

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Freedom Fighters Celebrating Easter in the Forest

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New Revolutionary Liberation Strategy

The fundamental question – the preparation of a revolutionary insurrection as a means of liberation – is solved by life itself and by an organized campaign on the part of the organizations of the underground movements.

A revolutionary cadre and an organization which together constitute a formative and organizing revolutionary factor, a revolutionary influence on the soldiers of the Soviet army, in particular on those of non-Russian origin, and the enlightenment of these soldiers as regards their duty to their fatherland and not to the Russian occupant, – these are the essential factors which guarantee the success of an insurrection. These soldiers of the Soviet army must go over to the side of the organizer of the revolution, that is to say to the insurgent troops.

The revolutionary organization provides for an adequate preparation of the insurrection in ideological, political, psychological and propagandistic respect by initiating mass campaigns. It organizes insurgent cadres and draws up the plans for action, that is to say it furthers the fighting spirit and open fighting action of the masses against the occupants.

The Berlin blockade in 1948 created the psychological precondition for the first insurrection in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, when 80,000 prisoners escaped and in armed combats gave proof of the offensive spirit of the anti-Russian revolutionary fighters. After their escape from the concentration camps these prisoners, who were joined by soldiers of the Soviet army and by deportees and exiles, planned to carry on a partisan war in the forests of the Urals, for at that time most people were convinced that war would break out between the West and Russia. World War II had brought about a revolutionary change in the mentality and psychological attitude of the peoples. They realized the fickleness of the Soviet Russian regime, and at the same time their self-confidence in their own strength grew considerably. The two-front war waged by the UPA and OUN had clearly shown that an armed people would be capable of gaining a victory over Russian tyranny. The people were now stirred by a spiritual revolution, by the idea of a spiritual and intellectual liberation. And this led to the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nation (A. B. N.) in 1943. A.B.N. symbolized the real strength of the peoples subjugated by Moscow in the form of a joint front as the only possible way to liberation. Within a short time a huge revolutionary impetus in the mentality of the peoples became a reality: the peoples overcame their fear and their armed masses began to play an active part in the common fighting front. And this process could no longer be held up. It included in particular the younger generation. There are various reasons why the regime could not and still cannot stop this process, even though it may delay it. The Russian imperium has assumed unbelievable proportions: the ratio of the Russians to the non-Russians is now at least 1 : 2. And the Russians will no doubt find it impossible to deal with a three-front conflict: the subjugated peoples, the free world, and in addition the complications with Red China, although the conflict with Red China is on the whole overestimated by the West, as the former British Ambassador to Moscow, Sir William Hyter, rightly remarked in the "Observer", when he affirmed that the elements which separate Russia and Red China from each other are far less than the momentous factors which exist as differences between Great Britain and each of these Red countries.

Immediately after Stalin's death there was every danger of a revolution within the Russian imperium which would undoubtedly have led to the collapse of the Red

Russian imperium if a) the West had pursued a consistent liberation policy and had exerted its pressure, b) the Russian tyrants had not made certain concessions in order to neutralize all offensive action on the part of the peoples at least for the time being, and c) if the Russian leaders and their henchmen had not been called to account to an even greater extent and had not been freed from fear and physical terror of the Stalinist stamp.

The Russian imperium and its messianistic idea – Communism – are by no means phenomena which can be isolated from the revolutionary historical process on a global scale, i. e. the process which included the de-colonization of the world and the collapse and decay of empires; and for this reason the attitude of the free world to the peoples subjugated in the USSR is of decisive importance. For the reasons for the insurrections on the part of these peoples are unalterable. The fight against Bolshevism comprises the sum total of the manifold elements of the free and the enslaved world which clash with each other. An isolated fight on the part of the subjugated peoples is impossible, for Bolshevism as an idea which aims at the conquest of the whole world is not an isolated phenomenon. The various phases of America's policy are accompanied by various reactions on the part of the subjugated peoples. From a policy of containment via the promises of the policy of liberation to a policy of waiting for an evolution of Bolshevism to liberalization and democracy – these are the three phases of US policy to which, as already pointed out, the subjugated peoples have reacted, whilst the Berlin blockade led to the resolve to hold up Bolshevism by the application of violence, namely to the first insurrection in Vorkuta. When a declaration on the inevitability of a liberation policy was issued, when Radio Free Europe appealed to the peoples to rise up in revolt, and on the occasion of Stalin's death, numerous insurrections and also open armed action occurred in many of the concentration camps, in Berlin, Poznan, Budapest, Kyiv and Lviv (in Ukraine).

A characteristic feature of the present stage of the revolutionary fight are public riots and armed action – frequently of a spontaneous nature – on the part of the masses, strikes, demonstrations, and also large-scale and even armed clashes in the concentration camps and in various towns, – incidents which all help to further the ideological political consciousness and solidarity of the masses. And whenever the authorities are forced to yield a little, the consciousness of the masses in their own strength increases. Such incidents are producing a new type of leader. These leaders hail from the masses, and according to the situation they either remain the acknowledged leaders amongst the masses, or else they become leaders in the underground movement and organize the armed fight there. The masses gain more and more experience in their fight against the Russian occupants and finally mount the barricades. Armed action in some concentration camp or other, or for instance in Odessa, in the Donets Basin or in Novotcherkask might well lead to an all-national revolt on the part of the peoples. The rise of individual persons to the rank of heroes who are waging a courageous fight in order to defend the people against the occupant creates the nimbus of a revolutionary romanticism in the eyes of the younger generation and spurs on the masses. In this respect the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stefan Bandera, and the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Josef Slipy, have undoubtedly become symbols of the fight for freedom to their people.

A new factor in the present revolutionary struggle both in Ukraine and also in the other subjugated countries of the USSR is open armed action, which constitutes an important supplement to the measures resorted to so far, namely acts of sabotage, passive resistance, and the undermining of the kolkhoz system (“work slowly”), etc. Naturally the regime seeks to belittle and disparage these phenomena which are a

danger to Moscow, inasmuch as it falsifies the reasons for them or else designates them as insignificant.

The importance of the underground Church as an organized body must not be under-estimated, for it is not only a religious and moral force but also a religious and national pillar and support for the people. Thousands of underground priests with their own hierarchy headed by their heroic leader, Metropolitan Slipy, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPC), which is also active in the underground movement, constitute an extremely important driving force in subjugated Ukraine. In spiritual, moral, religious and national respect these two Churches must be regarded as the most powerful force. And this also holds good for Siberia, where there are millions of deported Ukrainians, for this force also exists and, in fact, plays an active part there. Indeed, the two Churches of Ukraine are a great dynamic force in the constant struggle of that country against the evil Russian powers.

Ukrainian nationalism is based on Christian ideological principles, and for this reason the organization of the Christian underground movement is a powerful stimulus of the national, political revolutionary movement, even though the two are not linked together either from the organizational or the political point of view; but in a certain respect, however, they supplement each other. The national revolutionary fight for freedom of Ukraine is inconceivable without the Christian underground movement, for either Ukraine is Christian, or it cannot exist at all.

Christianity is second nature to the Ukrainians; it is the basis of their culture and represents the spiritual values of the Ukrainian nation and masses. For this reason the psychological war of the West, which is not based on Christian and national values, cannot be victorious in Ukraine. Similarly, a psychological revolution which is not based on Christian principles and values is impossible in Ukraine. Hence militant Christianity is an inherent and vital feature of the manifold fight for freedom of Ukraine.

Moscow even liquidates those churches in Ukraine which are under the administrative authority of state-controlled Russian orthodoxy. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Ukrainian faithful have transformed these churches into illegal shrines (from the atheists' point of view). Priests who under pressure of the Russian secret police have been forced to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church, have professed their conversion merely formally and in reality have continued to remain faithful to the old spirit and traditions. Of the 1,500 churches which have been liquidated by the Russians during the past year, the majority are situated in Ukraine.

The religious underground movement is growing considerably. Those persons who firmly believe in God and His Truth are the most courageous and intrepid in the fight; they neither weaken nor waver. They never regret their action nor do they renounce their convictions; hence they are the pillar and support of the fight for the truth of their forefathers and of their nation. Since the champion and representative of atheism is a foreign people, namely the Russian occupant, the religious underground movement assumes significant religious and national characteristics. Incidentally, the Ukrainian national freedom idea is inseparably bound up with the Christian idea.

The fighting spirit of the people of Ukraine – and not merely their will to resistance, the ever-growing extent to which the Ukrainian ideas are expressed in art as a whole, and the literary and, in fact, the entire cultural activity of the young Ukrainian literati continue undiminished. It is an established fact that there exist in Ukraine secretly printed or written works, that is to say works which the Russian occupant will not allow to be circulated, even though he is obliged to tolerate the

publication of some works, or at least a part of these works, which have been written by Ukrainian authors of the younger generation. But what is published openly is, however, only a tiny fraction of what appears in the underground movement. The Russian authorities only make concessions as regards part of these works in order to neutralize or delay the danger of an open conflict, the outbreak of which would involve the sum total of various factors of everyday life and of the fight of the Ukrainian nation. In this connection we should like to stress the most important factors of Ukrainian life and culture: namely folklore, national creative art and its ideological offensive, and not merely its resistance. The essential features of the ideological fight are expressed in this national creative art, in the spontaneous creativeness of the masses, in folksongs, in various forms of expression of national maxims, in sayings, and in folklore. A successful ideological fight against Moscow must inevitably include the ideological, cultural and oral traditions of the masses of the Ukrainian people.

The question at issue is the fierce fight of the Ukrainian nation against Moscow, on the outcome of which the ultimate victory of the ideas of this nation depends. This fight is forced on Ukraine by millions of editions of books which are Russian in spirit and contents, and also by films and television. Moscow is doing its utmost to deprive the soul of the nation of its ideals, traditions and national characteristics at all costs by various means and methods of modern propaganda. In the end the fierce struggle between Russia and the Ukrainian people will be decided in Ukraine itself. We are convinced that Russia has only succeeded in inflicting a superficial wound on the soul of the Ukrainian people, for this soul is fundamentally healthy and has remained as Ukrainian as it was a thousand years ago.

The ideological fight is a precondition for a victorious physical fight.

The first manifestations of mass offensive action were the strikes and riots in the concentration camps in which the revolutionary, political, cultural and ecclesiastical elite of the peoples subjugated in the USSR was imprisoned. The strikes were offensive in character. Like the riots they could be divided into various categories: a) unarmed, b) armed, c) strikes in which work was abandoned but the MVD men were not liquidated, d) purges to eliminate informers, secret agents, MVD officers, etc., and e) attempts on the life of such persons.

A German journalist, A. Furman, who for many years was a prisoner in the concentration camp in Vorkuta, gives the following facts:

The biggest riots took place in:

Vorkuta in September 1948,
Norilsk in May–August 1953,
Vorkuta in July–September 1953,
Viatka in January 1954,
Kingir in May–June 1954,
Irkutsk in April 1956.

There were also various other insurrections during the years 1952–1954, namely in Karaganda, Kolyma, Magadan, Muika, Mordovia, Dzegestan, Inta, Suchobezvodnoie, and Taishet, on which there are, however, no reliable statistics.

In October–November 1959 a joint insurrection on the part of young Ukrainians and Byelorussians took place in Temir-Tau near Karaganda, whither they had been deported in order to work in the "virgin" regions. The *organizers* of this courageous insurrection were the *Ukrainian nationalists of the OUN*, whose leader, Stefan Bandera, was murdered in Munich in 1959 at Khrushchov's orders. Entirely new methods of attack were now introduced, for it was now no longer a question of

resistance but of offensive (attack) on the part of the insurgents. Thus the fight for freedom entered on a new stage. It is interesting to note that this aggressive fight was organized by the Ukrainian national revolutionary elite under the most difficult conditions (since the members of this elite were themselves prisoners in the concentration camps).

After 1959 there followed a series of offensive actions and open mass insurrections in the form of strikes or demonstrations in Ukraine itself. The offensive activity of the OUN there is now carried on in different forms than was hitherto the case, although these actions are not now symbolized by the three letters OUN. But it is obvious from numerous trials in which the accused have been members of the OUN, from attacks in the Soviet press (in which the OUN is constantly defamed and insulted, whereas the Russian emigrant organization NTS is not mentioned at all), from the accomplished or planned attacks on the life of the leaders of the OUN (as for instance in the case of Jaroslaw Stetzko), and above all from the recent murder of Stefan Bandera that the OUN represents a grave danger to Moscow, for the activity of this organization is manifold not only abroad, but above all in Ukraine and other subjugated countries in the USSR.

From 1960 onwards most of the strikes and demonstrations occurred in Ukraine, just as during the years up to 1959 it was mostly the Ukrainian prisoners who took part in the strikes and insurrections in the concentration camps.

We should at this point like to mention some of these strikes and demonstrations in brief.

Strikes and demonstrations, or demonstrations alone in 1960:

In the Donets Basin: a demonstration in which thousands of persons took part and which lasted the whole night, during which clashes occurred with the Russian KGB. The reason for this demonstration was the murder of a woman by the KGB.

In April 1961: a demonstration and a strike by the dockers in Odessa; at the same time workers in Kirovograd demonstrated in protest against various abuses introduced by the militia. There were also strikes in the Donets Basin and in the town of Kryvyj Rih on account of the arrest of a number of miners. In addition, there were demonstrations in November 1961 in Sebastopol during the funeral of a woman-teacher who had been murdered by the Russians, and also in Tashkent.

In Krasnodar a strike was organized as a protest against the murder of a harmless citizen by a militiaman.

In 1961: in some rayons in West Siberia and in Kazakhstan armed units appeared in order to protect the population; they received every support from the population, for there are hundreds of thousands of deportees from Ukraine and from other subjugated countries in West Siberia and in Kazakhstan. Under cover of darkness these armed units robbed the KGB units of food supplies which they then distributed amongst the local population. They also liquidated a number of oppressors in the ranks of the KGB.

In January 1962 demonstrations occurred in Minsk as a result of the food shortage there, but there were also national and political reasons for this insurrection. An attempt was also made to murder Khrushchov.

In June 1962 strikes, demonstrations and a fierce clash occurred in the Donets Basin, in Donezk, Kramatorsk, Artemovsk and various other towns. The Ukrainian commanding officer of an army detachment refused to fire on the workers and shot himself instead. Since the soldiers of this army were unwilling to fire on the workers, units of the KGB were sent to crush the rising. The KGB men fired at

people at random, seized the factories and introduced a grim and merciless "order". Several thousand persons, including women and children, were killed. The reasons for the demonstrations and the strike were in the first place certain social and economic demands, namely an increase in wages and a drop in prices. This state of tension, however, then reached its climax in a national, political demonstration against the regime and the Russian occupant.

In June 1962 a strike and demonstrations also occurred in Novotcherkask, where 5,000 persons, including many women and children, were killed. A rise in prices for staple foods was the direct cause of the wrath of the masses. And this wrath was all the more justified since these vital products were to be exported to Cuba, India and Egypt. But the Russian Communist occupation authorities in Ukraine continue to affirm that "life is much better there now" and that in future the population will be even more better off!

When the young workers and students started these demonstrations and began to shout "down with Khrushchov, the government and the entire Russian colonial system", troops were sent to deal with the situation. They were given orders to fire on the demonstrators, but they refused to carry out these orders. Even the militia refused to fire on the demonstrators. Only the units of the KGB and their auxiliaries (the "Druzyynyky") fired on the masses at random. A number of volleys were fired on the prison, and neither women nor children were spared. The KGB units even shot mothers with babies in their arms. During the next few days people were shot dead on the streets in order to terrorize the population. A state of emergency was declared on June 1st and continued for four whole months. The town was entirely cut off from the outside world. In September and October 1962 a number of trials were held, namely public trials in which the accused were local Party workers, who had apparently not fulfilled their instructions from the Kremlin to the satisfaction of the Kremlin bosses, and also secret trials, in which the accused were persons who had fought against the Russian tyrants. According to a very reliable source – an eyewitness of these terrible atrocities perpetrated by the KGB soldiers – at least 5,000 persons were killed during these incidents.

Mention must also be made of the strikes and demonstrations in the district of Rostov and of the armed action of the underground movement in August 1962 in the town of Taganrog.

In June 1963 there were armed clashes and demonstrations in Kryvyj Rih, the iron ore centre in south Ukraine, and a state of emergency was declared.

Strikes, mass demonstrations, open forms of mass fighting, offensive mass action (and not merely passive resistance) are innovations in the further development of the revolutionary fight for freedom and represent *a new stage in this fight*.

The enemy reacts in various ways to the political events which spell danger to him: in the first place he tries to make out that the direct cause of these actions is the inadequacy of the local administration and, at the same time, affirms that these unsatisfactory conditions are only of minor importance; in the second place he tries to undermine the morale of those who take part in such actions and to bring disrepute upon the organizer. To this end he orders these persons to be brought before a court allegedly on account of crimes committed during Hitler's occupation of the country. In addition, he also tries to undermine the morale of his opponents by means of intrigues, by creating quarrels and, of course, by his well-tried terrorist measures, as for instance was the case during the demonstrations and strikes in the Donets Basin, in Novotcherkask and in Kryvyj Rih (where thousands of men, women and children were shot on the streets, a fact which clearly proves that one can only overcome the enemy by armed force).

These mass actions of an offensive character should systematically harden the Ukrainian people in their fight against Moscow, should further their psychological revolutionary attitude, should keep their revolutionary spirit vigilant, should banish all fear of the terrorist regime, and should encourage the subjugated peoples to try their own strength.

All this creates the necessary preconditions for a decisive fight and for armed insurrections. And this revolutionary spirit permeates the ranks of the army, mobilizes both in political and moral respect the soldiers who are sons of the subjugated peoples, and enables insurgent armies to be organized out of the constantly fluctuating combatant groups when the time is ripe.

The political exploitation and drawing up of directives in this connection and the expansion of these campaigns and actions is likewise the concern of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), whose leader, Stefan Bandera, was treacherously murdered by the Russians. It is most essential that a broadcasting station should be set up abroad which, carefully and systematically and without resorting to an attitude of despair, should prepare the national revolutions in psychological, moral, ideological and political respect by appropriate encouragement of mass action, by mobilizing the soldiers of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet army for the aims of national freedom, by constantly pointing out the weak spots and the contradictions in the Communist system, by the demoralization of the Soviet army, by the development of a large-scale perspective of the fight, by the strengthening of faith in the victory of truth and justice, by inspiring the peoples with national and religious mysticism, and by stressing the victorious campaign of the national and anti-imperialistic freedom idea in the world, and so forth.

It is important to recall here

. . . It is important to recall here that the founders of Communism as a system of government, the Bolsheviks, first established their power in the Russian nation. In this connection we should never forget that the Russians alone among all the peoples of the broken empire of the czars, failed to produce a national independence movement and remained untouched by this great wave of human hopes and expectations. Contrariwise, the Russian educated class remained fixed to the concepts of empire, rejected by the non-Russian nations of the broken empire, and devoted their energies and resources to restoring the Russian empire. The Bolsheviks adopted the same objective soon after they established their power over the Russian nation. While there were ideological differences between the Russian Bolsheviks and the Russian monarchists, they pursued a common objective – restoration of the Russian empire. While they were enemies, their common enemy was the national independence movement and both waged war against the newly independent nations. It remains a close question today as to which, the Russian Bolsheviks or the Russian monarchists, contributed the most to the fall of independent government in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, and the Republic of North Caucasus. . . .

Congressman M. A. Feighan

(Congressional Record – 1963)

The Moscow-Peiping Rift

Favorable Opportunity for the Liberation of the Enslaved Peoples Incarcerated behind the Iron Curtain

That the Khrushchov-Mao struggle has led to growing deterioration in the relations between Moscow and Peiping is a fact universally known to the whole world. In fact, it is a power struggle within the enemy camp. By and large, it is favorable to the Free World, because any cleavage that comes to the Communist camp is an opportunity to us. The important question is how to make the most of this opportunity for the disintegration of the enemy's strength.

Judging from the ideological dispute between Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung, one can readily draw the conclusion that one of them is a reformist, while the other is a dogmatist, and that the former espouses "peaceful coexistence", while the latter is for "revolutionary war". From this conclusion, one infers that one of them is for peace and the other is for war. For all this superficial difference, the two are actually pursuing the same and identical goal — conquest of the whole world. As is well known to all those versed in Communist affairs, the Khrushchov-Mao dispute is not likely to bring any benefit to the Free World, just like the dispute between Stalin and Trotsky over "socialism in one country" and "ceaseless revolution". It should be recalled that the outcome of the so-called "socialist construction in one country" still demanded the unfolding of "world revolution". This fact has been made abundantly clear from a train of events since World War II. Such being the case, is it not true that the theory of "socialism in one country" is the same as the theory of "ceaseless revolution"? As a matter of fact, Stalin's temporary shift to right was designed to achieve the leftist goal. His domestic policy after 1927 and foreign policy after 1939 have fully borne out this fact. How about Khrushchov then? For all his avowal that Marxism-Leninism is out of date, what Khrushchov has revised is just a means for the attainment of an end, not the ultimate end itself. Because of that, his stress on "peaceful coexistence" is a line for "political expansion". That is to say, Khrushchov realizes only too well the danger of nuclear war, particularly at a time when the United States owns nuclear weapons of massive destructive force. Under such circumstances, military offensive as a means for aggression has been ruled out. Thus, a devious form of struggle is adopted instead for the attainment of the same objective. While avoiding the explosion of nuclear war, Khrushchov is in favor of the so-called "national liberation war" and "people's war". As these two forms of war are aimed at subverting the governments of democratic nations, they are favorable to the Communist camp. It is therefore clear that Khrushchov is basically not a "pacifist". That he agreed to sign the nuclear test ban treaty is obvious for the following two reasons: his knowledge that the Soviet nuclear weapons are inferior to those of the United States and his desire to exercise

restraint over the Chinese Communists. Therefore, it should not be construed to mean that he is sincere in his pursuit of peace. Should the free world entertain any illusion that Khrushchov is honest in his professions of peace just because of his signing of the nuclear test ban treaty, it would be a great mistake indeed. Besides, the Soviet Union, in the past forty or so years, has repeatedly broken international treaties. To the Communists, in fact, signing and breach of treaties are the two sides of the same coin. Such being the case, the free world should not relax its vigilance and dampen its ardor in the fight against Communism just because of this "scrap of paper".

On the other hand, the Chinese Communists clamour vociferously for "revolutionary war" from time to time. Their purpose is obviously twofold: to manufacture war so as to be able "to fish in the troubled waters" and to earn the name of "belligerence" so as to provide them with a chance for "international blackmail". For all that, in the last analysis, all they can do are merely subversive activities of a military nature, because they are militarily too weak to start any global war. This is the reason why Khrushchov ridiculed them with the following remark: "only able to wield paper swords and shout empty revolutionary slogans". They do so with a view to threatening the free world into giving in to their demand. That the Chinese Communists announced a cease-fire on the Indian border dispute of their own accord is eloquent proof that they do not have sufficient capability for war. Thus, the free world should not under any circumstances yield ground under their belligerent gesture. In fact, the Soviet withdrawal from Cuba and the cease-fire on the Indian border by the Chinese Communists are identical in nature. They show that both cannot stand the test, when any large-scale war becomes a possibility. However, both have not given up their aggressive designs.

In the light of the above analysis, the controversy on "peace and war" that divides the Communist camp is of little significance to the free world. For all that, it may still give rise to the following two undesirable results. Khrushchov's slogan "peaceful coexistence" is liable to delude the free nations into thinking that he is sincere in his professions of peace, thus dividing the unity of the democratic camp in its struggle against Communism. By the same token, Mao Tse-tung's slogan of "revolutionary war" threatens the free world with the constant fear of war. How to avoid these two dangers is, therefore, the road leading to success in the fight against Communism.

On the other hand, the dispute between Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung provides the free world with a favorable opportunity. It helps the free world understand more clearly the weaknesses within the Communist camp, with special reference to the relationship of mutual dependence between Soviet Russia and the Peiping regime. Mao's "rebellion" unnerves Khrushchov, who is in fear of losing his biggest satellite state. Thus, while disputing with Mao, he still keeps up his composure and has suggested: "let's forget all our squabbles and differences; let us not dispute who is right and who is wrong but let us open a new page in our relations". (See the "open letter" by the Russian Communists on July 14.) Mao was greatly irked because of cutting off of Russian aid. He, therefore, denounced the Russians for the withdrawal of their technicians, failure to carry out agreements and suspension

in the supply of material resources and equipments. "All this has brought incalculable difficulties and losses to the Chinese economy, national defense and scientific research work . . . China is the victim." (See the "Open Letter" to the Russian Communists by the Chinese Communists.) Thus, it is clear that both need cooperation more than a split. But both Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung are ambitious. Neither would bow to the other. Hence the split. This split, it goes without saying, has weakened both Moscow and Peiping. This is the reason why now is the best time to deal them blows, particularly the Chinese Communists who are struggling under most difficult circumstances. This is also the reason why we should not let this chance slip out of our hands. It is our view that we should get hold of this favorable opportunity to bring about the "liberation of the enslaved peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain". We do not pin our hopes on the attainment of this objective by bringing about the so-called global nuclear war. Our suggestions are as follows:

1. We hope that the free world, especially the United States as its leader, will lay down a firm policy in support of the captive nations in their struggle for freedom. Only by giving positive support to peoples of the captive nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain to engage in the struggle against the Communists and by uniting the anti-Communist peoples both inside and outside of the Iron Curtain in this common struggle, will it be possible to bring the anti-Communist struggle into the Iron Curtain and thus achieve the end of overthrowing the tyrannical Communist regimes with the combined efforts of the anti-Communist forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

2. We hope that the peoples of the captive nations will further promote their solidarity. We are of the opinion that all exile bodies of the captive nations together with all organizations in support of the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain for freedom and all anti-Communist organizations should sponsor and set up a joint structure in support of the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain to strive for freedom; issue a declaration of freedom and draw up a program for action for the liberation of the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain, thus uniting more firmly the anti-Communist forces behind the Iron Curtain and the force of justice of the free world. Only in this way is it possible to adopt effective joint actions to give support to the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle for freedom.

The next question is where should the work for the liberation of the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain begin. As the world situation now stands, the Iron Curtain in Asia should be torn down first of all for the following three reasons. Firstly, the Chinese Communists are the chief culprits in Asia. They are detested by people under their domination and are isolated in their relations with the outside world. Besides, the Peiping regime has come to the end of its tether. It is beset with internal and external troubles. Therefore, it is the weakest link in the chain of the Communist camp. Once the Peiping regime is toppled, the Iron Curtain in Asia would be crushed to pieces. Secondly, countries such as the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam all have strong anti-Communist Governments. These countries all have a part of their territories under Communist rule.

With the moral and material support of the free world, they are able to assume the full responsibility to bring about the destruction of the Iron Curtain in Asia. In the case of the Republic of China, she has completed all preparations for the counter-attack on the mainland. She will fulfil the mission to liberate the people on the mainland from the clutches of the Communist tyranny with the moral and material support of the free world. Thirdly, once the counter-offensive staged by the Republic of China is successful, the national unifications of the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam will be automatically achieved. When this day comes, it will be also the day for the liberation of the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in Asia.

When the Iron Curtain in Asia is torn down, it will help the upsurge of anti-Communist uprisings of the peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in Europe and Cuba under the impact of the anti-Communist tide thus released. Then with outside support, all captive nations will be liberated. In this event, a new situation will be created all over the world and only then will there be genuine and lasting peace in the world. As long as the Communist camp exists, there will be neither international justice nor freedom, not to mention world peace.

The Khrushchov-Mao struggle has brought the Moscow-Peiping relations to the verge of a split. Objective conditions have created a favorable situation for us. How to make the most of this favorable situation and bring about the liberation of all captive nations is our common mission. It is hoped that all freedom - and justice-loving peoples of the world will stand side by side in this common endeavor.

*President Ku Cheng-kang,
Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League,
Taipei (Formosa)*

January 8, 1964

Dear President Ku Cheng-kang,

We were very grieved to hear of the sudden death of the loyal friend of our peoples, Dr. Hua-kuo Pao.

By his decease we have lost a courageous defender of the rights of our peoples. We wish to convey our condolences to you. We shall always honour his memory.

The late Dr. Hua-kuo Pao realized that a solution of the present international problems cannot be achieved merely by fighting against Communism alone, but only by combatting Russian imperialism and its colonial rule. For this reason he joined with us in demanding the disintegration of the Russian and sole remaining colonial empire in the world.

The time will come when our peoples are liberated from Russian subjugation. They will then be able to venerate the memory of such loyal friends as Dr. Hua-kuo Pao in a worthy manner.

*Yours sincerely,
Prince Niko Nakashidze, Secretary-General.*

Accusation Against Khrushchov Before U.N.

Subject: Protection of Human Rights of the Ukrainian people against assassinations on the territory of the German Federal Republic, instigated and organized by the Russian Government in Moscow. Crimes committed against the Ukrainian people by the Russian Government with the assassinations of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and Dr. Lev R. Rebet, noted Ukrainian writer and journalist.

Honorable Sirs:

On October 12, 1957, Dr. Lev Rebet, a prominent Ukrainian writer and journalist, was murdered in Munich, West Germany, and on October 15, 1959, Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, was murdered.

These two criminal acts were committed by the KGB (Soviet Secret Police) agent Bogdan N. Stashynsky at the direct orders of the Russian Government in Moscow, chiefly by General Alexander N. Shelepin, the then Chief of the KGB, and now one of Khrushchov's closest aides in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR.

Soon afterwards, the order was also given to Stashynsky, to make his next victim the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, the former Prime Minister of the Independent Ukrainian Republic proclaimed in June 1941.

The weapon which KGB agent Stashynsky used in these two murders was a double-barrelled squirt gun loaded with potassium cyanide, which was provided by the KGB headquarters in Moscow.

In order to have these two criminal acts effectively executed, Moscow and its heinous regime specially trained KGB agent Stashynsky, who, after killing these two Ukrainian leaders and freedom fighters, received the "Order of the Red Banner" by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of November 6, 1959, which was bestowed upon him by Alexander Shelepin, the KGB Chief, himself.

The KGB-trained murderer Stashynsky gave himself up to the German Federal Republic authorities on August 13, 1962. He was tried and sentenced according to the German Federal Republic Penal Code §§ 47, 49 and 211, to eight years' penal servitude for the murders of Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet.

Both in the *Oral Opinion* and *Written Motivation* (StE 4/62, verdict of October 19, 1962) of the Stashynsky trial of the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe it was unequivocally stated that the real murderers responsible for these two crimes are those who had planned and ordered them. The members of the Russian government in Moscow trained the murderer, they selected the victims, the time and method of murder, and they instructed the KGB agent to carry them out within a limited space of time, and gave

him the instrument designed in the Academy of Science of the USSR in Moscow, and the means with which to carry out the murders. The award of the medal to Stashynsky after the murder of Bandera proved that the real criminals who killed the two Ukrainian leaders are the Russian government leaders in Moscow.

Political assassination and murder have always been the chosen weapon of the Russian Communists in combatting their political opponents and adversaries. It should be recalled that in May 1926, a Russian agent in Paris killed Simon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian national government in exile. In 1938, also in May, another Russian agent slipped a time-bomb into the coat-pocket of Col. Eugene Konovalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, in Rotterdam, Holland, which exploded and killed the Ukrainian leader instantly.

The existence of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, who are fighting for the Free and Independent Ukrainian State, and the fact that Moscow constantly sends trained agents to annihilate Ukrainian nationalist leaders in foreign countries outside the USSR, obviously demonstrate that Moscow actively fears Ukrainian nationalism.

The foregoing account of the murder of Ukrainian national leaders shows that the Russian government, even though a member of the United Nations maintaining diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, issued orders to commit the murders on German territory, in direct violation of international law. Furthermore these actions by the Russian government show a direct violation of the principles of the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms as laid down in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Charter of the United Nations*.

Therefore, the Ukrainian Delegation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations appeals to the Commission on Human Rights for the protection of human rights, ignored and consistently violated by the Russian government in its power-drive for world domination.

Therefore, the Ukrainian Delegation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations asks the Commission on Human Rights to act as judge in this matter and to deliver its opinion in accordance with the principles laid down in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Charter of the United Nations*, showing the undeniable guilt of the Russian government in these murders.

Supplementary Information:

Ukraine is situated in the southwestern portion of the East European lowland, on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, and extends westward beyond the Carpathian Mountains to the Tyssa River. It covers an area of 945,000 sq. km., and the population in January 1961 numbered 43,091,000.

The Ukrainians enjoyed their independence during the periods of the great Ukrainian Kievan State of Volodymyr the Great (981-1015) and Yaroslav the Wise (1018-1054). This ideal was the acme in the career of the Ukrainian Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648-1657) and the great Hetman and patriot Ivan Mazepa (1686-1709). In 1918 a Sovereign State of the Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed, with the Central Rada as its head.

Immediately after the declaration of Independence the Russian Bolshevik government in Moscow planned a campaign for the total annihilation of the Ukrainian Independent State. Accordingly, the Bolsheviks organized a puppet Soviet government in Kharkiv composed chiefly of non-Ukrainian workers, and on December 29, 1917, they officially acknowledged its own creation, the Ukrainian SSR, and promised "the brotherly Republic complete and all possible support in its struggle" with the Ukrainian Central Rada. The Russian government severed its relations with the Ukrainian Central Rada, and ordered its armed forces, and food and requisitioning brigades, which by now were ready for action, to advance against Ukraine in full force – to move in their first aggression in the expansion of the territorial base of the revolution. The first practical application of the Bolshevik self-determination theory was thus put to the test.

Although the forces under the Ukrainian Central Rada's command had, on several occasions, shown heroism in their efforts to stop the invaders, they were, as a result of being outnumbered, inadequately equipped and disorganized by revolutionary ideas, no match for the Bolshevik forces which on their southwesterly move had occupied one Ukrainian city after another.

The national spirit of the Ukrainians did not die. Military defeat of the Ukrainian armies in the War of Independence did not weaken the struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian War of Independence was of immense importance in the formation of the Ukrainian National State. The independence of Ukraine proclaimed during that war became the basic dogma of political faith of the Ukrainian people.

Again, on June 30, 1941, the Independent Ukrainian Republic was proclaimed with Jaroslaw Stetzko as its head. But the German Nazi government planned to turn Ukraine into a German colony. Hitler ordered the arrest of the Prime Minister of the proclaimed Independent Ukrainian Republic and the members of his Government and they were sent to German concentration camps where most of them were murdered.

As an agricultural country, Ukraine is well known as the "bread-basket of Europe" or as the "granary of the Russian Empire", and it provides food for domestic needs and contributes a great share of the export. In addition to rich coal, iron, manganese ore, salt and other mineral deposits, which comprise the basis of Russian industry, Ukraine includes a considerable part of Russia's industrial enterprises and a large proportion of the Russian railroad network. In view of these and many other factors, it is evident that the Russian Bolsheviks will not tolerate Ukrainian national aspirations towards separatism.

The process of retarding Ukrainian scientific and cultural development and the Russification of university-level schools in Ukraine are being carried out with all the pressure which the Russian apparatus is able to muster. This action is accompanied by incessant propaganda about the "beneficial influence of the socialist culture of the Great Russian people on the development of Ukrainian culture".

The Russification of the Ukrainian population goes hand in hand with a mass exportation of Ukrainian specialists and scientists and also of considerable numbers of peasants and workers beyond the borders of the Ukrainian

SSR, and in importation of Russian specialists, scientists, and administrative personnel recruited from among Party members, military men, etc., into Ukraine.

To-day as never before, the Ukrainian population is scattered. The Russian government has worked relentlessly to liquidate or break every leader who has refused to bow to its all-embracing rule.

The liquidation of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists, who was a symbol and the watchword of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, was a major move in Moscow's attempts to obliterate the Ukrainian Nationalists. Stashynsky's assignment was cold-blooded political assassination, but elaborate preparations were taken by the Russian government in Moscow and by the KGB to avoid the possibility of connecting the murder plots with the Kremlin.

The Ukrainian Delegation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations appeals to the Commission on Human Rights to extend its active support in behalf of the non-Russian enslaved peoples in their fight for freedom to enable them to overthrow the tyrannical Russian Communist rule and thereby to regain their national freedom and independence.

Yours respectfully,

(Jaroslaw Stetzko)

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine.

Hon. Kersten Warned President Kennedy

November 7, 1963

*The Honorable John F. Kennedy,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D.C.*

Dear Mr. President:

The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee has been contemplating a hearing of the killing in Munich of the Ukrainian underground leader Stepan Bandera by former Soviet agent, Bogdan Stashinsky. It was a bizarre assassination illustrating the subversive operations of Soviet police in the Free World. Apparently the State Department is trying to prevent the hearing.

Stashinsky and his wife escaped to Western Germany in 1961. He was tried for murder in the German High Court at Karlsruhe in October–November 1962. I participated in the trial as counsel for Mrs. Bandera (the victim's wife) as may be done in such a trial in the German court.

The facts of the case are unique. Stashinsky received intensive training as a KGB killer of anti-Communist leaders in the free world. The assassin used a weapon developed by Soviet science, a so-called "cyanide gun" which ejects a lethal dose at close range causing instant death giving the victim no opportunity to utter an appreciable sound. Within minutes after death, the cyanide evaporates leaving the victim without mark of foul play thus simulating

death by heart attack or other natural cause. Life magazine (Sept. 7th, 1962, p. 70) carried a feature story of this murder, directed from Moscow by the head of the Soviet Secret Police, Aleksander Shelepin. At the trial the assassin Stashinsky testified for four days disclosing his amazing story (very well documented by the German prosecution) of Soviet police operations in West Germany and Europe.

Before his defection, Stashinsky was being trained for high level killing in England and the United States. There are undoubtedly others in such training.

. . . However, I have been informed indirectly that the State Department effected a delay of the hearing and may possibly desire its cancellation. If this is so, it is unfortunate. I think you agree with me that full exposure of such deadly subversive operations is the best way to prevent them.

That's the reason for this letter and also to recall to your memory how the exposure of Communist operations in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1947 helped break the hold of the conspiracy on industry in this area, as per the enclosed pictures of yourself and the undersigned way back when.

With best personal wishes.

*As ever,
Charles J. Kersten.*

Answer From Human Rights Officer

20 June 1963

Mr. Anathole W. Bedriy
Executive Director
Organization for the Defense of
Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Bedriy,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 14 June 1963, forwarding a communication dated 30 May 1963 from the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) Central Committee, addressed to the Commission on Human Rights.

I wish to inform you that the communication will be dealt with in accordance with paragraph 2 (b) and (c) of resolution 728 F (XXVIII) of the Economic and Social Council, a copy of which is enclosed.

Your attention is drawn to paragraph 1 of the resolution, in which it is stated that the Commission on Human Rights has no power to take any action in regard to any complaints concerning human rights.

Yours sincerely
G. N. Ceccatto
Human Rights Officer
Division of Human Rights

Trial of Stashynsky and US Security Interests

Although the trial of Stashynsky was held in West Germany, which is a sovereign republic of the German people, the trial and its background have a decisive impact upon the security and welfare of the United States. Upon a thorough study and analysis of the trial and as a result of discussions with a number of high German officials who were closely connected with the Stashynsky trial, the following conclusions and recommendations are offered for consideration and action:

a) The United States and the Federal Republic of Germany are two allied countries whose security interests are closely interrelated. Therefore, the unbridled terrorism of the Soviet government in West Germany must of necessity affect U.S. interests and security in that country and elsewhere;

b) The Federal Republic of Germany is an important partner of the United States in the NATO organization, and any infringement upon this security system has a correspondingly adverse effect on the security of the United States;

c) During the trial Stashynsky admitted that he was told that he would soon be trained for "special operations" in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Since there is no doubt that the United States is the principal target of the Soviet-Russian espionage apparatus, other KGB agents are probably now operating in this country in Stashynsky's stead;

d) The diabolical weapon used by the KGB system - a silent pistol-like tube filled with potassium cyanide poison - is a novel weapon which is not easily detected and which can prove to be most dangerous in the hands of the enemies of the United States;

e) During the trial it was revealed that the poison squirt-gun used by Stashynsky on Bandera and Rebet had been used *before* by the Soviet KGB apparatus both on dogs *and on human beings*.

f) Since the Soviet government is fanatically determined to wipe out Ukrainian resistance to Soviet Russian colonial rule and enslavement, the United States and Canada are especially vulnerable because of the heavy concentration in these countries of Ukrainian political emigration and its leadership. It is to be recalled that during the visit of Khrushchov to the United Nations in 1959, he suggested to the New York Police authorities that Soviet General Zakharov be allowed to take charge of "security measures", inasmuch as the Soviet government was aware of the "activities of Ukrainian and Hungarian emigré Fascist organizations" in the United States.

g) Finally, in view of the proximity of communist-dominated Cuba, it is in the interest of American security and national well-being to make the insidious killings of Bandera and Rebet known to the American people and the world at large.

One of the most effective ways of making such crimes known to the American people would be the holding of a special hearing by the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, at which the methods, plans and executions perpetrated by the Soviet government in foreign countries would be publicly aired, documented, and analyzed.

(Extract of the Memorandum to the U.S. Senate International Security Subcommittee, submitted in February 1963.)

United In Struggle

In September 1939 Hitler and Stalin invaded and divided Poland and the Second World War started. The fate of the oppressed peoples was terrible. The newly proclaimed Independent State of Ukraine was partly occupied by Germans and partly by Russians. The Ukrainian leaders, including the Premier of the Ukrainian Government Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, were sent to the Nazi concentration camp. The retreating Russian armies murdered all Ukrainian patriots they could catch. The mass extermination of the Ukrainians happened in Lviv, Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities.

What remained in such circumstances for the oppressed, persecuted and hunted peoples, but to organize their Liberation Movements and underground armies! The best underground army was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of the legendary hero General Chuprynka. This army fought against the Hitlerite and Stalinist armies, and was a great moral support for all those who longed and fought for freedom.

Thus from the point of view of the struggle for freedom, the oppressed peoples were virtually united. It remained to achieve a political union which, indeed, took place on Nov. 21st and 22nd, 1943, when the representatives of the oppressed peoples met somewhere in Ukraine and formed the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations with the motto: "Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!" The Charter of this first ABN meeting, which we can call a contemporary Magna Carta Libertatum, was signed by the representatives of ten oppressed nations: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Tatars, North Caucasians, Bashkirs, Chuvash, and Turkestanians. Since then, they have been joined by Albanians, Bulgarians, Croats, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Rumanians, and others.

I am proud to state on this occasion that only two years after that historic event when the ABN was formed, i. e. in September 1945, I had the privilege and honour to meet an ABN delegate and officer of the fighting UPA in the capital of an oppressed country. He acquainted me with the ABN Charter, reading it to me and commenting on each paragraph of it. He greatly impressed me and seemed to me a fervent apostle of freedom, not only of his native Ukraine but also of my Croatia, and of all the oppressed peoples. In 1949 I had the honour to meet the great Croatia friend, President of the ABN, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, with whom on behalf of the Croatian Liberation Movement I discussed the ABN membership of Croatia.

While reading the world press it seems to us that many people entertain a comfortable feeling thinking that Khrushchov is better than Stalin was, and that a co-existence between the freedom professed by the West, and the slavery professed by Bolshevik Russia is possible. I think I am speaking on behalf of all the oppressed peoples, if I say: Such a feeling is completely

unrealistic and represents the greatest danger for the entire world. In our opinion – and we know it from experience – there is no difference between Stalin and Khrushchov. Furthermore, militant Communism is completely opposed to an actual co-existence, and we know that already Lenin said that between Capitalism (he wanted to say: freedom!) and Communism there cannot be co-existence, and that either one or the other must perish.

In Stalin's era millions of innocent victims died, amongst them the great Ukrainians leaders Petlura and Konovaletz. Further I mention here the mass extermination of Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and others in their homelands and in the concentration camps of Siberia. Also we should not forget one of the greatest genocides in modern history when Stalin's so-called "marshall" and stooge Tito Broz in May 1945 gave orders to massacre about 150,000 disarmed Croatian soldiers near Bleiburg on the Austro-Yugoslav border and in other places.

Khrushchov, as Stalin's lieutenant in Ukraine, is responsible for the mass graves of Ukrainians in Vinnitza and other towns and villages. As Stalin's successor he continued his extermination policy, hunting down and murdering all those who wanted freedom. At Khrushchov's orders the Bolshevist agent Stashynsky murdered the Ukrainian leader Stefan Bandera and Professor Lev Rebet. Also at Khrushchov's orders the Russian Communist army massacred thousands of Hungarians during and after the revolution of 1956. Their leaders, who very foolishly sought refuge at Tito's embassy in Budapest, were executed by Khrushchov's army. This is one proof more that Tito was and remained a faithful servant of Russian imperialism. Those who still do not believe it should remember Tito's journeys to Asia and Africa where he preached against "colonialism" forgetting that his Russian overlord Khrushchov and he himself were the greatest and bloodiest colonialists in human history.

The principal aim of the ABN is to fight against Bolshevist and Communist colonialism and imperialism, and to dismember the Russian Empire and all Communist artificial states into natural ethnic units, i. e. to establish national independent democratic states from the Arctic Pole to the Adriatic Sea, and from the Baltic to the Pacific shores.

This aim of the ABN Charter is the most sacred vow of the ABN freedom fighters who, in the iron unity of purpose and brotherhood in the common struggle, and, with God's help, will achieve it.

In these 20 years of its existence the activity of the ABN has been great and successful. The best proof of this is the fact that it is constantly attacked by Moscow, Peking, Belgrade, and other Communist tyrants, and of course by Communists and their fellow-travellers of the West.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the ABN we condemn all those inhuman murders of our national leaders, intellectuals, brothers and sisters in our oppressed homeland, conceived and committed by the super-murderers of the Polit-Bureau of the Bolshevist-Communist so-called "world movement".

We condemn also the shocking murder of the President of the United States of America John F. Kennedy, who was the leader of the free world in the

Anti-Communist struggle and great hope of all the oppressed peoples. In spite of everything said by different newspapers, it is a fact that President Kennedy was murdered by a Communist. This fact should be a sign and warning to all Governments of the free world to act and regard all Communists in their countries as criminals and potential assassins.

We appeal to all Governments of the free world to outlaw Communist Parties and their cover-Parties and organizations, and to bring their members before the courts in order to convict them guilty of high treason.

On this occasion of the 20th anniversary of the ABN let us not forget our numerous martyrs in unknown mass graves in our beloved homeland, and those who were murdered in the free countries of the world. To-day our thoughts are with them, and they are for ever living within our hearts as shining torches which show us the path of our struggle against Communist tyranny and for freedom and independence of our native countries.

Finally we should like to state clearly and sincerely: We are not "war-mongers", "Fascists" or "Nazis" as some unintelligent and paid Communist and pro-Communist hirelings scribble in their newspapers, since our peoples suffered terribly at the hands of Communists, Fascists, and Nazis. I am sure that here among us there are many witnesses of those persecutions and suffering, and who themselves suffered a lot.

We want peace and happiness for the entire world but not the horrors of the Communist peace and co-existence of mass graves, prisons and concentration camps with Communist tyrants and murderers who are plotting to plunge the whole world into the misery of slavery. We want a genuine and indivisible peace based on freedom and justice for all the peoples of the world. Peace, freedom and justice are divine gifts, and all the peoples are equally entitled to share and enjoy them. This aim can be achieved without nuclear devastation of the world if the West gives full moral and material support to the Liberation Movements of the oppressed peoples. Communists fear these Liberation Movements more than all hydrogen bombs put together.

On the other hand, there is no power in the world which can stop the oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, which they will achieve when they rise as one man and shake off the yoke of Communist tyranny.

To-day we send our warmest greetings to our brothers and sisters in our oppressed homelands to let them know that they are not alone in their suffering and struggle against ruthless oppressors.

On this occasion we should like to express our sincere gratitude to Her Majesty's Government for protection, freedom, and work offered to us in the darkest days of our lives. We are proud to be citizens or residents of this great freedom-loving country whose freedom and Constitution we are prepared to defend as our own.

(From a speech delivered at 20th ABN Anniversary in Bolton, England, on December 15th, 1963).

What Must Be Done To Thwart The Communist Threat?

In spite of the proven (but not generally acknowledged) fact that Communism is a cruel and tyrannical regime of servitude and oppression, that it is an unacceptable and foul, hideous, philosophy of life, the truth is, none-the-less, that its formidable inroad and encroachment all over the World is based on the assumption that it may cure all the ills of mankind.

That ills exist, there is no denying, such as wide-spread suffering, hard living conditions in many free nations, economic stresses and hardships, social injustices, and so forth. It is not by any means easy to correct or wipe-out these adverse predicaments; to do so would require not only good and wise governments but also a considerable length of time.

The question is that we have not the good governments in most of the threatened nations (mine included . . .) and we cannot afford to wait a long time!

Therefore, if we leave things as they are now, the tremendously big and skilful Communist propaganda will continue gathering momentum, always using, to easily impress the naive and gullible masses, the same old bait that Communism is a true cure-all, and that life is pleasant and happy in countries adopting that regime. I readily admit that certain schemes proposed at recent anti-Communist conferences might be applied to a few well-developed countries, like the United States, owing to the fact that the communist menace hanging over them is not very strong and dangerous. These few countries could afford, perhaps, using lengthy methods of counter-action to offset disruptive propaganda. But, unfortunately, the vast majority of countries belonging to the Free World, especially those of Latin-America, could not! The danger, for them, is impending; the eleventh hour is sounding for them. I urge you to remember that Khrushchov, the abominable

butcher of Hungary and Ukraine, has very solemnly made known the Soviets' determination to conquer the whole world, the United States included, by 1975, meaning within 11 years! "We will bury you", was the warning he issued while visiting the United States, in his peculiar rough way of acting and talking.

What I have just said leads me to draw the following conclusion: - we should use quick, fast, resolute and drastic methods in dealing with the Soviets and their Chinese co-criminals.

Urgency should permeate all schemes so that they may prove effective. We must remember Napoleon's dictum: - "frappez au coeur" (strike at the heart). We must strike at the very source of evil, meaning ethnical Russia herself and Continental China, because in so doing we will bring about the downfall of Communism everywhere. How, I repeat again?

The subjugated nations should be liberated, but not by simply exerting political pressure, political offensive action against the Communist governments inside said nations (Russia included); not by simply keeping a steady flow of protests, objections and reproaches directed against the Kremlin, urging it to realize that self-determination must be granted to the captive peoples; not by peaceful means only; not without war, but with war!

The best way to overthrow the Communist world conspiracy is to strike at the very nerve-center of that conspiracy, which is the combination of the Soviet and Peiping governments. There lie, in other words, the heads of the Marxist dragon.

If we succeed in cutting off the dragon's heads, the whole conspiracy will crumble down. I do not mean that we would, in that way, get rid of Communism as a creed, as a doctrine. No, because to achieve that needs fighting in the realm of ideas; needs proving convincingly to everybody

that Marxism is decidedly outdated, both in theory and practice. And also it would be necessary to prove, mainly by deeds, that Democracy is a much better substitute for Marxism in providing for all the people's livelihood and general welfare.

But by slashing at the Kremlin and Peiping criminals we certainly would cut to pieces the subversive and enslaving outfit threatening the Free World, and this is what it is imperative to do, as soon as possible.

How to chop off the dragon's heads? By sharpening the swords of the subjugated peoples, represented by the "national liberation movements" both in Europe and in Asia, and then helping to use the swords properly and with telling effect on the dragon's heads.

Had the Occidental Powers, during the savage onslaught on Hungary, exerted pressure on the rapacious and brutal Kremlin invaders, and, besides, given the insurgent Hungarians moral, material and military help, the overall situation might be altogether different now... Not only brave Hungary would be free, but the other captive nations would very probably have started a successful chain-reaction against Communist slavery, a series of rebellions and upheavals which would penetrate Russia herself: it might have spelt the doom of Bolshevism in Europe. But what the astonished world saw was just the reverse, as the United Nations cowardly refrained from any noble, human and worthy attitude, and kept, instead, a passivity all the more shameful in contrast with the forceful action taken, at the same time, against France and England on the Suez Canal issue...

But who should do the sharpening of the swords of the subjugated peoples, and who should do the helping so that these peoples might use the swords to good account? — The Occidental Powers, of course, through NATO, SEATO, and the other democratic outfits.

I am firmly convinced that the Free World must fight sooner or later for its own sake. As Abraham Lincoln once said:

— "a house divided against itself cannot stand: it cannot endure half slave and half free". So, the sooner that fight comes, the better, so that it may be easier to win the struggle.

We must stir up insurgent liberation movements inside China, inside the so-called Satellite Countries and inside the Soviet Union. Why not take advantage of the severe internal crisis always brewing within the Kremlin? We should exploit that crisis to the fullest extent. Let us exploit the weaknesses of the enemy, buy using force and not only ideological offensive and beautiful words. Let us put an end to the policy of appeasement, weakness and surrender. Let us abandon the defensive attitude towards the Soviets; let us quit the shameful and lenient mood which has served the Reds so well, right along, and which has brought to us such dire disasters. Let us quit "co-existing" with the rascals.

Concerning "peaceful coexistence" I beg to disagree entirely with the very outstanding and prominent Mr. Spaak, of Belgium, who, at the Paris Conference, said: — "we are forced to accept the offer of pacific coexistence and even with a certain satisfaction"... And I beg to disagree still more fiercely with him when he says: — "pacific coexistence is better than any war, whatever it may be". One might even think that Mr Spaak is ready to accept the demoralizing slogan: — "better red than dead", due to the now unbalanced mind of poor Lord Russell... Our problem is not maintaining peace, "peace at any price"; peace even at the price of serfdom. Our objective is not peace, as most countries poisoned with the "peaceful coexistence" propaganda seem to admit, but freedom.

Our paramount objective is freedom, not peace. Freedom at any price, yes, even at the price of war. As things stand now, stressing peace is tantamount to forsaking freedom.

The military offensive I advise, carried out mostly by the Occidental Powers, the Western Democracies, and by Free China, might lead to a situation "short of war".

or even "all-out war", but it remains, none-the-less, the most effective course of action available. Summing-up, here is what I think should be done, concerning the strategy to be used in the fight against Communism: -

Do not treat Communist governments, whichever they are, as normal national governments, because they are, instead, instruments of international conspiracy. They are, I insist, gangs of criminals of the worst kind.

Now, beginning with Russia. Soviet Russia has every inducement, every advantage, not to hasten any hot war, much less a nuclear war; not only because she rightly fears a declared war, due to her unstable internal situation brinking on general popular rioting, but also because the so-called cold war or psychological war is bringing her high dividends. She is succeeding in fooling the whole world, why then should she change her course of action? She will keep on going the same way, striving harder and harder to subjugate other peoples. She will do that by using lies, deceit, trickery, falsehood, through her agents or through fifth columns and local sectors of the USSR Communist Party; and, in the meantime, she will try to sell to the world at large the cynical theories of "peace" and "co-existence". The enslaving process will proceed methodically and unhindered, until the world situation becomes really serious. This, of course, will not be the case if the Occidental Powers decide to change, as they must, their wrong over-all strategy for a better one of aggression and force. The real problem is not, by any means, to avoid the much dreaded "atomic war", but to avoid the spread of Communism all over the world, either by war or by subversion and cold tactics. It is the stupid policy of co-existence, coupled up with the cynical and alluring "pax sovietica" which, if adopted, will surely lead to an atomic war, because the warmongers of the Kremlin will then be able, given sufficient time, to provide for a big stock of nuclear explosives and missiles. It would be disastrous if the Western

nations were to watch, on a side-line, even though with an approving eye, the creation and development of national liberation movements within the captive nations. Without outside effective support, insurrections, riots and all forms of unrest, inside the subjugated countries, can hardly be expected to gather a winning momentum.

On the other hand, all insurgent movements inside countries under the Soviet yoke would be of tremendous importance should the Occidental Democracies be wise enough to launch an offensive, political and military in character, at the slave-drivers sitting on the dismal walls of the Kremlin.

Now, about China. A huge population of 600 million Chinese are kept in abject servitude by Mao's regime. The sufferings they have been through are becoming unberable, are reaching a tragic limit. They will certainly be responsive to any serious efforts made by Free China to liberate them. Let us nurture in them high hopes that their brethren of Taiwan will soon set them free from Communist slavery.

As I have said before - we must stir up and arouse insurgent liberation movements inside China, inside the so-called Satellite Countries, also inside East Germany and inside the Soviet Union, and give those movements all-out moral, material and military assistance and support.

Those movements will entail and bring about guerilla warfare of such military worth as to sufficiently shake down the tyrants' bastions, specially if a portion of the armed forces of the enslaved countries take part in the upheavals.

- Before I pass to the other course of action open to us, meaning the second alternative we have at our disposal to avoid future Communist enslavement (and to my mind there are only two alternatives), I beg to dwell a little longer on the first one, that is to say, on the possibility of overthrowing the Communist governments by using for that purpose the subjugated peoples themselves.

That scheme clashes very strongly with Russia's broad General Strategy, and is likely to make it crumble down.

That Russian General Strategy abides by a not-very-well known concept of a relatively new science: – Geopolitics.

Geopolitics contends that the influence of land, of geographical factors, is as marked in History as is the influence of the sea. It partially contradicts the so far well admitted imprint of sea-power upon History, of which Admiral Alfred T. Mahan – U.S. Navy – was the foremost scholar and defender.

Here in a nut-shell, is what Geopolitics presents as one of its basic statements:

He who rules Eastern Europe commands the Heartland; He who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; He who rules the World Island commands the whole World. Let me explain what the Heartland and also World Island mean. The Heartland means European and Asiatic Russias combined. The World Island is made up of Western Europe, Asia and Africa. And the rest of the World is a lesser Island comprising the Americas, England, Japan, Australia, Indonesia, New Zealand and New Guinea.

Russia commands the Heartland, because she rules Eastern Europe. Therefore, she is now on her way to rule the World Island (Western Europe, Asia and Africa). I must make it quite clear, however, that in so doing she is not forgetting Latin America. No. As she wants to conquer the whole World in a very short time, she is acting quickly. She is running "on the double", as we say in naval parlance (and do not forget I am a sailor ...). She expects to conquer the World within 11 years, by 1975. That is why, though not neglecting the geopolitics' urge to rule the World Island, she is also endeavoring to dominate Latin America. How is she acting, one way and the other?

– Through a Total Political War, which is being vigorously carried out. Suffice it to say that it combines moral, material, psychological, ideological and military means. If possible, the Kremlin will avoid

going into a Third World War, but if this is not possible, it will fight an atomic war. But to return to Geopolitics.

The fact that Mainland China was conquered by the Communists introduces changes in the picture and modifies the basic postulate of Geopolitics, because China is a very important part of the World Island.

Therefore, to prevent the Communists from commanding the Whole World, it becomes imperative to act offensively against China, too; I mean against Mainland China.

As a final analysis of the situation and combining all former considerations and the Geopolitics concepts, I will try to sum up, as follows, my ideas on: What to do in order to thwart the Communist threat.

Let me tackle Russia first. Russia rules Eastern Europe and thus commands the Heartland. Therefore, if we contrive to make her cease ruling Eastern Europe, she will be unable to command the Heartland, and, consequently, she will not succeed in commanding the World Island (Western Europe, Asia and Africa); and if she cannot rule the World Island, she will not be able to conquer the whole World. This reasoning seems logical, from the geopolitics' point of view. Now, how to make Russia cease ruling Eastern Europe? The best way, as I advised, appears to be by throwing against the puppet Communist governments installed by the Kremlin in all Satellite Countries, in the Baltic Nations and in East Germany, the whole might and weight of the subjugated peoples, even within Russia herself.

The problem envisages two gravitation centers, if we adopt Clausewitz' words: – the geographical and the political.

Where is the geographical center? – It seems to be in Germany, between the rivers Rhine and Vistula. One part of Germany is free and prosperous, the Western part; the other, Eastern Germany, is subjugated, decadent and ruined. Should Russia dominate West Germany, Western Europe might be conquered; should, on the other hand, East Germany be liberated, then Russia would be in a

sad plight. Yes, as she would face both military and political defeat.

And here we come to the political gravitation center. It is represented by the dissatisfaction and sufferings of the huge populations under the yoke of ruthless Communism . . . The expulsion of the Soviet Russians out of East Germany would likewise entail results in the Satellite Countries, and, finally, insurrection inside the Soviet Union. East Germany is therefore of paramount importance in this scheme.

We may, then, change, under the anti-Communist point of view, the first postulate of Geopolitics to the following one, in what concerns Russia: -

He who rules East Germany rules also the Satellite Countries, and thus controls the Heartland.

I fully know it will not be easy, after the Hungarian "fiasco", to compel East Germany and the other subjugated nations to rebel against their oppressors, but it can be done if we convince the great Democracies, especially the United States, that it should be done. What was the real cause, the main reason, for the Hungarian "fiasco". It has been shrouded in a certain mystery up to now . . . Why was it that Khrushchov waited twelve days, from the 23rd October until the 4th November, 1956, before ordering his war-tanks to enter Hungary and crush the revolution?

It was because he was almost sure that, if he did, the U.S. would give military aid to the Hungarians. And why did he change his mind on the evening of Nov. 3rd? - It was because on that very evening he received the following cable, which had been sent to Tito on Friday the 2nd, late in the afternoon, by the U.S. Naval Department: -

"The government of the United States does not look with favour upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union".

Tito relayed this cable immediately to Khrushchov, and it was the go-ahead signal for the rascal. He realized that

there was no danger of the U.S. becoming involved. It is very hard to understand why that cable was dispatched.

To a similar test Khrushchov put the U.S. on the 13th August, 1961. It concerned the city of Berlin. What happened?

In 1945 a "Four Powers Agreement" was signed prescribing the city's occupation by all four Powers, and jointly. But later on the Soviets ordered German Communist military forces to occupy East Berlin, thus breaking the "Agreement"; and on the 13th August, 1961, had a wall built along the borders of the Russian sector! And nothing was done . . . I said it will not be easy, now, to convince the subjugated peoples to rebel against Russia, but that must be done. To undermine Russia's morale the United Nations (up to now a farcical organization . . .) could start harrassing the Kremlin on many issues, especially the colonial one, also the non-intervention and the self-determination one. Under a more forceful leadership the United Nations might even exclude Russia as being a nation that is not reliable to deal with, unworthy of being a member of the organization. That, coupled with serious pledges of help, might encourage the subjugated countries to rise against their oppressors.

Let me consider China, now. Mao Tse-tung rules Mainland China. What can be done to put Mao's government down? - As in the case of the European Problem, the best procedure in Asia is, so I think, to throw the subjugated Chinese people against the Peiping clique.

How? - How to compel the Chinese population to rebel against their cruel masters? That is Taiwan's big job! Of course, the help of the United States will be necessary to allow Free China to assail the Mainland, the value of the Seventh Fleet being paramount in the undertaking.

But Taiwan should fight in conjunction with the nations belonging to the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League"; and, besides, the warlike operations in Asia directed against Communist China, should

be concomitant with the warlike operations in Europe against Russia.

Where are, in Asia, the gravitation centers: — geographical and political? The first seems to be in China herself, meaning Mainland China; and the second is represented by the sad situation and the sufferings of the enormous masses dominated and forced to servitude by Mao Tse-tung.

Now suppose that the scheme sketched above does not work, meaning that the fostering of rebellion inside the subjugated countries against the governments enslaving them does not lead to the overthrow of these governments? What is to be done — To my mind one thing, one thing only, the situation being as it is and before it becomes too late: — the all-out war against both Soviet Russia and Mainland China.

In only two ways can this be done, so I think: — either acting from within, with outside help, or else acting entirely from outside in an all-out declared war. The

second alternative would entail a declared Third World War.

And who should carry out that Third World War? — The Democratic Nations, meaning the Free World, led of course by the United States, and this much in accordance with President Kennedy's inaugural Address as the 35th President of that mighty nation. Here is what he said: —

“... the firm determination to pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty”.

The time has come for the United States, as the leader of the Free World in the fight to death against Communism, to oppose any foe, meaning Soviet Russia and Mainland China, even having to: —

“Pay any price,
bear any burden,
meet any hardship, and
support any friend!”

