

A B N CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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At the Threshold of a New Year

By Yaroslav Stetzko

In the Free World the pendulum is still swinging to and fro — between false hopes for peace and alarm for war. For the subjugated nations, however, the way has been clearly designed by fate: they have to fight for their ultimate objective — for their liberation. There is no choice. "Freedom or death" always has been the motto of the enslaved.

Although Stalin has died so recently yet this event has nearly fallen into oblivion in the whole of the western world as well as in the countries subjugated by Moscow. All hopes for a radical change in the bolshevik system are gone. Life and struggle are proceeding in their usual course. The West has missed a favorable chance; neither the rising in Berlin — though everyone noticed it — nor the riots that flared up in the satellite states and throughout the U.S.S.R. were able to change the minds of the Western statesmen. They did not even think of intervening in the course of the events behind the Iron Curtain, but put all their hopes on a policy of a possible agreement with Russia. The best chance for blowing up bolshevism from within has been missed. The representatives of democracy had forgotten their own principles for a moment: they hoped sincerely that there would be a new dictator; it appeared, however, that in bolshevism the figure of the despot is not alone decisive but it is rather the evil which roots in this system itself. In the dictatorship of a single party it makes no difference who is the momentary head. The dictator is dead but not so dictatorship! The democratic world overrated the role of an autocrat within a bolshevik regime, as it has not been capable, up to now, to realize the true nature of that sort of government. There is a principle difference between a military and a totalitarian party dictatorship. The latter is a new feature in the history of social political appearances. Furthermore, the West has understood, in principle, neither the character of Russian imperialism nor Russian mentality which has produced despotic systems for centuries. This is consequently the reason why its hopes for far-reaching consequences of the dictator's death were disappointed. The West itself, too,

maintained a passive attitude regarding the events in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death.

The new year has a gloomy beginning. The project of a conference of the Big Four in January 1954 is nothing but an illusion. No conference with the Kremlin Tyrant will ever bring peace to the world. This new year will also not be recorded in the annals of history as a year of peace but as a year of fright and fear of a new war. Malenkov and Molotov will not take a peace turtle with them. In the contrary — they will make all efforts to thwart the accomplishment of the European Defence Community and its possible co-oper-

ation with the peoples subjugated by Moscow. Since a conference of the Big Five would amount to a capitulation of the United States regarding Red China, this is quite out of the question. With China entering the legitimate circle of the Western Powers, a new period of bolshevik aggression would be initiated. If England were to remain irresolute and France were to yield from the U.S.S.R., the United States would be repressed into a minority. The European Powers believe that they could counterbalance the economic and political supremacy of the States by the settlement of

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Admiral George Mentz

Russian Imperialistic Communism

Adress delivered at 10th anniversary observance of the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, Sunday, Nov. 26, 1953

It is a pleasure and honor for me to be able to join with you this evening in the annual meeting of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations. It is a pleasure because I am confident that in speaking frankly about the threatening peril of Russian Imperialistic Communism to the cause of human freedom I will not be offending one single participant at this dinner. Strange as it may seem, that is unique even here in our beloved America. It is in every sense an honor because I know well of the gallant and fearless campaign of the A.B.N. to expose the terrible dangers of Russian Imperialistic Communism, your untiring efforts to awaken free people to the real menace to all mankind, and your firm allegiance to those dynamic political principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence. Strange as it may seem, even here in America — the greatest citadel of freedom — you have been attacked and smeared because you have refused to be intimidated by the agents of the World Communist conspiracy.

We can be almost certain that the Communist controlled and infiltrated publications will launch an attack against the advocacy of freedom and peace taking place here this evening. It is quite accurate to say that a fair test of the remaining strength of the communist conspiracy in America can be measured by the violence and overall coverage given to these attacks. This is a truism which can be applied to all freedom manifestations which dare to clearly identify the real enemy of free people. Take it as a sincere compliment when I say that A.B.N. freedom rallies serve as an accurate barometer to gauge the strength of Communist storms and furies.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, all in their time charged religion to be the opiate of the people. They saw religion as a barrier to their false and nefarious theories but they never clearly understood why. There can be no doubt that their lack of comprehension resulted from their failure to understand religion and its relation to the nature of man. Had they understood the nature of man they would have understood religion. Likewise

had they understood religion they would have believed in it and the unworkable notions of Marxism would not today be the driving force behind traditional Russian Imperialism.

From this simple but proven premise we can begin to understand the form and content of Russian Communist imperialism. Any failure to recognize these basic truths makes it impossible to accurately understand Communism as a world menace. It is this failure on the part of many intellectuals of the free world or their lack of moral courage to face the truth, which has caused the cancerous like infection of large segments of the human race. The enslavement of many new nations and over 600,000,000 additional people in a decade should have stirred the conscience of every still free man, particularly those who are posed as "experts" on Russian. But we wait in vain for that awakened conscience. We see on the other hand a determined effort to further becloud and disguise the real issue of our times. To put it bluntly, here are some of the more dangerous themes used by the captive "experts":

1. That we should not interfere with the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R. because to do so will unite the captive people with the Kremlin regime! Could you imagine the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Cossaks, North Caucasians and the other non-Russian people uniting with the Kremlin on any issue? To even speculate on such a possibility is pure folly. There can be no question but what those who advance this dangerous notion are either agents of the Kremlin, crafty advocates of one world socialism or plain fools.

2. That all the people of the U.S.S.R. are Russians, greater or less, having a common love for the "Russian Motherland"! Can you imagine any non-Russian being called a Russian and liking it? Do you know of anything in the history of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. which shows any respect for the so-called Russian Motherland let alone any inclination to support such a mythical claim? Yet, why is this dialectical misforma-

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Russian Imperialistic Communism

tion being given wide circulation in many otherwise respectable journals of the U.S.

3. That Stalin, using the theories of Lenin, has stamped out all nationalism in the U.S.S.R.! This line argues that the Kremlin has established a "Soviet man," a "Soviet society," a "Soviet civilization." We all know that the Kremlin propagandists have been attempting to force acceptance of these completely false notions upon the free world for several decades. But why, we must ask ourselves, are some self appointed experts on Russia "peddling the same line and getting one of our leading national weekly pictorials to carry it?"

May I, for a moment, refer to some recent history? First on March 6, 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union announced the death of Stalin. This was in the form of an impassioned appeal to unity of the "Soviet people" under the Communist party.

A few days later, Malenkov, Beria and Molotov gave their orations at Stalin's funeral. In the very first part of Malenkov's oration he refers to Stalin's solution of the nationality problem.

"In the history of the development of society and the national question, the greatest theoretician of the national question, Comrade Stalin, secured, for the first time in history within the frontier of huge multi-national state, the liquidation of national strife. Our sacred duty is to strengthen and further the unity and friendship of the nations of the Soviet Union and to strengthen the Soviet multinational state and friendship among the peoples of our country. We are not afraid of any internal or external enemies. Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet army was created and strengthened."

There you have it. Malenkov's first concern was the nationality problem. This was followed by fear of internal and external enemies and a dissertation on the Soviet armed forces.

Signs of internal dissension in the U.S.S.R. became apparent shortly thereafter. First in Ukraine when Melnikov, the Communist Party leader was charged with carrying out a policy of intense Russianization in Ukraine. This was followed by similar incidents in Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkistan and Armenia where there were drastic changes in the party organizations. Then there were reports of unrest in Poland and strikes in Pilsen and Bohemia, followed by the rebellion of June 17th in East Berlin which spread to the entire Soviet Zone of Germany. Shortly afterwards, a new policy was proclaimed in Hungary and in Rumania. The industrialization plan for Hungary was drastically modified as was the collective farm program. These measures seem to point to a temporary easing of harsh measures, at least in the satellite countries. Finally in late June, expulsion from the party and the arrest of Lavrenti P. Beria, Deputy Premier and Minister of the Interior, boss of the Secret Police, the internal and external espionage services, the slave labor camps and the atomic energy program.

These events point to heavy strains and stresses in all of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries. We hear nothing, however, of any dissension, political or otherwise within Muscovy itself. It is in the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite nations that the unmistakable signs of unrest and even rebellion are apparent. The fear on the part of their Russian masters must be plain to all but the most naïve.

4. That anyone who advocates national independence for Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Turkistan or the other captive nations is a separatist! In the language of the World Marxist movement a "separatist" is a person who is dedicated to destroying the communist power bloc by assisting the National Independence Movements in the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. This is looked upon as the unforgivable crime because it would bring about the end of Communism as a

World threat. What is worse, in the eyes of the Communists, it would lead to the inevitable destruction of the master plan of the Marxists for World conquest. The founding fathers of America were "separatists" and they able described themselves as such in the Declaration of Independence. How strange then, that right here in America — the birthplace of separatism as a political doctrine — we have people attempting to "separatism" appear as a hideous crime. The reason should be quite obvious.

5. That anyone who attempts to identify the aims of historical Russian Imperialism with those of Communist Imperialism is automatically Anti-Russian! This has been a central theme propagated throughout the free world. Yet, when the arch-criminals of the Kremlin put out their "Unity Call" right after the announcement of Stalin's peculiar illness they emphasized in that appeal their firm confidence in support of the Great Russians in preserving the multi-national empire of Communism. At the same time they made no bones about calling the Russians the superior people of the U.S.S.R. Here I would like to make an important distinction. This appeal was obviously addressed to the Great-Russian intelligentsia in the U.S.S.R. and throughout the world, as a matter of fact. The Great Russian people have suffered at the hands of the Russian intelligentsia and it could have no real appeal to them. Therefore we must distinguish the Great-Russian masses from the intelligentsia and under no circumstances confuse the two. We made one terrible mistake on "collective guilt" following World War II and we must never make the error

again. It should be clear, therefore, when we speak of Russian Imperialism as the political partner of Communist Imperialism that we are speaking about the misguided Russian intelligentsia and not the masses of the Russian people.

There can be no doubt but what the challenge to our survival depends in large part upon proper identification of the threat. Once we have identified this threat — devoid of the massive communist campaign of deception and confusion — we will then be on the road to certain triumph. It follows that this should be a first task and it requires a large scale education campaign of education in order to destroy the work of the Communists carried on in the U.S. during the past 25 years.

The forces for good represented here this evening are in an excellent position to develop such a badly needed educational campaign. A great many of you know from first hand experience what the evil conspiracy is, you have suffered under it — you know what must be done to destroy it. To carry out such a task you will need the cooperation of all Americans of good will and particularly the free press. This cooperation will be forthcoming because the challenge of our time demands it.

You are united in the cause of freedom and dedicated to the destruction of Russian Communist Imperialism. Your goal is the restoration of the national independence of all the nations enslaved by Communism. You cannot fail in your objectives because everything that is dear to free men hangs in the balance.

As an inspiration to all of us I can think of nothing better than the words written in the year 397 A.D. by St. Augustine: "The crown of victory is promised only to those who engage in the struggle."

At the Threshold of an New Year

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a peace treaty with Russia. Our peoples, however, are not in the least afraid of that supremacy. As a matter of fact, there is no chance of the West coming to peaceable terms with Russia. Among others, there are the strategic reasons why the Kremlin will not withdraw a single step in Europe and why it will never abandon its powerful position. The diplomatic activity of the U.S.S.R. will continue in the new year to aim at the incorporation of Red-China into the circle of the Great Powers as a legitimate member. Meanwhile, the fight of the subjugated peoples will go on — without being checked and without any compromise. The tragic part of it all is the fact that this fight will still be waged in an isolated manner and ignored by the west. In the eyes of the West, the ways of the subjugated peoples will not lead to success. But this fighting on two different bases is a waste of strength. Every effort of the Western Powers to come to terms with the Soviet Union must alienate the subjugated peoples from the West and force them to rely only upon their own strength. And more than that: such a policy will combine those nations under bolshevik control with those still living unfree in the West, so that the illusion of two worlds is created — a free and an oppressed. This, however, is not to be taken in the sense of an actually existing bolshevik subjugation but rather as a division of mankind into the ruling and the ruled. The seeming efforts of the Kremlin to raise the standard of living of the people under its despotism will render the formation of the fronts more difficult. The Western Powers are not in the least interested in the fate of our peoples but are considering a possible "East-Locarno" which would amount to an everlasting subjugation and slavery. From the Baltic to the Black Sea, and, across the Caucasus and Turkistan to the Pacific, the fronts are re-arranged; the tactics are adapted to the new conditions; the underground movements

and organizations penetrate more and more into every sphere of life; our fighters are particularly active among the Red Army and win over new followers continuously. Our fight for freedom will be continued according to our own methods and our own objectives, regardless of the policy of the West. But the discrepancy between the Western projects and the aspirations of the subjugated peoples in the East will increase even more and the two anti-bolshevik fronts — that of the free world and that of the enslaved nations — will diverge more and more. There is only one foe — the common one. Yet, unfortunately enough, there is no common view point against it.

While, on the one hand, such gloomy thoughts are besetting us at the verge of a new year, on the other hand, however, we are strengthened by the conviction that, in the end, truth will win. We will not otherwise escape the catastrophe that bolshevism intended to the world.

We are entering this new year with new hopes and new apprehensions. We are deeply convinced that the Almighty God will take the bitter chalice from us, the chalice from which the peoples under bolshevik despotism have had to drink for so many years now. We believe firmly that the idea of free men and free nations, the concept, of free and independent democratic states will triumph over totalitarian slavery, and particularly over that embodied in the Soviet monster.

We trust next year we will proceed towards this grand target!

The terrible phantom of the atom weapon shall disappear, and peace, freedom, prosperity, and happiness, shall prevail among free peoples, free men, and their independent states!

Let us fight for equal right for all the peoples, the great as well as the little ones, and for peace and justice all over the world!

Violent Russification in Hungary

An Impending Danger not only for the Hungarian People but also for the Whole Occidental Civilization

(An original contribution from Budapest)

"Russia is marching on to conquer the world" — said Napoleon on St. Helena Island on March 27, 1917, worrying about the future of the nations and European civilization.

"The century-long struggle of the Slav peoples for their existence and independence has been brought to a victorious end" — said Stalin in a broadcast address to the Russian people on May 9, 1945, in Moscow.

Nearly one and a half centuries have past since Napoleon made that prophetic statement, and just eight years since Stalin, that most ruthless and most successful defender of Russian imperialism, in pan-Slavonian disguise made his self-complacent declaration; and now there are few peoples on the globe which see as clear as the Hungarian, and know from experience, the dreadful truth of the two statements.

Most of the peoples in the West perceive, even to-day, only one face of Soviet imperialism as it looks out for world dominion: the bolshevik face of totalitarian socialism.

In Hungary, if nowhere else, encompassed by a belt of Slav states, the other face of the Soviet nightmare reveals its entire dreadfulness — not less frightening and menacing for the whole Western World: Russian cultural imperialism, expressing itself in an extremely intolerant and militant form of pan-slavism.

There is no place where it has become so clear as in Hungary — at least for the time being and in the non-Slavonian countries under direct Russian control — that social and economic aims rank second in that fight waged by all means for the realization of the Russian plans of world domination.

Principle: Annihilation of indigenous culture

In this struggle between the confronted forces, the armed bandits and the defenceless victim; in this brutal and unequal fight, the first issue is now, in Hungary, the Russification of the Hungarian people with its Western civilization rooting in a thousand year old tradition.

Whatever level of the indenting structure of Hungarian civilization you may consider, you will find the same tendency of the totalitarian Soviet-controlled State and Party machinery everywhere: to extinct everything Western and Christian in Hungary's civilization, as soon as possible. Thereby, the Hungarian nation — its thoughts, its views to life, its customs and morale, and, in the end, its language — is to be amalgamated with the Russian sphere of civilization, however strange to the Hungarian.

Over-night, German language disappeared from the time tables of the Hungarian schools — the language which had served as the primary communication between Hungary and the West, as Hungary bordered upon the sphere of German civilization immediately. With that (though theoretically maintained on the curriculum here and there) the cultivation of the French and the English language came to an end, though, during the last time, these languages had also gained a top position in the relations between Hungary and the West.

The languages of the great Western civilized nations were replaced by Russian, far exceeding the position that German had ever held in the curriculum, even in the period of absolutism between 1849 and 1867 when the measures of germanization under Austrian influence reached their climax.

Of course, the aspirations for totally remodeling the cultural bases of the Hungarian people did not end with the change of the languages taught. According to the underlying totalitarian ambitious extinction was extended on the folklore and the tradition of the indigenous Hungarian culture as well as on those cultural elements taken over from the West.

Repression of National Customs

The "Cultural Brigades" of Russian pattern, organized among the workers; the "Winter Evenings of the Free Earth" which are to bring the people in the country under the influence of denationalization; the cultural organizations of the

young; the national companies of actors and dancers and the people's choirs; — they all are controlled by the *Hungarian Soviet Society*, organizing mass propaganda even in the remotest corners of the country, and by the Ministry of Russification, disguised as "Ministry of People's Education", with its latest organ, the "Institute for People's Arts" — and they all are serving the same one purpose.

Following the programme of the national cultural authorities, the companies of actors are not allowed to perform any plays other than purely propagandistic products of the contemporary stage literature or Russian plays.

The people's choirs sing Russian folk and art songs, and of the Hungarian folk songs only those the traditional texts of which have been altered in conformance with prescribed Russian pattern, whereas the dancing groups, beside the gradually repressed Hungarian folk dances, perform more and more Russian dances entirely unknown and strange to the Hungarian in motion and rhythm.

Gradually, the Hungarian people has been hermetically secluded from the West. And this again serves, in the first place, cultural political purposes, apart from all political and military reasons, and is a most efficient means in the

process of Russification. No matter whether you look at the press, radio, literature, theatre, or cinema — in every domain of cultural life you will perceive the decisive role that seclusion plays in denationalizing the young and the workers, in deed, in separating the whole people from Western culture.

The power of the press and radio are well-known. In Hungary, as in every totalitarian state, they are completely controlled by the government and the ruling party.

Press, Radio, Literature, Serve Deterioration

Western newspapers do not get through to Hungary, and listening in foreign broadcasts is severely punished. This is a great facilitation for press and radio in fulfilling their main task, namely, as far as news is concerned, to keep the truth off the Hungarian people. Furthermore, however, it helps in pursuing the second objective: to put the Hungarian, absolutely secluded from Western cultural life, under the spell of Soviet Russian civilization.

In no sphere of cultural life the tendency, "from the cradle to the grave", which is so typical for every totalitarian propaganda and in this case

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Another Manoeuvre of Moscow's

(S.) Moscow is afraid of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and their co-operation with the free world. It is afraid of a union of all forces opposing Soviet Russian imperialism and wants to disunite them by all means. The Kremlin has been stricken with fear of the ratification of the European Defence Community and strains every effort to frustrate it. France was facing far-reaching decisions but it has been discouraged by Russia's insinuations. For the Russians, the conference of the Big Four in Berlin will serve the sole purpose of preventing the West from undertaking decisive steps. At the Bermuda Conference, the Western statesmen intended to discuss joint actions, perhaps even a policy of liberation, against Russia; but with a side-glance at Moscow the subject was postponed. France was relieved; for it held that Russia wanted peace. But it is this empire that is threatening the world to-day rather than Germany!

Germany is only one of the possibly important factors in fighting Russian expansion. The free world has to defend itself not against a supposed German imperialism (its renewal would take a long time, by the way) but against the Soviet world danger. German armed forces must be made up, no matter whether this will be done within the E.D.C. or in the form of a national army. If they are not brought about as allied forces of the Western Powers, Russia will soon occupy the defenceless Germany and then German divisions will serve Russia just as the Polish, Hungarian, and other forces do to-day. The sooner the West determines to arm the whole of the still free Europe, the better. This step is inevitable and even Mr. Daladier's trips to Poland are no help for it.

There is only one alternative: either the whole of the West is being armed or the Russian Army will stand on the Atlantic coast. There is no way out.

Seriously, we are not sure whether it is not to late already. At any rate, it is 5 minutes to 12. If the Western Great Powers continue to hesitate in organizing an effective defence, Russia will turn the situation to advantage. Being aware of her daily growing strength, she will make use of the delay in the West and run its nations down. This avalanche will also sweep over France and then her divisions will not be of great help to her. At that time, of course, it will be too late for organizing German troops.

The West must make use of the inner complications of Russia and must not pursue the false phantom of a peace that Russia does not want at all! Otherwise it will be too late . . .

President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, gained all our sympathy by their undeniably firm policy, but they have a good deal of trouble with the French prejudices and the English readiness for compromising. The strictly anti-bolshevik course of the American policy is impressive, yet the ideas recently suggested by several American Committees are erroneous, because they still rest on out-dated reactionary concepts and do not clearly emphasize the principle of the independence of all nations. If, however, the Western, especially the American policy falls in with our objectives, the Soviet Russian empire could be weakened from within (provided that our underground movements are effectively supported) to such a degree that the phantom of atom war would no longer terrify the world as dreadfully as before. In times of total war, technical equipment alone will not do. The fight must be waged on a spiritual basis, too, the means in that domain being at least equivalent to those of technical warfare.

War is more than a mere fight by weapons. It is much more important who is carrying them! This applies especially to our times, the times of arising and renewal of nations; the times when no longer single classes or castes but rather entire peoples with their masses, appear on the stage of the world theatre. In modern warfare these facts must be taken into account; obsolete concepts of the past have to be thrown over board. We must never resume them. Moscow has understood the tokens of the time and, therefore, has gone to a brutal and ruthless war on two fronts, abusing the idea of national as much as of social justice.

We warn the West of a new Muscovite manoeuvre — the intended conference of the Big Four — and admonish the competent authorities to notice what we say: There is only one guarantee for bringing a lasting peace in all the world about, and freeing our peoples, indeed, all freedom-loving men from fear. This guarantee is the strength of one's own forces and its best possible armament, particularly the ideal armament as a vital weapon against bolshevism . . .

D. Donzow

Volentem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt

Early in the 18th century the Western frontiers of Russia ran some hundred miles west of Moscow. To-day they are the same distance east of Paris. What are the reasons for this development?

To push the headquarters of the Russian invasion into the heart of Europe Moscow had to seize two barriers first; Poland and Ukraine as the first and Germany and the Habsburg Monarchy as the second.

And the West itself was helping the Russians to gain these two barriers as a basis from which to conquer Europe.

In 1709 Moscow defeated Ukraine which was still half independent. The Ukrainian notables with the Hetman Philipp Orlyk, successor of Mazeppa, who fled abroad beseeched all courts of Europe to assist Ukraine in her desperate struggle against the Muscovites — but in vain. There were only few judicious brains in Europe at the time who were well aware that the Russian victory near Poltava would lead, in the course of time, to Russian rule over the Crimea and the Black Sea coast thus pushing open the door to the Balkan and to Constantinople and encompassing Poland. But these praiseworthy exceptional figures preached to deaf ears... Some ten years later the Muscovites stood in Warsaw — Poland, like Ukraine, had ceased to be a free nation. The West, however, cared about the subjugated peoples as little as now-a-days. "Laissez faire" — was the devise in its policy towards Russia.

After the first barrier — with active or tacit consent of the West — was carried, Napoleon I tried to compensate the damage, yet too late and too irresolutely. While he took Poland into his account he did not do so with Ukraine. Although only thirty years before the remains of an autonomous Ukrainian government had been removed; although the Ukrainian people insisted upon its autonomy; although the country was teeming with secret anti-Russian associations (to mention only that of the nobleman Marshall Lukashevitch in Poltava); Napoleon hesitated to pick up the Ukrainian card. Afterwards he rued bitterly, as General Colencour, who accompanied the emperor on his flight from Moscow, reports in his memoirs. In 1815 the West was as enthusiastic about Tsar Alexander as in 1945 about the Red Tsar Stalin. Again the West would not hear of the fate of those peoples on whose tortured countries the Russians marched on and on to subdue the very same West that was hailing them.

The noted Russian poet Batyushkof who entered Paris in 1814 with the Russian army as an officer and saw the shouting masses in the streets was asked by his sergeant, "what is the matter with those people — why are they so happy?" When Batyushkoff replied that it was the Russians they were cheering, this simple but rightly thinking soldier shook his head and said, "I think, Captain, they are mad!"

That was the beginning of the mental disturbance that has been besetting some political circles in Europe in recent times. It has been, again, the beginning of the "peoples-liberating" mission of the Muscovites in the same Western Europe that had been so proud of its civilization.

The second, if only weak, attempt to halt the Russian march towards the West was made in the Crimean War (1853—55). However, the banner of the liberation of nations was even now not hoisted; though the first revolt in Poland (1832) had ended so recently and the second (1863) was being prepared; though a guerilla — war against Russia raged in the Caucasus; though the December rising of 1825 was still alive in the heads of the Ukrainians. England's coquetting with the Caucasian insurgents, the Polish and Ukrainian anti-bolshevik leagues in Turkey and Dobruja (Czaykowski "Sadyk-Pasha") — was but an inadequate commencement...

It was all the same during the first World War. Wickham Steed and Seton Watson parcelled the Habsburg-Monarchy and Turkey out like a slain prey even before the military entanglements had begun — and what they did in the press others did in politics. It was argued that both these states were unfit to live... Suppose there were some truth in it, why, then, did they care so much about the liberation of the peoples in the Danube Monarchy, or of the Arabs and Jews and not a little for the freedom of Ukraine, Poland, Turkistan, Georgia, the Baltic States and so on?! Tsarist Russia is ramshackle too! Why such race discrimination? Besides — was it wise, from the European point of view, to tear such big empires as Germany and pre-war Austria to pieces and leave the Russian monster undivided by their side? Was this not a direct invitation to Russia to march on towards the West? —

This attitude is all the more incomprehensible as, in 1917/18, the Russian Empire had already fallen to pieces! And the peoples of this empire should have been supported in their fight for liberation or at least not have been hampered from becoming free. The British envoy in Russia in 1917, Lopart, reports in his memoirs that during the landing of the Allies on the White Sea Coast a real panic seized the Soviet Government. The end of the bolshevik experiment seemed to be in sight. But some uncertain hand stopped the Murman expedition. In those places as Ukraine, however, where the Allies supported the anti-bolshevik cause, they granted their aid only to the tsarophil forces which fought against Ukraine for a united integral Russia. The principle of nationalities, the principle of the liberation of nations, was not to cross the Russian border! Nevertheless it was the same Russia that betrayed the West the first time in 1918 in Brest-Litovsk with Emperor Wilhelm, the second time in Rapallo, and the third time in Moscow with Hitler's envoys in 1939.

And again the same happened after World War II with Germany that in the last moment,

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New Features in Soviet Sciences

It was striking that, immediately after Stalin's death, the bestowal of the Stalin-prizes, scheduled for the 15th of March as every year since 1939, was postponed without any reasons given. This could only mean that the new despots in the Kremlin wanted to keep the final decision on such an important affair within the so-called Soviet cultural life in hand and intended to give the list of the 1800 new Laureates, which was certainly drawn up in Stalin's lifetime, a close examination. As a matter of fact, the changes in the bestowal of the prizes, which really took place after Beria's downfall, proved rather irrelevant. The reason may have been, first and foremost, that only part of the prizes were awarded to scientists, the greater part being given to artists and writers (especially of the stage branch) for whom the new government has not decided a substantially new course.

This supposition has been confirmed by the bye-elections for the Presidency of the Association of Soviet Writers in October. The members of the new chair — *Fadeyev, Tikhonov, Leonov, Polevoy, Surkov, Simonov, and Gribachov* — are all, save the last, well-known "supports" of Soviet authorship, the first four even since the twenties. It might be noticed that Leonov who had faded somewhat into the background since the middle of the thirties, and Tikhonov who, as an alleged protector of "Cosmopolitanism" and an "adorer of the West", had to bear many insults from 1946 to 1948, find themselves completely rehabilitated.

The more important, however, are those changes in the personnel of the Russian so-called Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union as a result of the bye-election of October 23. The remarkable thing is not only the unusually high number of newly elected persons (51 active members and about thrice as many corresponding members) but also their scientific affiliation. This shows plainly Malenkov's resolute intention to grant officially considerable precedence to those studies which deal with scientific problems of particular importance to present government. Certain newspapers in the West described these facts even as "mobilizing Russian science" which no doubt is a good deal exaggerated in so far as all the Soviet Sciences have been going into top gear since the early thirties with the Academy of Sciences Soviet Union at the head and twelve further Academies of Sciences of the diverse Soviet Republics to follow in order to co-operate in theory and practice with the Party and the Government. The point of the present case is only a new arrangement of importance and the corresponding reevaluation of the competent experts.

This in view, far reaching conclusions can be drawn from the results of said elections. Predominant are on one side the newly elected members of the physical-mathematical faculty (particularly of nuclear physics, but also chemistry, radio, electrical, hydraulics engineering etc.) — a well comprehensible fact — and on the other side those of economics with agriculture being repres-

ented to an unprecedented extent. This must be considered, of course, in direct connection with the ordinances issued in autumn 1953 relating to the raising of the agricultural standard which — as even official reports cannot conceal — is running down to a dismaying low-water mark.

In comparison, all ideological branches of the Marxist-Leninistic sciences remained far in the background. Marxist philosophy, Leninistic sociology and historical writing, Stalinistic political sciences and jurisprudence — all these chiefly theoretical faculties could not catch much of comrade Malenkov's interest and he makes no secret of it. Most of the representatives of these sciences must be satisfied with the far less appreciated rank of a "corresponding member" of the Academy and it is rather striking that not even the highly deserving historians of Russian Literature and Civilization can claim a particularly favoured position.

There are exception, to be sure. Yet the circumstances of such cases are certainly special. Such a case is the "prominent expert in the domain of philosophy, cultural history and jurisprudence", Prof. P. Yudin who advanced from a corresponding to an active member of the Academy. It is the very same Yudin who — as we can see from Tito's memoirs — played a remarkable role at the Balkan as *Zhadanov's* agent even before *Tito's* dissension with the Cominform and who held at later the grand post of a Russian ambassador in the so-called German Democratic Republic. Moreover, he has become Russian Ambassador to Red-China meanwhile. The conclusion is at hand that for Yudin's advancement his sapient treatises on the "Theory of the Socialist State and Soviet Democracy" were far less decisive than his corresponding practice in the "countries of People's Democracies".

It would be misleading to derive this change to practice throughout the Soviet-Russian sciences from the personal attitude of the supreme ruler. The practician Stalin who neither in Marxist ideology nor in economics was actually at home, though he likes to show himself off as an all-round genius, was succeeded by the mere practician Malenkov who wants the Soviet scientists to do nothing but solve practical tasks. Yet this complies with the general retrograde development of Soviet "civilization". The "ideological" canon is taken for concluded and the series of "patriarchs of Marxism" — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin — has been finally stipulated and it is highly improbable that a "Malenkovism" will be added. Lenin's bolshevism which was ideologically bound, yet at least fit for discussion, had been replaced by Stalin's despotic dogmatism which in turn was succeeded by robotism which actually needs no longer any "ideology" but, at the most, emotional eruptions of a rude Russian chauvinism. The inner return to the Muscovite savagery and intellectual dullness of the middle-ages becomes more and more visible.

V. D.

Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wierer

The Way of the Czech

The political and psychological attitude of the Czech has often been misinterpreted. This applies particularly to the present times when Muscovite communism attempts to swallow the still free half of the European continent. This attitude of ours will be understood, however, as soon as the historical development of the Czech is considered. Of course, we will restrict ourselves to modern history.

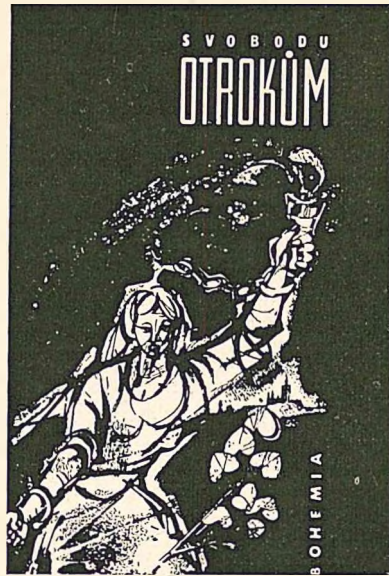
In 1620, in the Battle at the White Hill, the protestant insurgents were defeated by the army of the deposed Catholic king, *Ferdinand II*. This conflict had arisen from the increasing contrast between the originally Hussite but gradually more and more Lutheran majority of the countries of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Catholic Habsburg sovereign who largely favoured the then weak Catholic minority. The conflict was rendered even more severe by the Bohemian Brothers (akin to Romanic Calvinism) joining the revolution, as well as by the absolutistic tendencies of the sovereign actively furthered by the people of the Roman-Catholic baroque world. Ferdinand II restored Catholicism in Bohemia and Moravia, expelled all protestant remnants, consolidated intensively his royal power, and introduced a partly new peerage of Romanic and South German descent to take the place of the emigrated majority of the peerage and upper classes in the towns. The consolidation of sovereign power was accompanied by an expansion of the German language. Although the victors as well as the defeated pertained to both, the Czech majority and the German minority, the people regarded the new regime as an at least predominantly German-dyed alien dominion.

The protestant emigrant, under the spiritual leadership of the famous pedagogue *Komensky* (Comenius) sued for support in England as well as in France and Sweden and among the magyarian Calvinists, yet their endeavours were frustrated by the Peace Treaty of Osnabrück. Meanwhile the Thirty Years' War made havoc of Bohemia and Moravia to such a degree that a new colonization of the two countries by German immigrants became necessary. The severely afflicted Czechs with their Protestant forces expelled, suffered badly from the loss of their national independence so that even the thoroughly Catholic patriotic Jesuit *Balbin* put all his hopes on the Slav world in the East.

The situation being so, the Czech people joined the Turkish and French wars of the 17th and 18th centuries merely passively. At the same time the Habsburg ruler was forced by the Turkish menace, by the French hostility, and by the beginning rivalry of Prussia, to concentrate his power and to centralize control of the Bohemian, Hungarian, Croatian, and Austrian peoples which all strictly opposed each other. This tendency to centralizing power, accompanied by the expansion of the German language, was not only resisted by the common people but also by the upper ranks favouring a Czech national renaissance. The national conscience of the Czechs was partly endorsed even by native Germans — such as the historians *Dobner* and *Pelzel* — who, especially in the interior of the country, amalgamated with the Czechs. *Herder's* ideas and the German Romanticists' doctrine of the "national spirit" combined with the folk and national tradition inspired the development of modern Czech literature which was initiated first and foremost by *Dobrovsky* and *Jungmann*.

In the first half of the 19th century the modern national conscience of the Czech arose, strongly stimulated by the work of the historian *Palacky*. His humanitarian romantic conception of an original Slav democracy had a lasting effect on the times to come. With that the well-known

Czech-German contrast gradually came into appearance and was rendered more and more severe not only by the pan-Slavonian ideas on one side and the all-German aspiration on the other, but also by the rise of modern industry. Most of the initial employers in Bohemia were Germans and



FREEDOM
TO
SLAVES!

From
"Bohemia",
journal of
Czech
Democratic
Federalists

so the social contrast of *Czech labour* and *German management* came into being.

The revolution of 1848 made this contrariness quite apparent. Now the struggle in the Bohemian territory began and lasted, with some breaks, up to 1945. At first, within the Austrian Monarchy, the issue of the struggle was centralism contra federalism, the first being defended by Sudeten

The Present Situation in the Baltic States

By J. Gytis

Moscow's aims

The old aims of tsarist Russia have been formulated by *Bernhard Pares*: "In the North, on the Baltic coast, Russia's plea was neither national or religious. It was firstly economic." (See: "*Russia, its Past and Present*", by *B. Pares*. Mentor Books, 1949 Edition.) Additionally, we must say that Russia's aims in the Baltic States were military, too. The modern aims of the Kremlin have been exactly expressed by the former Consul in Lithuania, *E. J. Harrison*: "... to extirpate Lithuania and the other two Baltic nations of Estonia and Latvia in their entirety and to sweep them off the face of the earth." (See: "*Lithuania's Fight for Freedom*", by *E. J. Harrison*, New York, 1952, 76 pp.)

Now, neither tsarist nor bolshevik Russia have reached their aims, as the peoples in the Baltic states offer effective resistance.

Resistance in the Baltic States

The Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian peoples initiated armed resistance as the most effective means of self-defence and counter-attack. One of the Lithuanian partisans described the struggle of these movements in a book. It states that as early as 1944 scattered guerilla bands were operating in the more wooded areas of Lithuania. Having experienced the cruelty of bolshevik tyranny during the first Soviet occupation in 1940/1941 many men began early to prepare armed resistance. When the German front began to waver in 1943, the Lithuanian resistance center formed a military sector which had to provide for arms and ammunition because it became clear that it would be necessary to defend the country with arms against the bolsheviks. It can be taken for certain that in April 1945 thirty thousand partisan troops were operating throughout Lithuania. This resistance is still maintained to-day in co-operation

Germans, the latter by the Czechs aiming at a federal state system within the Habsburg Monarchy. The opposition had grown already to such a degree that a national settlement was brought about only in Moravia in 1905, but failed in the largest territory, in Bohemia, and in the small Austrian rest of Silesia, the greatest part of which had been ceded to Prussia in 1742.

In spiritual respect the times after 1848 caused a prosperous development of our national civilization. Among the noted poets there were *Neruda* and particularly *Cech* who expressed their strong affection for Russian as the one Slav power. And so did the novel writers *Jirasek* and *Holecek*. Even such more cosmopolite writers as *Vrchlicky* and *Zeyer* shared these sympathies, just as the musicians *Smetana* and *Dvorak* and the painter *Mucha*. The only exception was the poet *Brezina*.

During the First World War the revolutionary Czech emigrants laid claim to the establishment of a Czechoslovak state and the Czech representatives in the Austrian parliament followed later on, though they were not quite at ease with it. It was tried to reconcile the historical traditional principle of political law (union of the countries of the Bohemian Crown) hitherto defended by the Czech parties, with the principle of nationality and natural right (separation of Slovakia from the Hungarian Crown) by organizing a democratic parliamentary, though centralistic, Czechoslovak Republic.

For the moment, it is true, the riots in the neighbouring nations constituted extremely favourable political conditions for the national existence of the new state, the very unlogically constructed "Czechoslovak" nation, yet in the times to follow it run into increasing difficulties. The destruction of the great integral customs and economic area of pre-war Austria had very unfortunate effects especially on industry which found itself now in a republic of medium size surrounded by the new high walls of customs.

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with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and other undergrounds.

It is a valiant struggle, a heroic fight. The distinguished Lithuanian General *Peciulionis*, the Ukrainian General *Taras Chuprynka*, and many other heroes of the insurgent army perished but the national fighting spirit is still alive.

National Claims of the Baltic States

The peoples of the Baltic States want to be free as nations and free as individuals so as to live in independence and prosperity. The bolshevik regime deprived them of their political and cultural freedom and destroyed their economic prosperity. Teachers sent from Russia did everything in their power to russify the Baltic countries, teaching a distorted version of Baltic history. Sciences, literature, music, arts, theatre, so prosperous during the time of Baltic independence, have now been destroyed and bolshevized. All key positions are in Russian hands. The Russian language dominates at school. Russification is the first aim of the regime.

The crucial political point in the Baltic affair has been precisely hit by *E. J. Harrison* saying: "those three countries are admittedly small and negligible in area and population. But the principle at stake in their experience is neither small nor negligible. It is one of the greatest and most important principles on which the very existence of, and relations between the nations depend — the principle of the sanctity of human rights and of elementary justice and decency. It found its expression in the Charter of the United Nations of which the Soviet Union is a member. It is almost inconceivable that such crimes against humanity as are daily being perpetrated by a leading member of the United Nations should not only be

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Russification in Hungary

(Continued from Page 3)

for Russification, is more evident than in literature. The fairy tales of Andersen and the brothers Grimm, so familiar to millions of children in the West, have disappeared from the Hungarian book market just as the stories of Robinson or Gulliver, Tom Sawyer's adventures, and all the stories written by Cooper, Jules Verne, and Karl May. But that only in the interest of communist propaganda. Though the few Hungarian folk fairy tales that are still being published, have been suitably adapted to "peoples democratic" views, dozens of Russian fairy tales are given to the Hungarian children, unchanged in their original form, to canvass not so much for communist ideology but for the understanding of the Russian soul.

In 1937, about 1000 belle lettre works were published, in 1950 there were only 340. In 1937 more than 300 books were of western origin. In 1950, however, one third of the shrunk belle lettre publications, i. e. about 120 books, were Russian. 90 more new editions were works of communist writers from other countries behind the Iron Curtain, and of such a low literary level that they would never have been translated into Hungarian in former times.

Still the most alarming fact is that, during the period of just five years of communist rule, Hungarian literature as such has been nullified, in the true sense of the word.

In 1937, more than 650 new works of Hungarian writers were edited. In 1950, there were not quite one fifth, namely a total of 130, mostly primitive propaganda pamphlets embellished by lowest pseudo-literature.

The responsible leaders of the present Hungarian "cultural policy" make not the least secret of the fact that the consequences of that terrible annihilation of Hungarian literature complies absolutely with their intentions: to deteriorate Hungarian literature to an incredible low-water mark.

The situation in the domain of theatre and cinema is similar; only Russian plays and films are shown, save merely propagandistic products from Hungary and its neighbouring people's republics.

The "New" History

The most shocking crime in the field of sciences has been committed to the Hungarian nation by depriving her of her own history, of the heroes of her past, and making her the present of a foreign history and foreign "heroes" instead. In lieu of St. Stephan, Matthias Corvinus, Franz Rakoczi, we have now to look up not only to Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and other stars of communism, but also Ivan, Peter I, Suvorov, and all the other first-rank figures of Russia.

The competent representatives of the Hungarian historical sciences are condemned to silently look on a diabolic spectacle where the young "historians" of the "new Hungary" cover the most shining pictures of our history, so full of magnanimity, heroism, patriotism, with a smoke and cast our nation down into the dark abyss of the history of a barbaric people. The most dishonourable, and for any historian truly shameful task was performed by Erik Molnar when he denied our undoubtable Finish-Ugrish descent and deduced it from "our blessed ancestress Russia" instead.

The whole issue of this perverted construction of history is clearly expressed in the latest slogan of communist Hungary:

"Every Hungarian patriot likes the Soviet Union"

As the crowning work of all, the translation of the great Russian World History is being prepared, which, free from the pressing and restricting burden of real historical knowledge, assigns to all small and big nations of the past and the present with all their developments and achievements the humble place of planets at the circumference of a new historical system with Russia being the sun.

Blissful Scientific Achievements

What happened to the science of history, was also the fate of all the other sciences in analogous reevaluation. Everything was to be freed from the dross of Western civilization; the development of all spheres of science had to root in the soul-saving and alone valid Russian sciences only.

We can hardly imagine the dreadfully primitive state the Hungarian sciences with all their branches would have fallen back to, unless the lent goods

of the Russian sciences themselves were not of Western origin, too.

In the field of political sciences, our previous knowledge has been superseded by the totalitarian system of Russian Soviet state administration. Our knowledge in the domain of philology has been replaced by the primitive hypotheses of Stalin's pan-Slavonian philology. In genetics, Mendel's laws had to give way to the very dubious Mitochondrism. In philosophy, Hegel's idealistic dialectics are as eagerly combatted as existentialism, and for the multitude of our Western thoughts, materialistic dialectics with their brutal claim to absolute exclusiveness were substituted as the only solution for "all problems of our world". In theology, the materialism of Stalin's orthodoxy has taken the place of the Western Christian philosophy on religion. We can enlarge this list at will.

The highly developed Hungarian sculpture and painting with its typically Hungarian exuberance of forms and colours, strongly influenced by impressionism and expressionism, was over-night put into the procrustes bed of the new Russian family-picture realism.

If there is still somebody in Hungary, who tries to save the sinking education by studying quietly in the calm of our libraries and hoping for better times to come, even he will be frustrated. All works who might lead somebody thirsty for knowledge back into times of old in contrast to "the spirit of the new era" have long been removed or at least, are kept under vigilant custody.

Final Consequences of Bolshevich Cultural Struggle

In face of this fatal process of Russification, equivalent to a cultural retrograde development, our Hungarian poets, writers, artists, scientists, being condemned to silence and inactivity, are troubled twofold.

First, they realize that the most secure and durable basis of our national existence, the cultural

structure which our people has erected through centuries, is now breaking down, that the features of a dear face are fading and will soon have fallen into oblivion, perhaps as soon as at the time of our grand-children. Secondly, they see a deadly danger impending over the whole of the occidental civilization which will be overthrown by Moscow's satellite governments and parties even in the great Western nations in the interest of the general admission of the "alone saving" Russian civilization in the same degree as Russia proceeds on his way towards world domination.

We Hungarian came up to our endangered presence through a past full of perilous, critical moments and we know from bitter, historical experience the frightening fatality of our situation and, indeed, of the entire Western civilization. The Hungarian nation has endured a Turkish occupation for nearly two centuries; for the Turks only wanted the power and did not intend to denationalize the people. Again, all endeavours for Germanization going on through centuries were frustrated, because the Hungarian civilization and the attacking, stronger block of German civilization had grown on the same ground — the ground of the Western joint civilization.

But now, we and the cultural world of the whole West are threatened by a way of thinking that is entirely alien to all of us.

If we Hungarian poets, writers, artists, scientists in the know of our serious responsibility and in the face of the blindness or the treason among the literates in the west, make ourselves heard in the whole of the Western world, we do so before God and our conscience in the strong conviction that any other issue in the struggle between the West and Soviet Russia rank second after the ultimate and crucial question:

Will the European nations as such, and will the European civilization hold their stand against the storm from Russia or will they be swept away for ever?

Budapest, in the end of November, 1953

Homo Hungaricus

The Way of the Czech

(Continued from Page 5)

Difficulties emerged also in Slovakia, rising from the psychologic and traditional peculiarity of the Slovaks, particularly pronounced in the young intelligentsia. After the slump of 1930, among other reasons the wide-spread unemployment caused much discontent among the people in the highly industrialized region of the Sudeten Germans. In 1938 the Third Reich intervened and forced the separation of the territory of the Sudetic Germans from Czecho-Slovakia in the dictated "agreement" of Munich.

In the republican period, Czech cultural life was strongly influenced by the European situation. Preponderant communist influence could be seen in the works of *Volker*, *Nezval*, *Hora*, whereas those of *Deml* and *Zahradnick* rested on a Catholic basis. As communism also influenced the novels (*Vancura* and *Olbracht* for example), even such prominent novel writers as the Catholics *Durych* and *Schulz* and the nationalistic naturalist *Capek-Chod* could not prevent communism from spreading among the intelligentsia.

The tragic times subsequent to the Munich dictate excited the minds of the Czechs. The Czech people felt betrayed by the West. When in the fateful night of March 14/15, 1939, Hitler carried the "protectorate" over Bohemia and Moravia through, the sympathies for Russia were strengthened. Nazi despotism brought the Czechs under the regime of radical chauvinists, who expressly provoked Czech opposition. Incited by the brutal oppression of sporadic conspiracies, the resistance of the subjugated Czechs condensed to a fierce hatred against the Germans.

When the Red Army marched in, the outbursting passion of the masses was instigated as much by communists, speculating on the hostility between the two peoples, as by Dr. Benes and his socialistic pseudo-democratic attendants, in delud-

ed revengefulness. The so-called "National Front" expelled the Sudeten Germans and Magyars and banned just the Czech middle and right-wing parties which would have been the best barrier against communism. How that worked into the hands of the Red Tsar in the Kremlin could be seen as early as 1948 when the prognosis of the Professor of sociology, Benes, that "bolshevism is on the way to democracy" was overthrown. Moscow, in the disguise of a "Prague" government, is de-industrializing not only the evacuated border regions but also the interior of Bohemia and Moravia whereas gigantic plants for armament and machinery are being erected in East Moravia and Slovakia. As for civilization, Russian language is propagated beyond all proportion and our history, so dear to every Czech, is cruelly disfigured and falsified, especially referring to our great national heroes.

Our connections with the Western and Central European world are categorically denied. Instead, intimidated opportunists and phantastic semi-civilized people "discovered" the influence of an entirely fictitious "old materialism" and connections with Russia which actually never existed.

Only from a review of this kind we can learn why it is that the Czech people went the way into slavery, from 1943 resp. 1945 on, so quickly and so easily, as it seems. Yet we, the deliberately national Czechs and especially we *Czech Democratic Federalists*, footing on a critical, though faithful, conception of our history, aim at a free national community in a socially balanced and just Bohemian state. But we are well aware that, in the interest of small peoples, a union with not too differently minded or too powerful neighbours constitutes the best guarantee for national existence and peace within a reasonably arranged European community.

Niko Nakashidze

Exponents of "Russian Democracy"

Some time ago it became known that a man had come from the U.S.A. to Europe whose name could only draw a piteous smile out of those who knew. It was Alexander Fyodorovich *Kerensky*.

He arranged meetings and press-conferences, delivered speeches and sought for acknowledgement and support as "leader of the Russians". Under the false pretence of fighting bolshevism he furthered Russian imperialism as much as he could. Despite this fact and his extremely ill-famed political past he succeeded, by waving dollars, in mustering a small group of opportunists as his followers of no moral or political worth whatever, among them some members of non-Russian peoples.

After some hectic starts it has become very quiet around Kerensky's new foundation, the C.C.A.C. (Coordination Center of Anti-Bolshevik Campaign) which was supposed to be nothing but a means to hand the subjugated peoples over forever to a thirsting Russia.

Now we are going to examine this exponent of "Russian democracy" closely.

The Great Failure

A. F. Kerensky was a lawyer and a member of the "Duma" (Russian Parliament — Ed.). His reputation as a lawyer was generally bad. In the Duma he attracted attention by his talkativeness. Yet his speeches were always lacking objectiveness and only aiming at propaganda and effect in the general public. Therefore he was called "Krasnoyab" i. e. "fine-boaster". He used to speak very theatrically and pathetically. The waves of the revolution in 1917 swept him into the front ranks. At the demand of the raving crowd the liberal government of the princes Lvov and Milyukov, formed after the revolution, had to resign. It was followed by Kerensky's government consisting only of socialists and lasting no longer than seven months. The fact is that it was no stable government, with its minister chairs tottering on the waves of the revolution, for everything was in a state of fermentation at the time. The troops revolted and the civil war began.

Kerensky considered it as his main task to tide over the war times up to the victorious end: "Woyna do pobednago konza". He set the so-called Brusilov-offensive of June 1917 into operation, went to the front-line and tried by inflammatory speeches to incite the wavering troops to attack. The offensive failed completely and all hopes for victory were gone. The soldiers streamed back into the country, killed their officers, and destroyed everything in their way. Bolshevism was on the march!

Kerensky promised the Russians "Zemlya and Wolya" i. e. "Ground and Freedom" while Lenin promised them "Mir and Khlyeb" i. e. "Peace and Bread".

By hollow phrases Kerensky tried to win the Russians over to democracy. Just before the crash, as a spokesman at a meeting in Moscow, he spoke the high-sounding words: "If it is necessary for my people, I am prepared to cut my heart out and sacrifice it for the people!" Then some hysterical women cried: "No! For heaven's sake, Alexander Fyodorovich, don't do that, save yourself for us!" — And like a strolling player in Hamlet's pose he reached the heroic decision: "Well, I will save myself until my people need me!" — What a poor comedian!

It turned out soon, however, that the Russians did not need him at all. Soon afterwards a couple of Leninist sailors drove Kerensky and the whole Constitutional Assembly away. The power was seized by Lenin. Kerensky like a coward fled abroad in woman's clothes. This was the miserable end of the stately activity of that "leader of Russian democracy" so highly praised now by certain circles in the West.

In the eyes of nationally minded Russians Kerensky is a most miserable creature, stigmatized as continuous failure and grave-digger of his people. The Russians gave the word "Kerenshdina" = "Kerenskyada" to the most disgraceful period of their history.

Emigrated, he issued a scanty newspaper and sounded a strong national tune, but he could not

mislead anyone anymore as he had no followers. Even the well-known politician and democrat, P. Milyukov, would have nothing to do with him.

