independent Russian commentators accuse both governments of playing politics. Thus, an article by St. Petersburg-based scholar Kirill Aleksandrov on the Gazeta.ru website on November 17 argued that the Terror-Famine was not a genocide in the classic sense but a “stratocide”—mass extermination based on social class—directed at the peasantry. Yet, he wrote, the Kremlin cannot fully confront this crime since that would conflict with its quest to build a state ideology that incorporates the “positive value” of the Soviet period. “Unfortunately,” Aleksandrov summed up, “the millions of victims of collectivization will be used in Ukraine only

for political manipulation and the creation of Russophobic myths, while Russia will consistently try to erase their memory in order to preserve the legitimacy of the current regime, which cannot exist without appealing to Soviet historical tradition.”

A starkly different view was offered by journalist Yulia Latynina on the website EJ.ru. Latynina noted that while Stalin’s terror affected every segment of Soviet society, specific groups were sometimes singled out—among them the Ukrainian peasant class in the early 1930s. “Stalin was destroying the peasantry by herding it into collective farms,” she wrote. “It so happened that the wealthiest peasantry was in Ukraine....It so happened that Stalin was afraid of Ukraine’s independence and undertook special efforts to break Ukraine.” Supporters of Ukraine’s position also deny that it is “Russophobic,” pointing to Yushchenko’s explicit statements that the Holodomor was a crime of the Soviet Communist regime, not the Russian people.

Which view is accurate? Scholars still disagree both on the scope of the famine and on its ethnic “specificity.” One of the most vocal opponents of the Ukrainian government’s view is former Soviet dissident Alexander Babyonyshev (writing under the pen name Sergey Maksudov), now an émigré professor at Harvard, who studied the Terror-Famine in Soviet times when it was politically dangerous.

There is no question that the famine caused deaths beyond Ukraine and the predominantly Ukrainian-populated Russian region of Kuban. The millions of others who perished included Russian peasants and close to a third of the population of Kazakhstan.

There is also no doubt that the famine was man-made. Most Soviet peasants resisted the collectivization that began in the 1930s. When joining collective farms was voluntary, few signed up, and many who did soon left. Forcible collectivization was met with peasant rebellions, ruthlessly suppressed, then with quiet resistance. When villagers realized that collective farming meant backbreaking labor for the state at slave wages, many staged work slowdowns. As a result, grain production targets were not met at a time when Moscow relied on grain exports to finance industrialization. The regime then instituted a policy of ruthless confiscation of grain that left no food for the peasants; in many regions, villages that failed to

meet the quota were also forced to surrender all other foodstuffs.

Recent articles detailing the Soviet regime’s war on the peasantry, based on Soviet archives, describe a living hell: government agents going door to door confiscating food; families in recalcitrant villages forced out of their homes and left to freeze; men and women tortured to make them reveal hidden stockpiles of food; widespread cannibalism. These horrors were by no means limited to Ukraine.

It is nonetheless true that Stalin’s fateful decision to blockade faminestricken areas, issued in January 1933, was initially directed at Ukraine and Kuban. This has prompted French historian Nicolas Werth, coauthor of *The Black Book of Communism*, to reconsider his view of the Terror-Famine as ethnically neutral class warfare. In an address at the Harvard Ukrainian Institute on November 18, Werth said he now believes there is sufficient evidence to support the “national interpretation” of the famine. This evidence, in his view, includes the fact that the Holodomor coincided with a Soviet campaign against Ukrainian nationalism, with purges and executions targeting Ukraine’s political and cultural elites. Yet Werth concluded with a pointed plea to remember all the victims of the Communist war on the peasantry.

Recognition of the Holodomor as genocide is complicated by several factors. The ethnic component of the Terror-Famine in Ukraine was not driven by a nationalist animus against Ukrainians but by Stalin’s paranoia about Ukrainian nationalism and alleged ties to Poland. Moreover, many of the people who carried out the exterminationist policies were ethnic Ukrainians. Perhaps, as Russian historian Boris Sokolov has argued, a proper condemnation of Communist terror requires a new category: mass murder not motivated by ethnic hatred.

The scholarly and political debate will doubtless continue. Last September, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution declaring the Holodomor a genocide; a month later, the European Parliament voted to recognize it as a “crime against humanity” but stopped short of the G-word. Meanwhile, it seems that the only time Russia’s government remembers the Russian victims of the Terror-Famine is when it needs them to counter Ukrainian claims about “the so-called Holodomor.”

—*The Weekly Standard*, December 2008, p. 14, 15

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