V. Kajum-Khan Attacked by Moscow

For years V. Kajum-Khan as the President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee has been the object of defamations, attacks and even attempts on his life by the Communist Party and the Soviet government in Turkestan, and thus by Moscow. The Soviet Russians resort to every possible means both in Turkestan and abroad in order to disparage and insult him personally and his political activity and to undermine his prestige, so as to deal the national movement a blow. These defamations are spread, through the medium of the broadcasting stations at home, in Turkestan and also in the Orient in the Turkestanian, Turkish, Persian, Arabian, Urdu, Russian and other languages, as well as in the Soviet daily press, in pamphlets, periodicals, books, letters, appeals, gramophone records, plays and caricatures, which are also sent to other countries. We can quote from 47 Soviet sources: “Qizil Özbekistan”, “Özbekistan Madaniyati”, “Özbekistan kommunisti”, “Yas Leninci”, “Tarih tilga kirdi”, “Pravda Vostoka”, “Sovet Türkmenistani”, “Qirgizistan kommunisti”, “Türkmenistan kommunisti”, “Golos Rodini” on various dates.

Hitherto we had taken little notice of these monstrous defamations and attacks, but Soviet agitation and propaganda have now assumed such proportions that some of the most prominent Turkestanian patriots and clergy have been arrested abroad on the strength of such allegations and their national activity has been prohibited in some Moslem countries. In addition, some authors in the free world repeat these Communist lies and defamations.

Declaration Of The Ninth Conference Of The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League has just held its Ninth Conference at Saigon to review the current world situation, study effective measures to deal with it, and decide on actions to be taken against international Communism. Beginning on October 24, 1963, the conference has been meeting for eight days in the midst of mounting differences between Moscow and Peiping and of major developments in the international scene.

In the opinion of the conference, the conflict between Moscow and Peiping has developed from ideological differences to organizational opposition and from personal rivalry for power between Nikita S. Khrushchov and Mao Tse-tung to a worsening of the relations between the Moscow and Peiping regimes. This state of affairs has not only disrupted the international Communist bloc from within, but has also led the Chinese Communists into a dangerous position of external isolation and internal instability. Such a situation affords an excellent opportunity for the free world to exploit, in its struggle to liberate the enslaved peoples.

Ever since the outbreak of the Moscow-Peiping differences, Soviet Russia has been launching a peace offensive against the free world in general and the United States in particular for the purpose of obtaining a breathing spell to regain control over its satellites and to turn its attention to its agricultural failure, on the one hand, and, strengthening its own efforts and paralyzing the free world, to split and infiltrate it, on the other. It hopes to create an illusion of peace so as to penetrate the spiritual front of the democratic camp and to destroy the latter's systems of collective security. It is also inducing the free world to acquiesce in the fruits of its past aggressions by offering to negotiate to prevent surprise attacks, to reduce armaments, and to sign

mutual non-aggression pacts. But, significantly, it still refuses to withdraw its troops from Cuba, reiterates its demand for the withdrawal of Western troops from Berlin, and intensifies its infiltration and subversive activities against the free world — all with the hope of conquering the whole human race by piecemeal methods without running the risks of a nuclear war.

At the same time the Chinese Communists are trying to pose as orthodox Marxists-Leninists by insisting on the inevitability of war, while they take advantage of their opposition to Soviet Russia to intensify their political activities and intrigues in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the name of nationalism and racism. They are actively instigating so-called wars of national liberation through local Communists in the developing areas. They are concentrating their efforts in Asia, where they are expanding their assistance to the Viet-Cong to enable them to carry on the subversive war against the Republic of Vietnam, inciting the Panthet Lao to overthrow the Royal Laotian Government, strengthening their infiltration of Thailand, and threatening India with armed invasion. They are utilizing Indonesia's territorial ambitions to embarrass Malaysia as well as to threaten Australia. They are intensifying their military activities against the Republic of Korea and the Taiwan Straits. Simultaneously they are using trade as a bait to induce Japan to come to terms in order to cover up their political infiltration of that country and, ultimately, to neutralize and communize it.

The conference is convinced that in spite of the Moscow-Peiping differences and irrespective of whether one is for peace or the other for war, the aim of the two Communist regimes of conquering the whole world remains unchanged. They are divided only on the

choice of methods to bury the free world. Therefore, we must advise the uncommitted nations neither to entertain any illusions of peace on the strength of the Moscow-Peiping differences, nor to sit with folded arms and let the Chinese Communists safely pass through their present crisis. Neither should the free world hope to promote favorable political changes on the part of the Communist nations by giving them economic assistance, nor should they help to increase the Communist power for aggression on the pretext that trade has nothing to do with politics. The free world can hasten the collapse of the Communist bloc only by remaining firm and united, by fully exploiting the enemy's internal contradictions, by taking positive actions and by taking the offensive instead of remaining on the defensive.

The conference has taken earnest cognizance of the efforts of the Vietnamese Government and people to defeat the Communist Viet-Cong through the wide use of the strategic hamlets. It is our honest belief that this is one of the most effective methods ever conceived by the mind of man to counteract the cruel and deceitful enemy and to beat him at his own perfidious game: guerrilla warfare. We have only the highest possible praise and admiration for the brave beleaguered people, who in the shadow of the Viet-Cong menace, are standing up to fight for their freedom and God's justice.

In view of the general situation as described above, this conference hereby calls upon the governments and peoples of the free world:

1. To take full advantage of the Moscow-Peiping conflict and launch an overall ideological warfare against the Communists of the whole world to intensify their ideological differences, and to call upon the Communists and their fellow-travellers to renounce Communism in order to destroy the international Communist organization.

2. To intensify our efforts to prevent and frustrate the Communist infiltration and subversive activities against the free

world, to take positive counter-infiltration and counter-subversive measures against the Iron Curtain countries, and to strengthen our political warfare against the Communists to split their organization and intensify their contradictions in order to hasten the early collapse of their tyrannical regimes.

3. To launch an active economic warfare against the Chinese Communists to intensify their internal crisis and choke up their economy and hasten their collapse in view of the economic crisis that has arisen on the Chinese mainland following the Moscow-Peiping split. In order to unite the free world for the accomplishment of this task, we are firmly of the opinion that those countries which help to strengthen the enemy through trading with him should be dissuaded from doing so and that, if necessary, moral pressure should be applied and economic sanctions imposed on such countries.

4. To firmly support the anti-Communist struggle in Viet-Nam and call upon the United States and the free world to intensify participation in the war against the Viet-Cong and help extend the offensive to North Vietnam, to check the Pathlet Lao from attempting to spread the internal war in Laos, and to support the anti-Communist actions in Thailand, Malaysia, and India.

5. To reiterate our traditional support for the African nations in their efforts to gain their national independence and freedom, make an all-out effort to promote economic and technical cooperation among the Asian and African countries, and call upon the advanced nations of the free world to strengthen their economic and technical assistance to the Asian and African regions in order to improve the people's livelihood and frustrate the Communist blandishments and infiltration tactics.

6. To see to the early establishment of a system of collective security in Asia and the Western Pacific by the free nations of Asia. To enable the Asian peoples to save themselves, this confer-

ence will try to hasten the formation of an Asian volunteer corps so that the Communist expansionism and aggression in Asia may be effectively deterred by the collective strength of the Asian nations and peoples.

7. To take advantage of the split in the Communist bloc and the instability of the Communist rule behind the Iron Curtain, in order to broaden the liberation movement and lend active support to the enslaved peoples' Anti-Communist struggle. We wish particularly to call upon the free world to speed up their moral and material support to the Republics of China, Korea, and Vietnam, in view of the weaknesses of the Communist regimes behind the Iron Curtain in Asia and of the tyrannical rule of the Peiping regime, so that the destruction of the Iron Curtain in Asia might lead to the liberation of the enslaved peoples in other Iron Curtain countries. The Free World should by every effort prevent the fall of Laos behind the Iron Curtain.

We firmly believe that these items mentioned above represent the common aspirations and desires of the Asian and African peoples. This League will do its utmost in these directions and hopes that

all freedom-loving and justice-loving peoples of the world will join forces with us to fight for an everlasting peace based on freedom and justice.

Finally, we wish to express our admiration and full support for the anti-Communist struggle of the Vietnamese people under the leadership of President Ngo Dinh Diem and to thank the Vietnamese Government and people and the Vietnamese Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League for the warm reception and hospitality they have accorded us.

Present at this conference are delegates from Australia, Republic of China, Hongkong, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Republic of Korea, Macao, Malaysia, New Zealand, North Borneo (Sabah), the Philippines, Singapore, Turkey, Thailand, and the Republic of Vietnam, and observers from the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Assembly of Captive European Nations (New York, USA), Chile, International Committee for Information and Social Activities, Free Pacific Association, India, International Conference of the Political Warfare of the Soviets, Italy, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Saudi Arabia, United States of America and West Germany.

Australian Prime Minister's Letter to Dr. C. J. Untaru, ABN-President in Australia

My dear President and Members!

My wife and I are most grateful for your congratulations and encouragement.

Right through the campaign, I detected a vigorous enthusiasm on the part of our supporters, particularly among the younger voters who came along in greater numbers than I have seen for some time. We fought as a team. We are both proud of the steadiness and co-operative work which marked the entire campaign.

With warmest regards and the Compliments of the Season from both of us to you all,

Yours sincerely,

R. G. Menzies

The Ideas And Aims Of A.B.N.

“Every human community on earth has the right to self-government – a right which man receives together with his life, from nature” –

Thomas Jefferson, 1802.

The process of the disintegration of the colonial empires already began before the first world war (Turkey). After the first world war the empires of Austria, Hungary, Germany, and Russia ceased to exist. The foreign peoples who had been incorporated in these empires became free and set up their own independent states.

In the course of time the Russians, taking advantage of the international situation and of the shortsighted policy of the Western Major Powers, succeeded in re-establishing their empire, in which many non-Russian peoples are now subjugated.

All the Western empires, as for example Great Britain and France, and colonial powers such as the Netherlands, Italy and Belgium have either conceded freedom to their colonial countries in Asia and Africa, or these peoples have liberated themselves. Even peoples of Asia and Africa who never existed as an independent nation and who never had a state of their own, but were civilized by colonial powers, are now free and have established their own independent states.

Only the Russian imperium continues to exist, and since World War II it has continued to increase its power and to expand its sphere of domination. In this the only colonial empire of today ancient civilized peoples are ruled by Russians and subjugated under brutal Communist despotism.

A.B.N. is fighting for the freedom of these peoples and individuals and exhorts the powers of the free world to recognize their right to live in freedom as individuals and nations and to support and further their fight for freedom and independence.

Since we first began our activity we have sought to enlighten the free world

on the Russian Bolshevist menace and to convince it that there can be no lasting peace in the world unless the problem of our peoples is solved, that is to say unless their independent national states are restored. We have likewise sought to convince the free world that a onesided “solution” of this problem cannot save the world from the danger which threatens it.

We have endeavoured to win over the public of the world for our just cause and to gain its help and support in our fight for man’s most valuable possession – freedom. But the leading politicians of the free world do not appear to have fully realized the real danger. Attempts are still made to curry favour with the Russians and in this way to reach some kind of a settlement. One is prepared to recognize a status quo and to confirm the Russians’ claim of possession over our peoples as a vested right.

We only need consider the false way, for instance, in which democratic principles are applied.

The public of the free world has been confused and misled by the Soviet Russian secret groups which have gained a footing everywhere. Strongly represented in intellectual circles in the West, they are infecting and corrupting the peoples there. They emphasize an alleged military threat on the part of Germany and in this way divert attention from the huge Soviet military power. The free world accordingly indulges in illusions and in wishful thinking. It forms false ideas and conceptions and imagines that it can save the world in this way. A similar attitude once before, namely in 1945 after World War II, led to disastrous consequences. As a result of this attitude the world is now confronted by grave dangers, and it is this same attitude which, if pursued in future, may cause the ruin of the remaining civilized nations.

The Western powers are undecided as

to which course they should pursue. And the Russians know how to make the most of this situation. They make extremely astute moves on the political chess-board and drive their Western opponent into a corner. The West tries desperately to save the situation and at least to evade a checkmate and bring the game to an end with a draw, not so much because the Russians are superior chess-players, but solely because their Western partner is a weaker player.

For the West lacks ideas, methods and tactics. It has inhibitions, is confused and nervous, and does not fully comprehend the situation. It erroneously believes that Bolshevism and the Soviet system are merely state and social political phenomena and refuses to realize and comprehend that they have in reality originated out of the character and mentality of the Russian people. The West fails to understand that religious and political conceptions have nurtured the Russian people's consciousness of its "historical world mission", which today is synonymous with a "proletarian world revolution". Thanks to these conceptions the Russians have succeeded in extending their Soviet imperium and consolidating its power, and they now continue to further its world expansion.

The first victims of the imperialistic conquests of the Soviet Russians were our peoples. But the civilized world ignored their fate and helped the Bolsheviks to achieve new conquests.

The West itself is now faced by the danger of being overrun and subjugated by the Russians. But it has realized this fact extremely late, that is to say only after it has helped the Russians to penetrate as far as the heart of Europe.

Completely lacking a definite plan, the West is trying to arouse the enthusiasm of the peoples and to win their confidence by means of general propaganda slogans which are based on a distorted conception.

One could have assumed that at least Germany, since it suffered a tragic fate and was dismembered and to a large extent occupied by Russia, would have

shown a certain amount of understanding for the problems of our peoples and would have demanded the right of self-determination for all subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union without exception. But nothing of the sort has happened. German politicians take care not to mention our peoples, still less to say a good word for them. The satellite countries, too, are seldom mentioned, for German politicians are of the opinion that it will somehow and some day be possible to solve the German problem on its own.

Russia will never, however, voluntarily permit the reunification of Germany. Nor will Russia ever relinquish its advanced positions in Europe; nor will it surrender any of the territories of which it has seized possession; nor will it allow the satellite countries in its sphere of influence to cast off their vassalage.

Germany now has an opportunity to win the confidence of the peoples ruled by Russia once more if it defends their rights. But a missed opportunity today cannot be made good by diplomats tomorrow.

How strong the national will to freedom of the peoples subjugated by the Russians is, has been proved by countless insurrections and revolts on the part of these peoples against Russian rule. But the West has failed to make good use of such situations. It has acted bravely in Katanga, but has failed miserably in the case of the revolts in Berlin, Poznan and Hungary, and the riots organized by Ukrainian prisoners in the Russian concentration camps. During the same period of time there were also insurrections in Ukraine itself and a revolt by the young people of Georgia, in the course of which 300 students were killed and hundreds were deported to Siberia.

The West has also failed miserably in the case of the Berlin Wall; and when persons trying to escape are shot there like cattle, the press in the West merely comments on the fact, but no one takes any steps to remedy matters.

The so-called "world conscience" of the Christian civilized countries does not ex-

press any indignation at the Russian terrorism which prevails in our countries, though it bewails the fact that a Communist mass-murderer is sentenced to death in Spain. The West is opposed to the admission of Spain to international peoples' institutions and demands the exclusion of Portugal and South Africa, but it welcomes the presence of the Communist terrorist states in such institutions.

The West talks about the freedom of individuals and peoples, but nothing at all is done to help the peoples languishing under Russian Communist tyranny. To sacrifice our peoples to Russian Communist despotism in order to buy illusory peace and ensure so-called coexistence, is a betrayal and a violation of all the ethical principles of the Christian world.

In all the Western countries there are so-called experts on East European problems, who either act as advisers in government departments, or else enjoy the reputation of being "influential" publicists. To quote the example of Cuba in this connection: thanks to these experts, it was impossible to prevent the Russians from setting up their base on Cuba and using this island as a vanguard against "capitalistic" America.

In his book "Hammer and Sickle over Cuba" the well-known American publicist Nathamel Weyl mentions two such experts, namely the Under-Secretary of State for Latin American countries in the U.S. State Department, Rubotten, and Herbert Mathews, the foreign correspondent of the "New York Times",—both of whom affirmed that a Communist regime could never be established in Cuba and that the Russians would never try to gain a footing there.

But the world is now obliged to face facts as regards Cuba. Fidel Castro's Communist regime there is safe, for the USA has promised not to intervene in the "internal affairs" of Cuba, and there are still thousands of Russian military instructors and experts, etc., there, and they will no doubt continue to remain there for good.

It is thanks to such experts on Russia

that the USA maintains an attitude of "wait and see" towards that country, and that Secretary of State Dean Rusk designates the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union as an integral part of Russia.

We realize, of course, that not all leading American politicians and statesmen share Dean Rusk's opinion, and this is proved by the fact that our reply to Mr. Rusk was printed in the "Congressional Record". But we cannot understand why — after the mistakes made in Teheran and Yalta and after all that has meanwhile happened in the world — the said circles of questionable "experts" and "advisers" should still be able to exert their influence in official quarters. Without these advisers U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk would not have adopted such an attitude, devoid of all historical, political, national and international legal and ethical principles, towards the problems of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

We are only too well aware and certainly appreciate the fact that had it not been for the influence and power of the USA, world Communism together with Russian imperialism would long since have subjugated the entire world.

The USA has never been an imperialistic colonial power, and in spite of its unique worldwide political power, it has always allowed the peoples who are its neighbours to live in freedom and independence and has even helped and supported them most generously. Precisely because of this attitude on the part of the USA towards the rest of the world, we should like to put forward an argument for our cause: if so many small Central and South American states are allowed to exist in freedom and independence next to the Major Power of the USA, why are not our peoples, who can boast a centuries-old culture and national independence, allowed to live in equal freedom and independence next to a Russian state confined to its ethnographical borders?

It is true that we definitely oppose all artificial state structures which have been

created by force, as for instance the Russian imperium, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugoslavia. We likewise oppose Russian Bolshevik despotism, and regard it as our mission in life to fight for the freedom and independence of our peoples to the very end. But we do not think that our principles and ideas are a contradiction of the noble ideals of the USA, or that we are working against the ultimate aims of its policy. On the contrary!

Why should the application of the ideas of great Americans to our countries be a contradiction of America's policy? The peoples of Asia, Indonesia, Nigeria, Togo, Indochina, the Philippines, the peoples of Africa and even of such small states as Honduras, Guatemala and Colombia are now allowed to enjoy complete freedom. Why and on what grounds should this freedom still be denied to the Georgians, Turkestanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Slovaks and Croats?

Or is the claim to state independence only to be conceded as a privilege to the category of peoples who, at a certain arbitrarily chosen date in history, had the good fortune to have independent states of their own, whilst the same right is denied to all other peoples solely because they had lost their independent states at the date in question by a caprice of fate and were at that time under foreign rule? Such a conception would be contrary to all human, Christian, ethical, legal and democratic principles!

Moral principles, right and justice either hold good for all individuals and peoples on this earth, or not at all!

In demanding national, political and social rights and freedoms for our peoples we are basing our claim on the principle that all men are equal in God's sight; and in maintaining this attitude we do not think that we are in any way violating the ideals on which the greatest world democracy, the USA, has been built up.

We do not wish to affirm that nothing whatever is done for the subjugated peoples. As has already been mentioned above, the resolution unanimously adopted by the U.S. Congress on the introduc-

tion of "Captive Nations Week" and the wording of this resolution are of historical significance and a great moral satisfaction in particular to the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. In other spheres, too, measures are introduced which are well-meant but, unfortunately, are on the whole not successful.

a) ACEN

This organization - Assembly of Captive European Nations - was founded with the aid of certain American circles. Its members consist of leftist exile politicians who represent the satellite states, which are regarded as occupied countries. Hence the question at issue is only liberation from foreign occupation. (The non-Russian countries, on the other hand, with the exception of the Baltic countries, are regarded as "traditional parts" of Russia. The fact that this is not only absurd but also an injustice, is disregarded by the members of this organization. They seem to regard our peoples as inferior!) Strange to say, certain representatives of the Baltic countries also belong to the ACEN. The satellite states are represented by some former members of the Communist governments, who act as the spokesmen of the democracy of their countries. And these men, who are in part to blame for the terrorist rule and mass-murders in their native countries, are supposed to be sincere anti-Communist freedom fighters! The national freedom fighters, on the other hand, are designated as reactionaries and chauvinists, etc. How can one possibly fight for democracy and arouse the enthusiasm of the peoples by such methods as these!

What seems strangest of all, however, is the fact that certain Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian representatives should belong to the ACEN and should imagine that they have something in common with the above-mentioned gentlemen! But life is full of paradoxes! - We should however like to say a little on this subject. Certain Baltic statesmen and leading politicians imagined that they deserved credit for the

fact that their countries existed as independent states longer than Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Georgia, etc. They failed to realize – and even today they still seem unable to comprehend – that this was solely due to the international political situation. They were so wrapped up in this illusion that they did not even form an alliance for joint defense, or a common defense staff. Hence when the international constellation changed, they were immediately swallowed up by the Russians.

At the end of the 1920's a communiqué of the former Latvian Chief of General Staff was published in Berlin, in which it was stated that the Russians were deploying their cavalry, five ranks deep, along the entire frontier of all the Baltic countries and that they might overrun all these countries. But even so, this fact did not prevent the Baltic countries from continuing to feel secure!

Their position nowadays would also appear to be more privileged than that of the other peoples of the Soviet Union, since the occupation of countries after 1939 is not recognized. But what good are their "privileges" to these peoples? Are they really better off than other peoples who have been subjugated by the Soviet Union? It is not easy, for instance, to exterminate 45 million Ukrainians or 20 million Turkestanians, but the position of the small peoples, in particular of the Baltic countries, is tragic. These countries have been inundated with Russian troops and their families. In addition, the native inhabitants of these countries have been subjected to mass-deportations and Russians have swarmed into their countries and have been resettled there in their stead. Surely one cannot describe such a position as privileged! Moreover, the leading politicians of the Baltic countries overlook the fact that Ukraine and Byelorussia are members of the United Nations and are thus recognized as independent states from the point of view of international law; hence their state frontiers are guaranteed. But what about the Baltic countries. They have only been recognized

in theory, and what advantage do they derive from this fact? And what business have they in the ACEN?!

b) "*Free Europe*" and "*American Liberation Committee*"

These are purely American organizations founded for the purpose of keeping the peoples behind the Iron Curtain informed by broadcast programmes and for spreading anti-Communist propaganda. "Radio Free Europa" is intended for the satellite states and the Baltic countries; "Radio Liberty" for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The fundamental political trend of these organizations is "non-predetermination" in political respect for the peoples of the Soviet Union. This means that, after their liberation from Communism, the peoples are to determine their future. Thus the universally recognized right to national independence does not hold good in their case. In the opinion of the leaders of these institutions, these peoples are not yet mature! What is conceded to the young peoples of Africa and Asia, is denied to our peoples. And this is what is known as a democratic attitude!

The said institutions are, in fact, only philanthropic in character and merely serve to spread information, which is frequently coexistentialist in trend. The Jews in Odessa used to call this kind of institution "talk for the poor for charity purposes". – "Radio Free Europe" and "Radio Liberty" remind one of the ladies' committees which used to be formed during times of war for the purpose of helping soldiers at the front. Ladies of high society used to meet for cups of coffee and cakes and also for a gossip; they would knit a pair of gloves or socks per month, and this institution was known as help for the soldiers at the fighting front! – One must admit, however, that the Americans in charge of the above-mentioned institutions certainly pay their managers very generously.

But in spite of everything we are still optimistic and regard the future hopefully. What is the reason for our optimism?

Before the first world war the Monroe Doctrine of America's non-intervention in European affairs was strictly observed in the USA. Yet the USA saw itself obliged to intervene in the war. After the war America rejected President Wilson's policy and refused to join the League of Nations. The trend to complete isolationism now prevailed in the USA. But no state could afford such a "luxury" in the 20th century. The huge progress made in the field of science and technics – aviation, wireless – and the close correlation of the various national economies and the resultant common interests made isolation impossible. Wireless and aircraft eliminated the frontiers between states, for peoples could now speak to each other across a vast distance and their countries could easily be reached by plane. Thus the peoples came closer to each other and thoughts and ideas could be transmitted without delay. One could convert persons in another country to one's own way of thinking. And in this way infiltration into a foreign country was made possible, without having to send people there.

The world was in a state of commotion. The era of vast national, political and social changes and upheavals began. Some empires fell into decay, others were disintegrated.

The subjugated and colonial peoples began to assert themselves. In Italy fascism was in power, in Germany national socialism. But the most dangerous factor was the Russian Communist imperium, which threatened to bring about the downfall of the civilized world. In such times as these no state could afford to remain aloof from what was happening in the world.

Hence, when World War II broke out, the USA was obliged to intervene. And the same thing will happen again, even though the USA might be intent upon adjusting its policy to coexistence and might be prepared to leave the peoples subjugated by Russia to that country, in spite of the fact that the USA ideologically recognizes the rights of these peoples

to independent states. It is natural and inevitable that a conflict between the two worlds should one day ensue. And by reason of the categorical demand which is an inherent factor of the historical process of evolution, the USA will be forced to solve the problems in keeping with the demands of our day, that is to say in keeping with Western Christian ethical and legal principles. Precisely because of the fight against Communism, which continues to spread and threatens to destroy the civilized world, the USA will be compelled to intervene. Nor can it evade or escape this compulsion and demand of historical evolution. In this way the present problems will be solved in favour of our peoples. The Russian colonial imperium must and will be disintegrated, and a world of free peoples will be created. History has imposed this task on the USA, and true to its tradition as a great nation and world power the USA will fulfil this task in a worthy manner.

The insignificant creatures who carry on their subversive activity are powerless to reverse the wheel of history in the wrong direction. They will be overcome and destroyed!

We should at this point like to express our deep gratitude to all the American, Canadian, English and other friends of our peoples who support the national cause of the subjugated peoples and courageously defend the latter's rights. The day will come when our peoples are once more free, and the pictures of these friends will then find a place of honour in the parliaments of our independent states as an expression of our perpetual gratitude to them and to the peoples who produced these men.

It is indeed significant that one of our most loyal friends, former Congressman Charles J. Kersten, is called "*our Kersten*" by our peoples. – We should also like to mention other American friends who support the cause of our subjugated peoples, namely Congressmen Michael A. Feighan and Edward J. Derwinski, Senators Thomas S. Dodd, Kenneth B. Keating, Ralph

S. Scott, Edward Kennedy and Everett M. Dirksen; further, Congressman Daniel S. Flood, former Commissioner for Displaced Persons Edward M. O'Connor, General C. A. Willoughby, and others. These men are not only farsighted politicians but also, and above all, noble-minded humanitarians. By defending the rights of the subjugated peoples, they are rendering their own people a great service, for in this way they are winning over these peoples to the side of their own country. The great Canadian statesman *John F. Diefenbaker* also deserves our special thanks, for he has rendered our peoples invaluable services in the West.

VI. Conclusion

The subjugated peoples have a hard struggle to assert their national existence, but they continue to resist Russian pressure tenaciously and courageously.

The Moscow government has no other alternative but to resort to the application of brutal police measures again and again in an attempt to combat the nationalism of the peoples. For this reason the Soviet government suddenly changes its national policy again and again in order to counter the national aims and aspirations of the subjugated peoples with all the means at its disposal. All the national institutions of the individual national republics of the Soviet Union are eradicated and abolished. In complete disregard of the formal conditions of the Constitution, the Moscow central government by degrees usurps all the powers of authority of the governments of the republics. Cultural, economic and other national institutions are gradually abolished.

A general plan of action to combat all national factors was announced. Even the deceptive theory – “national in form, socialist in content” – is no longer valid. Great Russian nationalism is endeavouring to subjugate all and everything and to reduce all that is non-Russian to a common level. After the 22nd Communist Party Congress the Soviet Russians

propounded the vile theory of the assimilation and mergence of the peoples in the Communist state, with one common language – Russian. But the subjugated peoples refuse to allow themselves to be deceived and tempted by promises of happiness and prosperity in the Communist paradise. The younger generation of scientists and scholars and even the Party ideologists of the subjugated peoples violently oppose this Russian plan, for the Russians obviously intend to make all the nations of the Soviet Union Russian by applying the said theory.

Thus all the non-Russian peoples are slowly but surely being forced back into their initial positions of the pre-revolutionary tsarist era and are being forcibly guided in the Russian direction by the iron hand of Moscow's rulers. The old Russian tsarist nationalist traditions are being revived. But the conditions under which it was once possible to pursue such an imperialistic policy have now changed completely, and the wheel of history cannot be reversed. Hence in this era of the liberation of peoples, the Russians cannot succeed in asserting and realizing their criminal intentions. The unbroken national spirit and national will of the subjugated peoples are a guarantee that the Russians' plans in this direction will not succeed. For a far-reaching change and upheaval has taken place in the life of the Russian-ruled peoples of the Soviet Union since the days of the pre-revolutionary tsarist regime. After the collapse of the Russian empire in 1917 the masses of the peoples were spontaneously inspired and carried away by the national freedom idea, and these same masses proclaimed their national will by riots and revolts against the Russians.

Moscow's policy today constantly encounters the firm and uncompromising opposition of all the subjugated peoples. But the Russian government has never allowed itself to be influenced by sentimental considerations in its ruthless plans to achieve its aims. Nor does it content itself with half-measures. It does not hesitate to destroy insubordinate

small nations who are not voluntarily prepared to submit unresistingly to the "Communist" russification process.

By means of famines, which are artificially created by the systematic removal of foodstuffs from the national republics of the Soviet Union, by the mass-deportation of the people of these countries to the far north, and by the colonization of these regions by servile Russian farmers and workers, Moscow endeavours to break the resistance of the subjugated peoples against the general course of the universal Communist russification process.

Even the Western intellectuals who believed that a new modern world would be created in the Soviet Union are now obliged to admit that the illusions of a Communist people's paradise have definitely been shattered for good. All that remains are the naked facts of the grim and bloody national subjugation of the peoples!

Their common fate has united the subjugated peoples in one vast fighting front, which is inspired by the invincible national freedom idea. Their dreadful experiences and the terrible fate which they have had to endure in the Soviet paradise have made these peoples mature in national and political respect and have prepared them for the fight which they are waging.

The front of the nations condemned to destruction by the Russians, a front which is inspired by and represents the noble and positive ideas of national liberation and a free and independent national existence, has been set up in opposition to the unified front of the Russian imperialists (from the monarchists to the Communists), on whose banners the aim of enslavement of foreign peoples and destruction of all national peculiarities in the name of the "one indivisible Russia" is inscribed in blood.

This front of the subjugated peoples is not directed against any form of state or government in their own countries, but is a uniform fighting front against every kind of Russian expansionist nationalism and imperialism, whatever appearance it

may assume and whatever trends – black, white or red – it may reveal. It is a fighting front which has as its aim the ultimate victory of the idea of national rebirth and state independence. It signifies a final breach with the past, with the era of the Russian oppression, exploitation and destruction of our peoples.

The front of the subjugated peoples is extremely powerful, for its fighters are inspired by the invincible idea of national freedom and equality. In order to gain a final victory, however, this front must be soundly organized and all its action and activity must be co-ordinated. The errors which were made in the past, namely lack of uniformity in the action which was undertaken to combat the common enemy, must not be repeated.

There must be no barriers, no differences, between the individual subjugated peoples. Once the red Russian enemy has been overcome, all differences and arguments between the individual peoples can be settled by amicable and peaceful means. United, we are invincible! This idea is the guiding principle of A.B.N., – the aim which it serves and for which it fights!

The Union of the Georgian Political Organizations

The Georgian national political centre and the Georgian National Council in Paris, the organizations in which all parties are represented, have founded a co-ordination bureau for the purpose of joint activity and in order to serve the national cause of the liberation of Georgia unitedly.

These organizations are neither represented in the Paris bloc, nor are they connected with the American "Liberty" committee. N. Tsindsadze does not represent a Georgian organization in the Paris bloc, but was accredited by the members of the Paris bloc of other nationalities at the suggestion of the American administrative committee of "Liberty".

Great Loss

Prof. Dr. Gerhard von Mende died on the 16th of December, 1963

When war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union our contact with people from East Europe became even closer. In the early days of the war my husband received orders, signed by the chief of the German Supreme Command, to the effect that he was to place himself at the disposal of the Reichs Ministry for the occupied East European territories for the duration of the war. This Ministry, generally known as the "East Ministry", was a peculiar institution. It had practically no powers of authority. The military authorities, the security service, the Four-Year Plan and the Department for Racial Policy, and Sauckel as the person responsible for obtaining labour for the German economic system, etc., ruled in the occupied East European territories. The only task of the small group of people – most of whom were kindly disposed towards the population of the East territories – who held posts in the Berlin Ministry, above all in the political department, was to deal with the mistakes made by the above-mentioned authorities, but this was, in the truest sense, a thankless and never-ending task. Hardly had a mistake been rectified than ten others would occur elsewhere.

The most important task of the people in the "East Ministry" was, above all, to alleviate the lot of the prisoners-of-war, to prevent executions from being carried out, to prevent discrimination against workers from the East territories, and to combat Himmler's "theory of inferior beings", etc. Later, when the non-Russian peoples, and somewhat later also Russian soldiers, at their own request were organized in so-called legions, by the German army and SS, for the fight for their national freedom, and for liberation from Communism, the members of the political department of the "East Ministry" were mainly concerned with

ensuring that the same treatment and same conditions were accorded to the volunteers as held good for the German soldiers.

At first my husband was head of the Caucasus Department in the East Ministry. This department expanded to such an extent, however, that eventually he was head of the department for all non-Russian peoples. His work in the East Ministry counted as active military service, but my husband nevertheless continued to hold his professorship at the university. He turned down all offers to become Permanent Secretary in the Ministry.

In his work he was always prompted by the thought that his attitude and conduct must never bring discredit upon the name of Germany amongst the peoples of East Europe. His ideal examples in this respect were Ambassador Count von der Schulenburg and General Kress von Kressenstein, two men who had played an important part in the Caucasus during the first world war and whose names were still mentioned with great veneration by many prisoners-of-war in World War II.

As a result of my husband's work we came in contact with countless persons from East Europe, and many of those who were not extradited later are still our friends today. At a time when persons from the Soviet Union were still enemies or prisoners-of-war in the eyes of most Germans, we already had friendly contact with many of them and used to have talks with them about matters and problems other than the daily events of the war.

In all these encounters I personally was particularly moved by the fact that my husband, whose father and many other relations and friends of his family

had been murdered by the Bolsheviks, never once referred to these personal experiences when it was a case of helping someone from the East.

In this connection I should like to quote from a letter written by a Tatar, who is now living in the USA: "During World War II Professor von Mende saved thousands of prisoners-of-war and workers from East Europe from certain death. I am one of them. He gave thousands of persons behind the Iron Curtain an opportunity to see and get to know the West for the first time. I am one of them."

When it became obvious that Germany would not win the war, my husband did everything he could to bring persons from the East to the West as far as possible. He contacted the Swiss Red Cross in order to negotiate on account of the non-extradition of Soviet prisoners-of-war. At that time it was not yet a known fact that the Soviets had stipulated at Yalta that all Soviet subjects in the West were to be extradited.

In spite of the Yalta Agreement, however, some of these persons managed to stay in the West; and hardly had my husband been released from a brief interment by the Americans in Ober-Ursel in 1945 that he began to try and find some way of helping these persons, most of whom by this time had already found their way to the quarters in which we were living as refugees.

We were soon engaged, in our one-room refugee quarters in Westphalia, in writing letters to friends and acquaintances all over the world. The first thing we had to do was to refute the idea, which had become a complex with some people, that the emigrants from East Europe had been national socialists and collaborators of the Hitler regime. Hardly any of them had had any knowledge at all of German politics, but they had all seized the first opportunity which had presented itself after more than 20 years to fight against oppression and for national and personal freedom.

In addition, my husband constantly

racked his brains as to how one could assimilate these persons as speedily as possible into Western life. In particular, he was interested in helping young persons to study at Western universities, and during the years from 1947 to 1950 he actually succeeded in raising enough money to enable about 15 Tatars, Turkestanians and Crimean Tatars to study and graduated at German universities.

About his own future my husband worried less. Although he was one of the first professors on the list for appointment to a chair, he did not make any serious attempt to obtain a chair. Instead, he founded the "Bureau for Foreign Expellees", in co-operation with the Bonn authorities, in 1951. He seemed to have no peace of mind to devote himself to his own work as long as he knew that so many other persons needed his advice and help. And it was by means of this bureau that he was able to maintain a number of scholarships at German colleges. He was extremely pleased about this, for, having been a refugee from a Baltic country himself, he knew what a bitter disappointment it is to want to study and to be unable to do so. He himself had worked in a shipping office for 5 years until he had managed to save enough money to venture on a university course.

Through the "Bureau for Foreign Expellees" we made the acquaintance of more and more people. The work of the Bureau now also included the satellite states, and we soon had many good friends from all these countries; many of them were very fine persons and often extremely intelligent, having enjoyed an exceptionally good European education.

It was precisely this education which presented a new problem to my husband. He was of the opinion that this education should be activated once more for the benefit of the individual and also for the benefit of a large community.

The result of this and similar ideas was the "East Europe Research Centre", which for several years now has enabled persons from all parts of East Europe to

develop their abilities and, in the spirit of equality and friendship of peoples, to give their services wholeheartedly for a common aim.

In memory of all the persons from far and near who have contacted us during the past 32 years, I should like to close

this account of my husband's life with the lines by Oscar Wilde, which are also inscribed on his tombstone:

"Alien tears will fill for him
pity's unbroken urn,
for his mourners will be outside men
and outsiders always mourn."

NEWS AND VIEWS

Events in Viet-Nam

A victory over Bolshevism without the use of atomic weapons would be possible if an offensive war of liberation were started in the countries occupied, that is to say subjugated, by Moscow and Communism. These wars of liberation, that is these national revolutions, would have to be supported by the West, for it too is threatened by Bolshevism.

The Asian nationalist revolutionaries, such as Diem in Viet-Nam, Singman Rhee in Korea, and Chiang Kai-shek in Free China, have always been and still are aware of the fact that one cannot overcome Communism by the strategy of containment. For this reason Chiang Kai-shek has for years been endeavouring to convince the government of the USA of the inevitability of a landing by National Chinese liberation troops on the Chinese mainland for the purpose of starting a mass revolt there. The nationalist revolutionaries of Asia are of the opinion that military measures alone would not suffice to crush Communism. The insurgent strategy would have to be based on general insurrections by the people. This can, however, only be achieved by the deeply rooted national, political, social and cultural ideals, which are inherent in the hearts and mentality of the people. The idea of the sovereignty of the nation is the greatest driving force in the revolutionary fight.

Precisely for the very fact that the

Vietnamese nation was, until a short time ago, a colony, it is extremely sensitive as regards all attempts to restrict its state independence and also most anxious to preserve its freedom in every way.

The national and social political movement represented by President Diem symbolizes the above-mentioned ideals. But some Americans by no means respected the sovereignty of this young and recently liberated nation when they intervened in its internal affairs. The American war-counsellors apparently forgot that - whilst they were supporting Viet-Nam - they were not only fighting for Viet-Nam but also for the freedom of America. 2000 heroic sacrifices on the part of the Vietnamese every month in the fight against Communism cannot be made good by American dollar aid. Diem's conception of a liberation by warlike means was obviously not in agreement with the conception of the State Department, which aimed not at the destruction of Communism but merely at its preservation in its present limits. The partition of the world is obvious when one considers the partitioned countries of Viet-Nam, Korea, China and Germany.

Certain American circles have not a very positive attitude to the idea of the sovereignty of all peoples, since they are planning to create an anti-national world government. And for this reason Diem with his passionate plea for the national state sovereignty of Viet-Nam was not

acceptable to these circles, just as the anti-Communist and African nationalist from Katanga, Tchombé, was not acceptable to them, either.

The events in Viet-Nam and, for that matter, in Katanga, too, bear a certain direct relation to events in Ukraine and to the problems of all the other nations which are at present enslaved. The Ukrainian nationalists are also fighting for the sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation on Ukrainian soil and support the idea of an offensive political and military insurgent fighting strategy; and they also oppose Communism with their own ideology, which is based on the Ukrainian soul and mentality and on the traditions of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian nationalists are also of the opinion that the fight of Ukraine is, at the same time, an indirect fight for the freedom of America. The Ukrainians do not ask for help, but merely wish to remind the free world that it is helping its own cause by helping Ukraine. Our enemy is already on the outskirts of America — in Cuba.

Not only has President Diem been murdered, but the Asian nationalists' conception of the fight, a conception whose victory was already visible, has been dealt a heavy blow. This has not only proved detrimental to Viet-Nam but also disadvantageous to America and to the entire anti-Communist world.

To Ukraine this is a warning to make a clear distinction between her friends, the sincere anti-Communists and advocates of the national state idea, men such as the Hon. Michael A. Feighan of the U.S. Congress, and lukewarm anti-Communists like Mr. Rostow of the State Department, in whose opinion Ukraine is a "traditional part of Russia".

The Russian-Peking Conflict

The Russian-Red Chinese conflict is rooted in national differences and in the clash of national interests, which are to be concealed by the ideological conflict. Seen objectively, this conflict provides

the subjugated peoples with a situation that is psychologically favourable for the development of revolutionary activity, inasmuch as it furthers the consolidation of the revolutionary forces. On the other hand, however, it is misleading to the free world as regards an alleged lessening of the Russian danger, although this danger was equally strong before the Communists seized power in China; and what is more, this conflict reveals the true character of Bolshevism as a modern form of Russian imperialism even more clearly.

The conflict of the Red Chinese regime with Russia is, among other things, the result of the pressure exerted by the broad masses in China, whose attitude on principle is anti-Russian. The emphasis placed on the ideological factor by the Chinese Communists, at the expense of the technical military factor (which until recently predominated in Moscow's strategy), resulted in a special ideological congress being held by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in June 1963. The thermonuclear military power factor was beginning to undermine the ideological aspect of Moscow's policy as well as its ideological and political aims and its tenacity to continue to pursue these aims, since those in power in Moscow were convinced that the nuclear rockets would force everyone else to capitulate. The conflict with Peking will strengthen the ideological and political aspect of Moscow's policy once more, and for this reason it will also be advantageous for Russia.

Any speculations on a joint front of the West with Russia against Red China in the military sector are bound to fail, for the free world (quite apart from the aggravation of the Russian-Peking conflict) and Russia have far fewer common interests than have Russia and Red China.

The monism dethroned again by pluralism in the Communist world movement is speeding up the latter's disintegration. To over-estimate this phenomenon and its possibilities would however be entirely

erroneous as long as the substratum of Communism has not been destroyed and as long as a new belief, which would be strong enough to eliminate Communism, has not made its appearance in the free world. The expansion of the Russian imperium must inevitably and logically lead to new conflicts, which incidentally have already existed in the past (as for instance Trotskyism, Bukarinism, etc.). The only difference is that pluralism has now managed to set up the territorial bases which Trotskyism lacked. But ideological pluralism has always existed. The essential strength of Communism lies in the faith of the Russian people in it, for Communism is organically a Russian idea and the product of the Russian mentality. For precisely this reason Russia and not China is a greater danger to the free world, for Chinese Communism is an idea which has been imported from without and which, in view of the fact that Confucianism has been deeply rooted in the Chinese people for over 2000 years, has no prospects for the future.

The Communist regime in China is aggressive, but it is by no means representative of the Chinese masses, the creators of the Great Wall of China. The Russian imperium can never be a bulwark against the biological pressure of other races, for the prisoners will never defend their prisons. Only an alliance of free and independent states, established on the ruins of the Russian imperium, can guarantee peace and security as well as a just international order – if needs be, with the support of the free countries of the West.

The End Of A Red Defamation Of The Ukrainian “Nightingale” Unit

(Extracts from *Das Ende eines roten Rufmords*.)

“The Red calumniators have confessed. The abominable accusations made against the former Federal Minister of

Expellees Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer have been exposed as intentional lies. None other than a Vice-President of the German Bundestag and one of the highest representatives of the Federal Republic, SPD Federal deputy Prof. Carlo Schmid, has now been obliged to admit, at least indirectly, in court that he, too, helped to weave this fabrication of lies. A Bundestag Vice-President who does not abide strictly by the truth is certainly likely to damage the prestige of the Federal Republic in the whole world! The SPD must make the next move and must draw its own conclusions from the case of Carlo Schmid.”

Bundestag Vice-President Carlo Schmid (SPD) has not told the truth

“Does the 8th Commandment hold good in the sphere of politics? In other words: may a politician lie in the interests of the state? The fact that he may not do so to his own advantage is hardly likely to be a question of controversy. But be that as it may, a lie remains a lie; but a lie can include many different things!”

These fine phrases by the Vice-President of the German Bundestag and Federal social democratic deputy, Prof. Dr. Carlo Schmid, appear in the book “Die zehn Gebote – Fragen an unsere Zeit” (“The Ten Commandments – Current Questions”), which was published in 1962 by the Kreuz-Verlag, Stuttgart.

In December 1959, three years before this book appeared, this SPD politician visited Israel. At that time the propaganda campaign started by the Communists against the Federal Minister of Expellees Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer (CDU) and the Ukrainian “Nightingale” unit had practically reached its climax. Carlo Schmid knew – and, incidentally, he could have ascertained this in every newspaper – that the monstrous and mendacious accusations made against the said Minister and the Ukrainian “Nightingale” unit by the East had already for the most part, though not yet finally, been refuted at the middle of November 1959 by the Bonn Public Prosecutor. The investiga-

tions conducted by the Public Prosecutor had clearly proved that neither Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer nor the Ukrainian "Nightingale" unit had committed any offences. Carlo Schmid was also no doubt aware of the fact that, in addition to the investigations by the Public Prosecutor, investigations were also being conducted by a neutral committee, which later completely rehabilitated the CDU politician. In spite of this fact, however, Carlo Schmid affirmed at a press conference in Israel in December 1959:

"Without wishing to anticipate the results arrived at by the Investigatory Commission, it has already been ascertained that Oberländer was in command of a unit whose task it was to liquidate the Jews. Even if the said accusations had not been made against Oberländer, I would not sit down at the same table with a man like Oberländer."

By making this allegation the Vice-President of the German Bundestag obviously violated the human rights of the United Nations.

After his return from Israel the leading SPD politician apparently suddenly lost his memory. He affirmed that he could no longer remember anything. Accordingly, the courageous and consistent publicist Kurt Ziesel wrote the book "Der rote Rufmord" ("Red Defamation"), which told the truth about Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer and the Ukrainian "Nightingale" unit and exposed all the defamations, which would have been worthy of a Hilde Benjamin or an Eduard von Schnitzler.

Hardly had this book appeared when Carlo Schmid suddenly remembered certain incidents which had happened a long time before his press conference in Israel. Since he felt that his reputation had been injured by passages in the book which referred to his activity in national socialist days, he saw to it that the book was prohibited, at least temporarily. In this way, however, he could be forced to file a complaint and the statements he had made in Israel could be cited in con-

nection with the count of the indictment. Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer appeared as co-defendant with the defendant in this case, the author Ziesel. This law suit ended before a Frankfurt court on November 26, 1963, with a settlement, in which the decision referring to Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer was worded as follows:

"Professor Dr. Oberländer insists that it should be explicitly stated that the military unit "Nightingale" did not commit any kind of crime and in particular was not guilty of shooting Jews. Professor Schmid takes cognizance of this fact and states with regard to Professor Dr. Oberländer that, on the strength of the careful legal investigation of the case by the Chief Public Prosecutor in Bonn, he does not accuse Professor Dr. Oberländer of having taken part either directly or indirectly in the murder of Jews in Lemberg, or of having given orders to that effect. He also corroborates the fact that he informed Professor Dr. Oberländer in a letter written in Spring 1958 that he was pleased to learn that Professor Dr. Oberländer had neither held a post in the Rosenberg Department nor in the Expatriation Department. As far as the remark which he made, to the effect that he would not sit down at the same table with Professor Dr. Oberländer, is concerned, he regrets having made this remark and assures Professor Dr. Oberländer that he will not repeat this remark again."

What is more, — in answer to Oberländer's request the Vice-President of the Bundestag stated that he was prepared to revoke his remarks where he had made them in 1959, namely in Israel, within the next six weeks. In other words, by making this statement, which clearly shows the weak position of this SPD politician in court, Carlo Schmid indirectly admitted that he had not spoken the truth at the time in question.

The public rectification and apology in this case have been made. The text of the settlement and Carlo Schmid's sudden willingness to revoke his remarks in Israel

give the lie to his statements regarding the 8th Commandment which we quoted at the beginning of this article.

Torsten Gebauer

The Party Organ of the SPD Revokes the Accusations against the "Nightingale" Unit

In the editions of April 1, 1960, January 13 and July 12, 1961, of "Vorwärts" we made a number of statements about Professor Dr. Oberländer which we have now, after having examined all the data, ascertained to be incorrect. The articles in question were in the first place based on the accusations made against Professor Dr. Oberländer on account of his alleged participation in war crimes in the East during the years 1941-1943. In the meantime the extensive investigations conducted by the Chief Public Prosecutor in Bonn have shown that these accusations are unfounded and are for the most part based merely on the intentional lies affirmed in the propaganda disseminated by the East.

In two detailed rescission orders the Chief Public Prosecutor in Bonn has made it perfectly plain that there can be no question whatever of Professor Oberländer having taken part in any way whatever in the crimes perpetrated by the Russian NKVD and subsequently by the German Gestapo and SS units in Lemberg. In the years that followed, Professor Oberländer in his capacity as the leader of a unit and as an officer did his utmost to counter the national socialist policy of extermination in the East both by the active service of his unit on the fighting front and also by means of a number of memoranda which passed through the Canaris Department. This attitude on the part of Professor Oberländer finally led to his expulsion from the army. The undersigned therefore state that they have no reason to doubt the personal integrity of Professor Dr. Oberländer *during the active service of the units "Nightingale" and "Bergmann"*.

In the above-mentioned articles Professor Oberländer was also accused of having made contradictory, that is to say incorrect statements about his life and career. This accusation on our part was based on statements regarding Professor Oberländer which were made in "Munzingers Archiv". Professor Oberländer has informed us that he neither wrote nor ever read the statements about himself which were published in "Munzingers Archiv". We have no reason to doubt the correctness of this explanation, as given to us by Professor Oberländer. We therefore do not wish to maintain our accusation that Professor Oberländer made untrue statements about his own life and career, and we do not hesitate to express our regret at the fact that this error on our part led us to publish the article entitled "You are lying, Mr. Minister" in the April 1, 1960, edition of "Vorwärts". With this statement we regard the controversy on this matter as being settled for all time.

"Vorwärts", of April 11, 1962

CDU/CSU

*Information Bulletin No. 26,
December 1963*

Homeless Foreigners And Legislation For Foreigners

A debate is at present going on in the Bundestag about the bill for a "Law on the Domicile of Foreigners", which in its present form might well upset our relations with the members of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and might lead other countries to believe that we are not seriously interested in maintaining good relations with the peoples of East Europe.

Of the 8 million foreigners from all the states of Europe with which Germany was at war, who were in the Federal Republic of Germany at the end of World War II, only about 208,000 are left; 6.2 million were repatriated by the United Nations Organization. Many of them - the young

and active ones – emigrated abroad, and thus in 1951 the welfare organization of the United Nations only handed over 254,284 homeless foreigners to the care of the German authorities. The U.N.O. demanded as speedy an economic and cultural assimilation of all homeless foreigners as possible. The German Federal Government was well aware of its responsibility towards these persons, most of whom were former prisoners-of-war, voluntary or forced workers, soldiers who had volunteered for service, or persons who were seeking to escape from the Bolshevik dictatorship. Here was an opportunity to prove on a small scale in one part of Europe that the right of asylum not only means the right to live amongst another people without being molested, but also the right to a free, personal, political, economic and cultural development in keeping with the existing laws. The law on the legal position of homeless foreigners, which was passed on April 25, 1951, that is to say before these persons were handed over to the care of the German authorities by the U.N.O., settled the question of their legal position in a generous way, inasmuch as it placed all the homeless foreigners who had been living in the Federal Republic since June 30, 1950, on an equal footing with German nationals and only refused to concede an active and passive right to vote to them. They are able to adopt every profession apart from those professions reserved solely for German subjects (civil servants, judges). In spite of the fact that an additional 40,000 homeless foreigners (including 15,000 Hungarians) have been settled in the Federal Republic in the meantime, the number of homeless foreigners has decreased to 208,000 as a result of naturalization and assimilation. The law of April 25, 1951 offers the homeless foreigners more legal protection than the Geneva Refugees Convention which was concluded on July 28, 1951. Since these foreigners are scattered throughout the entire Federal Republic it has been extremely difficult for them to foster a cultural life of their own. The

Polish grammar school in Lippstadt, for instance, was obliged to close down since it had not enough pupils. Lithuanian, Latvian and Hungarian grammar schools are evidence of the desire of these national groups to preserve their national characteristics, and these schools also receive support from the German authorities. Nobody is assimilated, but, at the same time, no groups are prevented from assimilating. The various religious communities are doing their utmost – with considerable success – to hold divine service in the languages of the different national groups. There can be no doubt about the fact that not all the wishes of the homeless foreigners have been realized, in particular as regards providing dwellings for them. But anyone who is acquainted with these foreigners knows that they feel as happy in the Federal Republic today as it is possible to feel in a foreign country, and life together, as far as the Germans and the foreigners are concerned, is perfectly satisfactory.

It is certainly true that the Federal Republic's legislation for foreigners is outmoded and urgently in need of revision. The police regulations for foreigners of August 22, 1938, is out-of-date. Paragraph 1 of these regulations states: "The right of domicile is conceded to foreigners who give proof of the fact that they are worthy of the hospitality shown to them". Surely such an elastic paragraph as this is hardly worthy of a constitutional state! Does it give homeless foreigners an absolute guarantee that they will not be extradited to a dictator's state? Not by any means! From the case of Geza Jyörfi and the case of Burger, to mention only two instances, the German public gained an insight into the abuse which prevails, namely the fact that the Federal, regional and local authorities do not keep to one and the same practice as regards their treatment of homeless foreigners. A new law is certainly needed. But why should it make the position and status of the homeless foreigners more difficult?

The present bill provides for considerable disadvantages: homeless foreign-

ners who threaten the security and law and order of the Federal Republic may be evicted from West Germany and sent to the Communist state from which they hail. Homeless foreigners can be forced to stay in the Federal Republic and can be prevented from engaging in any political activity. The fundamental rights of freedom of person and physical inviolability are thus restricted. The bill in question makes the grave error of classing homeless foreigners, foreign workers temporarily employed in the Federal Republic, and tourists as one group whereas they are actually different groups. Persons who work in the Federal Republic for one or two years in order to earn well and then return to their native country, a free country, must be treated quite differently and come under an entirely different category from persons who have lived in the Federal Republic for eighteen years, have developed socially, politically and culturally there, and work for the cause of freedom of their country. We are as much responsible for their freedom and safety as we are for that of our own refugees from the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany. It is impossible to subject entirely different groups of persons to the same legal principles in one law. There is, however, an even more important point of view which must be taken into account. All emigrant organizations are a thorn in the flesh to Bolshevism,—hence its efforts to effect the resettlement and extradition of the emigrants. And for this reason, too, Article 18 of the Soviet peace treaty draft is worded as follows: “Germany engages to disband all organizations, including emigrant organizations, which engage in hostile activity against any one of the allied and united powers, and to prohibit the existence and activity of such organizations on its territory. Germany shall not grant political refuge to any persons who belong to such organizations.” This too, is an elastic paragraph. Anyone who has fled from Bolshevism, whether he is a German, Pole, Ukrainian, or Hungarian, will certainly warn other persons against Bolshevism, and will thus be engaging in

an “activity hostile to Bolshevism”. The aims of Bolshevism in this connection are perfectly obvious. What is in fact demanded, is a violation of international law and of human rights. The human rights of the U.N.O. do not hold good in East Europe, even though various East bloc states are members of the U.N.O. Hence it is all the more important that we should concede equal human rights for all free individuals. Should the homeless foreigners in our country be deprived of the right of free expression of opinion and the freedom of coalition, or should these rights be restricted for no adequate reason?

The German expellees and refugees in the Federal Republic of Germany feel that they are united in solidarity with the expellees and refugees of the peoples of East Europe when it is a question of defending freedom and human rights. How will they be able to live in a free Europe with these peoples some day, if they do not see to it that their non-German comrades in misfortune enjoy all the human rights? We demand that there should be no restriction of human rights for the victims of the Bolshevik dictatorship, but a free development in a constitutional state, so that a bridge may be spanned to the peoples of East Europe.

A Comment on the Saigon Conference

As we already wrote in “ABN-Correspondence” No. 5-6 of 1963, the Conference of the Asian Peoples’ Anti-Communist League (APACL), which was recently held in Saigon, adopted a resolution on behalf of the subjugated nations. The resolution mentioned in particular Ukraine, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Armenia, Georgia, Byelorussia, and the other satellite states within and outside the Soviet Union. In the said edition of ABN-Correspondence we repeated a news item which states that Mrs. Suzanne Labin, who attended the Conference as an observer, had conducted a campaign

against this resolution behind the scenes. We have just received a letter from Mrs. Labin in which she informs us explicitly:

"I never, either directly or indirectly, opposed the resolution moved by A.B.N. at the 9th Conference of APACL... for the good reason that I never uttered a word against the said resolution . . . because I *approve entirely* of this resolution, which moreover was voted unanimously with a majority of votes, including my vote . . . Would you please immediately correct the false assertion... which tends to give an entirely false impression, likely to give rise to prejudice amongst refugees from Russia, of my political views and sentiments regarding the subjugated nations and peoples."

We are very pleased to learn that Mrs. Suzanne Labin *approves entirely* (these two words are underlined in her letter) of the resolution on behalf of the oppressed nations. This resolution, we should like to add, advocates the disintegration of the Soviet Russian colonial empire into national independent states and demands that the United Nations Organization should put the problem of Soviet Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia and other countries, which have the right to national independence, on its agenda.

20th Anniversary Celebration

On December 15th, 1963, the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was celebrated in the Albert Hall at Bolton/England.

The initial addresses were given by the President of ABN, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, Mrs. Slava Stetzko, editor of ABN Correspondence and Mr. A. Pommers. Dr. Ilich delivered a speech on behalf of ABN in Great Britain. Afterwards the Ukrainian Choir conducted by Prof. J. Hordij concluded the first part of the celebration.

After a short interval the Lithuanian Chorus sang songs composed by Mr. T. Burokas, who also conducted the chorus.

The Latvian Male Voice Choir conducted by Mr. A. Pommers was followed by Dr. Andrew Ilic playing the piano.

The Homin Choir, which again conducted by Prof. J. Hordij, brought this very festive celebration to an end.

A Meeting On Behalf Of The Captive Nations

To mark the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution a meeting on behalf of the captive nations, which was organized by the CATI and presided over by Mr. Raymond Le Bourre and General L. Renouard, was held on October 23, 1963, at the "Mutualité".

After an account of the Hungarian revolution, which was given by Mr. Czerehati (Hungary), a former freedom-fighter from Budapest, Mr. Dabo-Peranic (Croatia) and Mr. Stoicanescu (Rumania) explained the situation in the satellite countries. After having analysed the consequences of the Yalta agreement, Mr. Stoicanescu gave the audience a very clear picture of the political oppression and the genocide practised by Soviet Russia and the Communist regimes.

The speech given by Mr. Zourabichvili (Georgia), who spoke on behalf of the captive nations in the Soviet Union, was particularly striking. He stressed very aptly that no one, least of all the representatives of the satellite countries and those of the West, had a right, when speaking of the captive nations of Central and East Europe, to confine themselves solely to mentioning the external satellite states of Soviet Russia. He pointed out that the captive nations of Central and East Europe numbered not 100 million inhabitants, as certain representatives of the satellite countries had affirmed, but 230 million. Furthermore, so Mr. Zourabichvili added, people talked at random about the self-determination of the peoples. This term, he said, could only be applied to peoples who had never known "self-determination". But the self-determin-

ation of Georgia, Ukraine, Byelorussia and of the other countries within the Soviet Union had already existed in 1917 to 1918, when these countries had proclaimed their independence. Today, as had been the case in France when it was an occupied country, the thing that mattered most to these countries was their *liberation*.

After a profoundly moving poem by Madama Eugène Gall had been read by the authoress herself, Mr. R. Le Bourre brought this successful evening to a close.

A Threat To Be Eliminated

"Neither Foch nor Clemenceau were able to force their plans of intervention in Russia on our blind allies. Forty years later the huge USSR weighs heavily on the world. But this structure has cracks in it which in this case should be widened and not filled in, as is done by the peculiar French adherents of the Muscovite bloc set up by the tsars and the Soviets. One should have the desire to see the centre of gravity transferred from Moscow, which is Oriental, to Kyiv, which is Occidental, or at least is struggling to remain so."

Georges Gaudy,
"Aspects de la France",
July 25, 1963

They Are Not Russians

(Impressions gained during a tour of the USSR)

"The Russians are white; they are Europeans. But Moscow is an Asiatic town. The Kremlin with the twenty stars which revolve on its spire, twenty red stars which stand out against the sullen sky, is also Asiatic. This is Moscow.

"... The family (French tourists - Editor's note) agrees on the question as to which book (on Russia) has misled them least of all, and are unanimous in their opinion that it was Custine's book on Russia ...

"(In Kharkov, Ukraine) The town can boast many fine squares and beautiful buildings. The people are lively and more friendly than in Moscow. They stop and talk to us.

- *We are Ukrainians. Have you told them that this is Ukraine? We are Ukrainians, not Russians.*

- What did that man over there say?

- That he is not a Russian.

- He doesn't like the Russians? Neither do I ...

The people crowd round us; they want to know who we are and what opinion is held in France. And why we are here ...

"(In Ukraine) each house, each 'isba*'), is surrounded by a large garden which abounds in luxuriant green foliage and flowers of many hues. Round each house there is a tall fence. Thus each house is isolated, a stronghold as it were, and a small private realm, which seems to say: this is our home, and outside is the state ...

(In Tbilisi, Georgia)

- Yesterday evening we met three Georgians up on the mountain, near to the cable railway. They invited us to an ice and what do you think they told us? "Georgia is nothing but a Russian colony."

Pierre Fisson,
"Le Figaro Littéraire",
September 7, 14 and 21, 1963.

*) The "isba" is a typically Russian house, which is not found in Ukraine. The Ukrainian houses are called "khata" (Editor's note).

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for sending me two copies of the new number of the bulletin of the A.B.N. As you know. I have been, for many years, in full sympathy with you and am very much interested in reading the important resolutions contained in your pamphlet.

I am,

Yours sincerely and gratefully,
Douglas L. Savory.

On The Solution Of The Macedonian Question

Resolutions of the Congress of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization

The Macedonian Patriotic Organization in the USA and Canada, which is an overseas representative body of the well-known *Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization* (IMRO), held its annual congress in Chicago, Illinois, at the beginning of September 1963. This organization is a movement of the Macedonian Bulgarians, whose aim is the solution of the Macedonian question by the unification of the three parts of Macedonia as one independent Macedonian state, in which the national groups living there – Bulgarians, Rumanians (Aromanians), Albanians, Greeks, etc. – shall have equal rights, on the model of the Swiss Confederation, where the national groups enjoy equal rights. The resolutions adopted at the said congress are directed in particular against the de-nationalization policy in Greek and Yugoslavian Macedonia and against the despotic Communist regime in Bulgarian Macedonia.

A declaration by the congress states:

“Immediately after the occupation of Macedonia, the Serbian and Greek authorities had launched a policy of persecuting the Bulgarian inhabitants of the country. Terror, imprisonment, killings, executions, and banishment had been, and for that matter still continue to be, the order of the day by the Belgrade and Athens regime. The Report of the Carnegie International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, published in Washington, D. C., in 1914, contains scores of documents and testimonials showing the fearsome Greek and Serbian campaign for the expulsion, denationalization, or the total elimination of the Bulgarians in Macedonia.

“Of the scores of thousands of cases, we shall here allude only to two incidents typifying the brutalities that had been used against the Bulgarians in Macedonia. The Greek authorities at Salonika, loading a ship with Bulgarian prisoners and on their way to exile, cruelly threw them into the Aegean Sea, the noted Bulgarian Archimandrite Evlogi of Salonika along with other Bulgarians.

“The Serbs on the other hand, not to

be outdone by the Greeks, had committed among the huge number of atrocities the following incredible crime: The Abbot Theofan, of the Prechista monastery in the district of Kichevo, after being brutally tortured, had been nailed upon a cross; and to make the scene resemble that of Golgatha, two peasants from his native village of Slatino had also been crucified, one either side of him. The three victims had died on their crosses only because they had professed Bulgarian national consciousness.

“Decades have passed since Serbia (now Yugoslavia) and Greece occupied their respective zones of Macedonia. And ever since, the political, social and economic conditions of Macedonia’s population have been going from bad to worse. The Bulgarians living in Serbian or Yugoslav Macedonia have been referred to by former Serbian regimes as “Old Serbs”, later on as “South Serbs”, but now the Belgrade regime has declared them so-called “Macedonians”; and it has created for them a Serbianized so-called “Macedonian language”, which aims toward a total assimilation or Serbianization.