So he went to the United States. There he reappeared on the political stage assisted by some American friends who thought him to be the quintessence of a leader of Russian democracy.

Now he is old, in the middle of his seventies, sickly and weak. When speaking, he often loses the thread of his thoughts and repeats himself. Yet he is still arrogant and pathetic. He has gone through the times without learning anything so that he now indulges in obsolete ideas.

Changing with the Wind

All Russians agree with this view. Among the Russian socialists, however, a peculiar change is to be noticed since they have been living in the United States, generously supported by their American patrons. They and Mr. Kerensky enjoy themselves and all the advantages of that very life they formerly used to describe as "monopol-

capitalistic": Their former ideologies they have thrown overboard without scruple.

As long as these socialists had to live in Europe and to lead the life of the poor relatives of the Second International, they stood decidedly against any intervention of the Western "capitalistic" world in inner Russian affairs. In their organ "Socialisticheski Vvestnik" that was issued in Europe (now in New York), they claimed for years that the Soviet government was a Russian one, consisting of workers and farmers, supported by the will of the Russian people.

They combatted eagerly the so-called "interventionists" among the Russian emigrants.

And more than that. Their representative, *Abramovich*, permanent editor of their organ "Socialisticheski Vvestnik", in the Second International assailed the Georgian Socialists with the reproach of being allies of the Western capitalists and imperialists. They had no title, he said, to ask the capitalistic west to aid in liberating the Georgian people subjugated by Russia. *That was betraying socialism!*

And now they themselves have become interventionists and are prepared to join the "monopol-capitalistic" powers in fighting against the "government of workers and farmers".

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Attention!... Spies!

Two recent events in the United States must stir all minds considering our present world situation: The affair of the atom-spies *Rosenberg* and of the spying organization of *Henry Dexter White*.

The bolshevik and Soviet-controlled press howled and stormed when the Rosenbergs rightly atoned for their capital crime — a clear proof that Moscow's agent system was cut to the quick. And the controversy between Truman and Brownell in connection with the unmasking of that traitor to his country, Dexter White (former deputy minister of Finance, then Director of the World Currency Fund), made it clear how far communism and its conspirators have succeeded already in penetrating into the key positions of the American government.

These two cases alone must open the eyes even of the blind to see the immense danger of the tremendous infiltration of Soviet spies into the two hemispheres. I say: the two hemispheres — and I will not fail to prove it. In spite of all, the eternal ordinary man was quite ready to join the mad race against the McCarthy committee, incited through Muskovite channels. Sad to say, he is not clear-sighted enough to realize the bearing and extent of the bolshevik infiltration. It is the "case of Georg Müller" now being tried in Germany that sheds a bright light just on that situation.

Malenkov's "Antibolshevist" Master Spy

Who was and who is Georg Müller?

Up to the year 1948 he was a captain in the Red Army in diplomatic service under the names of *Khorunzhi* and *Khersonski*, but suddenly he emerged in Germany as simple, Mr. Müller. His craft soon helped him, in anti-bolshevik disguise, to play the role of an "adviser" to American and German authorities. To raise his credit even more he trained agents against the Soviet-Union as "headmaster" in Bad Homburg.

All that was mere camouflage to conceal the true face of Mr. Khorunzhi-Khersonski-Müller which, however late, finally came to light. Under a judicial order of the United States Court he was arrested in Frankfurt on September 1, 1953, being suspected of *espionage for the Soviets*. Some of the nine items of indictment are: Betrayal of the Western intelligence organizations; betrayal of military fortifications, places of research, and air-fields; betrayal of the Radar anti-aircraft of the West; the state of the Western atomic research, and the development of new weapons; betrayal of the produce and technical installations of German industrial plants, etc., etc. It has been proved that he cultivated his relations with the military top circles of Western Germany and U.S. Occupation Forces only for the purpose of spying. It sounds like a passage from a detective novel that he had his agents make wax impressions of the door locks of German politicians' and scient-

ists' houses. This discovery may help to find the clues to many a mysterious kidnapping and deportation.

So, this was "the most charming Russian in the West" as the Americans preferred to call him. (He acquired this surname through his comedian art of feigning).

This was the man who was able to manage both an anti-bolshevik and a pro-bolshevik agents' training school and to forward the names of those entrusted to him in the first place to Moscow "for further disposal".

It was he, for instance, who is responsible for the death of those parachutists whose fate stirred all hearts so violently last summer. After training them on anti-bolshevik lines and sending them to Ukraine by aeroplane, he announced the time and place of their descent to the Kremlin, so delivering them with unheard of villainy to an ignominious execution.

Stabbing the West in the Back

Quite apart from the loathing such a procedure must cause, the perusal of the further context reveals facts in the background that must alarm the world public extremely.

It was the same Georg Müller, who, apart from his other obscure occupations, acted as top functionary of the pretended antibolshevik organization of Russian emigrants N.T.S. (National Association of Russian Workers). That work however, brought out as early as in the second World War rather queer products: instead of working for the German armed forces which offered the funds, the then leaders of the N.T.S. and hundreds of their worthy companions forwarded all information within their reach to Moscow, as noble predecessors of Mr. Müller. After the war the latter saw the possibility of further prosperous activity in Germany and founded the new N.T.S. It was in 1952 that their member *V. Poremsky*, according to the preliminary judicial inquiries, was awkwardly entangled in the spy-case of the "Yugoslav" *Chirkovitch*.

Hence there are still people in the N.T.S. who are proceeding in the old way. Having betrayed Germany while using German funds, they now play that very game against the U.S.A. with *American financial support*. Feigning true alliance and strongly anti-bolshevik views they trickle into the most influential positions and reveal invaluable military, economic, and industrial secrets to stab the dagger so much the more certainly into the back of the unsuspecting confidants.

Georg Müller as "Malenkov's Deputy"

All this makes it clear to what a degree Georg Müller knew how to throw his net of spies over all of Western Germany (and most probably much farther). The legal proceedings being tried at

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S. Garip (Ufali)

Equal Rights For All Peoples

The following article has been taken from a lengthy treatise of the Idel-Uralian author on problems of nationalities. — Ed.

To consider the claims to independence of the national liberation-movements in the Union Republics from the view-point of formal legal position according to the Soviet Constitution will not prove an appropriate method. Not only because this method will not lead to the result desired but also because the existing formal judicial conditions have been forced on the non-Russian peoples by imperialistic means after the occupation of their territories. The conditions so created are not the right basis to explain the claims of our peoples to national states of their own as they are not the result of the expression of a free legislative will of the subjugated nations. Furthermore, these conditions, forcibly imposed by the ruling nation under varying interpretations of Marxist ideology, do not grant equal rights to all peoples within the U.S.S.R., as can be seen from the division of the constituent states into Union Republics and Autonomous Republics. Hence it follows that not all non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. have the same basis for their claims to freedom. Have those peoples, which are not represented as Union Republics in the U.S.S.R. no claim upon expression of free will and thus upon national states of their own, only because the freedom of nations is ordained in the Soviet Union under the ambiguous modalities of formal law? Should the national independence of those peoples which, according to Soviet constitutional law, have no form of national organization at all, be denied only because the existing formal judicial conditions do not permit it?

It is an undisputable historical fact that bolshevism in the form of the Soviet Republic originated in Russia proper. To claim, however, that the whole of the R.S.F.S.R. is "Russia itself" and consequently bolshevism has arisen simultaneously from the whole territory of the so-called R.S.F.S.R. is a slap in the face of historical truth and contradicts objective facts. And that for the following reasons:

1) Besides the ethnographical Russia proper the R.S.F.S.R. comprises also the territories of other, non-Russian peoples (Idel-Ural, North-Caucasus,

Siberia, Crimea, districts of Ugro-Fins and Cosacks). These non-Russian peoples — chiefly Turko-Mohammedans — are the indigenous population of their territories. The Turko-Tartars (i. e. Tartar-Bashkirs and Chuvashs) of the Idel-Ural are national units different in character from Russians and are furthermore one of the oldest nations in the Eastern European Area. The Tartar states Kasan-khanate, Astrakhan-khanate, Sibir-khanate, and Crimea-khanate, were annexed by tsarist Russia in the course of the 17th and the following centuries. North-Caucasus, to-day belonging constitutionally to Russia, is also no "Russia itself". North-Caucasus is an essential part of all-Caucasus; and there will be no real independence of Georgia, for instance without this territory being liberated.

Some of these non-Russian peoples, formally taken for "autonomous" Republics within the R.S.F.S.R. only, are much stronger in number, economy and some other respects than many a Union Republic. Take the Tartar-Bashkirs who have a higher population figure than the Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and others.

2) The formal federal constitution of the R.F.S.F.R. alone is an ample proof for the lack of national homogeneity and the allegation that it is not "Russia itself". This federal structure results from the variety of the constituent peoples. Why is it that such territories as those of the Tartar-Bashkirs (Idel-Uralians) or North-Caucasians are only part of the R.S.F.S.R. in the form of "Autonomous Social Soviet Republics" or even simple administrative districts instead of Union Republics? This question can be answered only by the statement that Russian imperialism has always tended to check the far-off border territories of Turkistan, Caucasus and Ukraine by a close control of the economically and strategically important regions such as Idel-Ural, North-Caucasus, Don-district, Crimea.

3) Bolshevism did not rise simultaneously all over the present R.S.F.S.R. but began in Russia proper. At that time, the non-Russian peoples now belonging to the R.S.F.S.R. had founded independ-

ent democratic states of their own in Idel-Ural, in North-Caucasus, in the Don-district etc. At the time the "North-Caucasian League" and the Bashkirtan Republic was created; and somewhat later the National Assembly in Ufa proclaimed the Turko-Tartar, Tartar-Bashkir, Chuvash Republic of Idel-Ural and others. These states existed de facto and some of them were even recognized de jure. Even Red Russia was bound to enter into international relationship with some of them. And it was then that an inter-state treaty between Red Russia and Bashkirtan was concluded (The direction of the Bashkir government under Prof. Zaki Validi was socialistic).

It is essential to record that bolshevik Russia proclaimed the R.S.F.S.R. arbitrarily without asking the non-Russian peoples — and that at a time when the latter had already founded states of their own where Red Russia was not yet in possession of the executive power. Thus Red Imperialism became obvious. In the years to follow, as well known from the history of the origin and development of the U.S.S.R., Red Russia seized these states in Idel-Ural, North-Caucasus, Don-district and so on. On the 18 of April, 1918, bolshevik troops turned the Turko-Tartaric government (millidara) of the Idel-Ural and the Parliament in Ufa out of doors.

The national "Autonomous S.S.R.s" within the R.S.F.S.R. (there are twelve of them according to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1936 including some modifications) were created by decree by the bolshevik central government after the occupation of Idel-(Volga)Ural, Turkistan, North-Caucasus, and the Crimea, overriding the expression of free will and ignoring the desires of these peoples.

In my opinion, as I have mentioned above, the formal legal position of the non-Russian peoples within the U.S.S.R. is an impossible starting-point for the justification of the claims of the anti-bolshevik national liberation-movements. In overthrowing bolshevism, the decisive role will be played by the political national will of the peoples regardless of their respective formal legal position within the U.S.S.R. Considering national problems, we must start from the fact that the Soviet-Union consists of numerous nationalities and the non-Russian peoples want to have states of their own. In the light of their own national objectives the idea of having a community of national states in lieu of an aggressive Empire in the East should appear attractive even to America and the other Powers. If the democratic principle, "free self-determination in home and foreign policy", is not to be applied to all peoples, at least the economic-political aspect should be taken into consideration by the Americans.

Besides, democratic and national ideas do not appear contradictory to us. The struggle for the political freedom of the citizen falls in with the struggle for national freedom, and national rights coincide with the individual right of man. Hence the political opinion follows that national self-determination and free democratic organization of the state are natural corresponding consequences of one political principle. If nation is the leading principle for state organization it should lead to democracy, while democracy in its turn requires an national state, necessarily and naturally. All peoples should develop into national states and the world would simultaneously develop into a peaceable community of nations.

Under this aspect the principle "National independence — *conditio sine qua non*" should no longer be a stumbling block for the co-operation of the "American Committee" and the national organizations which stick to these democratic principles. Unfortunately, democratic principles were not considered when the "American Committee" created the "Co-ordination Center". For the regulation of the national problems only the bare "principle of majority", i. e. only the "momentum of quantity" of democracy was applied. That means, in a state of nationalities like the Soviet Union, open subordination of a low-numbered people under the will of a high-numbered ruling nation. That means furthermore, suppression of pronouncements of the free will of the weaker peoples. We have noticed this shortcoming also in the articles of the "Co-ordination Center" granting five votes to the anti-bolshevik Russian emigrants and only a single vote to each particular non-Russian representation. This regulation, promoted by the "American Committee", constituted an anti-participating decision with reference to the "joint-parliament" of the "integral Russian empire". Was this

"Russian Democracy"

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And the hopes that some Western circles hold out for Russian democracy — are they justified? They will soon be disposed of.

Democracy and democratic liberties have been and remain hollow phrases for the Russians. Bolshevism and Soviet regime are purely Russian products.

When the Russian Tsar Alexander II abolished serfdom (he was paid for it by being murdered), he addressed his people in a manifesto in the following words: "Cross yourself, orthodox Russian people, and pray God for his blessing on your free work . . . "And what did the Russians do? They did not cross themselves but hit, smashed, destroyed everything, re-entered slavery voluntarily, established the most dreadful hangman's regime of all times, subdued other peoples, made millions of men collective animals, and deprived everyone of his human dignity and freedom!

These are historical facts which can not be shaken. The Soviet Empire is a creation of the Russian people, it is the empire of Russiandom.

In case a contest should occur, the Russians will fight for their empire and country as did the English, French, and others, for their colonial empire.

Nobody must imagine that the Russians fought so desperately in the last war because their enemy was Germany and its nazi-regime. They just fought for their country and Russiandom. They will do so in future.

To-day the Soviet government is a mere Russian government, its leaders are Russians. They know even better than the stranger Djugashvili-Stalin how to fill their people with enthusiasm and to appeal to its Russian feeling; not to speak of Ke-

rensky and Abramovich who are no longer known even by name in the Russian people.

Discontent with the government cannot obliterate the Russian feelings of the people.

It must not be forgotten that the modern Russian is no longer the illiterate of tsarist times. He is now able to perceive and realize how matters really are.

His national consciousness is not only emotional but based on a clear political mind. He cannot be won over by democratic slogans.

He likes his bolshevik masters, who are his country-men, better than any American, English, French, or other, liberator who might invade the country.

He knows from experience what it means to have one's liberator sitting on one's ground; for Soviet soldiers are playing that role in many countries and know how "happy" men are there and how much the occupying liberators are "beloved".

Even the Russia of the day is *his* Russia and he will fight for it desperately.

In a contest to come, the only allies of the free world will be our subjugated nations in the East. They will be fighting against the hated Russian despotism. The West must see that and must have concrete ideas when waging the fight.

These peoples are a decisive power in the rear of the enemy and will be the tongue on the balance in this contest.

For the West the leading idea in this fight must be to recognize unconditionally the national rights of all peoples oppressed by Russia for independent states of their own. Only then can their confidence be gained.

Prof. Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky

THE TREATY OF PEREYASLAV

Concluded Between Russia and Ukraine in 1654

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, The Minister Council, and the Presidency of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow, recently announced a large-scale festival on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Ukrainian-Russian Treaty of Pereyaslav. On the 18th (6th) of January, and all other days of the month, this event is to be celebrated officially in order to manifest the "great friendship and concord" between the two contractors — the Russians and the Ukrainians. You will see from the following concise article whether the Treaty of Pereyaslav has resulted in a great friendship between the two peoples, or rather the contrary.

As we all know, the Ukrainian-Polish War had lasted for nearly six years when the head of the Ukrainian state, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytzky, determined to search for a new ally against Poland. He had to find some neighbour of Ukraine and he chose the Muscovite state in the north. Early in 1654, the Ukrainian and Russian representatives met in Pereyaslav, a place in Ukraine, in order to conclude a treaty between the two states. On the 7th and 8th of January in that year (old style), joint conferences were held by the delegations to settle the terms of the treaty. On January 8, the Russians asked the Ukrainian delegates to support the oral agreements by oath, but the Ukrainians replied that the Tsar should swear first. The Muscovite representatives, however, denied to swear in the name of the Tsar claiming that never before in history the Russian Tsar had taken his oath to international agreements. Thus only the Ukrainian contractors did so. The agreements made were to be put in writing two months later in Moscow. Hence the treaty of Pereyaslav was settled only orally and that is the tragic point for Ukraine. The terms of the Ukrainian-Russian agreement of Pereyaslav, put in writing in Moscow in March 1654, were deliberately changed by the Russians in their favour largely injuring the Ukrainian contractor. The were fixed in 23 articles known as the Articles of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytzky. The Ukrainian delegates, however, denied to accept those falsified terms; hence it happened that nobody knew about them in Ukraine up to the death of the great Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytzky (1657). When, however, the Ukrainians heard of the existence of those articles they called them only the "Muscovite Articles". In the course of the following century the Russians changed and falsified the terms with every election of a new Hetman so that, in the end, the treaty became a mere farce and the Ukrainian Cossack state could be incorporated in the tsarist Empire as a mere Russian province.

Since the Ukrainian-Russian agreement of Pereyaslav has been an oral treaty (the Russians found it so much the easier, in the course of a hundred years, to change its term by craft and force) and

decision democratic? Moreover, the question arises why the "American Committee" resents the participation of all political directions within a national emigration group? Why did the "American Committee" think it right to support a group of persons who object, for private or political reasons, to the creation of a united anti-bolshevik front of all nations on a truly democratic basis? Does the well-known form of the "Co-ordination Center" comply with American interests? And finally — does the "American Committee" want to deal with all the emigrants of the particular nations or only with special groups or figures? Should the "American Committee" or the U.S.A., intend to enter into relationship with those peoples in future it must strive to consolidate the anti-bolshevik forces of the individual national groups of emigrants, and that on a democratic basis, instead of disintegrating them by supporting individuals or one particular party. In the "American Committee", we want to perceive that spirit of American ideology which President Woodrow Wilson formulated in his address to the Congress on April 8, 1913:

"We must do away with everything that looks like a privilege!"

since its text in Russian version was forced on the Ukrainian and the whole civilized world, its juridical examination is extremely difficult. There is no treaty where the opinions of the historians and, first and foremost, of the lawyers diverge as much as in the case of the treaty of Pereyaslav. As a matter of fact, the Russian experts (with only a few exceptions) as well the Ukrainian, hold the same view: that it has been not a one-sided national, but a bilateral international treaty concluded between two independent states. It is only the form of the international alliance under this treaty the scientists do not agree upon. Some of them are of opinion that the treaty of Pereyaslav has constituted a personal union (Sergiyevich, Lypynsky) whereas others held that Ukraine and Russia entered into a real union (Popov, Diakonov). A large group of scientists be-

contend themselves with studying one or two documents which refer to Pereyaslav, with consulting one or two experts of international law, and then draw some conclusions on the juridical character of that agreement. With the Russian experts, political considerations are also well regarded. At first, the mud of Russian misrepresentations and falsifications must be rinsed off the authentic material of the treaty of Pereyaslav; only from authorities so cleaned, the judicial character of the treaty may be judged. And that, in the first place, is a matter of history. Yet, before I enter into discussing the juridical questions of the treaty, I will give a concise survey on its contents, using, though misrepresented, the authorities at my disposal. According to these authorities the Ukrainian Cossack State remains depending on the Muscovite Tsar (though there



A series of illegal magazines and pamphlets published underground in Ukraine and distributed by the liberation-fighters (a last year's display you will find in "A.B.N.-Correspondence" No. 2/8, 1953).

lieve that Ukraine had come under Russian supremacy as a tributary state (Korkunov, Sokolsky, Pokrovsky, Slabchenko, Hrushevsky, Okinshevich, Yushkov, and, in the beginning, Miakotin too). Prof. Yakovliv claims that in Pereyaslav a protectorate was founded whereas lector Halaychuk considered it as a quasi-protectorate exercised by Russia over Ukraine. Nolde and Rosenfeld think that Ukraine has been united with Russia as an autonomous unit, Sokolsky holds that Ukraine has been annexed to Russia as a state-like organism. Lashchenko and Lypynsky deny any permanent alliance whatever between Ukraine and Moscow and speak of a loose alliance only. Three Russian experts (Aleksyeyev, Ordinets, later Miakotin) consider it an incorporation of Ukraine in Russia.

Hence we see that the opinions of the Ukrainian and Russian experts regarding the international or national character of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, diverge largely. How can that be? As mentioned above, the Russians modified the terms of the treaty of Pereyaslav several times arbitrarily. Additionally, the fact must be taken into account that many an expert, in ignorance of the positive international law, made the fundamental mistake of judging the facts from a psychologic view point. Still, psychology is no basis for positive international law which is alone decisive for the relations between the particular states. Furthermore, the historians and lawyers are too one-sided and fragmentary in dealing with the very complicated problems of the Pereyaslav agreements. They

are some who claim: but not on the Muscovite Empire). Under the terms of the treaty of Pereyaslav the Ukrainian state "will keep its old privileges and rights". Ukraine reserves the right to entertain diplomatic relations with foreign states; only those to Turkey and Poland are, to a certain extent, subject to Russian control. The Ukrainian state is headed by a Hetman, elected for life time. Ukrainian jurisdiction remains free and independent of the Muscovite Empire. In article 7 of the treaty written down in Moscow in 1654, the Muscovite government binds itself to never intervening in internal affairs of the Ukrainian state. The articles 2, 3, 4, and 7, guarantee the Ukrainian estates, the cossacks, the nobles, and the commons, their traditional privileges and rights. In further articles the strength of the Ukrainian Cossack Army is fixed at 60,000 and free and independent elections of the Hetman are guaranteed. The rights and privileges of the Ukrainian clergy is also guaranteed in those articles. The articles 19 and 20 deal with the stationing of Muscovite troops in the environs of Smolensk and with the supply of the Muscovite forces garrisoning places along the frontiers. Article 23 refers to the maintenance of the Ukrainian stronghold of Kodak.

It must be noticed that Russian representatives came to Ukraine to administer the oath on the Ukrainian population; the success was only fragmentary. The appointment of several Muscovite Voyevods to Ukrainian towns met with effective

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Open Letter To The "Red Dean"

We are glad to publish here an Open Letter by the wellknown member of the Scottish League of European Freedom and chairman of the Scottish Polish Society, John J. Campbell, to Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury. — Ed.

"Castle Chambers
55 West Regent Street
Glasgow.
C. 2.
9th November 1953.

Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, M.A., B.Sc., D.D.
Dean of Canterbury
The Deanery
Canterbury.

Very Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your forthcoming visit to Glasgow, rightly heralded as an outstanding event for the Scottish-Russian Demonstration in St. Andrew's Halls on Monday evening next, provides a welcome opportunity for you to clarify publicly a situation which, in the hearts of many God-fearing citizens, tends to create confusion and dismay.

While there are few who doubt your sincerity and devotion to the cause of Communism, yet many regard its Marxist doctrines as inimical to and destructive of Christian teachings. In consequence, many wonder how it can be possible, simultaneously, to serve loyally two such diametrically opposed Masters as Karl Marx and Jesus Christ.

At the outset, it must be understood that love for the Russian people is not the monopoly of any section or Society in Britain. For the true Christian — the Russians and all peoples who come under their domination, being members of the Mystical Body of Christ, have a claim on his prayers and his charity. Thus it is that, throughout the world to-day, prayers ascend daily, not only for all Christians suffering persecution and for the liberation of their countries, but also for the salvation of Russia's rulers and that God will make every Communist a Saint. It is not without interest to record that, while Marshal Stalin was in his last agony, prayers were being offered up in an English Monastery supplicating the mercy of God for the happy repose of his soul — the end for which he and all of us have been created. The enclosed re-prints may also be of interest.

As a servant of the Lord — dedicated to preach and, on every possible occasion, to spread His gospel, it is natural to ask what kind of reception is given by the Communists to you in the fulfilment of your holy vocation among them. Do they resent the gospel? Are they impatient with the words of scripture — "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice and all other things shall be added unto you"? Do they remain unconvinced when you admonish them — as no doubt you do — to seek that peace which surpasseth all understanding?

Your visit to Glasgow may well be one of vital importance, not only for your own life's mission as a servant of God but also for the Salvation of many souls caught up inextricably in the doubts and fears besetting this generation.

The problem of peace — the Christian maintains — will be solved if men will turn their hearts and minds to God and humbly seek His guidance to do His Holy Will. The Communists claim to have another solution which rejects the idea of Divine help.

In this deadlock — on the path to Eternity — surely nothing is to be gained by mincing words. Either the Christian is right or he is wrong. If the Communists are right then the claim of Jesus Christ to be the Way, the Truth and the Life is false and without foundation. Your address to the citizens of Glasgow should, I suggest, leave no one in doubt.

The support by you of the Christian approach to peace — a path still to be explored by our Communist brothers — would find me at your side. But if you are not prepared to apply Christ's principles to the problem of peace, would you defend your point of view on a public platform?

Copies of this letter and your reply will be handed to the press.

I am, Very Rev. Sir,

Yours very truly

(Sgd.) JOHN J. CAMPBELL."

Answer

from Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson
Dean of Canterbury

"The Deanery, Canterbury
Nov. 20th 1953

With the Compliments of
Dr. Hewlett Johnson
Dean of Canterbury.

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. My speeches and writings must be my answer; a separate reply to all correspondence is obviously impossible."

Comment

by John F. Stewart, Chairman of Scottish League
for European Freedom

"No man can serve two masters." That is the professed faith of the Church of England, of which the Dean of Canterbury is an official who, apparently, cannot be got rid of. As will be seen from his correspondence with Mr. John J. Campbell, a distinguished Glasgow lawyer, and the fact that, in the Dean's Address in Glasgow, he never once even mentioned the name of his Church's Master, he serves Communism to the best of his ability. This so-called "Communism" has been the cause of massacre, starvation and misery to millions since it was established in Moscow, and it is tragic that any civilised person, let alone a Church dignitary, should have a word in its favour. In the sense of the word when it was a fine, but impracticable ideal a hundred years ago, it does not exist anywhere now, and least of all in the Russia the Dean admires. There never was any true Communism in Russia, but Lenin cunningly realised the appeal the word would have to the unthinking millions in the world, and used the name as a cloak for what is now, quite nakedly, Russian Imperialism. And that is what the Dean and those who think with him are helping to propagate throughout the world.

While it is possible to assess the value of the intellects of most of Communism's victims, it is difficult and very puzzling to ascertain the real reason for the actions of one of the Dean's intellectual attainments, apart from his being professedly a member of any Christian Church. Mr. Campbell's action is of the greatest importance in exposing what is apparently Dean Hewlett Johnson's fundamental belief. How can he now continue to hold office, or how can the Church of England retain him? His true home is in the Moscow Kremlin.

Volentem fata ducunt . . .

(Continued from Page 4)

though in vain, intended to join the West in marching against the East. It was divided and maimed like Japan and China — but not Russia! Russia was cheered on again! How right he was, this sergeant of captain Batyushkof . . .

Now I hear the argument, "But Russia was an ally!" Well, so was China! Nevertheless the West cut wide areas out of the living organism of this ally to make it a present to the beloved Moscow. But even now that Russia has turned into an enemy, all those peoples which have been enslaved by Russian despotism and fight for the cause of freedom are knocking in vain at the closed doors of the West, while Russian divisions stand along the River Elbe and almost before the doors of Constantinople. Was Douglas Reed perhaps right who claims in his book "From Smock to Smother" that behind the scenes of many a political group in the West secret powers are setting about to hand over our western civilization to the barbarous Russia?

It was too late in the first World War when it occurred to the Central Powers that the mutilating of Russian Empire might mean

Situation in the Baltics

(Continued from Page 5)

tolerated but almost completely ignored by U. N. The pertinent question then may well be put: Are these principles constituting the very foundation of the great Charter destined for ever to remain a dead letter?"

Religion and Civilization in the Baltic States

"Religion is opium for the people" — the well-known slogan of Marx has remained the motto for the bolshevik anti-religious activity in the Baltic States. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the speediest extirpation of religion — i. e. Catholic Church in Lithuania and Protestant Church in Estonia and Latvia — is the cherished aim of the red invaders.

The new tactics of the bolsheviks are to murder or deport the leading clergy of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. There were ten bishops in Lithuania but only Bishop Paltarokas and the red "Cardinal" Stankevicius remained. In 1940 more than 1600 Catholic priests were officiating in Lithuanian parishes. To-day there are fewer than 300. All others have been murdered or deported into Soviet slave labour camps or prison.

"The persecution of the Church began from the first days of the Soviet occupation of Estonia. As previously mentioned, the instruction of religion was prohibited in the schools, publication of religious books and periodicals, as well as religious broadcasts, was banned, religious youth organization including the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. closed, the theological faculty abolished." (See "Estonia". By W. Raud, The Nordic Press, Inc. New York, 1953, p. 139.)

Baltic priests exiled to Siberia are frequently beaten without mercy and sent to do the hardest work.

In cultural life the bolshevization of the Baltic region has wrought even greater havoc than in any other sphere of human activity.

The Baltic languages ("their three languages differ as widely from those neighbouring tongues, from Russian and German, as for instance English differs from Greek", E. J. Harrison) have been misrepresented by Stalin's methods of philology. Press, literature, theatre, music, radio, and fine arts have been harnessed for communist propaganda. Old Lithuanian Catholic writers such as Father Strazdelis, Bishop Baranaukas, Father Maironis, have been bolshevized, the new Catholic authors have been forced to write in communist ideology. The talented lyrist Antanas Miskinis was murdered because he declined to write bolshevik poems.

Through bolshevization and Russification the standard in the elementary and secondary schools has been considerably lowered. The Soviet Constitution and the "New West-European History" as the new gospel have been introduced as obligatory subjects. There is no culture anymore in the Baltic States to-day. These states have been enslaved and culture has been replaced by bolshevik propaganda, lies and wretchedness.

salvation for them. For this tragic "too late" they were later on divided up themselves by Russia. After the second world conflagration the Western Powers would not hear of either a division of Russian Empire or of a liberation of those peoples enslaved by her. They indulged in the illusion of their own security! . . . And what an illusion! Moscow has begun already to realize the further items of her program: the annihilation of the British, French, colonial empires by replacing the Europeans by indigenous communists. The underground activities in Egypt, India, South-Africa, Tunisia, Algeria, Cuba etc. provide ample proofs. To-morrow Moscow will begin to advocate the cause of those peoples oppressed by England, France, i. e. for the "liberation" of the Scotch, the Welsh, the Bretons, Provençals, Pennsylvanians, Alaskans and the negroes in the U.S.A. Everyone not prepared to divide Russian Empire will be divided up himself!

And history will cruelly avenge the ignoring of the fight for liberation of our peoples on those blind politicians who are responsible for it. Yet, they will only reap that which they have sown.

*The National Tendencies in the U.S.S.R (I)***The Roots of Soviet Russian Communism**

By Prof. V. Derzhavyn

It is easy to describe the national-political and national-cultural conditions, tensions, and struggles within the Soviet Union, but it is hard to find out their roots. It is well comprehensible that the national vital interests — in a political as well as cultural respect — of all non-Russian peoples forcibly incorporated in the U.S.S.R. are absolutely contrary to any russifying actions of "coordination"; and this was the case even in pre-revolutionary Russia, with only a few exceptions. These exceptions were those peoples which were too weak for independent existence; or those which would have been treated under any alien dominion just as bad as under the Tsarist-Russian, or those to which the Russian Government had granted privileges in order to play them off against their own kinship such as the Bashkirs against the Volga-Tartars or the Mosaic Kraims on the Crimea against the Jews. The Finns also enjoyed a far-reaching autonomy during the 19th century as the Russians wanted to prevent them from joining Sweden. In general, however, Russian policy in national and cultural affairs towards all peoples depending on *Moscow* or *Petersburg* has always been very hostile and has always aimed not at eventually penetrating but at completely extirpating them and their civilizations. The problem of this "desire for genocide", peculiar to the Russians from times of old, can not be settled by well-meaning but rather naive allegations of the moral depravity of the Russian national character, not to speak of the fact that such complaints of the "evil" in the Russian soul are not gladly believed in the West. The man in the West is a downright rationalist and will answer any such complaint by the question: "If the Russians are really so had — the there must be a reason!" The reason lies no doubt in that peculiar development of national Russian civilization which makes every normal national-minded Russian a fanatic chauvinist and that to an extent the man in the West cannot even dream of. Thus it is that he usually tends to doubt our testimonies on the formidable consequences of Russian chauvinism or even to extenuate these consequences.

The question of the abnormal peculiarity of what is called Russian national civilization can neither be evaded nor can it be considered from a purely theoretical point of view. As long as it remains unsettled we are well able to describe the people-killing policy of the Russian empire to the West in full details and, at the best, to endorse it by documents, yet we are unable to give the underlying reasons. And then the Russians and their Western patrons can always say the matter is a mere consequence of a tsarist, or bolshevik, or any other sort of regime that ultimately can be completely altered so that our struggle for national independence has no more reason in the end. The Scottish people, as we know, fought the English conquerors for a thousand years, but finally put up with a union with the English in a common British Nation with equal rights and on entirely new political premises — to the benefit of both, as it seems!

Replying, we must say that the Russian attitude towards any non-Russian national civilization can only be purely destructive, and that for the weighty reason that *the Russians themselves have no national civilization created by their own people.*

At first, this explanation will sound strange. Is there not a Soviet Russian empire practicing a rude policy of russification towards all non-Russian peoples within its domain; is there not a Russian Socialistic Federal Soviet Republic within the Soviet Union which, it is true, embraces some non-Russian so-called "Autonomous Republics" and "Autonomous districts" yet, as a whole, is to 80 percent inhabited by Russians? And Russian civilization, the masterpieces of which, such as the religious philosophy of Vladimir *Solovyov* and the literary work of *Dostoyevski*, we do not want to undervalue, has been appreciated for centuries in the whole of Europe and America and in recent times also in Asia as an outstanding achievement of the human race; not even the anti-cultural

policy of Soviet Russian bolshevism has been able to shake its esteem materially. How dare we doubt its national character?

But now we claim that not every state is necessarily a national state, and not every national state has necessarily a national civilization. Certainly, the United States of America are a national state and the modern Americans form a nation of their own; nevertheless, what is known as "American civilization" is actually nothing but a local modification of the Anglo-Saxon, just as the Austrian is of the German civilization. It may be doubted whether or not an Austrian nation exists. In fact, prior to 1918, that is in the very times when the German-Austrians were the ruling people, or one of the two ruling peoples, in the Danube Monarchy, it did certainly not exist — a fact which could not be changed by the policy of Germanization temporarily practiced by the Habsburgs.

Really, in the case of those peoples which founded and continuously ruled over empires the problem of their national civilizations has mostly been rather complicated and abnormal. There is no doubt a Turkish national civilization — but since when? Only since the Turkish intellectuals had begun to cherish the civilization of their own people — not without some influence exerted by the Western European Romanticists — that is about the middle of the last century. The civilization of the old sultanate, however, was not na-

tional but first and foremost universal-Mohammedan, despite the factual rulership of the Turkish Ottoman race. Indeed, an attempt was made in 16th century to introduce Arabian as the official language throughout the sultanate! Though this attempt failed, yet it gives evidence of how pan-Islamic ideas and cultural tendencies were predominant over the Turkish national life proper in the upper Turkish classes at the time. As long as the Turkish state remained an empire oppressing more than half a dozen more or less compact peoples, the civilization of the Turkish people had no chance of developing into a national civilization!

Now, the Russian Empire still exists; which features of its "imperial" civilization should be taken for national Russian? The answer seems to be easy: The Russian language; that is, of course, the language of Russian literature, which plays a calamitous role as one of the most effective means of russification. Unity of language, to be sure, is an essential factor for the development of national civilization, yet it is not decisive. The Norwegians, for example, are still wavering between two official "national languages" (*Rijksmaal* and *Landsmaal*) although the Norwegian nation and Norwegian civilization has existed since the early Middle Ages. The Russian literary language was largely incomprehensible for uneducated Russians prior to the Revolution; since then it has spread very quickly even in the country, to the damage of the Russian dialects. The Russian people assumed it as passively as many another thing: e. g. Christendom, taken over from the old Ukrainian Kyiv (including the Ukrainian-dyed old Slavonian, that is, old Bulgarian Church-language and its corresponding literature); or the Muscovite grand-ducal administration organized according to the model of the Golden

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Siberian Separatism

After the remnants of Admiral Kolchak's Russian White Army had been swept away and the whole of Siberia seemed to be quiet, a new insurrection broke out in Western Siberia in 1921, unexpected and planless, but exceeding all operations of Yudenich, Denikin, Kolchak, in strength and efficiency; this, at least, was *Lenin's* judgement on the revolt. Without entering into details, we draw the reader's attention to the fact that, since this insurrection was choked, the Soviet government in Moscow has not dared up to the present to introduce restrictions of Civil Rights and to exert terrorism in Siberia to an extent similar to that in the European territories of the U.S.S.R. The population of Siberia, for example, is not bound to contribute to the public loan. The conditions of labour are much better there. The obligatory quotas for agricultural products have been considerably modified. Hunting and fishing is not controlled. There has always been a well-off peasantry. In 1942 in Rostov, I had a talk with a prominent Siberian official. He said: "We removed all formerly wealthy peasants to Siberia after their property had been confiscated. In Siberia however they came into wealth again and we had got rid of them here" (in the Don-district). Siberia has its own law and its own customs.

As little as the tsarist government cared about Siberia as much aims the Soviet government at gaining the Siberian's sympathy and binding them to Moscow. The Siberian territory is being industrialized in all speed; plants are being built, the creation of a huge "Siberian Lake" (of about 100,000 sq.mi.) has been planned, the Ural-Kuznetsk Combine is being enlarged, a bridge across the Tartaric straits and bases in the North of Siberia with strategically important railway connection shall be built. Not all the projects are practicable yet they are of psychologic weight: Moscow can claim more easily that it would care for Siberia. The truth, however, can be seen from the following passage in the newspaper "Trud" ("Labour") of November 5, 1953:

"Vladivostok, November 4. — The two refrigerating ships "Dnyest" and "Kuldin" have left the port of Vladivostok, in order to bring plenty of fresh meat, sausage, and vegetable to the population of Sakhalin and Kamchatka. In return they will bring frozen salmon, smoked and fresh herrings, and salmon caviare, back to Vladivostok."

I know those far-off regions very well and can

testify that at the time of the First World War no meat imports from the Continent or from San Francisco to Sakhalin were necessary. Many herds of cattle were grazing in the valleys and on the meadows on the mountainside. When being dried, the succulent Siberian leek was a sufficient fodder supply for the winter. Japan procured great quantities of agricultural products from the Southern part of Sakhalin, which belonged to her. But now meat is running short there and, no doubt, not only there, otherwise the course of two refrigerating ships would not have been mentioned in organs of the central press.

The population, forcibly deported to Sakhalin, thinks of nothing but returning home. Nothing can overcome this unappeasable desire. Those people — and they are predominant in Siberia — can not but hate Moscow.

Thinking of *Lenin's* words "controlling Siberia means controlling Asia", Moscow does everything to keep Siberia in its power and to gain the sympathy of its population. But nature remains unexorable and creates separatists regardless of the momentary state of mind of the population. After the revolt in Western Siberia mentioned above, Marshall Blücher's list of conspirators was discovered; that man, who wanted to separate the Far East from Moscow. This was prevented chiefly by the Japanese who disliked an independent Siberia for several reasons. There is no apparent separatism in Siberia to-day; but nobody knows what goes on in the taciturn soul of a half-Asian Siberian. There is no reason to believe that Siberia has been thoroughly russified and her spirit has been benumbed in the Soviet Union's embrace.

It might be of some interest to quote a passage from the book "Siberia" by Oswin Cornelius Pfeiffer, edited by the Safari-Verlag. It runs: "We are living in a world of strained relations. Wherever you look, the old ground is breaking with fermentation. Old systems renounce or are ousted, the new mark their ways with blood. New knowledge has risen on the horizon. Its shadow falls alarmingly on the frightened world. The rays of new suns have worn out the fetters of century old obligations. Now they fall off, brittle and rotten. Yet relations arise. It must be noticed: the national frontiers are in a state of dissolution. Boom is on for map drawers. The face of our earth, petrified for generations, begins to move and its features change over night."

Klym Pravdych

Prof. Dr. Alexander Kulchytzky

Psychology As A Factor In Politics

Since the term "Psychologic Warfare" in connection with the East-West tension has appeared in the press, some attention has been paid to the relationship between politics and psychology. If warfare — according to *Clausewitz* — must be called a "continuation of politics by different means", psychologic warfare, or better, the psychologic preparation for war, is a more or less effective means from the arsenal of political armament. Psychology need not become "military psychology", though, in order to be of political significance. *Bismarck* called for a peaceable political psychology; *Jänsch* commented on the negotiations between *Stresemann* and *Snowden* in a short, pertinent, psychological treatise. Nevertheless, even the most interested peoples on the western side of the "Iron Curtain" are not aware

behind the Iron Curtain are deeply interested in these questions. It is the vital question, indeed, the question of to be or not to be of their spiritual existence. This common situation should result in a common request: The psychologists, cultural institutions, writers etc., of all peoples in question must not only be interested in, but actively co-operate with the Psychologic Institute in pursuing the research of the moulding and self-moulding of the Soviet man. Connections with well-wishers, willing to co-operate, should be developed where research and the procurement of material is concerned and the Institute would be glad to contribute.

The possibilities of co-operation result from those considerations underlying the methods of the Institute's activity.

The man in the Soviet Union is continuously pointing out that, in comparison with the West, he is "different", and in comparison with the past he is "new". The point of his peculiarity is, according to his own expressions, that he, having formed his surroundings first pursuant to communism, is now being formed by it himself in return. The main difficulty in the methods of psychological research in that case is that this moulding and self-moulding Soviet man, protected by the Iron Curtain, cannot be examined by objective Western psychologists with empiric inductive methods of

research. The Ukrainian refugees are not the best models of Soviet men, as they have proved by their flight that they resisted being moulded — quite apart from the fact that it is not appropriate to study a human being that has been characterized as collective, as long as he is not in his typical, collective surroundings. If, however, the psychic form of the Soviet man, neither in its process of formation nor in its result, can be studied with empiric inductive methods, the way of deductive research, though less usual in psychology, is still left open. Suppose we know the tendency of the forming influence, the process itself in its essence, and the special concrete conditions of the momentary situation, then we are able to deduce the way, the width, the depth, and the duration of the moulding process and its results with a degree of probability that the above mentioned factors imply. These factors can be ascertained to a considerable degree, as far as we can see. The tendency of the forming influence can be gathered from the anthropologic and characterologic conception of the Soviet man; the process itself and its course can be analyzed by means of social psychology which has advanced considerably in recent times; the special conditions of the procedure i. e. the "psychagogic situation of Soviet men" in its entirety and in the partial aspects we get from our "Sociologic" knowledge.

From what has been said, the task of all emigrated scientist who are interested in these questions, would be to put all facts concerning the subject that they can gather from their memoirs and memories, from press literature and personal experience, at the disposal of the Institute.

To All Editors

We ask all editors whom we regularly supply with the "A.B.N.-Correspondence" kindly to send us a copy of their newspapers in return. In a great number of cases it has been done so already. We would consider it a token of pleasant co-operation if the other editors, too, obliged us by following these examples.

of the absolute necessity of the psychological preparation of any policy — in particular a policy in Eastern Europe — to the extent that they would lead to practical consequences.

The work being done by the *Psychologic Institute* at the *Ukrainian Free University* is a positive exception in comparison with the general, not greatly interested attitude of the West towards that question. (The Ukrainian Free University was founded in Prague by support of the President Masaryk and, as a consequence of the war, removed to Munich where it resumed its activity, fully authorized and supported by German and American authorities.)

The Psychologic Institute of the Ukrainian Free University has already a history. On March 7 and 8, 1953, the Ukrainian psychologists from the Institute in Munich and the Bavarian Psychologic Society held a joint conference with a series of lectures given such as "The East-West Tensions in the Light of Psychology" by *Dr. V. Yaniv*, lecturer at the Ukrainian Free University; "Occidental and Non-Occidental Aspects of Ukrainian Psyche" and "The Understanding of the Psyche of other Peoples as a Psychological Problem" by *Prof. A. Kulchytzky*; "Soviet Psychology" by *Prof. H. Vashchenko* (both Ukrainian Free University).

Thanks to the co-operation of the Psychologic Institute and the Central Union of Ukrainian Students a two day's international scientific conference was held (Journées d'Etudes Ukrainiennes) on August 19 and 20, in Strassburg, its success being highly appreciated in the French press in Strassburg, as well as in Paris. On the first day Prof. Kulchytzky gave a lecture on "Les aspects occidentaux et non-occidentaux de l'âme ukrainienne", not only outlining the Ukrainian psyche against the Eurasian-Russian, but also emphasizing "that the psychological distance between the Russian and the Ukrainian soul is inversely proportional to their geographical distance".

At the turn of 1953, the Institute took up a special subject of interest for all the peoples behind the Iron Curtain: The aspects and problems of the formation of the so-called "Soviet" man. On these problems Prof. Kulchytzky gave a well attended lecture on November 27, 1953, at the Psychologic Institute of the German University which concluded with a lively discussion under the participation of distinguished German psychologists. The lecture was given for the purpose of making the German psychologists familiar with the methodical adaptation of the Institute's work to the subject of the "psychologic aspects of the moulding and self-moulding of the Soviet man".

It is a matter-of-course that, as far as our A.B.N. nations are concerned not only psychologists but also the multitude of the emigrants of the peoples

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Horde; or the tsarist regime developed and ideologically based according to Byzantine pattern; or the "All-Russian" empire, established in conformance with Western pattern. Since 1917 the Russians are assuming Bolshevism and its cherished "Soviet-civilization" with its *Western* (Marxian) elements being as strange to them as was the French language at the court of Catharine II (the question of the Russian elements in said Soviet civilization will be referred to later). Of course, there has always been a genuine Russian "folk" civilization with its roots reaching much farther back than the Rurik-dynasty, not to speak of the Christianization of Russia proper (Muscovite Russia). As a matter of fact, there is no people on the whole globe, however primitive, without a civilization of its own. But up to the middle of the 17th century the Russian people was unable to raise its indigenous culture beyond a rather poor "folklore" (a fairly primitive material culture, popular songs and customs, and popular arts chiefly assumed from the Ugro-Finns in the Volga region), as the almighty state with its totalitarian attitude disliked everything "national". There was no nation which had created a state of its own in Moscow. On the contrary — a piratical state strongly organized on Ugro-Finnish colonial ground, endeavoured for centuries to bring something like a "Russian Nation" into existence, according to its own political interests and cultural tendencies (i. e. the interests and tendencies of a rather international upper class held together merely by reason of state). Therefore a new "nationally minded" educated class was created in the 19th century — complying with the German Romanticists and Hegelians — where much was spoken of "popular spirit" and "national idea", of "the Russian soul" and "Russia's world mission", that is to say, of mere phantasms as, actually, there was no Russian nation and could not be under the cultural circumstances then prevailing. The Russian Empire, however, behaved as an exponent of the "Russian nation" or even of the "Slavonian race", with about as much right as Hitler's Drittes Reich represented the "Nordic" or even the "Aryan" race.

For the true evaluation of the "Russian national idea" the comparison with the nazi chimeras is very illuminating. If the Dritte Reich had not existed for twelve but for some hundred years, something like a supposed Aryan "race mentality" would have considerably spread although it has nothing to do with the true character of the German people. It was just that way, a supposed Russian "national spirit" arose in the Muscovite empire and spread in the Petersburg empire: every more

or less educated Russian began to believe in the existence of a Russian Nation and to take himself for a member of it. And from Muscovite "slavophil" pamphlets, in conformance with best German pattern, he could learn what the Russian Nation was supposed to be and to become.

Up to the revolution of 1905, the "uneducated" Russians remained on the same mental level as 300 years before — or even lower; for the fairly energetic commencement of raising the true Russian civilization which was undertaken in the early 17th century when the tsarist power was extremely weakened for some time (the so-called "muddled time" of 1606 to 1612 and its far-reaching consequences) this raising was connected by the central power that had meanwhile recovered, with the so-called Great Russian schism ("velikiy raskol") and eventually socially isolated and nullified. Thus even the very commencements of a Russian popular epic which took its initial rise at the time — the Muscovite historian songs — fell into oblivion as early as in the 18th century. (It is highly significant that the older "Russian" popular epos — the "Bylines" — is altogether a retrograde development of the old Ukrainian Warrior Epic of Kyiv with only the language Russian). Now, this was the unique reaction of the Russian people to what was called the "national Russian" civilization propagated from Moscow and Petersburg.

While the Russian masses abandoned even their primitive folk civilization in the course of years without accepting or, at least, understanding the artificially Europeanized civilization of the upper classes, they slipped quite naturally either into a hopeless and very backward sectarianism or, as in most cases, into a hatred beyond all bounds against everything alien, against everything distinguished, indeed against any education whatever. Thus the ground was prepared for the social and cultural catastrophe that, as most of us did not see until now, has been unprecedented in human history — and that was Soviet Russian bolshevism.

The Soviets have to be on their Guard

Along the railroad from Zilina to Kosice (Slovakia) all bridges and tunnels are placed under permanent strict military custody. The communists are bound to take such extraordinary measures because the activities of Slovak partisans, fighting against communism and for an independent Slovak Republic, endanger the railroad communications with the U.S.S.R.

A Miscarried Policy

By David Zagirashvili

Fighting imperialistic Russia whose sphere of power ranges from Vladivostok across the vast areas of the Asian continent to the heart of Europe, all the emigrants from the U.S.S.R. peoples watch the policy of the Western World with deep concern. The West must be aware that it cannot guarantee the present frontiers in the East and thereby eternalize the pressure of the Soviet yoke on so many countries, without rudely offending the repeatedly proclaimed Charter of the Freedom of Individuals and Nations. As a matter of fact, that would only be another contribution to the long row of fatal blunders, the first being committed in Brest Litovsk, where the West granted breathing space to Lenin for the consolidation of his regime, completely unaware of the danger that was bound to come. After the end of the first World War the victorious powers were equally short-sighted when they were unable to make up their minds to energetically restoring order and freedom in the East. How easily would all those dangerous bolshevik commences have been disposed of at the time! The West, however, offered every opportunity to communism to complete its victory over those peoples in its grip and from that moment on any future contest was rendered much more difficult. The Western politicians contended themselves with placing the Soviets in a sort of quarantine and indulged in the illusion that, thereby, the Muscovite bolshevik bacillus was localized and prevented from infecting the rest of the world.

Regrettable Short-sightedness

This attitude created the idea of Rapallo and Locarno which increased the power of bolshevik Russia considerably. But more than that: she was even admitted to the circle of the Western world, her representatives joining the "League of Nations" and co-operating in the settlement of the national problems!

The only flash of light in this inconceivable co-operation with the representation of the evil was the joint firm stand the West took against Moscow's unheard of crime against the small industrious Finish people which was unexpectedly and unprovocatedly attacked by the Kremlin despots and should be deprived of its independence. There was only one man who helped the Kremlin in breaking through its isolation and concluded a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Moscow, an that was Hitler.

Unfortunately enough, the sound policy of the West did not last very long. It is quite incomprehensible why the Western powers, in the clash between Hitler-Germany and Stalin-Russia, felt bound to join one of the destructive forces, instead of sparing their forces to the end when both the fighters were completely exhausted and the West in full strength could have restored the divine order of the world. It is grotesque that this unique chance was missed. Teheran, Yalta, the inhumane blockade of Berlin by the Soviets, the

present events in Korea, Indochina, and elsewhere, are mere logic consequences of that one erroneous view.

Thus the pertinent question may well be put: does mankind even now not see, after having experienced 36 years of bolshevik rule in the East, that it is quite impossible to localize a world plague by quarantine; and that the more as every attempt to this end has been frustrated by Moscow's infernal policy, as we might have learned in the course of some ten recent years.

What fatal repetition of events, that the idea of Locarno is again under consideration in the West. That means to offer another chance of consolidation to bolshevism and that just at the time when the red throne in Moscow is wavering. That this is the case we know from several tokens on the occasion of Stalin's death, the precipitous downfall of Beria, the catastrophous economic situation and even the reports of Khrushchev and Malenkov.

They Must Avow Their Principles

The end of dictatorship being near, the paradox situation has arisen that the democratic world comes to its grave-digger's aid instead of mobilizing all forces against its sworn enemy. All the tortured non-Russian peoples, forming a potential power together with the satellite states, expect decided steps by the West and hope for aid in their unequal struggle. They are of the opinion that it is high time to confront the gentlemen in the Kremlin with the crucial question! We will never come to an end by inviting them to high-level talks, which are rejected by them in offending notes or connected with unacceptable conditions. They should be called before the international tribunal of the United Nations. There the Kremlin despots had to avow whether or not they were prepared to settle the outstanding problems of our times and to bring the horrible state of subjugation in their dominion to an end. If not so, no more room would be for them in the family of free nations; they would be put out of doors just as Litvinoff was at his time.

It just occurs to me that it was the Roman senator Cato who showed a fresh figue to the senate, taken from Carthago the day before, in order to demonstrate how near the enemy was. Our enemy, the enemy of all mankind, is not waiting along the borderline, but has invaded our cultural world; one great part has been seized already and the rest is deadly menaced.

The American senator Dean Cordon said recently: "The Kremlin is in possession of the H-bomb. He is threatening America and can even destroy it. Is it not the highest time to rush to the world's aid, to lift the Iron Curtain and free the enslaved peoples?"

Yes — that is the demand of the day! Only that can save the world from final annihilation, and not, perhaps, a guarantee for security for the destroyer of all human values.

Attention! . . . Spies!

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present will put further light on the affair. *Berlind, Frankfurt, Bad Homburg* were only some of the stages. Even Southern Germany was not overlooked in his "informatory trips".

In the Gaiglstrasse in *Munich*, for instance, there is the top organization of emigrants, the Z.O.P.E. (Center Union Post War Refugees from S.U.) When they held their constitutional meeting in *Munich* from November 11-14, 1952, with *Georg Klimov* in the chair, *Georg Müller* appeared as deputy of the N.T.S. Yet he concealed his commission and gave himself the air of an incognito. He behaved besides in every respect as if he were the dictatorial commander of the Z.O.P.E. and not a guest, so that many people came to the conclusion he was a deputy of Malenkov's.

Is it not most alarming when even people in the know come to such conclusions? We must admit that even among the Russian emigrant organizations there are men who do not or will not know anything about such intrigues as Mr.

Müller's. As, however, in all cases of bolshevik espionage the name N.T.S. has cropped up with precise regularity, the pertinent question may well be put:

1. Have those organizations been initiated, perhaps, directly by the Kremlin as mere resorts for pernicious elements?

2. Do the chauvinistic forces among the Russian emigration even feel indebted to bolshevism for having expanded the Russian empire to unprecedented power, while they hope once to be its heirs?

3. We do not want to injure any organization as such, but we make our voices heard in warning against their abuse by Moscow-serving elements! — It goes without saying that we must be on our guard.

Kremlin Agents in our Midst

We need only think of such examples as the comparatively petty case of the double agent *Hans Joachim Geyer* serving the Western Intel-

America becoming aware of the truth

Perle Mesta Tours the Soviet Union

In the columns of many western newspapers such as "New York Herald Tribune", "Los Angeles Time", "Daily News", "L'Aurore" etc. lengthy reports by Mrs. Perle Mesta, former U.S.-Minister to Luxembourg, are being published at present. She describes her impressions during her visit to the Soviet-Union. It is the most important point of these reports that they convey an objective picture of the real conditions over there. American press, rarely publishing true factual reports on these conditions, might think better of it now.

Perle Mesta does not restrict herself to what the "Intourist"-travellers are allowed to see or to hear, but she has her eyes and ears everywhere, so to say. With commendable frankness she characterizes those national problems which certain circles of the West, especially of the Russian chauvinistic emigrants, prefer to conceal or to describe in a false light.

The author's reports about Ukraine, for instance, will not be allowed to die away unheard by the world. For one thing, that she learned from different talks on the spot that the Ukrainians consider it as an almost deadly insult to be mistaken for Russians. Once this occurs, these men, otherwise so kindly and lovable, fly into a passionate rage and stress decisively their nationality and its elementary difference from Russia. Perle Mesta comes to the conclusion that so ingrained an aversion must cause the Muscovites a lot of trouble. Furthermore she had the opportunity to see with her own eyes the vital difference in nature between the Ukrainians and Russians as to their character as well as to their way of living. Apart from the cordiality of the people in Kharkiv and Kyiv she met with a genuine civilization. The cities are much more beautiful and cultivated than anywhere else in Russia, Moscow not excepted.

So much for Perle Mesta's reports which, as a whole, confirm so thoroughly what we have striven to make clear again and again. We trust that this knowledge will gradually dawn even on those who have hitherto disregarded it.

ligence Service as well as the State Security of the Eastern Zone. As an employee of the former general Gehlen he was able to look into the secret records of his intelligence office and to make photocopies which he delivered to the Eastern German authorities. But more than that. Using an accurate card-index he instigated the arrest of at least 66 co-workers of Gehlen's.

It is infinitely regrettable that in our era of communist soul poisoning not even clerical garb can save people from aberrations we hitherto had never expected to beset the ranks of our Christian society. The Archimandrit *Volonzevich* is one lamentable example. At the request of the exile Russians in Western Berlin, a separate parish of the *Russian-Orthodox Church* was constituted and Father *Volonzevich* was made its priest. He, however, entertained a conspicuously friendly relationship with Soviet Russian officers and one day he vanished into space. Subsequently it became known that he had fled to *Karlshorst taking along the money-chest and the list of the members of his parish*. There he had offered his services to the Soviet Russian administration. We must wait and see what use will be made of the names, but in any case the whole affair reminds one suspiciously of the card-index of *Hans Joachim Geyer*.

To close the circle, the N.T.S. emerges also in this case though as a loyal figure for once, since the dust raised by the *Müller* affair has got in to their noses.

All the facts described above prove without a doubt, in what bad state matters are. If the McCarthy committee had not been founded as yet it would have to be founded immediately. We wish its founder and leader would examine the situation in Germany very closely when he comes to Europe next. It is absolutely necessary for the security of the whole civilized world that all these things are cleared up completely.

R. Persing

From Behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

NEW PROGRAM

In line with its new, conciliatory economic program, the government has taken steps to relieve the peasantry. All the measures passed favour kolkhoz farmers. For instance, beginning January 1, cooperative farmers will be granted slight reductions in their compulsory state deliveries of grain, milk, dairy products, meat, wool and vegetables. Furthermore, income tax arrears of kolkhoz farmers will be cancelled up to December 1952. Another decree announcing cuts in peasant insurance premiums grants larger reductions for cooperative farmers. By giving kolkhoz peasants more privileges than independent farmers the regime has made it clear that collectivization remains its main agricultural goal.

"GOOD NEIGHBORS"

Ever since Chervenkov's September 8 speech, the regime press has waged a campaign urging the resumption of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the United States. Communist newspapers have also published numerous articles on the importance of easing tension in the Balkans and of settling all disputes with Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia by peaceful negotiation. This propaganda is designed to promote Bulgaria's admission to the U.N. and to undermine the Balkan Pact by establishing so-called good neighborly relations.

COMMUNISTS CALL THE TUNE

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), May 4, announced that a 30,000 leva award had been conferred by the Communist regime upon Bulgarian composer Pando Vladygerov for his "Hebrew Symphony".

The story of this symphony is little more than a graph of these cent vagaries of the Communist

Party line. Composed in 1952 and based on popular Hebrew music, the symphony won instant critical acclaim and was played regularly at concerts in Sofia. During the Slansky trial and the ensuing wave of anti-Semitism, the symphony disappeared from concert programs and the sheet music prominently displayed in music store windows was removed.

After this the composer's star started to sink rapidly. Other works of his were banned from concert halls. The Bulgarian public did not notice this change, but those in music and theatrical circles knew that Vladygerov's works were "on the index".

Then, suddenly, there was another change. After Soviet refutation of the "Doctor's Plot", and subsequent revision of the anti-Semitic line throughout Eastern Europe, the Sofia regime wanted to give a conspicuous demonstration of its new attitude. Bulgarian authorities remembered Vladygerov and his "Hebrew Symphony". At a solemn ceremony, they gave Vladygerov the 30,000 leva prize, a sum which in present-day Bulgaria makes him a wealthy man (the average income for a physician, for example, is 800 leva a month). Vladygerov is now installed in a handsome villa with beautiful furnishings, including two pianos.

(News from Behind the Iron Curtain—NCFE, N.Y.)

BYELORUSSIA

SELF-CRITICISM... BUT NO CHANGE FOR THE BETTER!

The Muscovite party organ, "Pravda" of October 27, 1953, reporting on the plenary meeting of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, points out the "severe criticism" at the meeting of the scientific institutes in the Republic. We know that sort of criticism already from our report on

Turkistan. It seems as if it becomes an indispensable part of bolshevik activity, in the end. Here, likewise, discontent with the accomplishments in the domain of cattle breeding is the primary reason. In addition, our good old friends crop up, namely the complaints of unsatisfactory co-operation with the kolkhozes, insufficient fulfilling of the quotas, and lack of common sense in settling practical problems. These reproaches have been addressed to almost all scientific academies of Byelorussia.

There is only one thing new, and that is a sort of involuntary confession that slipped out in the discussion and referred directly to the Communist Party. It became known, thereby, that, in many districts of Mogilev and Vitebsk, and also in the Polotzk districts, *the political agitators have a miserably low spiritual standard.*

No doubt that is true, and not only in the districts mentioned...



COSSACKIA

LACK OF LABOUR DISCIPLINE

The official Soviet newspaper "Izvestiya", No. 243/1953, is deeply worried by the fact that cattle breeding is endangered in the region of Stalingrad, as, during the summer, not sufficient fodder supply was stored for the winter. Moreover, the life stop standard of 1938 has not been reached by now.

"Komsomolez", the district organ of the Komsomol in the Rostov district, criticizes the activity of the district organizations for being below the standard required; so did the district secretary of the party, Kiselov, in former times. Envisaging these conditions, K. Skadiko felt induced to write a lengthy article in "Young Communist", No. 10.

In No. 294/53, the "Pravda" repeated all the appeals of the Soviet press, to improve the activities of the party organizations in the kolkhozes, especially in Cossackia.

"Komsomolskaya Pravda" (No. 255/53) reproached the "Rostselmash" works, the biggest plant for agricultural machinery in Rostov, with not fulfilling its plans and pointed out that labour discipline was bad in that factory. The fault lay mostly with young workers some of them even being Komsomoltzes.

In "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of October 29, V. Kochemasov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, dwelt at great length on the numerous mistakes in the Komsomol of the Kuban district. Really, it is no joke for the Soviets to deal with the Cossackian youth!

It is interesting, that also "Komsomolskoye Plemia", the district organ in Chkalov (Orenburg), complains of the lack of co-operation among the young.



GERMANY

SHINING SOVIET EXAMPLE!

"We must learn even more than hitherto from the experiences of our Soviet friends. We must appropriate those experiences of Soviet activists and Heroes of Work. Again and again we must remind ourselves: to learn from the Soviet-Union means to learn how to win!"

"Despite the campaign of lies and incitement of the Western warmonger's clique we must never forget what we owe to the Soviet scientists."

"Among other things the Soviet innovators have made us a present of the following sensational knowledge and inventions:

Mamedov-procedure: It would be good for the railway to observe its time-table exactly.

Nasarova-procedure: Machinery may be cleaned after use.

Lunin-procedure: Even locomotives may be cleaned after use. Thus they can be used more than once.

Glubukov-Gulatshin-procedure: Locomotives can run a distance of 500 km per day. Comrade Glubukov and comrade Gulatshin have proved in practice that such efficiency is always possible even if the terminus has been reached (by riding back part of the distance).

Shidirova-procedure: One man can tend several machines at a time. Cesar was able to dictate seven letters simultaneously. And we workers are well able to do what was possible for a capitalist feudal nobleman and exploiter!"

The Treaty of Pereyaslav

(Continued from Page 9)

resistance on the Ukrainian Hetman's side so that the Tsar ordered only one Voyerod, to the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

Considering the factual stage of the Ukrainian-Russian relations after the settlement of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, it is clear that, in the face of the Muscovite breach of contract, the Ukrainian contractor proceeded to pay not much regard to Muscovite requests basing on the Pereyaslav agreement. In forming further diplomatic relations to Turkey and Poland, the Hetman mostly ignored Moscow. Furthermore, negotiations were on with Swede, aiming at a joint armed fight against Moscow. Two years after Khmelnytzky's death, the Russian army was heavily defeated near Konotop by Khmelnytzky's successor, Hetman *Ivan Vyhovsky* (June 28 and 29, 1659). 30,000 Russian horsemen were slain, some Voyerods and Prince *Pazharskoj* were captured. Only the events in the South prevented Moscow from being taken. And in 1709, under the leadership of Hetman *Ivan Mazepa*, Ukraine wayed an open war against Russia, in alliance with King *Charles XII* of Sweden. These were only two of more military entanglement.

The Muscovite Voyerod in Kyiv succeeded very seldom in intervening in internal Ukrainian affairs. In many cases he had to contend himself with the role of a foreign consul. Muscovite intervention in Ukrainian finances — and re the terms of the treaty the Russians had a certain right to do so — were likewise mostly frustrated by the Ukrainian. Thus, in this domain of the Ukrainian internal administration, too, Ukraine retained a good deal of independence.

Regarding the oath taken by the Ukrainian delegates in Pereyaslav on January 8, 1654, the latest Ukrainian experts hold that the deputies of Ukraine have sworn to the observation of the terms of that treaty and *have not taken an oath of allegiance to the Tsar*. All the polite phrases used by the Ukrainian Hetman in addressing the Tsar, must be regarded as international courtesy (Comitas Gentium) being very customary at the

time. As those phrases are not legally binding in international relationship, they are of no judicial consequences. It is much more the fragmentary oath of the Ukrainian people to the Treaty of Pereyaslav that might amount to sort of ratification of the treaty, because Ukraine — as opposed to the Muscovite state — was really ruled by the people (democracy in the true sense of the world).

Regarding all these fact it becomes clear that Ukraine, forced by the Muscovite breach of confidence, had to disregard the terms of the agreement to a considerable extent. Ignored by both the contractors, the agreement of Pereyaslav was nothing but a dead letter.

One of the latest Ukrainian experts ends up in a treatise on the agreement: "... Ukraine exercises an independent foreign policy without feeling bound to the terms of the Pereyaslav Treaty. She renounces by no means her direct diplomatic relations to Turkey and Poland. Indeed, Ukraine even fought against Moscow by arms — one sovereign state against another. Ukraine was intended to come into dependence on Moscow; in reality, a usual alliance according to the momentary conditions was concluded in Pereyaslav."

In many respects, the judicial situation of the agreement does not correspond with the factual situation and, therefore, a synthetic judgement of both the situations appears very difficult.

After the outburst of the bolshevik October Revolution in 1917, it appeared as if the Russian communists wanted to revert to the basic idea of the treaty of Pereyaslav. Yet this turned out to be a false conclusion. The area of the Muscovite state has grown rapidly since the forcible incorporation of Ukraine after 1654 and has assumed threatening forms meanwhile. Though the present Red Russian Empire has many vulnerable points, yet there is a region of particular value to Moscow, namely Ukraine. *The loss of this land with its ferteli soil, its mineral resources, and its great strategic importance, would practically break Russian supremacy in Europe.*

It's highly interesting! What a pity that for reasons of tidiness and scrupulousness these Soviet novelties have become self-evident to the man in the West long before he could dream of the rise of bolshevism!

AN ACTIVIST'S THANKS

By Nils Werner, distinguished as an activist on October 13, 1953

My will is raging and burning within me!
The circulation of my blood is like a motor-race!
Anyone who has not known hope as yet will know it soon as a new gasoline.
I am a gaily-coloured ideal,
a human being out of a magic paper bag!
I am sending forth fragrance like a lotus blossom,
in the poem of times up to the next quarter of our plan.

I am looking forward to the poem in case I should become a hero of work.
Then I will storm the heavens — in a raspberry-coloured light —
still, for the moment, I remain on earth.
(“Fresh Wind”, No. 43/1953)

Thinking of the exhaust gas of that motor-racing mechanized pegasus (to keep the metaphor) which comrade Werner has been riding, we should rather head his poem with “An Activist's Stink”. With that we have to consider whether his raspberry-coloured mood might not be the result of enjoying raspberry liquor too much. At any rate, this gaily-coloured ideal of a human being that came out of a magic paper bag, as well as his poem seem to be of — stuff.



POLAND

LEGAL MURDER

On November 19, 1953, the head of an underground liberation group, Stanislaw Tvardovsky, was sentenced to death by the district military court in Poznan. Other persons accused were given sentences ranging from 3 to 10 years imprisonment.

The official Soviet newspaper, “Izvestiya”, of November 11, took the following attitude: “The members of this gang tried and undermined the friendship between the peasants and the workers by acts of sabotage and by spreading false rumors... The captain of the gang was a former member of the Mikolajczyk Party; he has performed a series of acts of terrorism and sabotage.”

Being well acquainted with the bolshevik cant, we gather from the above passage that Tvardovsky committed nothing but the “crime” of enlightening his countrymen about the nonsense of communism and actively fighting for the liberation of his native country from Muscovite despotism.



SLOVAKIA

PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH

The communist regime is intensifying the persecution of Catholic Church and the other Christian creeds in Slovakia. All Catholic bishops have been cast into prison many years ago or live under police surveillance. Nearly all monks, nuns, and a great part of the clergy have been sent to concentration camps. Another part of the clergy has submerged in illegality, officiating in the underground. There are only few priests left who are allowed to execute their Church function officially — though watched vigilantly and influenced by the communist Church Office. The communist party and state administration make all efforts either to win the still admitted priests over as police informers and agitators for the people's democracies or to diffame them in the eyes of the believers. Still the common people is on the side of the clergymen loyal to the Vatican and does not acknowledge any priest installed by the communist Church Office. In all schools, enterprises, and everywhere in public life, ungodliness is propagated by the Party and the State. The people, however, resist the official anti-religious propaganda effectively.



TURKISTAN

WITHOUT ANY EXPERIENCE...

In the Soviet official “Izvestiya” of November 11, 1953, the heads of the Ministry for Agriculture

Our best wishes for a happy New Year to all true friends of our subjugated peoples!

Looking forward to the new year, the free world may not forget those millions of people who have to celebrate this great event joylessly, as slaves in our native countries or as homeless strangers abroad.

The Free World must give us a helping hand for our liberation; otherwise the beginning of a new year becomes not real for us and for the whole world.

and Supply in the Turkmenian S.S.R. were severely criticized. They were particularly reproached with having not sufficiently activated their departments in the spirit of and in conformance with the “September resolutions of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party”.

“The agro-zootechnical teaching of the kolkhoze and sovkhhoze workers was badly organized in Turkmenia. After considerable retrogression in attendants half of the members of the course failed in the examination. Last year the ministries did not provide the courses with instruction materials and programmes. And now the edition of the 13th curriculum in Turkmenian language has not been managed. Not one of the six zootechnical text books that ought to be published have been so, actually.

“The textbooks on the agriculture of the Turkmenian state are lacking any novelties and are issued by the Academy of Sciences in the Turkmenian S.S.R. as well as and by the Society for Propagation of Political and General Sciences only thricklingly and poorly, without any deeper analysis and fundamental experience.

The Council of Ministers of the Turkmenian S.S.R. must take speedy measures to eliminate such aparent neglect of that important branch in the control of agriculture in the Republic.”

INCAPABILITY OR OBSTRUCTION?

“In the development of cattle breeding the Republic is terribly backward” ... is the opinion of the “Pravda” in Moscow expressed on November 17, 1953, in a report on the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenia. And it continues: “The life-stock was not increased but decreased in the last years... Many kolkhoses and sovkhoses gathered a poor harvest for many years now and were unable to fulfil their duty to the state...”

The activity of the Council of Ministers of the Republic was strongly criticized because the leading personalities had omitted to execute the resolutions passed and to perform the organizational work in the spirit of the issued regulations.



UKRAINE

HOW KYIV IS LIVING TO-DAY

When the innocent children of Kyiv are forced in rank and file to march up under close guard to the pompous tomb of the M.V.D.-general Vatu-



The Ukrainian Lviv

Illustrated publication (in German) issued on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the foundation of Lviv.

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tin and do homage to him who some time ago was transported by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) from this world into a better one, then the Moscow “Literaturnaya Gazeta” is shrieking with triumph (as on November 3, 1953) and indulges in the illusion the name of Vatutin engraved in the hearts of our young as a model of a national “hero”.

In fact, those young people know from their parents that the worthy chief of bolshevik robbers was one of the vilest violators to their country, and while they are performing a shameful comedy before the tomb, they offer up thanks for those who have freed their land from that feeling-less brute.

It is just the same nonsense that said Gazeta claims in the same edition that “the Russian language is as frequently heard (in Kyiv — Ed.) as the Ukrainian”.

We have not the least doubt that the Muscovite annihilators of folklore intend to repress the Ukrainian language when sending the matrixes of the “Pravda” to Kyiv by aircraft. But the people of Kyiv have accustomed themselves from the beginning to using those Russian bolshevik papers, which are brought to their houses together with their local newspapers, for entirely different purposes.

So we cannot see how the “Literaturnaya Gazeta” comes to the conclusion that, “. looking

A. Assathiani †

The distinguished Georgian politician, Alexander Assathiani, President of the National-Democratic Party, has died in Munich on December 28, 1953.

From 1918 to 1921 he was member of the parliament of the Free Georgian Republic. He is the author of several historical and political publications.

After the occupation of Georgia, the deceased was chief organizer of the armed forces in their struggle against Russian despotism. After his emigration he used to live in France.

With him the Georgian people has lost a prominent politician and brave fighter for freedom.

at everyday's life in Kyiv we become aware of how 'the great brother' asserts himself in Ukraine, in every moment and every form of life”.

There is one sin that will be forgiven neither in this nor in the next world and that is folly; and one kind of folly is the greatest of all, namely — self-deception.

THE SIMPELTONS OF LVIV

On November 7, the Moscow “Izvestiya” published a “letter to the editor” by H. Ustimenko, member of the municipal council of Lviv. As this letter is so illuminating with reference to the conditions over there, we quote part of it.

“The schools are in want of textbooks for chemistry and mathematics. Furthermore it is difficult to get some precise instruments for physical laboratories. In Lviv, for instance, it is impossible to buy regularly transformers, electrical measuring instruments, in tact models of steam engines etc. Nevertheless, the simpeltons of the Ministry of Education in Ukraine do not care about that question at all.... The local representatives have never ventilated the question seriously why it is that the schools are so insufficiently provided with instruction materials and which of those materials could possibly produced by the local industry and production companies... On the other hand, the district book shop, besides sugar (!) and things like that, has received also goniometric instruments from Kyiv, which are now covered with dust and of no use to anyone...”

Though almost nothing is being done for the spiritual education yet the book shops are thronged with copies of the works of Karl Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and the mass editions of the speeches of Malenkov's of Khrushch'ev's, etc. It is only fair that, in absence of interest, that stuff is eaten by the moths.

Book-Reviews

Containment or Liberation?

An Inquiry into the Aims of United States Foreign Policy

By James Burnham

New York, The John Day Company, 1952, 1955, 256 pp.

Professor Burnham's latest publication continuing his previous antisovietic books ("The Struggle for the World", 1947; and "The Coming Defeat of Communism", 1950) discusses at great length the principle method of the cold war waged by the U.S.A. against the U.S.S.R., and calls for suitable, practical steps in American foreign and home policy. In certain "private" circles in the U.S.A., this work has caused such a storm that its propagation was impaired or at least largely delayed; even in such a politically well informed newspaper as the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" it was not until September 9, 1953, that the book was reviewed. But there is a good reason. It has been unprecedented in American press that the American "Policy of Containment", exercised by the State Department and theoretically defended by George Kennan, has been criticised and condemned so thoroughly, so generally, and so downright crushingly. And indeed, what the author calls for, amounts to nothing less than a complete change of the American foreign policy. He requests a consistent "policy of liberation" aiming at "freedom for the peoples and nations now enslaved by Russian - centered Soviet state system - freedom for all the peoples and nations now under communist domination, including the Russian people". He knows how to bring it home to the reader in a logically exact and, for the public, appealing manner that time is pressing; that time is actually working for the Soviets; and that the deadly peril for the U.S.A. and all the rest of the free world is not so much the Soviet Union going to a Third World War, but the United States pursuing the present policy of containment: "This peril can be summed up in a single sentence. If the communists succeed in consolidating what they have already conquered, then their complete world victory is certain. The threat does not come only from what the communists may do, but from what they have done. We do not have to bring in speculation about Soviet 'intentions'. The simple terrible fact is that if things go on as they now are, if for the time being they merely stabilize, then we have already lost. That is why the policy of containment, even if 100% successful, is a formula for Soviet victory."

I will not render in detail the author's masterly analysis of the causes, methods, applications, and consequences of the American policy of containment; those things are, outside the U.S.A., as well known as the dismayingly naive conviction of their originators that "there can be no genuine stability in any system which is based on the evil and weakness in man's nature" and that, accordingly, "Soviet power . . . bears within it the seeds of its own decay" and, consequently, need not be combated actively or offensively (G. Kennan). Moreover, the author discusses in all detail and confutes completely, the other root of the containment theory, namely the vain hope that "communism is the product of adverse economic conditions" and hence "an improvement in economic conditions will stop communism". He shows that, in the long run, Kennan's policy of "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies" is "simply the bureaucratic verbalization of a policy of drift"; for the Soviet power that is, the power of its leaders to move men extends by means of the world communist apparatus and the communist ideology into every nation and every community. To try to contain it is as futile as to try to stop a lawn from getting wet by mopping up each drop from a rotating sprinkler. The truth in both instances is that to stop the flow we must get at the source."

But how to combat Soviet communist aggression actively and effectively? At first, the author closely examines the two plans of political strategy rivaling in America - the "West European Strategy" and the Asian-American Strategy - and proves clearly their hopeless narrow-mindedness (by the way - in doing so, he describes the "Neutralism" of so many West European states quite appealingly as a direct consequence of the American policy of containment). Then he presents his own concept of an "East European Strategy" embracing approximately the area between the Iron Curtain and the Ural Mountains and relying upon the national resistance of the non-Russian peoples oppressed by Moscow: "If from the start there are Balts, Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians - and Russians too - fighting against the Soviet command, then the effect of the battle will be to loosen the cement of the Soviet system."

It is surprising that he mentions the Russians in that connection and his reasons for doing so are rather vague and stereotyped. He says: "Even the Russian soldiers should not be written off. Many of them are at heart more Russian patriots and human beings than communist

imperialist robots. As men and as Russians they have more to gain from a fight against than for the communist regime, which is in the first instance a tyranny over Russians and Russia."

We doubt that decidedly! However strong the imperialistic character and the national inequality in pre-revolutionary Russia has been emphasized in other places of the book, still the author does not seem to realize that it is "patriotism" that makes the Muscovite masses expressly imperialistic, caring not the least for a political freedom which is entirely unknown to them. It is true, however, that the supposed possibility of a Russian anti-Soviet resistance has been mentioned just by the by, the stress being laid on the national "Soviet internal tensions":

"Within the Soviet armies proper, it is estimated that approximately 40% of the troops are non-Russian in nationality. There are Ukrainian units as large as divisions or even army corps, and smaller units of Byelorussians, Caucasians, and so on. Why do we take for granted that Ukrainian soldiers will fight for Russian communist imperialist Moscow, if they are given a chance to fight for a free and self-determined Ukraine? . . . The skeleton of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which became a formidable anti-Bolshevik as well as anti-Nazi force during the latter part of the war and for a year or two thereafter, still exists in the Ukraine and still carries on limited activities. Partisan groups are also operating in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, East Germany and perhaps elsewhere. Individual secret 'resistants' are to be found throughout the Soviet Empire. The presence of this anti-Soviet Resistance is itself a further demonstration of the realism of an East European strategy."

Such a political authority as Burnham does not fail to see that an American "policy of liberation" resting on the activation and support of the anti-Soviet liberation movements among the non-Russian peoples beyond the Iron Curtain will have a chance of success only if those peoples can be convinced that the U.S.A. aim at liquidating the Soviet Russian Empire finally and entirely, and not at tactic or psychologic manoeuvres. Burnham recommends a number of effectual political measures which ought to be taken by the American government even now in the course of the cold war and might, he thinks, "nourish, enlarge and bring to fruition those Soviet internal tensions" to such a degree that the Soviet Empire might, in consequence of internal risings, break down even without an "official" third World War. (Burnham seems to expect a possible World War III, rather fearlessly though it is just that point where he has probably to give consideration to a wide-spread anti-war psychosis in the States and West Europe). Those steps are: A solemn declaration of the U.S. Government that it does not recognize and will never recognize, the dependence upon the Soviet Union of all the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. and that complete national liberation of those peoples is its ultimate objective; constitution of a special authority for "political warfare against Soviet communism" immediately subordinated to the President of the United States; full recognition of the exile governments or national representations of all non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow; "formation of military units under the flags of the now captive nations"; political training and general political use of the national emigrant cadres; changing of the armament programme in favour of the air forces with particular regard to possible large-scale parachute operations in the satellite states and the Soviet Union; and last but not least - "the outlawing of the communist enterprise in American domain by illegalizing and suppressing the organized communist movement."

I will not discuss the question of how far are these measures necessary and sufficient; their principle tendency, however, cannot be appreciated enough. That the author does not make mention of the unofficial material support to be granted to the still or already existing anti-bolshevik resistance groups may have tactical reasons (in reality, the necessity of such a support is a self-evident consequence of the author's thoughts. Particular stress must be laid on the fact that the author advocates a federal conception only conditionally, without regard to his propensity of "super-national" federal state constructions (to which he paid considerable tribute, by the way, in his first political work "The Managerial Revolution", 1941). He says:

"The policy of liberation recognizes the right to self-determination and therefore to independence of all the nations of the Soviet Empire, including the nations located within the pre - 1959 Soviet boundaries. If liberation actually leads to the fractionalizing of the present Soviet Empire into several dozen wholly independent sovereign and rival states, this will at least remove the intolerable threat to world security which exists because of the control of all central Eurasia by a single aggressive power apparatus. Even such a super-Balkanization would thus be preferable to the present state of affairs, but it would not be occasion for unixed rejoicing."

We agree with that; for the A.B.N. conception too, does not aim at several dozen new states but even less than there are "Soviet Republics" in the U.S.S.R. Furthermore the author restricts himself to recommending a "voluntary unification, to one or another degree and in one or another form, of Central and Eastern Europe", expressly warning against "the preference of German and Russian chauvinists":

"If Russians who claim to be anti-communists refuse to extend the goal of freedom to non-Russians, then we must wonder whose side such Russians will be on when a showdown comes."

It must not be concealed that he makes also not absolutely well-meaning mention of "extremists of the other side" who are supposed to "tend towards a crude anti-

Russianism". The concrete point of the reproach, however, remains rather unclear.

Now, more than one year has past since Burnham's book was published and all those significant events as Stalin's death, the rising in East Berlin, Beria's downfall, and Malenkov's announcement of economic reforms, have not shaken one of his statements. Yet we might wonder if the whole affair is not utopian since, up to now, Eisenhower's government has proved absolutely incapable of appreciating those thought, not to speak of their realization. Yet, political life in the United States must not be regarded too pessimistically; many a thing has happened that nobody would have expected some years before. At any rate, on the one hand Burnham's publication is for long time a signpost for American well-wishers; on the other hand, American politicians can no longer claim they were not adequately informed about Soviet Russia. Quite apart from its potential influence on U.S. foreign policy, Burnham's book is one of the classical works of modern political sciences.

V. D.

Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart:

What Happened to the Czechs

Batchworth Press, Ltd., London, 1955 pp 52

This publication defends the artificial Czecho-Slovak state structure and the ill-famed policy of Mr. Benes. The author, an old confidant and admirer of Mr. Benes, describes the fate of the Czech people as if it had been always closely connected with the Czecho-Slovak state. He speaks of a Czecho-Slovakia in the ninth century although it has been and remains a historical fact that such a thing did never exist in history up to 1918. Seeing the title of the pamphlet, one is inclined to presume that it would contain just an outline of the history of the Czechs. Nevertheless, the author includes the Slovaks too, and that even for the times prior to 1918, "Czechoslovaks" as if they were not two different peoples. It does not contribute to the clearness of his views that, on the one hand, he deals separately with the Czechs and the Slovaks, and on the other hand, speaks about the "Czechoslovaks" as if they were not two different peoples but one and the same. Moreover, he diffames the Slovaks and "Ruthenians" (no doubt he means Karpatho-Ukrainians) in describing them as culturally and politically backward peoples. He says, for instance: "The Slovaks and Ruthenians, subjected for a thousand years to a long process of magyarisation, were backward and politically inexperienced. The Czechs were the most Western of all the Slav nations. The Slovaks and Ruthenians had suffered poverty and neglect under an Eastern feudal despotism". (p. 14).

The author glorifies the Czecho-Slovak Republic which was founded by Masaryk and Benes by fraudulent means. In that he goes as far as describing that artificial that the Slovaks have never consented to the constitution state as "a Model Republic". Why does he not mention of Czecho-Slovakia and have always opposed that state? Why does he not admit that Czecho-Slovakia has never been able to contribute to the general pacification, but has been a permanent source of trouble in Central Europe? And why is it that not a single word is said about the oppression and exploitation of the Slovak people and other ethnic groups had to sustain in Czecho-Slovakia?

In one place, it is true, he admits that Slovakia proclaimed her independence (on March 14, 1935. - Ed.) Yet he speaks about the "Nazi Occupation" of Czecho-Slovakia, which did not exist any more when the Slovak Republic was constituted. Slovakia was never, under German Occupation.

In connection with the restoration of Czecho-Slovakia in spring 1945, Sir Robert conceals the historical fact that this was the work of Soviet Russian policy and the Red Army, and that Slovakia was forced to join this forcibly reconstructed state in contrast to her own will and her title to sovereign right of national independence. Furthermore he tries to justify Mr. Benes' collaboration with Moscow and the communists.

In general, the author wants us to believe that the Czecho-Slovak Republic after the Second World War was a democratic state up to February 1948 although it has been controlled by communists ever since its forcible restitution.

Under the sub-title "Czechoslovak Resistance" he says: "Apart from sporadic outbursts of partisan activities, mainly in Slovakia, the resistance is passive". (p. 47). We may be allowed to add that there is no resistance in Slovakia that might be designated as "Czechoslovak" as this resistance is not only directed against communism but also against the Czecho-Slovak state construction aiming expressly at the independence of Slovakia. Furthermore we deviate from Sir Robert's opinion in so far as we think the resistance not quite so negligible.

Altogether the publication suggests a solution for the problems of Central Europe that failed already in the past and gives not enough consideration to the natural development and maintenance of the democratic principles. We regret sincerely that Sir Robert has obviously been led by out-dated prejudices.

C. P.

Bitter Fate of Ukrainian

After a seven years' Soviet imprisonment, the German journalist and former co-worker of the newspaper "Sozialdemokrat", Brigitte Gerland, returned home on December 29, 1953. Having been imprisoned in the Penal Camp Workuta in the territory on the Arctic Ocean, she reported that 80% of the thousands of convicts detained in that region were Ukrainian.

Short before her release the prisoners went on strike. She saw with her own eyes that 120 strike leaders were shot and many others deported.

When she left the camp the strike was still going on.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung No. 301, Dec. 30. 53)

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Dr. Ludwig Liptay

Vice-President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement

Conferences Seen from our Point of View

The fate of different peoples has often been decided in political conferences. And it was not always justice or commonsense that was decisive. History, however, has taught us that where justice and commonsense were not the ruling factors in political decisions, the consequences were bitter.

After World War I the victorious powers included so much injustice and hate in the Versailles Peace Treaty, that many far-sighted persons were convinced at the time that another and much more terrible war would be the inevitable result. And so it happened too. Unfortunately the leading politicians among the victorious powers learnt nothing from experience.

The conferences of Moscow, Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, not only brought about much worse results, but ruined whole peoples, bent independent nations under the yoke of an inhuman power and threw millions, even hundreds of millions, into cruel slavery.

The consequences have not failed to appear. In Europe all the states in the Russian sphere of influence are completely bolshevized and the Western Powers have had to be satisfied with the doubtful advantage of a loose and — frankly spoken — somewhat shamefaced alliance with Yugoslavia. In Asia they have lost China, and the anxiety about Indochina, to which the danger of losing India in the future may be added.

French democracy had not only to drive away the Sultan of Morocco with that "cursed totalitarian method" but arrest him, to boot. In England and the United States the Soviet spies play a merry game, while in France and Italy strong communist parties are paralysing the political and economic life of both countries, sometimes for weeks at a time.

The different conferences which have taken place with the Soviet Union since the end of the war, have only led to worsening the political situation and, in consequence, an armament race that was previously unimaginable. From the beginning it has been a question whether time was in favour of the West or the East, but since the world knows that the Soviets are in possession of the hydrogen bomb their advantage is fairly evident.

The hope, that with Stalin's death a radical change would take place in Soviet policy was

from the first merely wishful thinking in the souls of the innocent, or those of bad will. Every sensitive person knew that with the Soviets only the methods can be changed, never the goal, i. e. the bolshevization of the whole world. They will change their methods indeed when the world wants to be deceived again, "mundus vult decipi", and the more so, the more gullible their opponents are.

All the peoples, all the millions and millions behind the Iron Curtain are facing the

question "what can we expect and hope from the Berlin conference"? And each of them, pondering over that question, has felt all the consequences of the previous conferences, on his own back. Nine years long. Nine agonizing years, these unhappy millions and more than 30 the other peoples dominated by Russia have lived day for day between hope and disappointment. They know that time works for the Soviets, and if the Western World loses much more time Moscow will gain the upper

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Turkestanian Unity!

By Veli Kajum Khan, President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee

Those who are not acquainted with the national movement for independence in Turkistan, or have no wish to be, describe the facts in a false light. It is a well known fact that the Russians, whether white or red, pursue a colonial policy and fight everything connected with nationalism in Turkistan. Today we do not speak of our mortal foes, the Russian imperialists, but of the non-Russians and foreigners who consciously or unconsciously see the Turkistan movement through Russian eyes. These people have regrettably stated that the Turkistan emigrés are not united, but are scattered and unorganized, notwithstanding the fact that their nation and their land possess enormous importance in the fight against bolshevism. As far as we know, someone has been entrusted with the task of forming a Turkistan organization, and these statements are false and do not present

a fair picture of the Turko-Islamic people. On the contrary, the Turkistan people have been fighting the Russian Communist imperialists for decades, regardless of their political colour. They have sent thousands of their young men to the front to fight Russian imperialism. The Turkistan people fight for their ideal — the complete independence of Turkistan. This fight is waged inside the boundaries of Turkistan, where secret organizations fight without rest for their national independence. Many of their men were tried between 1937 and 1952.

The sons of Turkistan who live in exile, and who number some hundred thousands, are united in the common fight. They are scattered, yet they possess an organization of their own, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.) The following points are clear:

1) The Turkistan emigrés are combined with their fatherland by strong bonds, and are united.

2) They have a committee of their own which for many years has been fighting for the complete independence of Turkistan and has refused to cooperate with the Russian and Chinese imperialists.

3) Almost all Turkestanian emigrés, throughout the whole world, support this Committee; particularly those who live in Jordan, Arabia, Pakistan, Syria, India and in Europe. The Committee has its branches everywhere.

4) The reception given to the statements of the N.T.U.C. representative in the Near East is further evidence that the Committee is united in its fight for independence.

5) The fight for independence of Turkistan and the existence of the N.T.U.C. is known to all Islamic and other free nations and receives their support.

The Turkestanians reject any alien interference in their national affairs, but they feel united with all peoples in their fight for independence against Russian imperialism. We know that Turkistan independence can be achieved by the Turkestanians alone, through their struggle for independence and their fight for freedom.

The Turkistan people do not fight only for their own independence but also on behalf of mankind. It therefore expects support from the whole free world. The fight must be a common one.

Genocide in Soviet Union

Ten years have elapsed since the dreadful tragedy of the North-Caucasians, the Crimean Tartars, and the Calmucks occurred.

Under a decree of December 27, 1943, in February 1944, about one and a half million North-Caucasians, including women and children, Calmucks, and Crimean Tartars, were banned to North-Siberia for alleged collaboration with the Germans.

We do not know how many arrived. Thousands were shot on the spot because some resisted in despair.

The Western World ignored the fact at the time, since it was allied with Russia.

But this genocide goes on! And there are men who believe that it were possible to come to an understanding with these slaughterers for the Soviet despots. The device is "freedom in peace". But it is not considered that there are millions of men who have to live like beasts, that there are millions living in concentration camps and prisons yearning for freedom and elementary human rights. Nothing is done to help them.

In the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union, complete russification is carried out with all Russian brutality. But our peoples will outlive these times. Their spirit of resistance is unshaken. They will maintain their place.

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hand more and more. The events of the past ten years point only too truly to the rightness of this thesis.

What does all that mean? Do the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, in their desperation, see a third world war as the only possible escape? If so, then a relaxation of the present political position would be quite against their interests, — or can they think of another, a peaceful solution? Then they must strive for the same goal as the Western Powers.

Certainly there are many who wish the one; and just as many who have the other eventuality in mind. Who could take it amiss when anyone in danger of his life seeks immediate help, the speediest solution? And a great number of people believe that only a war offers a speedy solution. Of course many fear a new war will mean the total destruction of their native country, or the extermination of their people. Must their anxiety not be regarded as justified and comprehensible?

In one thing, however, all subjective nations are agreed. No compromise is possible with the Soviets.

And that alone is the decisive standpoint. Compromise means that each side concedes something. Can an eventual concession on the part of the Soviets be regarded as valid and worth anything?

The answer is clear.

The bolsheviks will offer concessions, and gain time under the appearance of magnanimously giving up their plans when they want to conceal others, but they will regard all their concessions as null and void from the very beginning, and will only keep the treaty concluded as long and in so far as it lies in their interests to do so.

It may be objected that in politics such concessions can sometimes be considered necessary, as they may be counted as success and an advantage derived from them, in some way, in the future.

Without doubt that may be the case, but it must be taken into consideration from the first, that the Soviets will not keep their word and only force will be able to make the treaty valid. Who knows, however, whether, when the time comes, force will be available, whether the Western Powers will possess the necessary power and let us not forget: time works for the bolsheviks.

What concessions might the Western Powers expect from the Soviets? Perhaps the restoration of a united Germany with the condition granted of free elections in all Germany? Or the Austrian Treaty?

The Soviets are fully aware that free elections in the East Zone would mean the utter defeat of bolshevism. The events of June 17, 1953 made that perfectly clear. Bolshevist lust of power could not afford such a loss of prestige.

If it is really true that in Russia and in the countries subjected by Russia, economic and internal political difficulties have arisen, the Soviets might show a certain compliance. If, however, — at best — the Austrian Treaty came to be concluded would that mean the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania? That would not only be a logical step but the obligatory contractual consequence of such a step.

But could bolshevist prestige bear such a loss? Will the Russians be willing to practically give up their positions in Asia? Will they be willing to promise to cease their stirring up of the Asiatic peoples in future?

That is hardly probable. The sacrifice would be too great and it is a question moreover whether the Russians are capable at all of checking the whipped up aspirations among subjected peoples to achieve independence.

A still more alarming question is, what concessions the Western Powers, on their side, would be willing to make. Have they not suffered bitterly for their good will at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam? Can they bear the responsibility for further losses? Is their any room at all for western concessions that does not include the danger of losing all?

The Fundamentals of an Antibolshevistic World Front

(Y.S.) It is an irrefutable fact that Bolshevism and World-Communism are but two high developed forms of modern Russian Imperialism. Hence it follows that the dismemberment of the Russian empire is a premise for the final overpowering of Bolshevism.

For every clear-sighted brain the means are apparent which must be applied to overcome the bolshevist monster: since Russian imperialism in its nature is thoroughly universal, it can only be counterbalanced by emphatically promoting the national tendencies and aspirations rooting in folk peculiarity.

Applied to the practice of the present conflict between East and West which takes the breath of the whole world, that means that there is nothing that could be more welcome to the Western World, as a valuable contribution in its fight for preserving its living conditions, than the demand for independence and self-determination of the peoples suffering under the yoke of the Kremlin despots. It is these forces which, by underground actions and inner-political resistance, can grievously impair Moscow's foreign-political ambitions. Their device: "Freedom to the Peoples — Freedom to the Individuals" could be expanded by the understanding co-operation of the Western Powers to a basis of a giant bloc of the freedom-loving peoples and individuals of all the world against the bolshevik arch-enemy of true humanity.

And these are the natural premises:

1. Guarantee of national justice, that is, of national-state independence and equality of all peoples within their ethnographic borders.
2. Affirmation of the idea of social justice, defence of the interests of the working people. Rejection of bolshevism as the modern form of peoples' enslavement by oppressing the individual and degrading him to a collective animal.

Can a security guarantee mean so much that they can abandon the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to the bolsheviks? Can a security guarantee mean the consolidation of the present dominating position of Russia? Are the Western Powers so shortsighted that they are ready to buy a temporary peace and such doubtful security at any price?

That can and must not happen!

First of all, because that would be in contradiction to all promises hitherto given, and against all true democratic principles. It would be a mockery of every kind of responsible feeling. And secondly a step of that kind would mean the loss of Europe and with it the end of the free world.

Western politicians must know what value they have to ascribe to the tough resistance against communism put up by the subjugated peoples, a value which in the struggle against bolshevist power may be a decisive factor. After the many mistakes these people have been victims to, in the last decades, a fresh disappointment might very well be fatal, not only for the nations in question, but for the whole idea of freedom. A blow of that sort might annihilate the civilized community.

The peoples behind the Iron Curtain know that the freedom of the world can only be attained by the complete destruction of bolshevist power. It is absolutely impossible for freedom and terrorism, democracy and totalitarianism, for economy and communist exploitation to exist peaceably side by side in the long run.

Political sense requires the Western Powers to negotiate, under certain circumstances, with the bolsheviks, but they must negotiate really.

Negotiating under these circumstances requires firmness, combined with a definite demand that the Russians withdraw their troops unconditionally from all regions occupied by them.

By that, the Western Powers could achieve a great success, namely, regain the confidence and trust of all subjugated peoples. That would be a valuable asset after so many lost years and so many disappointments caused by their errors.

3. Combatting all artificial, compulsory state constructions (e. g. C. S. R.) which are situated in the bolshevik sphere of power and constitute the continuation of the oppression of others days.

4. Combatting any and every form of imperialism which is likely to impair the independence of our peoples, or the integrity of their ethnic territories, and unswerving championship of democratic ideals.

Those are the pillars upholding the political aspirations of our century, that categorically reject the grand scale theories preached by Hitler and Stalin ad absurdum, in favour of a folk union designed by God and nature. Only when the nation thrives in freedom can the welfare of the individual be guaranteed. A federal system of free, independent peoples filled with high ideals, forms a phalanx that is able to strike back against vague, destructive universal ideologies.

The Genuine Entente Cordiale

The above principles, carefully guarded and preserved, will produce results which will meet all the requirements of our time, a time which seems to have stumbled into a cul de sac. By the moral backing they give the enslaved countries, they have the way to bursting the bolshevist empire from within, and to procuring a trustworthy entente cordiale with the West. And that is indispensable, in so much as the fight against the world menace of bolshevism demands the co-operation of all national and freedom-loving forces of both hemispheres.

The peoples of the East, especially those represented in the A.B.N., would be ready and willing to co-operate if their interests were considered and they were not expected to deny their principles. For it is their conviction that by being loyal to one another and not surrendering any of the principles won by hard experience, they can best help peace-loving mankind. For that very reason they approve of the unity of the western line of defence against Moscow and long for their own under ground movements, national liberation organizations, as well as all subjugated peoples altogether, to be alligned in a world front whose unity nothing can shake.

Inclusion of the Asiatic Continent

It would be entirely wrong and incompatible with the interests of a world wide anti-bolshevist united front, if any prejudice were shown against the people of Asia. Though their trust in the West may be shaken for various reasons, it is all the more imperative to win them again for the common cause of the civilized world by well-considered psychological measures. The continent of Asia, with its partly unexploited mineral wealth, forms one of the most critical points of attack for world bolshevism and would mean an immense increase in power, should it succeed in winning that. The fact that atheist Moscow regime, by its hypocritical support of Islam, is seeking to itself as protector of the Muselmans, is the best proof of what value is ascribed to the possession of the countries of Asia. In order to frustrate this Muscovite expansion plan, it is of the utmost importance to guarantee the national independence of those nations. Added to that, there must be sincere recognition of the religious ideal which is inseparably bound up with the life of these people; the solution of social distress in accordance with religious and national justice. To these positive points must be joined the fight against godlessness, against imperialism and against famine, as well as impairments to personal existence caused by natural powers. Only these ideas will be effective enough to check bolshevism in the Orient.

Taken as a whole, the situation can only be saved by resistance, organized by themselves, by their own forces, against bolshevist infiltration, and by the co-operation of the West with the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, whose freedom movements are of the greatest importance for the

M. W—ak

How Bolsheviks Solve the Nationality Problem

The original Ukrainian text of this article was published by revolutionary Ukrainian underground press ("Ideya i Chyn" [Idea and Deed] No. 9, 1946), under Soviet occupation and terrorism. Note the far-sightedness of the Ukrainian patriots who feel so clearly and distinctively that all the promises for independence or autonomy on Moscow's side are nothing but awkward feigning as, in contrast to all false pretences, it heralds a terroristic attack at every kind of national civilization. We reproduce this article not only as an opportune directive, but also as a weighty document of the ideal and cultural bearing of the heroic liberation struggle in Ukraine against Soviet-Russian imperialism in communist disguise. (The subtitles have been put by the editor. — Ed.)

It is the object of this article to prove documentarily a) that the U.S.S.R. is nothing but a new Russian Empire, b) that the oppression of nations in the U.S.S.R. is no chance appearance, is not the work of individual "enemies to the people", but the deliberate realization of Lenin's and Stalin's plans and a wilful tactic of Russian imperialism.

The U.S.S.R. is the modern form of Russian imperialism which strives at subduing the whole globe and erecting a Russian World Dominion by means of new bolshevik methods and under the catchword of a "proletarian world revolution".

When the bolsheviks settled the nationality problem they a) solved it as a general problem and b) as an especially Russian problem. There is no difference in principle between the two solutions, for both of them are to serve Russian expansion. There is only this: in the first case the further development of Russian imperialism has been envisaged, whereas in the second the method has been fixed how to keep subjugated nations down in a great empire.

At the 7th Party Conference in 1917 it was for the first time that the Russian bolsheviks discussed the nationality problem thoroughly, and formulated its solution. (The question had been touched at prior conferences and party meetings, but this time it was a precise item on the agenda). It was then that the peoples' right to "self-determination" was recognized and motivated. It will be interesting to learn why it was just at that conference.

Self-Determination as Bait

1917 was the year of the beginning revolution, the year of the downfall of Tsarist Russia. The bolsheviks rushed to save the empire. Yet this could only be managed by removing that which undermined and destroyed, and that was just the nationality problem since for the captive peoples the social momentum resulted from the national.