A special resolution is devoted to the Croatian question and emphasizes the complete solidarity of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization with the fight of the Croatian people for national freedom and state independence.

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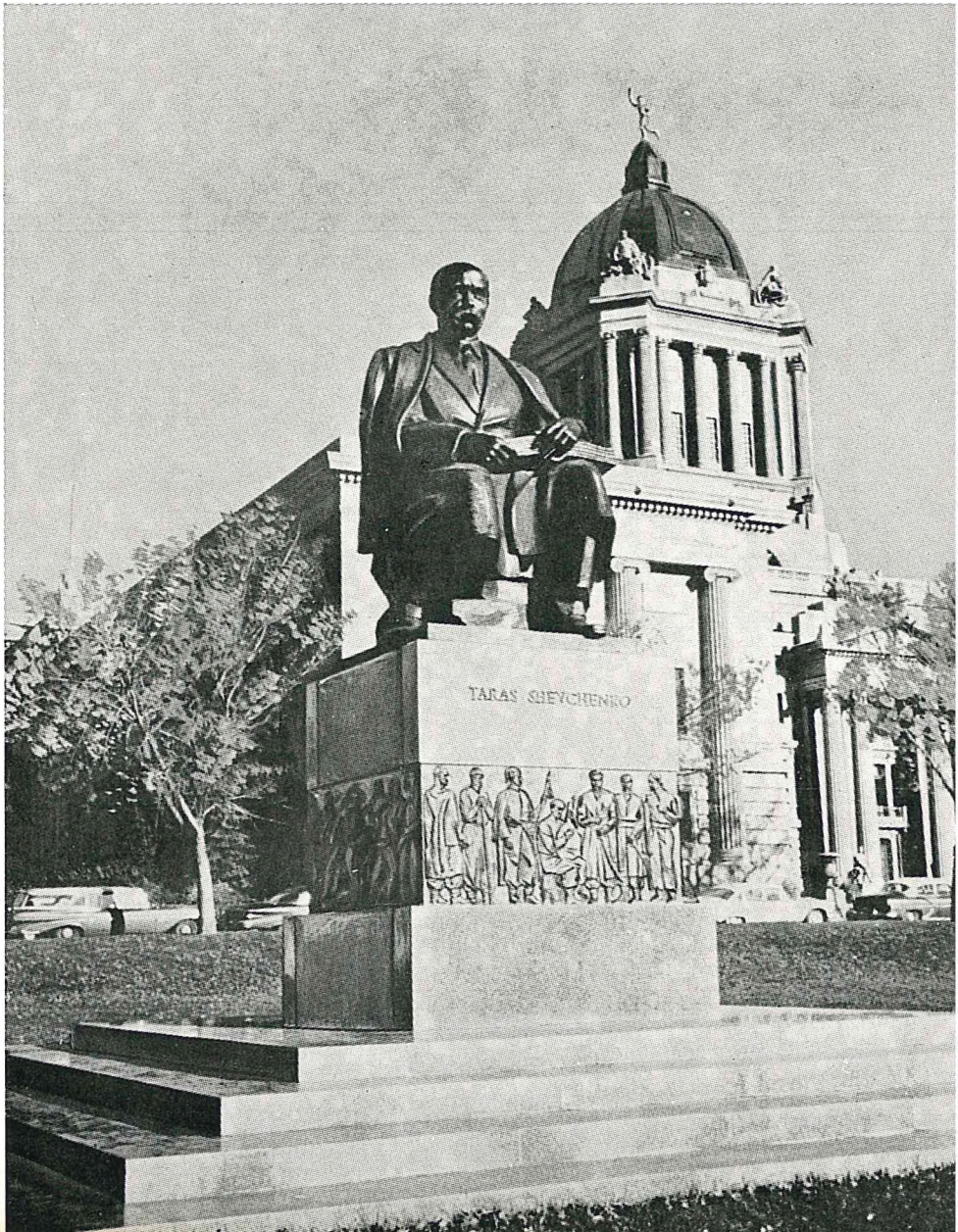
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BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

TARAS SHEVCHENKO (1814-1861)

Europe's Freedom Fighter — Ukraine's poet laureate and national hero



2

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Picture on the cover: SHEVCHENKO MEMORIAL IN WINNIPEG, CANADA, in front of the Provincial Parliament of Manitoba.

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Washington Honours Shevchenko

Remark of Senator Thomas J. Dodd at the Taras Shevchenko Memorial Groundbreaking Ceremonies

Saturday, September 21, 1963, Washington, D. C.

I am honored by your invitation to participate in this ceremony at which the ground is being broken for the erection of a memorial to Taras Shevchenko.

Taras Shevchenko belongs in the first instance to the Ukrainian people. But in a larger sense, he belongs to all mankind. And this I think is the special meaning that succeeding generations will read into the existence of this monument to a Ukrainian poet in the heart of Washington, the acknowledged capital of the free world.

We honor Shevchenko as one of the great poets of all time, as a man who has justly been described as "the last bard and the first great poet of a great new Slavonic literature."

We honor him as a fighter for freedom and as a champion of all the persecuted and oppressed.

We honor him as a universal hero and as one of the towering moral personalities of all time.

The monument for which we are breaking ground today was authorized by a Joint Resolution of Congress passed on December 13, 1960. While I was only one of a very numerous majority in the Senate who voted for the measure, I am proud of the small contribution I was able to make towards its enactment.

Let me read to you the opening words of this Resolution so that you may have a clearer understanding of the motivations which inspired Congress to grant permission for the erection of the Shevchenko memorial.

"Whereas throughout Eastern Europe, in the last century and this, the name and works of Taras Shevchenko brilliantly reflected the aspirations of man for personal liberty and national independence; and

"Whereas Shevchenko, the poet laureate of Ukraine, was openly inspired by our great American tradition to fight against the imperialist and colonial occupation of his native land; and

"Whereas in many parts of the free world observances of the Shevchenko centennial will be held during 1961 in honor of this immortal champion of liberty; and

"Whereas in our moral capacity as free men in an independent Nation it behooves us to symbolize tangibly the inseparable spiritual ties found in the writings of Shevchenko between our country and the forty million Ukrainian nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any association or committee organized for such purpose within two years from the date of the enactment of this joint resolution is hereby authorized to place on land owned by the United States in the District of Columbia a statue of the Ukrainian poet and national leader, Taras Shevchenko."

Shevchenko's life was in a way symbolic of the tragedy of the Ukrainian

people. He died at the young age of forty-seven; and of those forty-seven years, he was a serf for the first twenty-four, a conscript in the Russian army for the next ten years, and under police supervision for the ensuing three and a half years. All told, therefore, he knew only nine years of personal freedom.

Although the son of a serf, with little opportunity for formal education, his genius, his soaring spirit, and his unshatterable faith enabled him to take the Ukrainian language, rough-hewn as it was at that time, and convert it into a literary instrument as sensitive and as expressive as any of the great world languages.

Shevchenko had an ardent democratic and revolutionary faith. He called for an end to the degrading institution of serfdom. On the one hand, he appealed to the Ukrainian nobles to renounce their privileges and liberate their serfs; on the other hand he appealed to the peasants to renounce hatred and vengeance. His appeal was for a world of equality and brotherhood, and in his poem, "Epistle To My Countrymen, Living, Dead, and Unborn," he voiced his appeal in these words:

"Brothers, embrace the feeblest among you,
That the mother may smile through her tears."

Shevchenko poured out his greatest passion, however, when he addressed himself to the theme of freedom and of his beloved Ukraine. Although the English translation loses much of the force and flavor of the original Ukrainian, I should like to quote to you a few lines from a song he wrote during his confinement in St. Petersburg:

"It makes no difference to me,
If I shall live or not in Ukraine. . . .
No father will remind his son
Or say to him, repeat one prayer,
One prayer for him; for our Ukraine
They tortured him in their foul lair.
It makes no difference to me,
If that son says a prayer or not.
It makes great difference to me
That evil folk and wicked men
Attack our Ukraine, once so free,
And rob and plunder it at will.
That makes great difference to me."

Shevchenko to his people was many things. He was a bard in the tradition of the Ukrainian *kobzars*, who chronicled the heroic deeds of the Ukrainian past. He was a national poet in the unique sense in which Robert Burns is regarded as the national poet of the Scottish people. And, as a freedom fighter and prophet of liberty, Shevchenko was also regarded by his people with something of the special reverence that we in America reserve for Thomas Jefferson and George Washington.

Shevchenko was no narrow nationalist. He was concerned not only over the oppression of the Ukrainian people by Moscow but also over the oppression of the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Georgians, and the other ancient peoples who had been subjugated by an increasingly aggressive Russian imperialism.

He fought for the liberty of all men and the freedom of all nations.

In erecting a memorial to Taras Shevchenko, we would be engaging in an action devoid of all meaning if we failed to speak about the plight of the Ukrainian people today and if we failed to honor his life-long commitment to the freedom of his people by recommitting ourselves on this occasion to the goal which Shevchenko sang and fought.

It is a great pity that there is no Taras Shevchenko today to write of the agony of his people in inspired verse, to appeal to the conscience of the world on their behalf, and to give once again to the cause of Ukrainian freedom the precious inspiration of the poet's song.

The history of the Ukrainian people has been one of brief but glorious periods of independence and of long centuries of struggle against the tyranny of Moscow, both under the Czars and under the Soviets. The Ukrainian people through the centuries have had more than their share of suffering and tragedy. But the agony of the Ukrainian people under the rule of Soviet Bolshevism in recent decades surpasses by far the agony they have known under previous despots and conquerors.

I propose to relate this story briefly, knowing that my prose is inadequate to a theme which would have challenged Shevchenko himself.

The chaos and disintegration that reigned in Russia during the latter part of World War I made possible the rebirth of an independent Ukraine, which called itself the Ukrainian National Republic. Because they sought their support, the Bolsheviks promised the right of self-determination to the subject nationalities of the Old Russian empire. On December 17, 1917, almost immediately after they seized power, Lenin officially recognized the Ukraine as a sovereign and independent state. Let me quote the words of Lenin on this occasion because they constitute the first of a thousand major acts of perfidy the Soviets have perpetrated over the past four decades and a half.

"We, the Soviet of People's Commissars," said Lenin, "recognize the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to separate from Russia or to make an agreement with the Russian Republic for federative or other similar mutual relations between them. Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly."

One year later, in December, 1918, the Soviet presented the Ukrainian government with an ultimatum; and when this ultimatum was rejected, the Red Army swarmed across the boundaries of the Ukraine. The capital city of Kiev fell after a bloody struggle; and the Bolsheviks, when they entered the city, introduced a reign of indiscriminate terror, massacring thousands of innocent civilians on the street.

But this was only the beginning of the struggle. The battle between the people of the Ukraine and the Soviet military forces see-sawed back and forth for almost two years before the Ukrainian National Republic succumbed to the repeated onslaughts of the far more powerful Red Army.

At this point the Ukrainian people entered upon the darkest and most agonizing period in their long and tragic history. The Ukrainians were not only the largest and strongest of all the so-called national minorities in the Soviet

slave empire, but they were also the most stubborn and the most militant. Though thousands were executed and scores of thousands were deported, the spirit of Ukrainian independence refused to die.

The agony of the Ukrainian people under Soviet rule reached its zenith during the period of Stalin's forced collectivization. When it became evident that the Ukrainian peasants could not be induced to abandon their farms and enter the collectives by means of persuasion, Stalin decided to resort to organized starvation. In 1932, the entire grain reserve of the Ukraine as well as all other crops that might support the population were removed from the country by Red Army convoys. In the mass famine that resulted, it is estimated that six million Ukrainians, men, women, and children, lost their lives. In the political terror that accompanied the famine, 80 percent of all the Ukrainian intellectuals were liquidated by the Soviet terror apparatus.

The Ukraine became a desert and a place of pestilence. There were many places where the entire population perished, so that there was no one to bury the dead.

There are those who say that the Soviet regime today is somehow more moderate than the Soviet regime under Stalin. To those who harbor such illusions, I would point to the fact that the "project manager" in charge of the forced starvation of the Ukrainian people and of the liquidation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, a man who will forever be identified by history as "the butcher of the Ukraine," was none other than Nikita Khrushchev, the present Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.

But despite starvation and terror, the Ukrainian people remained stubborn and unyielding in their resistance. One wave of terror succeeded another – but still the Ukrainians persisted. During World War II, a mighty Ukrainian Insurgent Army rose up out of the soil of their tortured land, fighting with incredible heroism against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks. For years after the close of World War II, the Ukrainian guerrilla army continued to harass the Bolsheviks and even to engage them in fixed battles.

For the Ukrainian people, the life and death struggle with Soviet imperialism has never ceased. Even in exile, the Soviet terror apparatus has pursued the leaders of the Ukrainian resistance movement. Their hired assassins have in recent years murdered Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, as they murdered other Ukrainian leaders in exile after the close of World War I.

This is the story of the Ukrainian people's agony and of the unsurpassed heroism they have displayed in the fight for freedom. It is a story to inspire us all – and one which I am convinced will some day terminate in the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation in a world of free and independent nations.

It is a story particularly appropriate to tell at any ceremony commemorating the life and work of Taras Shevchenko.

Speaking at the funeral of Shevchenko in 1861, his contemporary, Kulish, ventured the prediction that "all that is really noble in the Ukraine will gather under the banner of Shevchenko". This prophecy has already been borne out. As they have gathered under the banner of Shevchenko in servitude and suffering, the Ukrainian people will, I am confident, still continue to

gather under the banner unfurled for them by their immortal national poet when the light of freedom again shines upon them.

In again hailing the memory of Taras Shevchenko, I can think of no more fitting way of closing my remarks than by quoting a few lines from Shevchenko's prophetic verse.

"When will we receive our Washington," wrote Shevchenko

With a new and righteous law?

And receive him we will some day . . .!"

I look forward to joining you again when this memorial to Taras Shevchenko, poet laureate of the Ukraine and one of Europe's great freedom fighters, is unveiled.

U.S. Public Law 86—794

Authorizing the erection of a statue of Taras Shevchenko on public ground in the District of Columbia

Whereas throughout Eastern Europe, in the last century and this, the name and works of Taras Shevchenko brilliantly reflected the aspiration of man for personal liberty and national independence; and

Whereas Shevchenko, the poet laureate of Ukraine, was openly inspired by our great American tradition to fight against the imperialist and colonial occupation of his native land; and

Whereas in many parts of the free world observances of the Shevchenko centennial will be held during 1961 in honor of this immortal champion of liberty; and

Whereas in our moral capacity as free men in an independent Nation it behooves us to symbolize tangibly the inseparable spiritual ties bound in the writings of Shevchenko between our country and the forty million Ukrainian nation: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) any association or committee organized for such purpose within two years from the date of the enactment of this joint resolution is hereby authorized to place on land owned by the United States in the District of Columbia a statue of the Ukrainian poet and national leader, Taras Shevchenko.

(b) The authority granted by subsection (a) of this section shall cease to exist, unless within five years after the date of enactment of this joint resolution (1) the erection of the statue is begun, and (2) the association or committee certifies to the Secretary of the Interior the amount of funds available for the purpose of the completion of the statue and the Secretary determines that such funds are adequate for such purpose.

SEC. 2. Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to select an appropriate site upon which to erect the statue authorized in the first section. The choice of the site and the design and plans for such statue shall be subject to the Commission on Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission.

H. J. Res. 311 (86th Cong.).

APPROVED SEPTEMBER 13, 1960.

Collaboration Of Western Christianity With Atheistic Communism

(20 years of A.B.N.)

Only a blind person could deny that there are influential circles in the Christian West who think of "saving" the Western World by a collaboration with godless Communism.

As early as 1917, some people (very few, however) were aware of this, for even at that time certain banks of the West were financing the undertakings of Uljanov (i. e. Lenin) and Bronstein (i. e. Trotzky). Pope Pius XI was also aware of these endeavours. In 1937 he thundered: "Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever". (Encyclical on "Atheistic Communism", March 19, 1937)

That was a penetrating, though unheeded, warning to the Big Powers of the West, that they should not attempt to defeat the Nazi devil by aligning themselves with the Bolshevik Beelzebub, which now threatens to annihilate the freedom and the Christian faith of the West.

If the aim of Communism, however, is to annihilate freedom and Christianity, how is it to be explained that so-called democratic people and pacifists so diligently seek to persuade their nations that freedom, civilization and world peace can be preserved only by a collaboration with the most disgusting tyranny?

This can be explained quite simply. Those who perceive that these "false prophets" are not harmless sheep, but ravenous wolves (Mat. 7:15), know that freedom, belief and the preservation of Western civilization are the least of their concerns, that they are even less concerned with the establishment of peace among all nations and that behind their beautiful phrases, entirely different aims are hidden. If, according to these false prophets, a collaboration with Moscow were really necessary to achieve peace, freedom and stability of the world, why is it then, that each year the world sinks deeper into the abyss of unsuccessful conferences, revolutions and *coup d'etats*? Whence terrorism, cold, warm and hot wars? Whence the enslavement of entire nations or the rapid advance of Communism to the very gates of Western Europe and America? Whence the "peaceful" infiltration of this godless doctrine into all phases of life in the Free World?

The masses believe in the possibility of co-existence with Communism, because it is part of their "wishful thinking". Some believe in it because they are insecure and afraid; "better red than dead", they think. The "false prophets", however, calling themselves pacifists and preaching democracy, advocate peaceful co-existence with Communism, *because they sympathize with it and would like to see it triumph over the Christian civilization of the West now rather than later.*

Their beautiful slogans, therefore, are nothing but lies which hide their true aims. While speaking out against the "war mongers" they themselves are continuously stirring up revolts against the governments of Franco, Salazar or the Greek Monarchy...

They endeavour to persuade the West European countries which are still free to take up sides with the USSR, if it should come to a war between it and China...

They are against totalitarianism and against European and American colonialism; but they are for Russian totalitarianism and colonialism...

They are for democracy and against the regime of the "generals", but only as long as these "generals" are not "marshal" Stalin or "marshal" Tito...

They are against anti-Semitism – not, however, when it is directed against the Semitic Arabs...

They protest against the enslavement of nations – not, however, if these nations are enslaved by Moscow...

They are against genocide when it is practiced by Hitler – not, however, when it is practiced by Stalin or Kaganovitch in Ukraine and the Baltic States...

They are for the Christian faith; but want to prohibit prayer in the school-room and to correct the evangelists a little – in the interest of non-Christians...

They are against terror, but they applaud if this terror takes the lives of anti-Communist freedom fighters like, S. Petlura, E. Konowalez, S. Bandera or McCarthy. And when this same hand kills President Kennedy, they spread the lie that the murder was committed by "extreme rightists."

They are for Communist propaganda at the universities and in the press, but prohibit, for instance, the activities of A.B.N. (in Paris by Mendes-France in 1954).

They want to promote culture, but only with figures like Sartre, Sagan, Ionesco and similar "cultural elite" and enemies of the European tradition; they are for the "culture" of twist, sex and callgirls and for the corruption of the whole Western Christian tradition. Their aim is to give civilized peoples *panem et circenses* instead of culture and to kill every trace of idealism and patriotism in the soul of man. In this way they want "to unite" those people who have been robbed of their national independence under one "world government" of "false prophets" – with its own "world-gestapo" and monopoly of atomic bombs...

They are for a "hands off" policy in regard to the USSR, because they know that her fall will also spell the end of power for the false prophets. They are without "prejudice" and against religious "fairy tales". They do not believe, therefore, in the existence of the Devil. They want to kill the image of Christ in our souls at all cost, however, in order to make a "gentlemen' agreement" with the servants of Satan... All this, they want to do in the name of "peace", progress and democracy.

More than a hundred years ago, Disraeli put the following words into the mouth of one of the characters in his *Coningby*: "The world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes"...

It is these very "personages" who are the "false prophets". They are to be found in all the major cities, towns and villages of Europe, Eurasia and Asia – in London, Paris, Brussels, New York, Moscow and Tel-Aviv.

It is the great task of A.B.N. to declare openly that a grave danger is threatening *the freedom of the West and its Christian civilization*, not only from within the ranks of Moscow (white, tsaristic, "democratic", "Bolshevistic", Christian-pacifistic Moscow, and the grace of Stalin and Khrushchov), but also from within the ranks of the "false prophets" in the West. The "false prophets" intrude themselves into all key positions of public life – the press and the upper classes. Almost imperceptible to the masses, they create the so-called "public opinion", a satanic conformity. By word, deed and defamation, they persecute the non-conformists ("extreme rightists", "fascists" etc). Furthermore, they incite civil wars. In the USSR they are masters of the situation.

The task of A.B.N. is not only to call people's attention to the danger of this complot against the freedom and the civilization of the West and to defend the latter, but also to unmask the activities of the "false prophets".

The task of A.B.N. is to unify its activities with the healthy and fearless forces of the West against this darkness. Its watchwords are "Truth against falsehood", "The Cross against Satan", "Freedom against bondage of the peoples"!

The West needs a new "chivalry", a new ruling class to liberate it from the complot of its mortal enemies and to smash the citadel of tyranny – Moscow and its monstrous imperium. *Europe needs new crusaders*, men of faith, of honour, of idealism and heroism – not disciples of "moneyism", not (in the words of E. B. Burke), "sophists, economists and calculators".

The watchword of the times is not co-existence with the Devil, but a clear: Either – or.

House Resolution 524

In the House of Representatives on May, 11, 1960, Mr. Lesinski submitted the following resolution, which was then referred to the Committee on House Administration. It was considered and agreed on June 7, 1960.

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That there be printed as a House document, with an illustration, a biographical documentary of the life and character of Taras Shevchenko, known as the great Ukrainian poet and champion of liberty.

A documentary biography of Taras Shevchenko, entitled "*Europe's Freedom Fighter, Taras Shevchenko, 1814–1861, Ukraine's poet laureate and national hero*", has been published as Document No. 445, 86th Congress of the USA, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, by the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, in 1960.

We cannot win the cold war by subsidizing Communism

The constant struggle of nationality groups behind the Iron Curtain can be seen in the farm failures in Communist lands, since peasants displaying their traditional independence refuse to produce to their ability under the collective farm system.

Recently, the Soviet Union began implementation of a program adopted by the 22nd session of the Communist Party in Moscow in 1961, which called for the decentralizing of non-Russian groups within the U.S.S.R. and the establishment of regional administrative structures in place of the presently constituted Soviet Socialist Republics. This is a move to dilute the nationalistic forces which lead anti-Communist opposition.

Communism can be crushed and its captive peoples freed by an enlightened, determined foreign policy, which calls for a course directly opposite to the Administration's philosophy. We must encourage and aid the anti-Communist nationalistic forces which are at work.

The misguided wheat sale which directly aids Khrushchov should not be followed by other phony deals. Our Ambassador to the U.N. should raise the issue of genocide in Hungary; should spike the propaganda line which the Soviet Union and its satellites use, and we, in turn, should use the U.N. and all other international bodies as vehicles to demonstrate the hypocrisy of Communism, instead of meekly acquiescing to its propaganda.

When victory over Communism is achieved, it will not have been produced through the application of misguided State Department planners, but by the application of the common sense of the American public.

Members of Congress respect public opinion, and we must exert the necessary pressure to change the Administration's dangerous foreign policy before it is too late.

The American public applauded General Mac-Arthur when, in his historic address to the Congress, he reminded us that "the very purpose of war is victory". The cold war must not end in defeat through the vehicle of coexistence, but through positive application of sound principles the victory of freedom will be won.

(Manion Forum.)

Byelorussia Under Russian Colonial Rule

The Byelorussian nation is one of many victims of Soviet Russian colonialism. Anti-Byelorussian action of the Russian government is marked by the following facts.

At the time of the collapse of the czarist Russian Empire in 1917, the First Byelorussian Congress convened in the capital of Byelorussia, in Minsk, which started the restoration of independent Byelorussia. However, this constituent was dissolved by the armed forces of Soviet Russia. Later, on March 25, 1918, the Rada (Council) of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic solemnly proclaimed the national independence of Byelorussia. But, the armed forces of Soviet Russia from the East and of Poland from the West attacked and conquered Byelorussia and divided her territory among themselves.

At the end of the Second World War, on June 27, 1944, the Second Byelorussian Congress convened in Minsk. This Congress annulled all treaties concerning Byelorussia made by occupational governments, confirmed the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, elected the Byelorussian Central Rada (Council) as the only representative of the Byelorussian nation, to whom it entrusted the power to fight for independence. However, Byelorussia was conquered again by Soviet Russia.

Instead of an independent Byelorussia Soviet Russia created in 1919 the fictitious Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, including it later in a new Soviet Russian empire called USSR.

The Byelorussian SSR is completely subordinated to the central Russian government in Moscow. As a sovereign state it exists on paper only for concealing the real purpose about Russian policy in relation to non-Russian nations. However, the formal functions of the government of the Byelorussian SSR, also step by step, are abrogated and transferred to the central Russian government in Moscow. For this purpose on May 22, 1963, the following agencies were reorganized from the status of republican to the status of union-republican: 1. Soviet of the National Economy of the Byelorussian SSR, 2. Governmental Planning of the Byelorussian SSR, and 3. Governmental Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Byelorussian SSR on Building and Architecture.

In the international forum the Byelorussian SSR always brings disgrace to the Byelorussian name, acting as an obedient servant of Soviet Russia. However, it is clearly evident that Mr. Pavel Ostapenko, representative of the Byelorussian SSR in the United Nations, really is an official of the Russian occupational government.

During the 45 years of Soviet Russian domination the Byelorussians have been subjected to a ruthless national persecution, economic exploitation and social oppression. This rule is marked by mass terror – deportations, imprisonments and shootings. The end result is that Byelorussia has lost about six million of her population.

The Russian Communist party and government set as their goal the complete merging of all the non-Russian nations of the USSR into one Soviet Russian nation.

For realization of this goal the Byelorussian people are being russified by all available means. All higher schools in the Byelorussian SSR, all vocational schools, and almost all high schools only use the Russian language. The Byelorussian SSR is flooded with Russian books, newspapers, films, etc. All leading administrative posts in the Byelorussian SSR are filled with Russians. The only existing Russian army is also playing an important part in the russifying action.

There is a great shortage of schools in the Byelorussian SSR, especially for the rural population. Kolkhoz peasants are forced to build schools after their working hours and at weekends together with pupils and teachers. In this way a school was erected in the kolkhoz Dakudava, Naharodavichy, and an annex to the existing school in Kisyalevichi was erected at Babruysk.

The russifying action is applied not only to the people, but also to the country. The buildings in Byelorussia are erected in uniform official Russian fashion. The names of streets and places in towns of the Byelorussian SSR, as well as institutions, schools, etc. are dedicated to the Russians: Lenin, Pushkin, Kutuzov, etc. In Byelorussian towns monuments dedicated to the same Russian personalities have been built.

Religious persecution in the Byelorussian SSR is continuing. The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR accepted a secret resolution, establishing 1965 as the deadline for the closing of all churches in the USSR. In Byelorussia, already in 1937, all churches were closed. But at the same time in the Russian SFSR there existed some churches with central church representations in Moscow. It can be assumed that at present it is planned to eradicate all religious life in Byelorussia and other non-Russian republics, but in Moscow there will continue to be a Russian patriarch and several churches to mislead foreigners.

The Soviet authorities are systematically closing churches of all denominations, especially in Western Byelorussia. This part of the country was occupied by Russia in 1939. At that time there existed a regular number of churches. According to the report of the secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Byelorussia, in the district of Brest, during 1960 and 1961, 108 Orthodox, 8 Roman Catholic, and 7 Baptist churches were closed by the Communists. In the district of Grodno during the same time over 40 Orthodox churches were closed.

Movable atheistic clubs are despatched over entire Byelorussia. Byelorussia is exploited as an ordinary colony by Russia. The official statistics of the USSR show the following facts:

Country	Budget for 1963 (Roubles)	Population for 1963 (Approx.)	Per capita (Roubles)	%
RSFSR	27,861,824,000	125,502,000	222.00	138.8
BSSR	1,375,845,000	8,601,000	160.00	100.0

The indicated excess for the RSFSR over the BSSR amounts in general to 7,781,186,000 Roubles, or about a third of the entire budget of the RSFSR in 1963.

The unsuitable communistic system of agriculture in Byelorussia has continuously been a failure. Agricultural plans in the Byelorussian SSR never were fulfilled.

According to the information of the Central Statistical Administration of the Council of Ministers of the BSSR, there was a remarkable decrease in basic agricultural production in 1962 as follows ("Zviazda", January 27, 1963):

	1961 (1000 tons)	1962 (1000 tons)
Grain (Total)	2,264.4	1,766.1
Flax (Seeds)	85.3	71.3
Sugar-beets	390.6	366.7
Potatoes	10,924.8	7,016.3

Livestock for January 1, 1963 in the BSSR shows also a decrease as follows:

Type	Thousands of Heads	Relation to January 1, 1962 %
Cattle	2,191.8	103
Pigs	3,211.3	87
Sheep and Goats	1,125.3	86

However, at the same time the delivery of meat to the government increased to 118% in relation to 1961.

There was also a decrease in industrial production in the BSSR, especially for local needs, as follows:

Artificial and synthetic fibres	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 99.3
Delivery of timber	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 96.0
Bricks for building	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 94.0
Gypsum	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 99.4
Peat for fuel	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 78.0
Fish caught	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 95.0

Plans for production in the BSSR were not fulfilled in 1962 for the following industries (also mostly for local needs): electricity, automatic and semi-automatic transmitters, harvester-combines for fodder, prefabricated reinforced concrete, prefabricated synthetic structural slabs, furniture, sewing machines for home use, radio receivers, butter, milk products, etc.

Less textiles were sold to the population of the BSSR in 1962 than in 1961 as follows:

Cotton fabrics	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 98.0
Woolen fabrics	– relation of 1962 to 1961 in %	– 98.0

Working people are exploited by the Communist elite in the BSSR in the most shamless way. For instance, in the richest agricultural area of the Slutsk district the workers of the collective farm "Semeshava" were paid for each working-day at a rate of 2.5 kg. of grain and 1 Roubel 20 kop. cash ("Zviazda", December 25, 1962). This represents the highest salary paid to the farmers, and was published for propaganda as an extraordinary achievement.

The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia made a plan to increase the agricultural harvest for 1963 as follows: grain by 80⁰/₀, potatoes to 140⁰/₀, sugar beets 105⁰/₀, vegetables 170⁰/₀, and fodder by more than double the present amount. However, the present purchase by Russia of about five million tons of wheat from Canada and a million tons from Australia are indicative of a further drop of perhaps 10⁰/₀ in the Soviet crop this year.

Communist authorities are trying to increase the agricultural delivery to the state from the meagre settlement-lots of the kolkhoz peasants. For this purpose the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the BSSR issued a law imposing taxes on citizens – owners of livestock, who are not performing socially useful work, or who did not fulfill working-days allotted to them in the kolkhoz: for a cow – 150 Roubles, for a pig – 55, for a goat or sheep – 15. If the tax is not paid, compulsory means according to generally established rules will be applied. It is evident that poor peasants will not be able to pay such high taxes. Their property will be confiscated and they will be deported to concentration camps to work off their debts to the state.

Deportations of Byelorussian population to the virgin regions of Asia are continuing. Mostly youth is affected by this action. Beside Communist Party pressure, the government also uses various tricks. The school of mechanization of agriculture in Tula (near Moscow) is attracting the Byelorussian youth by many promises. However, after graduation the young people will be sent to the virgin regions to work there (“Zviazda”, January 24, 1963).

At present the population in BSSR is smaller than it was in 1940. There is a shortage of workers in agriculture, and substantial parts of the country are overgrown with wild brushwood. The number of wild animals is increasing. In the forests of Smargoni, Iveye, Lida, Myadzela, and adjacent regions of the Lithuanian SSR there are many elks (“Zviazda”, March 24, 1963). After the First World War elks were already non-existent in Byelorussia, but now they are taking the place of the diminishing population.

Each year on 1st May, the Communist Party and Soviet Russian government issue their routine call. § 51 of this call for 1963 is formulated as follows: “Long live and be strengthened unbreakable unity and fraternal amity among nations of the USSR.” The yearly repetition of this call is in itself proof that the amity among the nations of the USSR is non-existent. In reality, the non-Russian nations are waiting for favourable conditions to liberate themselves from Soviet Russian colonial slavery.

The Byelorussian nation is living in the Soviet Russian empire in a state of colonial bondage. It does not have a possibility to defend its own national rights in Byelorussia or in an international forum. Therefore, we take the liberty of drawing your kind attention to the necessity of international support to the aims of the Byelorussian people for liberation. There is an established possibility for this support in the framework of the general policy of the United Nations which has as its aim the liberation of all colonial nations of the world.

John Kosiak.

Red Danger in Australia

Subversive activities and means of survival

We are living in an epoch of human history when two opposite worlds, the Communist and the Western one, are facing each other with the dilemma of a final clash for survival. The ground we are walking on is hot and we are compelled by circumstances, whether we wish it or not, to learn what Communism is and what its strategy and tactics are.

Ignorance is evil and paralytic. Being candidly lulled into peace and rosy dreams of a prosperous future or into generous coexistence and eventual deterioration of Communism, we can be easily driven beyond the limits of return. And then it will be too late to realize the deadly danger of Communism. But even if we have the best of intentions to do everything to prevent impending disaster, they will be ineffective without adequate knowledge.

So let us examine first very briefly what Communism is. It is Marxism-Leninism, which preaches universal war of classes and the historic role of the Communist Party to lead to universal victory in this war. Since the establishment of the Soviets in Russia they have always been at war. Whatever treacheries they perform, whatever lies they tell, the Communists are always at war with the whole world for their final goal.

Lenin said: "The Communist Party is the mind, the conscience, and the morals of our epoch." And the practice of Communist warfare has shown us, that every means helping their cause is justified. The only truth is the Communist truth and no other.

Communist philosophy says there is no God. "We have struck the kings from the earth" said Lenin. "Now let us strike the king from the skies." And when they deny God they simultaneously deny every virtue and every value that originates with God, moral law, standards of righteousness and the entire civilized code of

ethical values. Nature, human beings included, is only matter in motion; our brain is formed by conditioned reflexes, and if we change the environment, we can change and regenerate our mind and character in a purely scientific, materialistic way.

This means that in the Communist society every human being will be a machine or a part of a big machine, the Communist state. Even today, the citizens of Bolshevist Russia are slaves guided by the only moral and political force, the Communist Party. They have come to this state through terror of genocide, fratricide and crimes which mankind has never seen before.

People inside the Bolshevist Russian empire are very unhappy indeed, deprived as they are of the basic necessities of everyday life. The Communists in the forty years of their rule have not given them even what they had before, yet endless promises and false mirages of a Marxist-Leninist paradise on earth can still appeal to millions of naive listeners on the other side of the Iron Curtain, in the so-called capitalist countries. The best proof are the millions of members of the Communist Party throughout the world, Australia included. They are recruited from every profession, millionaires and priests included.

The Communist promises appeal to the poor, the ignorant, the oppressed, the under-privileged, and there are hundreds of millions of them everywhere, especially in Africa, Asia and in South America. They also appeal to the intellectuals and the idealists for whom the building of a better world seems to be very gratifying.

The Communist Party is not just another political party. It is an instrument of doom surrounding us from everywhere. The better we know the subject, the more successful will be our struggle with Com-

munism. And we have to struggle if we want to survive.

The lack of vigilance, of knowledge and of organization has brought us to the fact that we are facing today one billion human beings dominated by Communist ideology. They control forty per cent of the world's population and twenty-five per cent of the earth's surface. This overwhelming reality is the last warning.

These astounding achievements of Communism are the achievements of organization and constant activity, combined with all kind of cunning and treachery. They have innumerable well-trained, full time or part-time agents, who organize and indoctrinate the Party. These agents are very well versed in politics, philosophy and economy. In the Soviet Union the members of the Party are disciplined mainly by terror, spying, murder and constant hammering of ideology, promises and slogans.

Stalin exterminated 70% of the Central Committee that elected him to power. Stalin was powerful and all power in Russia is based on dictatorship – in theory dictatorship of the proletariat, in practice dictatorship of one man. But do not have any illusions – it was Communism that was responsible for this tremendous power, it is Communism that is responsible for the power of Mao-Tse Tung and Khrushchov. All they may be is insignificant and perverted individuals, but behind them is the disciplined Party.

Khrushchov scorned the murderous mania of that madman Stalin, but in his opinion Stalin was a good man after all, because he was Marxist-Leninist. And when we consider this point vice-versa, all those Marxist-Leninists and devoted leaders of Communism, exterminated by Stalin, were in his own words “degenerated offal, such treacherous, wild beasts, such hyenas, that they had to be destroyed.”

Every kind of sectarianism or deviation is ruthlessly exterminated. The methods are different in foreign countries, where Moscow bosses are not at home. Communist parties of capitalist countries, includ-

ing Australia, also of satellite countries, are operated by remote control and push-button methods. Communist parties of different countries may have temporary differences, but we are chasing rainbows hoping that Russia and China for example will strangle themselves. Only recently the Foreign Minister of China, Chen Yi, said in Geneva: “Yes, we have different views on different problems. But if we are attacked, we shall defend ourselves together.”

The tactics of the Communist Party are so treacherous, so changing and adaptable that they have to be studied very carefully. Very often these tactics are very resourceful and ingenious indeed. Communist organizers study carefully the emotions, longings and grievances of each group they intend to approach and they devise a program to exploit all their resentments and in all particular circumstances. They can even follow a line absolutely foreign to them, but in due time they get the power in their hands and force their issues.

Besides dedicated Communists and well trained agents there are many fellow-travellers, sympathizers, friends and pseudo-liberals, who help to infiltrate and to push the Communists to power. You may smile when I mention the fact of a grandmother, Queen Elisabeth of Belgium, going to Moscow, placing a wreath on the tomb of Lenin and having a chummy chat with Khrushchov, or the old eccentric Red Dean of London and his frolics. Of course, these may be exceptional cases of infantile senility, but how many cases of political blindness and stupidity do we observe every day?

They help to create an atmosphere favourable for Communist action, they help to build fronts with political parties, with trade-unions, even with churches, and exploit grievances and controversies. Labour conditions, culture, or nationalism – anything can be exploited.

And the only protection against involuntary involvement in the Communist conspiracy and strategy is vigilance and dedication. The victory of Communism

has to be thwarted by immediate action. The Communists work hard, and so do we. Eyes to see and minds to think must always be alert.

We have not to go far. The Communist Party of Australia is an integral part of international Communism. What a wonderful object to study its history and its activity, and then to compare and deduce. These enemy prowlers have been stealthily climbing into every branch of the country for they have been ordered by the Kremlin to infiltrate and to destroy. Their fronts may be connected with democracy, peace, justice and civil liberties. These words do not mean to the Communists what they mean to us. Apathy and ignorance let the Red seeds germinate while the brain of the Party is underground.

One of the fundamental text-books in this respect is Lenin's "State and Revolution". While Marx allows the possibility of bloodless revolution, Lenin concentrates on violence. A small group of Lenin's Bolsheviks seized power by violence and established the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. They did not have to create favourable conditions, because those conditions were on hand. In other circumstances, as for example here in Australia, they prepare the revolution very carefully.

We have only to watch to see what happens. They infiltrate the trade unions to secure the executive power within them. Most Australians must be flabbergasted by the influence of Communists in trade unions. A very important Teachers' Union was until recently dominated by Communists. One can imagine what kind of education we had in some schools. Although Communists can not get into Parliament, they can control unions. It is astonishing that in a country without poverty a Communist can hold a key position in a trade union, just because he is "a good fellow".

The average Australian must be sick of the suicidal wildcat strikes which Communist leaders forced on longshoremen and other unions. The industrial strike is aimed to become a political strike, then

a general strike as the first step to revolution and armed insurrection. They try to undermine the foundations of authority and create chaos by every possible means. In this country of enlightened democracy the Communist Party is legal, but here activities are skilfully camouflaged. They represent a strong industrial power that cannot be neglected.

Remember the general chaos and dissatisfaction during the coal-miners' strike in 1949? That was a rehearsal for the armed insurrection. The power was in the hands of Communist leaders, and many trade-unions, Communist-dominated or not, lined up in terms of the Communist provocative slogans. In such cases it does not matter that the workers are unemployed and starving. What matters is power and revolution.

Let us take a look at the Australian universities. How many students and scientists are Communist sympathizers? We have to remember that the entire leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung included, joined that Party as students and not as labourers-proletarians. Lenin himself was an intellectual, and the cruel leader of the Russian Secret Police Dzerzhinski was born of aristocratic parents. Let us recollect the Peace Congress in Melbourne, inspired and guided by the Communist Party. How many intellectuals took part in it?

The intellectuals are the best medium for espionage, and this fact can be easily proved by several espionage affairs in many countries, Australia included. Fuchs in England, Rosenbergs in U.S.A. What have Rosenbergs to do with Australia? But you still find this name painted red on empty walls in Sydney.

And speaking of peace - the Communists always want peace, but it has to be their peace while we sleep and they prepare to kill us. They always clamour for peace; they take a peaceful gun, and kill you peacefully, and put you in the peaceful grave. Communist tanks rolling into Bucharest over the corpses of children were rolling for peace. Peace agreements?

The Soviet government has broken its word to virtually every country with which it had made an agreement.

Let us not be deceived by another slippery term like "peaceful coexistence". The road of appeasement is not the road to peace. It is surrender on the instalment plan. The deceit and trickery practised by the international gang of Communist charlatans, who loudly spout lies of "peaceful coexistence" while they blandly carry out their ceaseless campaign of open and concealed subversion, are a repugnant display of Red diplomacy.

Send help to hungry Indonesians or Malaysians, and the Sydney Communist paper "Tribune" will attack you violently. The comrades from "Tribune" want Soviet help to be sent to Indonesians. They are happily welcoming the visit of Mikoyan to Djakarta. I mention only this little incident, but the Communist paper "Tribune" is a wonderful paper for study. Any strike in the country is welcomed because it paralyzes the country. But at the same time the strike in East Germany and Poland was met with tanks and machine-guns. And the land given to Ukrainian farmers in 1920 was taken from them ten years later, and the Communist Party did not budge when 7 million Ukrainian farmers starved to death while boycotting collective farms.

They were counter-revolutionaries, so they had to die. Lenin said: "What does it matter if three-quarters of the world perish, provided the remaining quarter is Communist." There is no evidence that Communists in Australia would be any more benevolent than they are elsewhere. A mass-murder program is a logical and inescapable consequence of their basic belief. It is science in action. The murder of millions in Communist jails and concentration camps behind the Iron Curtain is not a murder at all. Since it is done for "the right cause", it is called elimination.

The trouble with us is that we in this wonderful free world do not care to face the true situation. The vast majority of people are simply unwilling to acknow-

ledge the truth, preferring to ignore the evidence which may disturb their happiness and feeling of security. But the day may come when our beautiful world of inspired humanity will crumble to pieces and it will be too late to do anything.

So we have to be prepared. We have to realize that Soviet Russians and Communist Chinese do prepare very intensely. Regimentation and tyranny have always been able to impose their will. Their education program is astronomical. Faced as we are with the struggle for survival against a deadly enemy, we must spare no effort to educate the young ones in those fields which will help to secure victory.

They aim without hesitation to conquer the world. Cuba of Fidel Castro has been taken without much effort and even with the help and protection of USA capitalists. The disillusionment as usual came too late. The papers say Mr. Khrushchov entertained the American ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Thompson, with a fabulous gargantuan meal. There was a crab from Kamchatka and a quail from Siberia on the table. Mr. Khrushchov entertained the ambassador with five hours' cordial talk.

What will happen to us can be easily foreseen. In Ukraine mass graves with ten thousand bodies were discovered in the city of Vinnytsia. Another ten thousand corpses of murdered Polish officers were discovered in Katyn. These are no crabs from Kamchatka, no smiles, no beautiful magazines, no visiting scientists and artists, no clever dancers and violinists. We are lulled to sleep by all kind of tricks, but mainly by short-sighted politicians and by Labour lullabies.

In addition to cultural exchange and all kind of intellectual abracadabra, there are vast markets to exploit. In conquering foreign markets the Communists do not need to make a profit. Any deficit will pay the citizen of the Soviet Union. Their profit is the chaos they create in Western economy, in the agents they infiltrate into the country through their trade. We have to think seriously about the econ-

omic and political penetration of Africa, Asia and all undeveloped countries, especially those situated close to Australia. Indonesia, Burma, Vietnam and Thailand should be natural friends of Australia, a friendly country without any imperialistic design.

Has the Australian government any plans and literature to counteract Communist activities in those countries, to reinforce cultural ties, to exploit the markets not for dumping purposes but for breaking out of Australian isolation and loneliness? No doubt there is a certain awakening, but it is a drop in the ocean. There are immense possibilities which are however unexploited.

The people of these countries are being wooed and won by clever words and gestures, and by literature. The Communists are engaged in the greatest literature crusade mankind has ever known. Millions of books and booklets are being spread throughout Africa and Asia. 200 books by African authors have been published recently by Communist China. A Malayan student in Sydney showed me a book "New China" with the question: "How do you like it? Isn't it wonderful?". On the streets of Sydney you can buy for a few pennies beautiful magazines "China Pictorial", "USSR in Reconstruction" and many others. There is no violence, no crime, no nakedness and perverted sex, as in many American and local magazines.

Only recently Mr. Oberemko, Russian delegate to the United Nations, advocated the speeding up of self-government and free elections for the "oppressed people" of Papua and New Guinea. I wish someone had asked Mr. Oberemko's bosses when they intend to grant the right to free elections to all those enslaved peoples of the Russian empire, the so-called satellites included, who would undoubtedly know how to govern themselves if they were given the chance. The Communist "free elections" would not fool even the most primitive head-hunters in New Guinea.

Not long ago Mr. Diefenbaker, former Premier of Canada, asked the Soviet delegation at the United Nations, why they do not liberate Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and several other colonies of their empire. This very question brought Soviet delegates and especially their bosses in Moscow into a rage of confusion and helplessness. All these unhappy people behind the Iron Curtain are natural allies of the Western World and their inborn right to freedom and self-determination has to be largely exploited, if we want to unmask successfully Soviet tyranny and lies.

Basic knowledge and interest alone can serve to explode the current myths on Soviet unity, Soviet national economy, and to expose the depths of imperialistic totalitarianism and economical colonialism throughout the Red Russian empire. The captive nations constitute a primary deterrent against the hot global war and aggression by Moscow.

Whatever they do, the Communist action is inseparably related to the underlying philosophic concept, with the principle "what is proletarian is progressive and what is capitalist is reactionary". Communism has a system of philosophic thought, a book of fundamental rules, which are pseudo-scientific and absurd, when treated adequately. The Dialectical Materialism cannot stand the microscope of real science. Karl Marx took the dialectic of Hegel, combined it with the materialism of Feuerbach, Lenin adapted it to Communist practice, and Stalin perverted it to such an extent, that Marx himself would have been stupefied.

But do we have the necessary literature dealing with Marxism, the theory of capital invented by Marx, dialectical materialism, practical Leninism, or the methods of Bolshevism? The lookout in our libraries is very sad indeed. The Liberal Party of Australia is the leading force in this country to fight Communism. Has the Liberal Party ever considered publishing such literature, or finding suitable people for writing such books?

Our Christian ideals and respect of dignity have to be opposed to Communist doctrine, morality and objectives. Their methods have to be mercilessly disclosed. But how can we even consider fighting the enemy, if we do not know his ideology? Our ignorance and passivity are very dangerous and debasing.

Communist ideology is wrong, but the Communists have devotion, sacrifice, initiative and purpose. We must have the same if we want to be successful in fighting them. The illusion that the Communists will change when they see our better life is wrong. Khrushchov has seen the life in USA, incomparably better than in USSR, but he like any devoted Communist lives by a vision of the future. The future belongs to the Communists, because this is preached by their materialist dialectic. And that future has to be attained by any means. They even have their own bishops, secret police agents, to use the religious people for their purpose. Revolution is an inevitability – this is the Communist creed. There are many voids created by Western nations. Into these voids Communism is rushing with diabolic skill and utter dedication.

But there are forces which, if properly organized, will mobilize the people against Communism: Family life, religion, nationalism, but first of all the elementary concept of freedom we cherish so much. Human nature is tuned to freedom. The need of the human spirit for freedom is as basic as the need of the body for air. And the evidence undoubtedly shows that the economic situation of the working class under capitalism is improving, workers even take part in capitalistic enterprises – buying shares. People must be shown that their life will not be better under Communism.

We need an ideological offensive. Communism deprives man of his liberty, robs human personality of all its dignity. Although outside the Russian sphere Communists loudly proclaim their faith in human rights, within the sphere of Soviet control ruthless suppression of

personal freedom is the logical outcome of the Marxist idea of man.

The Communists claim capitalism is in its dying phase. They claim further that the average citizen of the free world is so intellectually lazy and dishonest, so greedy and selfish, so intoxicated with entertainment, so consumed with his immediate problems, that the evidence of impending doom will never be acknowledged and the steps for survival will never be taken.

This picture is an ominous memento for every one of us. The question arises: Who is fighting Communism, and by what means? The gravity of the danger is the serious motive to start doing something immediately. It must be the serious responsibility of the Liberal Party to raise barriers against Communism in every corner of Australia. Any program of action can be built only on well-informed public opinion. The issue is clear cut – freedom versus slavery, individualism versus regimentation, democracy versus dictatorship.

Good speeches or good articles and enthusiasm without practical steps are only a soap-bubble. The emotional enthusiasm, if any, and the acknowledgement of danger have to be converted into devoted study and dedicated work. Reasons given for opposing Communism must be meaningful to everybody. How many people were ready to die for the security of their country, how many Christians in the course of history were ready to die for their faith? Why can not we do something when our civilization is in deadly danger? Our families, our religion, our beloved country – everything is at stake. Khrushchov's "We'll bury you" looms closer every day. The Communists are only waiting for further weakening, softening and degeneration of the Western world.

We must all work to keep the world free from the terrible Communist plague. Communism will never change. It will always have the same roots and bear the same fruits and nourish the same ambition: the conquest of the whole world.

Korea Concentrates On Defence Against Indirect Aggression

Ever since the Eighth APACL Conference, the Communists north of the military demarcation line, which crosses the middle part of Korea, have increased their indirect invasion of the Republic of Korea. Our Korea Chapter has concentrated its all-out efforts on establishing a defense against Communist indirect aggression, aided by the whole-hearted cooperation of the people of the Republic of Korea.

The puppet regime in the northern part of Korea has, so far, enslaved ten million of our brethren, and strengthened their military power for aggression under a seven years economic development plan, the so-called Flying-Horse Movement. Our brothers in the northern part are obliged to bear a miserable life, which no human being should be forced to do.

At this very moment, the North Korean Communists are desperately trying to drive the Republic of Korea into chaos by instigating South Korean youths and students to ruthless homicide, arson and other subversive activities. The Communists are employing every possible means to make them loyal to the Communist puppet regime in North Korea in an effort to attain their aggressive end and to dominate the Republic of Korea.

Last July and August, North Korean soldiers invaded the demilitarized zone and suddenly fired on United Nations armed forces units guarding the front-line. This invasion was regarded as a maneuver to drive the UN forces out of the Republic of Korea, and thus attain their aggressive goal of dominating the whole territory of Korea. On the other hand, Red China is attempting to camouflage her failure in internal politics by increasing international tensions through provocative actions.

The APACL Korea Chapter has observed a number of nation-wide ceremonies, such as Anti-Communist Students' Day, Freedom Day and Captive Nations Week, and has sponsored various lectures and forums designed to disclose the danger of subversive Communist indirect invasion.

Last month, for instance the Korea Chapter held mass rallies to expose the facts behind the Bamboo Curtain. At the same time, we directed our efforts toward thwarting the attempt of the North Korean puppet regime to sabotage the recent presidential election in the South. We have published a monthly magazine entitled "The Freedom", which is designed to promote the democratic way of thinking among the Korean people.

The people of the Republic of Korea have experienced a serious food shortage, due to the bad harvest of last year, and the difficulty was doubled by unusual weather conditions last Spring. We did, however, manage to overcome the difficulties through positive cooperation between the Government and people.

The Government of the Republic of Korea has maintained its stand regarding the reunification of Korea through peaceful means, that is, a general

election throughout the entire country under the supervision of the United Nations. Kim Il-sung and his followers have disagreed with our proposal, because they cannot hope to obtain the support of the Korean people in such an election.

The North Korean Communist puppet regime is trumpeting the reunification issue. What the Communists intend, however, is to invade the Republic of Korea once more under the direct and indirect support of Red China and Soviet Russia whenever the chance is available to them. This characteristic of Communism has been exemplified by the Communists in Vietnam and Laos.

Hon. Truong Ving Le, Vietnam, Chairman of APACL for 1963

The People Of Vietnam Conscious Of Its Mission

Whatever consequences it may bring forth, the Sino-Soviet conflict should not make us relax our vigilance, because Communism will always remain a danger for the world's peace.

As for Vietnam, it occupies a geographical position of considerable importance: not only does it stand at the junction of sea-routes linking the Indian Ocean to the Far East, but it also gives easy access by land to the North, the South and the South East of Asia.

This situation has made Vietnam the blending pot of Eastern and Western civilizations, and because it is conscious of its mission of safeguarding this happy symbiosis of human values, Vietnam is endeavouring to counter the Communists' successive attacks, in spite of its state of under-development, in spite of its partitioned territory and in spite of the destructions of a war which has been going on for 23 years.

In Vietnam, the Communists have launched a war without a front, a war of attrition, a war which has nothing in common with a conventional war, and which is part of the Communists' large scale expansionist program.

In spite of threatening dangers, the people of Vietnam has shown its determination to defeat its two enemies: Communism and under-development, and to devote itself to building up democracy on the Strategic Hamlet principle, thus creating a real revolution from the base in all fields: political, military, economical and social. The concrete results obtained are a splendid answer to the challenge of the Communists. Vietnam's military successes give proof that the Communists can be beaten by the very means of which they have always thought they have the monopoly, that is by a war of guerrilla. But what is more important, Vietnam's successes prove that under-developed countries can harmoniously combine democratic liberty with mobilization of the people's energy in order to be able at once to fight the anti-subversive war, to carry out industrialization and to speed up national reconstruction.

We hope that the League may grow richer and richer in experiences in its anti-Communist activities, and that a common strategy may be adopted with all the obligations and sacrifices it would entail.

Resolution

On Expanding The Liberation Movement Behind The Iron Curtain

The 9th APACL Conference,

Taking into consideration the fact that the clamour for "peaceful co-existence" by the Soviet imperialists is aimed not only at averting the mounting danger of defection of its satellites and internal unrest but, principally at disintegrating the unity of the democratic camp, relaxing the vigilance and will for struggle on the part of the democratic nations and stepping up its campaign of infiltration and subversion in the free world under the cover of peaceful coexistence, so as to attain its end of world conquest short of nuclear war;

Regarding active support given by the free world to the captive peoples in their struggle for freedom and promotion of the Liberation Movement behind the Iron Curtain as the only effective counter-measure against the Soviet intrigue of peace offensive and Communist campaign of infiltration and subversion;

Noting that as the Communist bloc, after the Moscow-Peiping split, has shown signs of collapse, especially its Iron Curtain in Asia, the present moment should be the most opportune for the free world to step up its campaign for the liberation of the Iron Curtain so as to thoroughly eradicate Communist tyranny;

Resolves:

(1) To expose by every possible means the Soviet intrigue of "peaceful co-existence", to call to the attention of the free world that peace is not possible without freedom, that co-existence not based on the principle of justice is co-existence on the basis of surrender and that it should give up any complacent thought of appeasement and compromise and instead, strive for the movement for the liberation of the nations behind the Iron Curtain;

(2) To appeal to all democratic nat-

ions of the free world to carry out without further delay the policy of liberating the captive nations and peoples, to call on all captive peoples, by psychological, political and other means, to rise up in the struggle for freedom, to give support to any anti-Communist uprisings by any organization or armed force behind the Iron Curtain and to give immediate recognition to the anti-Communist revolutionary regimes as soon as they are established;

(3) To urge all democratic nations of the free world to extend active support to exile organizations set up by peoples of the captive nations in any part of the world and to provide them with facilities and support conducive to their efforts in restoring their national independence and freedom of their peoples;

(4) To cement the ties between the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and all organizations in support of the captive nations and peoples as well as anti-Communist bodies, to call an international conference by them at an early date, to adopt a declaration of freedom and a general program for action, and set up an international structure in support of the captive nations and peoples so as to strengthen the Iron Curtain Liberation Movement;

(5) To appeal to the free world and peoples to give moral material support to the Republic of China in her recovery of the Chinese mainland and national unifications of the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam in the light of the serious crisis within the Iron Curtain in Asia following the Moscow-Peiping conflict, so that the success in the liberation of the Iron Curtain in Asia will also bring about the collapse of the Iron Curtains in Europe and Cuba, and the enslaved peoples will regain their freedom, and permanent world peace will be re-established.

Finalizing The Establishment Of The APACL Freedom Center And Its Operation

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, assembled at its Ninth Annual Conference from the 24th through the 31st of October, 1963, in Saigon Vietnam;

Recalling its previous resolutions on the establishment of the APACL Freedom Center and on the acceleration of the preparatory work thereof;

Having received the report submitted by the Korean Delegation on the progress of the preparatory work for the establishment of the Center;

Having been greatly impressed with the fact that the preparatory work for the Center has been so successfully carried out in spite of various difficulties by the unsparing support on the part of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea and by the whole-hearted support and encouragement from the APACL member-units and observer-units and other freedom-loving peoples;

Recognizing the urgent necessity of bringing the Freedom Center into operat-

ion at the earliest possible date in order to meet and defeat the ever-increasing Communist infiltration and indirect aggression aimed at destroying the free order of society and government all over the Free World;

1. Resolves that each member-unit and observer unit shall make every effort to implement the previous resolutions of the League on the establishment of the Center and on the acceleration of the preparatory work thereof, and further;

2. Resolves that each member-unit and observer-unit shall make to the best of its ability further contributions to the fund for the establishment and operation of the Center, and further;

3. Decides that the Board of Directors shall prepare an annual budget and appropriation of the Freedom Center and make the share of contributions to be borne by the Character Nations, member-units, observer-units, and other sources available.

Counter-Measures To Be Taken By The Free World In Face Of Moscow-Peiping Conflict

The 9th APACL Conference,

Noting that the deepening Moscow-Peiping conflict, which has led from ideological difference to the deterioration in the relations between the two regimes, is an obvious sign of decay of Communism as an ideology and an indication of decline of the aggressive capability of the World Communism which provides a favorable condition for the free world to destroy the Iron Curtain and to deliver the enslaved peoples;

Considering the fact that following its split with the Peiping regime, the Soviet imperialist power, to exercise more effective control over its satellites, will inevitably step up its infiltration and

subversive activities and launch its peace offensive in order to divide the unity of and paralyze the free world;

Realizing that the Chinese Communists, to relieve themselves of internal and external crises, will try every means to win over those countries in Asia and Latin America under the cover of "nationalism" and those newly emerging nations in the name of "racism" on the one hand and will use trade as a bait to induce a few democratic nations to supply them with strategic materials or production equipments to tide over their economic difficulties and enhance their aggressive capability on the other;

Taking into consideration the fact that

the Chinese Communists regard themselves as die-hard Stalinists, continue to chant the belligerent tune of "war is inevitable", concentrate their aggression on such neighboring areas as Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, India, South Korea and the Taiwan Straits, aside from giving positive encouragement to the Communist parties of the countries in developing areas to engage in the so-called "national liberation war", and attempt to Sovietize Indonesia with the result that the situation in Asia is left in a critical condition;

Noting that the Moscow-Peiping conflict has plunged the world Communist movement into the lowest ebb and that whatever change that is going to be made depends largely on whether the free world can make the most of the Moscow-Peiping split and evolve a correct anti-Communist concept and map out a strategy, active not passive, offensive not defensive, so as to change the whole situation and to strive for victory in the struggle for freedom;

Taking stock of the whole world situation resulting from the Moscow-Peiping conflict;

Resolves to take the following counter-measures:

(1) The free world should take full cognizance of the fact that the Soviet propaganda of "peaceful coexistence" is a tactic aimed at paralyzing the free world and therefore should heighten its vigilance by giving up any thought of compromise and appeasement and instead, adopt a resolute stand by strengthening the collective security organizations and take a step forward by laying down a positive and offensive policy against the Communists so as to win the cold war;

(2) To appeal to the free world not to expand trade with the Communists so as to strengthen the aggressive capability of the enemy, particularly at a time when the Communist bloc is falling apart;

(3) To point out that, after the

Moscow-Peiping conflict, the Russian and Chinese Communists, using neutralist tactics, have stepped up their efforts to Communize neutralist countries for the proliferation of their respective aggressive influences and that, in view of this fact, the free nations the world over should not only give up any illusion about neutralism but also concert their efforts for the realization of the struggle for freedom and against slavery of the world humanity;

(4) To expose in every way possible the Communist intrigue behind their slogans of "nationalism" and "racism" and to appeal to the free world to step up its economic and technical aid toward the countries in developing regions and to enhance trade relations with each other so as to ameliorate the living conditions of the peoples of these countries and thereby to eliminate any possibility of Communist infiltration and subversive activities;

(5) To adopt all effective means in guarding against the Communist intrigue of infiltrating and subverting the free world after the Moscow-Peiping split; to step up the counter-infiltration and counter-subversive activities within the Iron Curtain areas as a measure for counter-attack and also to use various tactics to step up anti-Communist united front activities to divide the ranks within the Communist parties in the Soviet Union, the China mainland and other countries so as to accelerate the disintegration of World Communism;

(6) To carry out the resolution passed at the Second Extraordinary Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League to urge all free nations in Asia and other countries concerned to establish a collective security organization to be participated in by those countries in Asia and the Western Pacific region so as to protect the freedom and security of Asia with collective force with the object of forestalling the Communist intrigue to expand aggression in Asia following the Moscow-Peiping conflict;

(7) To call upon the free world to

unfold the ideological struggle against the Communists in all parts of the world in the light of the new world situation following the split among Communist nations and to urge the Communists and their fellow-travellers to wake up and join the ranks of freedom so as to disintegrate the World Communist organization and give positive support to the enslaved peoples in their fight against Communism so as to destroy the Communist tyranny from behind the Iron Curtain;

Resolution On The Critical Situation In Southeast Asia And Counter-Measures To Be Taken

The 9th APACL Conference,

Realizing the direct and indirect aggression being made by the Communist bloc of nations in Southeast Asia as a step for the world domination which has plunged this area into long-term disturbances and war and consequently threatens the peace and security of the whole world;

Considering the fact that the so-called coalition government in Laos is only in name and that such countries as Vietnam, Thailand and Malaysia are being menaced by political infiltration and armed subversion of the Chinese Communists, while Indonesia is being subjected to the heaviest infiltration and subversion of both the Russian and Chinese Communists, thus placing the whole region of Southeast Asia in a critical situation;

Considering again that the Chinese Communists, following their sharp conflict with the Soviet Union, have obviously stepped up their aggressive activities in Southeast Asia in an effort to accelerate the Sovietization and seizure of that region;

Resolves:

(1) To urge members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization to watch more closely the development in that region and to extend positive military aid

(8) To appeal to the free world for its common interests to take advantage of the serious crisis and weakness of the Communist regime behind the Iron Curtain in Asia by giving powerful support to the Republic of China, the Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of Korea in their efforts to recover their territories and to rescue their peoples so as to destroy the Iron Curtain in Asia and then to work for the liberation of the Iron Curtain countries in other parts of the world with their concerted efforts.

to those countries in Southeast Asia being menaced by Communist aggression;

(2) To urge the United States and other democratic nations to increase their support to the anti-Communist struggle in Vietnam, to adopt a firm offensive strategy toward North Vietnam and neither to continue talks, nor yield a single step with regard to the Laotian problem;

(3) To appeal to the democratic countries of the free world to give their support to the anti-Communist action taken by Thailand and the Federation of Malaysia, to condemn the Indonesian Government for creating disturbances along the border of Malaysia at the instigation of the Communists in an effort to stir up war and to advise the Indonesian Government and people to wake up, sever all their ties with the Communist countries and join the democratic camp;

(4) To strengthen the regional security organization in Southeast Asia and to do everything possible to promote the formation of a collective security organization of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region, so as to unite the anti-Communist forces of these regions to checkmate the expansionist aggression of the Communist bloc;

(5) To undertake, by all means open to the League, member-units and observer-units, the following measures:

- a) declaration of Communist parties in their areas as illegal organizations;
- b) increased production of foodstuffs to prevent the exploitation of the misery of the people by the Communists;
- c) promotion of the welfare of the people to make them less susceptible to the wiles of Communism;

d) promotion of morality and the elimination of discriminatory practices;

e) intensification of free world psychological warfare operations to counter Communist propaganda;

f) establishment of strong local defense forces within their areas.