The non-Russian peoples hitherto belonging to the Russian empire waited impatiently for its decay to extricate themselves at last and to constitute states of their own. Secession of several peoples would have been the complete ruin of the Russian great-power and that was entirely against the plans of the bolsheviks who wanted to preserve the Russian empire. So something had to be found that might work to link those peoples with Russia and to divert their attention from their aim of national self-determination. A "joint revolutionary front" was to be granted to them. That was the first reason why the nationality problem was put on the agenda of the 7th Party Conference.

The Russian bolsheviks' struggle aimed first and foremost against tsarism. For that they needed the help of other peoples. Stalin put this point quite frankly in his "Problems of Leninism" (Chapter 4). It was absolutely necessary to fight tsarism radically and ruthlessly because it was taken for the embodiment of the "Russian policeman" and the symbol of national oppression, in short, of all that which repelled those peoples which were about to overthrow Russia. Apart from serving their seizure of power, the bolsheviks' harsh procedure

rescue of persons blinded by bolshevism. They work as a third factor, independent of any imperialistic power, in accordance with the popular idea of freedom. Only on the same platform can salvation and appeasement advance, too, in the Orient.

And only by the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, courageous fighters against imperialism and for national independence, — can an iron band of freedom-loving, anti-bolshevik world combatants be forged. Either the whole world will gain the victory by a common struggle, or it will perish in a welter of petty bickerings and egoism. There is no third way!

against tsarism was to win those peoples over to the bolshevik movement, i. e. to a new "indivisible" Russia.

The bolsheviks were quite aware that "Central-Russia" could not do without the aid of countries with raw materials, fuel, and food. (Stalin: "The Russian Nationality Problem in Soviet Policy"). Those nations they needed, however, were inflamed with hatred against Russia and wanted to be free of it. In order to keep those peoples within the

The Fourth Anniversary of a Hero's Death



General Taras Chuprynka

Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), President of the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) and Chairman of the Staff of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) in the homeland fell fighting against the Russian-bolshevist occupants on March 5th, 1950, near Lviv in Ukraine.

He was one of the founders of the A.B.N. in the underground movement in 1945.

Now the leadership of the U.P.A. and the entire Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Ukraine was assumed without interruption by Colonel Vassyl Koval, thus carrying on the tradition of the U.P.A. — "Fighters fall, the fight continues!" — for an Ukrainian independent democratic state.

common whole, the "remnants of distrust in the great-Russians must be liquidated", as Stalin put it in his report on the constitution draft in 1936. That was just what the Russians sought to attain by their way of settling the nationality problem, particularly by the proclamation of the right to self-determination. That was the second reason why the bolsheviks approached the nationality problem.

Arbitrary Interpretation of Right

And now we will make ourselves familiar with the text of the resolution of the 7th Party Conference:

"All constituent nations of Russia shall have the right to freely secede and form an independent state" . . . "The question of the nations' right to free secession must not be tied with considerations regarding the suitability and opportuneness of the separation of a particular nation. This is subject to the independent decision of the party of the proletariat (Moscow, of course — M. W.) in every particular case, the decision being based on the interests of the whole social development and of

the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism (i. e. the demands of the Russian revolution — M. W.)" (History of the C.P.S.U./B)

In his remarks on the very question in general, not only regarding Russia, Stalin says: "This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat is to support national movements everywhere and always in all concrete cases. It will back those national movements only which aim at weakening and destroying the imperialistic forces and not at strengthening and preserving them. There are cases when a national movement stands in conflict with the interests of the development of the proletarian movement. It is a matter of course that in such cases any support is out of the question. ("Problems of Leninism").

Lenin held the same view when raising the question: "Should the recognition of the right of the nations to self-determination really entail the support of any claim of any nation to self-determination?" ("The Nationality Problem in Our Program" — Lenin's works, vol. 5)

The above quotations makes it clear that not every nation is entitled to realize its right to self-determination in its own interest. Now the pertinent question may well be put: When, and on which nation, will that title be conferred?

We gathered from Stalin's pronouncements in general which national problems will be solved positively by the bolsheviks, that is to say, which national liberation movements they will support: "The proletariat will back those national movements only which are aiming at weakening and destroying the imperialistic forces". In other words: The bolsheviks will support all national movements that are directed in some way or other against Moscow's imperialistic competitors. Some concrete examples will verify this statement:

Examples of Imperialistic Ambiguity

In 1917 Finland called upon the Russian provisional government to admit Finland's right to secede and form an independent state. The government refused. And what did the bolsheviks say? — "On which side shall we stand?" — asked Stalin, and replied: "No doubt on that of the Finnish people, as it is unbearable to retain a people within a common state by force, be it whatever people it may".

On first thoughts this remark seems to certify the bolsheviks seriousness in admitting the nations' right to self-determination. In reality, however, matters are entirely different: Finland's separation from Russia hampered the process of bolshevik revolution there, neither in strategic nor in economic respect. On the contrary — recognizing Finland as an independent state, the bolsheviks could play themselves off as supposed defenders of subjugated peoples. That was of great bearing for the propaganda. Thinking besides that it was in one line with the course against the government of the "Russian Policeman" it is self-evident that other peoples were thereby influenced in favour of the bolshevik movement. That is the solution of the puzzle why the bolsheviks recognized Finland's independence. It was just opportune, it was furthermore directed against Moscow's imperialist competitors who never by decree have recognized such things.

But what was the bolsheviks' attitude in other cases? Just one example: "Personally" — said Stalin at the 7th Party Conference — I would oppose the Transcaucasians' separation from Russia, considering the joint development and certain circumstances in the proletarian struggle, and so on."

What a difference! Let us raise the question again: Why did Stalin oppose Trans-Caucasia's separation from Russia? Because Trans-Caucasia's separation would have had an unpleasant effect on the process of the bolshevik revolution and thereby, on Moscow's strength in economic respects (Baku) as well as in strategic (open door for foreign imperialistic forces). The justification for Finland's separation did not quite work in this case . . . the disadvantages were too great! Separation of Trans-Caucasia would not serve to weakening and destroying those imperialistic forces hostile to Russian imperialism but would even undermine and destroy Russian imperialism itself.

Stalin's speech went on: "But — if the Trans-Caucasian peoples want to separate themselves des-

pite all, they may do so and we will not stand in their way." Why, — you might say — Stalin did not insist on an express decision. He only gave his opinion and, in the end, let the peoples have their way. And we answer: When the "independent" communists of Trans-Caucasia demanded the formation of independent states in lieu of artificial federations, the 12th Party Congress condemned their attitude. Advocates of Tartar independence (Sultan-Galiyev) and of Turkistanian (Feizullah Khodzhayev) and some others were likewise reprimanded. With that it must be considered that all those people had fought as communist party comrades for years. Noting furthermore that the bolsheviks did not succeed until 1936 in abolishing the national "deviations" of those peoples by armed force (Operation Budyonny) it becomes clear that Stalin's statement, the Transcaucasians need not be afraid of bolshevik resistance in case they would separate themselves from Russia, was sheer bluff.

And still another example:

"Nobody is able, nobody is entitled, to intervene forcibly with the life of a nation. But that does not mean that a social democrat (i. e. bolshevik — M. W.) would not agitate against pernicious institutions and unsuitable requests on the part of any nation" (Stalin: "Marxism and the Nationality-Problem").

This seems to be clear. But the fact is that diverse meanings can be implied in "pernicious institutions" and "unsuitable requests". A People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry or for National Defense in the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic would no doubt be a "pernicious institution" (as there was no such thing), and any request to this end would likewise be "pernicious". And the term "unsuitable requests" might include not only the struggle for the state itself but even such matters as school, cultural institutions, enlightenment and the like.

Now we see clearly why the Ukrainian Communist Party has not been admitted to the Comintern as a member equal to the communist parties of other peoples. This would have been an "unsuitable request" by that nation! No doubt a demand of that kind is unsuitable in Russian imperialist eyes as it means equal rights for Ukrainians and Russians even in this respect. Moscow likes it better when the Ukrainian people is represented at that tribunal and before the whole world, not by itself but by Moscow. It is also clear why the bolsheviks opposed Poland's self-determination: it was likewise "unsuitable". The national policy of the bolsheviks must be considered from the viewpoint of Russian imperialist convenience. Therefore it was "unsuitable" to form a separate Republic or Party authority for the Russian Soviet Republic, for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. was at the same time the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) was at the same time the central party authority of the R.S.F.S.R. That means actually, that the central power of the R.S.F.S.R. as state authority as well as a party organ, labelled as federal power, constitutes the Supreme authority of all so-called Soviet Republics.

True "Revolutionaries" Serve Russian Imperialism

Outside the Moscow empire the bolsheviks solve the nationality problem somewhat differently. There, the national movements are usually directed against Moscow's competitors. Therefore those movements are to be supported. This is why "the fight of the Egyptian businessmen and bourgeois intelligentsia for Egyptian independence is an objectively revolutionary one, notwithstanding the "bourgeois" descent and affiliation of the leaders of the Egyptian movement and their anti-socialist views. The fight of the English labour government, however, for the maintenance of Egypt's dependence is, for the same reason, reactionary, notwithstanding the proletarian descent and affiliation of their government officials and their pro-socialist views. Let alone the national movements of other bigger peoples in colonial and dependent countries such as India and China. With them, each step to deliverance, even if violating democratic rights, is a blow with the hammer against imperialism and, therefore, an undoubtedly "revolutionary step" (Stalin, "Problems of Leninism").

From all that we can learn that the problem has different aspects whether you consider it inside or outside Russia. Trans-Caucasian, Turkestanian, Ukrainian, fight for independence is a retrograde step, a bourgeois nationalistic deviation, even if the followers of these movements are communists

(Ukrainian Communist Party, Khodzhayev, and others). The struggle of the Egyptian bourgeois however, is revolutionary. Where do such views come from? The answer is easy: *Each national movement within the Russian great-empire is only directed against Russia. It will shake Russian imperialism, and is therefore combatted by the bolsheviks. A national movement outside the Russian boundaries is directed against its rivals, weakens their strength. And therefore there is some sense for the bolsheviks in supporting them* (eventually against England). Is not this the old, tried and proven method of all imperialistic powers? Did not Germany act likewise with reference to Russia by deeply deploring the lot of the captive nations there,

Dr. O. Z. Bark

Soviet Economy and the Trade Unions

The Centre of the Statistic Administration of the U.S.S.R. published on January 31, 1954, the results of the state plan of Soviet Economy in 1953.

"In general" the plan has been fulfilled to 101 per cent, but just the most important ministries did not come up to their quotas. That applies particularly to the steel and coal industry, the industry for transport and heavy machinery, building materials, wood and paper industry, and many others.

"In the light and food industry" — writes the "Pravda" of February 2, 1954 — part of the output is still unsatisfactory in quality and assortment; additional delivery of raw materials, implements, and fuel, has been tolerated".

In agriculture matters are not better: "Although a number of country districts suffered from unfavorable climatic conditions, the grain harvest came close to that of 1952... The potato crops were as much as in 1952."

In plain words: the years' plans of 1953 have not been fulfilled. As compared with 1952, production increased: butter 3%, fish products 3%, milk products 9%, meat 12%, sugar 12%, tea 6%, soap 11%. Even if we take these certainly cooked figures of Soviet statistics for correct, we must conclude that the Soviet population remained as hungry in 1953 as it had been in 1952. The increase in food production does not even keep pace with the increase in population (i. g. potatoes, butter, fish products). As compared with the half-hunger year 1952, food production must at least be doubled to reach a standard that might be taken as sufficient. At last year's "speed" this will not be attained after ten years or — as to butter and fish products — even after 30 years; at any rate not in 2 to 3 years as Malenkov promised. But all the time such a slow increase will never keep up with the increase in population.

Hence it follows that it is not enough to pass resolutions, such as that of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in September "On Measures to be Taken to Promote the Development of Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.", and the ordinances of the Minister Council of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Party "On the Increase in the Production of Consumer Goods and the Improvement of their Quality", and "On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Trading". History tells us that slave economy is the least productive and advantageous. So it is hard to presume that any further decrees will bring a change about.

The Crimea "Handed Over" to Ukraine

Among other things Radio Moscow announced on February 27, 1954 that on the 19th of February 1954 a meeting of the Presidency of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. with representatives of the Supreme Council of the Russian S.F.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. had taken place under the chairmanship of Voroshilov.

Subject of the meeting was the exclusion of the Crimea from the R.S.F.S.R. and its inclusion in the Ukrainian S.S.R. The reason given was the "natural geographical and economic situation and the close cultural relations between the Crimea and Ukraine."

We shall return to this problem in the next number of the "A.B.N.-Correspondence".

while simultaneously conquering their territories? So we come to the conclusion: *The acknowledgment of the right of self-determination on the bolshevik side is only a means to the end of realizing and consolidating Russian imperialism.* The 26 years' history of their rule proves that. By the way, Stalin refers to that problem expressly: "The question is: whether or not the chances for a revolution in the lap of a revolutionary movement have been made use of already. If not, there is some hope in making use of them for a proletarian revolution and making dependent and colonial countries which have been resources for the imperialistic bourgeoisie, allies and resources for the proletariat" ("Problems of Leninism"). (Continued on Page 10)

It is an unpleasant business for the Kremlin to want to raise the standard of production while it dares not abolish the economic system of collective serfdom. In fact, the speedy normalizing of economic life in the U.S.S.R. at the time of the "New Economic Policy" (N.E.P.) could only be attained because Lenin postponed the collectivization of agriculture at that time and tolerated private enterprise in trade and industry. But now the Kremlin will never be ready to take such measures; for in this case it would have to restrict the armament production and, at least for a certain time, to pursue a real peace policy.

The exhaustive economic system of Soviet state capitalism chokes every initiative among the working people. If any initiative has been evoked indeed by conferring masses of orders and by promoting individual workers to higher posts, all success gets lost in the thicket of the Soviet party and state officialdom. Those people, however, who belong to the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. have even less mind to work, since their economic conditions are always kept down below the standard of the Russian, and, furthermore, they constantly feel the yoke of national oppression.

The Kremlin endeavours in vain to change these conditions. One remedy should be the stimulation of activity in the trade unions which had been made a mere department of exploitation and the exploiting and oppressing mechanism of the state and the party in the thirties. The newspaper "Trud" (Labour) of January 9 and 10, 1954, deals with the work of the trade unions. The Party wants them to re-organize the "socialist competition" which repeatedly had fallen into disuse in the U.S.S.R. The "Trud" charges particular trade union committees with "red-tapism in directing socialist competition". In reality those committees do not enjoy any respect or confidence among the workers, since they have turned into mean party and Soviet whips, instead of defending the workers' interests. But how shall they succeed if the whole Soviet system of oppression does not? The problem of how to arrange competition profitable for the Kremlin among the workers, in bearing their Soviet Russian yoke, remains an insurmountable obstacle in the course of Soviet economy.

At its 12th plenary meeting the Central All-Union Council of the Trade Unions (W.Z.S.P.S.) decided early in January to convoke the 11th Congress of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. for May 25, 1954, in Moscow. The most interesting problem of the congress will be the changes in the statutes. The Kremlin will no doubt try to deceive the workers one more time. But can it find anything else but the promise of 1917 to leave the factories and enterprises to the workers? Then the workers enthusiastically took all pains to rebuild the destroyed plants, not anticipating that they would be made real slaves who have not the title to go on strike, to change their place of work, or to act as equals in concluding collective labour contracts.

Formal changes in the Soviet Trade Union Statute will have no bearing, as long as the Soviet workers remain serfs to the Kremlin. The Soviet trade unions will not gain the respect and the confidence of the Soviet workers (and above all that of the non-Russian peoples) until they have turned from Muscovite slave drivers into real mass organizations of a fight for national, political, and social liberation from Soviet slavery. Another important task of the trade unions would be to help the Russian workers to get rid of Russian imperialism.

Col.-General Franz Farkas de Kisbarnak

President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement and M. C. of the A.B.N.

The "Satellite" Armies and the Military Potential of our Peoples

In the columns of this magazine it has been pointed out several times that a victory over bolshevism is only possible with active support from our peoples oppressed by Russia. Therefore it is indispensable that these peoples are filled with deep confidence in the absolutely affirmative attitude of the West regarding their striving for independence. With that, military entanglements need not be envisaged since substantial things can be accomplished by co-operation in the fields of psychology, civilization, and ideology. Should, however, — we do not hope so, of course — the "ultima ratio" of an armed contest prove inevitable, the Western World will all the more depend on their companions in arms in the so-called satellite states.

By the little word "so-called" we accentuate by design what is problematic in the comprehension of "satellite states". From the beginning, or more properly said, since World War II, this denomination has been a somewhat ironical and derogative attribute. It is instinctively combined with the impression that the countries concerned would follow the ruling potentates in a sort of voluntary subservience in order to express their inner propensity and loyalty to the system.

It was above all in Hitler's times that this view was vividly propagated by Germany's adversaries — we will not discuss however in this context how far this was justified. Since, however, the states concerned, such as *Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Croatia, and Finland*, have come under the bolshevik yoke, matters have somewhat changed. When the "satellite states" are mentioned to-day the idea of violence and lawlessness forces itself to the subconscious mind. In the knowledge of this fact the American State Secretary, *John Foster Dulles*, described these nations repeatedly as "the Captive World Front". We will stick to this denomination in future.

Enormous Increase of Soviet Fighting Power

After this short deviation we will return to our allegation, irrefutably documented by figures, that alliance with the "captive nations" is an indispensable necessity for the West.

At first let us consider the utmost consequence in case of war, that is the question: What about the war potential of these nations being at the Soviets' command?

The answer resulting herefrom is startling:

According to the truce settlements in 1944 and 1945 the Russians forced the following conditions on the below mentioned nations:

Rumania had to equip at least 12 infantry divisions and to place them under joint Rumanian-Russian command. At the same time she had to bind herself to surrender all war equipments and all goods indispensable for warfare such as ships, plants, communications, power-plants, telephone and telegraph systems, fuel and food supply.

Hungary was bound to the condition to put up 8 divisions, to deliver all war materials to Russia, like *Rumania*, and to establish a Soviet military administration a hundred kilometers behind the front line.

Bulgaria had to put up an army of 55,000, to supply 90 aeroplanes and a navy of 7,200 register tons.

Albania was charged with 6 divisions.

Yugoslavia, as an ally of the Soviets, was allowed to keep its whole army.

Czecho-Slovakia, as "spiritually akin to the Soviets", received suitable support in putting up new armed forces.

At first these measures were explained as consequences of the war against Germany. But it turned out soon that Moscow pursued only its private aims. The above mentioned armies of the "captive nations" were intended only as a basis for the rapidly developed enormous "popular armies" under exclusively Soviet command.

The present contribution of *Bulgaria*, for instance, amounts to as much as 7 light-infantry divisions, 3 tank divisions, and 3 artillery divisions plus one motorized, 3 cavalry brigades, 3 aircraft brigades including all anti-aircraft, and a navy consisting of 1 destroyer, 6 motor-gunboats, and 12 minesweepers.

The active strength of the *Bulgarian* frontier guard police has been fixed at 100,000 men. Universal conscription for men from 18 to 50 years has been introduced with an active service time of two years.

The same happened in all the other states.

According to reliable resources the total strength of the armies in the captive nations has risen to about 2 million which means a triplication of the figure of 1950. In these countries a total of 144 fully trained divisions are ready for service.

It is a matter of course that communications and airports are zealously improved and augmented. In *Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania* 220 airports are ready for use, 18 of which are suitable for jet planes. Additionally, *Finland's* airports were also put at the Soviets' disposal under the truce "treaty".

Since the captive nations number 90 million souls, *Moscow* is able in case of war to send from these territories alone, 10 million soldiers to the front, especially the eastern front.

A Valuable Friendship

All that is only a fraction of the Soviet fighting power. Yet it enables Russia to use its own forces for keeping the captive nations down, for securing supply etc. Nevertheless, its officers and privates are thoroughly educated in communism by the well-known methods in order to bring up as faithful followers of Muscovitism as once in the juvenile partisan groups. Parallel to the spiritual enthralment of the army runs that of the civil population. The extent of assumption implied in such procedure is only fully understood if one considers that not more than 53% of the 200 million population in the U.S.S.R. (and even this Russian estimation goes too far) are national Russians, as compared with 21% Ukrainians (40 million), 16 million Turkestanians, 13 million Caucasians, 12 million Byelorussians, and so on. These peoples have been fighting for their independence and freedom for centuries and are not willing to give up.

As counter-balance to the Soviet obscurantism the emigrants of the captive nations are educating at the universities in Europe and overseas, a leading class prepared to meet every situation. The Soviets are well aware of the enormous moral power hidden in the emigration. It is an alive and constant protest against bolshevik tyranny. The emigrés' disinterested service to their homeland deserves to be compared with that of the heroes of our continent.

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Calumniating Campaign Against the A.B.N. is Cleared Up

Who's Behind It?

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), the largest organization for the co-ordination of the resistance of peoples behind the Iron Curtain subjugated by *Moscow*, is very comprehensively the focal point of public interest, all the more so, as there are not chance exile politicians, ready for any compromise in it, but spokesmen of the national revolutionary forces of their peoples, who, in their name, have taken up the struggle against bolshevism as a political system just as undauntedly as that against Russian imperialism as alien domination, and who stand for national freedom. For that reason the A.B.N. has been and still is a thorn in the eye for communist centres, on this side, and that, as well as for Russian imperialists of every shade, and their accomplices, for the very fact that the A.B.N. forms a bridgehead in the free Western World for the implacable fight for liberation.

Communist fellow-travellers and Russian imperialists are, as everyone knows, to be found in certain circles in western countries and among the miserable hirelings and the scum of our own peoples. Thus it is not hard to explain why the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) has for a long time been the target for intrigues, interference and calumny, ending finally in an out and out campaign of defamation. Strange to say, there were west German newspapers and radio stations which have otherwise shown little interest in the A.B.N. and its struggle which were now willing to place themselves at the disposal of an instigated press campaign and promptly reported tendentious, lying announcements of an alleged "dissolution of the A.B.N." without ever taking the trouble to ring up our office to enquire. In the same breath the A.B.N. was accused of being "undemocratic and totalitarian" and even "anti-semitic", moreover, "not absolutely western in orientation". The prize was carried off, however, by a *Regensburger* paper which dared to suspect the A.B.N. of bolshevist tendencies and demand an investigation.

We have been relieved of the trouble of denying this infamous libel campaign against the A.B.N. and its leadership, by even a single word. That has in the meantime been done by the Prague communist

paper "Rude Pravo", in its February 19, 1954, number, under the headline, "Disintegration Continues", and it goes on to announce gleefully, "... Recently the west German press agency reported the dissolution of the so-called 'Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Free Nations' with its headquarters in Munich. That is an international organization of traitors, composed of 20 fugitive groups from countries in Central and Eastern Europe. These groups, chiefly working in the service of American imperialism and in close collaboration with Germans out for revenge, endeavour with the help of an American war and under the threat of S.S. bayonets of the west German army, to force the yoke of capitalism on the liberated peoples. Facts prove that they have not been able to achieve the least success in realizing their wolfish plan; that horrible pack of traitors in dollar pay has fallen to pieces, powerless. There is no doubt that the so-called 'Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Free Nations' will not be the last 'international' traitors' organization to fall into the bottomless pit."

Our calumniators and those who so lightly abetted them, little expected to get such a rebuff, while we on our part could not have hoped for a better certificate and from such an authentic quarter, too.

Now there is no need for us to answer the despicable campaign of defamation against the A.B.N. and its leaders. Who is after all behind it and whom it was to serve has been sufficiently illuminated by the "Rude Pravo", the official organ of the Czech communist party. We can only turn away in disgust from the harmonious front between the communist hangmen of our peoples and their conscious or unconscious abettors and renegades in the West, and follow our way more determinedly and definitely than before. That is what we owe to the legacy of our peoples.

We recommend certain radio stations and newspapers of the German Federal Republic when giving reports and commentaries about the bitter struggle being carried on by our peoples and their spokesmen in the West, which is tragic enough as it is, to have more circumspection, so that they will not fall under the suspicion of playing the part of a fifth column in the service of *Moscow*, consciously or unconsciously.

Wrong Tone in the "Voice of America"

Our Estonian A. R. contributor put an article on unsuitable propaganda methods of the "Voice of America" at our disposal, from which we quote the following. — Ed.

The "Voice of America" has been broadcasting for such a long time now that the question may well be put what purpose it pursues and how far it has succeeded. Above all it must be examined whether this "cold war" in the air has been of real spiritual use for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and whether they have been effectively prepared for an actual fight against bolshevism.

Judging the practical value of these broadcasts we must give particular consideration to a statement of one who knows the situation thoroughly, namely that behind the Iron Curtain you cannot risk your life and freedom for things that are hopeless and without decisive weight. Listening to foreign broadcasts is a great risk in the "Soviet Paradise" and can only be run to receive the signal for releasing actions. The readiness was there, but the signals failed to come. One chance after the other (such as Stalin's death, the Berlin riots, Beria's downfall) have been omitted for inconceivable reasons. They were substituted by hollow phrases similar to those of the Soviets and by worthless promises without genuine intentions to change the conditions prevailing.

More Spiritual Contact!

Hence it requires much understanding of the spiritual structure of those banned into the Soviet sphere to make them listen. It must not be forgotten that, more or less, those people have psychologically been ruined already by menace and terrorism, and by constant fright of informers. The dull slave life makes them neither heroic nor pugnacious, but extremely cautious and suspicious. They have seen too often the uselessness of sacrificing oneself and, automatically, one's family without positive support. They are not keen on playing the role of a petty puppet in the large-scale play of the great powers; of a puppet that, as the case may be, is thrown away and forgotten over night. They have no mind to be ground between two giant millstones for nothing.

What can we do to restore the inner strength of those regrettable men? Of course, they want to hear the news of what really goes on in world politics. They want to know about the fate of the refugees and are yearning for careful soul therapy. But this is not afforded by unrealistic sentimentality. Is it worth their while to listen to the "Voice of America" only naively describing how nicely children in the U.S.A. spend their Christmas?

Create Confidence!

As to soul therapy, witty feuilletonists are better than empty talkers. As to information, factual reports are most appreciated, but not detailed descriptions of civil comfort; those are promptly utilized by red propagandists to kindle the hatred against the bourgeois classes. People in underground want to receive concrete signals and are

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This is further proof of what valuable allies the West would gain with them and the peoples they represent. The underground movements in their countries, which day by day sustain serious fights in death-defying self-sacrifice as defenders of European culture and morale, are not only the future saviours of their home, but the present pioneers of the civilized world.

Beside these spiritual values, it must not be forgotten that the greatest percentage of the U.S.S.R.'s raw materials are gained in the territories of the captive nations. In Ukraine, for instance, there are wide industrial districts which yielded 55% of the total production of the Russian empire in World War I. It supplies 72% of all iron ore of the U.S.S.R., that is 1/4 of the total world demand. In Caucasus (Georgia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus) gush enormous oil wells.

This summary must do to illuminate the weighty significance of nations which at present are exposed to the terror regime of a minority, which learned the value of freedom to the extent that they are ready to hold out their hands with all their heart to everyone who guarantees this freedom to them without craft or reserve. *But that is an indispensable condition!*

Once more: there is no victory over bolshevism without the help of the captive nations!

embittered that just this is carefully avoided in the "Voice of America". Constant incitement is completely unnecessary and empty demagoguery reminds only painfully of the politruk manners. *What is necessary is to raise trust and confidence among the people behind the Iron Curtain that they are not buried alive, but that the day of delivery is gradually approaching.* People want to know in particular how those nations striving for independence are to be saved from regular russification.

There are still many friends of America in the countries concerned, but there were even more. Unfortunately enough, the "Voice of America" added to destroying many a hope and sympathy. This coincides with the bolshevik Party's cunningly

Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky

Chairman of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Slovakia's Warning

The First World War came to an end. The representatives of the victorious powers sought for a solution of the European problems, which would guarantee peace and balance in the future. Democratic principles they considered the most reliable basis. And this led to the conclusion that the peoples' right for self-determination must be recognized.

President Wilson insisted that the peoples must be free and the governments have to reflect the true will of the population. This he regarded as the best possible protection against imperialism and despotism. In the spirit of these principles the Slovak representatives in the West, too, demanded independence for their people. But their desire met with resistance. It soon turned out that self-determination of the peoples was not a right generally applied, but only a momentary remedy. In fact, it was awarded only where it served the purposes of the victorious powers. Thus the Slovaks were pressed into Czecho-Slovakia without being given the chance to express their opinion.

T. G. Masaryk and E. Benes realized the trend of time and offered the erection of a barrier against Germany. It requires no proof that the two of them were absolutely in want of the necessary capability. The main thing is that they succeeded in harnessing the suspicion and fear of the defeated Germany and suspicion against the Germans outside Germany in Central Europe for chauvinistic and despotism aims. The right for the self-determination of the Slovaks was sacrificed to the fear of Germany. The Slovaks, it is true, were separated from the Danube Monarchy, but they were forced into a Czech power system instead. It is quite natural that the Slovaks became no defenders but adversaries of the "order" so created.

15 years ago they succeeded in their demand for self-determination. They succeeded in gaining those rights of which they had been deprived in the name of a false democracy, abused for selfish aims. The Slovaks obtained their rights since there is no injustice strong enough to last for ever. The Czech people, however, became a victim of the despotism policy practised by its imperialistic statesmen. Its politicians had no right to condemn Hitler since they themselves were no better. The only difference was that they had not so many possibilities as he had. Nine years ago, Slovakia again was enslaved in the name of a pseudo democracy. The Czech politicians, too, received a harsh warning from history. Providence pursued the principle: "Who grudges freedom to others does not deserve it himself!"

The present world is living in constant uncertainty. The politicians are looking for a way out of the deadlock in which the world is jammed owing to its discord. In Potsdam and Yalta freedom and democracy were spoken about, but these words were to disguise the slavery of hundreds of millions. Again the Slovaks were victims of that tragic fact.

Everything depends on whether or not the responsible politicians will bring forth moral strength enough to overcome this contradiction. It is ne-

cessary that the speakers of the free peoples take notice of the hard lesson that the world received, and act correspondingly. For us the future is foggy because there are many who are ready to sacrifice dozens of the captive nations for a temporary and false peace. And there are others who tend to force on the peoples the preservation of Czecho-Slovakia and the Great-Russian empire, in contradiction to the right of self-determination of all peoples. Therefore it is most urgently needed that all who strive in all earnest to secure the victory of freedom and democracy make common cause and advocate the execution of a trustworthy policy in the world. Illusion and lack of understanding brought the world to the verge of a catastrophe. Only through practising justice honestly and generally towards every man, every people, every religion, and every race, will we achieve a better future. This is not only in our own interest and in that of our peoples, but also in the interest of all mankind.

By wrong methods of propaganda a crisis, which must not last for ever, came about in the "cold war". It remains chiefly with the "Voice of America" to overcome this fatal deadlock.

A. R. (Estonia)

cessary that the speakers of the free peoples take notice of the hard lesson that the world received, and act correspondingly. For us the future is foggy because there are many who are ready to sacrifice dozens of the captive nations for a temporary and false peace. And there are others who tend to force on the peoples the preservation of Czecho-Slovakia and the Great-Russian empire, in contradiction to the right of self-determination of all peoples. Therefore it is most urgently needed that all who strive in all earnest to secure the victory of freedom and democracy make common cause and advocate the execution of a trustworthy policy in the world. Illusion and lack of understanding brought the world to the verge of a catastrophe. Only through practising justice honestly and generally towards every man, every people, every religion, and every race, will we achieve a better future. This is not only in our own interest and in that of our peoples, but also in the interest of all mankind.

Stage Elections in the Soviet Union

On March 14, the election of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union will take place. According to Soviet usage, the electoral campaign has been started already with meetings, "unanimous" resolutions, and nominating candidates.

In all the countries of the Soviet Union, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkistan, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, and others, the candidates Malenkov, Khrushchov, Voroshilov, Bulganin, Kaganovich, and other Soviet allmighties, take the head. On March 14, the collective crowd of electors will be driven to the poll, the participation in election will be 99.5 per cent, and they all will "vote unanimously" for the single list presented.

"Anniversary" Meetings

On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of Ukrainian-Russian "unification" the chairs of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and of the Russian S.F.S.R. have decided to convoke plenary meetings of the competent Supreme Council in Moscow and Kyiv in May 1954.

The presidency of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. plans special conferences in the summer in Moscow and Kyiv which are to deal with the treaty of Pereyaslav.

What sort of perversion of history will be concocted there is quite notorious.

The Moscow "Literaturnaya Gazeta" of February 16, 1954, reports that "Evenings of friendship between the too fraternal countries" (Russia and Ukraine — Ed.) have been arranged in Moscow, Kyiv, and other towns.

With that poems specially adapted to the treaty of Pereyaslav in the spirit of Soviet imperialism were recited. — Any assistance welcome!

Dr. Baymirza Hayit:

Orient Between Democracy and Communism

Dr. Hayit, member of our editorial staff and authorized representative of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.), recently toured the Orient and describes his impressions below.

On my tour through Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, I gained the impression that the Orient, despite advancing Western and communist views, has maintained its peculiarity.

European civilization has brought about changes in the outward way of living and thoughts there, only to a certain extent, because people in the Orient have always striven at maintaining their tradition and civilization. It is the strength proper of the people there that they try to cultivate their tradition without losing contact with the latest development of the world outside. The different ways of thinking and living in the Orient as compared with western democracy and eastern communist totalitarianism help those peoples to cling to their religion and ancient culture. Those over 200 million people living between the Straits and the Pamir Mountains, strongly united by their common Islamic creed, play an important role in the decisions taken in world politics.

Both, the people in the West and the Russian communists in the East, are well aware of the significance of the Orient. The West as well as Russia do their best to strengthen their respective influences and to secure their positions in those countries. Russian communism proceeds to use such of its outworn catchwords as "full sovereignty to the peoples, freedom of religion, security of the social order, inviolability of customs and manners". It furthermore frankly acts against the West with hatred-creating propaganda, founding at the same time illegal communist agent centres in order to corrupt the nations from within. Simultaneously, the Western Powers try to point out the dangers in communism. They consider Islam a bulwark, strong enough to stem communist ideology. And right they are. The Russians, on the other hand, try to insinuate to the oriental peoples that there is no difference between Islam and Communism and, therefore, the two were to confront western imperialism together. These are the circumstances under which the Islamic peoples are bound to defend their national interests and to protect their existence. Additionally it must be noted that each particular people in the Orient has problems and troubles of its own and quite naturally tries to get rid of them first.

Turkey Immediately Threatened

The Turkish people has been forced for centuries to protect itself against Russian aggression, as Russia has striven to become master of the Straits time and again. Kemal Ataturk's young republic, too, was threatened by the bolshevik Russian intention to make Turkey a Soviet Republic. The Turks clearly perceived from the beginning that communism was nothing but a modification of Russian imperialism. So they endeavoured to keep off every kind of communist influence in Turkey. The decidedness of the Turks to do everything for the maintenance of their national independence made them a strong bulwark against Russian communism in the Near East. The Turks have ever distrusted Russia. They are of the opinion that Turkey has never created provocative situations, but that they are determined to defend themselves against a possible Russian attack with all their strength. You will never notice fear of Russia among the Turks. They are full of self-reliance and full of love of their country.

Communist Russia has tried all possible means to trickle communist ideology into Turkey, but in vain. These attempts as well as defensive measures on the Turkish side, are still under way. It is amazing how intrepidly the Turks take measures against communism, although they are exposed immediately to the rays of Soviet Russia; although simultaneously their neighbour peoples live under communist dominion; although communist influence is becoming stronger and stronger in all of Europe.

Syria in the Grip of Communist Propaganda

The Syrian Republic, bordered by Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Irak, is of great significance for the mutual relations between these countries.

Being in such position, Syria is highly esteemed by the Arabian states because it is one of the dynamic forces of the Arabian world and has added greatly to the development of the Arabs. Its capital, Damascus, is one of the spiritual centres of Islam. In the period of the French mandate and at the time when the republic was created, the influence of the diverse western views made itself strongly felt. At the same time the dynamic power of communism increased also, while its followers continuously tried to provoke riots and to stir discontent with the government. Though success was poor, they persistently pursued their plans of throwing the country into anarchy. These endeavours were backed by the Soviet Russian diplo-

matic representatives. The communist propaganda slogan: "Life in the Soviet Union means Paradise, and our Moslem brothers there are much better off than we are", did not only persuade the lower classes. There were even some influential Moslem priests who preached that the Moslems in the Soviet Union, especially in Turkistan, live free and independent. The Western Powers try to enlighten the population by informative papers, yet their actions are held up by the communists as Anglo-American imperialistic propaganda. Not regarding the communist propaganda tricks, the Syrian Republic is well able to protect itself against communist agitation and influence as the Syrian people is aware that all play with communism jeopardizes their existence, indeed, the existence of Islam.

Lebanon — Center of Communist Intrigues

Lebanon, or as the Lebanese call it: the Switzerland of the Orient, is the meeting-place of all outstanding figures of the Islamic world. At the same time it is the centre of communist agitation in the Orient. An outsider coming to Beirut, will notice at once that pro-communist propaganda is stronger there than anti-communist. Those who are hostile to communism, are relatively passive. Most of them hold the view that Russian communism will never rule Lebanon entirely since the distance between the two countries is too great. This calm self-reliance of some Lebanese as to the prospects of communism broke down when, after the visit of the American State Secretary, *Foster Dulles*, the communists showed their true face in an anti-American demonstration. Counter-measures taken thereupon by the government cannot change the fact that the communists are now going to make the trade unions pliant to their "revolutionary aims".

From their Lebanon basis, the communists try to disunite the Arabian states. They aim furthermore at stirring up opposition between the Moslems and Christians in Lebanon who had hitherto lived peaceably side by side. I cannot help feeling that Lebanon has turned into a communist centre of intrigues for the Near East.

Jordan — Trouble for the Arabs

The Hashimite Kingdom Jordan, with its half a million inhabitants, is the smallest state of the Arabs. Having been under English mandate from 1921 it became independent in 1946. It is a poor country and, therefore, depends on England's support. Since most of its territory borders on Palestine, it suffered most from the consequences of the Palestine war. The frontier incidents that occurred time and again, were a nerve test for the Jordanian population and government. Most of the Arabian refugees from Palestine are in Jordan, living under hard economic conditions.

There is no effect of communist propaganda worth mentioning in Jordan although the communists, from Syria and Lebanon, tried to harness the poverty of the population for their aims.

Remodelling of Egypt

When General Naguib seized the power in Cairo, the world abroad took it for a military coup d'état. Considering the situation on the Nile closer, one will find that it was nothing of the kind, but a long-prepared revolution directed against absolutism, social disorder, and corruption. General Naguib had the support of the masses when he carried out his revolution. First and foremost, it was the "Moslem Brotherhood" that stood out from among the crowd. It was an association of more than 2 million members which was banned by ex-King Faruk and has been prohibited by General Naguib even now.

Upon the revolution, Soviet Russia intended a Red Dominion for the land on the Nile. Counting on the revolution entailing a chaos, the situation was to be used to oust Naguib's government. The real course of events, however, disappointed all Soviet hopes. The Republic was proclaimed and a program for abolishing social disorder was drawn up.

The communists' intention to seize power in Egypt by a coup d'état was frustrated. The course of the government of the Republic became clear when General Naguib dissociated himself from the communists from the beginning and had their

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A. B. N. CONGRESS

At its meeting on February 15, 1954, the Presidency of the People's Council and the Central Committee of the A.B.N. decided to convoke the A.B.N. Congress for

Saturday March 27, 1954, in Munich.

The conference, which is held according to the articles, will last three days, and will have to clarify important questions of the day, apart from its general task.

Proposed Agenda

1. Day

1. Opening speech (President Veli Kajum Khan) (Honor to the fallen).
2. Reading of written salutations.
3. Speeches of welcome.
4. Short speeches by the chief national delegates.
5. Survey on aims and activity of the A.B.N. (President of the C.C. Yaroslav Stetzko).
6. "Ten years A.B.N." — a concluding speech (M. von Alshibaya).

2. Day

1. Reading of the minutes of the last meeting of the Peoples' Council.
2. Report on the political activity of the C.C. of the A.B.N.: ex-Minister of Ukraine, President of the C.C., Yaroslav Stetzko; Chairman of the Political Commission, Veli Kajum Khan, President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee; President of the Information Commission, Secretary of State, retired, Dr. D. Waltseff, Member of the Presiding Committee of the Bulgarian National Front; President of the Commission for International Relations, Prof. F. Durcansky, Minister retired, President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee; Chief of the A.B.N.-Buro, Prince Niko Nakashidze; Member of the Presiding Committee of the Georgian National Organization. On the activity of the Military Commission of the A.B.N. and on the military situation in general, President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement and the Military Commission of the A.B.N., General F. Farukas de Kisharnak, retired.
3. On the activity in organization, Secretary-General, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny.
3. Composition of the Committees for the articles, electoral propositions, and resolutions.

Interval

4. Discussion of the account and discharge from responsibility.
5. Lecture on political principles and drafted articles.
6. Discussion and voting on articles.

Interval

7. Re-election of the A.B.N. organs.
8. Resolutions and freedom manifesto (draft).
9. Discussion and vote.
10. Eventualities.

3. Day

Press Conference.

Orient Between Democracy and Communism

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movement supervised. The young democracy has seen through the communist revolutionaries in time. In the trial against the communist conspirators in Cairo (August 1953) it became quite obvious that communism will never be tolerated in Egypt since it stands in opposition to Islam. It was emphasized on that occasion that, although Soviet Union plays herself off as a protector of the Egyptian communists, the Moslim people in the Soviet Union are brutally oppressed by Moscow.

Cairo, as the residence of the Arabian League, is of particular significance for the consolidation of the policy of the Arabian states. That is why voices from Cairo have always been promptly echoed in the other Arabian nations. There is also in Cairo the famous Muslim University, "Al-Azhar", where the prospective Islamic priests are educated and which, for that reason, is of great importance to the world of Islam.

The Egyptians defy every kind of communism. That accounts for their genuine compassion with all the peoples oppressed. An "Association for Attaining Independence for the Oppressed Islamic Peoples" has been founded in Cairo, presided over by His Excellency *Terazi* and the Sheikh of "Al-Azhar", *Medresse*. The association acts as advocate for the oppressed Moslem peoples.

Radically Anti-Communist Saudi-Arabia

Gold treasures and oil wells made Saudi-Arabia one of the most wealthy Arabian countries. Additionally, due to its sacred town Mecca, it is the centre of the Islamic world. The founder of the Saudi-Arabian kingdom, King Ibn Saud, who died last November, enjoyed particular popularity because, among other reasons, he benevolently listened to all the troubles and desires of his subjects who came to him, no matter of which race. He cared much more for the welfare of his people than for the strengthening of his power. Thus, for example, and underground pipe-line system was built for water supply, hospitals and modern dwellings were erected and gradually he tried and modernized the country. His successor, King Saud, wants to follow his father's example.

Millions of Moslems wander to Mecca every year. It requires careful preparations and much willingness to maintain order among these masses. But the Saudi-Arabian government solved this task in an exemplary manner. Each particular group of pilgrims gets a guide of its own who takes over the care of them. During that time even the Royal sons are occupied in helping to manage the organization.

These orthodox Mecca pilgrims are joined by communists who, as supposed pilgrims, observe the religious rites precisely, but sow the seeds of their own propaganda. In August 1953, 18 envoys of that sort came to Mecca from Turkistan and Kazan. Dressed in their national costumes they attracted special attention. They wanted to demonstrate that religion was absolutely free in the Soviet Union. In fact, they were best trained communist agents, having been trained in Moscow for three months prior to their start by airplane to Mecca. They were charged to show the Soviet Union's "Will to Peace" and to speak about the "national and religious freedom" existing there. Their leader was *Ziyaviddin Mahsum Babahan*, the son of the Red Mufti in Turkistan. He was accompanied by top functionaries of the Communist Party and the Secret Police. When I had a talk with them *Ziyaviddin* said: "We pray for peace and prosperity and that Allah may expel all English and American imperialists and their followers from the Islamic countries." They tried to bring home to the other pilgrims that there was no difference between Communism and Islam. They unceasingly spoke of that "wonderful life" in the Soviet Union, resp. in Turkistan. But they met with distrust everywhere and were unable to fulfil their task. Newspapers in Cairo reported that these agents had been tried after their return to Moscow. They were charged with having failed to act in the spirit of the Soviet Union and with having taken up connections with foreign anti-bolshevik elements. Save during those propaganda campaigns at the time of pilgrimage, the Saudi-Arabian government radically proceeds against communism. They know it is the most powerful enemy of Islam and know that the communists deny God. From the fact that Saudi-Arabia entertains no diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia we can learn that it will sternly combat any attempt of the communists to strengthen their influence in Saudi Arabia or even to make any com-

munist propaganda. I should say that Saudi-Arabia is the only country among the Arabian states that has realized the threatening danger of communism in time and hence endeavours to prevent any infiltration from that side.

Pakistan — Great Power of Islam

The young state of Pakistan, the Great Power of Islam, with its 70 to 80 million population, is facing serious problems abroad and at home. It is directly threatened in the north by Red Russia and in the north-east by Red China. The Kashmir conflict with India, the territorial claims of Afghanistan on Patanistan (northern regions of Pakistan) hamper the normal development of so young a state. Despite all foreign political problems, we can state with satisfaction that Pakistan enjoys much sympathy among the Islamic countries. Its rank within the Islamic world and its significance in world politics is definitely increasing.

As in foreign politics, Pakistan has to overcome great difficulties in home politics too. One of the most difficult tasks is the incorporation of about 18 million refugees from India. To a state with neither industry nor skilled workers at the time of its creation, such demands must appear almost unpracticable. But now, after a seven years' existence, Pakistan possesses its own textile industry, strong military forces, and a heavy industry just rising. It has six universities, numerous technical schools and grammar schools. About one thousand newspapers and magazines are published. Even the serious problem of the refugees is on the way to be settled.

Pakistan is no national state but a pure Islamic state. So said the chairman of the Islam World Conference and Vice-Chancellor of the Karachi University: Professor *Halem*, when I had a talk with him. He pointed out: "It is Pakistan's peculiarity that it consists of a mixture of all Islamic peoples such as Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Indians; therefore, Islam is the fundament of the State of Pakistan."

In Pakistan as well the communists try to exert

their influence on the population. In doing so they utilize the difficult economic conditions and the misery of the refugees to their advantage. Pakistanian communists are devoted servants to Moscow. Beside the communist activity there is an anti-communist movement. The government wants to protect itself against communist advances to power; on the other hand, the communist party is permitted to act freely.

Equal Rights for Common Cause

Summarizing I must say that communism aspires after domination in the Near East; and the Soviet Union has a hand in the business, to be sure. But the Orient resists communism and we need not be afraid that the latter will gain the upper hand, even not in those countries which are not able as yet to settle their social problem entirely and finally. The weak point in the Orient is not the social conditions which the communists might make use of for their own purposes, as some experts in the West think. The dangerous point is that they are not ranked equal to all the others, that their mentality is disregarded and their problems are ignored. The fight of the peoples in the Orient must be supported from outside, for each country has to bear a sackful of its own troubles.

The people in all the countries I toured took much interest in the fate of Turkistan, oppressed by Moscow. But many people in the Orient do not know as yet what game Soviet Russia is playing in her Islam policy. The soil is prepared for anti-communist propaganda in the Orient since there is much understanding for the claim to freedom of every people — no matter if small or big.

None of us must disregard the importance of the Islamic Orient in a forthcoming great contest between freedom and slavery. The people in the Orient must know for certain that they are equal partners of the West and that their natural rights are guaranteed correspondingly.

The peoples in the Orient are our natural allies in our fight for freedom. And Turkistan with its top liberation organization, the National Turkistanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.), will build the bridge.

The Situation in Georgia

Authentic Report

The office of the Georgian Socialist Party Abroad has received news direct from Georgia. The letter is dated October 25, 1953. The contents have been published in the magazine "La Georgia Combattante", Paris, and below we give some extracts from it. — Ed.

"... The crisis in the country is affecting the towns. Workers and industrial employees are in great material distress. Constant scarcity of food and impossible living conditions make it out of the question to fulfil the norms, to increase production, and supply the country districts with the necessary household objects.

Discontent among the workers is growing and demonstrations by the workers in the whole Union are not unusual. They no longer fear reprisals. They are somehow more courageous than before and that causes the Kremlin some anxiety. On July 30, this year the hands in the machine tool factory, the shoe factory and the Stalin railway workshops in Tbilissi, drew up their complaints and demanded normal food rations, or they would go on strike. The government, of course, put these proceedings down to political unrest; the leading workmen were arrested and declared to be followers of Beria, although the Kremlin very well knows that he was as much hated by the workers of the capital of Georgia — Tbilissi, as Malenkov and his group. It is significant that after this revolt of the working people the food distribution improved. It is said the supply came from army stores.

It is firmly alleged that the president of the government *Valerian Bakradze*, has fallen a victim to these demonstrations. He has been followed by a whole series of communists who came into power on the fall of Beria. In Bakradze's stead, *G. Djavakhishvili* the chairman of the Town Council of Tbilissi, was appointed. A perfectly ineffectual person, a nonentity, but a faithful servant to Moscow, a bolshevik slave. As Party Secretary, a certain *Mjavanadze*, has been called who is absolutely unknown, but brutal and cruel. Moscow

expects to rule the censured Georgian communist party with these people."

"... The maxim of the Kremlin to-day is to wear down the national republics and subdue them completely. Their Russification is in full swing in the whole Soviet Union. Of course it is not only the communists who are deposed but thousands of intellectuals and experts have been dismissed, for the Beria affair has shown 1) that the Soviet Union is an artificial structure, into which the non-Russian peoples have been squeezed by force. To tame them and make them pliable after Beria's prescription is impossible.

2) The Kremlin believes that war is in the offing. The position inside the country must be strengthened, for it has been proved that the non-Russian peoples are unreliable when there is international tension. For that reason they must be welded with the Russians and their intelligentsia removed. In the frontier districts they have begun registering the population, especially in Transcaucasia. The object behind this action is preparation for deportation to Siberia, or Central Russia. Officially it is put down to economic planning and reconstruction.

To eulogize "the elder brother", — Russia, is a duty. And woe to him, who says anything detrimental of the Russians! It is not surprising therefore that the prisons are crowded, above all with young people, for insults against the Russians."

"As you see we are going through a bitter, thorny time. But we do not lose hope, for we believe that the free world will at last realize what perilous danger threatens; and then, so we hope, will come Moscow's fall and our rescue. It depends very much on the West, but many people here believe that the West will once more save

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Genocide in Siberia

Unknown Facts of Russian Bolshevik Nationality Policy in North Siberia

By Dr. Hans Findeisen

As a German ethnologist who has been dealing with the nationalities in the U.S.S.R. for more than 30 years, I will be admitted to be not entirely uninformed about this problem. I rely not only on extended literary studies but also on experiences in the U.S.S.R. itself which I toured at a time when the political situation allowed central Europeans to pursue private research on the spot. The object of my travel was to study the civilization of the little hunting and fishing people of the Yenisei Ostyaks in the Turukhan land which is situated along the middle and lower Yenisei. It was not long after my arrival that I discovered a number of facts which did not show the new Soviet policy towards the non-Russian nationalities in a favourable light. (The Author.)

50 percent of the Yeniseians starve to death

I have a competent book by L. N. Dobrova-Yadrinceva lying before me, published in Novonikolayevsk in 1925 under the title "Tuzemcy turukhanskogo kraya" (The natives of the Turukhan land). It gives the total of Yeniseians in 1921/22 at 1,389. Table I gives an even higher figure, namely 1,465. This latter figure is the result of the census in 1920/21.