Against The Communist Infiltration And Subversive Activities In Asia And Africa

The 9th APACL Conference,

Noting the increasingly important roles to be played by the newly emerging nations of the Afro-Asian region in the family of nations and the Communist attempt to make use of the strength of this region as a bid for global struggle;

Noting again that the new situation resulting from the conflict within the Communist bloc which has brought about rivalry for leadership over the Communist parties of the Afro-Asian region and the campaign of infiltration and subversion against the nations in Asia and Africa launched by Moscow and Peiping which while different in means, is for the attainment of the same objective, makes it necessary for the nations in Asia and Africa to adopt more effective counter-measures against the infiltration and subversive activities of the Communist bloc of nations so as to crush to pieces the Communist intrigue;

Resolves that:

(1) The nations in Asia and Africa should take full cognizance of the fact that the Chinese Communist regime, in the destructive activities of the Communist bloc to infiltrate and subvert the nations in Asia and Africa, is playing the chief role and in mapping out their tactics for counter-attack, they should single out the Peiping regime as the main target of their attack by resolutely refraining from according recognition to and setting up diplomatic relations with it, so as to guard against the expansion of its sinister influence;

(2) The nations in Asia and Africa, in their struggle against Communist infiltration and subversion, should make good use of the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the Peiping regime without overlooking the common intrigue and coordinated actions that may be taken by the Communist bloc of nations and, therefore, they should resolutely outlaw the Communist bloc parties in their countries so as to deprive the Communist bloc of the main tools it uses for carrying out its infiltration and subversive activities;

(3) The nations in Asia and Africa should, by every available means, expose the decline of Communism as an ideology which is outdated, and the collapse of the Communist rule which is brutal in nature, and should make it plain that their national constructions will follow the road of political democracy and economic welfare so as to thoroughly eradicate any illusion and misconception about Communism in consciousness as well as in form;

(4) The nations in Asia and Africa should eliminate any remnants of neutralist trend to guard against the possibility of using neutralism for the intensification of infiltration and subversive activities by the Communist bloc of nations, and they should understand that the Communist Parties in Asia under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party have openly declared their hostility against neutralism and betrayed the so-called "five principles for peaces";

(5) The nations in Asia should guard against expanding trade relations with the Communist bloc which will be used as an overture to economic infiltration which, in turn, will serve as the basis for political subversion and in view of the foregoing, they should be very careful not to court disaster just for immediate gains, least of all, to take any action susceptible of providing economic or any other aid to the Communists so as to prevent the possibility of strengthening the Communist bloc in its infiltration and subversive activities;

(5) The nations in Asia and Africa should devote themselves to the formation of those motivating forces for historical progress by introducing political reform, accelerating economic development, raising the living standard of their peoples, promoting social security, protecting human rights and eradicating illiteracy so as to uproot the very sources responsible for Communist activities and their campaign of infiltration and subversion and to build up a strong and wholesome anti-Communist force and particularly in development countries like Vietnam, the Strategic Hamlet Policy is an appropriate measure to defeat the Communists, and at the same time to achieve democracy, social progress and economic advance;

(7) The nations in Asia and Africa should heighten their alertness, guard against the formation of a united front by the Communist bloc in the name of national Liberation or People's Struggle as its chief weapon to carry out infiltration and subversive activities, and should unite all anti-Communist forces by setting up a wide and strong anti-Communist united front for counter-attack;

(8) The nations and peoples in Asia and Africa should understand that the Communist parties and pro-Communist influences in their countries are the tools of the Communist bloc in its infiltration and subversive activities. These include peaceful tactics or parliamentary struggle when they are weak, and revolutionary tactics and armed struggle when they are

strong; and such being the case, the Asian and Africa nations should take steps to deal blows to and suppress them so as to uproot this source of trouble and should not tolerate them under any circumstance, when the Communist and leftist influence in their countries is weak;

(9) The nations in Asia and Africa, because of the necessity in their common struggle against Communist infiltration and subversion, should closely cooperate and coordinate with all anti-Communist nations through promoting culture and economic interflow, developing technical cooperation, exchanging anti-Communist experiences and giving help to each other so as to establish a regional collective security organization and form a joint anti-Communist force to guard against and deal blows to the Communist bloc in its infiltration and subversive activities and expansionist designs.

(10) A global strategy for the advance of freedom should be formulated and adopted to unify all anti-Communist efforts of the Free World to defeat Communism. In this global struggle against Communism the national and continental anti-Communist efforts should be well coordinated components. To insure success for the global struggle it is necessary to mobilize and incorporate into the efforts of APACL the immense spiritual forces of the Asian youth and intellectuals, primarily the poets, writers and artists.

Resolution On Promotion Of Afro-Asian Economic Cooperation

Noting that various nations in Africa which have just achieved independence, whose economic resources are yet to be developed and the living conditions of whose peoples are yet to be improved stand in urgent need of economic cooperation with other countries for their economic development;

Noting that, as economies of the Afro-

Asian nations are largely alike, especially in the field of agriculture, their mutual assistance and cooperation will go a long way in helping to further the economy of the Afro-Asian region;

Noting again that, at a time when the Communist bloc is intensifying its infiltration and subversive activities in the Afro-Asian region, all countries concerned, for the preservation of their independence and freedom and also for the security and peace of mankind, are in need of mutual assistance and close cooperation in the economic field with one another;

The 9th APACL Conference,

Resolves that:

(1) The Afro-Asian nations should achieve close technical cooperation in food production, particularly production of rice, the production of which is common among Asian nations and which also happens to be a staple food for various African nations, so as to increase food production in African nations and raise the standard of living of their peoples;

(2) The Afro-Asian nations, in the process of their economic development,

should strengthen their cooperation in the fields of industrial construction, capital and technical know-how and also pay due attention to the development of handicraft industry and process industry so as to employ their abundant natural resources to full advantage;

(3) All Afro-Asian nations, aside from their own efforts for economic development, should strengthen their contacts and cooperation with each other with respect to the draft of their economic projects, capital-raising and expansion of international markets, so as to be able to apply more effectively for aid for capital from international financial organizations and those countries which export capital;

(4) The Afro-Asian nations should from now on heighten their vigilance so as to make normal development of their economies possible in order that living conditions of the common people are improved to a satisfactory degree especially at a time when World Communism has been engaged in infiltration and subversive activities in Asia and Africa which have shown signs of political and social unrest and thus greatly affect their economic development.

Strengthening Of The APACL Organization And Functions

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, assembled at its Ninth Conference held from the 24th to the 31st of October, 1963, in Saigon, the Republic of Vietnam;

Once again realizing the constant threats of the Free World Nations and uncommitted countries through every feasible method, political, economic, cultural, religious, ideological, psychological, and military;

Recognizing the fact that one of the best ways to attain a most effective result in our common fight against the Communists is a well facilitated and powerful Anti-Communist activity;

Further realizing the discouraging fact that certain member-units neither possess a fundamental organization essential to the conduct of Anti-Communist activities, nor do they adhere to the implementation of resolutions solemnly adopted at the previous conference;

Purporting to foster a stronger and sound organization which will be fundamental to the revitalizing of the APACL activities directed toward the retaliation and eradication of the increasing menace of Communist subversive and aggressive activities in the Free World Nations;

1. Be it resolved therefore that those member-units whose Anti-Communist activities are not sufficiently effective

should reenlist their utmost efforts in the strengthening of their respective chapters and corporate body of APACL, by reinforcing their memberships through as much involvement of national and civic leaders as possible in such fields as economic, political, cultural, mass media, etc.;

2. Be it further resolved that each chapter should exert its maximum efforts in promoting a most effective anti-Com-

munist movement among its people through such activities as mass rallies, public lectures, open debates and publication of periodicals and literature;

3. Be it therefore now resolved that each and every one of the member-units should present a more detailed anti-Communist activity report at the forthcoming annual conference as a proof of manifesting its faithful adherence to the two foregoing resolutions.

Congressman M. A. Feighan

Time For Freedom Alliance

... The issue of captive nations is the primary issue of the cold war in which we are engaged. The captive status of more than a score of once free and independent nations is, in fact, the cause of the cold war. The dangerous international tensions which threaten the armed and shaky truce with imperial Russia springs from the captive status of those many nations. Our concern for the human rights of the hundreds of millions of non-Russian people in those captive nations is well known and conforms to our historic role as defenders of human freedom. As a nation, we support the aspirations of those captive people for national independence because that is our political heritage. But we are also aware that imperial Russia has set upon a course to colonize the world, including the United States. That awareness in the camp of freemen coined the phrase "cold war". The meaning of the cold war has not changed since the historic speech of Sir Winston Churchill at Fulton, Mo., in 1947. That meaning will remain the struggle of free men against Russian imperialism as long as the cold war remains with us.

In recent years there has been a tendency to brush the meaning of the cold war under the most convenient rug. But the cause remains the same. No amount of sweeping or issue-dodging can change that reality of life. Those who have doubts about the accuracy of this analysis should ask themselves these questions:

Why do we appropriate billions of tax dollars each year for national defense?

Why are we required to maintain military capabilities of a global nature?

Why have we appropriated over \$ 100 billion for foreign economic and military assistance since the defeat of the Axis Powers in 1945?

We stray from the path of reality when we fail to support with all our national vigor, the cause of the captive nations. Therein we find several hundred million allies - proven in common cause - and who put no price tag on their allegiance to freedom. It is time we cultivated that alliance for freedom. It has been neglected for too long...

Congressional Record — 1963

The Value Of Russian Treaties

Between the two World Wars there was already a coexistence of the free Baltic states with the Soviet Union, – a peaceful coexistence based on state and international law and stipulated in peace treaties, non-aggression pacts and various other agreements.

Thus Article 2 of the peace treaty between Latvia and the Soviet Union of August 11, 1920, was for example worded as follows:

“Russia without objection recognizes the independence and sovereignty of Latvia and renounces voluntarily and for all time all those sovereign rights which Russia possessed with regard to the people and territory of Latvia on the strength of the state constitution at that time and international treaties . . .”

The peace treaties with Esthonia and Lithuania were worded similarly.

Thus coexistence in general seemed to be legally ensured and guaranteed, especially as due consideration had been taken of the needs of the Soviet Union, inasmuch as trade agreements had been made with that country, free ports and duty-free areas had been placed at its disposal, and transit traffic privileges and preference tariffs had been conceded to it.

After the outbreak of World War II the Soviet Union, in spite of the fact that the Baltic states had declared their neutrality, put the imperative request – and this request was supported by Red divisions which were concentrated close to the east frontiers of these states – to Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania to sign “friendship and aid pacts”, which, among other things, gave the Soviet Union the right to set up military and strategic bases in the Baltic states. These “aid pacts”, which had been drawn up by sheer pressure, revealed the true nature of

the “coexistence”, even though they still contained certain legal guarantees, as for instance in Paragraph 5 of the pact with Latvia, which was worded as follows:

“The execution of this pact must in no case affect the sovereign rights of the high contractual parties, their form of state, their social and economic order, and their military activity.”

This did not however prevent Foreign Minister Molotov, a co-signatory to the pact, from writing as follows in the foreword to the book “Total War Economy and the Red Army”:

“It is impossible for our Soviet state to exist side by side with the rest of the world permanently. This difference can only be solved by armed force and by a bloody conflict. There is no other solution and there can never be any other solution. Only the power that is resolute enough to attack, will be victorious.”

This duplicity on the part of Molotov is not surprising if one recalls what Lenin said about coexistence in his writings (XXIX B):

“The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialistic states for any length of time is unthinkable. One or other is bound to triumph in the end. And before this end is reached a number of clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states are inevitable.”

And elsewhere Lenin says:

“But as soon as we are strong enough to defeat capitalism as a whole, we shall promptly seize it by the throat.”

On June 15 and 16, 1940, Moscow sent an ultimatum to the governments of the three Baltic states, and on the following day the Red Army, in violation of all treaties and principles of international law, marched into Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia and occupied these three countries.

The Future Potentialities Of Siberia

Siberia — A Subjugated Nation

The Soviet Union consists of many conquered nations, which the Russians dominate, and whose economic, cultural, intellectual and manpower resources they exploit in the drive for the expansion and aggrandizement of the Russian empire.

According to a legalistic definition, the present Soviet empire consists of two types of satellite and colonial dependencies:

a) *external satellites*: these are the non-Russian countries which were subjugated after World War II and which, although nominally independent, are directed and exploited by the local Communist parties controlled by the Kremlin: Albania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Outer Mongolia, Poland, Rumania und Yugoslavia;

b) *internal satellites*: these are the non-Russian countries and nations which were first subjugated by the Russian Czars, and which attained their full independence in 1918–1920, but were then subjugated again by the Russian Bolsheviks. They allegedly form a “free” Soviet Union and can “freely” secede from the Soviet Union, according to the Soviet Constitution¹; but in reality these are *par excellence* Russian colonies: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Turkestan² including: Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tadzikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

c) *colonial dependencies*: these are the non-Russian nations and peoples which were forcibly attached to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic: Cossakia, Idel-Ural, Karelia, North Caucasia, and Siberia.

On July 4, 1918, Siberia, with all the other colonial countries³ of Russia, rose in revolt and declared its independence. Some of those countries in revolt managed to remain independent; others failed. Siberian independence was suppressed as soon as the Bolsheviks freed their forces on the European front. As the Bolsheviks strengthened their Siberian front, the young Siberian Volunteer Army was forced to retreat. Thus, in February 1920, Siberia, from the Urals to Lake Baikal, was reconquered by the Russian Bolsheviks and four years later the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia met the same fate.

After the Russian Bolsheviks had smashed the resistance of the Siberian people and destroyed their national state, they started the re-establishment of the czarist empire openly by setting up what has been called the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic which is the core of the Soviet empire. The Russians disregarded the principle of self-determination of the Siberian people, and an area over 5,000,000 square miles of the once Free and Independent Siberian Republic was divided into the Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic; Autonomous Regions; National Areas; Krays and Oblasts and forcibly attached to

the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and is still treated as an integral part of Russian territory.

The United Nations and the Subjugated non-Russian Nations

It will be recalled that during the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly Khrushchov advocated the immediate abolition of the colonial system and colonial administration in all forms in order to afford the peoples of the territories concerned an opportunity to determine their own destiny and form of government⁴. He severely castigated the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium and other Western powers, and claimed that he spoke for some "100 million of colonial peoples" of Asia and Africa.

As the reply to Khrushchov's proposition to abolish all forms of colonialism, the former Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker of Canada challenged Khrushchov on his colonial oppression of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Russian empire:

"I ask the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to give to those nations under his domination the right of free elections, to give them the opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions . . . What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern European peoples which I shall not name for fear of omitting some of them?"⁵

The noted Swiss daily, *Die Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, of November 20, 1960, immediately grasped the significance of the Canadian Prime Minister's address. It stressed the fact that the Soviet experts and specialists were greatly alarmed by the Diefenbaker move, because they believed it was the beginning of a larger concerted Western assault against Soviet Russian colonialism. But a few days later it became clear that the speech made by Diefenbaker was to be considered as his own.

It is most regrettable that, with the exception of such countries as Canada, Free China, Chile and the Philippines, no representative of a great Western power dared to challenge Khrushchov on his own colonial empire and to demand that his own slogan of "national liberation" and self-determination be applied in the first place to the subjugated non-Russian nations, oppressed to a degree that is unprecedented in the world history. To quote Thomas J. Dodd, U. S. Senator:

"We in the United States, we in the Free World, have talked much, but we have done little, about liberation. 'Liberation', as we have used the word, has not been a guide to a meaningful course of action in the conflict between freedom and world Communism. It has been, on our lips, a political catchphrase, a hypocritical shibboleth"⁶.

Let us imagine that in the debate on colonialism in the General Assembly Diefenbaker would have been followed by dozens of Western statesmen, who would have advocated factual and well-documented proof of Russian colonial-

ism and imperialism in the non-Russian republics, Russian genocide, decimations of national elites in the non-Russian republics while the Russian element is being sent into their territory to implement the Russification policy of Moscow, elimination of their traditional religion and in its stead the spurious Russian Orthodox Church imposition which serves as a vehicle of Russification and Sovietization of the non-Russian peoples, etc., and finally offer for the General Assembly vote of a resolution applying these universal re-echoed principles to the only remaining Soviet Russian colonial empire. Resolved, that all the non-Russian countries and nations: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Esthonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Northern Caucasia, Siberia, Turkestan and Ukraine are and by right ought to be free to choose their own form of government, and that the United Nations calls on the government of the Soviet Union to prepare, at once, free, secret elections within each of the subjugated nations, under United Nations supervision.

Moreover, at its 1960 session, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

The Assembly, in its declaration, said that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation".

The Assembly further declared that:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or color, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

Subsequently, the establishment by the Sixteenth Session of the General Assembly of a Special Committee of Seventeen under Resolution 1654 (XVI) "to examine the application of the Declaration and to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of its implementation", was regarded as an important event on the grounds that it reflected the Assembly's desire for the speedy attainment of independence to all colonial countries and peoples everywhere. It also applied to Russian territorial acquisitions and unquestionably to Siberia, too.

Colonialism must be liquidated everywhere in the world and not only in the sphere of influence of the Western empires. But as the U. S. Representative to the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson, stated: "Russia in her foreign policy supports the liberation movements in Western colonies because such support helps the Russian Communist empire to spread its power and influence all over the world. But within the borders of the Russian Communist empire Russia is against the self-determination of once free and independent nations.

The Soviet colonial empire is the only modern empire in which no subject people have ever been offered any choice concerning their future and their destiny. That destiny was 'decided' once and for all – at gunpoint⁷.

Russian colonialism and imperialism is undoubtedly the greatest danger which today confronts the free world. Yet it is alarming how unaware we are of its dire peril and how little we have done to capitalize those perennial strains and stresses which are created inside the Soviet Union by systematic revolts, resistance and opposition of the subjugated non-Russian nations in their undying quest for complete freedom and independence.

Russian colonialism must be condemned and a policy of liberation of all the non-Russian nations and peoples must be adopted as the absolute necessity of liquidation of Soviet Russian colonialism and of the disintegration of the Soviet Russian colonial empire into independent democratic national states within the ethnographical borders of all the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union. The Russian state should be confined to its own ethnographic areas.

The Independent Siberian Republic should be restored, because Siberyaks, like other subjugated peoples of Russia, fought bravely for their rights and independence, but their path was barred by the Russian imperialists who impede the realization of the rightful aspirations of the Siberyaks. A nation, living in a territory enormously rich in natural wealth, is capable of great things, and the time will come when the aspirations of the Siberyaks will be fulfilled and an Independent Siberian Republic – the United States of Siberia – will again occupy an honorable and enviable place among the other free nations of the world.

¹ Under article 17 of the Soviet Constitution every Soviet Republic has the right to secede from the Soviet Union. But article 21 of the same Constitution stipulates: "A single union citizenship is established for citizens of the USSR", and article 133 reads: "To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Treason to the motherland – violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage – is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes." In other words, any attempt to obtain any advantage from article 17 of the most democratic Constitution automatically becomes a serious crime, according to articles 21 and 133.

² In accordance with the ancient Roman principles of divide and rule, Soviet Russia, in 1924, partitioned Turkestan into five Soviet Republics, namely Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzikistan. In this way Russia made out of one people five peoples and nations, out of one Turkish language five languages, out of one territorial frontier five frontiers, out of one historical development five different historical processes, and out of one culture five cultures. There was only one thing which the Russians could not achieve, and that was to make out of one Islam a five-fold Islam, for they could not split up Islam into various hits and pieces.

³ Those countries which proclaimed their independence in 1917 are: Finland, Idel-Ural and Ukraine. In 1918, Armenia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Poland and Siberia. In 1920, Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, and in 1922, Turkestan. Most of these republics were recognized by other states. The Russian Government, too, recognized many of these republics, as for instance Ukraine on December 17, 1917, Georgia on May 7, 1920, etc.

⁴ United Nations. General Assembly, 15th Sess., 869th Plenary Meetings, para. 183.

⁵ United Nations. General Assembly, 15th Sess., 871st Plenary Meetings, para. 169, 197.

⁶ Thomas J. Dodd, U. S. Senator, *Freedom and Foreign Policy* (New York: Bookmailer, 1962), p. 31.

⁷ Adlai E. Stevenson, "The Winds of Freedom", *U. S. Department of State Bulletin*, 46:212, February 5, 1962.



News And Views

Ivan I. Bezugloff

In November last year one of the leading fighters of the Cossack Liberation Movement, Ivan I. Bezugloff, celebrated his 65th birthday.

Since his youth he has played an important part in the fight for freedom of his country. Ivan Bezugloff comes of an old and highly esteemed Don Cossack family. There were no nobility and no social differences amongst the Cossacks. Everyone was a free member of their national community, and Ivan Bezugloff was brought up in this freedom-loving spirit.

After passing his school-leaving examination at a secondary school he began to study at the Donskoy University in Rostov. But his studies were interrupted by the Bolshevist revolution, and he fought as a soldier for the defence of his native country.

After the first World War and the Russian revolution many of the Cossacks living in Turkey returned to their native country; others, however, emigrated to the USA, where some of them are still living in the state of New York. The last Cossack revolt, which was led by Ataman Crusinov, occurred at the beginning of the 19th century, but this revolt, too, was crushed and Crusinov was hanged. After the 1917 revolution the Cossacks restored their self-administration once more and subsequently proclaimed their independence. The White Russian Army, which was set up by General Denikin and was stationed in the Cossack territories, was however repulsed and was eventually defeated and put to rout in the main territories belonging to Moscow as a result of the peasant revolts behind the fighting front. In spite of great difficulties this White Russian Army paved the way for the normal development of the newly created Cossack state.

From the outset Ivan Bezugloff fought against the Russian Bolshevist hordes. He was subsequently a lieutenant in a Cossack regiment, and later he emigrated abroad, together with thousands of other Cossacks. He settled in Czechoslovakia and began to study at an agricultural college. He then worked at an agricultural institute in Bratislava, Slovakia, for a time and later had a business of his own. As an emigrant he edited and published the organ of the united Cossacks, "Free Cossackia", and he was also a member of the most important Cossack organization in exile.

After World War II he lived for a time in Munich, but emigrated from here to the USA in 1956. Since 1950 he has been a permanent member of the Central Committee of A.B.N. and, since 1957, a member of the "American Friends of A.B.N." In the USA Ivan Bezugloff is one of the leading personalities in the Cossack National Organization.

His personal qualities have won him the friendship and confidence of many people in the course of his life. He is a loyal fellow-fighter, an ardent patriot, and, true to his origin and the mentality of his people, a man of extremely democratic views.

We wish many more years of good health and success. May he always keep his fighting spirit and his energy, and see the liberation of his people.

Estonian Representative In ABN

The Estonian National Council appointed Mr. Tonis Kint, who is residing in Stockholm at the moment, as a representative of A.B.N.

According to the Estonian constitution, Mr. Kint is the Acting Prime Minister of the Estonian Republic. In addition, he is the leader of the Estonian Agrarian Party, Estonia's major party, whose program is based on general conservative principles.

Mr. Kint's appointment to A.B.N. will afford a great impetus to this organization's activities in the Scandinavian countries.

Estonian People Have Never Renounced Their Political Independence

On June 17, 1940, the armed forces of the USSR occupied the territory of the Republic of Estonia, and a military occupational regime was established in that country.

These acts of violence, which had been preceded by the issuance of an unwarrantable ultimatum, were a flagrant breach of a number of valid treaties, in which the USSR and the Republic of Estonia had agreed to refrain from any act of aggression and from any violent measures directed against the integrity and inviolability of the territory or against the political independence of the other Contracting Party. Furthermore, they agreed to solve and to settle any disputes or conflicts which might arise between them, no matter of what nature or of what origin, by peaceful means only.

At the dictate of the emissary of the Soviet Government, A. A. Zhdanov, the

President of the Republic K. Paets was forced to appoint a new Cabinet on June 21, 1940. This Cabinet cannot be considered the legal governmental body of the Republic of Estonia. *Its installation, therefore, does not have any legal consequences under Article 51 of the Constitution of the Republic, namely, to relieve the lawful Government of the Republic of their offices.*

Immediately following the appointment of this puppet "Government", the occupational authorities held elections for *one* of the two Chambers of the two Chambers of the Parliament, the Chamber of Deputies. On the 14th and 15th of July, 1940, these elections were carried out under the most cynical, illegal and violent conditions. By a flagrantly illegal act, all the candidates, save those who were put up by the Communist, were rejected. That a governmental body put into office under such conditions cannot be considered the Chamber of Deputies

as provided for in the Constitution of the Estonian Republic needs no further proof.

On July 21, 1940, this unlawful body which called itself the Chamber of Deputies assembled and approved a petition, which had been dictated by the Moscow regime, requesting the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to incorporate Estonia into the Soviet Union. This request was complied with, but in view of the fact that the Chamber of Deputies which approved it was not lawfully elected and installed, Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union is invalidated. *Thus, the identity and legal continuity of the Estonian Republic remains intact.*

The Republics of Latvia and Lithuania were incorporated into the USSR by similar illegal acts. In a statement issued by the Under-Secretary of State, the Hon. Sumner Welles on July 23, 1940, the Government of the United States condemned these Soviet aggressions.

Other democratic powers in the West were well aware that the USSR had violated valid treaties and the rules of international law in their forceful annexation of the Baltic States. All these powers, including the USA, have refused to acknowledge their incorporation into the USSR.

The Baltic Envoys in the Western World have submitted formal protests against the invasions of their countries which were followed by the illegal appointment of new governments and sham elections, as well as against the incorporation of their countries into the Soviet Union. Moreover, their attitude is strongly shared by the people of the Baltic States.

Thus an appeal issued by the underground National Committee of the Republic of Estonia, dated Tallinn, June 23, 1944, declared *inter alia*:

"The Estonian people have never renounced their political independence. The Estonian people do not recognize, nor have they ever recognized, the so-called Soviet Estonian Government imposed on it by the forces of foreign arms and by terror as its representative. The Estonian nation is firmly determined that

the lawful organs of the independent democratic Republic of Estonia shall resume their activities... The National Committee of the Republic of Estonia has been created by the unanimous will of the people. *The National Committee assumes the exercise of power until the constitutional organs begin to function in Estonia.* It consists of Delegates of all political and social organizations at home and abroad which uphold the cause of national independence."

At the end of August 1940, Konstantin Päts, the President of the Republic, was deported to the USSR by the occupational authorities. In accordance with § 46 of the Constitution, the duties of the President are discharged by the Prime Minister when the President himself is prevented from discharging them. Consequently the powers of the President of the Republic *devolved constitutionally on Jüri Uluots, Prime Minister in the last legitimate Cabinet*, who had escaped deportation.

New Resettlement Measures

The following decree was recently issued by the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union:

During the years from 1964 to 1973, 300,000 Russians from the regions of Smolensk, Novgorod, Pleskau and Kalinin are to be resettled in the three Baltic countries Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as in the Soviet occupied part of East Prussia. Former inhabitants of these regions who were resettled elsewhere will not be allowed to return there.

During the same period 2 million inhabitants of the Caucasus, of the Moldavian Republic and of the western regions of Ukraine and Byelorussia will be transferred to East Siberia and to the Central Asian regions of the Soviet Union.

These measures are intended to help on the gradual russification of the regions in question. The reason given for these measures: to create better opportunities for earning a living!

An Underground Convent in Lwiw (Ukraine)

The Moscow weekly "Ogonjok", No. 46, of November 1963 published a report by its woman-correspondent Alla Trubnikova, entitled "A Suitcase with a Double Bottom", which described how an underground convent belonging to the Sisters of St. Mary was discovered in Lwiw.

According to this report, a man by the name of Aleksandrov, whose job it was to check the passengers on an international express train, discovered more than 3,000 small crosses and medals in the possession of a woman-passenger, Leontyna Theofilivna Domonasseytch. Some of these crosses were concealed in confectionery, the rest were hidden in the garments worn by the passenger in question. The religious pamphlets which were also found in her possession included a list of the nuns of the underground convent. In this way the Russian Bolshevik KGB murderers were able to track them down.

The nuns worked as ordinary ward sisters in one of the hospitals in Lwiw. In their quarters at No. 43 Mutchna Str., however, they observed the rules of their religious order. It was in this house, according to the Moscow weekly, that "little blue and yellow flags of the bandit Bandera, which had been sprinkled with naphthalene, as well as anti-Soviet forged documents and foreign passports were found..." In the chapel, which had been set up in one of the rooms of the house, divine service was held by the priests Borys, Roman, Hotra and others, who "had been sentenced in the past for their anti-Soviet activity".

The head of the underground convent, where ten nuns lived, was Mother Valeria-Maria Stepanivna Dubyk.

The Russian paper does not mention what happened to the nuns and their convent, but one can easily imagine what their fate was; if the Soviet Russian secret police, the KGB, gives permission for such a report to be published, then it is ob-

vious that it most probably liquidated all the persons who were responsible for smuggling crosses and founding the convent. It is extremely regrettable that the Western press, which obtained the news item about the discovery of the underground convent in Lwiw (Lemberg) from the English news agency Reuter or from its Moscow correspondents, defamed and insulted the memory of the Ukrainian nationalist leader Stepan Bandera, who was murdered by Moscow's orders in Munich in 1958. The intellectual satellites of Moscow and of the world mafia on the staff of the Paris editorial office of the "New Herald Tribune" and the London "Times" in the editions of November 12, 1963, maliciously added, after having referred to the "flags of Stepan Bandera" which were found in the cupboards at the convent, that the late Stepan Bandera "collaborated with the Nazis during the war". The Dutch daily "De Volkskrant" of November 12, 1963, very rightly wrote as follows in this connection: "... the Ukrainian leader, of whom the Russians affirm that he collaborated with the German Nazis during the war, in reality fought for the freedom of Ukraine". At this point we should like to refer to some of the interesting details of the discovery of the underground convent in Lwiw by the Soviet Russian secret police, the KGB, as related by the "special woman-correspondent" of the paper "Ogonjok" (or, to be more correct, a co-worker of the KGB).

According to her report, Sister Domonasseytch had more than 3,000 small crosses concealed in her clothes.

The correspondent of the "Ogonjok" adds that the house No. 43 Mutchna Str. looks exactly like any other house in Lwiw. It is three stories high, and there is no indication whatever of the religious purpose which it serves, as far as its outward appearance is concerned. But in the interior, that is to say in the rooms, there are crosses and icons on all the walls.

One of the rooms has been turned into a chapel, and it was here that divine service was held. The women who lived in this house went by their secular and also their nun's names. These so-called nurses lived the life of nuns in this house and handed over all the money that they earned at the hospital to the Mother Superior Valeria. A large number of flags, which had been sprinkled with naphthalene to protect them against moths, as well as numerous anti-Soviet leaflets were found in the cupboards at the convent.

The details about the life of the nuns and about their divine service indicate that the "woman-correspondent" of the "Ogonjok" must have received detailed information from the secret police, the KGB.

Alla Trubnikova, who is no doubt not merely a woman-correspondent but also a KGB member, then relates how she by chance found herself in a room in the house which resembled a museum for costumes and various (religious) utensils. She goes on to describe the divine service held in secret, which she calls an interesting performance with little bells, wine, and candles, etc. According to her description, a man in priest's robes uninterruptedly recited something about God and the Divine Power in a mumbling voice, whilst the "supers" kept silent; eventually they knelt down and also began to recite all the same nonsense for about an hour.

Holy Communion is described by the said Russian KGB agent as a senseless drinking of wine. Naturally all those present enjoyed the wine, so she adds, and after this performance they left all the sumptuous vestments, rosaries and empty bottles behind.

In conclusion, the "correspondent" of the "Ogonjok" ridicules the sale of crosses and icons.

In another paragraph she refers to the circulation of religious literature and talks about how one can obtain a "passport to Paradise". She also mentions the mysterious postmen who, when darkness falls, go round to the various addresses

known to them and deliver the "post" there.

Trubnikova points out that this criminal religious activity continues unabated. Smuggling is carried on from abroad by means of the international trains and planes. The two-faced individuals engaged in this activity refuse to give it up. Contraband goods, which not only include religious literature and icons but also narcotics and foreign bank-notes, are smuggled into the Soviet Union from abroad in suitcases with double bottoms.

In the rural districts, so she adds, one often comes across young girls who have crosses tattooed all over their arms, which then bleed profusely. The initiator of this practice was a Greek Catholic priest called Soltys in the village of Seredne. This religious sadist, according to Trubnikova's statements, even went so far as to maim young people after having led them on to a religious ecstasy.

She then advances the following argument: "It is precisely this religion which one intends to import into our country by means of contraband goods and to spread amongst us. For this reason this religion is as dangerous as contraband goods such as opium, foreign currency and firearms".

Moscow combats religion by calumnies and terror.

Since the nationalism of the peoples enslaved by Moscow – a nationalism which is directed against the Russian occupation – is inseparably bound up with the religious feelings of these peoples, one can well imagine how great the fear of the Russian Bolsheviks must be lest religious activity should assert itself in the non-Russian countries of the so-called Soviet Union; and it is therefore not surprising that they resort to every possible means to combat religion in the non-Russian "socialist" republics. In the Baltic countries and in West Ukraine religious activity is particularly strong and the Russian occupants are finding it impossible to exterminate it.

Famine in Ukraine

The official Russian press is far from divulging any information about the famine in Ukraine and other countries of the USSR. According to official statements made by Khrushchov, however, as well as statements made in newspaper articles, matters are as follows:

In September 1963, the bread ration per person was reduced in all shops, the urban as well as the rural ones. Until September, a shopkeeper was allowed to sell 1 kilo brown bread and 1 kilo white bread to each person. From September on, however, only 1 pound (400 grams) brown bread and 1 pound white bread was allowed to be sold. The sale of flour was prohibited altogether.

Concerning the provision of corn, only Byelorussia and a few other countries had submitted reports to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by October 1, 1963. Ukraine had not submitted a report. Officially, Moscow did not inform the Soviet people that the government purchased 305,000 tons of wheat from Canada and that negotiations for the purchase of corn were being carried on with USA and Australia.

On the 1st of October, 1963, *Pravda* published the contents of a speech delivered by Khrushchov before Party appointed agricultural directors from the southern districts of Ukraine. Khrushchov stated: "Comrades, we need the corn immediately, instantly. And we must have more and more each successive year. The climatic conditions were unfavourable for farming last year, but we must draw the correct conclusions from this fact. As an old peasant proverb says: 'One should not count one's chickens before they hatch.' The conditions which arose in the course of last year make it urgently necessary for us to tackle the matter of soil fertility seriously and to take measures to secure us against various unpredictable factors."

The February 10 (1964) issue of *Pravda* carried the speech delivered by Khrush-

chov before the agricultural conference, which was attended by the Party bosses from North Caucasia and from Krasnodar Territory. (This speech was published a week after the conference. This indicates that it was censored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party before publication).

Khrushchov said: "Owing to highly unfavourable climatic conditions in 1963, the crop for which we had planned and with which we had reckoned, was by no means achieved. As a result of these unfavourable conditions, it has been necessary for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to appeal to the Party and the people to make sparing use of corn for their own provisions, for fodder and technical purposes.

To meet our food demands, we have imported from abroad: 6.8 million tons of wheat from Canada, 1.8 million tons from Australia and smaller amounts of corn from other countries. Thanks are due to our Roumanian comrades for the brotherly help which they have shown us. On a temporary basis, they have allotted us 400,000 tons of wheat."

Moscow purchased 80,000 tons of wheat flour from France. Bonn has communicated that a conference concerning the export of an *additional* 300,000 tons of wheat to Moscow took place there.

The American Secretary of Commerce, Hodges, has stated that Moscow has the intention of purchasing over 4 million tons of wheat and flour, a large quantity of dairy products and butter from the United States.

It is worthy of note that Moscow is purchasing a large quantity of flour abroad, for this is a product which cannot be stored for a longer period of time. All this seems to indicate that there is a great shortage of bread in the USSR at present, and that the so-called "record crop" of 1962 was not a reality, but existed only on paper. A Soviet representative negotiated with Holland for the purchase of a quantity of wheat flour

equal to the one which Moscow had sold to Holland in 1962, as well as for the purchase of large quantities of rye flour.

According to official reports, Moscow produced the following quantities of agricultural products in 1963: Corn – 2,735 million pudes;¹ sugar beets – 42 million tons; vegetables – 6,3 million tons; meat – 9,4 million tons; milk – 28,8 million tons; eggs – 8,7 billion.

It is significant that at the December (1963) plenary meeting (the chemical) Khrushchov failed to make any mention of the quantity of the gross corn crop of 1963 in the USSR. The *Zentralnoe Statisticheskoe Upravlenie* (Central Bureau for Statistics) of the USSR gave the following figures for the gross corn crop: In 1961 – 8 billion 400 million pudes; in 1962 – 9 billion pudes, and in 1963 – 7 to 7,5 billion pudes. If this had been the case, Moscow would not have purchased corn abroad, but it would have fulfilled its “socialistic” obligations, namely, shipped corn to its satellites. At the December (1963) plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchov gave the following official statement: “You already know that the last year was especially unfavourable as far as climatic conditions were concerned. The severe winter and the subsequent terrible drought damaged the most important economic districts. The crop was smaller than in the previous year and millions of hectares of winter corn perished. *As a consequence of the difficult circumstances during the past year, the kolkhozes and sovchozes in Ukraine were only able to sell the state 600 million pudes corn!* The gross corn crop in Ukraine, including wheat, rye, barley, maize, buckwheat, millet, amounted to 2,1 billion pudes. (Journal – “Economy of Soviet Ukraine”, No. 2, 1963). The gross crop of the state in 1962 amounted to 60 million pudes.

“In the course of this year we have produced 836 million pude corn more than in 1953”, Khrushchov declared at the “chemical” plenary meeting of the

¹ one pud = 16.35 kilos.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. “Nonetheless, we suffer from a shortage of corn this year – especially of wheat. (In 1953, 1,899 million pudes were produced). The government has been forced to buy a quantity of corn abroad. As we know there are certain people who think: ‘How is this possible! Formerly, when our corn crop was smaller, we ourselves exported corn, and now we have to import it.’ What can be said to such people? If Stalin’s and Molotov’s methods for providing the people with corn were used, then it would have been possible to export corn even during the past year. This was how they did it: The corn was exported to foreign countries, despite the fact that in some districts people were swollen with hunger; some even died of starvation. Yes, comrades, it is a fact that in *quite number of districts in the country* – in the Kursk District for example – people died of starvation. And corn was exported at that time.” (*Soviet Ukraina*, December 12, 1963).

According to other indirect sources of information, the matter of food production stands as follows:

1. Kharkiv

As early as autumn (November 1963), word began to spread among the population that the coming winter would be scanty as far as food was concerned. The summer drought was so severe that whole fields of corn in the entire district were burnt by the sun. Bread was sold from 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. and already by 5 o’clock in the morning people begin to queue up in front of the stores. By 2 P.M. the whole supply of bread is sold out, so that not all the people who have stood in queue are able to get any. The sale of baked bread is limited – a large family is allowed a 1 kilo loaf of bread per day. It has been announced that in the Spring of 1964, the bread ration would be reduced, namely, to 800 grams per day for a large family. The bread is baked from a mixture which consists of wheat, maize and potatoes. The potato

situation is grave – there are none to be had in the stores; in the market a little heap of potatoes, weighing approximately 1 kilo, cost 1,55 rubles. The stores are supplied only with last year's sauerkraut, with sour pickles and pickled tomatoes. Moreover, there is a lack of one or another vegetable almost each day – there are no onions at all. There is meat only once a week; 1 kilo costs 4,60 rubles – only 2,50 grams are allowed to each person. There is pure butter only once a month, 300 grams per person; the price is 5,20 rubles per kilo. People stand in long queues for groats and macaroni – each person is allowed to buy only 1 pound (400 grams). In Kharkiv, the average monthly wage is between 70 and 85 rubles; women receive between 25 and 60 rubles monthly (for heavy construction work).

2. *The villages in the districts: Kyiv, Poltava, and Tsherkassy*

At the end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964, the collective farmers were not given any food supplies for their work. The so-called “delinquent” kolkhozes are 2 to 3 years behind in their payment of the farmers (1961–1963). Life is miserable. Some farmers own cattle but they have no fodder to feed it. In the “leading” kolkhozes, cattle was sold to other kolkhozes even in 1962. The kolkhoze administrators promised the farmers that they would be paid for their work with milk, lard and meat. As a result of the bad harvest, however, this promise was withdrawn. In order to carry out the state's plans with respect to the production of agricultural goods by the kolkhozes, the farm workers and the villagers were summoned to meetings, at which the farmers were asked to surrender their own agricultural products “voluntarily” (not only those which they had received as pay for their work, but also those which they had grown on their own plots of ground). As model leaders, the “front rank men”, those who had received medals and the Communists stepped forward first, – in order to give a “good example” to the common farmers.

The farmers who take agricultural products, construction materials etc. from the kolkhozes without authority, are severely punished. The judge asks at the trial: “Did you steal?” The farmer answers: “I have taken but I have not stolen.” In the “leading” kolkhozes, the small plots of ground which were left to the farmers for their own personal use were abolished; only the small plot of ground around their living quarters remains. In the “delinquent” kolkhozes, there are still some private plots of ground whose area is from 0,10 to 0,15 hectares. Once every two weeks, the following provisions are delivered to the village stores (the village co-operative stores): Brown bread, sugar, groats, millet grits, pea flour. The following is sold to various administrative and Party officials: 150 grams sugar per person, 100 grams groats, 2 to 3 herrings per family. There is no real tea, only dried raspberry tea and tea made from dried apple peels. All other nutritional foods, the farmer must get for himself in one of three ways: 1) “acquire” them, i. e. take them, without stealing; 2) by doing extra work for them during the day – also not strictly legitimate; 3) he must simply scrape along with what he can get out of his own plot of ground (if he has one). Cows are seldom owned privately; most people raise pigs, – a large pig and a pigling, or a goat, possibly 2 or 3 sheep.

3. *Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Lviv, Saporoshje, Donetsk, Luhansk, Mykolaiiv*

Until January of 1964, the population was poorly supplied with agricultural and other food products like bread, flour, meat, groats, lard, sugar and pastries. The situation has improved somewhat since January (approximately 15–20%). Everywhere, in front of the shops and in the shops, people stand in long queues for groceries. Before the *October* and even before the New Year, 2 kilos per person of white and brown bread (made from a mixture of various flours), various pastries, meat, sausage products, sugar, flour, groats etc. were sold in the stores.

In addition, fowls (geese, ducks and chickens) were sold. In the course of January 1964, however, most of these products disappeared from the shops. Once a week each person was allowed 1 kilo bread, 500 grams meat, 1 kilo herrings, 400 grams groats, 400 grams sugar. The potatoes were half rotten; vegetables were very scarce, and oranges cost 1,50 rubles each, - milk is available for children only. Most families make great efforts to have their children boarded in the children's homes and schools. The working members of the family take their meals in the canteens of their firms, where they receive 100 grams brown bread with them. Some of the workers do not eat this meal, but save it and take it home with them. In this respect it is worst of all for the unmarried workers. During the working days, they can eat in the canteens, but at nights they do not have any possibility of buying groceries because the stores are either closed or sold out. The authorities, Party functionaries, directors and high officials are well supplied with groceries; together with their families they even take their meals in the first-class restaurants and receive their groceries directly from the storehouses through the back door. Sometimes they even receive their groceries from the kolkhoze director at state prices. They earn enough money to afford to eat in restaurants, for example. Their incomes are as follows: The chairman of the District Executive Committee receives 1600 rubles per month; the first secretary of the Party District Committee receives 1800-2000 rubles per month; the director of a large firm receives 1700-1900 rubles per month, and the average professional man, like doctors, teachers, engineers receives 90-140 rubles per month.

4. *Cherson, Vinnitsa, Ushhorod, Luzk, Shytomyr, Sumy, Poltava, Symferopol, Tarnopol, Tshernyhiu*

The supply of bread and flour in the shops for the people is very limited. In the hope that some groceries may pos-

sibly be delivered to a shop, the people stand in queues. Groats, butter, cheese, flour and sugar are sold only to those families who have small children; namely, 1 kilo each of these groceries once a month (butter, only 450 grams per month). The city inhabitants take trips to their relations and acquaintances in the villages "to acquire" various groceries there.

From the official Bolshevik press, it is not possible to learn anything more about how things stand with respect to the grocery supply for this year. It is only reported, for example, that in "some" (what do they mean - some?) kolkhozes, there is a great shortage of cattle fodder. With respect to this shortage, the newspapers call upon the villagers not to destroy dry weeds and twigs or to discard dishwater. The weeds and twigs should be chopped into small pieces, to which boiling water and squeezed out sugarbeets should be added, and the resultant mixture should be used as fodder. The kolkhozes are ordered to collect the bare corncobs from the state storehouses and to grind them up and feed them to the animals. The kolkhozes pick them up and deliver them to the farmers for fuel.

From time to time, the newspapers *Radjanska Ukraina, Pravda Ukrainy* and *Kolhospne Selo* report on the sentences passed on "lazy-bones", "bourgeois" and "speculative peasants", as well as on some kolkhoze directors, who refused to deliver all the corn demanded by the state - intentionally withholding some of it for times of distress. Trials, however, are held only in exceptional cases. Persons who are guilty of these transgressions are usually punished by the state Party supervisors (by the so-called "Shelepinzy").

It is also reported that higher kolkhoze officials steal socialistic property and build houses or "Datschas" (summer houses) for themselves or for their superiors, hold drinking parties with state money, buy cars for their own personal use, go to resorts at the expense of the kolkhoze.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Case Studies Of Soviet Imperialism

The American State Department has issued a pamphlet about case studies in Soviet imperialism. This pamphlet contains facts and is a historical document of the cruel Soviet colonial imperialism. It shows how the Russians violated and ignored the four principles of the "Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia" made by Lenin in 1917.

1. Equality and sovereignty of the nations of the Russian empire;
2. The right of the nations of the Russian empire to free self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states;
3. Abolition of all and sundry national and national-religious privileges and restrictions;
4. The free development of the national minorities and ethnographical groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

These principles should grant all nationalities in the Russian empire freedom and independence. But as history has proved, Russian imperialism never respected this liberal declaration. The case of Georgia shows how nations which attempted in the early years of the Soviet Regime to gain their independence were conquered. Although the Russians had recognized the independence of Georgia in a treaty of May, 1919, stating "... Russia obligates itself to refrain from any kind of interference in the internal affairs of Georgia", the invaded the country and on February 25, 1920, the Soviet Georgian republic was proclaimed. Exactly the same happened to Ukraine, Azerbaidzhan and Armenia.

The 2nd Chapter of the pamphlet deals with the tragic fate of the Kazakhs, which is a typical example of Soviet administration in practice.

The chapter about the Moslems under colonial rule demonstrates how the Rus-

sians, as usual, disregard their promises. On December 7, 1917, Lenin and Stalin signed a proclamation addressed to "all Moslem toilers of Russia and the East", "... henceforth your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions, are free and inviolable". These assurances have not only never been fulfilled, but religion is even intensely attacked and suppressed, and the Moslem religious leaders are persecuted. In addition, a number of laws exist with provisions directed against the Islamic faith.

Chapter IV deals with the annexation of the Baltic States. The record of the Soviet Government in relation to the Baltic States is one of deceit, chicanery, false promises, and inhumanity. In spite of promises to respect the independence and social order of the Baltic countries, Moscow annexed them and then proceeded to nationalize their industry, trade, and transport, and to collectivize their agriculture. Their promises that the replacement of the "bourgeois" governments would insure the "inviolability of the citizen's person", were violated by mass deportations of all who resisted the Soviet onslaught.

The last chapter of the pamphlet is dedicated to the wartime deportations.

During World War II the Soviet Government carried out mass deportations to remote areas of the USSR of entire ethnic groups totalling more than a million persons as a reprisal against disloyal individuals among them.

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Russian Oppression in Ukraine. Reports and Documents. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd. London 1962, Price: 36/- net (in USA and Canada 8 Dollars).

This book is about the national oppression perpetrated by the Russian imperialist rulers in Ukraine during the last 45 years.

Ukrainians are a people distinct from the Russians and their struggle against Russia for national freedom and inde-

pendence is briefly described in the introductory report. Various articles in this book deal with particular events or aspects of the Bolshevik Russian colonial oppression of the Ukrainian Nation: the persecution of religion and Ukrainian culture, the economic exploitation of Ukraine, the enslavement of the Ukrainian farmers by means of starvation, the extermination of political opponents by imprisonment, deportation to concentration camps, execution and the suppression of resistance by means of inhuman methods. The book contains many authentic eyewitness reports and detailed accounts of gruesome outrages committed by the Russian Bolshevik occupation regime in Ukraine. A section of the book deals with political assassinations organised abroad by Moscow. In particular, the assassination of outstanding leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle – Symon Petlura in Paris (1926), Evhen Konovalets in Rotterdam (1938), and Stepan Bandera in Munich (1959), are discussed at length. A select bibliography concerning Ukraine is included.

It is hoped that this book will further the understanding of the history and current trends in Ukraine, a country of over 40 million people with great potentialities for independent existence, and that it will help the reader to comprehend the true nature of Russian Bolshevism.

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Le procès de Bogdan Stashynsky (assassin de Bandera). (The trial of Bogdan Stashynsky – the murderer of Bandera.) Bulletin de la Commission Internationale de Juristes, No. 15, April 1963, pp. 1–5.

In October 1962 the trial of the former Soviet agent Bogdan Stashynsky, the murderer of Stefan Bandera, took place in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists gives a brief account of the two murders perpetrated by Stashynsky – of the Ukrainian political exile Lev Re-

bet in 1957, and in 1959 of the President of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stefan Bandera, both of them domiciled in Munich, and points out that the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists belongs to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), just as do the Bulgarian Front, the Czech National Committee, the Estonian Liberation Movement, the Roumanian Liberation Front, etc.

The Bulletin then gives a brief account of the trial and from the legal point of view discusses the sentence passed on the murderer, who was only found guilty of complicity, since the guilty parties are the Soviet secret service and the Russian government.

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Zbigniew K. Brzezinski: *Der Sowjetblock – Einheit und Konflikt* ("The Soviet Bloc – Unity and Conflict"). Published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch.

Z. K. Brzezinski, who in specialist circles is regarded as one of the best authorities on the Soviet Union and its satellite states, gives an account of the relations of the individual Communist satellite states to one another and to the Soviet Union. The author does not confine himself solely to mentioning facts and incidents which are already known and to ascertaining that a change has occurred in these relations, but sets out above all to examine the reasons for this change.

A careful analysis of the events and factors which promote unity within the Soviet bloc and of those which lead to conflict is combined with an examination of the relationship between Communist ideology and power and of the reciprocal effects of these two factors in the conflicts between the various Communist parties.

The author gives a most informative account of the causes of the various tensions within the Soviet bloc, which are

impeding Bolshevik rule to an increasing extent and are due to the varying degrees of dependence of the satellite states on the Soviet Union and to their individual positions in relation to the latter. This feeling of irritation on the part of the satellites is a grave danger to the Soviet Union, for in the background there lurks the growing discontent of the population which is constantly aggravated by the unyielding rigidity of the Bolshevik despotic regime.

Brzezinski deals at length with the repercussions of the Polish October revolt and the Hungarian revolution on the East Bloc and also with the reasons for the tension between Red China and the Soviet Union.

This book can certainly be regarded as the most informative and interesting work which has been published on this subject so far.

A. S.

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U Thant et la verité sur la Hongrie (U Thant and the truth about Hungary). Nouvelles du Mouvement syndicale Libre (A.F.L.-C.I.O.), No. 8, New York, August 1963.

Mr. Thant has stated that he was satisfied with his recent visit to Hungary, where he does not appear to have noticed any oppression. In this connection the bulletin of the American syndicate centre reprinted a letter which Mrs. A. Kethly sent to the president of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and in which she made the following interesting statements:

"Thousands of persons, above all young people, who were arrested for revolutionary activities, have been unjustly sentenced like criminals under the common law and are still in prison. For instance, those who fought with weapons were sentenced for illegal possession of firearms; those who set fire to Russian tanks were sentenced as incendiaries; those who were simply fighters were sentenced for murder . . . As long as the Hungarian frontier

is bristling with mines and barbed wire, as long as Hungary is occupied by Soviet Russian troops, as long as the Hungarian people are not allowed to express their will in the form of free elections, as long as the freedom of the press, the right of assembly and above all the freedom of the trade unions are not guaranteed, the attitude of the Hungarian government will remain in conflict with the resolutions of the General Assembly . . ."

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Michel Mouskhély: *L'Europe face à l'Est* (Europe faces the East). "L'Europe en formation", No. 40-41, July-August 1963, pp. 17-26.

It is practically impossible to give a useful résumé of this excellent study by Michel Mouskhély, professor at Strasbourg University, which has been written in collaboration with Bernard Rouyer-Hameray, assistant lecturer in the Faculty of Law at Strasbourg. For it is to a certain extent a synthetic study of the current situation and an attempt to define the main trends in the present situation: the USSR faces Europe, and Europe faces the USSR.

The author very rightly affirms that the USSR is alien and hostile to Europe. We are of the opinion that it will always remain so and that every partnership of West Europe with Moscow in the sense of a false interpretation of the conception "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" would prove disastrous for the whole of Europe. "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" is, in our opinion, a Europe *without* the USSR, but comprising the free countries of East Europe, such as, for instance, Ukraine, Byelorussia and Georgia. In other words, the Soviet empire, hostile and menacing, must make room for the independent states of the nations which are at present subjugated.

Professor Mouskhély also discusses the peculiar nature of the Russian soul, the Soviet ideology and the necessary con-

ditions for a possible improvement in the present situation. The ideas which he expresses are extremely interesting and we shall return to them on a future occasion.

The only fault which we have to find with this study is that Professor Mouskhély does not take into consideration the fact that the USSR is not Russia, but that it is an empire in which, apart from Russia itself, there are several countries which are waiting for a de-colonization. The nations occupied directly by Russia in the Soviet Union constitute an extremely powerful and important force, as well as a problem which must be taken into account whenever one talks about Europe and its fate. They are moreover a political reality with which one must reckon.

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Georges Gaudy: *La toile d'araignée russe* (The Web of the Russian Spider). "Aspects de la France", No. 775 of July 18, 1963.

In his excellent article Georges Gaudy, the sincere friend of the subjugated peoples refers to certain French opinions, as for instance that of Joel Carmichael on the origin of the present Russian empire, that is to say the Soviet Union, or that of René Pinon on the peoples of the tsarist empire.

After having enumerated the captive nations in the USSR, which is a veritable "Soviet Russian prison of nations", G. Gaudy writes:

"In his biography M. Bruhat shows us the illustrious pillager (Lenin) who called the empire of the tsars a 'prison of peoples'. But the Soviet Russians have only reinforced the tyranny. And like despots they have preserved this imperialism, which Moscow's barbarity does not vindicate, and have the approval of the two million white Russians who by emigration have been scattered throughout Europe and America."

Ernest R. May: *Private War with Russia*. A Novel. Place: Washington, D. C. Time: Tomorrow. Dorrance and Company, Philadelphia, 1963. pp. 143.

After the collapse of the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) during World War I, one could witness an unheard of political commotion which emanated from the East – that is from the Red Russian empire that swallowed so many civilized peoples in Eastern and Central Europe. The question is: "To be or not to be" for the rest of the civilized world.

The story of John Lock, a member of US Congress, is the story of an American notable and patriot who is "faced with a hard and immediate decision. But it is more than that: it is Lock's private war with Communism" – as is stated on the cover of the above book.

The ancestors of Lock were faced with the iron heel that crushes the timid and helpless people, whether it bears the brand of Russian monarchism, or of Communism under cruel Stalin and his successor Khrushchov.

The hatred of Russian tyranny was brought to the New World when the forebears of John Lock came to Kansas, a country where freedom, justice and dignity of man prevail. But the author is afraid of "the opposition of fearful colleagues who had abdicated their principles in favour of expediency."

The salvation of the civilized world consists in supporting the independence movements of the peoples that are enslaved by the Kremlin. The huge Russian prison of peoples will then explode from within. The national problem is the most vulnerable spot of the Red Russian empire: it is its Achilles' tendon.

That is why "Private War with Russia", through the person of Congressman John Lock, throws a new light and slant on the nefarious Russians, and their 20th century brand of imperialism.

Although the book is written in the form of a novel, it is nevertheless true to history.

We quite agree with the author that "The spreading fire of communism in this modern age is a ringing and stinging indictment that freedom can be, and is being lost, to millions of people, and to many generations yet unborn, either by default or by 'negotiation'-communist style".

The contents of the book are a manifest warning to the civilized world that the danger of the Russian Communist threat has in no way disappeared.

W. Luzhansky

*

An Ex-Prisoner of Soviet Camps Speaks his Mind

What Soljénitsine omitted to mention

In his novel "A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch" Soljénitsine talks about Soviet concentration camps, but he passes over certain striking facts in silence so completely that, apart from the very fact of the existence of these camps, he helps to propagate an idea which is not in any way in conformity with reality.

For reality in the camps was very different:

- 1) Of almost 30 million prisoners in 1953 the Russians only constituted a small minority; the other nationalities constituted an overwhelming majority.
- 2) There were comparatively few former members of the Red Army, but there were many former anti-Russian partisans and members of secret organizations.
- 3) The majority of the prisoners, including the Russians, were opposed not only to Stalinism but also to every form of Bolshevism (Trotzkyism, Leninism, Khrushchovism).
- 4) The prisoners were not willing merely to suffer passively, but organized strikes and riots.
- 5) The prisoners who were not Russians were obliged to fight against four fronts: against the prisoners who had been sentenced for violating the common law, against the informers, against the members of the NKVD, and, lastly, against the Russian prisoners who were chauvinists.
- 6) The partial abolishment of the system of slave-labour was effected, not thanks to the humanitarian feelings of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, but as a result of the long and difficult struggle of the prisoners.

Such are the main facts which Soljénitsine omitted to mention in his novel, either unknowingly or knowingly. But he that as it may, - his silence in this respect represents

a real danger: those who read his book and in this way only learn a very small part of the truth will gain a distorted impression of reality in the Russian concentration camps.

A. Fuhrmann (Germany),
an ex-prisoner of the Vorkuta camp.

*

Robert Finley Delaney: *The Literature of Communism in America*. A Selected Reference Guide. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1962. 433 pp.

This publication represents an attempt to provide the American and non-American researcher "with the first step toward a more realistic and scholarly approach to a study of the Communist movement in all its phases". True, the author has succeeded in doing so, but those who engage in research on Communism nevertheless continue to take the wrong path. They fail to recognize the tremendous importance of the nationality problem within the so-called Soviet Union. The USSR is merely a huge empire, not a homogeneous state, in which the Russian minority oppresses the non-Russian majority. The non-Russian peoples in the USSR constitute more than half the population of the Soviet Union. Hence we do not agree with the author when he talks about non-Russian "minorities" in the Soviet Union. He does not appear to consider the nationality problem as being of primary importance (except when he quotes the book by R. Pipes, page 78, and that by Professor R. Smal-Stocki, page 81, and a few others which deal with national problems in the Soviet Union). In spite of the fact that the nationality problem in the USSR is Moscow's most vulnerable spot, the author does not, however, quote any other publications which would elucidate this problem within the Soviet empire. For this reason we are of the opinion that the book under review is somewhat onesided and does not give the reader a comprehensive picture of the true nature of Russian Communism. "The Literature of Communism in America" is the result of ten years' scholarly research and observation on the part of the author. We should like to recommend him to continue his research and observation of the national aspect of Communism in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Delaney is also the author of the book "This Is Communist Hungary" - a work which is a valuable contribution to the literature on Communism not only in America but also in other continents. We would recommend him to write similar studies on other European countries too, as for instance on Ukraine, Poland, or Georgia.

V. Luzhansky

General Meeting Of The ABN Delegacy In Australia

After completing 2 years in office, the Committee of the Central Delegacy for Australia and New Zealand called a General Meeting on the 18th of October, 1963 to elect Committee members for the coming year, 1964. The elected representatives are:

President: Dr. C. I. Untaru (Rumania); Vice President: Mr. A. Olechnik (Byelorussia); Secretary-General: Mr. O. Schwarz (Slovakia); Treasurer: Mr. O. Koscharsky (Ukraine); Press Relation Officers: Prof. R. Dragan (Ukraine) and Mr. J. Paltin (Rumania); Organizing Officer: Mr. M. Avdic (Croatia); Committee members: Mrs. P. Sakne (Latvia), Mr. G. Bogdanovics (Latvia), Mr. M. Zui (Byelorussia), Mr. F. Lovokovic (Croatia), Mr. A. Bucinskas (Lithuania), Mr. E. A. Szorkovzky (Hungary), Mr. W. Pardy (Hungary); Auditors: Mr. J. P. Kedys (Lithuania) and Mr. J. Kuruc (Slovakia).

In his opening speech the President, Dr. Untaru, outlined the importance of close co-operation of all national groups from behind the Iron Curtain. This, he stated, was the main objective of the Committee during the past year. Through this intensive drive the Central Delegacy was able to secure representatives from the Baltic states – thereby enlarging the Committee. This brought about a more active approach to current affairs. It must be noted that the 20th anniversary celebration of ABN was a highlight in our activities in Australia and proved to be an unparalleled success.

The most important aspect of our future work is to establish branch offices in all major cities of Australia. The Mel-

bourne branch has already been established and all possibilities must be utilized to create branch offices in Canberra, Adelaides and Brisbane.

In conclusion, the president outlined the complicity of the world political situation and the danger of the co-existence policy of the world powers. We have to be prepared for all eventualities. A close co-operation of all member nations and their delegates, therefore, is of utmost importance.

“Tiroler Tageszeitung”

Thursday, the 6th of February, 1964

Leaflets at the Olympics

On Wednesday morning, anti-communist leaflets appeared in the Press centre of the Olympic Winter games. These leaflets appealed to the athletes and functionaries from all parts of the world, but especially from the countries in the East-Bloc, to form a liberation front to overthrow the tyranny of communism and Russian Colonialism. The leaflets were written in English and in Russian. While the “Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations”, whose headquarters are located at 67 Zepelinstrasse, Munich 8, is responsible for two of these leaflets; another, written in Ukrainian, and directed specifically to the Ukrainians, was published by the “Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists”. Because the leaflets were not officially registered, or else contained the required imprint only in part, an official inquiry was opened and the public prosecutor’s office was notified of the case.

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*

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

U. S. Congressman

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*

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by Niko Nakashidze

Published by the A. B. N. Press Bureau, Munich (Germany)

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

CASTUS CALINOUSKI

Commander-in-Chief of the Byelorussian Uprising 1863—64



Hanged by the Russians in Vilna in March, 1864

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ABN *CORRESPONDENCE*

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Castus Calinouski

Russian military imperialism, which dominated Byelorussia in 1772, applied all its efforts to abolish everything that was native to the country and to impose everything that was Russian by force.

The Byelorussian nation, notwithstanding its 145 years' of Russian terroristic rule, has not perished. On the contrary, it has preserved its individuality, and has by no means abandoned its desire to liberate itself from the yoke of Russian domination and to rehabilitate its national character. Castus Calinouski was a great and noble example to the Byelorussian people. He taught them the meaning of genuine patriotism, and showed them how to fight for the liberation and independence of their country.

Even as a young man, he perceived that the central element of the Byelorussian national consciousness was to be found in the Byelorussian peasantry.

With the conclusion of his university studies, C. Calinouski devoted his life and energy to the enlightenment of his people.

In 1863, Calinouski organized a Byelorussian armed revolt against Moscow. He was set upon effecting the separation of Byelorussia from Moscow and Warsaw and restoring Byelorussian independence.

Moscow dispatched 69 Russian regiments to suppress this revolt. Toward the end of 1863, 117,150 Russian soldiers, armed with 260 cannons, were stationed in the military district of the Vilna territory.

The poorly armed Byelorussian insurgents were brutally subdued by the superior force of the Russian regiments. Castus Calinouski was taken prisoner. By order of Muravjov, the Governor General of the "North-Western Territory" (which was the name given to Byelorussia by the Russians), Calinouski was hanged in Vilna by Russian henchmen, on the 22nd of March, 1864.

But his spirit and his belief in the justice and sacredness of the Byelorussian fight for liberation from the Russian occupation of his country remain a noble model for the Byelorussian people. Since that time, their fierce fight for independence has not ceased.

On the 25th of March, 1918, the first fruits of this fight were reaped. Representatives of the 1st Byelorussian Congress at Minsk proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian Republic.

This proclamation was fully endorsed by the 2nd Byelorussian Congress, which convened in the Byelorussian capital of Minsk on the 27th of June 1944.

This Congress elected the Byelorussian Central Council to represent the Byelorussian people.

At the present time, the Byelorussian Central Council is fulfilling the tasks assigned to it by the Byelorussian people and is continuing the fight for liberation from Communist Russia's occupation abroad.

Today, when Byelorussia groans under the yoke of Russian Communist occupation, C. Calinouski's example reawakens in the hearts of the Byelorussian people. The Byelorussian people strive for the achievement of their independence ceaselessly.

-K-

Communism Can Never Become Humane

An Interview with Mr. J. Stetzko published in the "Saarländische Stimme der Freiheit"

Question: British and American papers report revolts and strikes as a result of famine in the Donbas, in Odessa, Rostov, Krywyi Rih and other Ukrainian industrial towns. What importance do you attach to these incidents? Can one draw the conclusion from them that a pre-revolutionary situation prevails in Ukraine?

Answer: The famine there is not so much the result of natural catastrophes as, rather, the outcome of the unnatural Communist structure of the economy there, which paralyses the private initiative of the individual, that is to say, it does not allow this initiative to develop at all.

This famine is also the result of the Russian colonial policy of exploitation in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries, whose economy is orientated to the war and conquest aims of the Russian imperium. Natural catastrophes occur not only in the USSR but also from time to time in the Western countries, but in these countries they do not result in a famine, for the simple reason that the governments there, which have been elected by the people of their own free will, take such catastrophes into account in their economic planning, and, moreover, the economy, which is based on sound principles, together with the initiative of the individual and the voluntary efforts of the entire people, helps to overcome times of need.

The imperialistic power is concerned most for the welfare of the Russian leading class and the ruling people. It cannot evade the constant efforts and demands of armament, especially not as regards the subjugated peoples, who must be kept down by military force. With such an unnatural economic system, one cannot go on for decades making more and more warlike preparations for the conquest of the world, with the hypocritical aim of "outstripping" the NATO countries and the USA; one cannot spend billions on peripheral wars, on the expansion of aggression bases (Cuba), on civil wars, on subversive and sabotage activities, on Fifth Columns, on espionage, subversive propaganda, and above all on the development of the most modern and perfected thermonuclear weapons, etc., and at the same time make provision for the storing of grain reserves in the event of poor harvests, as for example the USA does. The USA and Canada are now selling the Russians grain from their reserve stores at the cheapest prices. America, too, is arming considerably, but it nevertheless has the highest living standard and the largest foodstuff reserves in the world, even though it does not possess more mineral reserves and grain, etc., than the Soviet Union. America is however no empire and has no totalitarian Communist regime.

The strikes in Ukraine are prompted not only by social-political, but also by national-political motives, since all the unsatisfactory social, economic and cultural conditions arise for the most part out of the national and political oppression.

The Communist system as the Russian "way of life" was imposed on Ukraine by force as a means to achieve the totalitarian enslavement of the nation. The strikes (after the revolts in the concentration camps during the years from 1953 to 1959) in the towns of Ukraine in the years 1959 to 1963 represent a new phase in the liberation struggle, a new stage in the steadily developing national revolution in Ukraine.

The most important point in this respect is the fact that the revolutionary process is assuming an overt and offensive form of the fight of the masses against the Russian oppressors, a fight which is no longer expressed merely in terms of passive resistance. I regard this new stage of the revolutionary fight as being of great significance, inasmuch as the courage and fighting spirit of the masses are strengthened by these new methods and their consciousness of their own strength is being increased, all the more so if the enemy is obliged to make concessions – and even if these concessions are only very small, they nevertheless serve to further the people's desire to attack the enemy. In the course of the clashes which are likely to ensue in this way, new leaders will appear amongst the people, – heroic personalities who by reason of their idealism will set the people an example and will guide them on the right path.

It is somewhat premature to talk about a pre-revolutionary situation, since other preconditions must first of all be created. Serious internal complications must arise in the occupation centre, that is to say certain political causes and motives must make themselves felt before the revolutionary process can include the entire people.

At the time of the Berlin Blockade, Stalin's death, the Cuban crisis, or during the period of mutual murder amongst the leaders in the Kremlin, a liberation policy on the part of the West would have led to a considerable consolidation of the revolutionary process; but a policy of capitulation, that is to say a co-existence policy is not much of an inducement to start a revolution if the latter only leads to one being betrayed, as was the case in Hungary.

Question: ABN, so we have been told, was founded illegally behind the German fighting front exactly 20 years ago. What were its aims?

Answer: The aims of ABN were a joint, co-ordinated fight of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Nazism for their national independence and freedom. The international revolutionary committee which was founded at that time exhorted the subjugated peoples of Western Europe to take part in the common fight and to end all alliances with the Russian tyrants. The principles of ABN at that time were: a joint front of the subjugated peoples against *all* oppressors; the *rejection* of an alliance with *one* oppressor against the *other*, that is to say *with Beelzebub against the Devil*, namely with Stalin against Hitler. The error made by the Western Allies at that time is now being repeated once more. Instead of an alliance with Stalin against Hitler, there is now an alliance with Khrushchov against Mao Tse-tung. America (o, tempora, o mores!) is already making political preparations to help in defending the USSR against Peiping, instead of directing the entire military strength of the NATO, in an alliance with the subjugated peoples, including the peoples enslaved in the USSR, against Russian imperialism and Peiping's despotism, –

instead of using the fighting forces of the NATO, the SEATO and of all the free countries, including Japan, in an alliance with the subjugated peoples of Europe and Asia, against both centres of despotism, Moscow and Peiping, in order to achieve integral freedom and independence for all peoples at last.

Why is the West afraid lest the revolutionary military fight for freedom be transferred to the Chinese mainland, lest National Chinese troops should land there, and lest native troops from South Vietnam and South Korea should be used in North Vietnam, North Korea and Tibet? Why should not whole-hearted support be accorded to the revolutionary fight for freedom in Turkestan, in the Caucasus, in Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, and the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany, etc., in order to destroy the Russian colonial imperium from within by means of national wars of liberation?

Question: Mr. Stetzko, you recently paid a lengthy visit to the USA. Can you mention some prominent American politicians who show a positive interest in ABN and support your cause?

Answer: We can regard both Houses of the U.S. Congress as our friends, for about 5 years ago, in June 1959, they both agreed unanimously to introduce "Captive Nations Week" in the USA as a warning and as a reminder of the enslaved state of our countries.

At the same time a law was passed, which stated that the aim of the policy of the American people was the disintegration of the Russian imperium into national, independent states of all the subjugated peoples, who were enumerated in this law, as well as the destruction of the Communist system everywhere in the world, including the Chinese mainland, North Korea and North Vietnam; the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany was also mentioned.

We do not receive any material support from the USA, or in fact from any other foreign power. But we do enjoy the moral and political support of various anti-Communist organizations and prominent persons in the USA who are members of the U.S. Congress or belong to military, political and cultural circles.

It is extremely regrettable that the State Department does not pursue the policy suggested by the U.S. Congress which is based on "Captive Nations Week" and the resolution adopted in this connection.

Congressmen Michael A. Feighan, Derwinski, Zablocky, Flood and Kersten, and Senators Dodd and Keating, to mention but a few, have given considerable active support to the cause of the subjugated peoples, and so too, for instance, has General Willoughby, a member of MacArthur's staff.

Question: We have been told that you intended submitting to the UNO General Assembly an indictment against the Soviet government on account of its proven guilt in the case of the murder of Rebet and Bandera. Did you meet with any success?

Answer: I submitted the indictment against the Soviet government, in particular against Shelepin, Khrushchov and Voroshilov, to the Commission of the Twenty-four, that is the Commission against Colonialism, and also to the Commission on Human Rights. Both these Commissions accepted the indictment

and passed it on to their members. I assume that some member of the UNO will probably bring up this question in the debate of the General Assembly. I regard these Russian murders as the result of Russian colonial policy, since, as is well-known, Bandera was the leader of the Ukrainian anti-colonial freedom movement. The indictment was signed by myself, as head of the last government in Ukraine that fought against Russian colonial rule, as well as by the chairman of the Ukrainian political prisoners of the concentration camps and of the former UPA fighters, that is to say also opponents of colonialism.

We have certainly been successful from the propagandistic point of view, but so far we have not found anyone who has the courage to bring up the entire question of the violation of the sovereignty rights of an independent state – in this case the Federal Republic of Germany – and the violation of human rights in the territory of this state, before the Security Council. The question at issue is, after all, the threat to peace and security. There have already been some international legal precedents: Argentina has filed a complaint against Israel with the Security Council on account of violation of Argentina's sovereignty rights in the case of the abduction of Eichmann. The same thing also happened in the case of Lumumba.

Germany could also submit the indictment against the Soviet government to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, even though it is not a member of this Court. It is interesting to note that the German Foreign Office and in particular the Social Democratic Party of Germany protested most sharply against France, an ally of the German Federal Republic, in the case of Colonel Argoud. But in the case of these two murders, where it has been clearly proved by the highest Federal Court in Germany that the Soviet government is guilty, the Social Democratic Party has kept silent, and the Foreign Office only submitted a verbal note of protest after considerable delay and hesitation. Dr. Heinrich von Brentano as usual, together with the Berlin Bundestag deputy Prof. Dr. Friedensburg and the former Federal Minister Dr. Barzel, had the courage to condemn the Russians as the instigators of these murders before the plenary assembly of the Bundestag.

The friends were criticized more sharply than the enemy!

Question: Certain Western press organs and politicians are of the opinion that the Soviet regime, starting from the "top", might to a certain extent become more humane and more liberal. Hence these circles advocate an active coexistence with the Soviets. What do you think of such a policy?

Answer: The Soviet regime can never become either humane or liberal, for that would be contrary to its true character. Nor will it ever be genuinely democratized, for the Russians will never renounce their imperium of their own free will. If Western official circles think that the general democratization of the Communist system can be achieved by the coexistence policy, then it is obvious that the Western governments have completely failed to understand the true nature of Russian imperialism. The aim of Russian policy is and will continue to be the conquest of the world. In the meantime, that is to say in the coexistence phase, the Russian imperialistic power will endeavour to consolidate its rule in the subjugated countries, and by means of peripheral

wars and subversive activity in the free world will seek to create the preconditions for the final war of aggression, and in this connection will strengthen and expand its position by means of bases of aggression, as in the case of Cuba, by crushing Laos and Vietnam, and by exerting its influence in Africa and Latin America.

It is obvious that the West is bound to be the loser if it does not pursue a policy of liberation, and if the Russians, together with the Red Chinese, hypocritically support the so-called anti-colonial movements on this side of the Iron Curtain and direct them against the West.

Question: What should the free world do in order to help the liberation movements in the countries subjugated by Red Russia to be victorious? Is there any question of military help being given?

Answer: The free world must realize the plan of the Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, that is to say it must break off all relations with the Soviet Union and the latter's satellite states; it must start an economic blockade; it must adopt an offensive political warfare; it must support in every way the liberation movements in the Soviet Union and in the satellite states; it must exclude all Communist member-states from the UNO, and should this be impossible, must found an anti-Communist UNO; it must encircle the Russian Communist imperium with anti-Communist broadcasting stations and infiltration centres, and it must also give the liberation movements military support. Russia constantly utters the threat of a thermonuclear war, but it is terrified of national liberation revolutions. Moscow will not drop any atomic bombs in the interior of the imperium, for it would in that way destroy its own occupation forces.

Russia is a colossus with feet of clay, if one assesses the political aspect of the problem rightly. But will the West ever realize this fact?

The Soviet Press Attacks ABN

Pravda of February 7, 1964, *Krasnaya Zvezda* of February 7, 1964, and *Iswestja* of February 8, 1964, attack the Central Committee of ABN because of their distribution of anti-Communist leaflets and other literature to the participants of the winter Olympics in Innsbruck, both to those participants from behind the Iron Curtain and in English to those from the free world. The Soviet press even printed caricatures, which are directed against ABN. Evidently, ABN's action had a lasting affect on the participants of the Olympics, if the Soviet press was not silent about it, but made a big issue of it.

It is only regrettable that the free world shows so little interest in supporting such campaigns of enlightenment on the part of ABN.

Our Great Advantage

My personal justification in writing this article is my firsthand experience with our shrewd and ruthless adversary. During the second World War I served on the Russian front and became acquainted with the country and the conditions of its people. In all those years I dare say that I learned as much about Soviet Russian strategy and tactics as any professor of Harvard University: not perhaps about the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, not perhaps about what Soviet declarations want to make the world believe, but about Communism in practice, its real aims, the wide gap between its words and its performance. This gap would, I am sure, surprise many an expert. This contradiction between words and actions is perhaps the first lesson to be learned by those whose ungrateful task it is to conclude "agreements" with the Soviet Russians.

In the second World War I chose to defend the freedom of my country against any power that threatened it. As a consequence of this choice, I was subjected to many years of imprisonment. First, I was imprisoned by the Nazis. I was never released by my captors – I escaped. Long ago we learned that we must fight for our freedom and not shirk from risking our lives for it. Following my escape from Nazi captivity, I was promptly invited by the Soviet armed forces – I quote their own words – "to be their guest". I was to enjoy their "hospitality" for eleven years. As can be imagined, he who demonstrated a firm stand for his country's independence was in their way.

The Soviet "hospitality" did not go very far, however. Soon I received the great honour of being sentenced to death by a Communist Court. I was one of the principal accused in the first great show-trial staged by Moscow in a captive country after the war. The charge: armed conspiracy. Our only weapon was the will of the nation to resist and to avert Communist dictatorship. But a plot had been hatched by *Moscow and its Communist henchmen* against the independence of Hungary. It must have been clear to everybody that immediately after the war the Soviet Union was grabbing Hungary, the Danube Valley and the whole of East Europe as its colony. Those who believe that the Soviet Russians will respect the freedom and independence of other countries in exchange for "peaceful co-existence" should have received their first lesson here.

Everything was pre-arranged and if I remember well, they even had judges at the show-trial to pronounce the sentence of death by execution. I asked for no mercy, but they commuted my sentence to slow death by imprisonment, starvation and ill-treatment. This lasted ten years, until I was saved by a large crowd of simple patriots who rescued me from my prison during the Revolution of 1956.

I was not alone: Hungarians from all walks of life were being thrown into prison in unending waves during those years. A very large percentage of the population was being imprisoned, as it were, by rotation. Over the years a whole nation met within prison walls, in internment camps and in places of banish-

ment. The Communists boast of having achieved the highest form of democracy, the so-called "people's" democracy. This is a ridiculous lie. They have not achieved anything. They have only brought about a nation's solidarity against the Communist regime. This they have brought about by terror and persecution. Within the prison walls, they unwittingly succeeded in welding all Hungarians together, regardless of class, creed, or religion.

So tremendous was the turnover and the variety of the prisoners, that it was clear the Communists regarded and treated the whole nation as its enemy. This regime was and is being kept in power *only* by the force of Soviet Russian arms. – World affairs, the international situation, did not remain unknown to us in prison. New prisoners brought the latest news. Moreover, we could sense the way the wind was blowing by the behaviour of our jailers. This varied according to their appraisal of the international balance of power. When they felt that the world was taking an active interest in the fate of Hungary and they had reason to believe that a change might occur, there was fright in their eyes. Sometimes they expressed their fear by mistreating us. I did not mind. I was glad, for I knew that we had not been forgotten. But when our jailers believed that the outside world was leaving Hungary to its fate and the Communist world was gaining in strength, their behaviour became intolerably arrogant. Thus, their behaviour was a good barometer of the international mood.

The gates of this prison were opened for me by my fellow-countrymen, who rose against tyranny. But behind the people of Hungary, who had won freedom for a few days, the gates of captivity were soon closed again. It cannot be denied: in those confused days in the late autumn of 1956, the Western world left Hungary to its fate. Yet this country was the victim of undisguised aggression. This was not a case of aggression by proxy as in Korea, or by underground machinations as in the Congo or in Cuba. Armoured divisions were hurled against the school children, the youth, the workers. The desperate attempt of the people to regain freedom was witnessed by the diplomatic representatives of the powers in Budapest and by the world press. This aggression was shown in photographs, films, and on television. The United Nations had all the evidence of an outright act of aggression.

As we understand it, the Western powers felt that they had to choose between inaction and a nuclear war. They chose inaction. Instead of confronting Soviet Russian leadership with the necessity of choosing, they offered their own choice to them on a silver platter. It is said that neither side can afford a nuclear war. The Russians regard this as an assurance by the West that it will not use its power, nuclear or non-nuclear, unless directly attacked. How directly? Apparently, Hungary was not worth the risk in Western eyes. A little more than seven years have passed and already the question is being asked in Western Europe whether, in these times of intercontinental ballistic missiles, America would in fact reply to an attack on any of its allies by the Russians? The seeds of doubt were sown when Hungary was left alone and unaided.

The Soviet Union has no hesitation in using its military force. It does so, for it has come to see that the West will not retaliate for fear of precipitating a nuclear war. Hungary is a demonstration of the Soviet Russian concept of co-existence. For Moscow, co-existence is not an end in itself. It is a means to

an end. Clausewitz wrote that "war is a continuation of peace by other means". For Lenin and his successors this is also true, but in reverse form: for them, peace is a continuation of war – by other means. Peaceful co-existence is a shield behind which they may safely pursue their aims of world domination and Bolshevization. Has not the nuclear deterrent idea given the Russians a free hand to expand and to undermine the world, where ever and whenever they can, with impunity?

In the seven years that have elapsed since the Hungarian uprising, Soviet expansion has not stopped in the world. In the autumn of 1956, the question was: Would Hungary's freedom survive? Today, the headlines ask: Will Africa become Communist? How Communistic is Cuba? Will this influence win in the Congo? Will their arms continue to pour into Laos?

After our uprising was drowned in blood, the Russians were free to choose the scene of their intervention and intrigues in the world. No good military commander would allow the enemy to choose the place and the time of its offensive freely. The West is playing into the hands of the Russians by accepting their choice of the battlefield: Africa, Asia, and those nations emerging from colonial status or anxiously waiting for "operation squeeze-out" at Berlin . . .

It goes without saying that every country, every nation, is to be assisted or defended against Soviet infiltration. But the menace will never be overcome if the West rushes from one place to another to counter some Soviet move. There is one battlefield which the Russians fear. There is one area which they are desperately trying to keep out of the struggle. This area is East Europe. And the reason for this is clear. East Europe is the Achilles' heel. There they are on slippery ground. There they are in trouble. There they face nearly 200 million Europeans who hate, despise, and who will never accept Soviet Russian domination and the Communist system.

East Europe is the weakest part of the Soviet domain. Communist leaders themselves admitted that Hungary was a "gap in the fortress of the Socialist camp". Legend says that after the battle of Chalons between Attila, King of the Huns, and the Romans, the spirits of the dead continued the fighting at night. The battles of Budapest may be over, but the spirit of Hungarian resistance is unbroken.

It is said that Europe is not at present threatened by aggression, thanks to the nuclear balance of power and N.A.T.O. . . . Why should this peace be disturbed by raising the Hungarian question? But such a view accepts the loss of East Europe. It betrays the Hungarians, whose last written message to come out of Budapest on teletype in those fateful hours when Soviet tanks were blazing away in the streets of the capital ended by saying: "S.O.S. – We shall die for Europe . . ." This community of the European spirit will never die, but it alone cannot drive Soviet armed power out of Hungary and East Europe. The problem is to force the withdrawal of these armed powers and their apparatus from Europe, where they were allowed to penetrate as a result of the second World War. Having surrendered the Carpathians, which form a barrier between the Baltics and the Black Sea, the way was opened to the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean. The Carpathians form the last defence line of Europe. As long as they are in the hands of the Soviet

Russians, the Continent cannot enjoy safety, even in this atomic age. It is essential, therefore, that the Carpathians again be controlled by trustworthy defenders.

Will Russia be permitted to exploit changes, crises, and weaknesses throughout the world, while the West turns a blind eye to the weakest sector of the Soviet Russian empire: East Europe? Will it be permitted to consolidate its power there and to gain freedom of action to undermine the Western position where ever it chooses?

It is all very well for America to help and financially support un-committed countries. If East Europe is abandoned to its fate, however, how can other threatened countries have confidence in the West?

We must be ready in our hearts to wage war in order to avoid it. And we must have a strategy that will not force us to choose between total atomic devastation and doing nothing. Otherwise the Russians will, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, "reap the fruits of war without waging it".

My hope is in the mobilization of the will-power and spiritual resources of the American nation and its Western allies. American public opinion can achieve miracles. But America must be ready to use her tremendous power and resources! The Soviet regime, however big it may talk, however shrewd it may be, is not in a position of risking a conflict with America. It has not only America's bombers, missiles and Polaris submarines to reckon with. It has also to reckon with its own people and the subjugated nations, both of whom are bitterly opposed to it. This is our great advantage.

Metropolitan Joseph Slipy — Great Archbishop

Joseph Slipy, the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv was awarded the hierarchical grade of "Great Archbishop" on the 23rd of December 1963.

Slipy is the first Catholic bishop who has been officially awarded the dignity of Great Archbishop. This title, which has not yet been codified, exists only in the Oriental Church. It is a special distinction of a Metropolitan see, which is not a Patriarch's see, i. e., a so-called autocephalous Metropolitan see, which is recognized as such by the Pope or by the Ecumenical Council. The title of Great Archbishop is a special hierarchical grade — higher than a Metropolitan. It is on the same plane with the hierarchical grade "Catholico" of the Armenians, Chaldeans and Georgians; and the "Maphrianos" of the Syrians. The "Primate" in the Latin Church is somewhat comparable to these hierarchical grades.

A Great Archbishop enjoys almost the same rights of a Patriarch in respect to the appointment of bishops in the see of a great archbishopric, the establishment of eparchies, the revision of liturgical books, the appointment of a "Apochrisiarious" of The Holy See. According to law, he is the throne assistant of the Pope.

As a result of his award of the title Great Archbishop, Metropolitan Slipy — as was also the case with Patriarchs some time ago — was appointed a member of the congregation of the East Church by Pope Paul VI. As the Vatican press office stated, the award of this title to Slipy was simultaneously a recognition and confirmation of the history and tradition of the Metropolitan see in Lviv.

After 18 years imprisonment, Great Archbishop Slipy was released by the Soviets a year ago. He is living in the Vatican city.

Azerbaijan

Struggling Against Russian Imperialism

A spectre is haunting Russia, the spectre of disintegration. It is the outcome of a sociological necessity.

Under the Soviet regime Azerbaijan is bounded in the North by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the North-West by Georgia, in the West by Armenia, in the South by Iranian Azerbaijan and in the East by the Caspian Sea. Its total area comprises 33,475 square miles.

At the time of the invasion by Seljuk Turks, it was a prosperous state. From the 16th century onward, the country was a theatre of fighting and political rivalry between Turkey, Persia and later Russia. Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, was first annexed to Russia by Tsar Peter I in 1723; it remained under Russian rule for 12 years. After the Russians retreated, the whole of Azerbaijan North of the Aras river became a Khanate under Persian suzerainty until Tsar Alexander I, who after an eight-year war with Persia, annexed Azerbaijan to the Russian Empire in 1813.

Until the Russian Revolution of 1905, there was no political life in Azerbaijan. The Musavat (Equality) Party was formed in 1911, chiefly by the leadership of Mehmet Emin Yalvacoglu (Resulzade). This was a democratic people's party, which exercised tremendous political influence in Azerbaijan. As a matter of fact, it formulated the whole political and cultural programme of the Turkic people of Azerbaijan.

The "Equality" Party is still working secretly in Azerbaijan. There is also a military underground organization which will be used in any emergency for the achievement of national independence.

Under the influence of the "Equality" Party, many Azerbaijanian officers assisted their brothers in the Turkestan's War of Independence (1918-1922) under General Enver, the former Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief in Turkey.

The secret "Equality" Party had a close inter-relationship with the North Caucasian and Georgian underground and open national revolutionary movements. A special secret school was established to combat subversive activities and propaganda.

Following the Russian Revolution of March 1917, this Party initiated a campaign for independence, and eventually a national Azerbaijan State was established in Gandzha. On September 20, 1917, this state joined the Transcaucasian Federal Republic, but later, on May 28, 1918, it proclaimed the completely independent Republic of Azerbaijan. Turkey recognized this first sister republic immediately.

On June 4, 1818, a treaty was signed with Turkey at Batum. Detachments from Turkey were sent under General Nuri. A Turko-Azerbaijan force initiated an offensive against Baku, which was controlled by a Communist local minority under Stephan Shaumian. Somewhat later, however, on August 17, 1918, before

the Turkish force arrived, the city was occupied by 1,400 British troops, who arrived by sea from Anzali, a Persian port on the Caspian sea.

Upon the intervention of the Turkish Azerbaijanian delegates, the British evacuated the city on September 14, 1918, returning to Anzali. Three days later, the Azerbaijan government, headed by Feth Ali Khan, established itself at Baku.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the first World War, the British returned to Baku. In the meantime, however, they recognized the new independent Republic of Azerbaijan. With universal suffrage a general election for the Azerbaijan constituent assembly took place on December 7, 1918. Of 120 members, 84 were Musavat (Equality) Party supporters. Ali Merdan Topchubashi was elected speaker, and Nasip Usubey formed the new government. On January 15, 1920, the Allied powers recognized the Azerbaijan Republic.

On April 27, 1920, however, just 23 months after the proclamation of its independence, a Red Russian army consisting of about 60,000 men invaded Azerbaijan under the pretext of helping Turkey in her War of Independence. In actual fact, her action was an imperialistic invasion. The Azerbaijanian military force consisted of only 17,000 newly organized men, who fought heroically against the enemy, but were not able to hold out. On the following day, the Soviet "Republic" of Azerbaijan was proclaimed, which in actual fact, however, was nothing but a proclamation of annexation, which was followed by unspeakable terrors, dreadful massacres and deportations.

From 1921 to 1925, the first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party was a Russian, S. M. Kirov, who directed a mass deportation to Siberia of ca. 120,000 Nationalists, among whom the country's first two premiers were included: Feth Ali Khan and Nasip Bey. In 1925, the Red Party had 12,829 members; in 1952, this number was forcibly increased to about 115,000.

Between 1939 and 1956, the population of Baku, the capital city, dropped from 809,347 to about 598,000. This was due to tragic massacres and deportations to Siberian camps.

By 1952, there were 3,121 primary and secondary schools with ca. 616,000 pupils, about 60 vocational schools, 1 university at Baku and 19 other higher educational institutions, with a total of 29,000 students. The use of the common literary Turkish language was intentionally forbidden, so that no cultural contact with Turkey could be established. The Russian language became compulsory in 1938, and later, compulsory instruction in the Russian language was the outcome of a dreadful Russification policy of the Kremlin.

In 1929, Arabic script was abolished and replaced by the Latin alphabet. Under Ataturk a year before, however, Turkey had made a revolutionary change in her alphabet by adopting the Latin script. In order to cut off any connection with Turkey, the Russians changed the Latin into the Russian alphabet in Azerbaijan in 1938. This was of course a typical Russification act, for many Russian terminologies and grammatical rules were introduced through the Russian alphabet.

Concerning the economic conditions in 1901, Baku produced 11,500,000 metric tons of crude oil, a figure which represented 51% of the total world supply at that time. In 1940, her production reached an estimated, 27,300,000

tons. Thereafter, production declined, due mostly to the dissatisfaction of the workers.

In 1948, iron ore deposits in the Tashkesan region were estimated at 175,000,000 tons, their metal content was 67%. In 1950, a hydro-electric power plant at Mingechaur, on the upper Kura River, began to work.

The de-Stalinization declaration adopted by the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow (1956) evoked great echoes in Azerbaijan. A literary and artistic revolt began against the terrible suppressions that had been endured under Stalin.

In Azerbaijan, the prominent novelist, Isa Huseyn – comparable to S. Lewis and R. Frost in America – published a story, “The Burning Heart”, together with Ali Veli who published a novel entitled “Friends of the Heart”. Both created sensations. Both criticized “socialist realism” very severely. But what kind of reaction did these works evoke in Moscow? The founders of the de-Stalinization and Liberalization movement immediately turned against these writers and labelled them non-conformists who required re-education in socialist realism and in the principles of reconstructing a human society on the basis of slavery in the interests of Russian Messianism.

The first secretary of the Azerbaijan Writers’ Union, Mehti Huseyn, attacked the above writers, and also those who defended the rehabilitated great national dramatic poets, Ahmet Cevat, Huseyin Cavit and Mikail Musfik, who had to endure such great suffering in the NKVD jails, like their Turkestanian brothers.

Let us now consider the contemporary National poet, Resul Riza, whose enthusiastic poem “Human Being”, published in February 1959, created a storm in the Party circles of Baku and Moscow. This poem portrays an Azerbaijanian hero who preferred death to life in slavery.

During the past forty years, the Russians have exhausted all possible means to assimilate non-Russian people into the Russian detested mentality. All forms of Communistic methods (Komsomols, etc.) were used. And what has been the result? Null and void! Even from a pessimistic standpoint, it is stated that one prefers death to living in such a colonial society. Where is the home of the happy man, the proletarian paradise, about which so much fuss has been made?

In another poem the poet portrays an Azerbaijanian woman who, in love and childbirth, is so desolate, so wearied of life, silent . . . silent, like death:

I look at her eyes,
A pair of “neon” lamps,
Their light is cold,
Their look is cold.
In these eyes
There was no human worry,
No human sorrow,
In these eyes,
No light of joy.

The result of forty years of propaganda and education is a complete failure. The Nationalist spirit is more intense than ever. Its intensity is a proof of the

bankruptcy of the Russification philosophy, and of its hypocritical means of application.

Now we can consider another Azerbaijani poet, Gueltekin, a man who tragically gave his life in the Siberian tundras – in those desolate icy hells – because he wrote a poem, “The Icy Hell”, which echoes the sufferings of those human beings who were sent to Siberia prior to himself by Moscow’s mechanism of terror, the Cheka.

Let us read his beautiful poem together, a poem which echoes humanity’s cry from the Siberian tundras: silent, silent like death:

Freezing Abyss

Siberia, O freezing and frightful sea
On the breast of the North, sleep not silently,
Get up and look, your visitors came,
They brought you a gift – Savagery . . .

Think that the enemy paled them all,
Separation stamped their hearts,
An unhappy country sent them here,
Lamentations in their hearts; wet on their eyes,
Don’t hurt them, they are orphans.

O freezing abyss, burning with cold!
O this freezing dark, whence came it to earth?
Every breath is stuck, the earth is drowning . . .
The dirty colour of a perplexed sky,
Is creeping on the earth, this is tundra . . .
Siberia, Siberia . . . Yes, Siberia,
The horrible Cheka of the Reds . . .

But fear not at all,
Suns will rise on your way,
We are coming that way to you,
With emancipation, emancipation, emancipation.

Concerning the Russification policy by which the use of the Russian language was compelled in the national schools, Halil Riza published a poem in defence of the national Turkic language.¹ One can only live happily with his mother tongue, in the traditions of his land, by cherishing historical feelings and future aspirations – all within the framework of the native language. Why should the Russian language be the language of instruction in the schools? Why should all lessons be taught in Russian? It is against the natural proceedings of life.

This poet was attacked by people who had received their orders from Moscow.² But he did not bow down before them.

On the 21st of March, 1963, the Azerbaijani creative intelligentsia were invited to a meeting, where the secretary of the Communist Party, Hasay Vezirov, read a report in which the writers were criticized of being formalists,

¹ Azerbaijan Bulletin, Baku, No. 3, 1962.

² Bakinski Robochi, Baku (August 30, 1962).

non-conformists and reactionary nationalists. They were not complying with the demands of the Party. They were full of complaints, sentimentalities of the Azerbaijanian nation and full of hopelessness. Why was this so?³

The answer was not given. Everybody knows why it is so. It is the Rus-sification philosophy of Samarins, Aksakof Brothers, of Dostoevsky and others, for ruling the world. It is the exercise of the Messianistic principle, namely, that Russia is a super-nation, endowed with the mission to rule the world.

This is of course the reaction of a Russian inferiority complex, which was brought about by long periods of slavery to the Turkic people of Attila and Cengizhan, and also by the feebleness of the Russian moral and intellectual character. This deficiency shows itself in delusions of superiority.

Therefore, revolts and sabotage take place in all parts of the Soviet Union; it is a new nihilism that is devastating and carrying it to self-destruction. The disintegration of the present Russian empire, which is comprised of 51% non-Russian peoples, is inevitable. It is a sociological and historical necessity. But the acceleration of this process of disintegration to liberate a large portion of humanity from terrorism and slavery depends upon the amount of help that the Free World will offer to those struggling captive nations behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

Today Azerbaijan is struggling against Russian imperialism. Due to the existence of a National Revolutionary Movement, it is well prepared for an independent democratic state.

³ Literature and Fine Arts, Baku (March 23, 1963).

Azerbaijan Problem Discussed in United Nations in 1962

During the discussions on colonial problems in 1962, the British delegate, Sir Patric Dean, attacked Soviet Russian Colonialism. He said: "At least sixteen former British colonies, with 630,000,000 population have achieved their independence."

In 1815, when Britain occupied Ceylon, Russia occupied Azerbaijan. Ceylon achieved independence in 1947. Do you allow us to ask: When will Azerbaijan be given her independence?¹

Then, Sir Patric Dean continued with a most interesting comparison with regard to Soviet Russian colonialism in Turkestan and the former British colonies in Africa:

The independent existence of the Kazak State (in Turkestan) was dissolved in 1854. The occupation of the three independent Uzbek (Turkic) states in Turkestan was completed toward the year 1876. From 1880 onward, Turkmenistan (another Turkic state in Turkestan) was also entirely occupied. Today all of the former British colonies in Africa have achieved their independence. But what is the situation with respect to the Soviet Republics in Turkestan?²

This is a transparent comparison between the former Western colonial occupations and the Soviet Russian formidable colonialism.

¹ The New York Herald Tribune, November 26, 1962.

² op. cit.

Plenty Of Fighters But No Weapons

Memories of the big prisoners' insurrection in Soviet Russia in 1953/54 – The lesson to be drawn from the failure of the revolutionary self-liberation attempt – Lines quoted by a former participant in the insurrection, the East German prisoner No. 777 in Vorkuta:

“Possessions die, and families die,
And you yourself like them will die.
But the glorious deeds of the dead
Live on for ever.”

I am reminded of this saying from the Edda, the immortal epic of Old Germanic (Icelandic) literature whenever I recall the fateful days of ten years ago. Fateful for those who were directly concerned, fateful for enslaved East Europe, and also fateful for the whole of mankind. The heroic attempt of hundreds of thousands of prisoners to overthrow the colonial rule of the modern Russian barbarians, known as the Bolsheviks, from within failed because the insurgents did not have the sole effective means of crushing this despotism – namely armed force – at their disposal.

Ten years ago, at noon on January 11, 1954, 281 prisoners who were not armed were shot by machine guns before the very eyes of the Russian General Lunjov, the Vice-Minister of the Interior of Soviet Russia. This happened in the Wiat camp region in the North Russian taiga about 250 miles from Kirov (formerly Wiatma), near to the railway station of Verchni-Kamskaya. The insurrection here had lasted six days. The commission from Moscow, headed by Lunjov, did not hesitate to carry out such a dreadful massacre in order to restore the old “order”. Even today we have no definite proof (documents) that Lunjov had this mass murder carried out at the explicit orders of the highest Party and state leaders. It can however be assumed that

the Vice-Minister of the Interior was allowed a free hand by his superiors as regards the choice of the means by which to crush the insurrection. The fact that the orders to crush prisoners' insurrections by armed force are usually issued not by local authorities but by the highest departments in Moscow was already evident in the case of the revolts in Norylsk and Vorkuta, which occurred a year before the insurrection in Verchni-Kamskaya.

May 24, 1953, can be regarded as an historic date in the history of the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples, for it was on this day that some of the guards – for trivial reasons – fired on several prisoners of Camp No. 5 in Norylsk. There were “only” two dead, but this spark set the powder burning, as it were. Twenty-four hours after this bloody incident the entire camp started an insurrection; soon the neighbouring camps, including those of Dudinka and Kairkan, followed the example of the prisoners of Camp No. 5. Within a very short time the largest camp region in Siberia was in a state of revolution. At that time there were about 300,000 so-called free citizens, but only 40,000 prisoners, in Norylsk and the surrounding districts. But as the prisoners constituted the most important group of workers and were directly employed in the production process, work came to an entire standstill. This was a heavy blow to Moscow's economy, for the largest nickel deposits in the whole of the Soviet Union were located in Norylsk; according to economic plans, about 180,000 tons of nickel were to be produced there in 1953. In addition to 30 factories and foundries, there were also a large number of mines in Norylsk, where platinum, gold, coal, cobalt, iron and copper were mined. The insurrection of the 40,000 prisoners hit the

economy, and above all the armament industry, of the Soviet Union in an extremely vulnerable spot.

But it was not economic reasons that prompted the prisoners of Norylsk to start an insurrection. From the outset this insurrection, which was to last 96 days, was carried out under the political motto: "Down with slavery! Death to Communism! Death to Moscow's hangmen!"

The insurrection had absolutely nothing in common with a strike in the Western sense. True, the demands of the prisoners of Norylsk included such things as improvement of living conditions, of wages, food, and slave camp conditions, but these were not their chief demands. They wanted more! They wanted freedom for themselves and for their peoples. The prisoners of Norylsk did not fight against certain "unbearable conditions" but against the entire political system. From May 25, 1953, onwards there was open war between the Soviet Russian clique of exploiters and the bloc created by the prisoners of all the nations subjugated by Moscow. It was indeed a revolutionary clash in the truest sense, with no half-measures and no compromises. And it was viewed in this light by the prisoners and also by the Russian Bolsheviks, who, like all reactionary forces in the history of the world, sought to prevent the revolution from spreading by applying brute force.

Revolutionary tenacity and courage were the outstanding qualities of the insurgents, who were led by the strongest group of prisoners, the Ukrainians. And amongst the Ukrainians the political leadership was left to the members and adherents of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) by the rest of the prisoners of their own free will. In united effort with Georgians, Latvians, Germans, Lithuanians, Turkmans, Armenians, Tatars, Estonians, Byelorussians, Koreans, Cossacks and Finns, the Ukrainians created all the preconditions for a successful defence of the insurgent camps. From the outset they knew that there would be a fierce clash between the police troops and the prisoners, and for this

reason they were determined to defend all the barracks, all the gates of the camps, and each square yard of Siberian soil against the enemy.

But what weapons had they to carry out this defence? On July 1st the Red soldiers received orders to storm Camp No. 5, in which there were 900 prisoners. In closed ranks the soldiers surrounded the entire camp and set up heavy machine guns everywhere. There was to be no surprise attack after all! The socialist "heroes", who were armed to the teeth with all the most modern war-equipment, were afraid of the prisoners, who had no weapons whatever and only possessed bare fists and brave hearts. The soldiers and the prisoners stood facing each other. All that separated them from each other was a barbed wire fence and the death zone, which was about 30 feet wide. Then the officers gave the command to fire through the barbed wire fence at the rows of prisoners, who, completely defenceless, were exposed to the volley of the machine guns and submachine guns. And the soldiers fired until the barrels of the guns were red-hot.

The Bolsheviks dealt with the insurgents in Camp No. 3 in a similar way. Volley after volley was fired at the rows of prisoners behind the barbed wire fence. Within seconds, hundreds were massacred; others, who had been badly wounded, either collapsed and bled to death, dragged themselves towards the barracks, or else were shot dead by the Red murderers. Eventually the command to cease fire was given; but by that time additional troops belonging to a special detachment were already marching into the camp. Armed with iron bars, around which they had wrapped barbed wire, they now began to beat the dying and the wounded in a merciless way. Sadism had a free hand!

Not in every case, however, did these cowardly murders find things made so easy for them. In some camps they encountered a fierce resistance, and there were many casualties amongst the Bolsheviks too. This was the case in Camp No.

10. Here, the Ukrainians and their fellow-fighters managed to take the guards by surprise and to disarm them completely; they also seized the camp commander as a hostage. The insurgents were thus in possession of firearms and other weapons, and with these they succeeded in warding off the onslaughts of the soldiers for twenty-four hours.

The Bolshevik soldiers belonged for the most part to specially trained troops; many of them were young Russians who belonged to the Komsomol, and their commanders were old, experienced Cheka officers. Under cover of the murderous volleys of their machine guns they stormed the insurgent camps, and a dreadful close combat, man to man, ensued. Hand grenades exploded incessantly, machine guns sputtered without a pause; bayonets and firearms went into action; daggers, axes and knives, which the prisoners had managed to seize, flashed above the heads of the Chekists and were dyed red with the enemy's blood. Many of the insurgents were killed, but the Bolsheviks, too, suffered a huge number of casualties. No captives were taken in this fight; nor were the wounded spared. It was a case of die or fight! It was impossible for the prisoners to retreat, for the camp had meanwhile been surrounded by the enemy on all sides, — and beyond the camp lay the Siberian taiga. The prisoners were thus obliged to fight to the bitter end. The courage of the anti-Bolshevik revolutionaries of Norylsk was exemplary; each one of them, who held a weapon, a gun or an axe in his hand, was, as it were, a citadel and a vanguard of freedom and democracy. But the fight was no longer a combat in the military sense, but a massacre.

Not even when the insurgents had used up all their munition did they surrender. They continued to defend themselves by using their fists, knives and stones. Not far from the main gate of Camp No. 10 they were eventually encircled completely and, save for their leaders, were mown down by the enemy. The Bolsheviks had thought of another method of dealing

with the insurgent leaders: they were executed in the presence of all the prisoners. This last act of bestial mass murder finally broke down the resistance of the revolutionaries in the camps of Norylsk. "He who does not surrender, will be destroyed" — so Maxim Gorky once said, of whom the Russians and certain Western literary critics affirm that he was the greatest Russian writer of the 20th century. Perhaps it is a fact that one cannot measure the moral teachings of Russian writers by Western and Christian standards.

European history is rich in immortal and illustrious deeds performed by champions of freedom and justice, religious faith and human rights. To mention but a few examples: Leonidas and his 300 young Spartans in Thermopylae; the Thracian Spartacus and his army of insurgent slaves, who waged war against Rome; the burghers of Calais, the peasant-maid Joan of Arc, Wilhelm Tell, John Huss, Danton's revolutionary army at Valmy, and Wellington's redeaps at Waterloo; Ensign Omeltchenko's 300 cadets and schoolboys at Kruty; the 359 Ukrainians of the 6th Sich infantry division of Basar; the sailors of the warship "Potemkin"; the young Jews in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943. All these deeds, which reflect so much suffering and self-sacrifice, and so much human greatness and immortal heroism, are part of Europe. The revolutionaries of Norylsk who died on July 1, 1953, must also be mentioned when one talks about the Christian Occident. By their death they have given eloquent proof of the invincibility of European humanity and of European ideals, and the latter are: freedom, justice, human rights and religious faith.

Those responsible for the massacre of Norylsk — and more than 1000 prisoners were either killed or seriously wounded on this occasion — hold posts in the Kremlin and include the highest ranking leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Russian government. The following persons were present at the massacre in Norylsk in the

capacity of delegates of those who bear the main responsibility for this atrocity: Comrade Kisselov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Vavilov, deputy Public Prosecutor of the Soviet Union, MVD Major-General Semyonov, Commandant of all the Norylsk camps, and Colonel Kusnezov, Chief of the prison administration in Norylsk. These murderers, like those superiors from whom they received their orders, will in the end be unable to escape the fate that they deserve. The Nuremberg Trials of the Nazi war criminals should be a warning to these Bolshevik criminals that one cannot violate law and justice with impunity.

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On August 1, 1953, exactly 31 days after the dreadful bloodshed in Camp No. 5 in Norylsk, the Russian Bolsheviks organized another terrible massacre in Vorkuta, about 90 miles south of the Arctic Ocean. For weeks the 300,000 prisoners there – men and women – had been on strike. Most of the coal mines there were no longer producing any coal, and in Leningrad, the main consumer of the coal from Vorkuta, the machines in the armament factories were standing idle, and work in the foundries and shipyards had come to a standstill. And the reason for all this was the fact that the prisoners employed in the mines of Vorkuta, the largest prisoners' settlement in the whole of the Soviet Union, had hoisted the black banner of revolutionary insurrection. In Vorkuta, where up to that time 30 huge mines had been working, the pre-revolutionary situation that had prevailed there since 1951 had now assumed a new aspect and turned into a revolution. The prisoners had chosen an opportune moment for their insurrection. The enemy, that is to say the Russian Bolshevik regime, was undergoing a grave crisis. Stalin's death had resulted in power cliques and factions in the Central Committee leadership which were at loggerheads with one another. The Red ship was drifting rud-

derless in a sea of tempestuous political feelings.

The segment of the population of the Soviet Union that was exploited most ruthlessly were the prisoners, who numbered 22 million. At the same time, they were also, from the political point of view, the most progressive, courageous and revolutionary enemies of Moscow. It was therefore inevitable that they should be the first to revolt!

What happened in Vorkuta when the 300,000 prisoners there revolted? On August 1, 1953, at the orders of Public Prosecutor Rudenko, General Maslenikov and Major-General Derevjanko (all of them in Vorkuta), police troops were sent to the scene in order to crush the insurrection in Camp No. 29. The action taken in this camp was to serve as a warning to other camps. Special regiments of the MVD were sent to Vorkuta from Petchora, for, in the opinion of Rudenko and his staff, the MVD guards who had been stationed in Vorkuta for years no longer possessed the necessary "socialist fighting spirit" and were therefore not reliable enough when it was a question of massacring the insurgent prisoners. Actually, there were several cases in which guards refused to carry out the order to shoot prisoners and either deserted, or committed suicide.

In closed ranks the troops from Petchora encircled the entire camp and, at the direct command of Rudenko (who was quite close to the barbed wire fence during the massacre), opened fire on the prisoners, who numbered about 3000 and included old men and invalids. They possessed no firearms whatever – some of them were only clad in trousers – and had formed lines, five deep, along the barbed wire fence in order to intimidate the young Bolshevik soldiers morally by their courageous and resolute conduct.

No doubt very few of Rudenko's soldiers fired on the prisoners out of conviction. The blind, servile obedience of the Russians, which turns men into unfeeling machines and unscrupulous killers, is both terrible and incomprehensible. Rudenko did not content himself with

having light infantry munition such as machine guns, submachine guns and rifles fire at the prisoners. He even had heavy mortar brought up, which opened their deadly fire on the camp, — a camp that was in no way fortified and had neither trenches, bunkers, nor cellars. The barracks, which were built of wood and loam, afforded no protection whatever against the heavy grenades. The exact number of prisoners who were killed on this occasion has never been ascertained; some authorities affirm that they number 600, others estimate that there were 200 dead. In our opinion, the figure of 400 insurgents, who were either killed whilst fighting or died of their wounds, seems to be the closest approximation.

This dreadful massacre on August 1, 1953, ushered in the last tragic stage of the Vorkuta insurrection. By the middle of October of that year the resistance of the prisoners in practically all the mining camps had been physically broken, and the leaders of the insurgents had either been liquidated, or transferred to the death-camps in North Siberia.

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“There is no monument above Baby Yar,
A steep cliff is the only obscure grave.
Fear fills my heart . . .”

These are the opening lines of a famous poem by the young Russian poet Yevtuchenko, which is dedicated to the innocent victims of the Russian anti-Semites, whose grim war-cry continues to be: “Down with the Jews! Save Russia!” (Bej zschidow, spassay rossiju!) That a Russian should condemn Russian anti-Semitism, is indeed praiseworthy. For the Russians should certainly be reminded of the terrible atrocities and pogroms (the very word is Russian) which characterize the history of their country.

But is this question disposed of simply by mentioning the atrocity of Baby Yar? Have not the Russians, whether tsarist or Marxist, shown themselves to be not only anti-Semites, but also and in an equally terrible degree anti-Baltic, anti-Ukrainian, anti-Polish, anti-Georgian, and anti-Ger-

man? If Yevtuchenko, who has been acclaimed so enthusiastically in France and Western Germany, is a true anti-Stalinist, not only in name but also in his very heart and feelings, why does he not condemn the Stalinist mass murders of Lviv, Vynnitza, Vorkuta, Byelomor Canal, Rivno, Katyn and Kharkiv? Dare he not venture to do so, or does he not want to do so? Does he not regard the 14,000 murdered Polish officers of Katyn, or the 6,000 massacred Ukrainians of Lviv as being worthy of a poem in their honour!

“Do not be self-satisfied!

Though some may tell you again and again:

‘Do not worry’ — peace can be deceptive.

As long as Stalin’s heirs are still in our midst

I shall always feel that he continues to walk amongst us . . .”

These lines are to be found in another of Yevtuchenko’s poems. As long as Stalin’s heirs are still in our midst . . . And they still are in our midst. The murderers of Stalin’s day are still alive amongst the Russian people. Stalin has been dead 11 years, but most of his heirs, who learnt the gruesome craft of mass murder to perfection under his rule, are still alive today. They still rule and, unpunished, spread terror and death, and have no intention of atoning for their crimes.

We hardly need discuss Nikita Khrushchov, the bloody hangman of the Ukrainian people during the years 1938 to 1947. He is a Stalinist criminal of true Marxist type. There is another murderer and criminal, however, whose name is equally well-known to 22 million prisoners: Sergei Kruglov, General of the secret police, an expert in executions under Stalin, and appointed by Stalin’s successor Khrushchov in 1953 as Minister of the Interior, that is to say as chief of the entire secret police. From 1953 to 1956 Kruglov was head of the notorious terrorist apparatus, the MVD. At Kruglov’s explicit orders, one of the most dreadful massacres in

Russian history, which certainly does not lack atrocities, was carried out on June 27, 1954. And the victims of this massacre were completely unarmed women and girls.

"Down with slavery!" – "All Stalinists should be tried before a people's tribunal!" – "Death to Bolshevism!" – "Down with Russian chauvinism and colonialism!" – "A general pardon for all the victims of Stalin and Beria!" – these were the watchwords of the prisoners in the notorious copper mines of Kingir, in the heart of the "hunger steppes" of Kazakhstan, when they started a general strike on May 16, 1954, that is to say 10 years ago. They numbered 8,000 men and about 3,000 women, young girls, and mothers with small babies, most of whom had been born behind barbed wire. The main reason for their insurrection was the bestial murder of 31 prisoners for no motive whatever.

Orders were immediately issued from Moscow, where Khrushchov had meanwhile assumed power, that the insurgents were to be forced by violence to resume their work. On June 26, 1954, special battalions of the secret police (MVD), using countless machine guns and mortars, stormed the camp, which had only been barricaded in a makeshift way by the prisoners. Before they stormed the camp the Bolshevik soldiers were given plenty of vodka to improve their socialist "fighting morale".

The prisoners tried to defend themselves with stones, "Molotov cocktails" (bottles filled with benzine), knives, axes, and their bare fists. A grim fight was waged round each of the stone barracks. The Bolsheviks only managed to advance very slowly. "SOS! We are being murdered!" was the last message sent out by a Lithuanian prisoner with the aid of a radio transmitter, which had been made out of parts of an X-ray apparatus.

When heavy tanks rolled into the camp at Kruglov's orders, the prisoners gave up their heroic fight, for it was obvious that they could not ward off these huge tanks with their bare fists. By the evening

of June 26, 1954, camp No. 392/3 was shrouded in smoke and flames; and piles of corpses lay outside the barracks, or smouldered in the burning ruins.

Only the girls and women, of whom the majority were Ukrainians (there were also some Estonians, Germans, Lithuanians and Russians), refused to give up the fight. When the burning barracks threatened to collapse, they swarmed outside, and, linking arms and singing and praying, advanced towards Kruglov's soldiers. Many of them carried small children in their arms. Though they were entirely unarmed, these women possessed a "secret weapon", which the Red murderers dreaded, – namely a heroism which scorned death. "Schtsche ne wmerla Ukraina" – "Ukraine will never die!" – the women and girls sang this battle-hymn of the freedom-loving Ukrainians. But then a dreadful thing happened: Kruglov gave the tank commanders orders to mow down the Ukrainian women and girls. Not a shot was fired, but the tanks advanced and, rolling into the rows of women and girls, crushed them to death. Their songs and prayers were silenced. Within a few minutes more than 500 Ukrainian women and girls died a terrible death.

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The incidents which occurred in Norylsk, Vorkuta, Verchni-Kamskaya and Kingir in the years 1953 and 1954 were nothing more than a revolutionary clash. But why did this heroic attempt on the part of millions of prisoners fail to kindle a revolution in the Soviet Union? Why did the insurgents not manage to escape from the camps and establish contact with the local population? These questions have often been raised, but the answer given by so-called Western "Russian experts" rarely tallies with the truth.

To anyone who witnessed the incidents in Vorkuta, Kingir, Norylsk, or Verchni-Kamskaja himself, the reason for the failure of these revolutionary insurrections is perfectly obvious: the prisoners possessed neither weapons nor ammunition. Hence they could neither defend

themselves effectively, nor launch a counterattack. As regards numerical strength, the prisoners had nothing to fear from the Bolshevik soldiers; it was evident that the prisoners were numerically superior. But in view of the fact that the insurgents had no modern weapons or munition, their numerical superiority was of no military or strategical value.

The insurgents were confronted by the difficult situation of having to start a revolutionary insurrection with the unrevolutionary means of a strike. The prisoners possessed many advantages, however, which would have made a successful revolt possible, namely: their large numbers, that is to say numerical superiority, leadership, organization, discipline, solidarity, fighting spirit and fanaticism, definite political aims.

But what was lacking was the sword, that is to say material force. They had no military equipment whatever, — no light and heavy arms, no machine guns, no submachine guns, no hand grenades, no mortar, no tanks, and no artillery. Had they possessed these weapons in Vorkuta, Norylsk, Kingir and Verchni-Kamskaya in 1953 and 1954, then the outcome of the revolutionary fight would certainly have been different. And those who fight for the cause of freedom against Russian Bolshevik colonialism must draw a lesson from these bloody incidents, — namely that there must in future be no insurrections, no revolts, without armed force!

Certain prominent politicians in the free world are also of this same opinion. True, their number is still small, but their views on this question are nevertheless significant. At the beginning of October 1963, Senator Goldwater, for instance, made a statement in which he said: "We should declare the Communist world movement illegal and accordingly should withdraw our diplomatic recognition of all Communist governments, including the Soviet Union. We should encourage the

enslaved peoples to *revolt* (the italics are ours, — the Editor) against their Communist rulers, but we should warn them against starting premature revolts which have no prospect of succeeding. The freedom fighters will realize that the time, place and methods of such revolts must necessarily be determined by the factors of a global strategy. To this end we should establish close contact with the underground leaders behind the Iron Curtain and should supply them with printing presses, radio sets, *weapons* (the italics are ours, — the Editor), and instructors," (quoted from the big Cologne daily "Deutsche Zeitung"). But politics and in particular freedom politics are not merely a question of material. The actual dynamic force in politics is provided by moral and ideological forces. Great historical turning-points and upheavals are in the first place heralded by spiritual and moral factors. And even though the captive revolutionaries in the Soviet Union were defeated ten years ago from the military point of view, they were the victors in the moral sense. Their blood sowed the seeds of the coming revolution; their martyrdom gave birth to a new fighting spirit, which passed beyond the barbed wire fences and penetrated to the interior of the Russian colonial empire. This is the profounder and historical meaning of the prisoners' insurrections in 1953 and 1954: they were a signal; they kindled the torch of freedom and humanity, and they ushered in a new phase in the universal fight for freedom against the barbarity of Russian Marxist colonialism.

And for Moscow, too, the hour of death of its colonialism, this evil taint in human civilization, will some day come!

*"We are as unknown, and yet well known;
as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened,
and not killed".*

II. Corinthians, VI, 9

Cuba, First Communist State in America

Many Cubans who are well qualified in the fields of politics and journalism have stated repeatedly that the revolution that occurred in Cuba was a political one and not one that was social or economic in character. It is the purpose of this article to further amplify this statement and present factual material to substantiate it.

In the following brief analysis of the economic and social standards that existed in Cuba prior to the advent of Castro, the statistics are taken from the following authentic sources: The Statistical Abstract of the United States of America, the International Organization of Labour, statistics compiled by the United Nations, the Department of Commerce of the United States of America and the International Monetary Fund.

Cuba is a relatively small Caribbean country with an area of 44,206 square miles and a population of 6,700,000 inhabitants. Despite her comparatively small size and the fact that she was the last Spanish colony in America to receive independence, following thirty years of heroic struggle, she has occupied a prominent position among the American countries both in the economic and social spheres.

According to statistics there was one house for every 3.8 persons in Cuba prior to Castro's seizure of power. With 10,000 miles of railways, she ranked first among the Latin American countries, and with one mile of paved highway for every ten miles of National area, she was second only to the Dominican Republic.

The average area of land per farm was approximately 150 acres, as compared to 195 acres in the United States and 205 acres in Mexico. Thus it is evident that an Agrarian Reform was not as necessary as Castro would have the world believe. This reform was merely a ruse to wrest land from private owners on the pretense

of giving it to the peasants. In actual fact the land was taken over by the state, and the peasants used as slaves, as in Communist China and the Soviet Union. The only "advantage" Castro's Agrarian Reform brought to the peasants was the opportunity to work on state owned land.

In the cattle raising industry, Cuba had an average of 0.86 head of cattle per inhabitant. This figure placed Cuba among the top eight cattle raising countries of the Americas. In meat production Cuba occupied third place with 95 pounds per inhabitant, second only to Argentina and Uruguay. According to statistics from the United States Department of Commerce, Cuba placed fourth in meat consumption with an average of 73 pounds per inhabitant and was first in the consumption of fresh fish with an average of 5.6 pounds per inhabitant, followed by the United States with a 5.4 pounds average.

Regarding total caloric intake, Cuba ranked third among all Latin American countries with a per capita average of 2,682 calories. The only other two countries to surpass this average were Argentina and Uruguay.

With reference to various other commodities which are to be found in relative abundance in Cuba, the following may be stated. Cuba ranked third among all Latin American countries with respect to telephones: 1 per 28 inhabitants; automobiles, 1 per 27.3 inhabitants. With respect to radios and televisions, Cuba had 160 radio broadcasting stations and 23 television stations. There was one radio for every 5 inhabitants - second among all Latin American countries; and one television set for every 18 inhabitants ranked Cuba first among all Latin American countries.

The system of Public Education in Cuba was developed to a high degree. Statistics quoted by the United Nations

in *Annuaire International d'Education*, placed Cuba first among the Latin American countries in public spending for educational purposes in 1958. The average expenditure for each inhabitant was \$23.00. The percentage of illiterate inhabitants was one of the lowest in all Latin American countries. Schools of higher education were well established and well staffed in Cuba. The system of higher education was comprised of 13 universities (including all official and private universities), 21 colleges, 19 training colleges for teachers, 14 schools of home economics, 19 schools of commercial education, 7 schools of plastic arts, 22 industrial schools and 6 schools of journalism and public relations.

Until 1958, Cuba occupied second place in relation to the number of students enrolled in university courses: one student for every 135 inhabitants. This figure was surpassed only by the United States, with one university student for every 61 inhabitants. With regard to the percentage of female university students, Cuba ranked first with 45%, followed by Panama with 43.5% and the United States with 32.8%.

In the field of Public Health, Cuba had 97 public hospitals, with a total of 21,141 beds, providing free services to the poor and indigent. Not included in the above figures were the private hospitals and semi-socialized clinics that provided complete hospital services at an average cost of \$ 3.50 a month. Of the total 6,421 physicians in Cuba, 3,016 were employed by the state; counties and provinces employed 957 physicians. Private hospitals and clinics utilized the services of 2,524 physicians and 613 were employed in various industries and schools. As there were 7,110 job openings for physicians, 2,743 filled two or more positions. With respect to the availability of physicians, Cuba ranked second among the Latin American countries, with one physician for every 980 inhabitants.

Cuba had the lowest infant mortality rate (3.7%) among the Latin American countries, and in reference to the entire

American Continent, she had the lowest general mortality rate (5.8 per 1000 inhabitants) and in reference to the entire world, only Irak, with 4.1 and Lebanon with 4.5 deaths per 1000 inhabitants, surpassed Cuba's rate.

The Cuban *peso* had the same value as the American dollar in the international market, due to the fact that in 1958, Cuba possessed \$ 370,000,000 in gold reserve, dollars and convertible values. This was sufficient to cover the number of bills printed.

In 1957, the national income was \$ 2,294,000,000, and the per capita rate was \$ 874.00, placing Cuba third among Latin American countries. In the ten years prior to control by Castro, Cuba had consistently averaged a per capita rate of over \$ 300.00.

Of the entire national income, 66% was paid out to workers; this ranked Cuba fourth among all the nations of the world. She was surpassed only by Great Britain with 74%, the United States with 71.1% and Canada with 68.5 %.

The daily salary of the Cuban industrial worker was \$ 6.00, and the salary allotted to the agricultural worker ranked Cuba seventh among all the nations of the world.

The budget of the year 1957-58 amounted to \$ 387,044,000, a figure which was surpassed only by the United States and Canada.

From the social point of view Cuba was more advanced than any country of the American Continent, and this progress was ensured by Constitutional law. In accordance with international agreements, many of the worker's rights were established even before the adoption of the new Constitution.

The Constitution of Cuba was drawn up by an assembly composed of members elected directly by the people and became effective on July 5, 1940. At this time the Constitution established the rights as citizens and individuals for the Cuban people; both were utilized in the American Declaration of American States in Bogota on April 30, 1948, and also in the Decla-

ration of Human Rights established by the United Nations in Paris on December 10, 1948.

All the advantages and improvements enjoyed by the workers in Cuba were the result of the concerted efforts of the workers to obtain social benefits and economic security under a democratic regime and an economic system based on capitalism. It was understood by workers and employers alike, that in order to improve commerce and industry within the country, it was of utmost importance to first improve the general living and working conditions of the workers.

There were still many pressing needs for improvement in the social and economic spheres. These improvements, however, could have been achieved in the usual democratic manner, in accordance with the Constitution.

During the last few years of democratic government in Cuba, for example, several institutions were created, such as the National Bank, the Import and Export Bank, the Organic Law of Budgets and many other official institutions that guaranteed the sound investment of Cuban and foreign capital. Consequently, the industrialization of Cuba was progressing and the Cuban workers were receiving high wages and were able to obtain the comforts and conveniences enjoyed by the peoples of other economically well developed countries. Taking all these factors into consideration, it would seem that Cuba was the least likely of all the Latin American countries in which a revolution could occur.

To say, therefore, that the establishment of a Communist regime in a given country is due only to economic and social reasons is to be mistaken.

We can say that the only reason Cuba was ripe for revolution was the existence of a political injustice initiated on March 10, 1952, when Fulgencio Batista unexpectedly gained power in Cuba by means of a *coup d'etat*. During the following years, he refused all political settlements for his action. Hence one door only

was left open to the Cuban people: insurrection.

Until March 10th, 1952, Cuba had a constitutional government, the product of a free and honest election. In 80 days a general election was to be held, as prescribed by law. When the *coup d'etat* occurred, it produced a general feeling of resentment and rebellion among the Cuban people.

The revolution against Batista was initiated by a group of men who had held various positions in the overthrown government, by some leaders of workers, students and professional groups. There was little that could actually be done at first, but the general feeling of rebellion against the *coup d'etat* was present in 90% of the population.

It was at this point that a new figure entered the scene, Dr. Fidel Castro, a virtually unknown lawyer. Prior to this time Castro had been known only on the University campus as an agitator and gangster. On April 30, 1948, during a Communist revolt in Bogota (Colombia), he was said to have been largely responsible for the death of one of Colombia's national leaders.