We are favourable enough to have the results of a new local census in 1926/27 at our disposal, published in two volumes in Krasnoyarsk in 1928 under the title, "Materialy pripolyarnoy perepisi 1926/27 gg v Sibirskom Kraye" (Materials of a polar region census in 1926/27 in Sibirskoy Krai; Sibirskoy Krai is the name of a wide administrative district then existing). But looking at the figures given for the Yeniseians we are no doubt surprised. In 1926 there were only 751 of all the Yeniseians left, 380 male and 371 female! As compared with 1920/21, 714 souls are missing! Where are they?

Hence nearly 50 percent of the Yeniseians perished between 1921 and 1926! Those stark figures are concealing the reality of a dreadful tragedy that has never been duly treated in literature. A little hint at the reasons for that catastrophous decimation of the Yeniseians is given in the preface to the work by Mrs. Dobrova-Yadrinceva. It says that she made her studies through an auxiliary expedition that was designed to provide the natives of the Turukhan land with food. The surrendering of certain portions of food to each eater, it says, was a suitable means to count the population quite precisely. That is to say: the natives of the Turukhan land were starving! Yet this otherwise so meritorious work does not say a word about why they had to starve. As a matter of fact, famine haunted the polar regions again and again. About this fact we have been well informed already by older Russian authorities.

In the collective work published by I. S. Melnik "Siberia, her present condition and needs" (Sibir', eya sovremennoe sostoyanie i eya nushdy, St. Petersburg, publisher A. F. Devrien), the well-known Russian ethnologist and archeologist D. Klemenc pointed out that he had observed personally the brutal encroachments of the local Russian peasants on the Siberian natives as early as 1908.

One might presume with much justification that the October Revolution would have given the deathblow to such mean usage of the Siberian Russians towards the natives. Natives as well as Russians had been released from Russian officialdom or were about to be so. It should have been the first care of the bolsheviks, representing the "people", to supersede the really existing "exploitation" of natives, by a system of fraternal co-operation as speedily as possible.

What the Yeniseians of the Stony Tunguska told me, however, about the first bolshevik influence in their fate, sounded regrettably different. In the region of the Siberian hunting peoples an economic system had become customary according to which the private Russian dealer and purchaser of the

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the Kremlin. That the West will help the Kremlin to overcome the internal political and economic crisis again, and that would be cleverly and psychologically used to its own advantage.

Should that happen Moscow would raise its claims beyond all bounds and war would be inevitable."

According to Soviet sources the Associated Press (A. P.) reports on February 2, 1954, that in Ukraine, Turkistan, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, Georgia, etc. thousands of party functionaries have been dismissed. In Georgia alone more than 3,000 communists have been removed from office.

furs supplied the natives in autumn on credit with all goods required for the winter hunting season including rifles, gunpowder, small shot, and bullets. The accounts were settled in spring time after the season. The new bolshevik local officials, however, cancelled the system and delivered powder and



My informants of the Yeniseian tribe living along the Stony Tunguska. They survived the catastrophous famine, planned by the Soviets, that robbed half of their fellows.

(Photo of the author)

small shot only against furs. But how should the Yeniseians shoot squirrels and the like if they had no powder? The new communist commercial red-tapists did not in the least care about that question. Even food was given to the natives only against newly hunted furs. Since all supplies provided for a respective season had been consumed, the natives suddenly faced the growing menace of famine. I learned that they were forced to use bows and arrows for hunting. Of course, the output of that



He knows how to use bows and arrows. Perhaps he will need his knowledge to survive bolshevik "economic measures". (Photo of the author)

way of hunting cannot keep up with that of rifles. Thus the furs hunted did not suffice to pay the living, let alone powder and shot. The half-starved Yeniseians had to eat the inner bark of trees. Weakened as the people were, terrible diarrheas broke out. I was mournfully told that thus half of the Yeniseians along the Stony Tunguska were swept away!

They Say Friendship and Mean Extirpation!

The most dreadful point of those terrible times for the dependent natives is one of psychologic nature. There, too, Russian functionaries were actively preaching a new religion of general charity and economic justice, also to the natives. One can imagine the feelings with which the latter, due to their experiences, met the new Russian ruling class. And they made no secret of their not absolutely friendly views when they talked with me. Once they told me that when the Russians conquered their land the Christian priests burned the drums of their shamans, i. e. the ceremonial instruments of their own inrouted priesthood, thereby provoking a still alive aversion to the Russian con-

querors. And these barbarities were done by a new Russian ruling class to the detriment of a people with which a number of wrongs should have been made up for as speedy as possible. Instead, under the false pretence of bringing salvation, those members of a so-called "civilized people", gave vent to down-right demonic, archaic aggressions against a technically too poorly equipped colonial people. With chauvinistic and brutal arrogance a "herrenvolk" in possession of the power extirpated without much scruple nearly half of a small, but gifted hunting people which was at the verge of dying out anyhow. It was rescued from entire obliteration by the uncommon bravery of its men and women who took up bows and arrows to preserve themselves where others would have completely fallen into despair.

The Yeniseians, like all old North-Asian peoples, cultivate an expressly spiritualistic civilization which makes every kind of materialism appear stale. It is a matter of course that, regarding organization, these peoples were overcome by a power footing on a vast territory, whereas among the old Siberian peoples the highest grade of social organization is represented by the kin, i. e. a relatively small group of consanguinary families. Still I do not approve of regarding the subjection of kin people to state people as a principal "progress". Only those who adore a primitive philosophy of power — so gladly associated with a state idea resting on the territorial principle — can take the consolidation and expansion of power in itself for something "good". West-European, Tsarist, or Soviet imperialism — they are all children of the same mother.

There are people, however, who are of opinion that there is no Soviet imperialism at all, but that in the U.S.S.R. there is an insurpassable "friendship" of all peoples, with equal rights and equal duties. That this view does not in the least correspond with the facts is duly proved by the whole history of that state structure of materialistic pattern.

Even the first Russian bolshevik moves on Siberian

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How Bolsheviks Solve the Nationality Problem

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Does that mean an at least partly positive solution of the nationality problem? No! The bourgeois proprietors are only exchanged for proletarian — the new Russian imperialists (“... to make the resources of bourgeoisie those of the proletariat”).

Stalin makes it still clearer that the bolsheviks utilized the nationality problem as a means to preserve Russian imperialism and that the right to self-determination was a vile trick: “I may admit a nation’s right to secede, but that does not mean that I oblige it to do it. The peoples have a right to secession, but they might waive it under certain circumstances” (Stalin’s speech at the 7th Party Conference). In plain words: If a particular secession is of some use for the Russian imperialistic plans, it may be conceded, if not, it is to be denied. Further comment superfluous.

Their Aim is World Domination!

Now the question remains to be answered if it is correct to identify bolshevism with Russian imperialism; this amounts to the question: What is the objective of the proletarian revolution? — Lenin explains it: “. . . there is a difference between the target of the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party) — destruction of Russia —, and our aim — overthrow of autocracy!” (Lenin: “The Nationality Problem in Our Program”). For Lenin the point was not the liberation of the peoples from oppression, but a change in form, in order to replace the imperialist power of autocracy by the imperialistic power of a dictatorship of the Russian proletariat.

Lenin’s disciple Stalin certified this, saying that “Russian revolution has rescued the empire from ruin” (“Essays and speeches on Ukraine”). What does that mean? In 1917/18, as we all know, almost all subjugated peoples seceded from Russia thus tearing the Russian empire asunder. So we may express Stalin’s thoughts in the following words: The revolution has preserved the Russian empire by forcibly re-subjugating all the peoples seceded. There was some reason why, at the first Soviet Congress of December 30, 1922, on the occasion of the constitution of the U.S.S.R., Stalin declared triumphantly: “. . . The present day is . . . the day

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ground aimed at exterminating the peoples of non-Russian spiritualistic civilization in the most expeditious way. By assuming the likewise aggressive and philosophically primitive, materialistic sciences with which the Russian “progressive” intelligentsia of that epoch would identify itself, Soviet imperialism has become the greatest and most inexorable enemy to all non-materialistic and hence all non-Russian national civilizations of the Soviet Eurasian sphere.

No Chance for Anti-Religious Campaign

Even the “prehistoric” Yeniseians had no difficulties in realizing the above, mentioned fact. I remember a talk so well that I had with a tall, calm man who mentioned an affair which bothered all the Yeniseians. He told me he had heard of men calling themselves “Cosmolzy” (he meant the Komsomolcy — members of the Komsomol). Those “cosmolzy” intended to extirpate the belief in God everywhere, also with them. The idea of being no longer allowed to believe in God (Ees, the embodiment of the heavens, the creator and preserver of men and animals) was so terrible to the Yeniseians that the worried man asked me whether they could obtain weapons from Germany: like the Tsar who once began a war in order to find out which creed was the better, they would take up arms to contest the “cosmolzy”. And then they would see that God would not leave them in the lurch.

This firm faith in the spiritual origin of the cosmos as illuminated in our talk, is it not touching in its upright and non-compromising clearness? The ideology of my friends in the wild forests along the lower Yenisei who let the world be the result of the creative spiritual power of the “heavens” is ever so superior to the foul tricks which the dialectic or other materialism is never tired of performing to us. From those, however, who, once they have the power in hand, do not know anything better to do with it than to leave completely dependent harmless members of an amiable forest people coolly to the death of famine while they themselves were sitting well-fed in warm Russian log-houses, from those people and their “philosophy” we can only turn with horror.

of new Russia’s triumph over the old”. True — on reading Stalin’s speech further one will find passages like this: “Russia has gathered the peoples of the Soviet Republics around her to display a model of world-wide U.S.S.R.” But, if it is a model of world-wide U.S.S.R., we know without further investigation that it is the model of a Russian world empire.

And now some remarks on the methods of this policy:

In order to cloak their real aims and to attain them the easier, the bolsheviks proclaimed the class struggle. Class struggle is the practical form of the revolution. This is why Lenin writes: “Social democracy, as a party of the proletariat, considers

The Will of the Bulgarian Emigrants

“National Bulgaria”, the organ of the Bulgarian National Front, published an appeal of the organization in No. 1/2 of January/February 1954 from which we quote the following:

“To appeal to our entire emigration in all countries in the world, no matter to what political party they belong, to agree upon a common memorandum on the above question, which is to be submitted to the United Nations, to all organizations concerned with the support of the resistance fight of the emigres from countries behind the Iron Curtain and to the public of the entire free world, in order to ask for the constitution of a true and worthy Bulgarian representation in exile, consisting of representatives, of all democratic national elements in exile, of qualified men from Bulgarian church, army, of cultural and economic life. As to the platform of this national representation the Bulgarian National Front proposes the following basic principles:

1) Uncompromising fight against Communism and all branches of Communism in close cooperation with the Western Powers, in order to free our country from the Communist regime and from Soviet Russian supremacy and to prevent any possible dictatorship in the future.

2) Re-establishment of the constitution of Tirnovo as a guarantee for true democracy, for national freedom and independence, social peace and a peaceful political development, maintaining the unity of the people and excluding all class-differences.

3) Refutation of the calumnious campaign against the historical policies of Bulgaria for national self-maintenance and unification, in order to win the confidence of the West in the Bulgarian people as a basis for the balance of power and peace on the Balkans.

4) A guarantee of Bulgaria’s territorial integrity and of her position in the planned regional and continental integrations through participation of the Bulgarian exile-representation in the international initiatives and institutions.”

it its prime positive task to lend a helping hand to self-determination not of a particular people or nation, but of the proletariat of all nations. It is in the interest of this struggle, that all claims must be subordinated “. . . And “A marxist cannot admit the right to national self-determination but under the above condition” (“The Nationality Problem in Our Program”).

This is not new. It is only another version of the old proverb, “divide and rule”.

Stalin Knew Why “Territorial Autonomy”

And now we must consider the question which rights the bolsheviks are ready to grant to those peoples which “prefer for some reason or other to stay within the whole (i. e. Russia — A. W.)”. Still, before going into that we must ask Stalin: “which are those peoples, actually, wanting to stay within the whole?” There is no answer. For all peoples belonging to the U.S.S.R. have been annexed by force. But let us just fancy there were such a people. What are its rights? The bolsheviks grant it “territorial autonomy”. This applies to Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, and others, in short, to all so-

called “Soviet Republics”. They all got the status of autonomous territories within the U.S.S.R. Settling the nationality problem the bolsheviks preferred the principle of “territorial autonomy” to that of “cultural autonomy”. And they knew, why. Cultural autonomy entitles the respective people to its peculiar cultural life. And wherever a member of this people may be, he is entitled to represent this culture. A Ukrainian living in Moscow, for instance, would be permitted to speak Ukrainian without being blamed for a “boorish” language or being ostentatiously not understood. In that case the Ukrainian army would not only speak Ukrainian, too, but furthermore would have been trained according to the examples of Ukrainian history.

The bolsheviks, however, choose “territorial autonomy”. And Stalin gives the reasons: “It (territorial autonomy) does not divide men into nations and does not strengthen national partition walls; just the contrary — it breaks down all national particularism and knits the population in layers . . . Territorial autonomy renders it possible to exploit the local minerals and to develop local productive forces in the best possible way” (“Marxism and the Nationality Problem”).

We see that Stalin has every reason to write so much on behalf of “territorial autonomy”. Great benefits are involved. For instance:

1. The state (Moscow) is authorized to disperse people of any nation everywhere and to force them to comply with the intentions of the majority (i. e. Russian intentions).

2. The state is authorized to institute in the territories state (resp. socialist) language, school, culture, and so on. The respective people is not entitled to resist since that would be a “defence of national partition walls” or just “an unsuitable demand”.

3. All industrial centres (plants, mines) can be subordinated directly to the state, as has been done in Ukraine, in the Donets and Kryvy Rih coal pot.

Now, that will do.

Each People its own State!

Finally we must not overlook Stalin’s remarks on the different forms of autonomy: “Soviet autonomy includes manifold forms and grades, from a close administrative autonomy (Volga-Germans, Chuvashs, Carelians) its scope reaches to a broad political autonomy (Bashkirs, Tartars, Kirgises) and on to an even wider form (Ukrainian, Turkestanian) and finally to the highest form of autonomy, namely treaty relations (Azerbaijan). This elasticity of Soviet autonomy is one of its outstanding advantages, because it is possible, thereby, to embrace the variety of Russian peoples” (“The Nationality Problem in Soviet Policy”).

The fact that there are autonomies and that there is a centre, makes it clear that there are also different ranks of peoples. If that is true the question rises whether such a state system is a federation of peoples with equal rights or just a usual empire. Stalin certainly has some reasons for not mentioning this point anywhere . . . There was nothing to be mentioned after all since the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) is the centre from where those forms of Soviet autonomy are regulated according to the respective opportunities for the Russian imperialistic plans.

It is true that, in dealing with the nationality problem, the bolsheviks deviated far from tsarism. They made skilful use of the variety of Russian peoples when they preserved and consolidated the Russian empire by setting up “autonomous Republics” and “Soviet Republics”. But it is not to be understood, that we defend the idea of a “cultural autonomy”. Neither cultural nor territorial autonomy can afford all that which is required for a people’s life and development. We continue to maintain that there are no peoples and will never be, which want to stay within a “whole”. We have dealt with this problem for the sole purpose of showing from all sides the true face of bolshevik imperialism. Our conclusions shall add to the proof that for our subjugated peoples there is no difference between bourgeois and proletarian imperialism.

We reject every kind of autonomy — cultural as well as territorial — as we know only too well that there are no peoples or nations which would not live in a state of their own and would prefer to stay “within the whole”, that is, to bow to an alien yoke. Therefore, we demand a system of free national states of all subjugated peoples, built up in conformity with ethnographic principles.

Free Tribune of Science:

The National Tendencies in the U.S.S.R. (II)

The Dissolution of Russian Civilization under Bolshevik Rule

By Prof. V. Derzhavyn

The revolution which overthrew Tsarist rule in February 1917 was a favourable opportunity for all non-Russian peoples and nations in the Russian Empire to turn away from everything Russian, including "All-Russian" and "National-Russian" forms of its imperial civilization. In general the chance was taken.

In the political sphere proper, however, the non-Russian nations and peoples made many mistakes and missed many chances between 1917 and 1920. This applies particularly to the national state policy which requires much profounder knowledge and experience than that which was at the command of the politically leading circles there after decades of subjugation. In cultural domain, however, where the national will comes to light most immediately and easily, in 1917 all non-Russian peoples of the former Tsarist Empire expressed their desire for cultivating their national civilization alone undisturbed by connections with the alien and only artificially nourished "All-Russian" imperial civilization. This opposition to "Russiandom" which broke through at the time could never be undone by any later bolshevik russifying terrorism.

Theoretically there was an opportunity also for the Russians to turn away from "All Russian" imperial civilization and to return to the native sources of their peculiar national or folk civilization. This was enthusiastically propagated in the first revolutionary years by a few noted Russian writers — so-called "peasant-poets" — with Sergey Yessenin and Nikolay Kluyev at the head; in belles-lettres alike thoughts were advocated by Boris Pilnyak who was very popular in the early twenties. But the whole movement petered out. The reason was not so much bolshevik reprisals (Yessenin committed suicide partly for political reasons, Klyuyev was sent to Siberia in the twenties, Pilnyak disappeared without trace in the early thirties), but the lack of the object. Actually there was no native Russian folk civilization that could have been preferred to imperial "All-Russian" civilization in European disguise. Scarce commencements to bring it about were choked by the centralistic powers in Petersburg and Moscow as early as in the 17th and 18th century by sanguinary persecution of the "Old-Believers" and by the defeat of the great revolts of the like-minded Cossacks and the peasants in the East (Razin, Pugachov). In the times to follow those tendencies were hardly heard of again. What the Moscow "Slavophiles" of the 19th century and the great-Russian chauvinists of the 20th called "genuine Russiandom", is actually the old tradition of Muscovite Tsardom, by no means native, but borrowed partly from the Tartars of the Golden Horde and chiefly from Byzantium. It was fostered particularly by the representatives of the orthodox church education, and closely connected with a language that was known as Old Church Slavonian and remained rather incomprehensible for the uneducated Russian masses. The imitated European outfit of the Russian empire under Peter I and his successors was even more alien to, and hated by, the people. Since this hatred against everything alien was the only thing that the Russian masses could set against the "Herren-culture" of the externally europeanized upper classes, this led to a principal hatred against every education as such.

The same hatred against everything alien and educated characterizes Soviet Russian bolshevism: Bolshevism took its rise from the historical coincidence of the Russian popular opposition to civilization and everything non-Russian, with Marxian dogmatism that opposes civilization, too. Just this is the handle for the bolshevist hold; just this is the historical key for the communist world-catastrophe and the reason why the ethnic Russians are necessarily the bearers of what is called "proletarian world revolution". In short: Bolshevism took tight hold of the Russian masses because it gives vent to their hatred against everything alien, and against everything like European education. In the early revolutionary years this hatred of the masses was directed by "Party and Government" chiefly against the remnants of "Western" and "bour-

geois-reactionary" all-Russian civilization of the upper classes; later on against the national cultures of the non-Russian peoples re-conquered by Soviet-Russia; in the second world war against the Germans and against all sorts of "fascists"; after the war against everything European as a whole, not even excluding the Jews in the Soviet Union — the so-called "Cosmopolites" — who for well-comprehensible reasons of cultural history have always tended to Western civilization. All these stages are but modifications of one and the same principal political tactic.

The Russian bolsheviks are Russian chauvinists of the same pattern as all the other Russian chauvinists: they hate foreigners pitilessly without asking whether or not their hatred is justified by any national or international virtues. Thereby (and not by the always "opportunistic", that is extremely elastic and irresponsible, tactics) they differ widely from all other Marxist parties in Europe and come in telling neighbourhood to the Russian anarchists of Bakunin's pattern.

It is a matter of course that Soviet bolshevism thoroughly and repeatedly changed its tactics towards the "All-Russian" pre-revolutionary civiliz-

ation and the Russian Greek-Orthodox Church as well as its entire policy of education. To give a crass example: we recollect that in the twenties the literary work of such Russian national writers as Pushkin was to be told about in Russian schools only "from a historical standpoint" with many and weighty "social" reserves, whereas in the thirties already these same reserves required special justification; and in the forties they were never heard of again. All this results from the necessity to make more and more "national-patriotic" concessions to the chauvinism of the Russian half-educated (i. e. "re-educated") masses, in order to keep the grip tight.

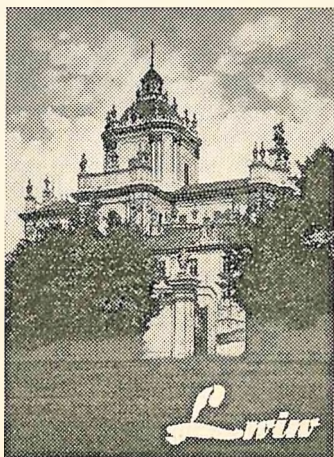
A good bolshevist is proud of his "genuine Russiandom", not because he would esteem the Russian people as such particularly high, but because of the fact that it was the Russian people that created Soviet Communism (official authorities say so); and because, accordingly, only genuine Russians can be perfect Soviet communists (no official authorities say so, of course). All other aspects are fairly irrelevant. It may be doubted whether such attitude should be called "national".

However incredible it may sound: prior to 1917 every average Russian was deeply convinced that there was only one "triune" nation, with the Great-Russian (i. e. Muscovite) ranking first, in a way, to the Small-Russian (i. e. Ukrainian) and the Byelorussian. This fictitious picture of the three "Russian" peoples was the fundament of the Russian "National Idea" held up by the Russian state and faithfully accepted by the uneducated Russian masses though chiefly for the reason of a religious solidarity (that means excluding the Ukrainians

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LVIV—The Western Bastion of Ukraine

Now, when we have entered into the middle decade of the twentieth century, Lviv celebrates the seventh centenary of its foundation. It was the Ukrainian King Danylo who founded the city in 1250, designating it as the seat for his son Lev. In this way the early castle and the settlement around it became known as Lev's town — Lviv.



St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, token of a grand past.

The capital of the Ukrainian state of Galicia and Volhynia was transferred to Lviv on the accession of Lev, and since that time this city has played the dominant part in the life of West Ukraine.

For a time Lviv became the cultural centre of all Ukraine. Owing to its favourable geographical situation on the cross-roads between Central and Eastern Europe and between the Baltic and the Black seas, Lviv reached a high degree of prosperity, and merchants from distant corners of Europe and from the Middle East thronged the city. Germans, Poles, Armenians, Greeks, Rumanians, besides Ukrainians brought their wares to the Lviv market. Lviv became a meeting place of nations, and this is one of the reasons why that town bears so many names. Its Latin name was Leopoldis, Germans called it Lemberg, Poles — Lwow, French — Léopol, Greeks — Leovios, etc.

The partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) brought most of Ukraine under Russian domination; but Lviv with Galicia, Carpathian Ukraine and Bukovina became a part of the Austrian Habsburg dominions. Under the rule of the Viennese monarchs Ukrainians began a slow but steady re-

covery from their subservient position in the former Polish republic. In 1848 the first Ukrainian political organization, the Rus'ka Rada, was established in Lviv, and a Delegation of Ukrainian scholars took part in the first Slav Congress in Prague. In 1873, thanks to the efforts of Ukrainian scholars from all parts of Ukraine, the Shevchenko Scientific Society was founded in Lviv. It became renowned far beyond the borders of Ukraine and attained an important position among the academies of the Slavonic peoples. Five years later the popular educational society "Prosvita" came into being and its influence became supreme in raising the cultural, standard and national consciousness of Ukrainians everywhere.

Bitter feelings between the dominant Polish minority and Ukrainian population came to a head in the cultural sphere when, at the beginning of the XXth century, the struggle was waged for the national character of the Lviv University after the abolition of lectures in German.

When in November, 1918, Austria disintegrated, the Ukrainians of Lviv and Galicia seized power in the Eastern part of the Austrian province of Galicia, where the Ukrainian population predominated and proclaimed the West Ukrainian National Republic in accordance with the principle of self-determination. (November 1, 1918). The revolt of the Polish inhabitants of Lviv, however, supported by Polish forces from Poland proper and French diplomacy, resulted in the Ukrainians having to engage in the defensive struggle in the West, in addition to the fight on other fronts in the East, against the Bolsheviks and the Russian White Armies. Undaunted by the unsuccessful struggle for freedom (1917—1921) the Ukrainians under the Polish rule, and emigrés from East Ukraine continued their efforts in different form aiming at the political liberation of Ukraine and the establishment of an independent and united Ukrainian State. Lviv became the arena of the first underground activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization (U.V.O.) and, since 1929, a great focus of the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), above all the organization of heroic youth whose object was direct struggle for full liberty for all Ukrainian territories. The reprisals on the part of the Polish government, such as the notorious "pacification" in 1930, the policy of suppression of Ukrainian cultural life and "polonization" of Galicia, which was even renamed "Little Poland", intensified the Ukrainian intransigence. After the short occupation of Lviv by Soviet Russia (1939—41) and the outbreak of the war between Germany and Russia, the

(Continued on Page 12)

Russification of Slovakia

In its century-old imperialistic policy Moscow still uses its proven methods. On the one hand the Kremlin does not forget to utilize communist ideology for lulling the national consciousness of the dominated peoples asleep and for disarming their resistance against its despotism, and at the same time it fosters Russian chauvinism.

There is hardly another people so well able to harness communist ideology for extending its own supremacy as the Russian. In Russian hands communism has turned into an instrument of expansion which is to secure the results of a ruthless russification. The Russian chauvinists hold up the knowledge of the Russian language as a necessary means for the peoples ruled by communism to make themselves familiar with the "valuable Soviet Russian experiences in building up socialism within the shortest possible time". They emphasize the importance of the Russian language as "the international language of progress and peace". Since 1945 Moscow has been striving systematically and methodically to russify Slovakia. It is not surprising that daily lessons in the Russian language have been made obligatory for all sorts and grades of school. Accomplishment in Russian is the scale by which the individual quality for studies and the attitude towards the regime is measured.

But the Russian despots are not prepared to wait for decades for the realization of their intentions. Therefore the "Association for Czechoslovak-Russian Friendship" was allowed the task of conveying the knowledge of Russian to those masses of people who are no longer in connection with the school. To this end the said organization propagates the reading of Russian books, newspapers, and magazines, arranges evening meetings where only Russian is spoken. In November 1953 the action "The Soviet Book — Our Teacher and Adviser in Building up Socialism" was launched. In the district of Zilina alone 636 exhibitions of Russian books were arranged. District conferences of the readers of Soviet (that is Russian) papers are organized everywhere. In the district of Komarno 25 readers' circles with 400 members have been constituted. In the Skoda works there alone 15 circles have been instituted.

Popular courses in Russian are held not only in cities, but also in little towns, villages, factories, and kolkhozes. Great importance is ascribed

Ukrainians of Lviv thought the moment had come for the liberation of Ukraine. Before even the Soviet army evacuated Lviv, the Ukrainian insurgents seized power in the city on June 30th, 1941, and proclaimed through the Lviv broadcasting station the restoration of Ukrainian independence. Soon afterwards the provisional government of Independent Ukraine was formed in Lviv. Unfortunately, however, the Germans entered Ukraine with plans of their own which clashed most sharply with the aspirations of the Ukrainian people. Soon, most of the members of the provisional Ukrainian government, with Mr. Y. Stetko, as its head, were imprisoned by the Gestapo some of them dying in concentration camps. Ukrainian feelings were insulted to such an extent that Lviv and Galicia were included in the "General Gouvernement" of Poland. The masses of the Ukrainian population, however, gave their support to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which fought the unequal struggle, both against the Germans and against the returning Bolsheviks. Even after the war ended elsewhere the struggle in Ukraine continued, and many an unknown hero fell in the streets of Lviv in the fulfilment of his national duty. On March 5th, 1950 in Bilohorshcha, a suburb of Lviv, the C.-in.-C. of the U.P.A. General Taras Chupryuka fell in the battle with the M.V.D. troops. The struggle, however, for Ukrainian independence has not weakened. It continues, and the famous Ukrainian city of Lviv plays in it a glorious part. When in 1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Western Ukraine was ruthlessly persecuted by Moscow and its members were forced to accept the subservient Russian Orthodoxy, when Ukrainian Catholic Bishops headed by Metropolitan J. Slipyj of Lviv were arrested, deported or suffered martyrdom, Ukrainians of Lviv answered by resisting. The Russian occupants of Ukraine lived in constant fear of justified punishment.

to the eastern parts of Slovakia on the grounds that there the railway employes, officials, and workers have the chance of meeting Russian people more often.

The action is carried out on a large scale. At the state conference of the popular courses for the Russian language in Brno, it was stated that, by the end of last November, in the countries of Czecho-Slovakia 14, 174 popular courses for Russian were held, which were attended by 221,000 working people. In Slovakia 2,994 such courses with 4,500 auditors were counted. Various measures were taken within "the Month of Czechoslovak-Russian Friendship" to raise the attendance figure to 100,000.

According to official statements there were 1,093 study circles with 16,116 attendants in the district of Bratislava, 708 study circles with 11,464 attendants in the district of Kosice, 675 study circles with 10,200 attendants in the district of Zilina.

† Andriy Livytsky

On January 17, 1954, the president of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, Andriy Livytsky, died aged 74, in Karlsruhe, Germany, in exile. He was born in the district of Poltava on April 9, 1879. As a young student he already ardently advocated the national claims of Ukraine. Owing to his political activity he early came into contact with such authorities of Ukrainian public life as Symon Petlyura, Isaac Mazepa, and others.

The Ukrainian national revolution in 1917 induced the then lawyer to put his uncommon capability at his fatherland's disposal as governor of Poltava. His outstanding efficiency in this domain opened him the way to the post of Minister of Justice and Minister for Foreign Affairs and, later on, even to that of the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Republic.

After President Symon Petlyura had been assassinated by bolshevik agents in Paris in May 1926, Livytsky was made his successor and held that position up to his death.

The death of one of its most prominent politicians who gained great merits in his life-long struggle for the freedom and independence of his homeland and against Russian imperialism, is a great loss for Ukraine and its emigrants.

The study circles in the district of Presov were attended by 7,000, those in the town of Lucenec by 10,200.

In order to carry out the divers measures of Sovietization and russification more successfully in Slovakia, the "Slovakian Board of the Association of Czechoslovak-Russian Friendship" has been founded. By arranging talks this board endeavours to bring the necessity of learning Russian home to the Slovaks. In the district of Bratislava 510 such talks were organized. By the end of November 1953, 2,600 such meetings took place in the whole of Slovakia, 31 of them, for instance in Dubnica, under the topic "The Importance of the Russian Language".

For educating the personnel for these russifying activities the "High School for a four years' study of the Russian language and literature" has been established in Prag. Another kind of thorough schooling is a five years' evening and "at-home" course.

It may be taken for granted that these figures of Soviet origin are not exaggerated. It is likewise certain that the people are ordered to these study circles, but have no mind to attend them if they are not bound to do so. There is no doubt that the present regime in Slovakia strains every effort to spread the Russian language in Slovakia generally. Moscow considers this a necessary premise for securing its power not only in Slovakia but also in the territory of the Danube basin. F. D.

The Day of Commemorating and Longing

On February 16, 1918, the Lithuanian National Council proclaimed the national independence of Lithuania. On the occasion of this national holiday we wish the brave Lithuanian people that the independent Lithuanian state may soon be restored.

We join with all our hearts the faithful commemoration that the Lithuanian emigrés dedicate to the ever so short freedom of their native country, and we hope that the free world will contribute its full share to fulfil the national desire and to end the inhumane martyrdom of the Lithuanian people. To attain this goal is one of the prime objectives the A.B.N. is striving for.

International Board of Lawyers in Munich

On the occasion of opening a branch of the International Board of Lawyers in Munich, a meeting of the board was arranged there from February 5 to 8, concluded by a reception in the Park Hotel on February 8. From the executive members of the board took part: Dr. A. van Dal, lawyer at the High Council of the Netherlands; Dr. H. Munkstell, Stockholm, member of the national assembly and one-time ambassador; American lawyers' associations were represented by Mr. McDonnell and others.

Dr. Theo Friedenau, Berlin, chairman of the Investigation Board of Free Jurists, welcomed the guests and briefly outlined the objective of the board: to investigate the deliberate unlawfulness of the system in the Soviet countries on the grounds of legally proved facts and to combat what appears as lawlessness in Western eyes.

Prof. R. Maurach gave a concise survey on the legal conditions behind the Iron Curtain.

Among the guests were Dr. O. Weinkamm, Minister of Justice; Dr. Konrad, First President of the Oberstes Landgericht; President of the Oberlandesgericht Dr. Wintrich; Attorney General Dr. Grosser; President of the Lawyers' Chamber, Dr. Dahn; representing sciences Dr. San Nicolo Marian, Prof. H. Koch and Rector of the Ukrainian University Prof. Mirchuk. The A.B.N. was represented by Dr. D. Balkansky and Prince Niko Nakashidze.

It is the merit of the board that it confronts the Western world with telling factual material on the social order, i. e. lawlessness and arbitrary manners behind the Iron Curtain.

Encyclopedia of Ukraine

The Ukrainian scientists with the fellows of the "Shevchenko Scientific Society" at the head are performing a most valuable and useful work for their subjugated people.

On February 10, 1954, in Munich, the president of said society in Western Europe and Secretary General for the whole West, Prof. Volodymyr Kubyiovych, informed the exile-press, that a three volume Encyclopedia of Ukraine (General Part with 1250 pp., colour prints, and maps) was published recently. The text of this work has been adapted by noted Ukrainian scientists under the direction of Prof. Kubyiovych and Prof. Zenon Kuzela. The encyclopedia contains an ethnographical map of South-West Ukraine (Galicia-Halychyny) with an introduction and with every place being marked according to the composition of nationalities of its population. The laborious work of elaborating the map was performed by Prof. Kubyiovych. Considering that a similar map of that region has not existed up to now, we must value it all the higher. In our next edition we will review it in detail.

The second part of the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, comprising four more volumes alphabetically classified (1600 pp), is being elaborated. Another map, similar to the above mentioned, showing statistics of the nationality groups in South-West Ukraine with explanations, index etc., is likewise being prepared.

The enormous work hitherto performed could only be done thanks to the readiness for sacrifice of the Ukrainian emigrés all over the world. It was a hard piece of work, to be accomplished without orderly archives, without normal working conditions and official aid. This encyclopedia is an indispensable authority for all who study Ukraine.

Orders to be sent to the publisher "Molode Zhytia", Munich 2, Dachauer StraÙe 9/II, Germany.

A Suspicious Kind of Appreciation

Mr. Isaac Deutscher, the writer of the widely known, though scientifically objectionable, biography of Stalin, is, as we know, no friend of the national liberation movements of the peoples oppressed by Moscow in general, and of the Ukrainians in particular. His recent comments in *"The Times"*, January 15, 1954, under "Changes in the Ukraine — 300th Anniversary of Union with Russia" might have attracted all the more attention. In the beginning the Ukrainian nationality problem is dealt with according to the usual Russian-friendly pattern: "The Dnieper Cossacks were mostly ex-serfs, fugitives from the domains of the Polish gentry. They lived by hunting and fishing in the steppes and by carrying out raids on Crimean Tartars, Turks, and Polish nobles, and by making pogroms of the Jews" — as if "pogroms of the Jews" could have been a lasting source of existence for a population of several millions or merely for the tens of thousands of the regular Cossack army! The chief historical role of the Cossacks as the only effective protectors of the Ukrainian regions against unceasing devastations and marauding expeditions of the Crimean Tartars is as well concealed as the social position and role of the Jews in Ukraine as tenants or stewards of the Polish domains. Still let us listen:

"Almost until recent times the Ukrainians remained a primitive (!) peasant people — the urban bourgeoisie and the working classes of the Ukraine were Russian and Jewish (here the author seems to reveal a propensity for the Marxian view on history with its aversion to what Marx called "idiotism of peasantry" — V. D.) Throughout their history the Ukrainians were incapable of forming a truly independent national movement of their own. Revolting against Russia they hired themselves to the Polish gentry, to the Turkish Sultan, and, in more recent times, to Austro-Hungary and Germany . . ."

And what about the heroic fight of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) at two fronts — both against the Nazi and the Soviet occupants? Apparently the author has heard something about it, but his opinion on the O.U.N.

and the U.P.A. does not deviate in the least from the line of the Moscow press: "Polish Ukraine was the homeland of an intense, truly fascist brand of Ukrainian nationalism which began to fester (!) within the united Ukraine; and long after the war the terrorist, fascist gangs of Bandera raided, terrorized, and pillaged the lands between Lvov and Kiev."

That such bolshevik slanders of Ukrainian nationalism and its liberation fight are presented from time to time also in the countries before the Iron Curtain and not only by Russian imperialists and Polish chauvinists but also by many a press organ in the still free world — this fact is no doubt utterly deplorable and is a shame for the "liberal" and socialist public opinion, but it is not new and would not deserve special mention. But now — ensuing immediately on the above condemnation of the alleged "truly fascist brand of Ukrainian nationalism" — comes the sensation:

"But in part the 'bourgeois nationalism' now denounced (by the Kremlin — V. D.) represented a more respectable mood, namely, the legitimate reaction of a culturally grown-up Ukraine against Moscow's Stalinist tutelage."

According to the author's sensational view there is indeed a "more respectable" Ukrainian nationalism which, however, has absolutely nothing to do with the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian emigrants or of the people in West-Ukrainian territories forcibly occupied by the Poles in 1919 to 1939. It only exists in Soviet Ukraine as the result of the "cultural upgrowth" of Ukraine under Soviet rule, particularly of the industrialization of Ukraine that the Soviets launched! The Ukrainians "blessed" that way — the author thinks — feel mature at last to decline further Russian tutelage and to raise their own claims. Those are humble enough, by the way: "A new mood in the Ukraine and elsewhere, a mood stronger than the transitory alignments in the Kremlin, a mood which will continue to defy the old Tsarist and the recent Stalinist traditions of government and will demand Socialist equality." But not a word about national independence of Ukraine!

The author has even traced out an advocate of

The National Tendencies in the U. S. S. R.

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of the Greek-Catholic Church). However the Soviet policy-of russification may be and however atrocious the corresponding Russian reprisals in Ukraine and Byelorussia may be — it will occur to no Soviet Russian now-a-days to claim that the Ukrainians or Byelorussians were "Russians too". This out-dated formula is no longer used anywhere except in certain circles of the "old" Russian emigrés. Thereby, it is true, the Muscovites got rid of a weighty idealistic and political error. Yet the policy of the Soviet Russian state is about to entangle them in another false conclusion, namely that the Russian masses must be taken for a nation fully developed since times of old and conscious of its own national character. This is to base the factual and, in recent times, even official supremacy of the Russians in the U.S.S.R. As a matter of fact, this is not so. Yet, in case of a speedy appropriation of the "All-Russian" culture (which neither the Ukrainian nor the Byelorussian lay claim to) and of a general raising of the standard of education the Russian masses had a sporting chance to develop into a normal nation in the course of some decades. But it is just this what Soviet rule rendered impossible — furthermore, it is probably too late now even if the Soviet rule was overthrown.

Why is it too late? Not because the uneducated masses of the ethnic Russians, incited by the bolsheviks for political purposes against culture and education of the former ruling classes and against these classes as such, have ragged too much against, and have annihilated and obliterated too much of, these classes during the early revolutionary years. Material losses could easily have been compensated; and the more vital losses of culturally valuable man-cadres (decimated a second time in the terroristic actions of the thirties, though not to the same extent as the non-Russian) would, with this people of 60 to 70 million, be overcome in the course of a few generations. Much more ponderous is the fact that the Russian people in the Soviet

Union is permanently backed by "Party and Government" in its inrooted hatred against alien things and is thoroughly corrupted by a mad chauvinistic propaganda; furthermore, it has been entirely alienated to the former "All-Russian" civilization and, by more than thirty years of Soviet communist "policy of education", has been "re-educated" to anti-cultural and anti-moral views.

What the Soviets call "education" (and what they are so proud of) comprises actually three things: party-political schooling, technical training, and sports. (All other things are regarded and dealt with as mere material for party propaganda). The "cultural value" of the first item needs no comment. The second and the third are no doubt parts of a normal cultural education, but it is likewise no doubt that they are not the essence of civilization and are therefore unsuitable substitutes. Thus the ways to re-appropriating the pre-revolutionary Russian civilization are thoroughly blocked for the Russian people, and its early commencements for a peculiar native civilization have long fallen into oblivion.

It may be argued that the bolshevik "policy of education" has been extended to all so-called Soviet Republics and has often been exerted there even stronger. But that is just the essential difference that with the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. every anti-cultural policy will meet with express national consciousness and with a firm will to preserve and cultivate the national civilization, whereas in Muscovite Russia every anti-cultural policy is ardently supported for the above reasons by a specifically Russian substitute for national consciousness: pitiless hatred against everything alien and hollow chauvinism. This wide barbarization of the ethnic Russian people under Soviet rule makes it a psychic necessity for the Russian, to trump with their narrow-minded chauvinism towards the non-Russian nations, and that the farther the more. This can be noticed even in the circles of the "new" Russian emigration.

that queer Soviet-Ukrainian "nationalism", and that is none other but the ousted and executed Lavrenty Beria, who emphasized in his speech at the 19th Party Congress in October 1952 the "economic and cultural development and growth of the non-Russian Republics of the U.S.S.R.", particularly of Ukraine, and came to the conclusion "there are no more backward nations among us". This, the author means, enabled the Ukrainians to regard themselves as equal to the Russians.

Such a degree of naivety is amazing. One can only wonder which of the two suppositions is more absurd: to take the hangmen Beria for a defender of "Socialist equality" among the peoples in the Soviet Union (though during World War II and later on he raged as much against the non-Russian so-called "bourgeois nationalism", as his predecessor Yezhov in his time), or to believe that in Stalin's life-time Beria might have dared to utter in public a single word that did not reflect faithfully Stalin's momentary views on nationalities. The non-committal typically bolshevik slogan, that "there are no more backward nations in the U.S.S.R. thanks to the cultural promotion by the Soviet regime", could likewise have been voiced by Stalin himself at any time of his dictatorship.

That Beria, after Stalin's death, wanted to rely on the non-Russian elements of the Party who disliked further Russification, is evident. But now he has been overthrown and "extirpated" with all his followers. Still the author's optimism mounts beyond all bounds: "The Russifiers" — he says at the end — "appear to have come back. Yet they seem to have lost much of their old confidence (Whence did he learn that? — V. D.). They do not preach about Great Russian's burden as crudely and loudly as they used to." — All those are but hollow words which correspond only to likewise empty phrases from the Kremlin. What the writer wants is to revive at any price the fatal phantom of a "possible liberalization" of the Soviet regime in order to mitigate thereby the "cold war" against Russia.

Yet, his true object of interest seems to be of another kind. Since now-a-days not even those political circles in the West which are most hostile to the national liberation movements of the captive nations can deny or ignore them any longer, they try to belittle them. They compare the bad "fascist" nationalism of the representatives of these peoples in exile with the deceitful picture of a supposed local Soviet-communist "nationalism" within the Soviet Union (just the sort the Soviets longed for during the war) desiring nothing more but "socialist equality". As a matter of fact, there is only one kind of loyal Soviet-communist "nationalism" in the Soviet Union — the Russian. And for that "socialist equality" is nothing but its own imperialist expansion.

However greatly we are pleased about any progressive step in the judgement of the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R. — be it only that even hostile circles, can no longer ignore this problem and have to deal with it in any, however fantastic, way — on the other hand we regard the author's partial acknowledgement of the justification of a Ukrainian nationalism as a rather treacherous gift. We know that it aims at splitting the Ukrainian national forces in exile and to discrediting the genuine, non-compromising Ukrainian nationalism. Yet in his awkward way the author will hardly succeed.

V. Derzhavyn

A.B.N. Addresses the Berlin Conference

In a cable to the address of the Western Foreign Ministers in Berlin the A.B.N. warned against compromising with Russia, and expressed its determination to continue to combat tyranny, dictatorship, and totalitarianism of any kind, in the name of the noblest values of mankind and in favour of national freedom, democratic ideas, and religion.

The ministers furthermore received an exhaustively proved appeal for all-round and particularly political support of the captive nations in their anti-bolshevik struggle and psychologic warfare. "What is required to-day", it reads, "is a manifesto of freedom that the Western Powers should proclaim and address to the subjugated peoples in the East, holding out to them the restoration of their national freedom, state independence, introduction of democratic order and social justice. Such a step would have a great effect on the will to freedom and the spirit of resistance behind the Iron Curtain".

From Behind the Iron Curtain



GEORGIA

CULTURAL STRUGGLE

The Moscow "Literaturnaya Gazeta" of December 19, 1953, published a resolution of the Central Committee of The Communist Party of Georgia which severely criticized the Georgian theatres, writers, and actors.

It claimed that the plays performed were on a very poor ideologic and artistic level; that they did not describe realistically the life of the Soviet working class and were far from Soviet realism; that the Georgian Ministry of Cultural Affairs did not take much interest in the theatre and gave insufficient directives to the writers; that the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union were not satisfactorily treated. It was decided to change the section of dramaturgy into a "creative laboratory of writers" as it had to come so far that the dramatic writers "penetrate deeply into the nature of current events", reflect "truly and accurately the situation of the conflict", and offer "typical characters".

Now the poor writers have to develop their gifts and creative spirit under order in a mechanized laboratory in order to serve Soviet realism. Never in history has a human being had to live under such compulsion and never before has his spirit been so hard pressed. The poets were always permitted the right of dreaming and thinking, but the Soviet hangmen deprived them even of that! They are charged with lack of creative activity although one of them counts 80 and others 70 and 60 years. The actors are charged with rarely playing. But they are all about 60 years of age. Whence shall these pitiful creatures in the Soviet hell take their creative force?

This resolution has no doubt been passed, on word from Moscow. The tendency: Georgian plays are unsuitable, translate one from Russian. — But that is alright, since such measures can only stir embitterment and hatred against the Moscow despots!



LATVIA

EVERYTHING GOES BADLY!

The party paper Moscow "Pravda" of February 16, 1954, prints an extensive report of the 13th congress of the communist party in Latvia. It sharply criticizes various shortcomings in the work of the M.T.S. and its direction by party and Soviet organs. The delegates, says the report, reproached the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Latvia with paying too little regard to the consolidation of the local party organizations. The C. C. Bureau, they said, had approved of too many resolutions which were subject to a previous discussion at a meeting of the Bureau of the regional party committee. The majority resolutions and decrees of the Minister Council of the Republic, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and of the Rayon Committee of the Party, offered too little information about the situation in the rayons and kolkhozes.

They emphasized furthermore, that the directors of the political work for the masses were often not in contact with their concrete tasks.



POLAND

FORCIBLE MEASURES AGAINST THE CHURCH

The Polish communist government tries by all means to destroy the connection of the church with the Vatican, and to bring about a "national Polish Church" under the Muscovite patriarch. The continuously carried out measures of oppression which serve this purpose, reached their climax in the arrest of Kardinal Wyshinski.

Disregarding the Vatican's irrefutable legal rights, the communists, assisted by the U.B. (Security Office) forced the investment of two suitable and pliant persons as bishops in two dioceses. Applying brutal reprisals the Security Office car-

ried it through that the apostolic administrators and diocese councils bowed to their request to invite all priests of several dioceses to a discussion of "timely problems". Facing the loaded guns of armed U.B. soldiers the assembled clergy were forced to approve of a certain Vicar-General to be "elected". This man, invested by police, shall now pose as a church dignity and pastor of Christians!

May the communist regime gain some renegades by those methods, the Polish believers, however, stand loyally by the Vatican, despite the fact that they are charged with "enmity to the people" for their brave attitude.



SLOVAKIA

ATOM ARTILLERY

The first atom artillery regiment of the Czecho-Slovak army has now been quartered in East Slovakia near Kosice. The regiment has been armed with atom guns of small bore.

STAGE TRIAL AGAINST COMMUNIST EX-DIGNITARIES

The long expected stage trial against communist dignitaries dismissed many years ago is now said to take place at last in Bratislava. The defendants are: G. Husak, former chairman of the Council of Commissaries (a kind of regional government for Slovakia); L. Novomesky, former commissary for school affairs; D. Okaly, former head of the police; and others. Those ousted figures of the Communist Party in Slovakia intended to establish a separate Slovak state within the Soviet domain. Since, however, Moscow endorses the Czecho-Slovak state construction, the speakers of the Slovak communists are described as "Titoists" and "Bourgeois-Nationalists" and are cast into prison. Now these communist illusionists may experience themselves how serious Moscow is about the national principle and the right of self-determination of all peoples.

SLOVAK PEOPLE'S PARTY SCREENED

At a meeting of the central committees of the Communist Party of the C.S.R. and the Communist Party of Slovakia in December 1953, the secretaries A. Novotny and K. Bacilek pointed out the seriously detrimental ideology of the former Slovak People's Party. Therefore, on January 28 and 29, 1954, a two days' conference on the ideology and policy of the Slovak People's Party was held for interested circles in the assembly hall of the Slovak University in Bratislava. (The party was founded and presided over by Msgr. A. Hlinka and Msgr. Dr. J. Tiso).

Several lectures were given, e. g. on the rise of the party, on its activity up to 1929, on its policy from 1929 to 1945. On January 29, terroristic measures against the followers of the Slovak People's Party and against the fighters for a Slovak Republic were discussed.

Though the communists identify all fighters for a Slovak Republic with the followers of the Slovak People's Party, yet there is no doubt that the defenders of Slovak independence are not only to be found among the ranks of that party.

International Communist Arrangements

We have been informed that the following communist arrangements in international disguise shall take place this year:

"International Conference of Lawyers for the Defense of Democratic Rights", "Peace Congress for Asia and the Pacific", arranged by the World Peace Council, "Festival of the Youth of Central America and the Caribbean Islands" (World Federation of Democratic Youth), furthermore, the World Peace Congress 1954 arranged by the World Peace Council, the meeting of the World Trade Union on May 1, the "12th World Congress of Student Matchies" (International Student Organization), "World Youth Day" arranged by the World League of Democratic Youth on November 10, and the "World Student Day" on November 17.



TURKISTAN

PURGES NEVER END . . .

As everywhere else in the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union, thorough purges of the usual Soviet pattern are carried out also in Turkistan in order to nip any stir of nationalism in the bud, and to russify the non-Russian peoples completely.

Soviet papers announced that in Kazakhstan party top functionaries, among them the First Secretary Shayakhmatov, were dismissed for alleged serious failings. P. K. Ponomarenko, as First Secretary of the C. C. and L. J. Bereynew as Second Secretary of the C. C., were ordered there from Moscow. The two are Russian, and that means something. Still the appointment of Ponomarenko means something more: it shows the true intentions of the Kremlin.

Ponomarenko is the "harsh broom" of the supreme party headquarters, in other words, he is the "first hangman of the state". Since 1952 he has been a member of the chair of the C. C. (former polit bureau). He is a man without any scruples, he deserved well by the ruthless execution of the purges of deviating party functionaries, and thus rose into top ranks.

In the spring of 1950, as chief commissary, he performed most barbarous purges in Finno-Karelia, Estonia, and Latvia, and liquidated the whole old elite. Then he became Minister of Supply. We see, he is an expert in purges.

Now he has been sent to Turkistan. The heavily stricken Turkestanian people is facing a new wave of terrorism. The 18 million Mohammedans in Turkistan are waging an inexorable fight against Russian despotism in common with other Christian peoples. This common fight will once give rise to a community of the peoples of Christian and Islamic civilization, which will defend the freedom won even in future, and will prove to the world by its cultural works that they, too, have a right to a place in the community of the peoples of the free civilized world.



UKRAINE

CHANGES IN TOP RANKS

According to Moscow radio reports, a conference of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R. took place on January 16, 1954. The agenda contained organizational questions and approval of the decrees of the Supreme Council. D. S. Korotchenko was elected chairman of the Council, to take the place of discharged M. S. Hrechukha. As new Prime Minister N. T. Kalchenko was appointed.

After this re-organization the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

Furthermore 22 partly re-organized, partly newly elected members of the ministry.