Fidel Castro's initial action upon the tumultuous Cuban scene was an attack on Moncada Garrison in Santiago de Cuba on July 26, 1953. The attack was not successful. Following his defeat Castro enjoyed the protection of Monsignor Perez Serrantes, the Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba, who asked that Castro's life be spared. During his trial Castro's defence was summed up in a speech entitled, "History Will Acquit Me." In this speech he explained the reasons leading up to the attack he had led. He went on to state that if he were to attain a government position some day, he would restore the Constitution which had been established in 1940, as well as the general elections 18 months following the success of the revolution.

Castro was condemned to 15 years imprisonment, but was set free shortly afterwards by Batista in one of his political maneuvers.

Following his liberation by Batista, Fidel Castro went to Mexico, and also visited the United States. Assisted by Colo Bayo (a former officer of the Communist army in Spain's Civil War), Castro organized and trained a guerrilla group in Mexico and organized an underground movement with his followers in Cuba. At the end of 1956, he and his group landed on the Western coast of Cuba and established themselves in the hills, the Sierra Maestra. At this point the revolution against the government grew more intense, and the terrorist methods used by the police increased in severity and in scope. Ultimately it was to be these police tactics, rather than Castro's speeches and military manoeuvres, which would swell the ranks of Castro's guerrilla army.

During the year of 1958, Castro progressively gained control of larger and larger areas of territory surrounding the Sierra Maestra; also during this year, 1958, the Sierra Escambray, in the Central Province of Cuba, passed from government control into the hands of Castro and other revolutionary groups. At this time the government situation was deplorable; the underground was very well organized and extremely active. The economic support of the revolution was provided by members of the upper and middle class socio-economic groups, by industrial leaders and by businessmen. The combination of all these factors finally caused Batista to flee the country on Dec. 31, 1958.

In addition to promising restitution of the Constitution of 1940, elections 18 months following its restoration and agrarian reform, Fidel Castro also promised honest administration of the government. His reason for doing this was the fact that the Batista regime was not the only dishonest one in Cuba.

Immediately after the first moments of triumph, Castro began to move into control of the whole country, asserting himself as sole leader of the revolution. He attempted to eliminate the other groups that had signed the Caracas Agreement with him and had fought

against Batista. Castro used a general strike which paralysed the entire country to destroy any transitional government that could have sprung up between the downfall of the Batista regime and the establishment of the revolutionary government. In this way he also attempted to minimize the prestige of the other revolutionary groups and weaken them. He used slogans such as "Weapons, for what?" in order to control the arsenals of the regular army.

Following the Communistic tactics of gaining and maintaining power, Castro's first step was the destruction of the organized regular army after the escape of some of the officers who had been backing Batista. Had it not been destroyed, this army could have easily overthrown Castro, once the people realized his Communistic tendencies. He imprisoned not only military men who had been involved in illegal agreements and actions during the Batista regime and who could not escape with him, but also accused, imprisoned and executed many honest and efficient army officers for no apparent or legal reason. He dismissed soldiers by the thousands, and in a matter of a few months the only existing army in Cuba was the rebel army of Fidel Castro. Within a few months Castro began to lose the confidence of the rebel army, for they realized the Communist aspect of his government. Conspiracies against Castro were formulated; it was at this point that Castro introduced the militia. In a short time this militia was to become practically the sole army in Cuba.

Castro also controlled the press, the student organizations, the professional organizations, schools, labour organizations; in short, any and every organized group that existed at the time in Cuba.

As soon as he seized power he confiscated a number of newspapers that allegedly supported the Batista regime and replaced one of them by the "Revolution" newspaper. This paper was utilized by the government to influence people in its behalf and to destroy the enemies of the government.

All newspapers which criticized government actions were immediately attacked by Castro controlled papers. Militia men, Communist agents and different personalities of the government, were used to threaten and force industrial concerns not to place their advertisements in those free papers or to support their publication. Newspaper boys selling other than Castro's or Communist controlled papers, were physically attacked in different parts of the country. Castro and other government figures verbally attacked all democratic newspapers and journalists. By using special agents as employees of these various newspapers, problems among the workers were deliberately created. Ultimately these problems would cause the confiscation of the paper. In this way all of the press fell under Castro's control. Democratic journalists were either imprisoned or exiled. Thus, the death of the free press in Cuba was brought about, and in its place the enslaved press rose - typical of all Communist countries.

The student associations were also controlled by the government, which forced the election of their favourite candidates. The majority of revolutionary leaders had arisen from the student groups in the past. Therefore, Castro wanted control of this element also.

Control of the labour syndicates of Cuba was accomplished by similar means - enforced election of only government backed candidates. Any opposing candidates were threatened and prevented from being nominated. Many workers were accused of counter-revolutionary activities and imprisoned or executed.

The educational system of the country also came under the direct control of the government. Private schools, the majority were Catholic, were vehemently opposed. The government controlled the textbooks and teaching methods used in the schools. They initiated a sweeping campaign against the enrollment of children in private schools. Teachers who refused to cooperate or who disagreed with the

educational system were accused of counter-revolutionary activities. The curriculum of the new system was based upon the theory of materialistic Communism.

The professional associations, as the medical association, etc., were controlled by the same means. Only Communists or individuals sympathetic to the government could be elected to positions of authority.

This universal control of the country was accomplished systematically and unobtrusively. When speaking publicly, Castro stated that all these measures were taken only for the people's welfare, that democratic figures were being given key positions, and that "reaction" was being eliminated. He went on to say that these tactics would lead Cuba to higher economic and social levels and labelled anyone opposed to government action as counter-revolutionary, rightist, reactionary, or lover of Yankee imperialism.

Simultaneously, state slogans portraying Cuba as an underdeveloped country were circulated. These aphorisms described Cuba as rife with social injustice, a poor farming area exploited by the Yankee imperialism of her northern neighbours.

To insist on this latter point was of great importance to the Castro regime. It was by discrediting the United States in the eyes of the Cuban people that Castro hoped to find an excuse for the destruction of the Cuban economy and its subsequent reconstruction on a Communist basis. It was also by this means that Castro hoped to sever political and commercial relations with the United States and bring Cuba under the control of Russian imperialism.

All these events took place without Castro ever asserting that he and his regime were Communists. He continued to preach humanitarianism and to excuse his radical actions on nationalistic grounds. Castro's affirmation of his Communistic status occurred only after he had gained absolute control of the entire Cuban situation, again following the usual Communist method of procedure. It was not

until May 1, 1962, that he announced to Cuba and to the whole world that he was at that time, always had been and would always continue to be a Marxist-Leninist. For the Cuban people it was too late. They had been deluded by Fidel Castro until he had gained complete control of the country by means of terror and violence. Now he could announce his Communist affiliation to the world without the fear of being overthrown.

The example of Cuba should demon-

strate to all the democracies of the world and to their leaders that Communism must be destroyed in its initial stages. To wait until it is clearly evident and firmly entrenched is to wait too long.

Many books could be written concerning the horrors endured by the Cuban people under the Russian supported Communist system of Castro. Only a few of the political and economical disadvantages of this system will be dealt with in this paper. (To be continued)

Dr. Vibul Thamavit

Thailand Target Of Communist Infiltration

To fight Communism a country must be socially and economically strong. *A strong middle class is a necessary factor.*

With respect to the economic processes of Thailand, it can be pointed out that the Prime Minister, Marshal Sarit Thanarat, has introduced a new organization, the Ministry of National Economic Development. Its aim is to develop all resources in the country in a cooperative and coordinate way. There is a board of Investment, whose function it is to facilitate foreign investments for industries and various projects. The government also provides land resettlement projects. The basic philosophy of this programme is to see people own their land. When people have something, they will certainly fight for it.

In the field of politics, we uphold the ideology of individual liberty, private ownership, respect of one's parents, freedom of religious worship, etc. .

Thailand is one of the prime targets of Communistic infiltration, subversion and penetration. Red China, North Vietnam and Pathet Lao present a great threat to Thailand. Foreign Communists support the local Communists to overthrow the present government. Marshal Sarit Thanarat, however, has demonstrated strong, decisive action. After a complete investigation and interrogation, many Communists have been executed, such as Mr. Supachai Srisatee, who was executed in 1960; Mr. Krong Chandawong and Mr. Ruam Wongpan, who were executed in 1962. Many others were imprisoned. There are anti-Communist laws which prohibit all Communistic activities. In 1963, the Prime Minister strongly promoted economic welfare throughout the country. It is hoped that by improving economic conditions – with a strong middle class – the Communists will soon be out of the picture.

Opportune Moment For National Revolutionary Wars

Today, what poses as a most serious threat to the Chinese Communists is an insurmountable economic crisis. Years of agricultural failure have brought about an unprecedented famine on the Chinese mainland. As a result of the withdrawal of Soviet experts and of Khrushchov's scraping of hundreds of agreements and contracts, the Chinese Communist industry is facing tremendous difficulties. Such difficulties are being aggravated by the transfer of industrial forces to the countryside to revamp the agricultural failure. Because of the transfer to the agricultural front of large numbers of industrial workers and cadres, the operation of over 62 per cent of the factories and plants on the Chinese mainland has come to a complete standstill. In Canton, 80 per cent of the factories and mills have stopped operating.

In the agricultural domain, all is not going well. Regardless of the mobilization of all available forces to aid agriculture, regardless of the proud boast of a good crop harvest this summer, food shortage remains the order of the day. The people still do not have enough to eat, peasants have lost their production zeal, and are no longer interested in collective farm work.

The sharp decline in industrial and agricultural output has brought about widespread shortage of materials of daily use, booming of commodity prices, reduction in the volume of foreign trade, decrease of foreign exchange reserves, all of which contributes directly to a further worsening of the national economic crisis of Mao's regime.

Existing side by side with this national economic crisis is a serious political crisis, which is being aggravated by the daily worsening ideological struggle between Khrushchov and Mao. The struggle itself has created among the Chinese Communists an ideological confusion. Cadres lose confidence in what they are fighting for. They are plagued by a series of irregularities, rightist deviation, sagging morale, pessimism, and fear of difficulties.

From this ideological confusion there ensue crises and factional strife. Cases of "anti-Mao and anti-Party" activities have been reported throughout the Chinese mainland. Despite the launching of a continual series of rectification campaigns, despite the efforts being made to intensify the movement for study of "Mao Tse-tung's Thinking", an adverse current threatening the downfall of Mao and his regime is gaining strength.

Especially worthy of our attention is the rapid disintegration of Mao's armed forces, as a result of ideological confusion and rigid implementation of erroneous policies. This disintegration is manifested in the report which "Deputy Director of PLA General Political Department" Hsiao Hua delivered to the "Political World Conference of All Armed Forces" in Peiping on February 2, 1963. It is manifested also in the PLA General Political Department's confidential document - "Work Correspondence" - published recently by the US State Department. These two documents give an account of how

a colossus of clay is rapidly falling apart under the undesirable tendencies of "political rightism", "fear of War", "craving for a life of comfort", "liberalism", "ideological disarmament", "lack of discipline" and "loss of fighting stamina".

Documents published recently by the "PLA General Political Department" admitted the desertion of over 8,700 men and officers of the Chinese Communist armed forces between October 1962 and July 1963. The same documents added that many of these "turncoats" deserted en masse with their weapons. Although Mao had ordered the purge of 15 per cent of the PLA officers after the dismissal of Peng Teh-huai and Huang Ku-cheng, factional strife in the armed forces goes on as usual. This is because the potential influences of Peng and Huang are still active in the military. The recent desertion of 8,000 soldiers in Sinkiang is but an example showing the rapid worsening of the internal crisis of Mao's armed forces.

Failure of faulty policies has not only made Mao's regime lose its prestige in the international arena but has also enabled the free world, especially the Asian states and peoples to recognize the true colour of a bellicose regime. Mao's bellicosity – manifested so vividly in his fanatical anti-US campaign, in giving active support to the armed revolts in Laos and Vietnam and Thailand, in creating a tense situation in the Taiwan Straits and in South Korea, in pursuing a policy of war toward India, and in stepping up subversive activities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America – has succeeded only in placing the Chinese Communist regime in a position of isolation.

Today, after the rivalry between Khrushchov and Mao, this isolated regime has become a target of attacks from all sides. It is deserted and condemned by an overwhelming majority of the Communist parties in the world. Even the neutral states have become disillusioned with this bellicose regime.

Constituting a sharp contrast to the Communist society of slavery on the Chinese mainland is the free and democratic society of the Republic of China, which has made a noticeable progress in the political, economic and social fields. These forces of progress present a real challenge to the forces of decay at a time when anti-Communist revolutionary movements on the mainland are gaining momentum as a result of increasing underground and guerrilla activities in the coastal provinces of Southeast China.

According to statistical figures released by Peiping's Ministry of Public Security, cases of the mainland people's anti-Communist and anti-atrocity activities increased from 56,000 in 1958 to 76,000 in 1959, to 115,300 in 1960, and to 249,000 in 1961. This meant there was one anti-Communist and anti-atrocity case taking place every two minutes. Even Mao himself openly deplored the existence of a so-called "three-three-four" phenomenon amongst party members and young people on the mainland. The term "three-three-four" means that out of every 10 persons three are pro-Communist, three are anti-Communist, and four are neutral. This is indicative of the disillusionment of an overwhelming majority of the mainland people as regards the Communist regime.

An appraisal of the above situation shows convincingly the approaching collapse of Mao's regime. It shows most eloquently that now is the critical

time of the Communist reign of terror and also the opportune moment for the government of the Republic of China to accomplish through a counterattack its task of national unification and of restoring to the people their lost freedom.

Taking into full consideration our common interests and the current situation which is developing in our favour, the government of the Republic of China has the right to make this appeal: All free nations must cease trading with the Chinese Communists. To trade with them means to encourage forces of aggression. We need moral and material support for the accomplishment of a task which would put an end to the origin of Communist aggression in Asia, and which would bring lasting peace to all peace-loving peoples of the world.

It is true that some people are still sceptical as to whether or not the government of the Republic of China would be able to score a victory in its counteroffensive. In this connection, I have given some explanations in my report to the Eighth APACL Conference in Tokyo. Here I have something more to add.

1) Some people hold that "nationalism" is the origin of Mao's rivalry with Khrushchov. From this assumption emerges a theory that it is untimely for the government of the Republic of China to stage a counterattack at the present moment, because Mao's regime would most likely be able to enjoy the support of the mainland people. This is a distortion of realities. Communism and nationalism are diametrically opposed to each other. What Mao fights for today is not "nationalism", but a recognized position of orthodoxy of Marxism-Leninism. He aspires to reform himself in the image of Stalin. This has nothing in common with "nationalism". Fourteen years of dictatorship has completely destroyed China's spiritual and cultural heritage. It has created widespread resistance among the mainland people. What motivates their resistance is nationalism, which is not on Mao's side. Today, the only progressive force truly representing the national interests and the cultural heritage of the Chinese people is the government of the Republic of China under the leadership of President Chiang. Ours is a national revolutionary task of regaining lost land and of restoring the freedom of our enslaved people. This sacred task will definitely enjoy the support of the mainland people to express their national spirit.

2) There are some people who think our counterattack may patch up the rift between Moscow and Peiping and may induce Soviet intervention and trigger off a nuclear war. As is known, the Moscow-Peiping conflict stems principally from the Khrushchov-Mao power struggle. Their struggle is one which cannot be reconciled in the near future. With regard to whether or not our counterattack may touch off a nuclear war or induce Soviet intervention, our answer is in the negative. We base this judgment on four factors: a) Our counterattack will take place in the form of a national revolutionary war, without the participation of foreign troops. For this reason, the Russians do not have any pretext for a military intervention. They cannot possibly take the risk of getting themselves involved in a revolutionary war of the Chinese people. b) Today, Soviet Russia is fully aware of the devastating force of a nuclear war. As long as the United States maintains her nuclear

supremacy, Khrushchov would not dare to trigger off a nuclear war, nor would he give Mao a helping hand in the Chinese people's revolutionary war. What took place during the Cuban crisis in October 1962 is a good example. c) World conquest is an ultimate goal of Soviet Russia. "Peaceful Coexistence" is the means to reach this goal. Soviet troops are stationed mostly in East Europe to keep the satellites in line and to cope with the NATO forces. Khrushchov will not and dare not transfer his troops to fight in Asia. For such a transfer would require the Soviet troops to wage war on two fronts. d) Our counterattack is guided by a righteous cause for freedom and against slavery. Realization of this righteous cause will not only free the enslaved people on the Chinese mainland, but will also provide the enslaved peoples with favourable conditions for liberating themselves. Under such circumstances, the Soviet troops will have to cope with the anti-Communist revolutionary forces behind the Iron Curtain. It will then be impossible for Khrushchov to come to the help of Mao.

3) There are other people who doubt our faith in ultimate victory. They say that despite the economic failure and the difficulties springing from the Khrushchov-Mao conflict, the Chinese Communists still have a superior military strength. This is not necessarily true, if one takes into account the sagging morale of Mao's poorly-equipped armed force. Lo Fuiching, Chief of the "PLA General Staff", openly admitted that the Chinese Communist armed forces had lost their fighting strength. What is the use of a numerically superior military strength, if men in uniform have lost their fighting stamina? Demoralization of fighting units is a burden, not a combating strength. Let us also take into consideration the fact that such morale-sagging armed forces of Mao's regime are dispersed in large areas extending from the Taiwan Straits to South Korea, from the borders of Vietnam and Thailand to the Himalayas. Also, they need troops to suppress revolts and uprisings in all parts of the Chinese mainland. We will, therefore, be able to enjoy a definite military supremacy when the counteroffensive begins. Ours is a revolutionary war, the victory or defeat of which is determined mainly by the people's stand. As was pointed out in the September 1963 issue of the British *Intelligence Digest*, we can count not only on the enthusiastic support of our mainland compatriots but also on the defection of the Chinese Communist officers and soldiers and cadres. At a given signal, they will stand on our side to help overthrow Mao's regime.

Finally, I would like to point out that the victory of our national revolutionary war will have far-reaching effects on "peace and security in Asia and in other parts of the world". Without a free China, there will be no free Asia, nor will there be a lasting world peace. Therefore, I would like to call on all freedom-loving countries and peoples of the world to take timely advantage of the Moscow-Peiping split by rendering effective moral and material aid to help us regain our lost land and remove the bondage of our compatriots at a time when Mao's regime is fast approaching its doomsday.

It is our conviction that the victory of our task of national unification is not merely a victory of the Republic of China. It is also a victory of Free Asia and the Free World, a victory of freedom over slavery, of justice over atrocity.

Anti-Semitism In The USSR

Many articles in the Western press and talks on the radio have commented on the Soviet book "Judaism Unadorned" to the publication of which the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR has been forced to lend its name. The author of the book Trofim Kichko belabours Jewish religion and raises accusations against Jews in general. Illustrations published in the book are offensive to the Jews. The publication of this book has justly evoked indignation among the Jews in Western countries, in particular in Britain. British press has extensively reported on the developments in connection with the publication of this book.

The Observer published a report about the book by Edward Crankshaw, and *The Guardian* published several reports by Victor Zorza. So has *Jewish Chronicle* and other newspapers. Communists in France have demanded from the Soviet Government that the book be withdrawn from circulation.

The Ukrainian Information Service in London, which speaks on behalf of freedom-loving Ukrainian émigrés who have found refuge from Russian Communist tyranny in Britain wishes to make it known that the Ukrainians strongly condemn the Communist Russian drive against any religion, including the Jewish religion, and Communist Russian enslavement of the nations of Eastern Europe, not only Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Lithuania etc., but also the oppression of the Jews in the Russian prison of nations, the USSR. The Ukrainians condemn the publication by the bodies controlled by the Soviet Russian Government of all its anti-religious pamphlets, which are not only blasphemous, but offensive to all decent men. The Ukrainians also condemn the publication by the Soviet Russian Government agencies of books, pamphlets, articles etc. combatting the freedom strivings of the enslaved nations – Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Turkes-

tanians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and so on, – who suffer under the oppressive colonial yoke of the Communist Russian government in Moscow. Naturally, the Ukrainians also condemn the Russian Communist drive to eliminate the Jews as a nationality, to limit their religious and national rights and to discriminate against them.

We fight against Russian great power chauvinism in the USSR and the oppression of all the non-Russian nationalities, which, put together, constitute over 50% of the population of the USSR, and we regard the Jews as our potential allies in the struggle against Russian imperialism. Ukrainians are the strongest and most bitter opponents of Russian imperialism and colonialism. We Ukrainian oppose discrimination against any nationality, for we have suffered from it for many centuries. In the attempt to keep the tyrannical Russian Communist empire together, the Moscow imperialists turn their hatred and invective against the Ukrainian nationalists, fighters for the freedom of the Ukrainian and other nations enslaved by Communist Russia. Moscow tries to drive a wedge into the midst of the Ukrainian nation, to set brother against brother, it also tries to drive a wedge among the enslaved nations, in order to divide and rule them. Moscow, finally, tries to drive a wedge between the Ukrainians and the Jews. The publication of the book "Judaism Unadorned" is just one particular instance of such attempts.

Unfortunately, many Western commentators have been caught on the hook of Russian propaganda. They took appearances for reality. The fact that this particular book was published in Ukraine by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR appeared to them to confirm their preconceived notion about an inborn anti-Semitism in the Ukrainians. They did not stop to think that Ukrainians are slaves in their own country, that they

have no real say in the affairs of State, that Ukraine is ruled as a province of Russia, that the puppet Government of Ukraine in Kiev has no will of its own, but is Moscow's instrument. They disregarded the fact that the so-called "Ukrainian" Government in Kiev is in fact anti-Ukrainian, for its first purpose is to secure the Russian rule over Ukraine and its rich economic resources and to stamp out any Ukrainian stirrings in favour of independence.

Mr. Victor Zorza and others incorrectly and misleadingly referred to the publishers as the "Ukrainian Academy of Sciences", as if it was a national Ukrainian institution, although its real name is "Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR", the policy of which is dictated by Russian Communist authorities. Although the difference between the two names may appear to be merely superficial, there is in fact quite a world of difference between these two terms. The real Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was "liquidated" in the early 1930's and many of its distinguished professors were exiled to Siberian prison camps where they suffered the usual death from exhaustion. The Academy was then re-named "Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR" to denote its purge from its national Ukrainian character and its transformation into a local Communist Russian institution, a branch of the USSR (or rather Russian) Academy of Sciences in Ukraine.

Now, suddenly, at the wave of Mr. Zorza's magic wand the "Ukrainian Academy of Sciences" has been brought back to life, and the blame for a Communist book is placed squarely and unfairly on Ukrainian shoulders without any qualifications. The fact that a book is published in Ukrainian by the Communist Russian authorities in the USSR does not necessarily mean that it reflects the views of the Ukrainian people in general. In fact, quite the opposite, for very many books published in Ukraine in the Ukrainian language are anti-Ukrainian in character. They are written either by Russians or their lackeys from among Ukrain-

ians and other nationalities with the intent to poison and destroy the very soul of the Ukrainian Nation. This is done by means of exaggerating the importance of everything Russian, belittling and ridiculing the history and culture of the Ukrainian nation, slandering its heroes and freedom fighters, designating Ukrainian patriots as traitors, foreign agents, anti-Semites etc. .

Russian Communists are well-known for their skilful use of slander and provocation. We do not need to quote proofs in support of this statement. We are firmly convinced that the publication of the book "Judaism Unadorned", was a Russian Communist provocation calculated to turn the wrath of the Jews and other people throughout the world against the Ukrainians in general, and in particular against Ukrainian nationalists, who combat Russian imperialism and colonialism, but who have no conflicts with the Jews.

We are greatly grieved that some commentators in the West took the occasion of the publication of the book "Judaism Unadorned" to repeat the threadbare anti-Ukrainian slanders about the alleged special anti-Semitism of Ukrainians. In doing this they do a great disservice, to the Jews above all. In fact they merely play into Moscow's hands, for this is precisely what Moscow wants, namely, to set the Jews against the Ukrainians in Ukraine and in the West and thus to neutralise any possible opposition to itself, and divert it into other channels.

These commentators overlook the fact, that besides anti-Semitism, there can also be the danger of anti-Ukrainianism. Anti-Ukrainianism has been practiced by a number of States and individuals already for quite a long time. Without going too far back into history, we wish to recall only the relatively recent drive to suppress the liberation strivings of the Ukrainian people on the part of the Russians, Poles and Hitler's Germany. Ukrainians have suffered terrible losses at the hands of their oppressors. During the Communist invasion of Ukraine and the

Russian war against the Ukrainian National Republic in the years 1917–1921, many thousands of Ukrainian people were brutally murdered by Russian Communists. By the way, not a small part in this war was played on the Russian Communist side by such people as Trotsky, the C.-in-C. of the Red Army, as well as Zinoviev, Kamenev, and many others who were of Jewish origin.

In 1933, in his drive to requisition food and to collectivise the peasants, Stalin caused a famine in Ukraine which resulted in the deaths of six million Ukrainians. Constant resistance of the Ukrainians to the Communist Russian policies claimed many thousands of victims at the hands of Communist torturers, among whom people of Jewish origin have not been the least numerous. Among them was for instance Kaganovich and the head of the GPU in Ukraine, Khatayevich. The demented policy of Hitler directed against the Ukrainians also claimed millions of victims. Among the prisoners in the Nazi German concentration camps there were also many Ukrainian nationalists who opposed German imperialism and fought for the independence of Ukraine both against Germany and Russia.

The particularly keen attention on the part of some commentators to the very fact of the publication of "Judaism Unadorned" in Ukraine is strange. Suddenly people who usually refer to Ukraine as Russia, and who do not show much interest in the Russian oppression of Ukraine and the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation, remembered that Ukraine exists, i. e., to blame them of a sin, of which they are innocent.

They overlooked the fact that anti-Jewish books have been published for many years in Moscow in far greater numbers than "Judaism Unadorned", of which 12,000 copies were printed. Let us give an example, namely, the book by Moysey Solomonovich Belenkiy, "What Is The Talmud", published by the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow in 1963. 70,000 copies were printed in Russian. Of course,

this book, written apparently by a Jew, "scientifically" "unmasks" the Jewish religion, in particular the Talmud, in a somewhat gentler manner than the book by Kichko. Moscow does not wish to soil its hands with a dirty job, and forces the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR to suffer this humiliation, just as it has forced it to publish quite a number of books distorting and slandering Ukrainian history and preaching hatred of Ukrainian patriots and nationalists.

There is no country with a Jewish minority in the world where anti-Jewish occurrences did not take place at one time or another, and Ukraine is no exception. Naturally, where the Jews are few these occurrences are relatively rare, but where there are many of them they are bound to be statistically more frequent. For many centuries already Ukraine had one of the largest Jewish minorities in the world. They found refuge there from other countries from which they were expelled. For many centuries most of the trade and much of industry used to be in Jewish hands in Ukraine. Before Hitler's extermination of the Jews during World War II, there were about three million Jews in Ukraine, out of a total population of 40 million. Even at present, the Jewish population in Ukraine numbers about 900,000. Prior to the 1917 Revolution the Jews were not permitted by the Tsarist Russian Government to migrate from Ukraine to Muscovy, i. e. Russia proper. The Russian Tsarist Government which enslaved Ukraine similarly as does the present Soviet Government sponsored chauvinist "Black Hundreds" campaigns against the Jews, to divert the dissatisfaction and anger of the population from itself to other targets. These chauvinist Russian "Black Hundreds" organised the pogroms against the Jews in Ukraine. The Ukrainian national movement always condemned these policies and actions, and one of the first actions of the Government of the independent Ukrainian National Republic in the period 1917–1921 was to grant full cultural autonomy to the Jewish

minority. A Ministry for Jewish Affairs was established and a Jew was appointed as its head. Several Jews were members of the Provisional Ukrainian Parliament, the Central Rada. During the Civil War period, when extremely chaotic conditions prevailed in Ukraine, and some criminal elements began anti-Jewish excesses in a few places, the Ukrainian Government did all in its power to prevent these excesses and to punish the culprits. The Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Armed Forces which fought against the White and Red Russian invaders at the same time, Symon Petlura, himself issued a number of proclamations to the population to protect the Jews. It must, however, be realised that most of Ukraine was occupied at that time either by the Red Army or by the White Army of Denikin, and the Ukrainian Government's possibilities were very limited. Some Jews unjustly blame Petlura for excesses which he was in no position to prevent, owing to the revolutionary upheavals and numerous conflicting forces. Many Jews also took part in the fighting on one side or another, mostly on the side of the Bolsheviks, sometimes joining Bolshevik Russian uprisings against the national Ukrainian Government in the rear, by which actions they brought on themselves reprisals of the opponents of the Bolsheviks.

Another question which the detractors of Ukrainian name should ask themselves is: why is it that even today when Jews can emigrate from Ukraine – why is it that the number of Jews in the Russian Republic, the RSFSR, is about the same as that in Ukraine, although the territory of the RSFSR is many times larger than that of Ukraine and the population there is three times that of Ukraine? It is simply that for the Jews life is much more tolerable in Ukraine than life in Russia or Birobidjan.

Mr. Victor Zorza, too, and many others who used to live in Ukraine ought to show at least a grain of gratitude to the people who, although enslaved themselves,

made it possible for the Jewish minority to make their living and prosper as far as it was possible under the circumstances.

(U. J. S. – London)

Celebration of the 25th Anniversary of Slovakia's Declaration of Independence

On March 14, 1939, just 25 years ago, the Slovakian parliament proclaimed Slovakia's independence and established the Slovakian Republic in the name of the Slovakian people, who had emerged victoriously in their national uprising against foreign rule. By this proclamation, the Slovakian nation claimed its right to self-determination.

In all countries of the free world, where larger groups of Slovaks were living, celebrations were held to commemorate this occasion.

In the German Federal Republic such celebrations were held by the German-Slovakian Society in Munich and Nuernberg on March 14, and in Stuttgart on March 15. The chief speaker at the celebrations in Munich and Stuttgart was the President of the ABN's Peoples Council, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky. The chairman of ABN's organisation commission and Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Council, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, was the chief speaker at the celebration in Nuernberg. In addition to refugees and emigrants from Slovakia, many friends of the Slovakian people, among whom were also prominent representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, participated in the celebrations.

On the occasion of this anniversary, the Slovak Liberation Council published an appeal directed to the public of the free world. In this appeal it is emphasized that the Slovakian people, who have been subjugated by Moscow since 1945, have never renounced their own state, the Slovakian Republic, and that they demand complete freedom and independence for Slovakia.

Appeal To Young Sportsmen Of The West

You have come here in order to show your skill in sports in competition with the youth of the whole world. Have you thought about whom you are likely to meet at this contest? Not only the youth of the free world but also young people from the world of slavery.

Have you stopped to consider what the thoughts of these young people are? Or what they long for? Are you aware that there are over 200 million non-Russian people living behind the Iron Curtain and languishing in the Russian colonial imperium? Are you aware that there are about 1 milliarde people in the Communist sphere of influence?

Do you know that about 30 million Mohammedans are being persecuted in the Soviet Union on account of their religion? Do you know that all Christian Churches which do not recognize the Patriarch of Moscow appointed by the Kremlin are persecuted in a most ruthless way? And that many churches are razed to the ground? And that bishops, priests and faithful believers are arrested and that murder is the order of the day at the command of the government?

Are you aware that Turkestanians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and Armenians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, East Germans, and many other nationalities are leading a miserable existence under the Russian terrorist regime? Are you aware of the constant famines as a result of the Communist regime and of colonialism in our countries? Are you aware of the fact that Russian imperialism has repeatedly conquered peoples with a higher culture and civilization than the Russians, has exploited and subjugated them? In the epoch of the great historical triumph of the national liberation idea in various continents, where the old western empires are being dissolved, the Russian imperium, which aims to conquer the whole world and subjugate it to the deceptive ideology of Communism, continues to expand more and more. The young people from the countries behind the Iron Curtain expect encouragement from you and courageous support for their fight for the freedom of the individual, for social justice and national independence. They do not want to have anything whatever to do with the Communism forced on us in our countries; they want to shape and live their life in freedom and in their independent national states.

Sports contests are a political means to an end in the opinion of the Russians. The young people behind the Iron Curtain are forced to train professionally and uninterruptedly in order to show their alleged superiority over the youth of the free world. There are no amateur sportsmen in this respect in the Russian-ruled countries, — all training serves a political end and to deceive the free world.

Have you never asked yourselves why the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians and others

never appear at sports contests as separate groups but always as a collective group of the USSR? As you see, the Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and also the members of the French Community of States appear at such contests under their own national flags, for the simple reason that Great Britain and France, etc. do not constitute despotic empires but a voluntary commonwealth of independent nations.

Tell your young comrades from the subjugated countries the truth about freedom in your countries; tell them that you and your fathers have a say in determining the foreign and the home policy of your countries.

Youth has always been the vanguard of progress, national independence, social justice and freedom in the world. It is now your mission and your task to play an active part as champions of the freedom of individuals and of the independence of all peoples, including those peoples who are incarcerated in the Russian imperium. A vast world movement of freedom and liberation shall be called into being by the youth of the world in order to ensure the victory of divine justice, of the idea of the independence of nations, of the freedom of the individual and of social justice the world over. It is your mission to join forces with the young peoples behind the Iron Curtain and set up a mighty and invincible liberation front in order to overthrow the tyranny of Russian colonialism and Communism and to help divine truth to be victorious.

The youth of the whole world shall unite in the fight against godlessness, against Communism and Russian imperialism, – in the fight for religious faith, freedom of the individual, social justice and independence of the peoples.

(ABN Leaflets distributed at the Olympics in Innsbruck in 1964)

Penalty for Insulting Tito

On April 2, 1964, the Bonn Court of Assizes, which is at present trying the case of the Croatian assailants, imposed a disciplinary penalty of one day's imprisonment upon the young defendant Murat, because he insulted the Yugoslav President of State, Tito, in court. Murat dared to designate Tito as a "butcher and Eichmann No. 2".

The defendant recounted in detail that 150,000 defenceless Croations were murdered by Communist partisans during a death march in 1945. Between 1943 and 1948, Titoists supposedly murdered 500,000 Croations. Tito had just as many Germans on his conscience. The defendant emphasized that these Germans, among whom were many old people, women and children, did not die in combat, but were

murdered in cold blood and in a bestial way after the end the war.

A court, and not in the Soviet Occupied Zone either, but in the free part of Germany, imposed a penalty on the person that mentioned these unimaginable crimes committed by Tito! It was against the law to compare Tito with Eichmann! This was an insult! But in the name of truth, one must admit that *Tito is at least as much of a mass murderer as Eichmann. Tito, as Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, is personally and directly responsible for mass murders.*

Stimme der Freiheit

April 6, 1964 Nr. 7/8

Soviet Russian Propaganda In Red Dress And The Naked Reality

With the help of the Soviet controlled press, it is often possible to get a brief glimpse of the "Red Paradise". Crass inadequacies will be found here, for one cannot hide a deplorable state of affairs in Red clothing, or simply be silent about it. Apart from mere words of praise, it is necessary to admit the truth from time to time. But let the Soviet controlled press speak for itself. The following is factual material about the miserable daily life in Byelorussia.

In the newspaper *Literatura i Mastaztwo* (Literature and Art), No. 60 (1963), we find an article entitled "This is what the march toward Communism means!" On Moscow's instructions, this article states the following, quite obviously for purposes of propaganda: "The material well-being and the cultural level of the people are continuously progressing... Why, then, should one not be satisfied with all these figures? They attest how deeply culture has taken root in the life of the Byelorussians... Our country has taken the right path—our march toward Communism is certain and grandiose."

But now let us tear this ostensible paradise asunder and take a look at the USSR. We will soon see what the real situation of the Byelorussian people is under Russian domination.

The No. 42 (1963) issue of "Literature and Art" contained an article, "Under the green covering of a park". Among other things, this article states the following: "... In the town of Stolin (Polessia) there is a wonderful old park in which rare species of trees grow. For such a comfortable place in Nature, any city could envy the town of Stolin. Certainly the workers of Stolin will take care to spend their leisure hours there. Regrettably, however, this is not the case — although it should be... for a workshop

for repairing tractors and other machines has been set up in this park... In the avenues of the park, numerous tractors are driven about, crushing the trees and shrubbery, and right beside them, one can see cows grazing..."

In the same issue of the above mentioned newspaper, comrade A. Wladimirov writes about the poor construction of a couch as follows: "The bedding of the couch appears to be a new product of the Ritshytzia factory. Four posts, somewhat planed down, support a plain piece of living room furniture (it doesn't make a whit of difference how the sideboards are placed). On the side, in harmony with the construction — a real feast for the eyes — are two holes. To be able to disassemble such a couch, one has to take a special course, by God!

"All of them have been tested. All the closets — although they were manufactured in different factories — are the same wooden boxes weighing several pudes each. But if one wants to furnish one's quarters with light, not very expensive, comfortable and good looking furniture... one can search in the appropriate sales places for days — indeed, for months in vain..." I would add, as long as the Russians remain on our territory.

In No. 62 of the same newspaper, the article "Books are being sold" runs as follows: "A few years ago the Ministry of Education of the Byelorussian SSR in Pinsk placed an order for 300 book covers with a local mechanical enterprise. The very first delivery of the order evoked a cry of indignation: the lining was defective, without mentioning other defects. For the purpose of looking at and repairing these defects, the representatives of the enterprise were asked to come. To be sure, they came, but apart from looking at the defects, they did not

do anything. In the end the book dealers were forced to let the remainder of the order go to waste."

In the same issue of this newspaper, there is an article entitled, "The masters of words and the masters of education". Among other things, this article states: "In the lime processing works ("Ruba") in Wittebsk, the theft of collective property was detected." This is nothing new. Lenin himself taught that that which has been unlawfully acquired, may be taken back. So, the right to plunder is applied in accordance with Lenin's own teachings, for there is no real collective property. If collective property really existed, then one could not speak of theft on the part of the people, for they would only be taking their own possessions. Naturally, they would be doing so in accordance with Lenin's basic tenet: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need." If one needs something, why shouldn't he take it? We know very well, however, that collective property does not exist in the Soviet Union, for everything belongs to the all-powerful Communist Party. The distribution of the nation's wealth is by no means controlled by the "Soviet workers". It is controlled by the Party, i. e., the Russians. They take everything according to their desire, and whatever is left over belongs to the "people". In my opinion, it is the "Party decrees" that encourage the plundering of "collective property". Incidentally, an article dealing with this matter was printed in the No. 52 issue (1963) of the Literary newspaper (LIM). Comrad M. Loban was the author of this article.

There are of course minor obstacles to be encountered on the way to Communism, i. e., the so-called "sand-dust". Concerning this matter, A. Machnatsh writes the following in the No. 64 (1963) issue of the above mentioned newspaper. The following is the "sand-dust" story.

Look, our bus "ZM-44-19", with a sign marked "Mensk-Radashkowitzshy" is coming already. The first passengers boarded the bus and retreated aghast. They were angry and asked for the driver. We

also took a look in the bus. We looked and were stunned. We saw a great devastation in the car: the seats toward the back had been torn off; the remaining seats were full of dust. There was so much dirt on the floor that one could have sowed seeds in it. Discarded scraps of paper, bits of cucumbers, as well as all sorts of broken pieces of wood were scattered about... Nonetheless, we decided to ride with this bus - a decision, however, that we very much regretted shortly afterwards. On the way the bus threw up such a cloud of dust that we were not able to admire the scenery. Decked with dust like millers, we were finally forced to interrupt our trip on the way to Radashkowitzshy and to return to Mensk.

... There were many similar occurrences. At the beginning of May, the bus stop that was located in front of the restaurant "Buh" was shifted to Adam Mickiewicz Street. But where could passengers find out about this change? As before, they waited for the bus in front of the restaurant "Buh". They waited and waited until one of the pedestrians informed them that the bus stop had been shifted long before. Usually, they would always disperse, and new passengers would take their places at the bus stop "Buh". This scene repeated itself for several days. The bus stop had been shifted to another location, but the bus stop sign that indicated the direction remained in its old place.

The inhabitants of 7 Tshernishewski Lane in Mensk again complained that the plaster that had been applied so lightly to their apartment walls was falling on the floor.

In the same issue of the oft-mentioned literary newspaper, comrad F. Kuras of the village Danilowitzshy, in the district of Gomel, writes: "The old club - although it is small - cannot be heated during periods of frost."

At the same time, what is announced in Moscow?

... We have seen the beautiful, really fabulous Congressional Palace. We were

particularly impressed by the newness and unusualness of the building, not only in terms of its architectural construction and size, but also with respect to the acoustic specialties of the stage and the auditorium. Imagine a theatre that can seat 6,000 spectators! This is the way comrad L. Liubimov sings his praises to the Moscow Palace in the No. 17 issue of the literary newspaper of this year.

Who has built these fabulous palaces in Moscow? The answer: Naturally, the peoples enslaved by Moscow. Namely, those non-Russian peoples who have to assemble in small club rooms – despite the grim cold in them, a coldness that would even drive wolves away.

The Red Russians invite foreign guests to visit Moscow; they praise their palaces and rockets, but they try to camouflage the enslavement of the peoples whom they have subjugated by dressing them in red.

If Byelorussia were free, then today there would not be any neglected parks, any defective furniture, no dirty buses, nor any dangerously cold rooms there. Without exaggeration Byelorussia would be like a blossoming garden. Instead of Red clubs there would be cultural places in which people would find rest and be able to recuperate physically and mentally to work more eagerly for their own well-being and the well-being of the entire Byelorussian nation.

When People Talk, But Don't Say Anything

On January 10th and 11th 1964, the "European Movement" held its second conference of its commission for Central and East Europe in Brussels. On this occasion, let it be called to mind that the first congress of this commission convened 12 years ago (1952) in London where its formation and work took place in the climate of the "cold war", while "hot wars" were raging in Korea and Indochina, and the United States had the atomic balance of power.

About 155 politicians, members of parliament, diplomats and representatives of various economic, social and similar organizations from those countries that had joined the "European Movement" participated in this conference. There were 22 Belgians, 19 Englishmen, 18 Frenchmen, 15 Germans, 35 Dutchmen, Swiss etc., in addition to 45 representatives living in exile, from Poland (15), Hungary (11), Czecho-Slovakia (5), Rumania (5) and others. These exiled persons had been invited individually.

The aim of the conference may be sketched as follows.

1) It was stated, that owing to the present equilibrium of atomic power, a war had become impossible and the coex-

istence of the free and the Communist ruled world had lead to a general *detente*, as well as to an improvement in the relations between the West and the countries of Central and East Europe. First and foremost it was cultural and economic relations that were responsible for this improvement.

(Editor's note: Which culture is meant? On the Eastern side we find nothing but the propaganda dictated by Marxism-Leninism, to which a sprinkling of local folklore is added.)

2) It was further stated, that there was evidently a deep crisis regarding the interpretation of the Communist doctrine and regarding the subordination under Communist rule in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Therefore, the Communist world had ceased to be an unshakable unified bloc and was speedily developing in the direction of numerous national Communistic states.

(Editor's note: The East was never a monolith. It was kept together by the iron fist of the Red Army. And this fact has not changed.)

3) It was stated, that in view of these far-reaching changes, the West must pre-

serve its spiritual values (Editor's note: which unfortunately have already been strongly corroded by international Marxism) and preach its political message. In addition, the West should do everything possible to strengthen the mutual exchange of cultural and economic programmes on all levels, in order to influence the above mentioned development of East Europe's Communist ruled countries, and to bring about a united Europe in the end by this influence.

In his introductory words, Senator E. de la Vallée Poussin, President of the Commission for Central and East Europe, stated the present position of the West and its possibilities with regard to East Europe as follows:

"Today it is simply a question of trying to establish, under the given conditions, that degree of relations to East Europe that will be most favourable to the development in the Communist world. By trusting in the value of our ideal, we believe that the forces that are already operating will lead the East-European world to the way of progress and that this progress will facilitate the establishment of relations. Although this view may appear too idealistic to some people, it is without doubt the best and at the same time the only political approach that is possible today."

We should like to supplement this quotation by the following excerpt from the cultural report by K. A. Jelenski: "It is only by means of force that the Soviet Union can hold its place in the countries of the Communist West (i. e., in its satellite states since 1945, the Editor). In the long run the development in these countries depends on *the future development of the conditions within the Soviet Union*, even then, when the degree of their dependency on Moscow is not the same as before." The insights and advice of this conference have been worked out with the intention of assisting governmental policies and public opinion. Let us wish and hope, that these intentions will be realized and that they may bear rich fruit for the free West!

But how is this "moral message" and the European mission of the Commission for Central and East Europe to be brought into agreement with the above-mentioned ideas and the European apostolate, as well as with their efforts to unite all of Europe, if Ukraine (43 million) and Byelorussia (8 million) are completely ignored? And we mention only these two countries that are historically and culturally a part of Europe and have always been conscious of this fact. These two nations – chronologically, the "Satellites No. 1" – were and are still today the victims of Russian power politics, long before Albania, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. They are victims of Russian imperialism and that for the sole reason that they wanted to throw off Moscow's yoke. When Russia incorporated them into the Soviet Union by force, Ukraine, Byelorussia and other "Soviet Republics" tried to apply the Communist system on the basis of national independence. But the USSR's attitude was always more Russian and chauvinistic than Communist. For this reason the USSR stifled any attempt on the part of its "sovereign and independent" republics to adapt Communism to their own national needs.

If it is true then, according to K. A. Jelenski's report, that the Soviet Union rules the Communist West (Poland, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary etc. – Editor) by the exertion of its power and that the development of these countries depends on the development in the internal structure of the USSR, then how is this "moral message" of the "European Movement" and its commission to be brought into agreement with the abandonment and neglect of their best allies (Ukraine and Byelorussia) in the fight for liberation, for Europe and for the loosening of the Communist regime?

Does not the whole world know that the latter can only develop and change under the pressure of the living needs of a people that want to have their own form of government?

Brussels, January 24, 1964.

News Exchange

From Behind the Iron Curtain

ESTONIA

Russia's Deception Of The Estonians

In the Spring of 1945, when the Red Army began to Sovietize the Baltic States, which had been Germanized by Hitler, a large number of Estonians fled to Sweden. There they found a new home. Fifteen years later, the Soviet Russian rulers in Estonia permitted these emigrants to visit Estonia, not, as it later turned out, as a "humanitarian" gesture. Rather they had ulterior motives of a political nature in mind, i.e. the documentation, in reference to international law, of the Soviet Union's claim to Estonia, which it has seized.

As soon as these Estonians from Sweden had crossed the border, had showed their passports to the Soviet border guard and had had their passports stamped, the Soviet public was informed that by this the guests had "recognized the legality of the Soviet Union's rule over Estonia." This thesis was "hardened" during the stay of these Estonians in their home country by interviews with the visitors. They were asked how they liked it, whether they had found ordered conditions and whether it wouldn't be better to preserve peace and to recognize the new borders, instead of conjuring up a new war. The emigrants answered affirmatively to these slogans without any reservation, because the slightest indication of reservation would have brought new distress upon their relatives who had remained in Estonia.

The emigrants' affirmative answers were presented as a second act of recognition of their regime by the Soviet Russians. A further phase of this kind of propaganda was revealed in an interesting Communist linguistic twist: the Estonian refugees who submitted to these proceedings without resistance for fear of bringing harm upon their relatives were designated

as "compatriots abroad". Those who remained in Sweden and did not offer any "pledge" to the Soviet Union continued to be referred to as "emigrants".



LITHUANIA

Industry

New Plans In Industry And The Lack Of Specialists To Carry Them Out

On Moscow's orders the development of the chemical industry in Lithuania is to be accelerated. The realization of these gigantic plans – as they are designated by the Moscow and Soviet Lithuanian press – requires new specialists, who cannot be trained overnight. The Institute of Technology in Kaunas has been engaged to cope with the difficulties that have arisen from this situation. In *Tiesa* (No. 15) Prof. J. Janickis, gives us a look into the training of engineers for these new industrial branches.

Prof. Janickis does not conceal the fact that the training of specialists will not cover the demand of the chemical industry. This year, only 10 inorganic chemistry specialists will graduate from the Institute of Technology, but the factories for artificial fertilizers will need at least 25.

Moscow's precipitant plans make it necessary for engineers who have been studying in Russia to change their fields, i. e. they must become specialists in natural gas – small natural gas resources have been discovered in Lithuania – as well as specialists in the production of synthetic materials. Most likely, the Institute of Technology will not be able to keep pace with Moscow's plans, and more engineers will have to be brought in from Russia. This, however, is precisely what Moscow wants, for under the pretext of industrialization, it can speed up the colonization of Lithuania by Russians.

*Russification
Cyrillic Alphabet For The Baltic
Languages?*

The Swedish daily "Svenska Dagbladet" recently published an alarming news item about Soviet preparations to impose the Cyrillic alphabet on the Baltic languages. On its front page the Stockholm paper writes: "The assertion that the Russian alphabet is to be introduced for the Baltic languages in the near future, represents a menace to the national culture of these countries". According to "Svenska Dagbladet", plans have been made for some time now in Moscow to substitute the Russian letters for the alphabet used at present by the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. This would undoubtedly mean the Russification of the peoples of the Baltic countries.

The paper further states that a sample of the Russian alphabet as adapted for the Lithuanian languages was already sent to the Academy of Sciences in Vilnius in 1959 by Moscow and that a Lithuanian draftsman in Kaunas was commissioned to "design" the letters made by the Polygraphic Institute in Moscow. Efforts to russify the Latvian language, so the paper adds, were already noticeable in the summer of 1958.

It strikes one as strange that no objections have so far been raised in the Communist press of the Baltic countries against this plan to spoil and corrupt the Baltic languages.

"Svenska Dagbladet" points out that the Lithuanian people for forty years fiercely opposed all tsarist attempts to introduce Russian letters in the Lithuanian language. (Only recently the Lithuanians in the free world celebrated the 50th anniversary of the rescission of the tsarist order prohibiting the use of the Latin script.)

*Instruction Of The Russian Language
Extended*

In an article published in *Iswestija* on February 22, M. Gedvilas, the Minister of Education of occupied Lithuania, writes: "The Russian language has be-

come a second mother tongue to us, therefore instruction in Russian must be extended. Only in this way will it be possible to train qualified people for the construction of Communism." According to Gedvilas, an additional year should be added to Lithuanian secondary schools to be able to instruct the Lithuanian students more thoroughly in the Russian language.

Only A Partial Dementi By The Soviets

In the "Svenska Dagbladet" of January 3rd the Soviet press agency APN published a dementi on preparations to impose the Russian script on the Baltic languages. This dementi states: "No department in Moscow is engaged in plans to introduce the Russian alphabet in the Latvian, Lithuanian und Estonian languages". APN points out that any changes regarding their languages can only be undertaken by the highest legislative organs of the individual Soviet republics, and then adds a supplementary comment from Riga with regard to the abolition of the letter "ch" in the Latvian language; according to the said dementi: "in this case, too, no one thought of adapting the Latvian alphabet to the Russian pronunciation".

It is interesting to note that the Soviet press agency completely ignores the fact mentioned by "Svenska Dagbladet", namely that the Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, as early as 1959, received a sample of the Russian alphabet as adapted for the Lithuanian language from Moscow. Nor does APN consider it necessary to ask the "sovereign" Baltic Soviet republics whether they have taken steps to realize the plan worked out by Moscow. - It can be assumed from all this that preparations to russify the Baltic languages have by no means been suspended.

Atheism

*There Are 67 Atheists' Seminaries
In Kaunas*

At the end of January, an "atheistic week" was held in Kaunas. According to

Komjaunimo Tiesa (No. 22 of Jan. 31), the chief speaker of the week, Communist Party Secretary in Kaunas, A. Umbrasas, stressed that atheistic activity was becoming more and more extensive and militant. At present there are 67 atheistic groups with 1,500 participants in the city. The exhibition "The Truth about Religion" was a great success; it was visited by more than 45,000 people. During that week professors from both the Medical and the Technological Institute also had to deliver lectures directed against religion.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Guy Héraud: L'Europe des ethnies ("Europe and its Ethnical Groups"). Presses d'Europe. Published under the patronage of the Centre International de Formation Européenne, Paris.

The very title of this work is likely to arouse one's interest. Actually this book is extremely valuable to all those who are as interested in the peoples and ethnical groups of Europe as they are in its structure. In this work Guy Héraud, a professor at Strasbourg, an authority on legal and political science and the author of several monographs on the national minorities, discusses the question of the relations between race and state power. After an analysis of the different ethnical criteria and a definition of race and of nationality, Professor Héraud propounds a federalist doctrine based on ethnical factors, or, in other words a national doctrine inspired by a federalist philosophy.

Ethnical federalism, so the author affirms, can become the juridical and established cadre in which all the communities, allowed to expand freely, will substitute their creative emulation for the antagonisms and oppression of the state-nations. He condemns the attempts to assimilate the ethnical groups and minorities almost everywhere in our continent and advocates a Europe of ethnical

groups. Even those readers who do not share his federalist views will find his work extremely interesting.

It contains a large amount of information and data on the national and lingual groups of Europe. In Chapter V, "East Europe", the author briefly deals with Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and the Baltic countries. "Even if the scope of this book prevents us from dealing with them in detail, no European has a right to forget them. For these peoples have not been integrated of their own accord with the Soviet Union but have been forcibly incorporated by Communist Russia, the heir of tsarist nationalism."

Alexandre Rathaus: La résistance actuelle en URSS ("Present Resistance in the USSR), published in the "Revue Militaire Générale", No. 10, December 1963, pp. 665-682.

The excellent periodical "Revue Militaire Générale", edited by General M. Carpentier, has reprinted the entire text of the article which appeared under the same title in "Les Problèmes Actuels de L'Est Européen" (No. 18) of June 1963. The article is followed by two résumés, one in English, the other in German.

Existe-il une résistance en URSS? ("Is there a resistance movement in the USSR?"), published in "Dernière Heure", Brussels, September 28, 1963.

The facts revealed by Alexandre Rathaus have also proved useful to the special correspondent of this Belgian paper, who in his article gives an account of the essential features of the resistance movement in the USSR.

Georges Gaudy: La prison des peuples ("The Peoples' Prison"), published in "Aspects de la France", No. 792 of November 14, 1963.

Lenin called the Russian empire "the peoples' prison" and, together with other Communists, expressed his indignation at the fact that the non-Russian peoples (Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Poles, Turkes-

tanians, Georgians, etc.) were oppressed so cruelly by Russia. But, as Georges Gaudy points out, Russian law at the time in question stipulated that the Russians must protect the integrity of the Russian Empire at all costs. In any case it was Lenin's regime that reinforced the bars and tripled the bolts of the peoples' prison.

"Like the 'conservatives' in 1908 - so Georges Gaudy says - the Bolsheviks of 1963 have no intention of renouncing former conquests and wasting their heritage... The White Russians, scattered all over the world, detest the Communist successors to the empire. Since the majority of the Russian emigrants come from the former leading classes and about 2 million of them are scattered throughout Europe and America, where they have gained a certain amount of influence, it is hardly surprising that so many people in the Western countries argue that they are responsible for the interests of the empire of the Slav peoples... All these Russians, secret admirers of Stalin and of Khrushchov, would approve of the West destroying Bolshevism, provided that this did not prejudice imperial 'domination'..."

L'Ukraine a le droit de vivre ("Ukraine has the right to live"), published in "La Coopération" weekly, Geneva, of November 16, 1963.

The Swiss weekly "La Coopération" published an account of historical, political and economic data relative to the situation in Ukraine. We wish to congratulate "La Coopération" on this article and should like to express our sincere thanks to this periodical for having contributed in this way to the spreading of the truth on the Ukrainian national problem.

Jimmy Long: Impérialisme, published in "Liberté", Brussels, No. 52.

"Since 1916 - so Jimmy Long, writing in the column "The Aspect of Time", states - the Russian colonial empire has engulfed Outer Mongolia, East Finland,

Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Western Ukraine, Western White Ruthenia, Poland..." (etc.). In our opinion this enumeration is only partly correct and needs to be completed. The following are the most important countries conquered by Russia during the years 1918 to 1924: Byelorussia (or White Ruthenia), Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, and Turkestan.

M. I. Cory: Le monde communiste en mouvement ("The Communist World in Motion"), published in "La Libre Belgique" ("Free Belgium"), No. 326 (November 22, 1963), No. 327 (November 23-24, 1963), et seq.

This is an extremely interesting analysis of the situation in the Communist world, that is to say in the USSR and in the satellite states. The author rightly points out that in all the non-Russian countries attempts are being made to obtain more economic freedom. Bucharest, Budapest, Warsaw and Prague envy Tito and his autonomy. The author then quotes several examples which show how the satellite states are trying to escape from the excessive domination of Russia. Furthermore, this movement is also in evidence in the Soviet Union, where a reaction "against the privileged position of the Russians, that is to say of the Great Russians" is being fostered. It is a struggle against "internal imperialism". The author then gives a short survey of Russian expansionism:

"In 1300 the Grand Duchy of Muscovy comprised about 40,000 square kilometres. By 1600 the territory over which the Tsar reigned already had an area of 6,500,000 sq. kilometres. Today the USSR covers an area of 22,270,000 sq. kilometres. This increase in area is due to the conquests effected by the Great Russians."

In the second section of his article the author describes the present resistance in the USSR according to the facts revealed by A. Rathaus, which were published in "Ukrainian Quarterly" (No. III - 1963, USA). We should however like to make two comments. The author uses the

term "Great Russians" although this term no longer exists since 1917 and there are no other Russians apart from the so-called "Great Russians". And, secondly, Mr. Cory should know that Khrushchov, who is a Russian, is not a fellow-countryman of the Ukrainians, as he claims to be.

Bernard Féron: Le centre de gravité de l'URSS se déplace en Asie ("The Centre of Gravity of the USSR is shifting in Asia"), published in "Le Monde Diplomatique", December 1963.

We should like to draw our readers' attention to this excellent study of a problem about which little is known in the West. This analysis consists of two articles, the first of which deals with the economic improvement of Siberia and of Turkestan, and in particular of Kazakhstan, whilst the second article contains extensive data on the Russian expansion and colonization of these countries, as well as on their economic development. "The Soviet government - so Bernard Féron says - attaches especial importance to the economic improvement of its eastern territory. In order to realize this plan it relies above all on the transfer of population from the West to the East. This policy resembles a colonization by settlement."

The author is of the opinion that the proximity of China, which is beginning to raise the question of its frontiers with the USSR, should be an important factor in this colonization policy. But we are not so sure of this. For one must not overlook the economic motives of the purely internal state order (deportation of undesirable population since the days of the tsars, economic exploitation thanks to abundant and cheap labour, and the natural resources which are available), nor the strategical motives. As early as the 1920's there was a trend in evidence in Moscow which favoured the progressive transfer of the economic potential in Asia in order to render the economy less vulnerable than it is in the European part of the USSR and particularly in Ukraine.

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League Republic of China published recently 3 booklets:

1. *Failure of Mao Tse-tung's Dictatorship 1949-1963* by Hwang Tien-chien.

This booklet gives a short report about the history of the Chinese Communist Party - a history of sanguinary struggles, and then describes the military demoralization of the Chinese army: "Moral is the soul of the armed forces. But when the armed forces are suffering from a 'Loss of fighting stamina' and 'ideological disarmament' can they be expected to fight? Can they be expected to keep Mao's regime from falling apart?"

In the chapter "Exodus of Starving Refugees" the reasons and backgrounds for the natural calamities are revealed which occurred in 14 consecutive years and for which man-made factors originating from rigid implementation of faulty systems and policies were mainly responsible. The last chapter is a precise report on the popular uprisings from 1951 until now. "Anti-Communist movements are gathering momentum in all provinces of the Chinese mainland." Conclusion: "Tyranny is shortlived. Totalitarianism is ephemeral."

2. *The Delicate Relationship between Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi and Chow En-lai* by Wang Sze-cheng.

"In a metaphorical sense, Liu is exactly like Mao's favourite son, while Chow is like Mao's faithful servant. The favourite son will not oppose his father, while the faithful servant, unless there is strong inducement coming from outside, is also unlikely to rebel against his master."

"It may be said, that if Mao steps down under normal circumstances, his successor will naturally be Liu Shao-chi. However, if there should emerge a new force and Mao should be toppled by it, it is very possible that Chow will be elected provisionally to take over Mao's post."

3. *Moscow-Peiping Relations and Khrushchov-Mao Struggle by Hwang Tien-chien.*

Khrushchov and Mao are fighting for a common cause.

"The dispute between Khrushchov and Mao is an ideological one, not because one of them has given up the Communist ultimate goal of 'world revolution', but be-

cause of their differences of opinion on how to bury capitalism, on whether capitalism should be buried peacefully or in a violent manner. Khrushchov wants to bury the free nations indirectly and in a peaceful manner. Mao wants to do it directly and in a violent manner. It is therefore the responsibility of far-sighted statesmen to realize what Khrushchov and Mao are really quarrelling about."

We Wish The Hon. Michael A. Feighan Success For Re-election

Michael A. Feighan was born 1905 in Lakewood, Ohio. After graduating from High School, he attended Princeton University, from which he received a B.A. in 1927. In 1931, he graduated from the Harvard Law School. He was a member of the Ohio State Legislature from 1937-40, and was minority floor leader in 1939-40. On November 2, 1942, he was elected to the 78th Congress and to each succeeding Congress.

He has been a member of many Congressional committees and subcommittees, as well as the chairman of some of them. For example, he is the Chairman of the House sub-Committee on Immigration and Nationality; Chairman of the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy. In the 83rd Congress, he was a member of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Agression.

Congressman Feighan is very active in defending the rights of labour to organize and bargain collectively. He is the advocate of a public housing programme that will make it possible for every family to own its own home. He is a staunch advocate of expanded and increased Social Security benefits, a fighter for tax legislation that is equitable and above all, a leading American authority on the problems of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Russian empire and of their struggle for national sovereignty and independence.

During the course of his political career, the Hon. Michael A. Feighan has been the recipient of many awards and citations. In 1955, the University of Munich conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Political Science. In recognition of his outstanding services, he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Phoenix by the King of Greece in 1946. His services and contributions have also been recognized by the President of the Italian Republic, the representatives of non-Russian nations subjugated by the Soviet Union, the United Hungarian Societies, the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AFABN), the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, the Organization of Slovenian anti-Communist Veterans.

This year marks the 25th year of the Hon. Michael A. Feighan's activity as a politician and statesman. On this occasion we wish to express our gratitude to him for his firm stand in defence of the subjugated nations in the Soviet Russian imperium. We also wish to extend our heartfelt wishes to Congressman Feighan for a successful re-election this coming November.

Appeal To Free World From Nottingham, England

The Assembly of Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians, commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, feel that it is their solemn duty towards their suffering homelands and their hosts and friends here to voice this warning: the freedom and independence of the peoples of the entire world is threatened by Russian colonial imperialism. This threat will not vanish by wishful thinking, but only by firm action and unity of the western world.

Realising this, the Assembly adopts unanimously the following

RESOLUTION

WE REQUEST the United Nations to put the problem of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cossackia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan, North Caucasia, and other countries subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, on the agenda of its General Assembly, to condemn the said colonialism, to exclude all Communist governments from the United Nations, and in their stead to admit the authorised representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;

WE WARN the free world against the demobilization of the free world by means of the campaign of the so-called positive neutralism in the interests of Moscow by Yugoslavia, whose Communist regime has subjugated the Croats and other peoples who yearn for their national independence;

WE WARN the governments of the free world against the policy of co-existence which aims at the recognition by the free world of the status quo of Russian and Communist conquests as basis for the subversive action in the free world, and for their further expansion;

WE APPEAL to the free world to give wholehearted, active support for the revolutionary fight of the peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba, subjugated by Russia and Communism, for the restoration of their freedom and national independence, and for the destruction of the Communist system.

19th April, 1964.

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CHARLES XII.

FROM AN ENGRAVING OF A PORTRAIT BY ENGBERG.

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Terror Of The Muscovite Balthazar

The Scandinavian trip of the chief of the Russian-Bolshevik gang ended in a miserable fiasco.

Still more! The Red sultan, who wanted to frighten the members of the "United" Nations with his shoe in his hand, was himself unnerved by the morose and reserved behaviour of his Swedish hosts and their people. Moreover, during his visit something happened which he was not able to foresee, something which almost frightened him.

What happened? In terms of world politics this was an apparently insignificant incident – but nonetheless it caused the Russian autocrat to tremble.

The public's indifference to the "high guest", inimical manifestations by Ukrainians, Balts, and Swedes, the placing of a wreath on the tomb of the great Swedish King by the President of the Central Committee of ABN – why did all this so unnerve the Prime Minister of the USSR? So much so that he felt compelled to ask the Swedish Prime Minister in all seriousness whether together with the Ukrainians he was planning to wage war on the Soviet Union – just as Charles XII and Hetman Mazeppa had done.