The Party headquarters are constituted as follows:

Secretariat of the Central Committee of C.P.U.:

1st Secretary: O. I. Kyrtychenko,
2nd Secretary: M. W. Podhorny,
Secretary: I. D. Nazarenko.

Bureau of the Central Committee of C.P.U.:

M. S. Hrechukha, D. S. Korotchenko, S. D. Korniyets, I. S. Senin, O. I. Kyrtychenko, I. D. Nazarenko, N. T. Kalchenko, O. E. Korniychuk, M. W. Podhorny.

All that re-organizing means that Malenkov and Khrushchov take pains to strengthen their position in Ukraine. The new Prime Minister, Kalchenko, began his office with a harangue against Ukrainian nationalism, saying for instance: "The friendship between the great Russian and the Ukrainian people is a brilliant success and bans every form of appearance of bourgeois fascist disturbance which only intend to undermine the historical unification of Russia and Ukraine. This success proves the incapability of bourgeois nationalism to destroy and annihilate the unshakable solidarity of the Ukrainian, the Russian, and all the other peoples of the Soviet Union."

These outbursts of Kalchenko's show clearly that the Ukrainian people and its liberation movement is still one of the prime problems of the Soviet Union.

BOOK-REVIEWS

The Black Deeds of the Kremlin

A WHITE BOOK

Vol. 1: Book of Testimonies

Toronto, 1953, the Basilian Press, printed for the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, XIV, 546 pp.

The title of this fundamental work of anti-Soviet documentation does not quite correspond with its contents as it deals exclusively with Soviet-Moscow's wrongs against Ukrainians and not with the political crimes of bolshevism as a whole. Furthermore, the denomination of volume 1 as "Book of Testimonies" is surprising. What else should a work, imitating diplomatic documentary collections, contain but just "testimonies"? Regarding this last term, the editorial board (S. Pidhainy, Prof. I. Sandul, Prof. A. Stepovy) does not seem to have been too particular altogether; the collective work regrettably contains many a contribution offering material without any, or only approximative, dating of the event quoted (e. g. F. Fedorenko: Disappeared Without Trace). Sometimes — and that is still worse — it even offers regular political leaders instead of documents. It is to be regretted that the first chapter already starts with I. Bahryany's contribution "I Accuse" which to nine tenths is such a leader (the same author offers in chapter 4 under "Does the World Hear?" one of ten tenths). It is another weighty mistake that some contributions are written in such a belles-lettres style that most of the European and American readers will take them for a pure literary product, a mere fiction. (See M. Lazorsky: "The Ship Sails Slowly Away" or F. Yakymenko: "Where is My Bread?"). This might induce some of the readers to call the documentation of the whole book in question — by the way quite erroneously. For hardly conceivable reasons the publishers replaced direct "testimonies" in highly important domains by "summaries", although there is no lack of living eye-witnesses among the Ukrainian emigrants. It must be admitted, however, that these summaries are composed with much competent knowledge and accuracy (Yar Slavutych: "Russian Communist Practice — Genocide on Ukrainian Writers", P. Wolyniak: "The Execution of the Artists", and "The Ukrainian Catholic Church and Communism"; from the collective work "First Victims of Communism" (Rome, 1953). Of course, this is better than nothing, but it breaks through the general structure of the work and could easily have been avoided by the publishers.

The book opens with a "preface" by the Editor-in-chief, S. Pidhainy, who suitably emphasizes that most of the contributors "were or are peasants, farm laborers, workers, or clerks. Now in a free country they relate their stories of life under the Soviet regime truthfully and simply. They wrote their testimonies so that the world might learn not only about their past experiences, but also about the similar fate meted out to thousands of their fellow countrymen who had remained in the U. S. S. R. They wrote it in order to warn others, farmers and workers like themselves, not to be misled by communist propaganda." With that he admits that the book as a whole has remained "motley and uneven" since "the editor's aim has been to preserve as much as possible the original ideas and expressions of the contributors". This, as mentioned above, we consider rather a merit. Then follows a short "Introduction" by Prof. W. Simpson, the prominent Slavist of the University of Saskatchewan and faithful friend of the Ukrainians and other captive nations. He energetically points to the "particular Ukrainian aspect of Soviet oppression" and justly directed his words against those "who think in terms of abstract principles and systems" and "those excessively prudent folk who seek to gain ultimate stability by sacrificing basic principles of humanity and justice." The main contents of the book are divided up into seven chapters:

1. Concentration Camps, Prisons, and Justice in Communist Russia;
2. Camps of the Deportees;
3. Collectivization, Liquidation of Kurkul (i. e. the Ukrainian "Kulak" — V. D.) Class and Famine;
4. The Struggle for the Independence of Ukraine and Liquidation of the Ukrainian Intellectuals;
5. "Graves of Mass Murder Victims";
6. "The Russian Communist Dictatorship in Practice";
7. "Persecution of Religion in the U. S. S. R."

It will certainly not require detailed reasons when I claim that this division of the material, though otherwise logically constructed and comprising everything essential, has its weak point in the entirely superfluous chapter 6 with its utterly vague title. It was apparently meant as a box to put everything in that does not fit in anywhere else. (e. g. the Soviet treatment of the children of the repressed and other homeless children). In reality, all the contributions of this chapter could have been placed without great pains in one of the others. As another flaw it may be considered that nothing has been said about the oppression and ill treatment of the Ukrainian elements in the Soviet army (although the publishers could have found competent witness material in an article by I. M. in the Munich "Visty Bratsva Kol. Voyakiv 1. U. D. U.N.A.", Nr. 12—36, 1952. But there is some more confusion as to the division of the material into chapters. F. Fedorenko's "Disappeared Without Trace" for instance does not certain to chapter 3 but to chapter 4, since it has nothing at all to do with collectivization, but very much so with the S. V. U. Trial and its consequences. It must be understood, however, that these compositional shortcomings do not virtually damage the general value of the book which we highly recommend to all English-speaking readers.

It must have been lack of thorough information that many a point was only briefly touched. And that in a work which should be of principal bearing!

A. Oreletsky's and O. Prychodko's translation of the Ukrainian original text into English is mostly very well done, apart from some trifling slips. On page 449 for instance, the jocular expression "Comrade Rayokhmatdel" remains unexplained, though it will not occur to any reader ignorant of the Slav languages, that this is but the official abbreviation of the Russian name for "Local Department for the Protection of Mother and Child". On page 552 a certain woman is twice called

"Drabinnoi" instead of "Drobinina" as is rightly put on p. 449. On p. 455 "White Sea Commune" stands erroneously for "Black Sea Commune". Why is the noted Ukrainian literary historian, publicist and politician, Serhiy Yefremov always called Yefremiv, although, in all his life he used to spell his surname with o? And finally, why is it that two different ways of transcription are applied, one in general and another especially for the names of the contributors and translators? — as such forms as Prychodko, Wolyniak, Swiatytsky, Lev are absolutely contrary to the transcription rules formulated on p. XIV!

Some exception should be taken also to the photos and drawings in the book, yet it shall be omitted with regard to space.

And now I say it once more, that despite its weak points the book is an excellent piece of work in our fight against Soviet Russian communism. It is exceedingly copious and manifold and makes an imposing impression. There is certainly none among all the 99 larger or smaller or concise contributions that would require correction or examination of its factual data. We consider it a merit of the work that these contributions, due to their literary and politically mostly unskilled writers, deviate so widely in form and style-ranging from plain, starkly documentary notes to longer passages from a book of memoirs. It meets the requirements of different reader circles and gives a hint that in an honest and non-compromising fight against bolshevik atrocities literary form ranks far behind factual report.

V. D.

Hugh Seton-Watson:

The Pattern of Communist Revolution

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1953, 380 pp.

The new work of the noted English anti-communist analyzer and publicist deals chiefly with the history of Soviet communism inside as well as outside the Soviet Union. He takes great pains to accentuate those features just typical for particular events or the development as a whole. This accounts for the not entirely appropriate title of the book. The scientific merits and drawbacks are irregularly scattered over the different parts of the work, since the author, in his views, depends largely on the quality of his authorities. By far the best in elaboration are no doubt those chapters which describe the activity of the Comintern, especially its relations to the communist parties of the West (for that subject the author had extraordinarily numerous and reliable authorities at his disposal). In doing so he indefatigably points out again and again how the comintern, pliant to the C.P.S.U., ignored the interests of what they call proletarian revolution, pursuing only the diplomatic (resp. strategic) interests of the Soviet Russian state — and that not only since 1939 and the time of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, but from the beginning.

The communist expansion in the East, on the other hand, is treated comparatively briefly. Yet we must value greatly the authors' vigorous opposition to the false propaganda of the purely agrarian character of Chinese Communism ("the Chinese communist movement was a movement of peasants, but not a peasant movement"). Altogether he deals with the history of the Chinese revolution fairly objectively. He even principally admits the possibility of a, for Chiang Kai Shek, fatal "influence in the U.S. State Department of Communist sympathizers". Every now and then his vain hope for a possible dissension between Mao Tse Tung and the Kremlin can be seen in the background. His remarks about Ho Chi Minh, however, are confused and contradictory.

But everything concerning the events of World War II stands on a far lower level. Here the author's dependence on biased sources is painfully felt. For example, it is downright ridiculous to describe the insurrection in Slovakia in September/October 1944 as a "national uprising" since everyone who could see it with his own eyes, knows perfectly well that it was but a communist plot supported by Czech settlers and Soviet paratroopers, and that the overwhelming majority of the Slovak population stood firmly to the national government of Dr. Tiso. (The author rather tactlessly describes him as a "quisling" though he did not attribute this offending title to the national Japan-sympathizing governments in South-East Asia.) He is most indignant about Pavlic's terrorist measures — but not so much about Tito's. He also quotes the communists describing, "with much justification", Mihailovic's Chetniks as "quislings" though he could have borrowed a much more careful phrase from the best expert of the entire Tito complex, from A. B. Ulam ("Titoism and the Cominform", Harvard 1952). The author appears not to know that Stalin intended to attack Germany as early as April 1941 (the unexpectedly speedy collapse of Yugoslavia made him postpone the attack to August — and then Hitler got before him in June). And, of course, it is stark nonsense that in the Soviet territories occupied by the Germans "when the Red Army again advanced, it in turn was welcomed as a deliverer". Fortunately it is likewise wrong that "the Western Allies forcibly repatriated to the U.S.S.R. all those who had served the Germans". Hundreds of thousands were handed over but ten thousands were able to save themselves in time. A likewise seeming fancy is the allegation that the total extent of the reprisals the Soviets inflicted from 1943 to 1946 "cannot compare either with the convulsions caused by the collectivisation of agriculture and the Yezhovshchina, or with the human and material losses of military operations themselves".

As for the form and development of bolshevism within the Soviet Union the author's judgement is cautious and mostly right (though some slips occur even here, such as the incredible supposition that "skilled workers probably enjoy better material conditions in 1953 than they had under the Tsar in 1913"). The author does not indulge in illusions as to "Russian psychology" and knows how to explain the bolshevik terror regime from the Russian national character (e. g. "With the extraordinary capacity for pursuing a thought to its logical conclusion, and for applying it universally without regard for any other realities, which has long been a characteristic of the Russian political mind, the N.K.V.D.

were able more or less sincerely to regard as potentially guilty almost the whole population of the Soviet Union"). He is far from undervaluing the importance of the nationality-problem in the U.S.S.R., and what he says about the special way of the "purges" and other reprisals in the thirties in Ukraine and Turkistan is more or less right. But he goes completely astray when idyllically picturing the "cultural progress" in Ukraine at the time of "Ukrainization". This is not only wrong but even biased: To endorse his allegation that "even in religious life there was relative liberty" he mentions that "the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had in 1926 29 Bishops and more than 10,000 priests", but he keeps silence about their fates in the next years to follow. At any rate, the author emphasizes expressly that "a communist regime was not chosen by the non-Russian nations, European or Asian, Christian or Moslem, but was imposed on them by the superior force of the Russian state, which was in communist hands". From that he comes to the right conclusion that in non-Russian territories the bolshevik regime is exposed to far greater dangers than in (Muscovite) Russia:

"In the non-Russian republics and provinces, the Soviet regime faces a dilemma. It needs educated and skilled persons from these nationalities, yet every intellectual its education produces is a potential nationalist. In the non-Russian areas, the social tension mentioned in the previous section takes on a special form. Here the discontent of the privileged group (By that the author means nearly all people of higher education — V. D.) and the discontent of the masses are more likely to fuse with each other than in the Russian areas. The obstacles to the fusion are only physical — the power of the police — not, as in the Russian areas, both physical and psychological."

Unfortunately the author does not draw practical conclusions from this view, and in the following the whole problem is dropped. In the last chapter the author faces the problem actively by combatting Soviet Communism rather helplessly: "The means by which Stalinism can be forced back, and the oppressed peoples... can be liberated, are not clear today." And indeed: on principle he will not hear of a preventive war nor of an effective support of the national movements among the peoples oppressed by Moscow (for this would mean "to encourage false hopes among conquered nations") and he puts little hope — with much justification — on an eventual dissension in the Kremlin or in the C.P.S.U. or on anti-Soviet moods among the Russian people. How, then, to fight communism actively?

From the Ukrainian anti-Soviet literature he refers only to the well-known works of I. Mazepa and J. Reshetar and to the Munich "Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva". The praise he grants to the latter is characteristic for him: "the Ukrainian encyclopaedia contains a good historical summary, more concrete and less rhetorical than most Ukrainian publications". People of different national-ethnic and cultural-historical character have entirely different interpretations for all "rhetorical". We, for instance, consider the whole last chapter of the book ("Communism, Social Classes and Power") which was to summarize the author's views, as merely rhetorical.

V. D.

I. Gadourek:

The Political Control of Czechoslovakia

A study in social control of a Soviet satellite state Library of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile (Editorial Board, Dr. V. Chalupa, Chairman). Vol. 1 H. E. Stenfort Koese N. V. — Leiden 1953, Pp. XVI + 285

Gadourek wrote this book as a member of the "Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile" which has its seat at present in Leyden in the Netherlands. His work comprises an introduction and two main sections: the description of the political control in Czechoslovakia, and what he calls the conceptualization of this control.

In the introduction the survey on Czechoslovak history is strongly biased. The critical reader is stricken by the confusion of the denominations Bohemian and Czech. At any rate the historical introduction is too brief so that the reader cannot gain an impressive picture of the political and social conditions in the Czechoslovak Republic prior to 1938.

In the description proper, of first the strength of the structure, the organization and interior direction of the Communist Party is described, followed by an analysis of the state administration, economy, education, religion, sciences and arts, recreation and morale. The second section is the most interesting. It analyses and characterizes the party rulership described in section one. After a general survey of the functioning of the political control in the field of social sciences follows a chapter on the specific features of communist power: the class character of the national and international power of communism. Most interesting is the description of the means of this control. The author analyses the use of material things, of organizations, petty party cells, institutions, customs, direct propaganda, and psychic power. The control by the party makes use of rational as well as particularly of mass psychologic, demagogic means; it bans and provokes, it sometimes remains merely symbolic and, at another time, intervenes directly. After an interesting survey on the social sphere apart from direct party control follows the analysis of its success. At first the general social structure of society is analysed, then follows the analysis of culture, of society and, at last, that of the individual under rigid communist party control. At the end: summary, survey on social references, brief bibliography, and rather extended remarks. A brief index is annexed.

Gadourek's book offers very interesting and hitherto untreated stuff. On the other hand, even most critical scientists must admit that there is much refutable or at least inflated news on really existing or alleged resistance groups. In this respect strictest criticism is recommended. There is no doubt, however, that the author had the best intentions and all necessary intellectual capacity.

One failure of the work is undoubtable, though. That is his ideologic prepossession which induced him to restrict himself, in the by-subjects, to literature of socialistic or at least left liberal kind. The consequences

of such partiality are obvious: the picture of the first Czechoslovak Republic, prior to 1938, is not only indistinct, but partly even strongly biased. Quite naturally the author is not only incapable of appreciating the race and statehood of the Slovaks, but even tacitly disregards the problem.

Summarizing we must say that Gadourek's work is an important and necessary aid in realizing the conditions in present Czechoslovakia, yet, on the other hand, to convey a true picture of the conditions there, it is not recommendable for readers who are not acquainted with the present Czech situation. J. H.

Nicholas L. Czyrowski:

American Trade and Russian Dominated Countries

CAN AMERICA TRADE PROFITABLY
WITH THE EXTENSIVE ECONOMIC AREA OF A
RUSSIAN EMPIRE?

Information Bureau of the American Friends of A.B.N.
Inc. New York, 64 pp.

Would in case of a collapse of the Soviet Regime the large Russian economy be a better consumer of American products than small independent areas of national states? This question, as the subtitle of the concise but substantial book hints, is examined by the author, an exile, at present lecturing on economics at Seton Hall University as Assistant Professor. The problem has never been studied scientifically though it was touched on in the American press several times. Footing on a series of statistic tables, the author presents it convincingly as a general rule that "the larger an economic area, the more independent it is, and the more able it is by nature to regard international trade as secondary, and even pursue some relative self-sufficiency". This is followed by a likewise statistically based analysis of density of population in its relationship to the degree of international economic cooperation. It leads to the conclusion that "if we take both elements together, that of the territory and that of the density of population, and analyse them in their joint relationship to the economic factor of a foreign trade pattern, and its rate in each individual case, we can easily find the general tendency toward increasing foreign trade, whenever the territory of a country is small, and its density of population is high."

On the ground of these thoughts the author is convinced that "from an economic, or respectively commercial point of view, it would rather be to the interest of the United States to favor, in the future, not only the abolition of Communism in the U.S.S.R., but also a disintegration of the whole Union into a number of independent national states. A Russia, even a democratic one, can hardly be expected to be very much interested in international economic cooperation, and in international trade. She would be a large-space economy as such she would be able even to afford some relative self-sufficiency via her large-scale interprovincial exchange . . . A partition of U.S.S.R. would at once mean a fundamental change in the pattern of the international trade in Eastern Europe. First of all, small economic areas of national states would at once be made dependent upon foreign markets, and the choice of markets would be made freely by national governments according to the interest of their individual countries, and not according to the interest of a large-space economy, serving Russian political aims. Furthermore, the higher average density of population, especially of some East-European countries, such as the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Caucasian states, would demand a rise in imports."

The often heard objection that trading with small economic areas tends to raise the administrative difficulties and financial expenses is not objectively founded, in the author's opinion: "For example, the United States must formulate and administer its international trade policies and practices for any of its trade. Yet, every opportunity to increase the volume of foreign trade would produce more gain for the country, than expense due to the slightly enlarged machinery of administration of foreign trade."

The author is aware, however, that such "general tendencies" in the development of foreign trade are not rarely thwarted by specific economic — or even non-economic — conditions. Therefore, although his statements are based on statistic analyses of the foreign trade of a number of West-European and American states as well as of the U.S.S.R., he endorsed his allegations by three special chapters concerning the history of economics: "The Case of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy" (the reader receives here a convincing evidence that the Austrian-Hungarian large-space economy maintained a considerably lower rate of foreign trade than the small-space economies replacing her); "The Case of the Baltic States" (particularly instructive for east-European economic conditions); and "The Case of the United States" (a conspicuous contrast since "American imports and exports do play a relatively inconsiderable role in economic life in the United States . . . having the fourth lowest per capita foreign trade in the world, higher only than that of the Soviet Union, India, and China.") All three of these cases do confirm the author's opinion.

Particular consideration has been given to Ukrainian economy showing distinctly that Ukraine with its copious possibilities for exports would not require for her economic development the political association with ethnic Russia proper.

Of course, we are far from taking this purely economic aspect of the nationality problem in the Russian empire for decisive (the author himself does not appear to do so either). Nevertheless, its bearing must not be undervalued, particularly with regard to the psychological consequences with American and also west-European political circles. It remains a lasting merit of the author that he has proved clearly that "the Russian-friendly commercial" argument in favour of a future Russian Empire (it played an important role in the Russian-friendly pronouncements of Mr. Kennan's — V. D.) is full of subjective tendencies and cannot stand against an objective economic analysis."

In a brief foreword, Dr. Nestor D. Procyk, Editor, suitably introduces the Anglo-Saxon reader into the thoughts of the A.B.N., duly underlining its political

and national-political importance of the whole problem. We are glad to know that at least part of the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R. may now be considered as duly solved. It will be no little help in our further fight for the complete independence and national sovereignty of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. V. D.

Oleh R. Martovych:

National Problems in the U.S.S.R.

Foreign Affairs Information Series No. 8. With ethnographical map of the Soviet Union by Dr. Mykola Kulyckyj. Foreword by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. Introduction by John F. Stewart.

Scottish League for European Freedom.
Edinburgh 1953 pp. 58

The Western world has long been accustomed to take the U. S. S. R. for a, though not uniform, yet predominantly Russian state respectively state construction. The reasons why, are at hand. Above all the, for Western eyes, so mysterious if not strange Orthodox Church with its liturgy, spirituality, and mysticism, the Cyrillic characters and the seeming uniformity of the Russian state, all that made the said impression in the West. There are further reasons greatly adding to this conception: In the eyes of superficially informed observers the close kinship between the east-Slavonic languages made the Ukrainian and Byelorussian language appear as supposed dialects; and the lack of natural boundaries promoted strongly the primitive geographic determinism which gave rise to the thesis of the "Slavonic rivers flowing together in the Russian Sea" even among those who were not otherwise susceptible to determinism. Thus the thesis of the bloc of the 200 million Soviet men emerged, regrettably simplified in our world of premature and false conclusions to the slogan of the 200 million Russians.

This legend, the consequences of which are pointed out and politically evaluated by J. F. Stewart and general Fuller, is destroyed in a profound and convincing manner by O. R. Martovych by means of M. Kulyckyj's map of nationalities in the Soviet Union. After introductory explanations on maps and politics as well as on the reference of the political division of the U. S. S. R. to the ethnic questions, the nationality problem which the author calls the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union, is systematically analysed. In the chapter on the Slavic peoples of the Soviet Union the author proves that the Cossacks as well as the Siberians, who in his opinion are gradually developing into a peculiar people, are tribes of their own. The Siberians-like the North-Americans — he considers a peculiar people, conscious of its unity, and accentuates its descent from Cossacks as well as Old Believers and other groups opposing Tsardom. Of the non-Slavic nationalities the figures of the Baltic, Finnish, Caucasian, Mongol, Palaeo-Asiatic, Moldavian peoples, and the Jews, are examined. The chapter regarding the number of Russians in the U. S. S. R. is of particular interest. Comparing the censuses of 1897, 1926, and 1939, the number of Russians is critically estimated. The author deduces from the official figure of 99 million Russians in 1939 the 23 million Siberians, the 4 million Cossacks and many millions of Ukrainians and Byelorussians which in the official statistics have been itemed as Russians. As according to the official statistics the number of Ukrainians has decreased from 31,2 million in 1926 to 28,1 million in 1939 while the total of the population has increased from 147 to 170 million, the unreliability of ethnographic and national data in official Soviet statistics is evident.

The next chapter illuminates the concrete proposals for a political reconstruction of the U. S. S. R. against the background of history. The author proposes to dismember the U. S. S. R. into its national constituent parts. With that he brings forth an argument not only the once independence of times prior to Russian conquest, but also the temporary state independence of the years 1917 to 1921. He demands national independence for all satellite states such as the Baltics, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkistan, the Caucasus peoples, and the Turk and Ugro-Finn peoples at the Volga (Idel-Uralians) and in Siberia.

In the end statistic tables give the population figures of the individual Union and Autonomous Republics, and the nationalities of the U. S. S. R. In a further table the disintegration of Russia in 1917/18 is specified, and then he estimates the population of the independent states to be established, respectively of those regions which are to be restored to their original nations. Then, after a copious index, follows an introduction to the ethnographical map as well as a specification of the nationalities and at last the map itself.

Martovych's publication is a valuable and weighty contribution to the settlement of the difficult problem of nationalities in the U. S. S. R. W. R.

John N. Hazard:

Law and Social Change in the U.S.S.R.

Published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs.

London, Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1953, XXIV, 310 pp.

The merits of this extraordinarily systematic work are obvious. Its flaws are much less so and that makes them rather dangerous. The first refers to the actually juristic contents of the book which not only offers a very clear and detailed description of Soviet Law, but even copiously illustrates it by numerous particular "cases" and trials. The author, at present lecturing on "Soviet Law" at Columbia University, "availed himself — as he emphasized in the preface — of the rather unusual opportunity offered by the Institute of Current World Affairs in New York of studying Soviet law at a Soviet law school and of seeing Soviet law in operation". Under this aspect his work is a master-piece and will remain an indispensable reference book for the study of Soviet law for a long time.

Yet, what the author considers as "Social change in the U.S.S.R." is actually nothing but the practical management of those laws and their application in legal procedure. This equalization might be right in the case of a constitutional state, but not of a totalitarian state under party dictatorship. Dealing with such a thoroughly

totalitarian state as the Soviet Union, the author should have started from the premise that the true social conditions depend not so much on public and official legal procedure, but rather on the interior policy of the dictatorial government which prefers to proceed in the form of undercover police actions and does not care a bit about laws or their public application. By flatly ignoring the principle difference between constitutional state and police dictatorship (since nothing of the kind has been mentioned in the laws) the author sketches the deceptive picture of the Soviet Union as being just a state like all others with its legislature as much the product of the so-called "public opinion" as, mostly, in the free world in the West. Since, additionally, the author's comments on Soviet Law are utterly superficial and naive, the book is not in want of extremely queer "conclusions" which would sound downright funny if they did not rather show a tragic lack of understanding for Soviet social reality. On a "further reduction in the number of Ministries" after Stalin's death, for instance, he says the following:

"Beria, who assumed charge of the combined security Ministries, has long been known in the U.S.S.R. for his skill in restoring orderly security procedures (1) after the admitted excesses of the purges of the late 1930's. He has been severe but effective and has produced much less unrest than Ezhov who had preceded him during the purges . . . With security declared by the leaders to be of paramount importance after Stalin's death, . . . it is possible that the Soviet leadership thought it wise to indicate their intentions. This they did by appointing men known to every Soviet citizen for their proven abilities (1) in these fields. Further the leadership reduced the number of administrators to be co-ordinated in the effort." (p. 62.)

We can fancy the author regretting his premature judgement of this "man known to every citizen for his abilities in his field" now, after Beria's downfall. The Soviets know indeed how to make work sour for their own advocates in the West!

On such premises it is a matter of course that the problem of Soviet "federalism" is construed only in the spirit of Stalin's "Interview with American Labour Delegation", though the author does not fail to see that Soviet federation "bore little resemblance to the type which has become familiar as the United States of America" (p. 40).

Still, in chapter 11 ("Law and the "Capitalist Encirclement") he reaches the climax of Sovieto-phil tendency when dealing with Kennan's noted thesis (that the real cause of the severe forms of compulsion found in Soviet law is not to be found in any real or imagined danger from the capitalist powers, this danger having been manufactured by Soviet leaders to justify to a restless people strict domestic policies against which they might otherwise rebel). The author expressly impugns this statement and tries to excuse it by the strange allegation the Soviets would oppose international control of atom weapons only to the extent that it impairs their own peaceable and purely economic exploitation of atom energy.

How dare the author offer such naive theories, though he himself quoted the rather telling utterance of the Soviet jurist Kozhevnikov that "the U.S.S.R.'s position is to establish strict international control and strict inspection, but in such a way that the latter will not lead to interference in those spheres of production not linked with atomic energy." If we leave it with the Soviets to decide which of their spheres of production are, or are not, linked with atomic energy, any international control of atom weapons will no doubt be in their favour!

Don't think that he turns to such awkward justifications of Soviet law only in cases of apparent political measures and opinions. Take his comments on Soviet family law:

"For one who reviews the course of Soviet law there is apparent a complete turn of the wheel from the relatively strict family legislation of the Russian Orthodox Church to the similarly strict legislation introduced in 1944 by Soviet legislators. The future desired for the child seems to have motivated the development of the law. The conclusion seems obvious that the necessity of developing a child who would respond affirmatively to the plans of the new leadership has been the governing consideration . . . Perhaps they (Soviet leaders — V. D.) are thinking of the admonition of Engels (1) that the family should be a strong monogamous one. Perhaps they are laying the foundation of what they will claim to be a new natural law" (p. 272).

Consequently, be it this way or not, in any case it is clear that the Soviet leaders were governed by noble and humane, ideal principles only! It is more than naive to identify the Soviet despots with ideal and humane thoughts. It does not at all occur to the author that their first aim is to obtain the greatest quantity of cannon fodder.

It is much to be regretted that such an unusually exact and reliable all-round description of Soviet official legislation has inwardly been tied with a political tendency that obviously aims at facilitating the possible return from Kennan's and Adeson's "Policy of Containment" to Harriman's and Byrne's "Policy of Appeasement". V. D.

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Current World Problems

As Judged By General J. F. C. Fuller and the Scottish League for European Freedom:

General J. F. C. Fuller

"Geneva — An Oriental Munich"

The British military expert, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, a world-renowned authority on the strategy and tactics of modern warfare, has granted our paper an interview, the contents of which are published below.

(The Editor)

Q. What do you think of the Geneva Conference?

A. An Oriental Munich: an attempt to save the face of France who, having failed to win over the native peoples of Indo-China to her support, was being badly beaten by the Communists.

Q. How do you think the West could bring the war in Indo-China to a victorious end?

A. There is no practical way. To do so would mean turning the French out, and neither America nor Great Britain would accept the responsibility. Like Korea, Indo-China is a sideshow, the decisive point is Moscow. Eliminate Moscow and the Korean and Indo-China problems solve themselves.

Q. Why do responsible Western politicians not use the same kind of strategy towards the revolutionary movements for freedom, among the peoples subjected by bolshevism, as the Bolsheviks do in Asia, e. g. Indo-China? Why is the free world not able to give for instance, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and other formations of the kind that are under the yoke of bolshevism, political and technical support, in order to burst the Russian Bolshevik empire from within?

A. Because there are no responsible Western statesmen; they are all vote-collecting politicians, who are more concerned with their own positions and party politics than with the Ukrainians or any other subjugated people. Brotherly love is on their lips, but self-interest is in their hearts — humbugs one and all.

Q. Do you not think, that of the two conceptions of war — the one a periphery war, which Russia is trying to force upon the West, and that of a concentric, defensive war, i. e. a counter-attack on

the ethnic Russian territory, the very foundations of bolshevism and the whole evil, — only the latter is sober reality and promises the West success?

A. I consider that in this age of atomic weapons the only profitable type of war is psychological. By this I mean that it is more profitable to change the mind of your enemy than to vaporize his body and risk getting vaporized yourself. Engels tumbled on this 100 years ago, but unfortunately the General Staffs do not read Engels.

Q. What value do you attach to the so-called

appeasement policy and the containment policy of George Kennan?

A. As much value as if a man set out to dam up the Danube in order to prevent it flowing into the Black Sea.

Q. What ideas is the Western World to propagate in its struggle against Russia, in order to get the upper hand in that struggle? Is it the idea of upholding the Russian empire in some form or other, or is it the idea of national independence, and the state independence of each nation, subjugated by bolshevism?

(Continued on Page 2)

Truth Prevails

Kersten's Investigatory House Committee Meets in Munich

In the previous number of "A.B.N. Correspondence" we defined our attitude as regards the malicious campaign which the Soviet "Pravda" has started against America's esteemed Congressman, Charles J. Kersten, and the investigatory House Committee named after him. In our opinion these spiteful attacks on the part of Moscow's official paper are the best testimonial for this initiative of the U.S. Congress and of the fact that Congressman Kersten is on the right path.

This Committee of which Charles J. Kersten is the president includes the following well-known American Congressmen: Fred E. Busbey, E. J. Bonin, Patrick J. Hillings, Walter Norblad, Ray J. Madden, Thaddeus Machrowicz, Thomas J. Dodd, and Michael A. Feighan. The task of the Committee which originally consisted in the investigation and documentation of the brutal measures enforced under Soviet aggression in order to subjugate the Baltic countries, has meanwhile been extended and now includes the investigation of conditions in other countries behind the Iron Curtain. By means of testimony given on oath by eye-witnesses to the conditions under which the forcible subjugation of the country in question has been effected, the Committee has succeeded in collecting startling evidence of the ruthless violation of laws and brutal acts of terrorism committed by the Soviet Russian aggressors, evidence which will serve as a moral, legal and international basis for the present epoch-making fight for freedom against Moscow. For this reason the activity of the Committee cannot be valued highly enough.

During the session of the Kersten Committee in Munich, numerous emigrants both from the Baltic countries and the so-called satellite states as well as from a number of non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R., which became the victims of Russian bolshevist tyranny some time ago, were either heard as witnesses or else submitted written statements as evidence. Statements of this kind, dealing with the political motives behind the subjugation of the countries in question by Soviet Russian imperialism, were, for ex-

ample, submitted by the leading representatives of the national organizations of the A.B.N. by the Bulgarian National Front, the Georgian National Organization, the Byelorussian Central Committee, the Czech National Executive Committee, the Hungarian Freedom Movement, the Slovak Liberation Committee, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Cossack National Liberation Movement, and by the group formed by the Cossack publicist, I. Bezuglov.

Special mention must be made of the fact that the Kersten Commission did not limit itself to ascertaining mere facts alone, as for instance the mass murder of Vynnytsia or the wilful starving to death of the population in Ukraine, but above all sought to reveal the political motives behind all the crimes committed by the Russian bolshevist aggressors. This was particularly evident when the celebrations staged by Moscow on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav were discussed. In addition, the situation in Hungary in connection with the martyrdom of Cardinal Mindszenty was most carefully gone into, as well as the situation in Slovakia, Byelorussia, and elsewhere.

All explanations and all questions on the part of the members of the Commission during the session and in particular on the part of Kersten himself and Congressman Feighan gave proof not only of their thorough knowledge of the problems concerned, but also of a just and fair attitude as regards the inviolable rights of the subjugated nations to freedom and independence. This was extremely encouraging for all the emigrants and led them to hope that a new initiative is at last being taken on the other side of the Atlantic, after the truth as regards the Soviet Russian prison of nations has been suppressed for so long. Mention must also be made of the fact that the administrative head of the commission, Mr. E. D. O'Connor, showed a profound knowledge and understanding of our problems and proved to be a staunch supporter of our nations in their fight for freedom.

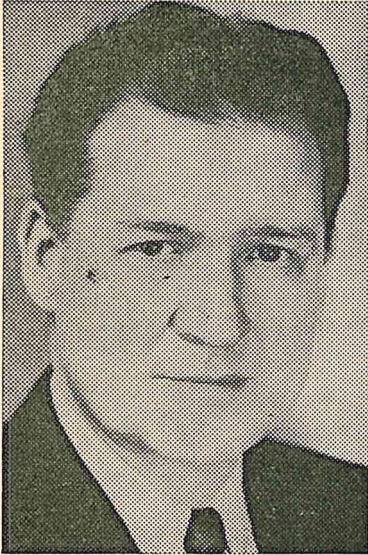
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It is true that certain emigrant circles here were, to some extent, disappointed in the investigatory committee's manner of procedure. The spokesmen of some important national groups of emigrants in Germany have for instance expressed their regret at the fact that certain of their political representatives were not given the hearing they deserved, that is to say, they had no opportunity to explain the fundamental aspects of the problems of their country, an explanation which would have been essential in view of the fact that American policy has so far in this connection failed to adopt the right attitude. It can hardly be assumed that this omission was intentional, but rather due to lack of time on the part of the investigatory committee, which had an enormous amount of work to get through during its session.

As the champion of the integral freedom of the subjugated nations Congressman Kersten



Congressman
Charles
J. Kersten

already enjoys considerable authority and popularity. It is to be hoped that the insight into present national problems gained by the Committee and the documentary evidence which has been collected will prove decisive in influencing the practical policy of the U.S.A., the leading power in the world. We are well aware of the fact that in the U.S.A. and elsewhere in the free world, powerful hidden forces are still at work, — forces which are trying to prevent Western policy from pursuing a progressive and consistent course, which admits no concessions, forces which advocate the preservation of a Greater Russian Empire and prefer to collaborate with the Communists, etc. We are likewise aware of the fact that Mr. G. Kennan's so-called Policy of Containment has not yet been abandoned by the State Department. But, nevertheless, we are sure that the initiative taken by the Kersten Committee, which approaches the truth unbiassedly and courageously supports the principles of freedom, will in the end prove decisive in determining a progressive and constructive American policy, worthy of the descendants of Lincoln and Washington. And because this is our firm conviction we congratulate the men of this Committee and wish them every success.

The hearts and hopes of the emigrants were undoubtedly stirred most by a speech made by one of the members of the Committee, namely by Congressman Michael A. Feighan. This speech was relayed by the American broadcasting stations in Munich on July 3, 1954, and we feel it our duty to repeat the contents for the benefit of our readers:

"During the time I have been in Munich, the House Committee on Communist Aggression has devoted eight days to taking testimony on Communist aggression. Although I have made a study of Communism, its methods, tactics, and objectives, some of the evidence produced during these hearings was startling in that it unmasked the terrible brutalities and unbelievable inhumanities committed by the leaders and followers of Communism. There can be no doubt but that Communism is an international conspiracy which we must

either destroy or it will engulf the entire world.

The Committee heard eye-witnesses to the most terrible crimes ever committed against mankind. These crimes committed by the Russian Communists ranged from the devilish torture of individuals to one brutal and heartless mass destruction of entire nations of people. Other witnesses bore testimony on the manner in which the Communists desecrate and destroy all those things that mankind has labored and died for up through the centuries. In particular, we heard about the tactics the Communists used to violate the integrity of the family and the sanctity of the home, to destroy all the temples of God regardless of the particular belief, the destruction of all laws upon which the order of civilization is based, the gross perversion of historical truths and facts, and the climate of fear which the elite leaders of the conspiracy provoke in order to control the people.

All of these crimes when put together present a picture which is the blackest ever known to mankind.

I was particularly impressed with the evidence presented by the spokesman for the enslaved people of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. This testimony was supported by documents and hard facts and eye-witness testimony of the tactics used by the Bolsheviks during the period of 1917 through 1921 to destroy the national independence of some fifteen non-Russian nations. For a great many years Communist propaganda has been seeking to becloud the issue with respect to the national aspirations of the people of these non-Russian nations. The testimony we have received will serve as a death blow to this evil propaganda because it will expose the Soviet Union for what it is — the prison of nations and the ruthless enslaver of all the people under its control.

It is my fervent hope that from the testimony taken here in Munich and elsewhere it will be possible for the United States to develop a positive policy, calling for the liberation of all the nations and people enslaved by Communism, by our firm advocacy of



Congressman
Michael
A. Feighan

those moral and political principles upon which the American way of life is based. Those moral and political principles are far more powerful in the cause of freedom and justice than are all the armies and destructive weapons known to mankind.

I sincerely believe that the testimony our Committee has been receiving from witnesses who know best what Communism means and what must be done to defeat it, will make our historic task, as Americans, much easier.

The basic policy of the United States, since the days of its inception, has been based upon the political belief that all nations large and small have not only the right but also the duty to separate themselves from any tyrannical oppressor. In more recent years we have expressed this policy by our unwavering support of the principle of national self-determination.

This should stand as a beacon of hope to all the enslaved nations of the Communist empire.

I refer particularly to the people of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, North Caucasia, and Russia."

The solution of the political problems of the world at the present time could surely not be defined more aptly. Men like Michael A. Feighan deserve our deepest admiration!

The Editor

Current World Problems

(Continued from Page 1)

A. Two: liberation and self-determination within the Muscovite Imperium.

Q. Do you not believe that the safest way to crush bolshevism leads over national revolutions within the Russian dungeon of nations, to which the Western World should offer aid and co-operation?

A. Yes, and not only the safest but the only way.

Q. Is it not your opinion that the third World War has begun, and what do you say to its concepts and methods?

A. The Third World War was born with the October Revolution of 1917. Its central conception is Muscovite expansion, the Third Rome dressed up in Marx's toga. Its methods were precisely defined by Donoso Cortés 100 years ago when he said: "Russia will fight in order to inflict defeats, and defeats in order to protect the defeated country. And in the moment the defeated nation considers itself an ally it becomes Russia's victim and prey. The victories of Russia lead to 'protection' — her protection to death."

Q. In the struggle between the freedom-loving world and Russian imperialism and communism, what role would you give to the nations subjected by bolshevism?

A. I would give them the leading role, particularly the Ukrainians;

(1) because they are the greatest of the subjugated peoples,

(2) the most wealthy, and (3) are within the Muscovite Imperium, and therefore well placed to wreck it.

*

John F. Stewart

Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom

"For the Complete Disintegration of any Kind of Russian Empire"

Mr. John F. Stewart denounces "Appeasement and Containment Policy" and demands an active liberation policy on the part of the Western world and intensive co-operation with the underground movements of the nations subjugated by bolshevism.

Q. What do you think of the Geneva Conference?

A. The Geneva Conference was not convened to discuss Indo-China; at the futile Berlin Conference, which was convened to settle an Austrian Treaty and which failed, Mr. Eden's one "achievement" was trumpeted throughout the world, the obtaining the consent to the Geneva Conference of the Russians, to settle the Korean question. It also completely failed, and attention was switched to Indo-China to save some kind of prestige for the West. Mr. Eden is praised for keeping the Conference in being for so long, but it is overlooked that this prolongation was also Molotov's policy, in his case to gain all the more time to draw Western attention from preparations Russia is no doubt making for a peripheral war elsewhere and for continuing Russian war preparations. The Russians are the only gainers from the Geneva Conference, and they gained exactly what they wanted, time and the opportunity to drive a wedge between America and Britain, which they are already exploiting.

(Continued on Page 4)

The Third Congress of the A.B.N.

A defamation campaign directed against the A.B.N. by certain interested circles, who actually reported the dissolution of this leading revolutionary organization of the nations subjugated by Moscow, was still in progress when, at the end of March, this year, a plenary congress of the A.B.N. was held in Munich which was an impressive demonstration of the invincible fighting spirit of this movement and gave the lie to all the false assertions and defamations which had been uttered as regards the A.B.N.

The Third Congress of the A.B.N. was attended by the authorized representatives of the liberation movements and organizations of the following nations: Albania, Armenia,

eral Farkas de Kisbarnak, who is also the President of the Hungarian Freedom Movement, dealt with the military questions concerned, in a concise and objective manner. Short speeches were also made by the chief delegates of all the other national organizations, in which they professed the sincere allegiance of their organizations to the common cause of the fight for freedom.

The public meeting terminated with a freedom manifesto, which was read out by the secretary-general of the Central Committee, Dr. Ctibor Pokorný, and was greeted with enthusiastic applause.

During the next two days the Congress delegates held working sessions in the course

definitely established and consolidated its status as the only comprehensive and common, active co-ordination of the leading liberation organizations of all the nations subjected to Soviet Russian tyranny.

The A.B.N. represents the only genuine revolution and liberation ideology, the far-reaching and historical significance of which is based on the logical argument that bolshevism and the world-menace ensuing from it, is not only an objectionable political system, but must at the same time and above all be fought as Russian and foreign tyranny, which has resulted as a fundamental evil of Russian imperialism and is the chief menace to world-civilization since it aims to achieve the national decimation of the nations on this earth.

Since bolshevism and Russian imperialism are an equal menace, a common and united front has been set up, which consists of all the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. and even of those peoples in the so-called satellite states, and which, given the right attitude on the part of the Western World, when released will bring destruction to Soviet Russian tyranny like an avalanche.

The A.B.N. not only champions the cause of national freedom, but also upholds the principle of social justice and advocates national independence, in accordance with ethnographical principles, as the fundamental prerequisite for all possible integrations.

The A.B.N. most definitely rejects every artificial state structure by which various nations are forced to live in a common state against their wish.

The A.B.N. exhorts the West to abandon all policies which are prepared to make concessions to Moscow, to give up its dangerous and destructive co-operation with Communist collaborators and emigrant exponents of imperialist ideologies, and to give its active support to the deserving spokesmen of the national fight for freedom of the nations which have been subjugated by Moscow.

It was ascertained with considerable satisfaction during the Congress that certain theories and ideas which the A.B.N. has advocated for years, without always meeting with any understanding on the part of the West, have now been adopted in the official policy of the West and are often cited, practically word for word, by influential Western spokesmen in the statements and speeches they make.

The fact that many of our ideas are, above all, evoking a response in the U.S.A. and in the policy of that country was a convincing proof to the Congress that the steadfast and uncompromising fight of the A.B.N. has so far not been in vain and must be continued in the same spirit and with the same implacable attitude towards Moscow and its knowing and unknowing supporters in the West, in order to ensure the victory of the cause of freedom, both in the interests of our nations and as a blessing for the whole world.

Greek Message to the A.B.N.

The Greek anti-Communist movement, "Peace and Freedom", has sent a message of greeting, signed by its President, General (ret.) V. Petropoulos, to the President of the A.B.N., Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko. The message is worded as follows:

"The Greek Committee sends you its warmest greetings as well as its best wishes for the success of the common struggle against international Communism. We shall certainly keep you informed on our activities and will you please keep us informed on yours.

Please accept our monthly bulletin and also the expression of our warmest appreciation for the struggle you are carrying on as representatives of the brother-peoples, who groan under the oppression of Communist tyranny."



From left to right: Secretary-General of C.N., M. v. Alschihaya — President of C.N., Veli Kajum Khan — President of C.C., Yaroslav Stetzko — Secretary-General of C.C. Dr. Ct. Pokorný

Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Czechs, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Turkestan and Ukraine. It is interesting to note that in place of certain national delegations, who have left the A.B.N. for various reasons, a number of new and more important national organizations were present at this Congress and were represented by world-famous spokesmen of the respective national emigrants, as for instance, Prof. R. Ostrovski (Byelorussian) and General Leo Prchala (Czech). In addition, the united front of the nations of the A.B.N. was further strengthened by the participation of Albania and Armenia, which were represented for the first time by deserving and experienced supporters of the fight for freedom.

The Congress opened on March 27th with a public assembly in the banquet hall of the Kolping House in Munich, which was attended by numerous guests of honour and press representatives and was exceedingly impressive and a great success. More than 160 messages and telegrams from all over the world, including greetings from numerous official and notable personalities in the Western World, in particular in Germany, Great Britain, and the U.S.A., etc., were then read. A number of our national organizations in the West sent the Congress messages expressing their solidarity with the A.B.N. and their sincere wishes for success in this great common cause.

An opening address was held by the President of the A.B.N. National Council, Veli Kajum Khan, who is the President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee. The President of the Central Committee and chief delegate of the O.U.N., Yaroslav Stetzko, then gave a detailed political report which dealt at length with all the current problems concerning the liberation of our nations. The President of the Military Commission, Gen-

of which, in addition to detailed reports and stimulating debates, a message to the subjugated nations and an appeal to the Western World were drafted, and resolutions and guiding political principles, as supplement and amendment to the statutes of the organization, were drawn up and passed.

The Congress ended on March 29th with the election of the leading bodies of the A.B.N. which are comprised as follows:

Presidency of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.:

President: Yaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine); Vice-presidents: General (ret.) Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary) and Minister (ret.) Khristo Stateff (Bulgaria); a third vice-president has not yet been elected; Secretary-general: Prince Niko Nakashidze (Georgia). In accordance with the statutes of the organization the plenum of the Central Committee still consists of the nominated representatives of each of the national delegations.

Presidency of the Council of Nations of the A.B.N.:

President: Prof. Dr. Ferd. Durcansky (Slovakia); Vice-presidents: Prof. R. Ostrovski (Byelorussia), General Leo Prchala (Czechia), and Dr. O. Loorits (Estonia); Secretary-general: Editor J. Gytis (Lithuania).

In addition, a court of arbitration, consisting of five members nominated by the Congress, was also appointed.

The entire data on this memorable Third Congress of the A.B.N. will shortly be published in a special edition of the "A.B.N. Correspondence". The following is a brief survey of the fundamental principles and work of the Congress.

The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)

Current World Problems

(Continued from Page 2)

Q. How do you think the West could bring the war in Indo-China to a victorious end?

A. It is too late now for the West to bring the Indo-China War to a victorious end; they are already defeated, and Russia, which is behind both Communist Viet Minh and Communist China, has advanced her base so much farther for the control of South-east Asia, and, let it be noted, on the road to Australia, where the Petrov revelations have shown she is preparing for ultimate conquest.

Q. Why do responsible Western politicians not use the same kind of strategy towards the revolutionary movements for freedom, among the peoples subjected by bolshevism, as the Bolsheviks do in Asia, e. g. Indo-China? Why is the free world not able to give, for instance, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and other formations of the kind that are under the yoke of bolshevism, political and technical support, in order to burst the Russian Bolshevik empire from within.

A. In my opinion, which is just my own, the reason why Britain, at least, does not assist the Resistance Movements of the non-Russian peoples dominated by the U.S.S.R. is that her politicians are not sincere in their professions of opposition to Communism, and that some Western circles are as determined as Stalin was to maintain "Holy Mother Russia: One and Indivisible". It would, in the end, be easier to exploit and gain economic, political and military control over one undivided great block than to keep in subjection a number of smaller States determined to fight to the last for freedom. Humanity and justice count for very little with our politicians in these days compared with expediency. There is no doubt that, in America, there is a small but extremely powerful group which is also determined to maintain one undivided Russian Empire.

Q. Do you not think, that of the two conceptions of war — the one a periphery war, which Russia is trying to force upon the West, and that of a concentric, defensive war, i. e. a counter-attack on the ethnic Russian territory, the very foundations of bolshevism and the whole evil, — only the latter is sober reality and promises the West success?

A. From the time of the humiliating Berlin air lift, as I was able to have published in the press, and which was encouraged by Moscow to keep the attention of the West from Russian preparations for the Korean War, it was obvious to any intelligent observer that Russian policy was to fight the West as long as possible by peripheral wars by deputy, losing not a man, while inflicting grievous loss on the West, especially on America, in blood and treasure. Later, I forecast that, when Russia allowed the Indo-China War to slacken, it was because she was prepared for the next peripheral war somewhere else.

Certainly, the only way of sober reality and promise of Western success is attack on ethnic Russia. I have warned my American contacts that, in my opinion, the non-Russian peoples would not welcome "liberation" through the dropping of hydrogen bombs on their homelands, with the consequent destruction of their people.

Q. What value do you attach to the so-called appeasement policy and the containment policy of George Kennan?

A. The so-called "appeasement" policy, and the "containment" policy are idle dreams. I have done my best to inform public opinion that nothing but the complete disintegration of any kind of Russian Empire, and the "containment" of the Russians inside "ethnic" Russia or Muscovy will end the Russian danger to the civilized world. Since the mingling of Muscovite and Mongol/Tartar blood seven or eight hundred years ago, what we now call Russia has never ceased her march to World conquest, and has no intention at the present day of doing so. As Prince Adam Czartoryski, once a Russian Ambassa-

dor, says in his Memoirs, "Peter's pitiless ambition, the conquest of the greater part of Europe and Asia, still lies at the bottom of every Russian heart." I have been able to obtain ample confirmation of this in recent statements by Molotov, Malenkov and, shortly before his recent death, Litvinov. They all make nonsense of Sir Winston Churchill's and Mr. Eden's policy of "peaceful co-existence."

Fortunately, if British politicians will not take notice, I am satisfied, from my own contacts, that the American people and the American Congress are becoming more and more alive to the danger, and the measures necessary to end it.

Q. What ideas is the Western World to propagate in its struggle against Russia, in order to get the upper hand in that struggle? Is it the idea of upholding the Russian empire in some form or other, or is it the idea of national independence, and the state independence of each nation, subjugated by bolshevism?

A. As I have already said, politicians in Britain would not appear to favour any measure to dissolve the Russian Empire or U.S.S.R. and restore freedom to independent national States, and, even in America, there is the group to which I have referred. In Britain it is becoming increasingly difficult to find any influential press organ which will give space even to letters explaining the views I have expressed. The reason is anybody's guess; I have my own opinion.