The fear, which suddenly seized Khrushchov (don't laugh), haunted him. He himself said so. He was of the opinion that the ghosts had not risen from the dead yet, but after what he had witnessed in Sweden, he was not so sure any more. He thought that Stetzko, that the Ukrainian, Georgian und Baltic nationalists, who had been murdered by himself, by Stalin and other Red hangmen in Vinnitsa, in Katyn, in Bazar, in Russian concentration camps, were all finally dead, just like Charles XII and his Ukrainian ally, Hetman Mazeppa. But suddenly he caught sight of these very people in Stockholm again – the very people in whom the spirit of chivalry of Mazeppa and Charles XII had been resurrected. The resurrection of the dead! The anti-Russian manifestations of ABN's followers and the placing of a wreath on the tomb of the dead opponent of Moscow symbolized the renewal of the alliance between the living of the present and the invisible, but dangerous, spiritual forces of the past. It was just this which so fringed the chief of the Devil's cohorts on earth! Phantasy,

mysticism? – the “progressionists” would say. Phantasy? – No! Mysticism? – Yes! From the Gospels we know that it was the evil spirits that first recognized their future victor, who was invisible to the masses.

Someone who was invisible wrote the threatening prophecy of the fall of the empire of the Biblical Balthazar . . . In the proclamations and inimical gestures by the opponents of his monstrous empire, the Muscovite Balthazar encountered a similar threat in Sweden. “Mazeppist”! – that was the gravest danger for the empire of Peter I. “Mazeppists”! – separatists – that was the gravest danger for tsardom and Russian “democracy” during World War I . . . “Mazeppists”! – nationalists – that was the gravest danger for Stalin’s empire during World War II in 1941, when millions of Ukrainian soldiers in the USSR laid down their arms and refused to defend their prison . . . Khrushchov knows this and therefore he was so affrighted as he suddenly saw the resurrection of the dead.

These were no “appeasement” people of the timid “Democrats” or of the Socialist Moscow followers of Europe and America – what Khrushchov saw were the shadows of the fearless chivalry of Charles XII and Mazeppa: their spiritual children of the present: the Baltic, Ukrainian, Hungarian and Caucasian emigrants, who just yesterday fought against Russian despotism and today raise their threatening voices in defence of their fellow-countrymen in the USSR. “*Moscovia delendam esse*”, they shouted into the face of the all-Russian Red tsar in Scandinavia in June of this year.

At the time of the French Revolution, the Englishman, Edmund Burke (whom I have often quoted) – a great, even if undervalued spirit – stated with regret: “The age of chivalry is gone. The age of sophists, economists and calculators is coming.” Today one can say that just the opposite is taking place: the era of the money-theistic sophists, of the godless economists and of the materialistic calculators is coming to an end. The age of a new chivalry is beginning – a chivalry “without fear and reproach”, whose watchword is “God and my right”, a chivalry which is resurrected in the spirit of Mazeppa in Ukraine, as well as in the proud and reserved behaviour of the Swedish hosts towards the Muscovite *moujik* on the throne of the tsar.

It was this that affrighted the latter! He was frightened by the probability that Mazeppa’s spirit in the hearts of the martyrs and fighters of Ukraine, with the watchword, “the Cross and the Sword against the Devil”, *would find new allies in the West*. Not only among the nations subjugated in the USSR, but also among the free peoples of the West, who are finally beginning to liberate themselves from the influence of their own “sophists, economists and calculators”. In this case Khrushchov knows that the love serenade of the coexistent and peace-loving Muscovite Mephisto will fall upon deaf ears in the West.

In Sweden, the chief of the God – and freedom-opposed *Internationale* of Satan suddenly felt that the era of lies, tyranny and fear was approaching its end. Also, that this end will mean the fall of the empire of the barbaric hordes with its capital in Moscow.

Concession To Dictators – Mistaken Policy

(Editorial article from June Committee's main publication "Freedom meets the Dictator" – written before Khrushchov's visit).

Khrushchov's visit to Sweden is degrading for the people of Sweden.

Khrushchov's visit is degrading because Khrushchov is the leading representative of the Soviet Union, a state that has committed a series of aggressions against our country: the imprisonment of Raoul Wallenberg, the sinking of cargo vessels during World War II and the detention of their crews, the shooting down of Swedish aircraft over international waters since the war, with loss of Swedish lives and so on. Khrushchov's visit is degrading because it is on the orders of his government that extensive military espionage is organized in Sweden, the most recent example being the Wennerström case, espionage emanating from the Russian Embassy itself, which has aroused the indignation of the Swedish people. Our Government will degrade us so deeply that we are expected to extend an honourable welcome to the Soviet dictator, who, in our Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence, has had a Swedish colonel as spy, so valuable that he was granted a Russian passport and the rank of Major General in the Russian army. It has gone so far that the Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish armed forces has found it necessary to report the Russian commercial representation as an espionage centre; the personnel is unnecessarily large, and has a predilection for excursions to important military districts in Sweden. There is also good reason to investigate the reports published recently in the United States and Norway that the present Russian ambassador in Stockholm, like other prominent Russian diplomats in other countries, is a trained officer in the KGB, the espionage and security service of Russia.

Khrushchov's visit is degrading because Khrushchov has libelled Dag Hammarskjöld in the UN, and declared that "it was really Hammarskjöld who murdered Lumumba", and called Hammarskjöld "the principal criminal". Ordinary human decency should have prevented the Government from receiving as an honoured guest a man who has behaved in such a way to one of their former colleagues, the man who, in modern times, has perhaps done more than anyone else to raise Sweden in the estimation of the world, and who gave his life for a good cause.

Khrushchov's visit is degrading because Russian Communists, newspapermen, for example, after visiting Sweden, have slandered us and given garbled accounts of conditions in Sweden.

Khrushchov's visit is degrading because he represents a system based on subjugation, persecution, terror and deportation, which is odious to the people



of Sweden. During his periods as First Party Secretary in the Ukraine, 1938-41 and 1943-49, many thousands of people were deported and killed, largely because they professed Christianity. He has also the final responsibility for the inhuman murder of East Germans seeking freedom at the Wall of Shame in Berlin.

Khrushchov's visit is degrading because he was responsible for the brutal suppression of the Hungarian bid for freedom in 1956.

Khrushchov's visit is degrading because he is the present leader of the country that so ruthlessly attacked our neighbour, Finland, in 1939, that treacherously occupied the Baltic States and subjugated new European countries. More than half a million people were deported from the Baltic States alone; most of them are no longer alive.

One might continue almost indefinitely with this catalogue of reasons why Khrushchov's visit to Sweden is degrading.

The Swedish Government holds the view that it is practical politics to invite Khrushchov. It is claimed that he represents a milder form of Communism, more willing to come to agreement with the Western world, and it is believed that his visit to Scandinavia will give him a deeper insight into democracy, and make him less aggressive towards Scandinavia. But it is forgotten that Khrushchov, like all Communists, subscribes to the view that the goal of Communism is world domination, and all methods may be employed to reach this goal. Today, owing to the critical food situation in the USSR and the latent threat from China, Khrushchov's attitude is one of peace. But he is known to change rapidly from threatening to ingratiating tones, depending on the needs of the moment; when the situation becomes more favourable for him, he will revert to aggression.

Concessions to dictators have always been mistaken policy. The so-called practical political concessions made to Hitler culminated in Chamberlain's Munich Agreement, which led to World War II; a firm policy from the outset might have stopped the dictator. And Roosevelt's "practical political" concessions to Stalin at the end of World War II, when the Russians were allowed to enter Berlin and Prague, resulted in large areas of Europe being destroyed by the Communists, with the gravest problems of population Europe has ever had as a consequence.

Real practical politics when dealing with dictators are not concessions but a firm hand. Kennedy's plain language and energetic action against Khrushchov and Castro in the Cuban Crisis were practical politics. Khrushchov retreated; as usual when dictators are concerned, his threat proved to be a bluff.

Khrushchov is not coming to Sweden on a mere pleasure trip. He wishes and needs to create goodwill for himself and his regime, and he has probably some demands to thrust upon us.

The Government of Sweden will hardly gain any advantages for Sweden by its invitation to Khrushchov. For the people of Sweden the visit means **DEGRADATION**.

But if the people of Sweden show clearly what they think of Khrushchov and his guilty regime, degradation may be turned into greater appreciation of Sweden in the free world.

Russian Despot Nikita Khrushchov In Scandinavia

Khrushchov's visit was disagreeable to the Danes in every respect. In the first place for political and international reasons: in view of the fact that Denmark is a NATO member, it was not possible to anticipate what he would demand. In the second place one had to be prepared for everything when encountering this brutal and uncontrolled man. In the third place for security reasons: Denmark has no experience in this field simply because it has never been necessary for her to plan special security measures for the visit of a head of state.

But everything proceeded smoothly – the people demonstrated an indifference, and the Danes an admirable dignity.

Policemen were placed at 20 metre intervals along the route which Khrushchov's motorcade travelled, but they were quite at ease, with their hands behind their backs, and when Khrushchov's limousine drove by they did not pay any special attention to him.

Only on top of the houses surrounding the hotel where Khrushchov and his suite were quartered, the regular police together with M. P.s took up positions. On the street itself, a few people who had a sense of curiosity about this phenomenon from Moscow were to be seen. Solely upon his arrival and during his drive to the hotel, a few intellectuals – so-called pacifist types – some Communists and a few women applauded. But soon this applause also ceased. During the drive not a single automobile was stopped; everything took its normal course: no detours, no pushing back of crowds. The escort consisted of a few policemen on motorcycles, called "white mice". A police transport wagon carrying policemen drove at the rear of the motorcade.

Khrushchov desired to visit farmsteads and agricultural enterprises, and to this

end he was taken to the island of Fyn. In his speech here, the director of the School of Agriculture emphasised what individually run farms were capable of producing and added that it would be a good idea to compare them with collective farms. This statement roused Khrushchov's temper, and he began to rail in his usual way. He declared that if there were enough fertilizing material and machines in the Soviet Union, the Russians would have outstripped the Danes in agricultural production long ago, and that in seven years the Soviet Union would outstrip all countries. If it failed to do so, he would be willing to hand in his Party membership card. He stated that in Denmark he had not seen anything very special which he could take back with him. On this occasion, however, no one asked him how it was possible that in former times, without chemical fertilizers and without machines, a hundred thousand tons of corn were exported from Ukraine alone.

The next event in Khrushchov's schedule was a reception by the Danish-Soviet Society in the Student Association's House. On this occasion Khrushchov declared that he believed in the victory of Communism just as he believed in the day to follow, and he called upon those present to join the Communist movement in due time. To the question whether Cuba belonged to the United States' sphere of influence, he answered that the division into spheres of influence was a capitalistic and imperialistic practice, and that if the United States is allowed to swallow up its small neighbours, why shouldn't the Soviet Union do the same with its small neighbours? (A burst of applause by idiotic people.) No one raised the question as to the grounds upon which Russia, for instance, swallowed up Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, etc. . It should have at least been known that these

countries were overrun by Russia – not to speak of the other countries. But there is nothing that can be done against stupidity!

A meeting with industrialists and business men was next on the agenda. After Khrushchov had been greeted by the Chairman, these “venerable” gentlemen rose to their feet and shouted three cheers – Hurra! Hurra! Hurra!

One is really sickened by this sort of school-boyish reception and Hurra-bellowing. It was indeed a sad spectacle. These men were certainly all Europeans and they should surely know what awaits them if the Muscovite hordes should overrun the West! A human disgrace: a human degeneration.

At his visit to the parliament, which consists of 170 members, only 20 members were present. In his address to the parliament a few days before Khrushchov's arrival, the 1st Vice President, O. B. Kraft, stated that a high ranking visit was expected within the next few days and that “atomic-free zones” would surely be talked about. He maintained, however, that *dictatorship-free* and not atomic-free zones should be the topic of discussion,

for it was his belief that only in a dictatorship-free world would the peoples be free.

Mr. Kraft is the former Foreign Minister of Denmark and present head of the UN delegation. During the German occupation, he was wounded by five revolver shots by a Gestapo man. It is a miracle that he is still alive. After the war this Gestapo man was sentenced to death, but upon the intercession of Mr. Kraft, he was pardoned and released after 8 years of imprisonment. He is a courageous defender of freedom and of the rights of the individual and of nations.

Nina, Khrushchov's wife, christened a ship in the name of the great Danish fairy tale writer, Anderson.

As can be seen, there was no lack of ceremony and etiquette. But the Danes came to understand just how difficult it is to speak with a dictator who does not tolerate contradiction – who immediately begins to rail and growl.

Perhaps, after witnessing Khrushchov personally, the Scandinavians will begin to understand just how difficult it is for our peoples to live under this dictator and to be enslaved by the Russians.

ABN attacks Khrushchov in Copenhagen

In anticipation of the Moscow dictator, Nikita Khrushchov's visit, the democratic circles of Denmark, Norway and Sweden initiated an intensive propaganda campaign against Russian-Communist dictatorship. In this, the youth organizations were especially active. Books, brochures and leaflets for the enlightenment of the public were printed, mailed out and distributed. Scandinavia's youth has begun the fight for Europe. Inspired by European culture and ideals, clearly aware of their responsibility and task, they are prepared to oppose the Russian-Communist danger. One of these youth organizations is located in Lund, Sweden. In May of this year, it arranged a conference for Scandinavian and students of other countries. Mrs. Slawa Stetzko of ABN was invited to deliver a talk on the problem

of nationalities in the Soviet Union at this conference. Another organization, *Demokratisk Alliance* (Democratic Alliance), exists in Denmark. Not only young students and university graduates, but also experienced politicians are members of this organization. These young people are well-informed about political affairs and are very active politically. Especially worthy of note are the two members of the presidium of this organization, S. Steen and H. Jensen, both very active and tireless young men who are firmly dedicated to their cause.

This organization prepared counteractions to Khrushchov's visit. In this connection they invited representatives from ABN to Copenhagen.

It was decided to hold a large scale press conference, to which the interna-

tional press was to be invited. They were not permitted to distribute invitations in the Press Bureau, but they did not allow themselves to be put out so easily. Through a diplomat, they obtained a register of the journalists and the names of the hotels in which they were staying. They went from hotel to hotel and handed out the invitations personally.

The press conference took place in Copenhagen on the 18th of June. Before the conference the young organizers were somewhat uneasy, for this was their big start and first political undertaking. But the conference surpassed all expectations. It was a great success – a first-rate conference.

Fifty-two people attended, among whom were 47 representatives of the international press: the Associated Press (AP); Reuter-Bureau; Danish newspapers with extensive circulation, like *Politiken*, *Berlingske Tidende*, *Aktuelt*, organ of the Social-Democratic Party and the government; *Extrabladet*; *Gazette del Popolo* from Turin; *La Stampa* from Rome; publishers and editors of the five Dutch newspapers, as well as the well-known publicist, H. A. Lunshof; Information Center of the United States Embassy; the Press-attaché of the German Embassy; correspondents from "Free Europe"; the German television and the West German radio also attended the conference and taped Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko's speech.

The former Foreign Minister of Denmark and present 1st Vice President of *Folketings* (parliament) and also head of the UN delegation, O. B. Kraft, the representative of the Lithuanian Committee and of ACEN were among the guests.

President Jaroslav Stetzko, Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and Prince Niko Nakashidze were present from ABN.

The conference was opened and directed by the chairman of the Democratic Alliance, S. Steen.

N. Nakashidze gave the first talk, speaking about ABN, the way it is

organized, its members and conception, following which he discussed the origin of the Russian empire. Nakashidze was followed by Jaroslav Stetzko who accused Khrushchov of mass-murder during his term of office in Ukraine as 1st Party Secretary or Prime Minister, and of the murder of Stefan Bandera, who was assassinated on Khrushchov's order. He concluded by pointing out that the coexistence policy and the hope of a *détente* are completely illusionary.

The press asked various questions, which were mostly answered by Mrs. S. Stetzko. The questions were interesting and were exhaustively answered. The foreign journalists showed a keen interest in our problems. Upon the conclusion of the conference, the Dutch publicist H. A. Lunshof presented Mrs. Stetzko with a bouquet of flowers.

On the following day all the newspapers printed extensive reports on the conference. The big newspaper *Politiken* featured a report with the headline: "Hard accusers on Khrushchov's heels". The Social-Democratic government organ *Aktuelt* reported that Khrushchov had been accused of mass-murder. Only the newspaper *Land og Folk*, the organ of the radical pacifists, repeated some old Communist lies. It was quite evident that these calumnies had issued from the Soviet Embassy. In a provocative article, the Communist newspaper *Land og Folk* stated that J. Stetzko had been brought to Kiev by the Nazis and appointed head of state, and that Khrushchov had saved thousands of Jews (sic!). As is apparent Khrushchov is defended by order of the Russian Embassy, and it is considered necessary to justify him. In short: ABN's attack hit its mark!

On the 19th of June, the ABN delegation was very hospitably received by the 1st Vice President of parliament in his office in the parliament building. He was informed about the aims and conception of ABN, its activities and ABN's contacts. He expressed his sympathy

with our cause and spent some time in conversation with the delegation. Owing to his presence at the press conference, he was also attacked by the Communist

rabble in their newspaper. This old and proven opposer of Nazism (he was severely wounded by the Gestapo) was labelled a Nazi collaborator.



In The Press Center Of The June-Committee

From left to right: Mr. Walton (Canada), ABN President Jaroslav and Mrs. Slawa Stetzko (Ukraine), Dr. Horn (Estonia), Prof. B. Nerman (Sweden), Mari Mark (Estonia), Per-Eric Jangvert (Sweden), Adelaide Lemberg (Estonia), Prince Niko Nakashidze (Georgia).

June Committee's activities and press conferences

Nikita Khrushchov, the despot of the Russian imperium, the so-called Soviet Union, arrived in Sweden on Monday, June 22nd, toward 12:00 o'clock noon.

There were many inquisitive people in the surrounding streets, but their bearing was reserved and very cool. The entire Swedish Cabinet, led by Prime Minister Erlander, and the diplomatic corps with their wives, were on hand to receive the "high Russian guest". The security measures were much more extensive and much more strict than in Denmark. Additional police had been called in from the pro-

vinces and all street entrances had been shut off. Traffic on the streets leading to and from Khrushchov's residence in Sweden was completely shut off. The members of the government and of the diplomatic corps wore everyday suits – probably in accordance with what is "fitting" to the reception of a "proletarian and Communist dictator". After he had been introduced to the members of the government, he greeted the diplomatic corps, among whom the diplomats of the free states and those of Communist countries were easily distinguishable. The Com-

munist diplomats were to be recognized by the insensitive communistic cut of their faces.

The welcoming speech by Prime Minister Erlander was formal, polite and very clear. He said that Sweden was a member of the United Nations, that he accepted all the principles of this organization and wanted to serve and make his contribution to peace and freedom within this framework.

The Swedes, as stated above, only looked on; the members of the Soviet Russian colony provided the applause. Four hundred people and their families are employed in the Soviet Embassy and the Soviet mercantile agency. Why so many people are necessary in a small country like Sweden is clear to everyone who is familiar with the activities of the Soviet Russian members of the diplomatic missions and representations abroad.

The Swedish press was also very reserved and in some things their standpoint was clear enough. Some of the larger newspapers, for instance, printed headlines such as: "Where is our Raoul Wallenberg? Give him back to us!" Raoul Wallenberg, a member of one of Sweden's distinguished families, was a representative of the Swedish Red Cross in Hungary during World War II. In 1945, the Russians abducted him in Budapest and deported him to Russia. At first, the Moscow rulers maintained that they did not know Wallenberg or anything about him. Later they declared that Wallenberg had died. The Swedish public is very angry about the uncertainty surrounding Wallenberg. It demanded that its government should force Khrushchov to make a clear statement about him. Even the Swedish television did not give Khrushchov's visit very much attention — he was featured for a few minutes during the news.

A matter which in itself does not appear too significant showed the people in all Scandinavia just what an inhuman state the Soviet Union is. It became known that upon the request of the Danish Prime Minister, Khrushchov promised to allow four people in the Soviet

Union to visit their families in Denmark. Whether these four people were Balts or of another nationality was not stated. This case, however, opened the eyes of the people here — they were shocked. What an inhuman regime that must be, if it is necessary for the Prime Minister of a foreign country to request permission to have four people visit their families abroad.

The activities of the June Committee enlightened the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish public about the real nature of the Soviet Union. The June Committee, a counteraction to Khrushchov's visit, was organized by leading members of Sweden's political and public life together with the National Committee of the Baltic peoples, among whom the Estonians are most strongly represented. Similar organizations were formed in Norway and Denmark. Representatives of youth organizations were asked to cooperate with the June Committee, and these youth organizations gave praiseworthy attestation of their capacity and demonstrated a militant and aggressive spirit.

For weeks preceding Khrushchov's visit, the June Committee and its affiliates in all three Scandinavian countries carried on intensive activities and mobilized all forces. Demonstrations and meetings were arranged and held; books, brochures and leaflets were printed, mailed out and distributed. Contact to the press and to various political organizations was established and their support secured.

In this way the Scandinavian public was prepared for a counteraction. On the 14th of June, the day on which hundreds of thousands of people were deported from the Baltic countries by the Russians in 1941, church ceremonies and large rallies were held. And this year, this day was commemorated in an especially big way: an impressive demonstration against the Russian dictator's visit was held everywhere.

The Swedish scholar, Prof. Birger Nerman, was the President of the June Committee; Dr. Göran Albinsson was its Secretary. The practical work of the whole

action, however, was carried out by the General Secretary of the Estonian National Council, Dr. Arvo Horm, and by the members of the Swedish youth organization INFORM. They contributed an enormous amount of work. During the night before Khrushchov's arrival, Swedish and Estonian youth distributed masses of leaflets in the streets, and in the morning the police were occupied with collecting and removing them. ABN's appeal to the Scandinavian peoples was also distributed.

The June Committee invited ABN delegates to Sweden to take part in their activities. During every day of Khrushchov's presence in Stockholm, the June Committee arranged a press conference. The first of these was held on the day of Khrushchov's arrival, on Monday, June 22nd. Among others, American, English and German journalists, as well as BBC London, attended this conference.

The conference was opened by the President of the June Committee, Prof. B. Nerman and was directed by Dr. G. Albinsson. They informed the journalists about the purpose and aims of the June

Committee and gave a brief presentation of the political situation.

As answer to the question posed by an American journalist as to why the June Committee was really founded, Dr. Albinsson stated that as a Swede he was a democrat and acknowledged the freedom of every individual and nation. He pointed out that if we in the free and democratic countries were to welcome the dictator, it would certainly be a moral disappointment for the individuals and peoples who are languishing under the dictator. Therefore, he said, it was our moral duty to show them that we, too, are for their freedom.

Following the press conference, the acting Prime Minister of the Estonian Republic, T. Kint, invited the ABN delegation – President J. Stetzko, Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and Niko Nakashidze – to his home where various problems were discussed and an exchange of ideas on further activities took place.

The Prime Minister represents the Estonian National Council in ABN, and he was unanimously elected by all delegations to the Vice Presidency of the presidium of the ABN Peoples' Council.



After the press conference in front of the rooms of the June-Committee.

From left to right: Committee member of the Estonian Socialist Party in Exile, B. Mäelo; ABN Secretary-General Prince Niko Nakashidze; Secretary-General of the Latvian People's Fond, A. Landsmanis; Estonian Minister, H. Laretei; Secretary-General of the Estonian National Council, Dr. A. Horm and Mrs. M. Salnais.

Jaroslav Stetzko Accuses Khrushchov Of Mass-Murder

We, the Ukrainians, accuse Khrushchov of the mass-murder of the Ukrainian people, whom, in his capacity as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine from January 1938 until March 1947, as Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine in 1947, and again as First Party Secretary from January 1948 to December 1949, he exterminated in a most ruthless way.

We accuse him not only of the mass-murders in Lviv in June 1941 and of having been responsible for other mass-murders at that time in numerous towns and villages all over Ukraine, but also of the mass-murders in Vinnytsia in 1938-40 where over 10,000 Ukrainians were massacred at his orders. Khrushchov is one of the most ruthless hangmen of the Ukrainian people, and it is this policy of extermination pursued by him in Ukraine that has fitted him so ably for the post of hangman of the entire Soviet Union.

We accuse him of mass-murders in Budapest, in Poznan and in East Germany; we accuse him of ruthlessly crushing the strikes of Ukrainian, Baltic, Caucasian and other internees in the concentration camps in Siberia (in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Magadan, Mordovia, Tayshet and Kingir), and, in 1959 in Temir-Tau. At his orders 500 Ukrainian women internees in Kingir were crushed by Russian tanks when, singing Ukrainian patriotic songs, they tried to hold up the tanks in order to prevent a massacre in the concentration camp.

We accuse him of the mass deportation of young Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians and others to Kazakhstan and Siberia. We accuse him of the treacherous Russification of Ukraine and of the perfidious persecution of the Ukrainian freedom fighters.

We accuse Khrushchov of the murder of the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stefan Bandera in 1959 and of the Ukrainian scholar and publicist, Dr. Lev Rebet in 1957.

We accuse him of exterminating and fighting the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after the war by the most perfidious methods, including the use of gas and bacteriological means, when he held the office of Moscow's governor in Ukraine.

We accuse him of persecuting our Orthodox and Catholic Churches!

We demand that an international court be formed, before which we can bring forward these accusations against Khrushchov and his hirelings.

We demand the severance of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the government of this hangman. We demand the exclusion of the Soviet Union and all its satellite governments from all international organizations, as for instance from the UN.

We demand the policy of liberation! Our aim is to destroy the Bolshevik imperium from within by means of national liberation revolutions, in order to

disintegrate it into national independent democratic states of the nations which are subjugated in it. In this respect I am thinking in particular of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Poland, East Germany, Slovakia, Bohemia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Albania, Serbia, Croatia, mainland China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and others.

The vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial imperium lies in the national urge to freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples. To apply the lever here is to contribute a valuable share towards destroying this peoples' prison from within.

The famous British military theoretician, Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, expresses the view: "No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik Empire. It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities."

Without resorting to the use of atomic weapons, there is a way to achieve victory. And it lies in the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, coordinated as a simultaneous revolution and supported by a joint anti-Bolshevik world front. The ingredients of the solution should be clear. Firstly, to cease to fear Russia's military might, which is held in leash by dread of nuclear warfare and fear of national revolutions. Secondly, to realize that in this nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as the positive instrument of policy. Thirdly, that this mode of conflict is waged on the enemy's inner front – that is, by attacking him in the first place internally. Fourthly, to recognize that Russia's inner front is rotten to the core. And lastly, to understand that in this war of wills and ideas, a strategy which is based on appeasement or containment, which can solely react to the enemy's offensives instead of fearlessly counter-attacking, ultimately can lead only to defeat and degradation.

The Kremlin is living on a volcano!

ABN Delegation Before The World Press

On Tuesday, the 23rd of June, the second press conference arranged by the June Committee was held. ABN's representatives, President J. Stetzko, Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and Niko Nakashidze, were the speakers.

Though it was pouring rain, numerous journalists from all countries appeared.

The conference was opened by Prof. Birger Nerman, who heartily greeted the journalists and the ABN delegation. Mrs. S. Stetzko spoke first on the problems of the subjugated peoples in general and of

the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union in particular. She emphasized that talk of a liberalization was a deception, that the subjugation of the peoples had assumed even sharper forms, and that the subjugated peoples were desperately fighting for their national existence and their freedom. She pointed out that formerly our countries constituted the border states of the Russian imperium, whereas today this imperium had already extended as far as Germany and Hungary – and that tomorrow it would be extended

even farther. The Western world, therefore, should not be taken in by the illusion of a liberalization.

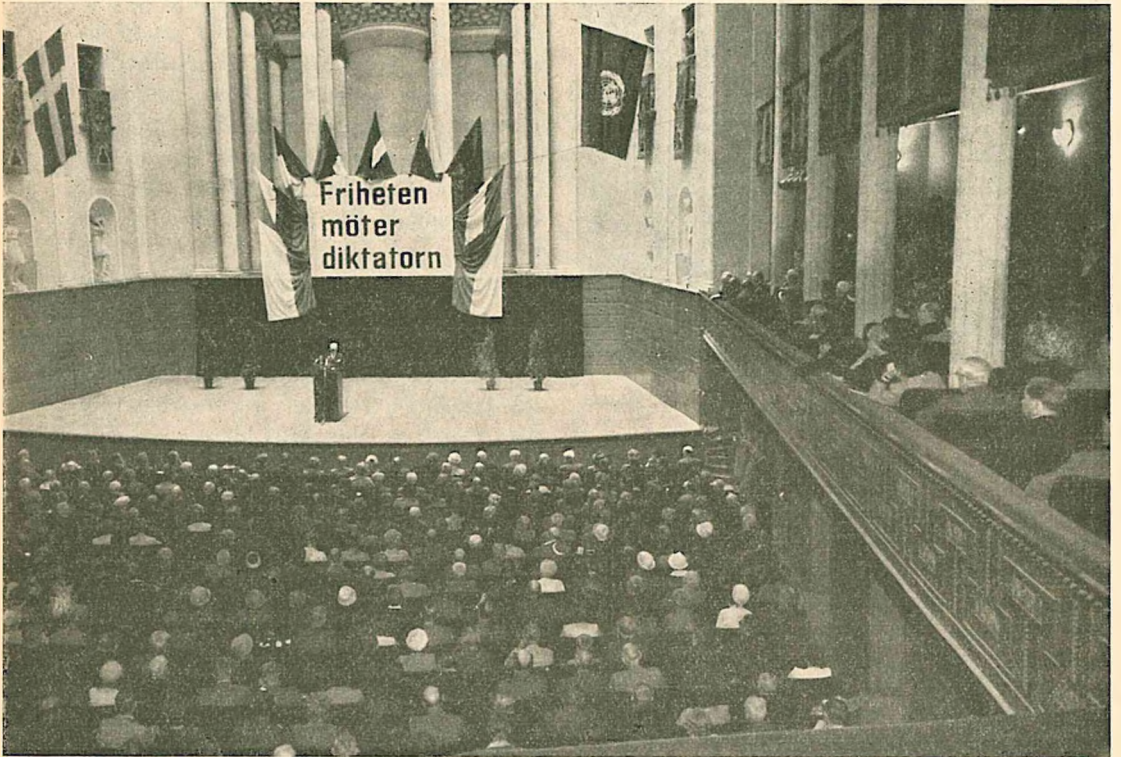
President J. Stetzko accused Khrushchov of mass-murders in Ukraine and described in detail the liberation fight of the non-Russian peoples. He exhorted and warned the Western world not to believe in the coexistence policy, which could prove very disastrous for the free world also, and demanded support for the national fight of the subjugated peoples. By this support, an atomic war could be averted and the danger of Russian imperialism and Communism could be removed.

Niko Nakashidze discussed the conditions in the Caucasus and described the severity with which the Russian Communists opposed all national aspirations there. He made it quite clear that Khrush-

chov is a faithful disciple of Lenin and that he is strictly pursuing Lenin's political course. He substantiated this assertion with numerous examples. In conclusion he stated that ABN demanded freedom for the peoples and nations subjugated in the Soviet Union, and that he who was opposed to this freedom, aligned himself with the Nazi concept of "inferior races". The speakers were accorded strong applause.

Heinrich Laretei, the former Estonian Minister, spoke before the press on the 24th of June, and Dr. Birger Hagard spoke on the 26th of June.

Sincere thanks are due to our Estonian and Swedish friends, by whose help and all-round support, we were able to speak up for our peoples before the world forum and the international press. It was a great success.



Anti-Khrushchov Mass Rally in Stockholm, on June 17, 1964

Wreath For Charles XII

On Tuesday, the 23rd of June, the ABN delegation placed a wreath on the tomb of the great opponent of Russia and fighter for Europe, Charles XII. In order to do this, permission from the Lord Chamberlain had to be obtained. He was only too happy to comply with this request. The newspapers, among them the



Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter* featured an article in their morning edition entitled: "Wreath at Charles XII tomb – An act of protest by the Ukrainians". They gave a brief summary of the historical connection.

With this act, historical facts of great significance were reawakened in the minds of the Swedish public.

The King lies at rest in the Church

which was built in 1270. All Swedish rulers since the Middle Ages are buried here. Charles XII (1682–1718) lies buried in the sarcophagus designed by Nicolas Tessin and made in Holland. The cover is embellished with crown, sceptre, swords, as well as a lion's pelt and Hercules' cudgel – all in gold plated brass – symbolizing power and strength. Shortly before 12:00 o'clock noon, the ABN delegation – President Stetzko, Mrs. Stetzko and Prince Niko Nakashidze – Baltic and Swedish friends assembled before the chapel.

Having read about it in the newspapers, many Swedish people also came by to inform themselves about what was going on, why, etc. Police troops were stationed in front and on all sides of the church. They too asked many questions about what was going on. Many Swedish and foreign journalists also attended. Thirteen press photographers were on hand – they photographed uninterruptedly. Only the German journalists did not attend, though the press division of the Embassy had been notified. At 12:00 o'clock the large wreath of yellow roses with a ribbon in the Ukrainian national colours bearing the inscription: "To Charles XII in respectful gratitude from the Ukrainian People" was carried into the chapel by the ABN delegation and placed on the tomb. President J. Stetzko gave a short talk.

For the information of the foreign journalists, a short historical survey written in English was distributed. This was an imposing demonstration against Russian domination, Russian imperialism and against Moscow dictatorship. At the same time it was a warning to the Swedish people to reflect upon their European mission.

N. N.

J. Stetzko Expresses Gratitude To Swedes At Tomb Of Charles XII

We, the Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Georgians and other peoples subjugated by Russia, today honour the memory of the heroic King of the Swedes, Charles XII. Two hundred and fifty years ago this great statesman and European foresaw the danger to Europe from Russia and strove to prevent it.

In this common struggle by the Swedish people under Charles XII and the Ukrainians led by Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, our countries were abandoned by the rest of Europe.

In the memory of our nations Charles XII remains for ever the defender of our rights and freedoms, the defender of the ideal of independence for our nations.

Today, here, in the name of the Ukrainian, Estonian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Georgian and other nations of Eastern Europe, we express our recognition and gratitude to the Swedish people for the sacrifices made by them on the battlefield of Poltava in 1709 and on other battlefields in Eastern Europe for our independence.

Distributed To The Press:

The Swedish King Charles XII foresaw the Russian danger for Europe and for the entire world. Therefore, he waged war on Russia. He conducted this war in alliance with Ukraine, which was led by the Hetman (elected King), Ivan Mazeppa. In 1709, the Swedish-Ukrainian troops were defeated by the Russian army under the command of Tsar Peter I. Owing to her victory in this battle, Russia obtained access to the Black and Baltic Seas and became a powerful enemy of Europe.

The outstanding military authority, the British General J. F. C. Fuller, calls the Battle of Poltava one of the most decisive in world history.

In the memory of the Ukrainian nation, Charles XII remains the true ally and defender of independence, not only of Ukraine, but of all the subjugated countries.

Cultural and economic ties existed between the Swedish and Ukrainian nations for centuries. Only after the Russian occupation of Ukraine, this old tradition was broken. But the sympathy for Sweden is still alive among the 40 million Ukrainians.

In the name of the Ukrainian people, Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, the last Prime Minister of a free Ukraine, will place a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII in honour of this great King of Sweden.

Khrushchov Not Welcome To Sweden

*Resolution Approved at a Meeting Arranged by the June Committee
at the Stockholm Concert Hall on June 17th*

Swedish citizens who, together with exiles, have assembled in Stockholm on the occasion of Mr. Khrushchov's approaching visit to Sweden, make the following statement to the free world:

The democratic Swedish people, rejecting all forms of dictatorship, feels the greatest repugnance toward slavery, injustice and violence of the Soviet regime.

We condemn Soviet Russian crimes against other nations, such as the attack on Finland in 1939, the occupation by deceit and violence of the Baltic States, the subjugation of the peoples in the satellite states and of the other non-Russian peoples in the USSR and the crushing of the Hungarian insurrection in 1956.

We also accuse Soviet Russia of crimes against our own country: the Raoul Wallenberg affair, the torpedoing of Swedish merchant ships, the shooting down of Swedish aircraft over international waters and continual espionage, culminating in the Wennerström affair, the biggest and most abhorrent espionage affair in Swedish history.

Khrushchov was one of Stalin's most faithful myrmidons who, as the First Party Secretary in Ukraine, directed the liquidation and deportation of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian people. He gave the order to the Russian troops to crush the Hungarian insurrection in blood. He caused the Berlin Wall to be built and he still defends it.

Sweden ought not to receive a man who held Dag Hammarskjöld responsible for the murder of Lumumba and who, as leader of the Soviet State, was Wennerström's principal.

Only when the Soviet Russians have liberated all the nations they are now holding in a hard colonialist grip, when all slave camps have been closed down and when Russian subversive activities in the free world have been discontinued – only then can normal relations between the States of the free world, including Sweden, and Soviet Russia come into being.

While the Swedish Government is going to wish Mr. Khrushchov welcome and to honour him during his visit with empty phrases, this meeting, which regards his visit as a humiliation to our country, affirms:

Mr. Nikita Khrushchov is not welcome to Sweden.

An appeal by the June Exile Committee

Sweden, Denmark and Norway will be visited in June of this year by the leader of the State which:

(1) has been afraid to hold free elections for 47 years;

(2) bears responsibility for mass executions, deportations, and other grave violations of international law. The

purges in Ukraine were organized by Stalin's intimate co-worker, Khrushchov, the leading Party functionary in Ukraine at that time;

(3) during World War II, ordered the execution of about 5000 Polish officers at Katyn, and treacherously placed Warsaw temporarily in Hitler's power;

(4) illegally occupied the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1940, and by lies endeavoured to persuade the free world that the Baltic States themselves had voluntarily joined the Soviet Union. Since then, more than 600,000 citizens of the Baltic States have been liquidated by execution and deportation. The population of these countries is still being systematically eliminated and Russified. Young people are still being deported to Russia, where the slave-camp system is in force even today, as has been proved recently by the International Red Cross and other bodies;

(5) brutally crushed the struggle for freedom in Hungary in 1956. By guile and treachery, the Hungarian leaders, including Nagy, the Prime Minister, were captured and executed. As late as two years after this uprising, people, even schoolboys, were being executed.

We accuse the Government of the USSR of these and other violations of the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations, the declarations of human rights and prohibitions against genocide, which the Soviet has signed.

The hand of the Soviet Union rests especially heavily on the occupied areas of Eastern Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Eastern European peoples have not only to suffer the persecution, deception and incredible cruelty of the Communist Government, but also unparalleled colonial exploitation by the occupying power.

The least sign of resistance or national self-assertion is made to justify and excuse cruel reprisals.

Now that Khrushchov is preaching peace, friendship and understanding between peoples, there is good reason to put his so-called liberalization policy and honesty of purpose to the test by making the following demands:

Liberate the people confined in slave camps, Raoul Wallenberg, Swedish airmen and seamen, and allow them all to return home without delay!

Grant free passage to parents, husbands, wives and children behind the

Iron Curtain to join their families in the free world!

Put an end to anti-Semitism and other racial discrimination and religious persecution, and grant the peoples in the Soviet Union the right to worship according to their beliefs, without interference and risk of punishment!

Make the Baltic a Sea of peace and friendship by withdrawing Soviet missile bases and arms from its shores!

Grant freedom and independence to the Baltic States and all subjugated countries!

Remove the spiritual and economic Iron Curtain! Demolish the "Wall of Shame" in Berlin!

We exiles appeal to the free Scandinavian peoples not to forget those oppressed by the Soviet Russian regime.

Do not, during Khrushchov's visit, renounce your ideals of freedom, the spiritual foundation of the Western world. Tyrants must be treated alike, whether they call themselves Communists, Fascists or National Socialists. We urge the free states of the world not to allow themselves to be lulled by false illusions of the Soviet's desire for peaceful co-existence and equality in armaments. Only by standing up uncompromisingly for the ideals of freedom and democracy can we create lasting understanding among the peoples of the world.

We survivors appeal to you. Most of us are now citizens of the Scandinavian countries. We view with dismay a visit of the leader of the regime which, 20 years after the close of the war, has not yet withdrawn its occupation troops from Eastern Europe.

We cannot witness this spectacle with indifference!

We look forward to peace and freedom, free elections and open boundaries!

We struggle for this in the name of humanity!

Therefore:

Turn your backs on Khrushchov!

(This appeal was signed by 34 exile organisations in Sweden.)

Activities Of The June Committee

Both the press and the public responded very favourably to the activities carried on by the June Committee during Nikita Khrushchov's visit to Sweden.

An appeal signed by 224 Swedish men and women was published by the June Committee, and also *the Appeal by the June Committee of Exiles*, signed by 34 exile organizations. These two appeals were printed separately in the form of an eight page brochure, which was distributed to the press for publication and also at public meetings as a supplement to the local programmes.

Approximately 100,000 copies of the *June Committee's Bulletin No. 1* were printed. Denmark and Norway were sent 10,000 copies each.

Public meetings were held in numerous cities of Sweden: in Stockholm on June 17, in the Concert Hall; the speakers were Professor Birger Nerman, Professor Hugo Osvald, Birger Hagård, Professor Haralds Biezais and Professor Herbert Tingsten. On June 16 a public meeting was held in Malmö on the premises of the Sirius Order. The speakers were Bertil Häggman, Stig Holm, M. D. Karl Bögholm and Dr. Ants M. Uesson. In Uppsala on the 15th of June, a public meeting was held in the Uppsala Theatre. Bengt Löfstedt, Bo Setterlind, Jaak Kiviloog, Chairman of the Union of Estonian students in Sweden and Professor Birger Nerman spoke on this occasion. Göran Allmér and Gillis Hammar were the speakers at a public meeting held on June 17 at the Stålfors School Hall in Gilberga Square in Eskilstuna. A demonstration was held in Borås on June 21st. Torsten Tegnér and Valdemar Johannesen were the speakers. A public meeting was held in the Södertorget (South Market Square) in Örebro on June 16. Herbert Söderström and Göran Albinsson spoke. John Rignell, Lars Erik Cederstav and Minister Heinrich Laretei spoke at a public meeting on June 17 in the Stenhammar Hall, Götaplats, Göteborg. A public meeting was also held in Jönköping on the 24th of June. Dean Gustaf Danell and Rector Hillerdal were the speakers. Similar meetings were held in other cities and towns.

On the 14th of June memorial services were held in different parts of Sweden in memory of the millions of people deported, killed or otherwise victims of the Communist regime.

Freedom meets the Dictator is the title of a brochure published jointly by the June Committee and the Baltic Centre as a counteraction to Nikita Khrushchov's visit. In this publication many well-known Scandinavians give their views on the propaganda visit to Scandinavia by the man who, for millions of people, personifies anarchy and tyranny. This publication contains statements by Professor Hugo Osvald, Herbert Tingsten and Birger Nerman, Editors Torsten Tegnér, Terje Baalsrud and Ole-Jacob Hoff, Karl Bögholm former Norwegian M. P., and authors Eyvind Johnson and Ture Nerman. Manne Ståhl, M. P. (Sweden) describes the Russian occupation of the Baltic States and the conditions of the Baltic peoples. Commander Torgil Wulff gives a survey of Soviet armament in the Baltic area, and Bertil Häggman

gives an account of Khrushchov's antecedents. The brochure also contains summaries of statements in the press on the Wennerström scandal and of Soviet crimes against the Baltic peoples. It ends with the appeals issued by the June Committee and the June Committee of Exiles in connection with the dictator's visit. The brochure may be obtained at booksellers or from *Juni-kommittén*, Box 16 042, Stockholm 16, Postgiro 15 29 39, and costs 6 Swedish kroner.

Publicity was directed to both the Swedish public and to the representatives of foreign newspapers. At least 1000 journalists, most of them from other countries, studied the reactions of the Swedish people during the dictator's visit. Material other than the official bulletins was made available to them.

The June Committee *Press Centre*, Arsenalsgatan 1, was open daily from June 18 to June 27, between 10:00 A. M. and 7:00 P. M. . .

Regular press conferences were arranged by the Press Centre of the Committee, which also issued *communiqués* and press *bulletins* in Swedish, English and German.

Placards with the inscription *Freedom Meets the Dictator* were posted in various places.

Postcards in the form of caricatures were sold by the June Committee for the price of 1 krona.

Humanitarian work was also a part of the June Committee's programme. Energetic action was taken to help all those who are persecuted and suppressed: poor, ill and old people, living in the border states and denied the right to meet their relatives in the free world, those who actively profess the Christian faith, Jews, and many other groups.

The June Committee worked in close collaboration with similar bodies in Denmark and Norway. The Norwegian Committee included Professor Harald Schjelderup and Karl Semb, Editors A. R. Christensen and Trygve J. B. Hoff, and the author Arnulf Överland. A group of young people, mostly students, worked in Oslo with this Committee. On June 21st a public meeting was held in Oslo.

Several groups collaborated in Denmark.

From the platform of the Republican Party

"Republicans reaffirm their long-standing commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America, including the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Yugoslavia and its Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian peoples, Cuba, Mainland China and many others. We condemn the persecution of minorities, such as the Jews, within Communist borders."

Shevchenko In Washington Will Kindle World Movement For Freedom

Address by General Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Unveiling of the Monument to Taras Shevchenko, Washington, D. C., June 27, 1964.

First, let me thank you for your generous welcome.

On September 13, 1960, when I signed into law a measure to authorize the erection of this statue, it was my expectation that you would arrange a ceremony of dedication commensurate with the greatness of Taras Shevchenko.

That day is here and you have come by the thousands from all over the United States; you have come from Canada, from Latin America and Europe, and from as far away as Australia, to honor the memory of a poet who expressed so eloquently man's undying determination to fight for freedom and his unquenchable faith in ultimate victory.

This outpouring of lovers of freedom to salute a Ukrainian hero far exceeds my expectation.

But its meaning does not exceed my hope.

For my hope is that your magnificent march from the shadow of the Washington Monument to the foot of the statue of Taras Shevchenko will here kindle a new world movement in the hearts, minds, words and actions of men: A never-ending movement dedicated to the independence and freedom of peoples of all captive nations of the entire world.

During my boyhood it was confidently predicted that within the lifetime of my generation the principles of our free society would become known to all people everywhere and would be universally accepted around the world.

That dream has faded.

Within the past few decades, the concepts of liberty and human dignity have been scorned and rejected by powerful men who control great areas of our planet.

The revolutionary doctrines of our free society are far from universal application in the earth.

Rather, we have seen the counterattacks of facism and communism substitute for them the totalitarian state, the suppression of personal freedom, the denial of national independence, and even the destruction of free inquiry and discussion.

Tyranny and oppression today are not different from tyranny and oppression in the days of Taras Shevchenko.

Now, as then, tyranny means the concentration of all power in an elite body, in a government bureau, in a single man.

It means that the ultimate decisions affecting every aspect of life rest not with the people themselves, but with tyrants.

Shevchenko experienced this kind of governmental usurpation of decisions he believed he should make for himself.

(Continued on page 22)



**DEDICATED TO THE LIBERATION, FREEDOM AND
INDEPENDENCE OF ALL CAPTIVE NATIONS**

This Monument of Taras Shevchenko, 19th century Ukrainian poet and fighter for the independence of Ukraine and the freedom of all mankind, who under foreign Russian imperialist tyranny and colonial rule appealed for "The new and righteous law of Washington," was unveiled on June 27, 1964. This historic event commemorated the 150th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth. The memorial was authorized by the 86th Congress of the United States of America on August 31, and signed into public law 86-749 by Dwight D. Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States of America on September 13, 1960. The statue was erected by Americans of Ukrainian Ancestry and Friends.

And he was a champion of freedom not solely for himself.

When he spoke out for Ukrainian independence from Russian colonial rule, he endangered his own liberty.

When he joined a society whose aim was to establish a republican form of government in countries of Eastern Europe, he was jailed – even denied the right to use pencil and paper to record his thoughts about freedom.

Today the same pattern of life exists in the Soviet Union and in all captive nations.

Wherever communism rules there is forceful control of thought, of expression, and indeed of every phase of human existence that the state may choose to dominate.

The touchstone of any free society is limited government, which does only those things which the people need and which they cannot do for themselves at all, or cannot do as well.

Our own nation was created as this kind of society in a devout belief that where men are free, where they have the right to think, to worship, to act as they may choose – subject only to the provision that they transgress not on the equal rights of others – there will be rapid human progress.

We believe also that when this kind of freedom is guaranteed universally, there will be peace among all nations.

Though the world today stands divided between tyranny and freedom we can hope and have faith that it will not always so remain.

Of all who inhabit the globe, only a relatively few in each of the captive nations – only a handful even in Russia itself – form the evil conspiracies that dominate their fellow men by force or by fraud.

Because man instinctively rebels against regimentation – he hungers for freedom, for well-being and for peace.

Yet the will of a few men thwarts the will of hundreds of millions and freedom stands aghast that this is so.

But let us not forget the ageless truth, “This, too, shall pass”.

In the nations of East and Central Europe, in the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R., and in Russia itself – where the poetry of Shevchenko is well known – there are millions of individual human beings who earnestly want the right of self-determination and self-government.

His statue, standing here in the heart of the nation’s capital, near the embassies where representatives of nearly all the countries of the world can see it, is a shining symbol of his love of liberty.

It speaks to these millions of oppressed.

It gives them constant encouragement to struggle forever against communist tyranny, until, one day final victory is achieved, as it most surely will be.

Most of you here today are of Ukrainian descent or origin.

All of us – if we go back one generation, or two, or ten, find family roots in some other nation, some other continent.

But today, we stand together as Americans, bound by our common devotion to a system of self-government – a system that makes it possible for us to be

different, and yet united; independent, yet interdependent; diverse, and yet inseparable.

To be successful in bringing peace with freedom and justice to the world, we must increase our joint efforts to make peoples around the world *more aware that only in freedom can be found the right road to human progress, happiness and fulfillment*. Shevchenko lived and taught this truth.

In unveiling this memorial to the great nineteenth century Ukrainian poet we encourage today's poets in Ukraine, in Eastern Europe, and around the world to embody in their poetry mankind's demands for freedom for self-expression, for national independence, and for liberty for all mankind.

Were he alive today, he would be in the forefront of that great struggle.

And now I recall the words of one of America's greatest sons, Abraham Lincoln. Speaking here just 100 years ago he said:

"It is not merely for today, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government, which we have enjoyed all our lives."

In the same spirit, it is not merely for today, but for all time to come that we today present to the world this statue of Taras Shevchenko, Bard of Ukraine and Freedom Fighter, to perpetuate man's faith in the ultimate victory of freedom.

With incessant work, and with God's help, there will emerge, one day, a new era, an era of universal peace with freedom, and justice for all mankind.

Shevchenko Statue Symbol Of Independence To All Captive Nations

Speaking at a Shevchenko Jubilee Banquet in Washington's National Guard Armory, *Senator Morton* called the Shevchenko monument in Washington, D. C., "a political element which can well act as a catalyst to bring forth a new era of freedom to humanity".

Senator Morton said:

"It makes me proud to be an American when I see the United States Congress with the support of the United States President make available US soil where such a symbol of freedom, as this statue to Taras Shevchenko, is erected."

Commenting on Shevchenko's call for the coming to Ukraine of a Washington with his new and righteous law, Senator Morton said:

"It is interesting indeed to learn that our Declaration of Independence and Constitution brought so much inspiration and encouragement to men like Taras Shevchenko who, in turn, inspired the Ukrainian people and all peoples in Eastern Europe to fight for freedom and independence."

"The price in blood and tears which so many have paid for freedom will not go unrewarded forever," he said. "The Russian Empire cannot forever escape the realities of history. It, too, will reap its retributions. The enslaved people and the captive nations will be free and independent."

“We Are Proud Of Shevchenko Memorial”

June 27, 1964

*Address by Congressman Michael A. Feighan at the Unveiling of the
Taras Shevchenko Memorial*

The unveiling of this memorial statue of Taras Shevchenko is a meaningful addition to the other memorials to human freedom which grace our nation's Capital.

In this citadel of human freedom, the birthplace of representative self-government, we are proud of the grand memorials erected to the memory of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and other dedicated Americans who have blazed and enlightened the path of human freedom. We are equally proud of the memorials which stand in this citadel to such men as Lafayette, Kosciuszko, and Steuben, who gave their all to the winning of our national independence. The memorials to such great men as Bolivar, among others, attest to our close kinship with those in other lands who held the torch of freedom and hope, lighted by our founding fathers. All of these memorials serve to remind us of the timeless and unending struggles of mankind to reject tyranny and oppression – to win freedom and to protect it as a priceless quality of life.

It is indeed fitting that we here should memorialize the Poet Patriot of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko. For above all else, he demonstrated that in the long course of history, the pen is mightier than the sword.

Born into serfdom, at a time when the unique culture and national identity of his homeland was threatened with extinction, he rose up from his dismal beginnings to relight the torch of hope in his native land. At an early age the happy hand of destiny rested upon his shoulder, bringing him to St. Petersburg where he met a French Huguenot painter who recognized his talents and became his benefactor. From the time of his liberation from serfdom until his death in 1861, Shevchenko composed poetry and verse dedicated to the dignity of man and the hopes of his oppressed homeland for freedom and independence. The popular power of his poetry and verse as a sustainer of the spirit of his people is attested to by his banishment into exile under a Ukase of Tzar Nicholas I, that he be prohibited from writing or painting for an indefinite period.

A century has passed since the death of Shevchenko, but the message of his literary works burns even more brightly today in the hearts of his countrymen. The sword has been laid upon his homeland many times since his passing. A long line of despots have attempted to stamp out the spirit of Ukraine rekindled by the power of his pen. The despots have passed into the silence of history and while the sword still rests upon Ukraine, the spirit of her people remains in tune with the literary testament of Shevchenko.

We in our time are seeking to strengthen old bridges of friendship with Central-East Europe and to build new ones where ever possible. The only lasting bridges between nations are those whose foundations are built upon the ideals and moral values which sustain the dignity of man.

Authority Tells Truth About Bulgaria

Exclusive interview with Dr. Dimiter Waltshoff.

Question: Generally speaking, the German public is not very well informed about recent events in Bulgaria. By way of introduction can you tell us something about the causes which led your country to side with the axis powers in World War II?

Answer: To a certain extent Bulgaria's position was determined by the unjust conditions of peace which were dictated at Neuilly after World War I. These conditions forced our country to undertake widespread reforms. In addition the Germans issued our country an ultimatum, which demanded the right for German troops to march through Bulgaria in their Balkan military campaign of 1941; this, too, was a decisive factor toward our joining of the Three Power Pact. Shortly afterwards, Soviet Russia's alliance with the West made the Three Power Pact the only possible protection for Bulgaria against Russia's traditional expansionism toward the Straits. It is known that already the tsarist empire envisioned our country as a Russian "Danube Gouvernement", as a stepping-off point for the Russian drive toward the Aegean, while Molotov, at the time of the non-aggression pact with Hitler, was making formal claims to our coast on the Black Sea in Berlin.

Question: What other concrete ideas determined the policy of King Boris? Has the background of his death been convincingly clarified?

Answer: After joining the Three Power Pact, the King decided, under German pressure, to make a solely symbolical declaration of war against the Western allies, but he steered clear of any participation in the war itself. As far as the Soviet Union was concerned, he considered it best to follow a strictly neutral course in the hope of preserving the country from Russian seizure in the event that the axis powers would lose the war. When the situation of the war became increasingly grave after Stalingrad, however, the cautious course of the King was exposed to a cross-fire of opposing tendencies. Although the political parties had been reduced to nothing under his authoritarian regime, national forces, that knew quite well that Soviet Russia would not respect Bulgarian neutrality, pressed for an active defence against the possibility of a Red Army invasion. On the other hand, the left-radical conspiracy, "Fatherland Front", which was under Moscow's control, saw its only chance in a Russian occupation. The principal exponent of the national forces that were resolved to act was the former Minister of War, General Christo Lukoff, to whom I was closely

We Are Proud Of Shevschenko Memorial (Continued)

The ancient bridge between the United States and Ukraine rests upon those foundations. It will endure forever. So too the memory of Taras Shevchenko who, more than a century ago, expressed the hope of his people for a George Washington, with a new and righteous law. This statue will serve to remind all who visit our nation's Capital that we, as a people, share that fervent hope and pray that happy day may soon come.

connected. He enjoyed strong influence in the army, and he had also assumed the leadership of the National Legions movement. In February 1943, however, he was murdered by the Communists. With his death, our plan of forming a strong defensive front on the Danube against a Russian invasion, taking into account the eventuality of opening the southern boundaries to the Western allies, was ruined. At that time we had no notion that Bulgaria would be completely delivered up to Moscow at Yalta. When King Boris was poisoned shortly afterwards, the hope that the country might successfully be led out of the war in time by a peace treaty with the Western allies, also faded. Either Himmler's apparatus or else the Soviet Secret Service are to be regarded as responsible for the King's assassination: the former, to prevent a possible Bulgarian desertion similar to that of Italy; the latter, in order to thwart a peace arrangement by the King with the Western allies. But as nothing was done on the German side after the King's removal to exploit the situation in accordance with Hitler's desires to engage Bulgarian troops in the East, whereas Moscow's Bulgarian game materialized as planned, the supposition that the assassination was decided upon in Moscow gains full credibility.

Question: Under what sort of conditions did the overthrow of the government take place on Sept. 9, 1944, a day which is now celebrated as the 20th anniversary of the "Socialist Revolution" in Bulgaria?

Answer: During the first days in Sept. 1944, when negotiators of a previously formed Western-oriented government were making efforts to achieve a cease-fire with the Western allies in Cairo, the Soviet Union created solid facts by a sudden declaration of war on Bulgaria. Disregarding our neutrality, the Red Army invaded the country to raise a handful of "Fatherland Front" conspirators to power. The result of this was that an unimaginable bloody terrorism arose in the country. The fact that there was a kind of "opening to the left", which had already found its beginning under the preceding opportunistic bureaucracy of Bagrianoff, was certainly not one of the least contributory factors to the free play of the revolutionaries. Devastating Anglo-American air raids also contributed to bringing about an extreme state of political demoralization. In any case, it is pointless to speak of a Socialist revolution. The Bulgarian Communist rulers themselves have repeatedly declared that if it had not been for the Red Army invasion, their coming into power would have been unthinkable.

Question: How is it to be explained that the Bulgarians have the reputation of being the "Prussians of the Balkans", whereas proverbially they are said to be very fond of the Russians, coupled with a strong susceptibility for Communism?

Answer: Not the least cause of prejudices of this kind can be traced back to defamation campaigns initiated by interested parties. In the post-war years, for instance, the Greek half-official newspaper, *Messenger d' Athenes*, used such arguments to demand the deportation of the Bulgarian people to Siberia! In actual fact, our fondness for the Russians was already considerably dampened by Moscow's open annexation ambitions following the Russo-Turkish

war. The illusion of a benevolent "little father Ivan", however, did not fully evaporate into thin air until the Balkan war of 1912/1913, for it was undoubtedly due to Petersburg's manipulations that Bulgaria was partitioned at the peace treaty in Bucharest. Then, however, when Soviet Russia endeavoured to "docilize" our country by assaults and controlled armed uprisings, pro-Russian orientation was the inglorious privilege of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its accomplices. Today, with the exception of Khrushchov's regional director in Bulgaria, Russophilism has undoubtedly been cured to the last man. In any case, as far back as World War I, Field Marshall Mackensen's concern that Bulgarian soldiers would not fire on the Russians was thoroughly alleviated after a Bulgarian cavalry division completely defeated numerically far superior Russian elite regiments, which had wedged themselves into the Dobrudja, and drove them back across the Danube. The Third Bulgarian Kingdom was also a model of civil discipline and national responsibility. In other words, that the Bulgarians are the "Prussians of the Balkans" is not entirely unfounded, as you can see.

Question: Following the overthrow of the government were there really rebellious attempts to dethrone the Communist regime and Russian influence?

Answer: More than anywhere else! Three stages of rebellion can be distinguished. At first, there were the counter-revolutionary organizations, the so-called "Monarchical-Fascists", "Neutral Officers", "Tsar Krum", the legionary conspiracy and many others, whose members were judged and executed at a number of mock trials. Then there was the original legal opposition, represented by the deserted coalition partners of the Communists. This opposition was headed by the courageous leftist Agrarian leader, Nikola Petkoff, who was arrested in the midst of a parliamentary session and led off to the gallows. And finally there was the opposition within the Communist Party itself. Here the opposition was directed against Moscow's exploitation and tutelage by the striking Communist leader, Traitsho Kostoff, who was its spokesman. He, too, had to repent his stand at the gallows. Many other prominent leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, such as Tshervenkov, Tshankoff, Jugoff and others were the victims of the Party's absolute obedience to Moscow. They were deprived of their office and dignity and outlawed as enemies of the Party.

Question: Can you tell us something about the present situation in Bulgaria, which is said to be a Soviet "model satellite"?

Answer: Strictly speaking, the Bulgarian People's Republic is a model case of Russian colonialism, in accordance with which the position of the people – with the exception of the new class of Party functionaries – is that of a pariah. The economic interlocking with COMECON and the liabilities, incurred from repeated economic help for industrialization purposes, strain the export capacity of the country and bring about chronic crises in basic supplies. Moreover, there is a defrauding of agriculture by one-sided dictatorial prices in the export-import transactions with the Soviet Union. Hence, today, Bulgaria's implicit obedience to Moscow encounters sharp disapproval in Party circles themselves.

Question: How is the Bulgarian political exile organized and what role does ex-King Simeon play?

Answer: Our political emigration is mainly represented by two different initiatives: the so-called National Committee headed by the leftist Agrarian Georgi Dimitroff, who fled to the USA after his break with the Communist regime in Sofia; and on the other side the Bulgarian National Front, which I helped to organize under the collective leadership of spokesmen representing national-political forces. There is one other circle, the "Free Bulgarians", which advocates a moderate course and which is primarily represented by intellectuals and diplomats. Upon the King's coming of age, excellent opportunities offered themselves to him in exile to form an official Bulgarian exile representation, especially as he was regarded as the legitimate head of state by the majority of our emigration. This idea, however, which was mainly propagated by our National Front, did not develop beyond an embryonic stage—the King's attitude itself being responsible for its failure. In a New Year's declaration in 1960/61, he detached himself from this possibility by announcing that he wanted to carry on the liberation fight *by himself* in the future. This choice on his part earned him the reproach of pursuing an authoritarian course, which was expressed by lonely decisions and declarations, and cooled many sympathies—even in monarchical circles.

Question: Under the given circumstances, is it possible for the Bulgarian exile to play an important political role?

Answer: Among the different exile initiatives, the Bulgarian National Committee alone, with its main seat in New York, enjoys a certain degree of recognition and is somewhat promoted by Americans. Considering that this Committee is burdened by the fact that its president conspiratively co-operated with the Communists for many decades, its activity lacks real power. The uncompromising opponents of Communism from the national-political camp are on the whole condemned to inactivity owing to a lack of any support from the countries in which they are living now . . .

Question: What is your appraisal of the present political situation in the world? What do you think of General de Gaulle's political course?

Answer: As I see it, disastrous developments are taking place behind the Soviet Union's loud prattling about coexistence and peace policies on the basis of the *status quo*. Washington's policies appear especially calamitous to me because they lend a helping hand to the Soviet Union by granting them a breathing-spell in the armament race and by making enormous wheat deliveries in a critical moment. This will enable the Soviet Union to consolidate its tyrannic rule over foreign countries and peoples. In the Fifth French Republic under General de Gaulle and his outstretched hand to the German people, on the other hand, I see a historical chance for the creation of an independent Europe, capable of defending itself with its own strength and of preserving the Christian occident from barbarity.

Question: What is your view of the German Federal Republic's development, and what possibilities do you think exist for a German re-unification?

Answer: I am horrified by the extent to which national self-negation and

excessive self-incrimination have gone in post-war Germany. I fear that in making upright and certainly necessary efforts to come to terms with the past, a course has been chosen which gambles away the future. I am especially disturbed by the attitude of the press, radio and television which for the most part work hand in hand with Bolshevistic disintegration and which will finally realize their own version of the Morgenthau plan on a moral level. They do not even shrink from defaming millions of expellation victims as "professional expellees" or as "trouble makers"!

And in view of the fact that the German Federal Republic is willing to take up diplomatic relations with Khrushchov's hirelings in Sofia, Bukarest or Budapest – thus legalizing their despotic rule – I cannot understand what arguments it can bring forth to defend itself against not wanting to recognize the so-called DDR (German Democratic Republic) in any way . . .