Q. Do you not believe that the safest way to crush bolshevism leads over national revolutions within the Russian dungeon of nations, to which the Western World should offer aid and co-operation?

A. Certainly, the only way to crush bolshevism is through national Revolutions within the U.S.S.R., to which the West should lend their aid and co-operation, and, while still of the opinion that British politicians as a whole are not sincere in their opposition to Communism. I have made quite recently some encouraging contacts among them. If we could get at the ordinary man and woman with the actual truth, I am certain that the old Britain, the uncompromising foe of oppression anywhere, would again emerge. But, how it is to be done without some help from the press I have not yet been able to see.

Q. Is it not your opinion that the third World War has begun, and what do you say to its concepts and methods?

A. Of course, World War III has been going on for some time and is continuing. But our politicians do not realise it, and Russia, as usual, who knows exactly what she wants, is gaining all along the line, by means of peripheral wars, Fifth Columns and subversive operations in all countries.

Q. In the struggle between the freedom-loving world and Russian imperialism and communism, what role would you give to the nations subjected by bolshevism?

A. The role for the 45 million Ukrainians and the millions of other subjugated peoples is, first of all, not to lose hope, but to continue their opposition in every way possible. What I would like to see, and which unquestionably would bring political support even in Britain, is a complete cessation of all internal Party strife, which, unfortunately, exists, as far as I know, within all the subjugated nationalities, and a Conference of undoubtedly well accredited Representatives of all these nationalities, not to make speeches, public or otherwise, but to hammer out a common policy for freedom of all nations and peoples, with the reasons for it and the conditions existing within their own lands, as brief as possible, and to present that common policy, not to United Nations, of which I have a poor opinion, but direct to the Governments of all civilized nations and to follow it up. To this Conference, as observers, I would invite important representatives from America, Britain, Germany and Spain, the four countries which, together, could impose their will even on the U.S.S.R.

If the Scottish League for European Freedom could help this in any way, it would. It is not, like so many Crook or Crank Associations with professed anti-Communist objectives, especially in America, supported by unlimited financial resources, some from questionable sources. We have no support from outside and work only on the subscriptions of actual members. We want nothing for ourselves, but work entirely for freedom and justice for all peoples. And so, we are controlled by none, but are completely independent. And we are, if our people would only realise it, working for what is most assuredly a definite British interest, indeed, the supreme British interest, the peace and safety of the world.

And so, we are pleased to know that our modest League, which was the first to take up this cause, and has worked consistently from 24th August, 1939, carries considerable weight in many lands where we have now close collaborators, including countries as far away as South Korea and Formosa.

Telegram sent to President of Republic Korea Mr. Syngman Rhee

Your Excellency:

We have the honor to express our great respect for you and your people in the heroic struggle with Moscow-Chinese communism and imperialism — the greatest menace to the peoples all over the world.

We greet you, Mr. President, as a symbol of freedom for Korea and Asia.

We greet you as a symbol of unity for a free Korea, Asia, Europe and the free West.

The Ukrainian nation for at least 55 years has continuously struggled with Moscovite communism and imperialism and has made untold sacrifices and continues to do so to this day, and therefore in your struggle and fight for freedom we have the utmost sympathy. We have faith in our common aim to defeat the enemies of freedom and mankind, because we have Good and Truth on our side.

Long live free Korea!
Long live free Ukraine!
Long live the United States!

General I. Omelanovych Pawlenko
Honorary President of A.F. A.B.N. Ukrainian Branch in Chicago
Engineer S. Golash
Veteran of Ukrainian Insurgent Army
Mrs. U. Celwyc h
Vice-President of A.F. A.B.N. Ukrainian Branch in Chicago
Mr. W. Jackiw
Ukrainian Veteran of Korean War
Professor D. Shumey
Organization of Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine

Yaroslav Stetzko

The Era of the Fight for Freedom

An Analysis of the General Political Situation at Present

At the Second Congress of the A.B.N. in May, 1948, the following points were stressed in the course of a lecture which dealt with the fundamental principles of this organization:

"The national liberation process is developing throughout the whole world with a power hitherto unknown. Large empires are disintegrating as the era of national states dawns. . . We must not overlook the fact that bolshevism is cunningly making use of the nationalism of the colonial nations in order to undermine the strength of its Western allies. . . A new epoch which will bring the triumph of national principles throughout the whole world is about to begin. . . Unlike imperialist ideologies, the revolutionary fight for freedom of the nations which have been subjugated by the Soviets stresses above all the national principle as the only genuine and effective revolutionary principle which will bring about a new order of the world. . . This new order is a revolutionary one and stands for freedom, justice and equality, which are the aims of all sound-minded men. The anti-bolshevist fight for freedom of the subjugated nations excludes on principle every form of imperialism and chauvinism in international relations and demands the same right to an independent existence and an independent development for all nations. . .

World peace can thus only be achieved by the dissolution of the bolshevist empire, and not by supporting imperialist ideologies, which from the outset have as their aim the conquest and subjugation of other nations. . . The unity of the world and the end of war can only be achieved if all the nations become free in their own states and if the wish of the people is the deciding factor as regards union or co-operation with other nations. . . We stand for freedom and justice and equality for all the nations of the world alike."

Two and a half years later the "A.B.N. Correspondence" (1950, No. 11) published an article, entitled "What Does the West Need for Victory", which stressed the following points:

"Neither the nations which are suppressed and deceived by the West nor their nationalism is responsible for the fact that there is no united anti-bolshevist front of the Asiatic and Western nations in Asia at the present time. The colonial policy of the Western powers is to blame for this. And France is to blame for the present Communist insurrection in Indo-China since she ignored the efforts of that country to obtain its independence for so long that the Communists were able to play their deceitful game with the idea of national liberation. Is it not both a paradox and a tragedy that certain nations in their struggle for national freedom are beginning to put their trust in Moscow? It is time the West was warned not to confuse national and social freedom movements with Communist rebellions. The West must discriminate between the natural and genuine struggle of the nations to gain their independence and the agitation-watchwords of the Bolsheviks which often purport to have the same meaning. . .

The era of empires is irrevocably past; world events will lead to their disintegration and to the independence and freedom of all the nations. . . Why does the West not draw the logical conclusions as regards the nations which have been subjugated by Russia? Why does it

not accept as the guiding principle for its policy the fact that it is precisely the national freedom movements of the subjugated nations which are disintegrating the great Soviet empire from within? Or is Russia, which knows no other method but to resort to brutal terrorism in order to fight the powerful idea of national freedom within its own empire, to be allowed to go on propagating the principle of independence for all nations outside its frontiers and using it treacherously and successfully against the West?"

In connection with these thoughts we have on various occasions been reproached with having shown too much interest for Indo-China and having caused the French to become our enemies as a result of our attitude, since we have criticized their obsolete colonial policy in North Africa, where champions of the cause of national freedom are libelled as being alleged "Communists", as well as their outmoded colonial methods in Indo-China, which have resulted in the anti-Communist fight ending up in a dead alley.

It is gratifying to us to ascertain, after all the past years which have brought new facts and new proof to light, that there is no one, apart from some shady reactionaries, among those who are anxious as to the fate of world freedom who does not share our opinion. The statements made by Mr. John Foster Dulles on May 9, 1954, in connection with the Geneva Conference are most striking.

He said that the U.S.A., as the first colony to obtain its independence itself in the course of modern history, instinctively shared the aims of all dependent and colonial nations to obtain their freedom, and added that the

U.S.A. wanted to help to spread freedom and would not put any obstacles in its way. He stressed the fact that *the U.S.A. was not striving to perpetuate Western colonialism*, but regarded the modern imperialist colonialism of the Communists as even less tenable. . . He pointed out that when the war broke out in Vietnam in 1946, Indo-China was a French colony which had just been liberated from Japanese occupation. This, he added, was a war which from the very outset had been waged for the cause of *national independence* and now international Communism was using it for its own purpose. . . and France was to gratify these aims by giving the states of Vietnam, Laos, and Kambodcha *complete independence*. That would knock the bottom out of the lying claims of the Communists, namely that they were conducting this war for the cause of national independence. . . Mr. John Foster Dulles then stressed that it would be wiser to rely more on *national armies that fight on their own soil* . . .

The report published by Mr. John Foster Dulles after his journey to the Near and Middle East also contained many enlightening thoughts as regards the general political situation at present. He claimed national independence for all the dependent nations in the Near and Middle East, that is to say the end of all colonial privileges on the part of France and Great Britain, who by their outmoded imperial policy are indirectly helping the Bolsheviks in their efforts to lead these colonial nations astray and thus strengthen the Bolshevik world-front.

Mr. J. Foster Dulles said that the British and French governments should grant the dependent nations complete independence without delay, before it was too late, and in this way successfully counteract bolshevism.

Obstacles to the Anti-Bolshevist Fight

So-called "greater territory ideologies", by means of which empires disguise themselves nowadays, enable the Bolsheviks to utilize national fights for freedom for their own purpose.

(Continued on Page 6)

Dr. Oscar Loorits

Representative of the Estonian Independence Movement

The Mission of the Emigrants

In addition to our own personality as individuals, we refugees in exile always represent our nation, too. We do not need to be ambitious for our own selves, but we are, however, in duty bound to protest courageously and to demand equal rights whenever our nations are scorned and degraded. If we adapt ourselves to our surroundings we can personally lead quite a comfortable life in exile. But as representatives of our nations, however, we are always champions of a five-fold independence, namely the individual, economic, social, cultural, and above all political independence of our countries, — the champions of the liberation of millions of our fellow-countrymen who are being tortured to death behind the Iron Curtain. The more our national sovereignty is prejudiced, the more must we personally support our national cause and assert our rights to judge independently, to proclaim the truth about the red "Paradise" unhesitatingly, and to appeal to the conscience of the free world again and again in order to make the latter conscious of its responsibility.

In the course of the years we have seen much that was evil and have been robbed of many of our illusions. We have become acquainted with the true nature of strange peoples and countries and no longer idealize them. We do not claim that our nations should be idealized by others, but only seek to warn the free world lest it adopt the attitude of a modern Pilate towards the systematic destruction of our nations, lest it approve and continue this destruction either passively or even under the

guise of collaborating with the U.N. or the UNESCO, etc., and thus becomes implicated in the most brutal murder of nations which has ever been committed in the course of history. For our nations are just as valuable as the free and ruling nations, and we have the same right as they to an independent culture. We do not intend to let ourselves be brutally slaughtered, and in our opinion it is an unpardonable sin against humanity and Christian doctrines to slight us and to sacrifice our nations for purely egoistic reasons, since the turn of the present masters of the situation is bound to come some day.

But we do not confine ourselves to empty demands and protests. We, too, resort to the "cum tacent — clamant" tactics, which we are forced to adopt in particular as regards the political and intellectual aspect. The constant tension of the situation makes it imperative that we should be alert and active. If we ourselves, as individuals, are destroyed — a wish that is often expressed as regards political refugees —, our nations will find it all the harder to assert themselves and will be deprived of the moral support of their emigrants which they long for. The national spirit which we personify by our personal unflinching steadfastness must defy even the worst of conditions and must shape our national sovereignty. We ask God's blessing for the future of our nations, a future which we must help to prepare by our unwavering attitude and strength.

The Era of the Fight for Freedom

(Continued from Page 5)

The unscrupulous and cunning way in which the bolsheviks misuse the idea of national sovereignty can, for instance, be seen from the following statements, made by Malenkov in a speech he held on April 27, 1954, during the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.:

"The fashionable theory that the era of sovereign states is already past and gone is a complete misrepresentation of the truth. No, the era of sovereign states is not past and gone! It is at its very height."

Such statements are of course two-edged as far as Moscow is concerned. Seeing that the Bolshevists are trying to create the impression that all the nations of the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states enjoy sovereignty, it is time their fanciful phrases about sovereignty are shown up and far-reaching solutions arrived at. In addition to the motto of sovereignty, the motto of *the dissolution of the Russian empire* and *the detachment* of the subjugated nations must be adopted.

Instead of which, however, the unwise policy of the Western empires enables bolshevism to gain many supporters for its cause and to strengthen its war potential, not only as regards manpower and material, but also as regards political ideologies. Bolshevism always sets out to win over supporters with deceptive watchwords, which the nation concerned endeavours to realize (as for instance the partition of large estates among the peasants), only to be forced to endure even more enslavement, starvation, and terrorization once the Bolshevists have seized their country.

Mao Tse-Tung professed to adopt a new though disastrous faith, a new but deceptive social programme, by means of which he betrayed the people, who in their despair and distress allowed themselves to be coerced. Far-sighted Americans attempted to wage a war against Mao Tse-Tung in the cause of freedom when it was already too late. The starving masses, however, were already entreating: deprive us of our freedom and give us bread instead! Mao Tse-Tung promised them bread, but gave them neither bread nor freedom. By the time the Chinese realized this, Mr. Chiang Kai-Shek was already on Formosa. Mr. Chiang Kai-Shek can still oppose Mao Tse-Tung even today, but not by relying on the support of former feudal land-owners, capitalists and reactionaries (which, in principle, was precisely what led to Mao's victory), but with the aid of a genuine social justice and equality, which is based, not on a Russian or Marxist, but on a Chinese social and national programme, on the traditions of this great civilized nation.

It is true that the West signed the Atlantic Charter, but it did not observe the conditions of the same. The Western Allies mobilized the nations of Asia for a war against Japan in the cause of freedom by proclaiming watchwords of freedom, but they failed to realize these watchwords. It was only under pressure of U.S.A. that the Netherlands yielded in the matter of Indonesia, and it was only owing to the general tension in the political situation in the world that India and Pakistan regained their freedom. France, however, has not kept her promise. Her bargaining with Bao-Dai has disclosed the results achieved by the latter in Indo-China. The valiant defense of Dien-Bien-Phu was in vain, for France has been far too tardy in making her promises. The U.S.A. alone still enjoy a certain amount of confidence among the nations of Asia, but this confidence is gradually being undermined as a result of the indecision of America's policy. Only a determined attitude and action on a large scale can save the situation.

The Western imperial nations are not faced by the problem of how their present empires can be saved, but how the European continent can be saved. France is endeavouring to retain Indo-China or Morocco and Tunisia, instead of clearing up matters in her own country, which shelters millions of Moscow's Fifth Columnists. Undoubtedly, the French nation possesses sound elements, as can be seen from the example of de Castrie. We sympathize most sincerely with the Vietnamese and the French of Dien-Bien-Phu, who, in the cause of honour and freedom, defended their lost positions to the utmost. It may perhaps be argued that the French after all only defended their own colonies, but in such a case it is not a question of colonies, but of something greater, namely the defense of freedom, with elemental strength, against Moscow's tyranny. It is true that the West makes many errors, serious and unpardonable errors, but it is nevertheless on our side in the anti-Bolshevist front. We should not try to be more Catholic than the Pope, otherwise we might finish up in some "national front" or other... Our negative attitude towards the colonial policy of France is well-known, but it does not prevent us from honouring and respecting the heroism of those who defended Dien-Bien-Phu.

And yet, under the present circumstances, Dien-Bien-Phu, as regarded from the political and strategic point of view, is but a fragment without further significance. France's empire in Asia cannot be saved by force. *The vital question is how to divert and destroy the bolshevist world-menace and not how to continue the suppression of a nation in a more lenient form than the Russian bolshevist way.*

The Geneva Farce

Mr. John Foster Dulles acted wisely when he left Geneva under protest and, in doing so, affirmed that he would only return when his British and French colleagues were at their wits' end. For nothing can be achieved by diplomatic tricks. There are only two alternatives: either Great Britain and France are powerful enough to obtain a favourable peace by force, or else they are too weak to do so, and in that case a peace will only be of advantage to bolshevism. Thus it is immaterial whether a temporary armistice is reached in Indo-China or not. The present state of affairs cannot avail the West in any way if it has not sufficient power and not the right political conception to bring about a solution in principle of the complicated Asiatic problem.

The reason for the failure of the West so far, is that the communist hinterland numbers more than half a thousand million people and avails itself of an attractive but deceptive and hackneyed idea of national independence and liquidation of feudal and colonial conditions. Communism in Asia must be defeated from within, that is to say above all by the Asiatics themselves and in particular by a *simultaneous* uprising of *all the* nations in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of influence which have been subjugated by Russia.

Whilst, on the one hand, the statements made by Mr. John Foster Dulles show that this leading statesman of the U.S.A. has a profound understanding of the demands of the anti-bolshevist fight, the Western front, on the other hand, is considerably weakened by the widely diverging opportunist attitude of the other Western partners. Even Sir Winston Churchill, who together with Mr. Roosevelt made the mistake of surrendering all the so-called satellite states in Europe and half of Asia to the Russians, is now placing various obstacles in

the way of the only possible policy of the U.S.A. in Asia. In this connection the "Spectator" points out that Sir Winston Churchill's obstinate demand for a meeting on the highest level for the purpose of orientation, the reluctance of the British Government to support the undoubtedly simple but nevertheless sound American policy of inflexibility as regards all Communist manoeuvres, and the destructive activity of certain fanatical anti-American elements in Great Britain have rendered a positive British policy impossible.

The Geneva farce was all that the bolshevists needed in order to send out their lying watchwords to the nations of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world from an international forum. In addition, Moscow and Peking were eager to gain time and to capture as much territory as possible whilst negotiations were still in progress, in order to forestall Mr. Dulles' plan for a Southeast Asia defence pact.

We reject the so-called "greater territory ideologies" as a camouflage for imperialist aims and have rejected them for some time. The nations no longer put their trust in "protectorates" of any kind and do not easily agree to imperialist substitute plans. They demand a chance to develop their own strength so as to be able to protect their freedom successfully. For this reason they wish to be rid of imperialist ties and to set up their own sovereign states, so as to be able to have their own say later on as regards possible continental integrations and similar matters. Communism in Asia and Bolshevist world-aggression can only be successfully opposed by realizing the idea of national freedom and satisfying social ethics, but not by making fine phrases and empty promises.

Magna charta libertatis

The West can no longer save the general political situation by adopting half-measures. The prerequisite for successful action as regards the world-political and military aspect is a *Big Freedom Charter*, which must be proclaimed by the West without delay and must stress the following points: completely independent and sovereign national states for all nations; non-intervention in the home affairs of the nations; a just social and democratic order; liquidation of the remnants of the feudal colonial system; a ruthless extermination of communism and the simultaneous and effective realization of far-reaching social reforms (in the first place as regards agrarian policy), etc.

The Big Freedom Charter is to appeal above all to those nations which have been subjugated by Russia and by communism, and in this connection the watchwords of the free Western World must be the partition of the great Russian empire into sovereign national states according to ethnographical principles, de-collectivism and de-proletarianism, the general guarantee of private property, and the return of all deported persons and nations to their native country.

A further watchword of the Big Freedom Charter must be the active support of the representative spokesmen of the subjugated nations, who are the champions of the freedom of the latter, and co-ordination of the anti-Bolshevist world-fight for freedom with them, since they alone can restore the dwindling faith of the subjugated nations in the Western World.

In the course of the celebrations which were recently drawn up by Moscow on a grand and lavish scale to mark the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, Ukraine was proclaimed the second nation in rank to the Russian nation and the "joint support of the empire". This is, of course, nothing but demagoguery.

(Continued on Page 14)

American, National Chinese and Korean Politicians Support the Ideology of the A.B.N.

The speeches made at the banquet held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the A.B.N.

The Hon. O. K. Armstrong

Acting Chairman for National Conference of Freedom and Peace Through Liberation

"Freedom for all Nations"

We are pleased to publish the speech made by former Congressman O. K. Armstrong, who is now the head of the movement in the U.S.A. known as "Peace By Liberation". The Hon. O. K. Armstrong is a sincere friend of the nations subjugated by bolshevism and has a profound knowledge of our problems.

"Mr. Toastmaster, Distinguished Ladies and Gentleman and My Friends. At this Great Banquet celebrating this auspicious occasion it is a great privilege and honour to be here tonight.

I do appreciate the kind words of the Toastmaster in presenting me. I am honored to be here and just bring this word of greeting and perhaps a word of encouragement from the depths of my heart. I can assure you that many of my former colleagues with whom I served in the last session of Congress would be here tonight and at every meeting in which liberation is discussed and planned, if they possibly could. I sometimes wonder whence came this great idea of freedom. Our honored speaker Admiral Menz went back to a statement of a great religious leader little more than three centuries after the beginning of the Christian Era and wrapped up in what St. Augustine said was this ideal of freedom. From the time that man has sought freedom it has been a part of a great crusade and mankind has struggled for liberty through all the ages.

Painfully he has received freedom if he was willing to fight for it and all of that time it has rested upon a moral basis. Let's think about that for just a moment, those of us whether we were born in this country, whether we live here now as citizens or hope to be citizens, whatever our ancestry. From whence came those of our founding fathers from the old countries, as my grandfather, himself, called it, and he was Irish. No wonder I join every crusade that passes by, because that has been the history of the Irish. From whence they came, they came here seeking liberty. Our founding fathers in this nation believed, as did that great lover of freedom, Thomas Jefferson, they believed that liberty stands from a righteous principle. Not long ago my wife and I put our two youngest boys in the car and we drove down; Admiral and Mrs. Mentz, you are familiar with the home of Thomas Jefferson, and there we visited that home and stood in front of the gravestone that marks the last resting place of that great lover of liberty, and we read inscribed on that gravestone these words "Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of Independence, Author of the Statute for Religious Freedom, Founder of the University of Virginia" and that was all. It did not say that he had been President of the United States or any of the other great political honours because he considered the greatest contribution he had made in his life-time was the furthering of the cause of liberty, of freedom, of education, of opportunity, of Democracy, and these other things in our heritage that have sprung from this great ideal of liberty. Today our liberty is challenged by an ideology that says "man has no freedom except that which an all powerful Polit Bureau permits him to have." How diametrically opposed is that to the urging within the human heart that caused one of our early patriots to say, as all who believe in freedom today are willing to say, when Patrick Henry stood in that little church in Richmond, Va., and said "his life so sweet and peace so dear as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. Forbid it Almighty God. I care not what course others may take, but as for me "Give me Liberty or Give me Death."

Only to those of you who represent Nationalist Groups, who are willing in this country to help those of us in official positions or unofficial positions, strengthen and implement this idea of free-

dom. We are using the word "Liberation" and why, because the Iron Curtain of totalitarian Bolshevism enslavement has fallen down, crushing out the liberties of so many hundreds of millions of people. We feel then that the Crusade is urgent. In the ideal of America is this heritage engraved over the portals of the Supreme Court in just four words "Equal Justice Under Law." How can there be any equal justice, when men are chained in slavery. In our heritage is a word which we speak of with reverence and call it "equality". What does it mean, what did Thomas Jefferson mean when he said "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal". All men, those of Western

Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia and elsewhere, all men, North and South Korea, yes, all men are created equal and they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. How are you going to realize the ideal of equality without liberation? How are you going to realize the ideal of a peace, that will be lasting and durable, because it is based upon justice without freedom? Alright, having said that, let us conclude with this thought; what then is our task? Our task now is to try to find ways and means to implement this whole idea of liberation. I feel very keenly on the matter because a little over a year ago I

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General F. Farkas de Kisbarnak

President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement

The Significance of Partisan Resistance

The following article, which will no doubt be of general interest to our readers, is an extract from an extremely interesting and noteworthy, survey by General Farkas de Kisbarnak, the President of the A.B.N. Military Commission. (Editor's note.)

In the course of World War II, hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the Red Army surrendered and were willing to fight against their oppressors. In the next war this will be the case to an even greater extent, a fact which is corroborated by the thousands who are seeking refuge in the West at the present time. This question must therefore not only be taken into account in the eventuality of a war, but certain thorough and large-scale preparations, in which the emigrant units can render a very valuable service, must also be made to deal with it.

The army command must devote its attention in particular to the underground movements and the insurgent forces which are active in the subjugated countries, since they represent a strength of hundreds of thousands behind the Soviet main fighting front in case of war, and may well play a most important part in deciding the issue of the war.

The insurgent forces thus deserve every form of support possible, for they may, when the occasion presents itself, render the West an invaluable service and save the lives of countless soldiers.

Time alone will prove the great significance of this resistance, but its actual strength will only be able to assert itself, if it is co-ordinated with the strength of external military manpower.

These forces, combined with the strength of millions fighting desperately for their freedom, can be likened to an atomic time-bomb, the fuse of which is at present still in the hands of the West. It cannot explode on its own, but when once the hour of liberation has come and freedom is within reach, it will go off with such force that the terrorist regime will be swept away for all time.

The strength of this resistance and the insurgent forces are important as far as the West is concerned, for the simple reason that the latter, in case of war, will not have sufficient reserves to occupy the whole of the vast Soviet realm. A second front composed of these allies, who proved their strength during the last war, will thus be indispensable. I refer in particular to the well-known Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), of whose strength and action I was able to convince myself personally during the fighting at the Tatra Pass in the year 1944.

Various emigrants' newspapers in the Western World have on numerous occasions drawn attention to the sentiments and attitude of the nations behind the Iron Curtain and to their embittered feelings against bolshevist terrorism, as well as to the fact that the white partisans from time to time engage in open warfare. But certain statesmen in the West have refused to believe these reports. In fact, we

have been highly dismayed at certain remarks to the effect that the communist bloc is an imposing power, a united force, in which there can be no talk of a revolution or of the nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain desiring any change in the regime to which they are subjected.

The revolution of June 16th and 17th, 1953, in East Germany and the insurrections which followed in Poland, Hungary and elsewhere have, however, shattered all illusions in this respect at one blow, and "the unbelievable has become a fact"; mass insurrections and strikes certainly are possible behind the Iron Curtain!

The workers in Berlin, Leipzig, Halle, Magdeburg, and many other industrial areas revolted in a body, put an end to Soviet administration, liberated political prisoners, and shouted in unison, "We want freedom and bread and shall kill the Russians".

Unfortunately, the West was not prepared for these events and the English and French attitude of "non-interference" was adopted as decisive. As a result, the soldiers of the Western Powers looked on idly whilst the Germans fought the Russian tanks with their bare hands. This passive attitude on the part of the West evoked considerable disappointment among the many millions of the subjugated nations and bitter feelings among the insurgents.

The West, however, is eventually bound to come to the conclusion that if it does not support the subjugated nations in their revolutions, but continues to defer the freedom it has promised them so long, it will gradually lose the support of these forces which are at present still at its disposal, and in fact, they may in the course of time even become its enemies.

The enormous importance of the nations behind the Iron Curtain as powerful allies of America from the military point of view cannot be stressed enough. And even the seventy divisions which are to be set up behind the Iron Curtain and consist only of men of the subjugated nations belonging to the S.S. satellite countries might, under certain conditions, become the firm allies of the West. If the Soviets then have to use another seventy divisions to combat possible insurrections, this huge loss of manpower on the part of the Red Army will probably prove decisive for the issue of the war.

Bolshevism uses brutal methods and loses no time in acting. It effaces its real and its imaginary enemies systematically. But despite this fact, the key to victory lies in the hands of the West, for the subjugated millions are still its natural allies. And in this respect and on the strength of the resistance movements of the subjugated nations a decision should now be reached.

A delay is bound to prove detrimental and will eventually lead to a bolshevist world revolution and to the destruction of Western civilization.

Memorandum for the Geneva Conference

to the Foreign Secretaries John Foster Dulles and Anthony Eden

Munich, 29th April, 1954

Your Excellency,

In continuation of the memorandum which we took the liberty to submit to your Excellency on the occasion of the recent Power Conference in Berlin, we now venture to put on record a few notes on the problems of South-East Asia to be discussed at the forthcoming conference at Geneva, as they appear to us, the leaders of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, in Europe.

After the Berlin Conference your Excellency referred to the principle of Russian policy never to give way on any ground where Russians have gained a foothold. We entirely agree with this statement by your Excellency and are convinced that the same principle equally applies to the situation in Asia. The unsurmountable obstacles to a satisfactory agreement encountered by the Western Powers in Berlin are bound again to be met with at Geneva.

The history of Russian policy during the whole of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries presents plentiful examples of Russia never, at any International Congress or Conference, having agreed to surrender any gains of conquest or other spoils of aggression except after a military defeat or under threat of war. The Russian defeat in the Crimea in 1855 compelled her to renounce her claim to the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Only the presence of the British Fleet in the Sea of Marmara at the time of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877/78 and the uncompromisingly firm attitude of the British Foreign Office at the Congress of Berlin forced her to abandon her plans to gain control of the Dardanelles and to establish her leadership of the Balkan nations. Only her defeat by Japan in 1905 brought Russia to a halt in the Far East and for the time being forced her out of Korea and Manchuria.

When in 1918 the peoples whom Tsarist Russia had enslaved took up arms, their gallant fight for freedom, backed by a German ultimatum at Brest-Litovsk, caused Lenin and Trotzky to cease from asserting their demand that the Baltic countries, Poland and Ukraine, should be returned to them. Earlier, Poland's, Finland's and Ukraine's proclamations of their independence after the February Revolution and their determination to defend their liberties by force of arms had convinced Kerensky's Government of the necessity to compromise.

We would venture to draw your Excellency's attention to the great effect that the uneasy relations of the Russian Imperial Power with the oppressed nationalities within the conglomerate Russian Imperium have so often had on Russian fortunes in the past. If Russia's difficulty in external politics and war have from time to time encouraged the hopes of her oppressed nationalities that their national aspirations might be realised, the struggle of these oppressed nationalities for liberty and national independence has, on the other hand, often largely contributed to the defeat of Russia by her external enemies.

This hostility and internal opposition of the subject Nations indeed constitutes Russia's greatest weakness in her efforts to realise her ambitions abroad. In 1905 serious internal disturbances in Ukraine and in other parts of the Tsarist Empire played an important part in Russia's defeat by Japan. In the First World War Russia was a member of the victorious Alliance, but herself lost the war in 1917 and 1918 largely owing to the oppressed nationalities, Finland, the Baltic Nations, Poland, Byelorussia, Ukraine, the Nations of the Caucasus and Turkestan, who seized the opportunity at last to gain their independence and rose to fight for their freedom.

Russia was threatened by a similar defeat in 1941, but Nazi Germany committed the criminal blunder of herself ruthlessly suppressing every liberation movement by the peoples oppressed by Russia, and the free Ukrainian State, which had been re-established on the 30th June 1941, lived only for two weeks, when it was destroyed by Hitler and its leaders were shot, imprisoned or proscribed. Thanks to the determined stand of the Western Powers, certain countries threatened by Soviet aggression since 1945 have been saved from con-

quest, and Greece, Persia and South Korea survive. The Berlin Allied Air Lift broke the Berlin blockade. Finally, the clear and repeated assurance by the United States, and by the other Western Powers, that they desire the unification of Germany encouraged the noteworthy and heroic demonstration by the people of Eastern Germany, in June 1953.

We hope that your Excellency will forgive these historical reminiscences. They are intended to bring out the fact that Russian ambitions can be checked and Russian pretensions countered successfully only by an uncompromising attitude and determined pressure by the Western Powers from without, and that this attitude and such pressure will be most effective when they coincide or are co-ordinated with the activities of the National Resistance Movements of the enslaved nations within the Soviet Empire and her Vassals. Only by whole-hearted support of their aspirations by the Free West could the Soviets be brought to disgorge the fruits of recent aggression and earlier conquests.

Both Lenin and Nicolas II expressed their conviction that the road to the conquest of Europe, and ultimately of America, lies through Asia. This view explains the hypocrisy with which the Soviet Empire tries to win the confidence and support of those peoples of the East who are still dependencies of Western countries, by appearing to encourage their Nationalist aspirations and by inveighing against the "Imperialism" of such Western Powers and the "feudal system" maintained by them in such dependencies.

The remedy would clearly be the unequivocal declaration by all such Western Powers of their adherence to the principle of ultimate national emancipation and self-determination for all Nationalities. A clear enunciation of these principles would cut the ground from under the feet of Soviet propaganda in the East. Combined with moral support for the nations groaning under Soviet oppression and assistance to their Resistance Movements, it would range the entire freedom-loving world, whether under the Soviet yoke at present, living in the shadow of fear of the Soviet threat, or as yet untouched by danger, solidly against the communist aggressor.

A declaration applying the principle of liberty and self-determination to every nation would effectively strengthen the anti-communist forces in Asia, and could not fail further to increase the prestige of the United States and to raise confidence in the intentions of the West.

An uncompromising stand against Red China is an essential feature of this policy. The surrender of any point in appeasement of communist China or Soviet Russia cannot fail to encourage the aggressor, to damp the ardour of those resisting the common enemy, and to undermine their courage and determination.

Any compromise now with Russia or with Red China, or agreement to leave them in possession of any of the territories which they have seized by infiltration, stealthy strategem, or aggression by war, may well end in the progressive and total conquest of Europe, if not in our lifetime, then in that of our children.

There is still time to call a halt to the advance of Soviet despotism, and the present situation appears favourable. But if the responsible leaders of the Free West were to shirk the decision now, they would condemn their successors, and the peoples of the West that are still free, to a struggle the outcome of which must be doubtful.

If the advance of Red Tyranny is to be met and broken the West must assume the initiative. The burden of the struggle can be lightened, the conflict localized and the danger of a destructive world-wide atomic war may be avoided by encouraging and making use of the patriotic enthusiasm of those Allies which are ready to hand. This includes the many millions of oppressed peoples within the U.S.S.R. who are suffering under Soviet despotism and awaiting the opportunity to free themselves from tyranny, as well as the peoples of the Vassal States.

To synchronise their rising with the initiative of the Western Powers would reduce the sacrifices

that men have to bring to gain and to preserve the gift of freedom, and would save effort, material, and countless human lives.

If your Excellency should share our view and grant us your help we can assure you of the full and whole-hearted support of the nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia and united in the aspirations of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. They, and we, shall be entirely with you.

Assuring you of our profound regard,

We are,

Your Excellency's obedient servants.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

"Freedom for all Nations"

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was out making campaign speeches and when I spoke I said, "the time has come for an administration that will implement liberation and that will announce to the whole world that we will never forget those people now enslaved by the Bolsheviks and that we will work officially for their liberation". We are hoping, Ladies and Gentlemen, that out of the Conference, the reference is made to the Washington Conference on Liberation in December, will come definite recommendations, one part of which will be sent to Congress, definite recommendations as to what our Congress should do to set in motion these forces of liberation. Certainly we can ask for the support of all the American people, for the Kersten Investigation of the wiping out of the sovereignty of the little Baltic Countries. We can go ahead and ask for other investigations and for other support of resistance movements, underground movements, and everything that this great Government can do to implement the announced policy of liberation. We can go further than that, let us ask President Eisenhower and Mr. John Foster Dulles, both of whom, as great leaders of this nation, have joined with Democrats and Republicans alike in Congress, in saying that liberation is our policy. Let us say to them first of all, take such steps as will maintain the hope of those people behind the Iron Curtain that they will not be forgotten, and we might have to be just a little bit specific. We might have to say to them, Mr. President and Mr. Secretary of State we mean by that, that you needn't be caught in any trap, you needn't be caught going over crawling on your hands and knees to Moscow to hold a conference. The only conference we need in this country is to say "we are going to withdraw recognition from those who have enslaved the people of the earth." The first task, I say, is to maintain the hope of those people that they some day will be free. The next step is to encourage their resistance by every possible means, by the use of propaganda, and I am speaking of peaceful means, certainly do we hope that our efforts will lead to the prevention of war, rather than to the starting of war. When I say to you in all seriousness that time is running out, and what we need to do to prevent war is to utilize the greatest ally that we have, and what is that ally? Is the strength of this nation in the hydrogen bomb? I read the other day of a man who is engaged in creating the hydrogen bomb, and after that recent explosion he said, "we have now discovered the most terrific force on earth." When I read those words I said to myself, "he is mistaken." The most terrible force, the most powerful force on earth is not in a bomb, it is in an idea. It is in the burning desire of the people now enslaved that they and their children may some day be free, and so I am hoping that we may offer specific suggestions and that we, with a united voice, may urge our President and our Congress to take such steps as will encourage the draining away of the strength of the bolshevik Regime and, how one way we already have written into a bill which will be introduced, I hope, on the 1st. day of the next session of Congress, and that is to set up a Liberation Army made up of those refugees who were brave enough to defy their communist masters and to choose freedom. Who now for the most part are languishing in Western Europe somewhere, idle and with nothing to do when we need them in this Crusade. Let us set up a Liberation Army and let those who command those armies stand beneath their own flags, the Flags of Ukraine, the Baltic Countries and all of the lands and let them say to any of those who desire freedom, "come and join our

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Prof. Dr. Stephen C. Y. Pan

Advisor to the Chinese Representative in the United Nations and Director of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Seton Hall University

National China and A.B.N.

"Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, Friends, Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

First of all I would like to say to my old friend Ambassador Limb from Korea and my new friend, Dr. George Gaklin from Turkestan, that you and I should be singularly honoured and unusually privileged to have this opportunity to take part in this celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Anti-bolshevik Block of Nations, on this Thanksgiving Day. For myself I am indeed thankful to join you here, free and outside of the Iron Curtain. However, I cannot be thankful for what is happening in China today. Since October 1949 the communists have murdered more than 30,000,000 Chinese people on the grounds that they were reactionaries, landlords, and agents of American Imperialism. There are still many millions of Chinese who every day face mental and physical torture. When these people are free, then we will have a day of Thanksgiving in China, instead of having turkey and cranberries and coffee, we shall have sudkin soup and one hundred year old eggs. It will not only mean a Thanksgiving to China, but it will also mean a real Thanksgiving day for the rest of the free world, when communist China is liberated. The people of Eastern Europe and the people of part of Asia suffer tyranny, whether they be Ukrainians or Koreans, Rumanians, or Chinese, Polish or Viennese. The Iron Curtain and the Bamboo Curtain are synonymous. Both are imperilling and lead to the suffering and blood from communistic aggression. However, I do not think it is necessary for me to over-emphasize the fact that the Pacific Ocean, its source and its islands and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of the world's great struggle. This is simply because of the geographical position of Asia which occupies the largest land surface of the earth, has more than one billion people, possesses an abundance of strategic materials and mineral resources and foodstuffs. Asia could be used either as an instrument for world conquest or as a means for a defence of the free world. Here, I do not want to enter into this controversial question as to whether or not Europe or Asia should be first. So far as anti-communism policy is concerned, we are all in the same boat, because to those sufferers under communism, there is no distinction whether they are Europeans or Asians. It is rather an event to argue on an exact basis because communism has expanded on a global basis. In its application it may deviate from this course in different directions, but its goal is world conquest. Lenin, the old time bolshevik leader said, "the shortest route from Moscow to Paris is via Peking". This policy was followed by Stalin who was successful in the Yalta Conference in February, 1945. With the consent and support of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, Stalin succeeded in obtaining many bases and the railways in Manchuria which paved the way for the communist conquest of the Chinese mainland and the present aggression in Korea. We have to admit that the greatest trouble of U.N. that took place in the world during this last decade was the Soviet infiltration of Manchuria and Mongolia which upset the equilibrium and security of Asia. Indeed the loss of China's mainland has intensified the communist menace in French Indo-China and the far South East Asia. The mutual agreement between communist China and communist Korea has killed hope for a peaceful and political solution for Korea — indeed for the whole Far East. As far as Asia is concerned, there are great differences between Great Britain and the United States. England has recognized Communist China as the legitimate government of China and has decided very plainly to extend that regime in matters of trade and world policy. On the other hand, both Houses of the United States Congress have condemned communist China as an aggressor, and enforce a partial blockade against the Peiping regime. Here we must offer and pay tribute to the Honorable Congressman O. K. Armstrong. He took a very active part in the passage of the resolution condemning communist China. He should be gratefully congratulated for his part in this great historic resolution. If the communist World would be able to inveigle the British poli-

ticians to induce the American negotiators to accept Red China into a future Great Powers conference, it would mean, far and wide, a spread of communism in the rest of Asia. But let us all have confidence that all Asia and Europe will again soon be free and independent. Therefore, may I say to you, Congressman Armstrong, in your forthcoming conference, I wish that on behalf of all those who love freedom, you should ask the President and Secretary of State whether or not they really mean business, whether or not they are going to carry out their campaign promises. Actually all United Nations have recently awakened to the idea of defending the people against World communism.

The communist manner is world wide. Thus the fight against communism should also be on a global basis. There is, however, still a lack of cooperation

D. Donzow

From St. Helena to Yalta

Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin — three men who wanted to conquer Europe. It took the forces of free Europe (unfortunately with the assistance of Russia) fifteen years to defeat the first of these three men and five years to defeat the second. The third of them was able to leave his successor territory which had been conquered in Europe (and Asia). And the West reproves all those who point out that the third conqueror or rather his successor should be removed from power like the other two, if the "free world" is to preserve its freedom. Napoleon or Hitler, as the ruler of France, Belgium, Germany and Italy, was more than the opponents of the dictator could submissively endure. But a Russian Caligula as the ruler of half of Germany, the entire territory of the former Austrian and Hungarian monarchy, and practically the whole of the Balkan countries and China, is endured by the West, which even aims to preserve "friendly relations" with him.

Why is there so much discrimination in the attitude towards these three dictators, who all aimed to subjugate Europe?

We are told that the reason why the West yields to Russia is the latter's strength as regards its military potential and material. I am convinced that I can prove that the real reason is the weakness of the moral and military potential of the West.

In the war against Napoleon, England, that is to say its leading classes, hated and definitely rejected the ideas of 1789. England at that time was an intellectual monolith, completely inaccessible for the ideologies of the times. The English regarded the French of Napoleon's day as "the devils" (an expression coined by Nelson), who must be exterminated wherever possible. This attitude created the intellectual atmosphere of the British Isles, in which the grand and bold and daring plans of Pitt, Nelson, and Wellington were able to bear fruit; this attitude gave the English strength to conquer the conqueror.

The French emperor was likewise the devil personified and the sworn enemy of the Church and of freedom as regards the other indefatigable opponent of the French Revolution, namely Spain. And it was this attitude on the part of the Spaniards which enabled them to conquer the conquerors of Jena and Austerlitz.

In the same way, the rousing words of Fichte and Görres helped to revive the flagging but unbroken spirit of Prussia, and stirred the German nation to active revolt against France. This same absolutely hostile attitude of the West towards Hitlerism helped the West to be victorious.

and unity among all of the communistic peoples in Asia and in Europe. It is honestly hoped that all those who uphold the dignity of man and his inheritance of right should join hands together in a determined fight against World communism. We are entering on a critical year of human history, and if we do not cooperate with each other to defeat our world enemy, then the world communists will engulf and defeat us. Communism is certainly in contradiction to all the traditions and customs of the Chinese people and I believe that it is also in contradiction to all the freedom-loving people throughout the world. So far as the Chinese are concerned, we, as a people, including those in the Chinese mainland, and those in the United States of America, and all the oversea Chinese who number about 15 million people in Southeast Asia, will do our best in overthrowing the communist yoke whenever there is an opportunity, and in fact we are doing it now. I would like to take this opportunity to inform this distinguished company that right now, even on the Chinese mainland there are more than 300,000 armed Chinese who are against Chinese communism.

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And now? In those days there were no professors in the anti-French West who preached the ideas of Rousseau, Voltaire, or "Mein Kampf" at the universities. Nowadays there are countless preachers at the universities and in the churches of the West who advocate the Moscow "people's democracy" or Russian "pacifism"... Nowadays there are entire political parties in the West whose supporters behave like "Soviet patriots"... Nowadays there are countless "humane and Christian-minded" idle old women in the West, and even priests who preach not hatred, but "love" towards the "great Russian nation"... Nowadays there are many newspaper reporters and various other representatives of "public opinion" in the West who promptly brand every government which aims to exterminate communism, as "corrupt" or as a "mad war-agitator" or as an enemy of democratic freedom, and defame every far-sighted politician who unmasks a Fuchs, a Hiss or a Rosenberg as a Russian agent. Is it not true that the present psychological atmosphere in the West is an entirely different one from that which prevailed during the fight of the West against Napoleon and Hitler?!

In those days the Rosenbergs, Fuchs', Johnsons, Thorez', and Jean Duclos' would have been quite impossible. In those days the game ended in St. Helena or in Nuremberg. But now the completely changed political atmosphere of a "freedom-loving Europe" predominates in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam!

As long as this atmosphere which paralyses all resistance prevails in the West and as long as the germs which infect the sound patriotism of the West are not destroyed, the latter will not be in a position to ward off the growing menace of subjugation by Russia. Neither the weakness nor the strength of the material war potential of Russia or the West will decide the issue of the unavoidable conflict between the free world and Russia. Nor will any purely mechanical unification of Europe succeed in holding up Moscow's drive towards the West. Europe must experience an intellectual revolution, it must, as it were, remove the poisons from its system, and must bear in mind that its nations are the nations of a Christian civilization; it must realize that the ideology of the Russian revolution must be opposed with the same and, in fact, even greater force, — *intra et extra muros* — than was applied to combat the ideology of Hitler.

This is the only way in which our continent and the rest of the world, aided by the nations which have been subjugated by Russia, can be saved from destruction, and the only means by which the political strength of Russian imperialism can be broken for all time.

Melchior Kiss

Chairman A.B.N. Youth, Great Britain

The Prospects of our Struggle

In spite of wishful thinking and the sentimental pacifism displayed by certain democratic powers, the international situation is essentially the same as it was before Stalin's death. The predicted process of liberalisation did not take place. Since the fall of Beria the idea of a new and firm foreign policy seems to gain ground in the ruling circles of the Soviet Union.

The future of the world depends on the designs of a few men in the Kremlin. They will decide whether the cold war will be heated up or not. They will deliver the first terrific blow if they decide to start an aggressive war. These people know very well that they have plenty of time. The democratic world will never start a war. Democratic governments are controlled by their public opinion that will never realise that a preventive war is much safer than an eventual defensive one with uncertain prospects.

The attitude of the democratic powers would not be dangerous, if the time factor were on the democratic side. But this is rather questionable. We do not know all the facts about the industrial potentials of the world, but in our view China's industrialization would seriously endanger Western economic and military superiority. Oddly enough, some democratic powers would like to help Communist China in the process of industrialisation.

This is the international background against which we must see the situation of our subjugated countries. Our paramount view is the liberation of our nations from the deadly grip of Russian imperialism. How can we achieve this aim? How can we make history in our own way, defying all the obstacles facing us? The only solution is the revolutionary action of the subjugated peoples themselves. This is the only way to genuine liberation and national independence.

The oppressed people of the Soviet orbit face two alternatives now; they can resist the new regimes or they can adapt themselves to the changed political circumstances. It is of the utmost importance from our point of view whether a process of consolidation takes place, or the forces of active and passive resistance slowly disintegrate the communist world.

Our task is obvious. We must encourage the forces of resistance as much as possible. We can do that in several ways. First of all we have to work out the strategy of liberation, based on the inherent contradictions of communism.

The communists accepted dialectics as the backbone of their philosophy. The political application of this principle means that one carefully analyses the contradictions of a given historical situation.

National China and A.B.N.

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Who are these people? These people including people of all political and religious faiths, including Mohammedans, Buddhists, Catholics, Protestants and those who love freedom. And every day there are hundreds and hundreds of Chinese being murdered. And even though some Chinese patriots are being murdered by the communists every day, still there are many new Chinese guerillas against Chinese communism.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, you may be sure that so far as we are concerned, we are going to do our part. As to the number of all the Chinese in this country we can tell you that 99% of all the Chinese in America are against communism. We are doing our small part in every way possible to defeat communism and we are not only not discouraged, we are very certain that the fate of Napoleon, the Kaiser, Hitler, Mussolini and Tito will be repeated by the dictators of the Soviet Union and Communist China.

And so, we are definitely confident that Malenkov and Mao Tse-Tung will come to the end of their way very soon, but in order to bring about a very happy Thanksgiving all over the world again for all the freedom-loving people those who love liberty and freedom must increase their efforts to expedite the downfall of the communist tyrants. Thank you very much."

After having defined them the next stage is to aggravate them and so to hasten the process of disintegration. This inner conflict results in a change. The original situation transforms in the struggle of conflicting tendencies into a new one which has a reconciling character.

We do not want to go too deeply into the philosophical aspects of this theory. But it is obvious that the communist world has inner contradictions, just the same as the capitalist world. The communist strategy based on dialectics proved to be successful. On the other hand the democratic world has not got a consistent philosophy, and has not made any efforts to analyse the contradicting tendencies of its opponent.

In my view the contradictions of the Russian-bolshevik system can be briefly stated in the following classification:

1) There is a contradiction between Russian imperialism and the national aspirations of the subjugated peoples.

2) There are contradictions between the various social layers of the Soviet society; e. g. professionals versus workers, peasants v. urbanised people, party aristocracy v. the rest of the society.

3) There are contradictions between the various social organs: e. g. the party, the army and the secret police.

I would classify the above three contradictions as social ones, as they manifest themselves in the aspects of social being. But Russian bolshevism results in contradictions in psychological aspects as well.

4) There is a contradiction between their atheistic materialism and the spiritual needs of human nature.

5) There is a contradiction between their suspicious and sadistic mentality and the existence of higher emotions in the human mind.

All the above contradictions are in fact the aspects of a basic contradiction that exists between communist ideology and reality. Dialectical materialism itself is pregnant with logical aberrations, and a way of life that was the child of that philosophy must be the same as its mother.

I do not arrogate that the above classification is perfect. I think it would be all important to form a study-group with the purpose of analysing the contradictions of communism. We can read books written by communists on the contradictions of capitalism. I cannot remember that I have ever read a book on communism dealing with its subject in a dialectical manner.

After the analytical work our next step would be to make the communists conscious of the existence of their inconsistencies. This kind of propaganda will aggravate their troubles. Their ruling circles will cling desperately to the orthodox ideology and will deny the real situation. The idea of conflict will reach consciousness first in the oppressed classes and in the oppressed nations. They will fight bitterly for a change.

This process is inevitable. The above mentioned contradictions do exist, and sooner or later they will result in a process of disintegration. Our duty is to accelerate it.

Our organization, the A.B.N., is a magnificent framework in which all these plans can be carried out. The great majority of the Hungarian exiles in the free world sincerely believe in the aims of the A.B.N. They are well aware of the fact that we must co-operate with each other and co-ordinate our plans for the final assault. Our unity and our knowledge of the actual situation in our countries can be decisive factors in the struggle for liberation.

We wish the free world could realise that only the revolutionary action of the oppressed peoples of the Soviet orbit can save it from the final catastrophe of an atomic war. While the democratic countries are uncertain as to the right methods how to deal with Russian imperialism, the ruling circles in Russia calmly prepare for the eventual show-down. But the forces of resistance will act when the time comes. Let us give them all the support they need.

London, June 1954

What Kind of Diplomacy does Moscow Understand?

Karl Marx, a hundred years ago, was surprised how Muscovite diplomacy managed to fool the West — using the same, old, repeated tricks (see K. Marx "The Eastern Question"). Let's turn our attention to one of these old tricks used by Moscow for hundreds of years, but, nevertheless, one which always succeeds in catching the West "by surprise".

After the late military and diplomatic defeat of the West in Geneva, the diplomats of the free world are asking themselves with fright: "After swallowing half of Indo-China will Moscow not want to gulp down the *entire* country!"

When "peace" came in 1945, Moscow received half of Korea — and once more the West could not overcome its surprise when a few years later Moscow organized a military attack on the *other half* of that country. During the war Roosevelt presented to Moscow as a gift a piece of territory belonging to his faithful ally of longstanding, Chiang Kai-Shek — Manchuria. Having taken by force prior to this a part of Mongolia and Sin-Ku-Inha, Moscow shortly afterwards, took over *all* of China politically.

Using this self-same trick, Moscow seized in 1939, half of the territory (ethnographically neither Polish, nor Muscovite) which was a part of the Versailles created country of Poland. Now she has *all* of Poland under her control. Having been given, by the grace of the peace-loving West, half of Germany in 1945, Moscow is devising plan after plan to make *all* of Germany her satellite.

And these tricks are not all the creation of Red Moscow. In this instance, as in many others, she is slavishly copying Tsarism. With the latter, in 1907, Great Britain was imprudent enough to *divide* Persia (Iran) into "spheres of influence". After this happened, Russia began to make attempt after attempt to take over *all* of Persia. The two latest attempts were: the first in 1946 and the second during the rule of the mad Mossadegh. The third will come in due time.

In 1878, during the war, with the Turks, the Russians defeated at Plevna, asked for and received Rumanian aid, and for that Russia cut herself a worthwhile slice of Rumanian territory out of which the bolsheviks created the so-called "Autonomous Moldavian Republic". Now — *entire* Rumania stands on the brink of becoming one of the republics in the "union" of the U.S.S.R.

Do you wish to look farther into the past? In the second half of the seventeenth century Moscow took away from Poland half of the Ukrainian territory (on the left bank of the Dnieper). At the end of the eighteenth century she also took the Ukrainian territory lying on the right bank (with the exception of Halychyna, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine, occupied in 1945).

Another example? At the end of the eighteenth century, Moscow annexed a large slice of old Polish territory. In 1945, she took the rest. . .

And every time these tricks and these annexations came as unexpected surprises for Western diplomacy: In Ukraine there is a very popular fable which characterizes most accurately this Muscovite method.

A Muscovite moujik by the name of Vanka invited himself for a night's lodgings in a Ukrainian peasant's home. They got ready to go to bed. The Muscovite hung his bast shoes above the stove to dry, while the Ukrainian began to say his prayers. Then the Muscovite cried out at once, "Why you dirty so and so, so you're praying?" A quarrel began, the angry Ukrainian could not restrain himself: how dare anyone criticize him in his own house!

In surprise, the Muscovite asked pointing to his bast shoes, "And whose bast shoes are those?"

"Yours!" answered the Ukrainian.

"Well, then the house is mine!" was the answer.

Whenever you allow a Muscovite to find a corner in your house for his bast shoes, you have lost your house already. The only way to become the master of your own house — give the insolent intruder a kick in the pants and throw him out onto the street.

This is the *only* diplomatic language the Muscovite understands. D. D.

Prof. Dr. Ferd. Durcansky

President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

What are the Prospects for an "Economic Recovery" in Slovakia

The Bureau of Statistics in Prague has published a detailed report of the results of the first Five Year Plan for the years 1949—1953, in which the "economic recovery of Slovakia" is stressed in particular.

Like all communist publications, this report mentions no definite figures, but only compares the present situation with the former one in terms of percentages. No doubt the communists use this well-tried method in order to keep the outside world in ignorance of the economic capacity of the country and of all other economic information, and also to prevent the population from checking up on the figures which are published. This comparative method enables the communist rulers "to prove" that the standard of living is higher even when the population is obliged to put up with a shortage of the most essential necessities of life. Not only an ordinary citizen, but even a member of the Communist Party has no means of proving to the rulers that they are deceiving him.

As regards Slovakia it was the special aim of the Five Year Plan to increase industrial production to such an extent that it can be brought into line with the economic structure of the Bohemian countries. Responsible quarters in Prague were apparently of the opinion that the industrialization of Slovakia would divert the Slovak people from their efforts to attain their independence. The Five Year Plan was intended to disintegrate Slovakia as a nation and to bring about a state of chaos, so that the existence of the Czecho-Slovak structure would be safeguarded.

According to the above-mentioned report, Slovakia since the introduction of the Five Year Plan has changed from a purely agrarian to an industrial country, in which agriculture and industry already play an equal part. The volume of industrial production in 1953 as compared to that of the year 1937 is allegedly 2.4 times as much. In this connection we should like to point out that a large proportion of the recent increase in production can no doubt be placed to the account of the capacity of those industrial concerns which already existed in Slovakia towards the end of the last war. Otherwise there would be no reason why the year 1937 should be taken as the basis for a comparison.

According to the report, the proportion of industrial production to the total production of Slovakia in 1937 amounted to 40 per cent; this increased to 55 per cent in 1948 and to 70 per cent in 1953. Despite all efforts on the part of the communist government to force the industrialization of Slovakia, the above data as regards such a sudden increase in the industrial production must be doubted. It is for instance an acknowledged fact that during the years 1945 to 1948 — apart from a few exceptional cases — the industrialization of Slovakia was not achieved by the setting up of new industrial concerns, but was only in part effected by restarting the productive activity of industrial plants, which had already existed prior to the communist invasion of Slovakia. It is thus obvious that the comparative figures which the above-mentioned report quotes, in order to make out that the communist government has achieved a 70 per cent increase in industrial production, must for the most part be accredited to the industries which already existed prior to the communist regime. For this reason there can be no talk of the extraordinary speed of the "socialist economy". In addition, the fact must also be taken into consideration that, prior to the introduction of collectivism in agriculture, the production-level of the latter was undoubtedly higher than in 1953, which proves that under normal conditions the proportion of industrial production expressed as a percentage and compared to the agricultural production would not be 70 per cent but considerably less.

It is interesting to note that the report on the other hand states that the proportion of the total

production of Slovakia to the total production of the Czecho-Slovak Republic during the time of the Five Year Plan only increased from 13.9 per cent to 16.1 per cent, that is to say by only 2.2 per cent. Considering that about 29 per cent of the population of the total area of Czecho-Slovakia is Slovak and Slovakia comprises about 39 per cent of the territory of Czecho-Slovakia and has a share of 16.1 per cent in the total industrial production, there can hardly be any talk of bringing the economic structure of Slovakia into line with that of the Bohemian countries, nor can there be any justification for the assertion made in the report that Slovakia, from being a purely agrarian country, has now developed into an industrial country.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the report gives an increase of 2.2 per cent in the proportion of the industrial production of Slovakia to the total industrial production of the Czecho-Slovak Republic during the years 1948 to 1953, but mentions an increase of as much as 55 per cent in the number of workers employed in Slovakia. If in this connection we take into consideration the fact that the report shows an increase of 98 per cent in the industrial production of the whole of Czecho-Slovakia, of which Slovakia alone has a proportion of 2.2 per cent, we are bound to reach the conclusion that actually the greater part of Slovakia's industrial production can be traced back to the industrial plants which already existed in the free Slovak Republic prior to the communist regime. Another and even more important conclusion must be reached as regards the alleged increase of 55 per cent in the number of industrial workers in Slovakia. If this percentage is compared with the relatively slight increase of only 2.2 per cent in the industrial production of Slovakia, it becomes obvious that in the socialized industrial system under the communist regime twice, if not three times as many workers are needed to perform the same amount of work. This assumption is cor-

roborated by the fact that the report on the other hand affirms that labour-productivity during the Five Year Plan has increased by no less than 69 per cent.

As regards the socialization or collectivism of the agricultural system, the report states that there has been a rapid increase, namely 9 per cent in 1948 and as much as 41 per cent in 1953, a fact which, however, does not imply an improvement as far as agricultural production is concerned, but rather and for well-known reasons a deterioration. The chronic shortage of foodstuffs and essential goods, as well as the exorbitantly high prices of these commodities in a country like Slovakia, which once ranked as one of the richest and most prosperous agrarian countries in Europe, is in any case evidence which is more convincing than the abstract percentages listed in the economic plan of the Prague communists.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the report tries to create the impression that the standard of living of the population is now considerably higher. To this end high percentages are quoted which indicate a considerable increase in the consumption of foodstuffs. For 1953, for instance, the following statistics are given: an increase in the consumption of bread by 82 per cent, meat 36 per cent, meat products 52 per cent, fats 81 per cent, etc. If in this connection we take into consideration the fact that the number of persons employed in industry, according to the report, has increased by 55 per cent, which would imply an influx of the rural population into the industrial areas, and that socialized trade makes it possible to arrive at more accurate data regarding consumption, we are bound to come to the conclusion that there can be no talk of a higher standard of living and that the communist report in question is merely juggling with figures in order to console the impoverished and starving nation theoretically with an imaginary "economic recovery".

Hon. Ben C. Limb

Chief delegate for Republic of Korea in the UNO, Ambassador of Korean Republic

"Korea will at all Times Stand by A.B.N."

"Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests and my friends.

As I sit here and look at your eyes I see the natural warmth and sympathy and the spirit which says let's work together! This is the warmest and most congenial gathering that I have attended and I am very grateful to be here. It is a natural thought that the first time that I have learned about A.B.N. was through the organization, as you know very well, Ukrainian Division of the Crusade against communism, the president of which is the well beloved Rev. Walter Proteta, and the National Chairman, Mr. Tom Duffy who is also head of the *Sister Kenny Foundation* in New Jersey, the Jersey City Medical Center. These two gentlemen have been fighting against the Soviet Union imperialism for very, very, many years and very, very hard, and naturally when we knew that we were in the same field against that same evil known as Soviet imperialism, our minds and our thoughts came together. That is how I came to know your great national organization, the American Friends of A.B.N. Congratulations. In this great gathering you have many many congenial friends from many parts of the world and many from many parts of this great country, and you are in a company of cooperation and in the worthy force. At first my heart is very grateful to you and very happy, but at the same time I cannot help but go back to 1919, when Korea first inaugurated her resistance movement, her independence movement against the cruel and harsh oppression of Japanese imperialism. At the time our voice was the voice in the wilderness, because Japan was considered as one of the great Powers of the world, although great

powers of the world who were able to aid us, gave us the cold shoulder except the great United States of America which is always the seedbed of democracy for all the seekers of freedom in the world. So here, in the United States, the Korean independence movement had found shelter and after the First World War your great President, Woodrow Wilson, who was also the President of the great Princeton University, from which my own President Syngman Rhee received his Ph. D. degree at the hands of Woodrow Wilson, received the first statement of that famous 14 points of Woodrow Wilson's saying: "The self-determination of the peoples of the world". That is a great phrase and that is a great principle, and this principle of self-determination of the peoples was handed through Syngman Rhee to the people of Korea in 1918, and in 1919 this great Revolution came and was carried on mostly on the fertile soil of the United States until it was successful at the end of the Second World War. We gained freedom! And after that, unfortunately, the Russian Soviet imperialism came into our lives. And now we find ourselves half free and half enslaved and it is our strong determination, ladies and gentlemen, to liberate the enslaved half of Korea from the corruptness of this evil thing called Soviet imperialism. It is the hardest trouble, for I know how hard it is in your hearts sometimes, in revolutionary movements the agony of hopelessness, the despair, the sometimes seeming endlessness of our trend, sometimes it is so agonizing in our hearts. But after fourteen years of the hardest struggle, and dauntless for the movement, we have finally gained our objective and for this reason I

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The Union of the Hungarian Organizations Abroad

A New Bond of Unity

Two Patriotic Organizations Agree to Cooperate

The following communiqué was issued in Munich on March 12, 1954:

"The President of the Hungarian Freedom Movement (M.S.z.M.) and the Head of the Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans (M.H.B.K.), duly empowered by their respective organizations, and with a view to promoting, as well as putting on a broader foundation, the activities of Hungarian exiles aimed at the liberation of their homeland, have resolved that the aforesaid two organizations shall henceforward cooperate in this respect.

At the same time they call upon the local and regional leaders of their organizations to promote also on their part effective cooperation in the social sphere in order to facilitate in this way, too, the further strengthening of bonds between the members of the community of patriotically-minded exiles.

Munich, March 12th, 1954

(Signed) Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak
Colonel-General
President of M.S.z.M."

(Signed) András Zákó de Reszck
Major-General
Head of M.H.B.K.

This co-operation will doubtlessly be of the greatest significance for the Hungarian emigrants and will lead to a union of all the patriotic and trustworthy anti-communist Hungarians who are at present living in exile and are scattered throughout the world.

The Hungarian Freedom Movement (M.S.z.M.) has branch organizations in practically all the countries of the world and includes many notable

representatives of Hungarian military and public life in its ranks. For many years this organization has been an active member of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

The Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans (M.H.B.K.) is likewise a mass organization and consists for the most part of soldiers of the valiant Hungarian Honvéd. Its members number thousands and are united in the various countries of the West in local and regional groups.

In connection with this gratifying event in the life of the present Hungarian emigrants, the aged Archduke, Franz Joseph, in his capacity as Field Marshal General of the Hungarian Army, issued a proclamation, of which we give a short extract in the following:

"In view of my age I have entrusted the two generals who have most experience in matters pertaining to the emigrants' organizations, Colonel-General Ferenc Farkas and Major-General András Zákó, with the tasks to be accomplished. . . I exhort all members of the former Royal Hungarian Honvéd and all other armed groups, in the interests of military unity and comradeship, to subordinate themselves to the leadership of the advisory body of generals in military matters pertaining to the liberation of our country and to oppose any new and selfish attempts which may be made to disintegrate our unity."

We welcome the union of political and military Hungarian emigrant forces as a significant factor in the fight against Soviet Russian imperialism. We are convinced that this event will meet with an active response on the part of the people in Hungary and will strengthen their resistance still more.

Another "Christian" Politician

During his visit to Moscow the German Rapallo-Chancellor, Dr. Joseph Wirth, placed a wreath at the Lenin-Stalin mausoleum. This action is rightly described by the paper, „Das freie Wort“ (No. 26 of June 26, 1954, Düsseldorf), as a "provocative act of political degeneracy".

Indeed, a man who claims that his attitude is "Christian" and "pro-German" must truly have no moral scruples whatsoever if he honours the murderers and subjugators of his own fellow-countrymen in so shameless a manner. Well may we ask in such a case, what has become of human and national self-respect and dignity!

On the strength of his services to the Soviets in former times J. Wirth was allowed to set up a monopoly export company in co-operation with them. The company went bankrupt and cost the German taxpayers a couple of million reichsmarks. But the Weimar Republic did not take Wirth's conduct amiss. In any other country such a "statesman" would have been done for, as far as politics were concerned.

Even now things still happen in Germany which seem most peculiar to foreigners!

Ex-ministers of the former Reich, who now have a foreign nationality, visit Germany and are actually allowed to hold political lectures. In any other country they would be hooted at and shouted down, but in Germany they are allowed to "enlighten" the population.

Apparently there is some truth in the German saying, "Other countries, other customs!"

N. N.

Armenia's Warning

Armenia's spokesmen living in the free world recently sent John Foster Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, a striking memorandum, worded as follows:

"It is in the vital interests of the United States and the free world that a breach should be effected in Russian imperialism, irrespective of whatever disguise it may assume as a means of camouflage. For the Russian menace not only exists in the form of the Soviet regime, but also in the Russian policy of expansion and imperialism.

Even the White Russians act "true to type" in this connection and are by no means inferior to the Reds as regards their methods of subjugating the non-Russian nations, that is to say, of course, under Moscow's scourge, as is revealed in their official communiqué, the so-called Heine Memorandum.

It is evident from this document that these White Russians, who falsely maintain that they are prepared to take up the fight for freedom, side by side with the nations enslaved by the Soviets, are one and all hoping to become the successors of the bolsheviks and the worthy heirs of Russian imperialism. In order to achieve their aims they are striving to preserve the Russian empire in its present form, a fact which not only represents a violation of the principle of independence, as far as the nations subjugated by Moscow are concerned, but would also mean the perpetuation of Russian imperialism, which as long as it continues to exist will be a menace to the security of the United States."

Freedom for all Nations

(Continued from Page 8)

side." When that Crusade starts there will not be enough Red Army soldiers loyal to the cut-throats of the Kremlin who can prevent the disintegration of the Red strength; there will be no war because the forces of freedom will be the stronger. As I close I pledge to you on behalf of so many of my fellow countrymen, your fellow countrymen, that we will never stop at this Crusade; we are going forward. We will be joined by freedom-loving people everywhere, and perhaps we can create such strength that even our allies of Western Europe, will stop looking down at their feet and hoping for a conference at which Malenkov will be asked to do something for us. We will, in the ancient Spirit of Liberty that has made and created us here in America a great nation, say we will move forward in a Crusade, a Crusade destined to bring freedom again to the Ukraine and to every country behind the Iron Curtain and to all the world."

Republic of Korea . . .

(Continued from Page 11)

want to say to you — even if you have despairing moments in your lives and in your movements, remember that Korea, the Korean movement which was much weaker than yours, now has finally, finally, found success and I am sure from now on, when we continually fight on with faith and courage we are bound to succeed, and this time all of us together against this disease called communism.

Before I close I want to remind you, ladies and gentlemen, of that great day when we Koreans were faced with dissension, but the great power and rightness, justice and sense of justice of the Nation and the United States of America came forth to save us. On June 25, 1950 our country was attacked by the unleashing of the savage force of this communist army, without any provocation, without any reason, suddenly and at that time I knew because I was a member of the Cabinet. Our Cabinet meetings were held day and night without hope, our people protested. There in their history all we could think about was; "this is it". We have been talking about this thing for long, long years and now we have come face to face with it — "This is it". We have no arms. We have no preparation. The only thing we can see is to go out and meet this "jugulate" with all the mobile arms such as artillery, airplanes and tanks, and die; that is the only thing that remained for us. Black, stunned, fear. Well, we had been going on like that for three days — but a miracle happened. A modern miracle happened. Before the third day was over, the great United States came forth on our side to keep its promise to meet force with force, to uphold international law and to demonstrate that great principle known as collective security. That was a history-making day. And from that time on the people of Korea lifted up their hearts with faith and courage, more courage, and kept on more courageously in the battlefield, and finally we were able to stem the tide of the communist aggression. And so, ladies and gentlemen, I give you this history complete, so that you will have even stronger courage in your fight for

freedom, and I assure you in this fight Korea will at all times stand by you and fight with you against this vain leader, named Soviet communism."

The A.B.N. in U.S.A.

The organization known as "American Friends of the A.B.N." which has branches in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and numerous other cities in the U.S.A. has existed since 1952. On February 26th this year the conference of the national delegations



Hall decoration during a feast of "The American Friends of A.B.N." in New York

of the A.B.N. was held in New York. Representatives of the Bulgarian, Croatian, Estonian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Rumanian, and Ukrainian delegations were present. The representatives of the Albanian, Byelorussian, and Slovak delegations were unable to attend the conference, but sent messages assuring those present of their cooperation. A new executive committee was appointed in the course of the conference.

The Second Congress of the F.I.T.C.R.E. in Strasbourg

The International Federation of Working Christian Refugees and Emigrants (Fédération Internationale des Travailleurs Chrétiens Réfugiés et Emigrés, F.I.T.C.R.E.), which was formed as a result of Ukrainian initiative, on the occasion of the First Conference of the Working Classes of the Nations Subjugated by Moscow, held in Paris in 1951, and which at present numbers more than 26,000 active members and 13 national trades unions (of the Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Croatians, Czechs, Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Rumanians, Serbs, Slovaks, and Ukrainians) and is part of the International Confederation of Christian Syndicates, held its second regular Congress (once every three years), which was a great success, in Strasbourg on April 30, May 1, and May 2nd. The general triennial report of the General Bureau of the F.I.T.C.R.E., which was approved by the plenum of the Congress, reflects the great activity and the important achievements of the Federation which, despite considerable difficulties and limited funds on the part of the national trades unions, which receive no other financial aid, have been effected as regards the professional training of workers, the inclusion of the working refugees and emigrants in the economic, social and cultural life of the place where they reside, the protection of the professional interests of the refugees and emigrants, etc. The F.I.T.C.R.E. owes this success exclusively to the feeling of solidarity and the unanimous co-operation of all the refugees and emigrants united in its ranks, who come from thirteen different countries behind the Iron Curtain and who have realized the necessity of being firmly united both in their own interests and in the interests of their subjugated native countries, inasmuch as they firmly believe that the latter will soon be liberated and that their nations, once they have rid themselves of the bolshevist regime and Moscow imperialism, will be able to enjoy a genuine social justice and equality, based on Christian principles.

In its plenary sessions, as well as in the course of the meetings of its individual committees — the general committee, and the committees for syndication and vocational training, propaganda and organization, for problems concerning refugees, statutes, youth, women, and finance, — the Congress dealt most thoroughly and in detail with all the vital questions arising in connection with the living conditions of the working refugees and emigrants, in particular as regards the protection of their interests from the material, technical and legal point of view. The programmes which have been drawn up by the individual committees and unanimously approved by the plenum, the resolutions passed and the appeals which have been issued, ensure that the activity of the F.I.T.C.R.E. in every field of its rapid development will continue to be productive. One of the plenary meetings of the Congress was devoted to a discussion of the current problem, "Europe and We". In this connection two lectures aroused considerable interest; one by Jacques Tessier, a prominent member of the "European Movement", on the subject of the future unification of Europe, and the other by Leonard Rudowski, the President of the General Bureau of the F.I.T.C.R.E., on the attitude of the working refugees and emigrants towards the unification of Europe. In his lecture on the occasion of the ceremonial inaugural session, Auguste Vanistendal, the secretary-general of the International Confederation of Christian Syndicates, outlined the general activity of the Christian syndicates and the part they play in the fight for social justice and equality, in a clear and concise manner.

At the conclusion of the Congress a new General Administrative Committee was elected, which consists of the following members: Chairman: Leonard Rudowski (Pole); Vice-Chairmen: Josef Schoen (Hungarian) and Jan Fabianek (Slovak); Secretary-general: Iwan Popovich (Ukrainian, President of the Confederation of the Ukrainian Free Trades Unions); Treasurer: Iwan Bogoyev (Bulgarian); Members of the Committee: V. Mickiewicz (Byelorussian), W. Nesterchuk (Ukrainian), and J. Wolozinski (Latvian); Deputy-members: Bugteritz (Lithuanian) and M. Manze (Croatian). A Control Committee consisting of the following members: J. Pryshlyak (Chairman, Ukrainian), Prof. J. Gri-

nus (Lithuanian), and B. Lachowski (Pole), and the following deputy-members, J. Benne (Hungarian) and J. Mamik (Croatian).

The meetings of the Congress were attended by countless representatives of French and other Christian trades unions societies, numerous other prominent persons of the trades unions movement and of European public life, as well as by about 500 guests of various social classes. The press, too, was very well-represented. Of the numerous congratulatory messages received, those of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. and the High Commissariat of the O.N. for Refugees must be mentioned in particular. Reports on the progress of the Congress and various lectures and speeches by members

Honorary Degree Conferred on Friend of the Ukrainians

During a ceremony held in the rooms of the U.F.U. (Ukrainian Free University) at No. 4, Versaillerstrasse, Munich, on May 4, 1954, the honorary degree of Doctor of Political Science of the Ukrainian Free University was conferred on Prince Gianfranco Alliata di Montereale.

Prince Gianfranco Alliata di Montereale comes of an old Italian family which can be traced back to the time of the Roman Empire. Many of his ancestors were prominent ecclesiastical personages.

The Prince, who was born on August 26, 1921, in Rio de Janeiro, served as an officer in the air force. He completed his studies and graduated in law after the war, and since then has devoted his attention to politics. At present he is the vice-president of the National Monarchist Party in Italy and a member of the Italian parliament. He was one of the founders of the Mediterranean Academy, of which he is the president, and he also helped to found the Ukrainian-Italian Society, of which he is deputy-president. He has a profound knowledge and understanding of the Ukrainian problem. He supported the cause of the Ukrainian refugees in the Italian parliament when the Soviets demanded their repatriation, and it is thanks to his intervention that the Ukrainian emigrants in Italy have been spared the fate of being surrendered to the Russian bolshevist executioners.

of the Congress were relayed to the peoples beyond the Iron Curtain by the French Broadcasting Corporation ("Chaîne de la Radio-Diffusion Française"), as well as by the stations, "Voice of America", and "Radio Free Europe".

In addition to a declaration protesting against the admission of the U.S.S.R. to the International Work Organization and to the UNESCO, the Congress also issued a *manifesto* which was addressed to the workers in the countries subjugated by Moscow and to the workers in the countries of the free world, and was worded as follows:

Manifesto of the Second Congress of the F.I.T.C.R.E. in Strasbourg, on the occasion of May 1st, 1954

We workers, who come from countries behind the Iron Curtain, which are at present subjugated, and who are now living in the free world — Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Croatians, Czechs, Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Rumanians, Serbs, Slovaks, and Ukrainians — banded together as the International Federation of Work-

ing Christian Refugees and Emigrants and assembled at our Second Congress, held in Strasbourg on April 30, May 1 and May 2nd, are today celebrating the First of May, the festival of all the workers in the world, the *Festival of Work*.

Our thoughts and wishes on this day are with you, our fellow-countrymen, who are at present being enslaved and exploited by your masters in the factories, on the collective farms, and in the compulsory labour camps in our countries which have been subjugated by the communist Russian imperialist regime.

Whilst we who live in the free countries of the Western World are at the moment honouring free creative work, you, our beloved oppressed brothers, are today, the First of May, being forced to take part in huge military and civil parades, to pay homage to your subjugators, and to promise them that you will carry out the amount of work which is expected of you according to the socialist programme of competition forced upon you by the government and which is beginning to exceed your strength to an ever-increasing degree.

Instead of appreciating and respecting your merits and your efforts as workers, the voracious regime of communist state capitalism continues to exploit you more and more.

We know what sufferings and hardships you endure so bravely under the tyranny of a regime which even endeavours to destroy your personality and your conscience.

We, who although we are in exile are able to honour productive work, which ennobles man instead of degrading him, and are able to celebrate this day like all the workers in the free world, solemnly *promise* you that we shall always represent your efforts, and shall always be your champions and spokesmen.

We appeal to all the workers in the free world to help our fellow-countrymen who have been enslaved by the communist Russian regime, to regain their national and social freedom. We appeal to all the workers in the free world to reject the false slogans of Marxist doctrines, to oppose the exploitation of workers by capitalism of every kind and in particular communist state capitalism, and always to bear in mind that the communist regime represents the highest form of capitalism and enslavement.

Comrades and workers of the countries which are still free, this is our appeal to you, for we know best what the regime of suppression is like, since thousands of us suffered under it for many years.

Comrades of the free world, the workers in the concentration camp-world behind the Iron Curtain appeal to you to help them and support their cause!

Dear friends who are still free, remember the fate of the many workers who at certain times before the war refused to listen to the admonitions and warnings of the first victims of the communist regime in time. They are now bitterly regretting their former indifference!

Friends, workers in every branch of industry, sons of the subjugated nations who are now living scattered throughout the free world and are enjoying this freedom, we exhort you to join the ranks of our national organizations in Christian syndicalism, which is the sole guarantee of freedom, social justice and equality, and human dignity!

Organized in this way and united with our fellow-workers in those countries in which we are now living, we shall be all the more successful in fighting every kind of suppression of the working classes and all forms of capitalism.

Since you have learnt the hard way what a regime of tyranny means, we exhort you to oppose the deceptive doctrines of Marxism at your places of employment, — in factories and mines, on farms and elsewhere, wherever you may work!

Enlighten your fellow-workers as to the life and the struggle of your brothers!

With united strength let us help our brothers to regain their national and social freedom, for this is what our fellow-countrymen, our nations and our brothers, — the workers in the subjugated countries —, expect of us.

Long live the First of May, the Festival of Free Work, which shall be celebrated and honoured by man!

On a Lower Level!

This looks like bluff!

The whole thory about Khokhlov, a chief-tain of the N.K.V.D. of long-standing, sounds so fantastic that it might well have been derived from a penny-dreadful.

As is already known, this ill-reputed staff officer of the bolshevist central murder committee, appealed to the American authorities to grant him asylum in February this year. After thirteen years of active service with the N.K.V.D., the former Cheka and the present M.V.D., he allegedly suddenly discovered that he had human feelings and shuddered at the thought of once again having to "murder" someone. This change in his feelings, so he affirmed, was due to the influence of a tender-hearted woman, who, incidentally, for five whole years looked on quite calmly whilst he carried on his murderous business.

One might, of course, leave it to an institute for the research of Soviet camouflage practices to deal with this peculiar and not particularly credible story, were it not for the fact that it contains some other striking data!

The man who was to be murdered was none other than a leading member of the executive section of the N.T.S., namely Okolovich.

Badly hit by the unbelievable espionage affair Müller-Khorunshiy (cf. the article entitled, "Attention! . . . Spies!" in No. 1/2, 1954, of our paper), the above-mentioned organization is now busy disseminating propaganda in a leaflet, obviously inspired by the organization itself, of the newspaper, "Russia And We", and with feigned innocence affirms that the case of the Soviet agent, Müller-Khorunshiy shows that it is impossible for the Soviets to force their way into the N.T.S.

Surely this is the utmost limit to which mimicry can be carried! For the leading German newspapers stated at the time — most probably on the strength of their knowledge of the files of the case — that this bolshevist master-spy was an important functionary of the same Russian emigrants' society, the N.T.S. (Russian Solidarists) and, in addition, also behaved as if he were the dictatorial head of the C.O.P.E., the top organization of the Russian emigrants.

In the above-mentioned number of "A.B.N. Correspondence" we also published some revealing statements made by a group of Russian exiles, and, incidentally, we quoted the names of our authorities in this connection. According to these statements, the C.O.P.E. is run entirely by the notorious N.T.S., all its leaders are former functionaries of the Soviet Secret Service and at present are also acting on the instructions of the Soviets!!

This of course gives the lie to the assertion that the plan to murder Okolovich can be traced back to the unswerving steadfastness of the leading Russian emigrant members of the N.T.S. in the face of bolshevist prompting.

If we ask ourselves why a man, who, according to "Russia and We", "enjoyed its (the Soviet government — Editor's note) highest confidence" for a considerable length of time and who for several months prepared this plan to murder with truly cynical brutality, suddenly changed from a devil to a saint, then we are bound to reach two possible conclusions:

In the first place, many M.V.D. agents no longer feel safe, since the introduction of Malenkov's "new policy" which has deprived their organizations of their former absolute power, and they are constantly reminded of the fate of their former chief, Beria, and others.

It is true that the situation has, however, meanwhile changed, and in appointing A. I. Serov as Minister for State Security on April 26, 1954, Malenkov once more resumed his old policy. In the above-mentioned case, therefore, the first of two possible conclusions cannot be correct, since it is hardly to be assumed that Khokhlov, who was in the know as regards all the tricks of the bolshevist plotters (and had meanwhile landed in the N.T.S.), was not informed as to the further intentions of the Kremlin when he cast his political skin in February.

Let us now consider the second conclusion: it would be perfectly in keeping with the well-

tried practices of Moscow's espionage technique if the Kremlin tyrants had wanted to place a viper, namely the former head of their espionage service in Switzerland (1952), in the bosom of the Western World by pretending that he had undergone a moral conversion and had penitently resumed a decent attitude to life in general. The case of Müller-Khorunshiy is a striking illustration of this and once again fully corroborates the fundamental principle expressed in our article, "Attention! . . . Spies!", namely.

"Feigning true alliance and anti-bolshevist views, they worm their way into influential positions and, once in possession of invaluable military, economic and industrial secrets, they are sure to stab those who have trusted them implicitly in the back."

Caveant consules! — —

R. P.

The Era of the Fight

(Continued from Page 9)

and propaganda lies — but what can the West offer to counteract such tricks? The activity of various American committees and their subsidiary organizations, in which national independence may not even be mentioned, is not a solution in this case. Neither the "Liberation Broadcasting Station" with its pro-Russian programme, nor the "Research Institutes", whose scientific publications are censored by Russians to make sure that no "separatist statements" can leak through, can help the West to be victorious in the fight against bolshevism.

What is the situation in Asia?

"The independence and sovereignty of the countries of Asia shall be respected, the national rights and the national freedom of the Asiatic nations shall be guaranteed, intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Asia shall cease, all foreign military bases in the countries of Asia shall be disbanded and foreign troops shall be withdrawn, all economic blockades and restrictions shall cease . . . The victory of the Chinese nation has inspired the nations of Asia to fight for their national independence and for their ultimate liberation from the imperialist world . . . All foreign intervention in a country in which the people are nationally conscious is doomed to failure, all attempts to suppress the fight for freedom of a nation by means of foreign military power are bound to be frustrated" (from Chou En-lai's speech in Geneva on April 28, 1954).

With the aid of such cunning methods and watchwords, world-communism endeavours to camouflage its own imperialism and gain supremacy over Asia, — in keeping with Lenin's principle that the way to subjugate Europe and the entire world is via Peking and Delhi. But what steps is the West taking to counteract such methods? Instead of forcibly giving the lie to communist propaganda, Sir Winston Churchill servilely said on April 30th that Great Britain must foster relations with Russia which, despite all dissension, prejudices and disputes, would convince the Russian people and the Soviet government that Great Britain wishes them peace and happiness and even more prosperity in their mighty country, so that they may play a worthy and illustrious part in leading mankind.

Practically at the same time as Sir Winston Churchill made this gesture, the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party in Great Britain, on April 19th, condemned the "war of English imperialism in Kenya and Malaya and the alliance of Anglo-American imperialism for the purpose of exploiting the colonies". The resolutions passed in this connection demanded that the British troops should be withdrawn

from all the countries occupied by British imperialism, including Northern Ireland (Ulster), and that the policy of war and of pressure on the colonial nations should be abandoned.

The question of peripheral wars

As we have already stressed on numerous occasions, every peripheral war is advantageous for Russia. Politicians in the West are gradually realizing this fact. Thus the Vice-President of the U.S.A., Mr. Nixon, recently stated that the government of the U.S.A. had convinced itself that the Kremlin is endeavouring to ruin the U.S.A. by "small wars" with its satellites. He added that the U.S.A., before it submitted to being ruined, would in future consolidate mobile, intensive and powerful retaliation measures, which it would then use as it saw fit and at a convenient opportunity against the main source of aggression. Mr. Nixon stressed the fact that the U.S.A. had organized its military forces in such a way that they would be equal to meet the demands of this new attitude.

This is precisely the fundamental theory which we set up immediately after the outbreak of the war in Korea and which is now only just beginning to dawn upon the politicians of the Western nations.

Actually, the fate of Asia will not be decided in either Indo-China or on Formosa or in Korea. A decision in this respect will depend upon whether the primary urge of the nations to obtain state independence and to solve serious national and social problems will be directed against the West, or whether the West will succeed in winning over the nations of Asia for a united struggle against bolshevism.

The fate of the world is at present being decided in Asia. If bolshevist aggression there is repulsed and defeated, Lenin's prognostication as regards the Asiatic way to subjugate Europe will collapse. The solution of the problem depends on the U.S.A. Even if France, for instance, were to detach herself, America, united with the peace-loving nations of Asia and the nations which have been subjugated by Russia, could still gain a victory for the cause of independence. Concentrated action against the main enemy, Russia, and a victory over the latter, would also exterminate Russia's supporters, as was the case with Hitlerite Germany.

In short, the conception of the A.B.N. offers a solution to the problem of the anti-bolshevist fight in the ideological, political, military and strategic, economic and social fields. The sooner the West adopts this attitude wholeheartedly and joins forces with the supporters of this attitude, the more successful will the universal fight against bolshevism be.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

AZERBAIJAN

"SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS, — UNSATIS- FACTORY WORK" . . .

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party held a meeting at the beginning of April during which the following facts were ascertained:

" . . . The Party, Soviet and agricultural organs show serious shortcomings in their activity. The tractor workshops are not operating to satisfaction and grain production and cattle-breeding are unsatisfactory. Although Azerbaijan has always been noted for its fruit and wine-growing, little attention has been devoted to this activity. In some districts there has been a decrease in the cultivated area of gardens and vineyards and also in the harvest."

A resolution was passed to the effect that these shortcomings were to be overcome within the next two or three years.

"The road to Hell is paved with good intentions!" After half a dozen Five-Year Plans the saying in the U.S.S.R. is still: "Give me two or three years' time!" But the victims in this "Paradise of workers and farmers" are always the starving working classes.



STORIES

The President of Bulgaria recently invited the comedian of Radio Sofia to visit him and tell him some humorous stories to amuse him. The comedian was speechless when he entered the President's palace and saw all the luxury there. The President noticed his surprise and tried to explain all the luxury by saying, "This is what my home looks like now, — when the new Five-Year Plan has been carried out every one of our fellow-countrymen will be able to live in surroundings like these!" Whereupon the comedian drily remarked, "Comrade President, I have come here to tell you stories, not vice versa!"



HISTORY FALSIFIED IN BELGRADE

Zagreb, April, 1954. — Upon closer inspection the books on Croatian history which have been published in Belgrade since World War II as textbooks for primary and secondary schools, at the instructions of the communist dictators, reveal the following facts:

The names of famous persons in Croatian history, of kings, of the higher and lower aristocracy, of well-known figures in the cultural, intellectual and political life of the country, are all befouled. They are presented to Croatian youth as traitors, who for centuries sold their people and their country to Rome and to the Western Powers.

This is the method by which the communist dictators in Belgrade seek to convince the youth of Croatia that the Croats are a nation that is utterly incapable of governing itself.

On the other hand, however, the entire literature perused in the schools consists of Serbian authors and books which make out that the Croatian soldiers as "foreign mercenaries and traitors massacred the innocent Serbian population".

As regards Serbian history the Croatian school-children are taught that the Serbian rulers were all very kind-hearted and magnanimous, that they always considered the welfare of their subjects and brought them many benefits and blessings.

Above all, these textbooks emphasize the "fact" that the Serbs are the only people capable of ruling the entire Slavic South and affirm that the Serbian leading class does not allow itself to be swayed by chauvinism and does not aim at subjugating the rest of the nations like some of the other Slav nations do.

The present dictators in Belgrade thus falsify the illustrious history of the Croatian nation and represent it to the youth of Croatia as falsely and unfavourably as possible.

Such falsifications are a further proof that the present communist Tito regime pursues the aims of a Greater Serbia and is intent upon destroying the Croatian nation morally, politically, economically, and biologically!

(From the "Croatian News", Munich)



MASS DEPORTATION AND RUSSIAN INVASION

Soviet newspapers in Georgia reported on April 8, 1954, that hundreds of Georgian young communists had arrived in Aktyubinsk (Kazakhstan) and that they had "volunteered" to cultivate hitherto uncultivated districts of Central Asia. This is the first lot of "volunteers", but more will follow.

As was reported in detail on April 1st in the paper, "Zarya Vostoka" (a party organ published in Russian in Tbilisi), 8,000 "volunteers", boys and girls, are ready to leave for Siberia, Ural, Kazakhstan, and the Volga districts.

The Moscow tyrants continue to pursue their diabolical plan of driving out the nations from their own countries. And the Russians are settling down in these countries to an ever-increasing extent!

General A. I. Antonov, the G.O.C.-in-C. of the Caucasian Army, has been elected a member of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party. He made a speech on behalf of the Central Committee at a ceremony to mark this occasion on May 1st.

Antonov and the deputy-president of the S.U., M. G. Pervukhin, have been elected in Georgia as members of the Supreme Soviet Council of the S.U. This fact proves that even Georgian communists are not regarded as trustworthy by Moscow. The "representatives" and spokesmen of Georgia, therefore, are Russians.



LIFE-INSURANCE TURNED DOWN

Walter Ulbricht recently wanted to take out a life insurance policy, but the insurance company turned down his application. The reasons it gave for doing so were brief, namely as follows:

Rayk, Secretary-general of the Hungarian Working-Men's Party, was hanged as an Anglo-American spy.

Kostov, Secretary-general of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, was hanged as an enemy of the people and a betrayer of the working class.

Slansky, Secretary-general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was hanged as an agent of the Anglo-American monopoly capitalists.

Li Syn Ep, Secretary-general of the Korean Labour Party, was hanged as a traitor in the pay of the American imperialists.

Patrascanu, Secretary-general of the Communist Party of Rumania, was hanged "because of hostile activity which aimed to hold up the fight of the democratic patriots against Fascism".

DEFINITION

In the "Encyclopedia From A—Z", published in Leipzig, in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany, in 1953, the following definition is given for the North Atlantic Pact:

"Aggressive, imperialist intention directed against the independence of the European nations."

Now at last we know why the "great, peace-loving" Soviet Union insists on being admitted to the NATO!

OBITUARY



E. Gegechkori

A Great Georgian Statesman and Patriot Dies in Exile

The death is announced of E. Gegechkori, the former Foreign Minister of the independent republic of Georgia from 1918 to 1921, who passed away unexpectedly on June 5, 1954, in Paris. The deceased was one of Georgia's leading politicians and enjoyed the high esteem of his fellow-countrymen.

During the reign of the Tsar he was a member of the Duma and a famous parliamentary figure. He was particularly interested in the national problems of Caucasia, Finland, and Poland, etc.

In 1918 he became president of the first government of the newly founded Transcaucasian Republic. When this was dissolved owing to external pressure in the year 1918, he became Foreign Minister for Georgia and held this office until Georgia was taken by Soviet Russia in 1921.

Thanks to his efforts the Republic of Georgia was recognized de jure by all the major powers and even by Soviet Russia, though it was forcibly subjugated a short time afterwards.

Gegechkori's death has caused great sorrow in all Georgian circles.



HUNGARY

CLUTCHING AT A STRAW

The Third Party Congress of the "Hungarian Working Men's Party" (the name by which the Communist Party is known in Hungary) was held in Budapest at the end of May. As can be seen from a report published in the Moscow paper, "Izvestiya", there is a serious and ever-increasing indication of disintegration in this Party. The president of the Control Commission of the Central Committee said in his speech, "The activity of the Party organizations and members in the fight for the unity of the Party, for moral integrity in its ranks, and for the consolidation of Party and State discipline has recently increased considerably". — (Obviously things are not particularly satisfactory in this respect in the Hungarian national republic! — editor's note) The suggestion was then made that the Party precepts should be altered in keeping with new conditions. — "The new precepts", so the speaker stressed, "are based on Lenin's party doctrine. They will consolidate the unity of the Party even more and will continue to promote the discipline of the Party and to further the development of relations between the Party and the working classes of the nation" . . .

To judge by these statements, the communists in Hungary have so far not succeeded in winning over the people. It is obvious that Moscow's hirelings will never be able to worm their way into the confidence of the people, for a nation never bestows its favours on its destroyers and murderers!



SLOVAKIA

RESISTANCE AND MOCK-TRIALS

On April 17th this year sentries on night-duty at the railway-bridge in Puchov (Wag Valley) discovered a large quantity of explosives under the main pier which would have sufficed to blow up the bridge. The entire affair is treated confidentially by the security organs. This and several other acts of sabotage, which were committed on the same day, are said to be connected with a demonstration on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the death of the former President, Dr. J. Tiso (April 18, 1946).

During the night of April 20, 1954, the highway from Podbrezova to Pohorela (in Central Slovakia) was blocked with obstructions to such an extent that next morning the security organs were obliged to use tractors in order to clear away the bar-

ricades. It is assumed that this act of sabotage was the work of supporters of the Slovak fight for freedom who are in hiding in the nearby forest and apparently intended an attack on communist agitators, who are at present carrying out propaganda tours in this district prior to the elections for national councillors.

The mock-trial of the former leading Slovak communists, which had been expected for some time, finally took place on April 24th this year.

G. Husak, D. Okaly, L. Holdos, J. Horvat, and L. Novomesky were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. They were described as Slovak "bourgeois nationalists", who, according to the charges preferred against them, had aimed to set up an independent Slovak state. The accused Okaly stated, "The ultimate aim of our hostile intentions was the setting up of prerequisites which would have enabled the Slovak middle class to gain power once more and would have made it possible to re-establish an independent Slovak state."

The accused were also charged with having supported Zionism and industrial sabotage and, as usual, with having acted as spies for the West.



UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE OFFICIALLY CORROBORATED

On March 23, 1954, the chief secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, O. I. Kyrychenko, held a big political speech at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, in which, for the first time since World War II, the fact was officially corroborated that the Ukrainian liberation movement, the O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), is still as active as ever and continues to put up a large-scale underground resistance.

To quote verbatim from this speech:

"The Communist Party of Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation will steadfastly continue to oppose all indications of a bourgeois ideology and above all Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism... All Party organizations in the western districts of Ukraine must continue to be on the alert in their fight against remnants of the O.U.N. and must prevent the latter from carrying on their hostile work in the kolkhozes, industrial concerns, and educational institutions. The highest precept of all Party organizations must be increased vigilance on all sides."

Obviously the fight for freedom movement of the Ukrainian people is so large and has gained so much ground that it is futile to continue to resort to the former tactics of keeping quiet on this subject, and Moscow now sees itself forced to take up the challenge in public.

"HAPPY" UKRAINE!

To mark the occasion of the 300th "anniversary" of the Treaty of Pereyaslav and the "union" of Ukraine and Russia, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. met in Kyiv on May 22. At Moscow's command a delegation from Lithuania was ordered to attend this ceremony. At the invitation of the "Ukrainian Government" a delegation was of course also sent from Moscow. The fact that a very large delegation headed by the president of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian S.F.S.R. was present is particularly significant. At the same time a ten years' festival of Russian literature and art was also held in Kyiv in order to prove to the Ukrainian people the value of Russian cultural achievements for the development of Ukraine. The paper, "Izvestiya", maintains that this festival is characterized by the spirit "of indestructible friendship" between the Ukrainian and Russian nations and "of inseparable brotherhood of all the nations who belong to the vast Soviet family". This is the manner in which an enslaved nation is allowed to celebrate its subjugation, and there is no end to the "mutual" protestations of love! But the Russians know only too well that the subjugated nations cannot be won over by such deceptions. For this reason the recent order of the day in Ukraine has been a never-ending succession of arrests and cases of "voluntary" re-settlement of the population to distant Siberia, which are carried out under the motto of "ruthless extermination of the remnants of the O.U.N. who are still active in Ukraine!"

MASS RE-SETTLEMENT

It is stated in a leading article in the "Pravda", entitled "New Triumphs of Communist Architecture", that more than half a million people in Ukraine have "volunteered" for the work of clearing and cultivating vast areas of fallow land in Siberia, which are now to be exploited. These "volunteers" include 80,000 agronomists, engineers, and mechanics. The farmers of the Ukrainian kolkhozes, too, are living in a constant state of insecurity since they may be requested any day to "volunteer for re-settlement" to Central Asia or to some other foreign country.

THE LENIN ORDER FOR UKRAINE!

On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the "union" of Ukraine and Russia the presidium of the Supreme Soviet has awarded the Lenin Order to Ukraine. This is the first time in the history of the Soviet Union that one of the sixteen republics has been awarded this Order. Flags were hoisted on all the buildings in Moscow to mark the celebration of this anniversary and the city, which was decorated with flowers and neon signs, was crowded with representatives of the various nations of the U.S.S.R., who were all attired in their gaily-colored national costumes.

According to the opinion of a Western observer, the Lenin Order has been awarded to Ukraine to emphasize the close relations between Ukraine and Russia and to counteract the plans of the Ukrainian population for independence. The Moscow "Pravda" and various other papers recently published a number of articles in which the U.S.A. was accused of trying to establish various national movements in Ukraine under the motto of independence.

(From "Die Welt", Hamburg, May 24, 1954)

Important Notice

We should like to request all subscribers whose subscription is due, to renew same without delay.

We should also be grateful to our regular readers if they would kindly inform us whether they receive the "A.B.N. Correspondence" regularly and whether they are interested in receiving it in future.

The "A.B.N. Correspondence" will not be sent to readers from whom no reply is received to this effect by November 1st, 1954.

We beg to express our thanks for the contributions received for the A.B.N. press fund from the representatives of the Byelorussian, Croatian, Latvian and Albanian delegations. At the same time we urgently appeal to all national delegations and their members to help the A.B.N. fund with further contributions, since our paper has to cope with considerable financial difficulties. Contributions may be sent to: Jaroslau Szewczuk, Munich 8, Zeppelinstraße 67/0 (A.B.N.).

The Editor,
"A.B.N. Correspondence"

The Central and East European Study Club in London

At an inaugural meeting held at Lithuania House in London, on April 23rd, a "Central and East European Study Club" was formed which has set itself the task of studying and discussing all the problems concerning the nations behind the Iron Curtain.

The Club regards Christianity as the fundamental principle of the present age and affirms that bolshevism can be conquered most effectively by Christian doctrine and its principles.

Dr. Karel Locher, a member of General Prchala's group, is the president of the Club, and Mr. Adam Seibor Rylski, the representative of the Polish emigrants, is the chief secretary. The following persons are members of the advisory council: General Leo Prchala, Mr. Bajorinas (Lithuania), Prince of Tokary Tokarzewsky-Karaszewicz (Ukraine), Father Sipowich, and Mr. J. Pridawok.

BOOK-REVIEWS

East and West

A quarterly Review of Soviet and Baltic Problems Edited by Prof. A. P. Aizsilnieks, Prof. H. Perlitz and Prof. S. Zymantas. Managing editor H. Purre, No. 1, 1954. Alliance Publishing Company, London, 64 pp.

This political magazine has the task to demonstrate to the West the real significance of the Soviet system and the danger that arises for the West from Soviet expansion" — said editorial.

Herbert Tingsten gets to the bottom of the "Mission of the refugees." The author concludes "if we have no sympathy for the political refugees and their aims we are incapable of appreciating our own freedom and democracy."

Mintauts Cakste in the article "The Gordian Knot" decides the status quo of the Soviet. He describes the imperialistic aims of Soviet Russia: "nos frontières marchent avec nous." The East-West situation as it stands is indeed a Gordian Knot and it is hardly likely that words or declarations will cut it. This Gordian Knot can only be cut by the conceptions of A.B.N.

Prof. A. P. Aizsilnieks in his article, "Objectives of Soviet Foreign Trade" from the new Soviet sources with scientific methods demonstrates the low standard of the life in U.S.S.R. He writes "and as long as communist totalitarianism exists, its atarchoy will remain a disturbing factor for international trade, constantly producing various difficulties for the economy of other countries."

August Rei, the former prime minister of Estonia, depicts the relation between Britain and the Baltic States. A rule of British policy is demonstrated in the following excerpt from the memoranda by Sir Eyre Crowe: "England more than any other power has a direct and positive interest in the maintenance of the independence of nations and therefore must be the natural enemy of any country threatening the independence of others, and the natural protector of the weaker communities."

Prof. S. Zymantas introduces new documents from behind the Iron Curtain which show the Soviet struggle against the Church. It is a very modern syllogism that is expressed by the Rumanian Patriarch Justinian Marina: "Christ is a new man. The new man is the Soviet man. Therefore Christ is a Soviet man." Yes, Stalin and Malenkow are Popes and Christ is Soviet man. It is a new Soviet religion. But this communist "religion" fights against Christianity and other religions. For example, in Lithuania the theological faculty was closed down, all the clerical seminaries, with the exception of one in Kaunas — with not more than 40-50 seminarists —, were also closed, priests were forced to seek their own accommodation in the towns and villages and thus became dependent upon the mercy and the dicanery of local Soviet occupation administrators. Religious instruction in schools, the Catholic press and organizations, and any active functions of the Church as a spiritual force in the community were all prohibited. Heavy fees were imposed for the maintenance of the churches, and at the same time, heavy blows were struck against the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

V. Tepters describes for us Berin's liquidation and the political police action in U.S.S.R. "Now as before, the Soviet regime is enforced by terror and now as before the M.V.D. is the machine which enforces it." J. Gylis

Prof. Dr. Volodymyr Kubiyovych:

Ethnographical Map of South-West Ukraine (Galicia)

Society of Sciences Shvchenko (Institute for National Research). Edited by "Molode Zhyttia", Munich, Dachauer Straße 9, on behalf of the Association of Former Ukrainian Combatants in Great Britain, in 1953 (map scale 1:250 000).

This bilingual (Ukrainian and English) cartographical representation of the ethnic structure of Galicia on January 1, 1939, with statistic tables appended, constitutes a scientific standard work and is competent for all national political questions referring to South-West Ukraine (Galicia).

Poles Seek Refuge in National China

According to a report in the gazette published by the National China embassy in Paris, "La Chine Libre", No. 84 of June 24, 1954, the entire crew of the Polish tanker, "Paera", including the captain, Zdzislaw Hackel, chief engineer Stefan Wojtkowski, and ten other persons, have asked the Government of National China for asylum. They stated that they were unwilling to return to a country where there was no freedom. Their request was granted and they have been given political asylum.



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