As far as German re-unification is concerned, I expressed my view in a lecture in Hannover several years ago: "No German re-unification without integral liberation policies". Today, also, I do not see a glimmer of hope for a German re-unification if one doesn't succeed in negotiating with Moscow about Europe's future, if not on the basis of a superior moral and military power, then on an equal one. A so-called "need for security" on the part of Soviet Russia must not be given any credence until it is willing to surrender its enormous war spoils, i. e., to free the subjugated foreign peoples from Russian domination.

(*Volksbote*, Munich, May 30, and June 13, 1964)

Colonialism in Asia

I found the article by Prof. Dr. Heyke (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 7) particularly gratifying. His observations with respect to the question of Soviet Russian and Chinese colonialism in Turkestan and Tibet are very much to the point. For years it has been possible to observe how the leading personalities of free Asia and Africa repeatedly speak out against colonialism. When it is a matter of Soviet Russian and Chinese colonialism, however, they are silent. At the Bandung conference, the fight against every form of colonialism was announced. Evidently, the anti-colonialists are not aware that Russian and Chinese colonialism also belongs to "every form of colonialism". Before the beginning of the second Bandung conference, the question of why an intensive fight against Russian and Chinese colonialism has not also been carried out so far must certainly be answered, if the fight against colonialism is to be regarded as indivisible. The fight against colonialism in Asia is twofold: to

take action against classical European colonialism and to remain silent about the neoclassical colonialism of Russia and China. In Asia, hardly any other nation has suffered under foreign rule as much as Turkestan. The cultural and continental feeling of togetherness among the peoples of Asia should lead to the finding of a form which would be valid for all of them in their fight against colonialism. Otherwise the danger exists that the preachers of anti-colonialism will lose their esteem owing to their one-sidedness, and will make themselves unworthy of belief with respect to the question of colonialism. The question must be clearly posed: What have the leading forces of free Asia – not only Indonesia – done until now to abolish colonialism in the heart of Asia – Turkestan – and what are their plans in this respect for the future?

Dr. Baymirza Hayit, Koeln

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Tuesday, April 21, 1964, No. 93.

De-Nationalization And Russification In The Baltic States

"We live in an age when all people want to possess the products of their labour, want to govern their own countries, want to strengthen the independence of their state", Prime Minister Khrushchov exclaimed on January 17, 1964. As he was pronouncing these words, the products of the labour of the Baltic peoples were shipped to Moscow: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were governed by the Kremlin's emissaries. The slightest mention of independence in Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius have been regarded as treason against the Soviet State.

In a United Nations debate on what constitutes colonialism, Ambassador Tsatsos of Greece presented this definition: A colony is the domination by force, exercised by a . . . state or a people living in another territory, whatever the juridical form of this domination may be, and regardless of the organization that it implies." Following this definition, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are colonial possessions of Soviet Russia.

While the classic colonialism of the Western type was mainly interested in economic profit, Russian colonialism is much more ambitious. Hand in hand with economic exploitation in the Baltic States, the Soviet government is proceeding with a steady programme of de-nationalization and Russification.

As Professor Kulski has warned in his book "The Soviet Regime" (New York, 1959): "Slowly the national composition of these Republics is being modified and the natives may one day form a minority in their original homeland." According to the All-Union census of 1959, the three Baltic States, with a total population of six million, had 1,041,000 Russian inhabitants. Here is how the percentage of Russians in the total population of the Baltic States has grown during the colonization process: before annexation - Estonia (8.5%), Latvia (12.0%), Lithuania (4.0%); in 1961 - Estonia (21.7%), Latvia (26.6%), Lithuania (8.5%).

Soviet colonial rule, especially the mass deportations and "voluntary" resettlements, is having a very negative effect on the population structure in the Baltic States. A Lithuanian Communist magazine has recently acknowledged that the age structure of population was not "progressive" in Lithuania and "even more unfavourable in Estonia and Latvia . . . which have the lowest number of births amongst all the Union Republics". (Svyturys, Vilnius, No. 4, 1964). The magazine also pointed out that the annual population increase in the Soviet terror rule which has affected certain age groups of the male population.

The rising influx of the Russian "colons", combined with the slackening birth rate of the Baltic populations, may make Professor Kulski's premonitions come true in the near future.

Following the natural law of colonialism, the Russian "colons" congregate mainly in the urban areas of the Baltic States. As a result, almost half of the children under ten in Estonian and Latvian towns are now Russian. The imported

Russians are putting their stamp on all fields of life in the Baltic States: schools, science, arts, police, etc.. Railways and shipping have almost completely been taken over by Russians. Streets, kolkhozes, or public buildings are given Russian names; radio and television programmes are to a large degree Russian.

One of the mightiest weapons of Russification is the imposition of the Russian language. The Soviet Communist Party Programme, adopted in 1961, announces that the "Russian language has, in effect, become the common medium of intercourse among all the peoples of the USSR", that "the boundaries between the Union Republics are increasingly losing their significance"; and that "the nations will draw still closer together until their complete unity is achieved." Thus the Party Programme clearly acknowledges its long-term goal of de-nationalizing and Russifying the non-Russian peoples.

Opposition to the Russification process has been officially branded as a "nationalistic activity". A conference in Frunze last year, as *Sovyetskaya Kirgiziya* reports, condemned the "pseudo-scientific theory" of linguistic purity, hailed the importance of the Russian language as a means of communication among the Soviet Union's ethnic groups and demanded an investigation of nationalistic ideology that might oppose the intended merger of peoples. (*The New York Times*, September 27, 1963).

The de-nationalization drive has dictated a steady intensification of Russian language training for non-Russian children. They now take up Russian in kindergarten, and Russian is becoming the sole language of instruction for more classes. A few parents have already decided to give their children a Russian-language upbringing, to improve their career opportunities.

The integration of the Baltic States into the Russian empire is also fostered by new territorial arrangements. The administrative reform of March 1963 has reversed the previous trend for de-centralization of economy, and at the end of 1963, the Soviet press published a new division of the USSR into 18 "great economic regions". One of these regions embraces Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation. The adding of the Kaliningrad Oblast, with its predominantly Russian colonist population, cannot help but increase the Russian influence in the Baltic States.

In the opinion of a noted Soviet expert (Christian Duevel in "Problems of the Peoples of the USSR", No. 20, Winter 1964): "At the moment, Moscow labors to tighten the supra-national links binding Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation, and (less energetically) Leningrad. If the labor should lead to the formal establishment of an amalgamated Baltic Union Republic, a new Kazakhstan-type 'laboratory' will have come into existence: and the inclusion of Leningrad would assure the Russians numerical predominance from the outset."

Mr. Duevel, however, believes that a Baltic Union Republic appears at present to be only on the far horizon, since "national resistance to all such melting-pot schemes is fiery in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia." The goal of the resistance of the Baltic peoples is full freedom and independence. As Khrushchov himself acknowledged on January 17, 1964, in Moscow: "We are convinced that sooner or later the peoples of all countries will gain genuine freedom and independence and expel the imperialists from their territories."

Soviet Russian Deportations

Background to the memory of the 14th of June

The beginning of Mr. Khrushchov's official visit to Scandinavia almost coincided with the anniversary of the first Soviet mass deportations from the occupied Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, in June 1941.

These deportations, though a minor operation in the history of Soviet terrorism, are important because they are the only ones which, for obvious reasons, have been statistically investigated and analysed.

Preparations for them started as early as Oct. 11, 1939, that is, eight months before the forcible annexation of the three republics, by an order of Gen. I. A. Serov of the Soviet security troops which fell into Baltic hands during the war.

The deportations themselves began at dawn on June 14th, 1941. Whole families were seized, including babies, old people, and women in the last stages of pregnancy. All were forced to sign a document stating that they would "voluntarily settle in other parts of the USSR". They were loaded on to lorries, guarded by armed soldiers, and then taken to the nearest railway station where barred cattle waggons were waiting for their living cargo.

At the station men were separated from their wives and families – according to instructions. They had not been informed of it when seized. All of them were sent to distant parts of the USSR as cargo of low speed goods under inhumane conditions: there was no food, no medical aid, and the waggons were so tightly packed that people had to sleep in shifts.

The men were sent to slave camps in Siberia or to the Arctic shores. It is estimated that 90 per cent of them did not survive the first winter. Women, who lived under slightly better conditions, managed somewhat better.

The first mass deportation was followed by a second one in Estonia in July of the same year, soon after the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war. Then 33,000 young men were "drafted into the army" and sent to slave camps in Russia proper. Latvia and Lithuania, on the other hand, having already been conquered by the Germans, escaped this "mobilisation".

The number of those arrested, deported and murdered during the first Soviet occupation which lasted for one year, was about 125,000 in the three Baltic States, which had a total population of about 6,000,000. Estonia lost about five per cent of her population, Latvia 1.8 per cent and Lithuania 1.2 per cent.

In absolute figures the distribution was as follows:

Estonia: 59,700 victims, of whom 46,200 were adult men, 4,300 adult women, and 9,200 minors under 20. Almost half of the victims, or 24,400 persons, belonged to the working class. Those murdered in Estonian territory numbered 2,200.

Latvia: 34,200, of whom 23,000 were men, 7,200 women and 4,000 children under 16. Those murdered in Latvian territory numbered 1,400.

Lithuania: 30,500, of whom 16,600 were men and 13,900 women.

First and foremost, the deportations and other terrorist measures hit the political and cultural elite of the three countries. In Estonia eight former Heads

of State were liquidated, in Latvia three, and in Lithuania one. Trade unions and the Socialist Parties of the Baltic Republics were also severely persecuted and their leaders were included in the list of the victims.

During the second Soviet occupation which began in 1944, the regime continued with deportations. The peak was reached in March 1949, when the farmers as a group were practically annihilated.

Between 1944-1959 the total losses in the Baltic republics are estimated as follows: Estonia 80,000, Latvia 136,000 und Lithuania 200,000.

It follows that the total losses comprise more than 10 per cent of the population.

At the same time Russians have moved into the Baltic republics. By 1962 they numbered 240,000 in Estonia, 556,000 in Latvia and 404,000 in Lithuania, or a total of 1,200,000, as against a total of 348,700 Russians in 1935.

Despite the seeming liberalisation of the Soviet regime, this trend has not been broken. It is, therefore, difficult to believe in the sincerity of Mr. Khrushchov's love of peace and justice, unless he orders the Russians to give back the Baltic republics to the Baltic peoples and sees to it that those responsible for the deportations be punished by courts of law.

ABN Anniversary Celebrated In Bradford

Realising that the Russian colonial imperium threatens the freedom and independence of the peoples of the entire world; the assembled Estonians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians at the celebration of the 20th anniversary of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in Bradford, on 23rd of May 1964 carried unanimously the following

Resolution

We Request the United Nations to put the problem of Russian Colonialism in Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cossackia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan, North Caucasia and other countries subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, on the agenda of its General Assembly, to condemn said colonialism, to exclude all Communist governments from the United Nations, and in their stead to admit the freely elected representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;

We warn the free world against the demobilization of the free world by means of the campaign of the so-called positive neutralism in the interests of

Moscow by Yugoslavia, whose Communist regime has subjugated the Croats and other peoples who yearn for their national independence;

We warn the governments of the free world against the policy of the so-called coexistence which aims at the recognition by the free world of the status quo of Russian and Communist conquests as a basis for the subversive action in the free world, and for their further expansion;

We appeal to the free world to give wholehearted, active support to the revolutionary fight of the peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba, subjugated by Russia and Communism, for the restoration of their freedom and national independence and for the establishment of democratic systems in the Communist dominated countries.

Dr. Ilic, the representative of the ABN delegation, was the official speaker. The opening speech was given by the chairman of the organizing committee, L. Molnar (Hungary). Representatives of all nationalities were invited to the honorary presidium, among others also Father G. Kereny (Hungary) and the priest M. Chutoryny (Ukraine).

Our Sufferings Will Bear Fruit

(Address delivered at ABN meeting in Nottingham, England)

Public opinion in the free democratic countries of the West is woefully ignorant of the true nature of the huge empire of Soviet Russia. Even people who should know better fall into the error of regarding the Soviet Union and its enslaved nations as one harmonious portion of the human race, with loyalty to the Kremlin and all its many schemes. When most people of Western Europe speak of Russia, they visualize a country that encompasses at least Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia. The fact that more and more people in England are gradually coming to see that this is a false picture, that the nations included in the so-called Soviet Union today were really sovereign, independent states, is due, almost entirely to those who are exiles from our native lands. Despite a long exile, which must often seem to stretch far, far ahead, you have not forgotten your countries. You too have fought a battle for freedom, justice, humanity – not as spectacular, perhaps, as the one waged by the freedom fighters at home, but most valuable nonetheless. You have not forgotten your customs, history, language, music – your culture. You have not failed. You have done a good job and you are greatly respected for it. This building in which we meet today is proof positive, if indeed further proof is needed, of the spirit that exists in the Ukrainian community in Nottingham.

Mr. Chairman, you have referred to the much-publicised split between the Russian and Chinese Communists. This split is being loudly hailed as a development of great significance, and great hope is being attached to it by the non-Communist world – but I am not so sure that it is as significant and as hopeful as it may appear on the surface. This split is being conducted very openly; no attempt is being made to hide the clash of argument and counter-argument; the row is being heard all over. I do not believe that an ideological split has taken place for the simple reason that both parties to the argument are dedicated believers in the Communist philosophy of dialectical materialism and the basic Communist dogma of the historical inevitability of Communist world domination.

Marx maintained that matter is composed of opposites and that it is through the clash of opposites that true progress and development finally take place. It is a part of the Communist philosophy of dialectical materialism that progress, in nature or in society, is only possible through violent clashes. The Greeks used the term dialectics to describe the art of argument and discourse: clash and argument leading finally to a greater understanding of truth. The German philosopher Hegel developed the dialectical concept in the sphere of ideas, claiming that it led to a deeper understanding of truth.

Marx taught that matter is self-sufficient, that it eliminates every concept of God and idealism and that its contradictory nature provides it with a motive force for development. Marx combined Hegel's concept of dialectics with his concept of materialism and gave the world what Communists call dialectical materialism. The whole central feature of this dialectical materialism is that all progress and development can take place only through conflict. This is the reason that the weapon of class war is so beloved by the Communists, the reason that peaceful coexistence has no meaning for the Communists; it is also the reason that the Communists believe that internal conflict between Communists themselves, like today's rumpus between Khrushchov and Mao, produce the right programme for Communism. Whereas non-Communists believe that bitter controversy within the ranks of Communism weakens Communism, the Communists themselves believe precisely the opposite. To them, internal conflict leads ultimately to greater progress and Communist strength.

Recently, Khrushchov offered us his reflections on reaching the age of 70. He told us: "No one should give up in the face of old age. Do not surrender to it. In this is happiness and reward." Many of your relatives, your friends and former neighbours would have welcomed the chance to live to old age in their native lands, but Khrushchov and his minions saw to it that they never had this chance. Today Khrushchov poses as a democrat, as an opponent of everything that was so bad under Stalin, but a few years ago, when Stalin celebrated his 70th birthday, Khrushchov was on hand with a few remarks — not of complaint or opposition. He had this to say: "Glory to father Stalin, wise teacher and great leader of our Communist Party, the Soviet peoples and the toilers of the whole world." Khrushchov would not have survived the Stalinist era had he not been, as we know he was, a most dedicated Stalinist. He has survived in a regime in which only the toughest, the cruellest and the most cynical can hope to survive. He is a seasoned terrorist — the butcher of Ukraine. In Warsaw nine years ago he said: "We must realize that we cannot coexist eternally. One of us must go to his grave. They (the West) do not want to go to their grave. So what must be done? We must push them to the grave." At least, we can never say that the Communists did not give us any warning!

Tonight we think back to the great leaders of your nations who gave their lives in the service of their country: Petlura, murdered in Paris in 1926; Konovalts, murdered in Rotterdam in 1938; and in more recent times, Bandera, murdered in Munich in 1959, for which act his self-confessed murderer was awarded the Order of the Red Banner. This murderer later defected to the West, fearing the liquidation that is the lot of so many servants of the Soviet. After the death of Bandera, the Ukrainians received a message which stated that "from the sacrifice of these heroes sprang an ideal which inspires fresh fighters in the struggle for an independent and united Ukrainian state." In his oration at the grave of O'Donovan in Ireland in 1912, Rossa Padraig Pearse stated: "Life springs from death and from the graves of the patriotic men and women spring living nations." So, in the fullness of time, the sacrifices of your peoples will bear fruit. The murders of your leaders, the long struggle

of your freedom fighters, the years of imprisonment in concentrations camps, your own work here – all these things will bear fruit. In a final message to his people as he lay dying a few years ago, an Archbishop of Bucharest stated: “I am convinced that Communist domination will pass and that Roumania will regain her liberty. God has not forgotten us and our sufferings will bear fruit.” This is the message I leave with you: that the day of liberation will come and Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia und Byelorussia will take their rightful place as free, sovereign, independent nations amongst the countries of the world.

Captive Nations Week

On June 20, 1964, the Press Secretary of the White House gave notice in a special bulletin, that the President of the United States and Secretary of State Dean Rusk signed a proclamation to Captive Nations Week. The proclamation of the President of the United States declares:

Whereas the joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212) authorizes and requests the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation each year designating the third week in July as “Captive Nations Week” until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world; and

Whereas the cause of human rights and personal dignity remains a universal aspiration; and

Whereas this nation is firmly committed to the cause of freedom and justice everywhere; and

Whereas it is appropriate and proper to manifest to the people of the captive nations the support of the Government and the people of the United States of America for their just aspirations:

Now, Therefore, I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 12, 1964, as Captive Nations Week.

I invite the people of the United States of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this eighteenth day of June in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-eighth.

*Lyndon B. Johnson, President
Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.*

For Elimination Of All Remnants Of Imperialism

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

In the House of Representatives May 20, 1964, Mr. Del Clawson submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the Communist regime did not come to power in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Armenia, Albania, Cuba and others by legal or democratic processes; and

Whereas the Soviet Union took over the aforesaid countries by force of arms; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas there exists a strong and undivided world opinion to eliminate all remnants of imperialism and colonialism: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America request the President of the United States to bring up the liberation question of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Armenia, Albania, Cuba, and others before the United Nations and ask the United Nations to request the Soviets -

(1) to withdraw all Soviet troops, agents, colonists, and controls from the aforesaid countries;

(2) to return all exiles and prisoners from Siberia, prisons and slave-labor camps in the Soviet Union; and be it further

Resolved, That the United Nations conduct free elections in these countries under its supervision and punish all Soviet Communists who are guilty of crimes against these nations.

The Brave Always Win

The representatives of the subjugated peoples in the USA and those who had come from Europe for the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument organized various meetings during Captive Nations Week and took part as main speakers together with American friends. On July 12, the observance of Captive Nations Week in New York began with a solemn mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, held by Cardinal Spellman. National groups with their nation's colours took organized part. A short address was delivered by 2 members of the House of Representatives.

On July 14 a ceremony in the reception-room of the City Hall was held at which *Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York City*, issued a special proclamation.

Similar celebrations were also arranged in all other states and numerous government representatives, Mayors and their representatives declared their solidarity with the liberation fight of the East European peoples. In a proclamation, the *Mayor of Buffalo, Chester Kowal*, writes:

For the past 5 years, since signed into the law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Captive Nations Week known as PL 86-90 does exactly that. Americans again, dared to stand up and be counted for the tyrants to see, that we, as in the past, do not bow to despotism whether it is directed from St. James Court, Kremlin or Peiping. Moral courage has rewards that timidity can never achieve. The rewards of millions of grateful people behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains whose morale was boosted by this outstanding act, cannot be measured exactly. Only history will mark its value upon the spirit of human dignity, steadfastness and courage. The Red Russian and Chinese oppression of the peoples bears heavily upon the lives of the enslaved nations of Europe and Asia. The harsh realities of their everyday existence is beyond our understanding. Their struggle for sheer survival

is constant. The free world has a God-given obligation not to forsake these teeming millions of humanity to their fate. The subjugated peoples are in a lion's den but their spirits are soaring. The human soul cannot be chained permanently. Regardless of cruel measures tyrants like Khrushchov, Mao-Tse-tung or Tito may employ, the spirit will not be subdued. Examples of insurgence—East Berlin, Poznan, Budapest, UPA-Ukrainian Freedom Army, the Ukrainian prisoners' uprisings in Russian concentration camps in Karaganda, and innumerable others—attest to this eternal truth—that tyranny must fall as all evil must go, letting freedom triumph in the end.

I urge all citizens of good will to solemnly observe this week in order to render spiritual nourishment for those who need them so much—the enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia. May their prayers unite with ours that their deliverance be near. When that time comes, Buffalo will proudly proclaim that our people had the courage and wisdom to stand and be counted because the timid always lose and the brave always win . . .

Captive Nations Week in Buffalo was opened by Dr. Nestor Procyk, Chariman of the Citizen's Committee, with his welcoming address, which is printed on page 40.

Taras Shevchenko: Songs out of Darkness. Selected poems translated from the Ukrainian by Vera Rich with preface by Paul Selver, a critical essay by W. K. Matthews, introduction and notes by V. Svoboda. London, pp. XXXII plus 128.

Shevchenko Centenary Committee,
49, Linden Gardens
London W. 2, England.

Press Echo

Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations took part in the Captive Nations Week Celebrations in Buffalo. On Wednesday July 15, 1964 he delivered a speech "Co-existence or Liberation Policy?" at a Civic Luncheon sponsored by the Kiwanis Club of Buffalo. The Buffalo newspapers published very favourable reports from which we quote:

Buffalo Evening News, July 15, 1964, under the title: "West Urged to Exploit Weakness of Soviet Union", amongst others writes:

"The vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial empire lies in the national urge to freedom and independence of the captive peoples", Dr. Stetzko declared.

"To apply the lever here is to accelerate the destruction of this peoples' prison from within."

220 Million Subjugated

He declared that the 220 million subjugated persons behind the Iron Curtain form the "most uncompromising drive in the world—they occupy the key position in this struggle against Russia and communism.

"This increased activity behind the Iron Curtain, together with active support from the free world, would bring about the downfall of the despotic empire from within."

Amongst the steps the free world can take to help in the liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, Dr. Stetzko said, are:

Break off all relations with the Soviet Union and its satellite states; start an economic blockade; adopt an offensive political warfare; exclude all Communist member states from the U. N., and if that's impossible, establish an anti-Communist U. N.

Dr. Stetzko said that the free world must cease to fear Russia's military might, realize that subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional war-

fare, that this mode of warfare can be waged within the enemy's interior and to recognize once and for all that "Russia's interior is rotten to the core."

Mentions Assassination

Dr. Stetzko warned against trying to live peacefully with Soviet Russia.

He cited the number of assassinations in the current era of peaceful co-existence, including that of President Kennedy.

He charged that President Kennedy was slain by "an agent of Moscow, on order of Khrushchov's government..."

Dr. Stetzko received the annual Freedom Award of the Citizens Committee to Observe Captive Nations Week. He was introduced by Dr. Nestor Procyk, general chairman.

The Freedom Award was presented to Dr. Stetzko by Col. Almond E. Fisher, a Congressional Medal of Honor winner.

The invocation was by Maj. Burton F. Johnson, Corps commander, Western New York Division of the Salvation Army.

Fred R. Scharf, president of the Kiwanis Club, presided.

Buffalo Courier Express, July 16, 1964 under the title: "Ukrainian Calls on West To Back Red Captives."

"The so-called conventional, classical fighting forces of the Free World must be made at least proportionately equal to those of the Moscow bloc."

"The decisive factor lies in reducing the human potential of the armies at Moscow's disposal as far as possible", he continued, "and this is possible if the Free World adopts an entirely different method of political and psychological warfare..."

"Russia constantly utters the threat of a thermo-nuclear war, but it is terrified by national liberation revolutions", Dr. Stetzko said, "Moscow cannot drop any atomic bomb in the interior of the empire, for that way it would destroy its own occupation forces."

The Idea Whose Time Has Come

Welcoming Address by Nestor Procyk, M. D., Chairman of the Citizens Committee to Observe Captive Nations Week

Buffalo, Sunday, July 12, 1964

Very distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, our young friends – fellow citizens!

It is a distinct pleasure and great honor to extend to you a most heartfelt welcome to our official opening ceremony of Captive Nations Week in Buffalo – the City of Good Neighbors.

It was the explicit desire of the U. S. Congress, so well expressed in the resolution on Captive Nations Week, which became Public Law 86-90, that the citizens of this great country of ours take the opportunity during this week to ponder upon the fate of those hapless nations and people who – in this so-called civilized world of the 20th century – have to live in bondage and to suffer under an enforced imperialism and Communist system. In a recent statement, our President Lyndon B. Johnson reaffirmed the desire expressed in the resolution adopted by both Houses of Congress to observe the 3rd week of July as Captive Nations Week. It is also the distinct desire and urging of our Mayor, Chester Kowal, and our Common Council President, Chester C. Gorski, that we observe Captive Nations Week in a serious and reflective way.

I sincerely hope that as a result of this thoughtful pondering we will arrive at a still deeper and closer understanding of these nations' quest for freedom, and of our sacred duties to those who happen to be less fortunate through no fault of their own.

Our duty to ponder and to search for the most effective ways and means of helping these nations and people to sever their chains and to rise out of slavery is a serious one, not only because of the basic human principles and rights for which we stand, but also because of the undeniable fact, borne out by history,

that the fate of these nations has a direct bearing on the fate of America.

It is a historically proven fact that:

If it had not been for the constant and unanimous resistance of the *Ukrainian* people to the Russian-Communist enforced imperialistic rule: a resistance which was carried out by all humanly available means, including active military actions on the part of the heroic *Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)*; if it had not been for silent, sometimes outspoken, resistance and sabotaging on the part of other peoples enslaved within the so-called Soviet Union; if it had not been for the resistance and active struggle of the Baltic peoples, especially those of *Estonia* and *Lithuania*, and if it had not been for their victims in the course of enforced Russification; if it had not been for the resistance and struggle of the brave *Croatian* people against the rule of the Kremlin's dummy, Tito; if it had not been for the blood and sufferings of the *Hungarian* nation in the heroic Budapest uprising – our passivity to which often makes our face blush; if it had not been for the revolt of *Polish* patriots in Poznan and for the constant resistance of the Polish people in every walk of life, and the faithful role of the Polish Church in the first place; if it had not been for the continuous resistance and struggle of the small but gallant and steadfast *Albanian* nation; if it had not been for the nation-wide resistance and struggle against enforced Russification by the patriots of the great *Bulgarian* nation, whose roots can be traced back to ancient history; if it had not been for the constant and firm struggle, resistance, quest for freedom, and the chance to be masters of their own destiny, of these nations, whose kin and representatives are amongst us today; and if it had not been for the constant resistance, struggle and quest

for freedom of all other nations and people who are now languishing under Russian imperialistic Communism, Mao-Chinese Communism, Tito's Communism in Yugoslavia or under Castro's Communism in Cuba; if it had not been for all this – we may rest assured that our fate, the fate of America and the world today, would be similar to those who are in bondage.

For we have to be clear about one thing: we are free and safe in America today because these peoples were willing to sacrifice their lives – not only for themselves but for us.

Therefore, let us ponder deeply and

seriously upon these matters, not only during Captive Nations Week, but ever after, until the time when freedom and peace, assured by justice, will be the intrinsic right of every nation and every man in the world.

With the words of the great Victor Hugo, who said: "*Stronger than all the armies is an idea, whose time has come*", I would like to end my welcoming words to you. And the idea of Freedom to all nations and men is certainly now the one whose time has come and whose spirit is burning in high flames, to the consternation, fear and horror of all tyrants.

"From These Honored Dead We Take Increased Devotion..."

(From the address of Hon. Chester C. Gorski, President of the Council, Buffalo.)

"... We stand here today and say we are Americans, but within us are the memories of the dead who perished at the hands of Communist regimes and of those who suffer. Terror – is the order of the day in each captive nation.

A little of every race and every nation went into the melting-pot that made us – here in the United States. We are all races and all tongues, all colors and all creeds. Those in far away countries dream of democracy, we here – enjoy and share in every act of faith that made the dream of our founders, of a true democracy, come true. Our Forefathers in writing the statute for religious liberty, wanted us to have a chance to worship God – each his own way.

The pioneers of our country who climbed the hills and crossed the great valleys found a country broad enough for men of every race to live in self-respect and friendship with their neighbors. We are Americans because we have a decent regard for the rights of man and a healthy love of freedom. We pray that the day will come when those in the captive nations will enjoy the love of freedom – rather than the communism that professes, to be the savior of mankind. Communism, they say, is an alluring

paradise where injustice, misery and war will be abolished.

The years ahead for those entwined by the meshes of the Iron Curtain, without question, will be years of critical decision, deep strain and serious thought. Yes, we know at times the going will be rough, their destination dimly lighted, their motive-power weak. But to surrender, to compromise in the least iota with an alien philosophy, is to forfeit the past and to betray the future. We know they are fighting and have not given up hope – but how much can a human body and mind stand.

We dedicate this day to the millions of ill-fated human beings who died and the millions who still live depressed – but still courageous – in what we know as the captive nations.

In their minds and hearts, we pray, that somehow these words of Abraham Lincoln might be brought to them to buoy their hopes. "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us – that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave last full measure of devotion – that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain..."

Cuba - First Communist State In America

(Continuation)

Free association was forbidden to the people, and all political parties, with the exception of the Communist Party, were dissolved. This fact proves that Castro was a Communist initially and did not, as some people allege, turn to Russia only after the United States denied him economic support. This concept is both false and dangerous. From the very beginning Castro attacked the United States and anything or any person that represented American democracy. He alone was responsible for the ultimate break with the United States.

There were also drastic changes in the social and legal realms. Formerly, in Cuba, capital punishment was employed only in instances of treason and espionage in time of war. Under the Communist regime the death penalty is levied for many alleged crimes, some of which are minor in character. The penalty is given by a jury, without any guarantee of a fair trial. Frequently, execution takes place without any previous trial. More than 5,000 people have been executed in this manner.

The Communist regime systematically seizes all property. The Agrarian Reform, as has already been stated, was nothing other than the systematic confiscation of all farm land and the enslavement of the peasants. The Urban Reform also involved the seizure of property from its legitimate owners, so that the tenant pays rent directly to the state. If there is any delay in the payment of this rent, the necessary amount can be deducted from the tenant's wages, regardless of his place of employment.

Among the many rights and freedoms that have been lost by the Cuban people are the right to participate in free elections, the right to practice religion in its entirety, the right to choose the system

of education for their children, freedom of speech, freedom to move about freely within the country or to leave the confines of the country, the right to own property, the right to choose their professional careers, the right to fair trial and competent judges, the Habeas Corpus procedure, etc. .

Terrorist methods are used throughout the island. Without proof or reason any Communist or government sympathizer can cause the execution or imprisonment of any individual for 20 or 30 years. Frequently these accusations are false and the subsequent punishment unmerited by the alleged criminal. For the Cuban worker there is only hunger and misery. He is forced to join the militia on threat of losing his employment and ration card. Militia membership entails spying, gossip mongering, and engaging in military activities such as guard duty and maneuvers, in addition to regular daily employment. The workers are required to do twice as much work at a much smaller salary than they had earned previously. Most of the worker's rights have been suppressed under the Castro regime. Under the Labour Census Law a worker can be dismissed for failing to enrol in the labour census. Law 924 of 1961 permits the dismissal of a worker for counter-revolutionary activities. Law 696 of 1960 established an employment agency that can prohibit employment of individuals who have refused to become members of Communist organizations. The "voluntary work law" was established to oblige workers to work without payment. Several industries that are already under government control were authorized to pay salaries far below the previously established minimum wage. The committees of employers and employees established to regulate salaries were abolished, and the

power to regulate has been placed into the hands of the Ministry of Labour. The Ministry of Education appointed new rural teachers, paying them a salary which is 50% less than the previously employed teachers received. Workers are forced to perform "volunteer" labour on various government projects. Failure to cooperate in this regard is considered as counter-revolutionary action.

The Cuban constitution formerly prohibited the payment of a salary in tickets or coupons. The cooperatives or communes of the Agrarian Reform pay the workers in such coupons, which are of value only in buying supplies in government operated stores. The maximum 48 hour work-week disappeared. Now the workers have to work an unlimited amount of time without extra pay. Often they are called upon to assist in the prevention of the sabotaging of commercial or industrial concerns. The free labour syndicates of Cuba have been replaced by official labour syndicates, instruments of the Ministry of Labour, which settle labour problems by means of terrorism. The workers are forced to accept the working conditions and the salary allotted by the government. The right to strike no longer exists. Striking is considered a counter-revolutionary act and is paid for with one's life before a firing squad.

Anyone refusing to accept Communist policies and tactics is unable to find employment and runs the risk of imprisonment. The right of the Cuban worker that prevented his losing his job without previous warning and discussion was abolished. Now the worker can be fired without a given reason, and he dare not question the action. The social insurance that existed in accordance with the Constitution was eliminated. The control of insurance passed from the hands of the employers and employees into the hands of the Ministry of Labour. All insurances were united into one fund, and the contributions of the worker to this fund doubled.

In Cuba at the present time, there are approximately 100,000 political prisoners who manage to exist despite miserable living conditions. Many of them have been imprisoned without the benefit of any trial, just as many of those executed by firing squads failed to receive a fair trial. The prisoners are tortured, both mentally and physically, as is the general rule in Communist prisons. Many die without any medical attention. All this can happen, and is happening now in the 20th century.

The Communist regime brought about the emigration of large numbers of Cubans, all anxious to leave the country. This exodus began in 1959 and gained momentum through 1960, 1961 and 1962. Initially, Cuban citizens could leave the country by means of the usual modes of transportation; however, as the number of emigrants grew larger, the government placed ever more numerous obstacles in their paths. In the final months of relatively free egress, those wishing to leave the country had to abandon all their possessions to the Communist authorities before they were permitted to leave.

When the Communists suspended all emigration from Cuba, the Cuban people began to leave the country by any surreptitious means available in an attempt to reach the United States. Entire families often left Cuba in small boats, despite the danger of high seas and Russian patrol boats which sank all such crafts leaving Cuba and killed their passengers when they intercepted them.

More than 300,000 people have fled the country since Castro came to power. In view of all the foregoing facts, the true situation of the Cuban people under Communist rule can be easily realized. And yet all this has occurred, despite the inter-American agreement that the establishment of a Communist government in this continent could not be tolerated. The very existence of the Communist regime in the Americas is contrary to the principles and spirit of the Organization of American States.

Cuba, in seeking only a release from a dictatorial government and an honest administration of public funds, found instead, a social and economic upheaval, which reduced the country to destitution, destroyed it as a democratic institution and caused its foremost citizens to be imprisoned, executed or exiled. All this occurred primarily due to the treachery of one man, the support of a non-continental power, the indifference as well as weak and hesitant foreign policy of the United States and several Latin-American countries.

The nations of the so-called "free world" can no longer afford to be blind and deaf to the Cuban tragedy, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also to insure their own security, which is threatened by the spread of Communism. The conquests of Communism are not isolated incidents, but steps of a huge master plan for world domination. The Communist ideology cannot exist in a static condition. It must be constantly on the march, conquering new territories and agitating the democratic nations of the world.

There are those who feel that Communism can be isolated in Cuba. Those who make statements to this effect are either Communist agents or individuals with no knowledge of Communist tactics. In actuality, Russia is using Cuba as a beach head in the master plan for infiltration and subversion on the American continent. This subversion plan is both psychologically oriented and realistically practical. In the past it was unimaginable that a Communist state could be established in this hemisphere and be supported and financed openly by Russia. A few years ago, this situation was considered impossible. This happened in America, where the strongest country of the world exists - a country that is the champion of democracy and the natural enemy of the Communist ideology in principle and in system. But do not forget that Russian leaders have proclaimed: "We will bury the democracies of the world."

Psychologically, the existence of a Communist system in Cuba is an invitation to subversion by the small groups of Communists in all Latin-American countries. To the democratic leaders of these countries this is a source of frustration and disappointment. They honestly believed in the principles of democracy and freedom and trusted in the power and support of the United States as the leading country of the free world. With pride and confidence, however, the Communists see that Russia can support a Communist state thousands of miles from her shores. With sorrow and regret, democratic men of the American continent look upon the existence of a government supported by the Russians and forced upon the people, only 90 miles off the coast of the United States.

While Russia attacks and invades and maintains her conquests by means of a threat of world destruction, the democratic nations fear to give assistance to the Cuban patriots who are attempting to return to liberate their native country. The policy of fear, doubt, hesitation and weakness is a dangerous one to follow when dealing with the Communist system. Coexistence with this type of system is an impossibility. It seeks world domination only. International facts and statistics prove this. Those who practiced leniency and tolerance toward Castro, what have they accomplished?

With the exception of Spain in the 30's, no country that has fallen under Communist control can escape it without outside help or assistance. Spain's escape was made possible primarily because of the rapid military action that she initiated. Here in the Americas the United States had an equally good example of the proper procedure to follow in controlling Communist aggression. When Arbenz's Guatemalan Government demonstrated the first symptoms of Communist domination, the United States prepared and openly supported an invasion of Guatemala, and the danger was eradicated. The results at that time were definitely positive in nature.

To the democratic nations of America the reality of the threat of a Communist controlled Cuba is an evident fact which can be read daily in the newspapers. Latin American Communist agents arrive in Cuba by the dozens to receive training in guerrilla warfare and sabotage. That Castro can instruct these agents indicates that he has a sufficient number of experts in these fields and Spanish Communists and Russian "technicians" to carry out these training programs. Having completed their training these men return to their own countries, usually via Mexico, to await the opportunity or command to put their knowledge into practice. Weapons are forwarded to these various countries from Cuba by means of illegal flights or Russian submarines. At one time or another all these facts have appeared in the American press.

The tragic occurrences that are taking place at the present moment in a number of Central and South American countries due to sabotage and Communist infiltration from Cuba are common knowledge: Rioting in the streets, bombings, assaults with intent to kill, etc. . Venezuela, for example, has been a favourite target of Castro's Communistic subversion. Casualties there have mounted into the hundreds during the past few months. President Betancourt's hold of the presidency has been maintained only with difficulty and struggle. During the elections held in Venezuela threats of violence and murder were rampant. The Venezuelan Government preferred formal charges against Castro in which conclusive evidence established his role as instigator of this dissension.

In view of the existence of Communism in Cuba and the tactics it has used, declarations and agreements of various statesmen regarding O.A.S. punishment in the event of Castro's intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, or in the event of any invasion issuing from Cuba, all appear hollow and insincere. The same individuals who made these statements must be aware of the fact that they are not speaking the truth.

There is daily evidence of Castro's intervention in the affairs of other nations, like illegal landing of weapons, infiltration and espionage initiated in Cuba and directed from within the embassies and legations of Cuba. Furthermore, invasion by means of planes, war ships and uniformed men, never will exist. Castro has no need for these. Invasion is carried out daily by small groups of Latin American Communists, who, after having received training in Cuba, return to their native countries by the usual means of transportation. All this appears very legal and innocuous. This is the army that Castro and Khrushchov have already established in all Latin American countries, an army that grows larger by the day. In the moment most convenient for Russia, regardless of any agreement they have signed with the Occidental countries, this army will initiate a gigantic guerilla war in all the Latin American countries. At that moment it will be too late for the democracies of the world to stop the vast Communistic conflagration on this continent.

While there is still time, therefore, the first step that should be taken is to overthrow Castro and his Communist regime in Cuba. Castro is but a pawn in the hands of Russian imperialism. It would be a very serious mistake for the democracies to enter into one of the strange agreements they sometimes formulate, and to expect the internal overthrow of Castro by his Communist colleagues. This possibility has been denounced by many Cuban exiles of political and journalistic prestige.

The democracies must exercise extreme caution in dealing with the Cuban problem. If all the horrors and bloodshed experienced by the Cuban people are not sufficient incentive to cause these democracies to take action against the Cuban Communist regime, which exists despite all the inter-American agreements to the contrary, then, perhaps, concern for their own security will cause them to act. But action cannot be delayed. Soon it will be too late for everyone.

Baltic Conference

On the eve of the 17th of June – “Day of German Unity” – Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and German representatives held a working conference of the Baltic Society, in Koenigstein/Taunus. The basic theme of this conference was: “25 years since the penetration of Soviet imperialism into Europe.” The following resolution was adopted:

“In 1944 the advance of the Soviet Union into Western Europe began. The Baltic peoples were the first victims of this advance, which could be brought to a halt only with the decisive counteraction of the Berlin Blockade. Simultaneously, this Blockade set up the common defensive position of the Western countries.

“The fate of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain living under Communist rule must not be forgotten at the detente talks. In spite of the fact that these peoples have already been subjected to coercive measures for 20 years, their love for freedom has not been broken, and they live in the hope that some day also their right for self-determination will be recognized.

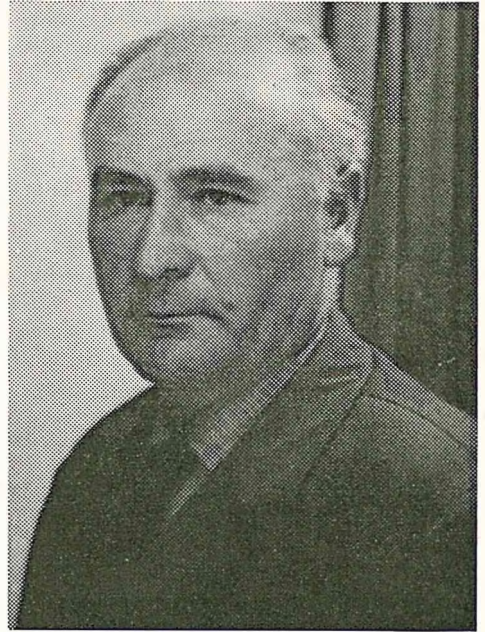
“The Baltic peoples will continue to resist foreign rule, Sovietization, economic exploitation, the Russification of their countries, as well as the persecution of the Church by militant atheism.”

About the Author:

Orlando A. Arana, M.D., graduated from the School of Medicine of Havana University in 1951.

At the time Fidel Castro initiated his guerrilla war in the hills of Sierra Maestra, he was a surgeon in the Cuban army, and in that capacity he was in the combat lines during several months of the campaign. When Fidel seized power, Dr. Arana joined the anti-Castro underground movement. He was later arrested for his activities in this movement.

In the United States he was a member of the Military Section of the Cuban Revolutionary Council from 1962 to 1963.



Death Of A Great Ukrainian Patriot

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations regrets to announce the sudden death of Jaroslav Bencal, who died of a heart attack on July 21, 1964.

He was born on February 26, 1916, in Tarnopol, West Ukraine, and he graduated from the theological faculty in Stanislav. Jaroslav Bencal was a leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). For many years the deceased was a member of the Presidium of the OUN's Units Abroad, very active in social and cultural fields, chairman of the Central Representation of the Ukrainians in Germany (CPUN), and a leading member of numerous other organizations and groups.

His main energy was devoted to the fight for freedom of his fellow-countrymen. In exile he played a very active part in this field.

With his death we have lost an ardent Ukrainian patriot and a courageous champion of the rights and independence of Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples.

INFORM Conference In Lund, Sweden

The conference in Lund was organized by a Swedish student organization that calls itself Inform. The conference lasted one whole week, from May 4th to May 10th. The first part of the conference consisted of lectures, to which the Swedish public was also invited; the second part consisted of internal discussions among the delegates.

The delegates were young people from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Germany – there were also delegates from among the Baltic young peoples who are now living in Sweden. A large number of Baltic emigrants, especially Estonians, are living in Sweden. Approximately 25,000 Estonians are living there and they are very well organized. The German group was the largest and consisted of ca. 15 participants; they also contributed most of the speakers. In the discussion part of the conference, however, the Swedish and Estonian were the best politically trained groups.

Representatives from CIAS held speeches: Mr. Gielen (Bonn) spoke about "Some Ideological Questions"; the representative of the Organization of the Victims of Stalinism, Dr. Fritz Schuricht (Bonn) chose as his topic, "The Situation of the Political Prisoners in the Soviet Occupied Zone"; Mr. Ernst Johansson, a representative from the University of Kiel, reported on the situation in Germany and the Berlin problem; and Mr. Salter of Berlin discussed the Berlin problem.

Unfortunately, I did not hear the German speakers because I arrived a day later. I heard all the others, however. Two Estonian representatives held speeches: Dr. Taska on "The Baltic Sea – Sea of Peace?" and Dr. Horm from the Baltic Committee in Stockholm spoke about "The Soviet Occupied Baltic States". Both speeches were on a high level. After these two gentlemen, I spoke about the problems of nationalities in the USSR.

Actually, it was not until after my speech that a lively discussion ensued, which, because it continued into the night, had to be interrupted. Before I go any further, I would like to note here that I was rather disappointed that it was precisely on the German side that a student posed his questions in such a way so that they clearly expressed his negative attitude to our problems. This young man was obviously interested in politics – and later he took a very active part in the discussion. The following is an example of his arguments: "Why should the peoples in the Soviet Russian colonial empire obtain their freedom, their free states, when the West tends toward a federation. Just as Central and Western Europe want to form a federation, the peoples of the USSR should unite and should turn against the Communist regime only. The peoples should not demand their national freedom; they should remain within their present framework, i. e., within the framework of the present day Russian imperium. For all of them have already learned the Russian language; they have come to terms with the Russians; they have a homogeneous culture – therefore it would be the best thing if they remained together."

Following this statement a discussion ensued, in which I, as a speaker, a Hungarian freedom fighter from Berlin and the Estonian representative took part. We explained that the peoples of the USSR had already had bad experiences with the Russians and that there was a "slight" difference between unification trends in the West and federation in the East. The foreign Russian Army controls the East and the continuous fight of the peoples of the East has always been to liberate themselves from their oppressor. Moreover, the Balts, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, etc., have always wanted to align themselves to Europe and not to Russia.

It was very gratifying to hear Mr. Gielen (CIAS) join in the discussion and to speak out very emphatically for the rights of all subjugated peoples. He declared that they must have the same rights as the peoples of the free world.

Two additional speeches were: 1) Concerning Russian anti-Communism. The speaker was a representative of the Russian Organization – he was a Latvian, however. This is a tactic usually practiced by the Russians: they choose a speaker from one of the non-Russian peoples (and such people are always to be found) to defend Russia and the Russians in their speeches. Although the subject of his speech was supposed to be *Russian* anti-Communism, he spoke only about Russian emigrant groups. He did not give any examples of Russian anti-Communist activities behind the Iron Curtain. Instead he mentioned the fight of the *Ukrainian* peasantry in the years 1932–33, when, as a result of a forced collectivization, 5 million peasants perished; the Baltic anti-Communist position; the strikes of the Ukrainian and other non-Russian prisoners in the concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan.

In the discussion the participants pointed out to him that actually he was supposed to speak about the Russian resistance and not of the resistance by the non-Russian peoples. From a psychological point of view. Dr. Horm sought to analyse why a people like the Russians were and are not capable of demonstrating an active and strong resistance against Communism, as the non-Russian peoples do.

2) Mr. Borin, a Czech who lived in Australia for several years and who is now living in London, spoke about Communism in Asia, which he observed from Australia.

It is very interesting that the attitude of the Swedes toward us, the representatives of the subjugated peoples, is a very positive one. The organizers of the conference, for example, were well acquainted with the history of our countries.

We were able to speak to them with complete freedom on this subject. There were many students in Sweden, for instance, who wrote their Doctor's thesis on subjects such as Sweden-Ukraine, Charles XII and Hetman Mazeppa. The memory of Swedish-Ukrainian relations is still very much alive. In my interviews with the press, I jokingly mentioned that the Ukrainians could never forgive the Swedes for losing the Poltava Battle against the Russians in 1709. In their report the press gave particular stress to this point.

Basically the Swedes hate Communism and the Russians, but they are afraid and therefore seek to get along with their monstrous neighbour on a peaceful basis.

It is gratifying that an idealistic group was to be found among the students to prepare this conference. We were witnesses to the fact that they worked day and night. This youth group will continue its work. They want to establish contact with the youth of the free countries and in emigration.

As a token of their inner relatedness to Ukraine, INFORM sent a beautiful wreath specifically for Stefan Bandera's grave on Whitsuntide. This gesture deeply touched the Ukrainians and awoke in them a feeling of gratitude for the splendid young people in Sweden.

Slawa Stetzko

Peking Smuggling Anti-Russian Books Into The USSR

As we recently learnt, the Chinese Communists, in their fight against Moscow, have lately turned to the smuggling of anti-Russian documentary works, published by the foreign branches of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), into the USSR.

As we know, there are millions of Ukrainians, banished by tsarist and Communist Russia, living in the Asiatic part of the USSR.

We Recall . . .

We would like to recall the following facts of the recent history of the Baltic States on the occasion of the malicious visit of the leader of the Soviet Government and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchov, to Scandinavia, where refugees from totalitarianism – past and present – have always found an understanding and political asylum.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Treaty, dated Aug. 23rd, 1939, had a secret supplementary protocol bearing the same date. Item 1 of this Secret Supplementary protocol, published after the end of the war when Hitler's secret archives were made available, reads as follows:

"(1) In the event of territorial and political rearrangement of the areas belonging to the Baltic States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and the USSR."¹

A telegram from the German Ambassador in Moscow, Count Schulenburg, dated Sept. 25th, 1939, marked "Very Urgent" and "Strictly Secret", stated:

"Stalin and Molotov asked me to come to the Kremlin at 8 p. m. today. Stalin stated the following: In the final settlement of the Polish question anything that in the future might create friction between Germany and the Soviet Union must be avoided. From this point of view, he considered it wrong to leave an independent Polish rump State. He proposed the following: From the territory to the east of the demarcation line, all the Province of Lublin and that portion of the Province of Warsaw which extends to the Bug should be added to our share. In return we should waive our claim to Lithuania.

"Stalin designated this suggestion as a subject for the forthcoming negotiations with the Reich Foreign Minister and added that, if we consented, the Soviet Union would immediately take up the solution of the problem of the Baltic countries in accordance with the Protocol of August 23rd . . ."²

An additional Secret Supplementary Protocol, dated Sept. 28th, 1939, and signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop, states:

"The Secret Supplementary Protocol signed on August 23rd, 1939, shall be amended in item 1 to the effect that the territory of the Lithuanian State falls to the sphere of influence of the U.S.S.R. . . ."³

The "solution of the problem of the Baltic countries" had in fact begun the day before, with ultimative Soviet demands for bases on the territories of the Baltic States.

*

In an article describing his personal memories of these days, the Estonian Minister in Moscow, Mr. August Rei (died in Stockholm in 1963), writes:

"On June 16, 1940, the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, V. Molotov, delivered to me, in my capacity as Estonian Minister, an ultimatum to the Estonian Government, demanding: (1) the appointment of a new Cabinet capable and willing to observe honestly the Soviet-Estonian Pact of Mutual Assistance, and (2) free entry to the Soviet authorities to occupy Estonian territory. V. Molotov stated at the same time that if the ultimatum was not accepted by 23 o'clock, the Red Army units massed on Estonia's frontiers would be ordered

¹ Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-41. Department of State Publications, Washington 1948, p. 78.

² op. cit., pp. 102-103.

³ op. cit., p. 107.

to march into Estonia and to break all resistance by force of arms . . .”⁴

New Cabinets were formed in all three Baltic republics. Units of the Red Army occupied their territories. The legal Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had been overthrown, notwithstanding Molotov’s solemn pledges that the Soviet Union would not interfere with the domestic matters of the three Republics.

The Foreign Minister of the new Lithuanian Cabinet, Mr. Krive-Mickevicius, was received in audience by Molotov in Moscow on June 30th, 1940. He complained that the functionaries dispatched to Lithuania from Moscow, did not honour Molotov’s pledge not to interfere with the domestic matters of the Baltic Republics. Mr. Krive-Mickevicius (died in the USA in 1954) reported in his memoirs headlined, “Five Hours with Molotov”, that Molotov had replied to him as follows:

“Ever since Ivan the Terrible, the Russian Tsars had been trying to reach the shores of the Baltic. This was not for their personal pleasure but because this was demanded by the interests of the Russian State and nation . . . The small States will lose in any case, therefore the Baltic States should join the Soviet Union . . .”

When Mr. Krive-Mickevicius told Molotov that the Lithuanians had always loved freedom, even in the darkest periods of their history, Molotov replied:

“We shall ask the people whether they want to join the Soviet Union or not. We shall ask them in the same way as is customary in our Soviet constituent republics. We shall be able to persuade the Lithuanian nation. You will see, before four months have gone, Lithuania will have asked to join the Soviet Union.”

Accordingly, one-party elections in the

Baltic countries were carried out as was “customary in the Soviet Union”, and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania expressed the wish to join the Soviet Union. Their applications were granted on Aug. 6th, 1940. On this occasion, Molotov said at the Supreme Soviet:

“The admission of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic into the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics increased the Soviet population by almost six million. The admission of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet frontiers have now been extended to the shores of the Baltic, is of the greatest importance. Thereby our country obtains ice-free ports of her own on the Baltic, which were urgently needed by us.”

It might be added that the Swiss newspaper *Basler Nachrichten* of Feb. 1st/2nd, 1964, published an article by the former Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Stasys Lozoraitis, in which he maintains that the conquest of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union was not due to the world political situation of 1940 but that it had been prepared much earlier, in peace time. He quoted as a proof the fact that during an insurrection in Lithuania in 1941 the insurgents had captured Soviet military maps printed in Moscow already in 1936 and showing Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as constituent republics of the USSR.

Japanese Periodical Supports The Cause Of ABN

Thanks to Professor J. Kitaoka’s friendly efforts, the following articles were published in the monthly, *Free World*, an organ of the Free Asia Association appearing in Tokyo: “Soviet Russian policy against different nationalities”; “Russian policy against Ukraine”; “Russian Oppression and massacre in North Caucasus”; “Soviet Russian policy against the three Baltic Nations”; in the July issue an article about the 150th anniversary of Shevchenko appeared. All of these articles were written by Dr. Kitaoka himself.

⁴ A. Rei, Witness of Tragic Events, In: *Eesti riik ja rahvas II Maailmasojas*, Vol. III, Stockholm 1956 p. 17.

Soviet Attack On Judaism

The New York Times, Monday, April
13th, 1964

Use of Tract to Imply Ukrainian Anti-Semitism Denounced.

To the Editor:

Your March 30 editorial "Anti-Semitism in the USSR" rightly rejects an ugly book, "Judaism Without Embellishment", by Trofim K. Kichko, published last October in Kiev by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. It appropriately scores recurring Soviet attacks on religion generally. I, too, regret these evidences of irreligion and anti-Semitism twenty years after Hitler's tragic program of persecution and extermination.

One passage in your editorial calls for comment. You write, "The partial recantation of the Ukrainian tract suggests that not everyone in authority in the USSR, feels the same way. For some this may imply that Soviet authority in Moscow is beneficent and humane, whereas that in Kiev is savage and anti-Semitic. Such inference neglects important facts.

Placing Responsibility

The Ukrainian people as such are not, and were not historically, initiators of anti-Semitism. Like you, they do not wish to see responsibility parcelled out indiscriminately, but placed where it belongs.

The Kremlin wished the book to appear in the Ukrainian language rather than in Russian. Hence, a "Ukrainian" author, Kichko, was drafted, and an allegedly Ukrainian institution of higher learning gave its blessing.

Nevertheless, over 90 per cent of footnotes in the book are from Russian authors and Russian-language sources. Of the two authors, signing the preface, one, Andrey Vvedensky, was born in Perma, Russia, and is a Russian historian. The other signer, Grigori Plotkin, is an Ukrainian Jew, born in Odessa. He wrote "A Trip to Israel" (1958), a distorted anti-Semitic work.

Forthright condemnation by the Kremlin of such virulent anti-Semitism

was in order. Only on April 3 did Pravda and Izvestia denounce Kichko's book, primarily for "historical and factual mistakes".

Communist puppets in Kiev have published attacks on Ukrainians generally. For instance, Luka Kizya, permanent delegate of the Ukrainian SSR to the UN, in 1959 wrote a vitriolic book, "A Century-Long Struggle of the Ukrainian People Against the Vatican", deriding traditional Ukrainian religious customs and faith.

Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky was portrayed in a film made in Kiev as a traitor, and his church a network of "Vatican spies". Yet Sheptytsky sheltered hundreds of Jews from Nazi police at risk to himself and his church. Dead since 1944, his cause is being processed in Rome for beatification.

Future Bonds

Within recent years contacts between Jews and Ukrainians have multiplied. At joint conferences Jewish-Ukrainian relations and interests were assessed. Approximately one million Jews reside within the Ukraine. Their future is bound with that of 42 million Ukrainians who also suffer a Communist tyranny supervised from Moscow.

The Kremlin, harassed by rumblings from Asia, is perturbed by harmonious relations between Jews and Ukrainians. Hence the book of Kichko, as well as other manifestations, including denial of matzohs, ridicule of circumcision and rabbis, frequent indictments of Jews for economic offenses and incessant clamor against "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" and Zionism.

Anti-Semitism remains a weapon which Moscow manipulates dexterously, as in the day of czarism. In the present case the weapon is turned not only against Jews, but against Ukrainians as well.

Walter Dushnyck,
Editor, The Ukrainian Quarterly,
New York, April 9, 1964.

World Wide Echo

To The Anti-Khrushchov Campaign In Scandinavia

An article entitled "Emigrants' leader holds press conference in Copenhagen and intends to follow Khrushchov through Scandinavia", appeared in *Politiken* of June 19, 1964, in Copenhagen.

The following is a brief summary of the points which were made in this article: A press conference was held in Copenhagen, at which a protest was made against Khrushchov's subjugation of numerous countries.

The speakers were the delegates of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN): President Jaroslav Stetzko, his wife Slawa Stetzko and Prince Nakashidze, who represented the Georgian emigrants. All three came from Munich and intend to follow Khrushchov during his Scandinavian trip. Representatives of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Committees in Denmark participated in the press conference also. The first Vice President of parliament, Kraft, and many foreign correspondents attended. The West German radio and television was likewise represented at the conference. Prince Nakashidze called to mind that it must by no means be forgotten that not only Russians make up the Soviet empire, but that numerous peoples are brutally subjugated in it. Among others, he cited Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as the so-called satellite states such as Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Thousand upon thousand of these countries' inhabitants who wanted to live in freedom and under democratic conditions were deported to Siberia and Central Asia.

Prince Nakashidze stressed that his organization (ABN) fights for freedom and the right of self-determination.

Jaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, stated that Ukraine had to fight two enemies simultaneously: Nazi Germany and the Soviet Russians. Stetzko and many others were interned in Nazi concentration camps. In this way he survived World War II.

Stetzko accused Khrushchov of mass-murders in Ukraine. His crimes should be carefully examined and recorded. Perhaps a day will also come when Khrushchov (and not only Stalin by Khrushchov) will be judged. Stetzko demanded the right of self-determination for the peoples subjugated by Khrushchov. Just like other empires the Soviet Russian empire will one day fall.

*

Berlingske Tidende of June 26, 1964, printed an article entitled: *Ukrainian smiles over Khrushchov's long and irritated speech.*

Jaroslav Stetzko, who placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII, in Copenhagen yesterday en route to the USA.

The Ukrainian, Jaroslav Stetzko, who placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII during Khrushchov's visit in Sweden, passed Copenhagen air terminal en route to Washington yesterday. He had to smile at the thought of the many words that K. vented on him in his speech in the Goeteborg stock exchange on Wednesday. "But I am not surprised that my action inspired three fourths of Khrushchov's speech", declared Mr. Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). "The question of national self-determination for the many nations that are kept in subjugation by Russia's military power is the question that most troubles Khrushchov. He knows very well that there is an extensive underground movement in the Soviet Union, and he is

also afraid of it." (Here the newspaper quotes the speech which Mr. Stetzko delivered while placing the wreath.)

Jaroslav Stetzko is active in Munich for the national independence, not only of Ukraine, but also for the many other nations now dominated by Russia. He knows that his activities may seem rather hopeless to outsiders, but he also knows just how many people are working together with him and just how strongly they want national independence for their native countries. Neither in Ukraine, nor in any of the other nations, he said, is Soviet domination considered to be the final status of these countries. For all these nations the matter is quite simple: they regard themselves as being occupied by the Russians.

Khrushchov is a Russian

For centuries, the Russians have attempted to conquer the lands surrounding them. Many people think that Khrushchov is a Ukrainian. This is not so. He is a Russian, and he has said so himself: "I am a Russian and I am proud of it", he declared in Leipzig in 1959. (Here the newspaper gives biographical material about Mr. Stetzko.)

Yesterday, Mr. Stetzko flew to Washington, where tomorrow a monument will be unveiled in honour of the Ukrainian Freedom Poet, Taras Shevchenko, who died in a Russian prison in 1864.

*

The June 24, 1964 issue of the Stockholm newspaper, *Expressen*, attacks Khrushchov for his hypocritical speech about the "happy" Baltic countries under Soviet Russian occupation. The newspaper also attacks subjugation as such. The episode of the pigs which had been painted red is also mentioned.

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The June 24, 1964 issue of the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, the liberal newspaper with the largest circulation in Sweden, printed pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Stetzko as they placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII, an

all of Hetman Mazeppa, during his military campaign against Russia in 1709.

*

The Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter* of June 23, 1964, published a short notice entitled: "A wreath placed on the tomb of Charles XII — an act of protest by the Ukrainians."

The newspaper reports about the placement of a flower wreath on the tomb of Charles XII by the last Prime Minister of Ukraine and his wife, Slawa Stetzko. "This was done on the occasion of Khrushchov's visit to Sweden. At a press conference the Communist regime in Ukraine under Khrushchov was accused of mass-murders in Ukraine.

Both Mr. Stetzko and his wife play a leading role in the Ukrainian refugees' movement in West Europe.

The motive behind the placement of the wreath was to emphasize the fact that it was no other than Charles XII who held very close relations with the Ukrainians. And this is true. Poltava is in Ukraine, and Charles XII and the Cossack Hetman Mazeppa, from Ukraine were allies."

The newspaper also published pictures showing the demolition of flagstaves, upon which Red banners in honour of Khrushchov were to wave.

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The Copenhagen newspaper *Aktuelt* of June 25, 1964 printed a report about Khrushchov's burst of anger at the Goeteborg Stock Exchange. "During breakfast Khrushchov spoke about the defeat of Charles XII, of Napoleon and of Hitler in their campaigns against Russia. He demanded of the Swedish Prime Minister, Erlander: 'Do you want to wage war on the Soviet Union?' After a pause, Erlander replied that he had no intention.

"With a smile Khrushchov added: 'If you side with Stetzko (the Ukrainian emigrants' leader), I cannot take a summer vacation.'

Fearing an attempt on Khrushchov's life, he was driven back from Goeteborg



to Stockholm under the greatest security measures.”

Sydsveska Dagbladet Snällposten of June 25, 1964, appearing in Lund, tells about Khrushchov's short fit of anger when mentioning the defeat of Sweden's King, Charles XII, and of his ally, the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Khrushchov stated that all of this belonged to the past.

But there is another matter that interests Khrushchov now. 'The Swedish press reports that a scoundrel by the name of Stetzko has turned up and placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII. What is the meaning of this?'

This matter so strongly occupied Khrushchov's attention that he disregarded his manuscript and said: 'It seems to me that I have fallen into a trap. Perhaps the Ukrainians want to take me prisoner so that Sweden can initiate a military campaign against Ukraine. We know, however, what the result of such an

attempt was for Charles XII, Hitler and Napoleon.'

'Therefore I ask you: Do you, Mr. Erlander, want to wage war on the Soviet Union or not?'

When Erlander protested against this imputation, Khrushchov asked: 'Then how else can the presence of these Ukrainians be explained? I had planned to take a vacation upon my return home, but I don't know whether I can do so now.'

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The Stockholm *Svenska Dagbladet* of June 25, 1964 reported that Khrushchov stressed the fact that the Russians had no grounds for quarrelling with the Swedes: Khrushchov, therefore, must have been greatly surprised about one incident which he mentions as follows:

'Was Charles XII a Swedish King or not? But when he had a desire to eat Ukrainian national dishes, he made Mazepa his ally in his war against Russia. The result of this alliance we know quite well: It was unfortunate for both parties - for us and the Swedes.'

'Charles XII fled and Mazepa went to Turkey. But this is long passed and not worth mentioning.'

'Instead I should like to point out something else with respect to the present government. I often come together with Ambassador Rolf Sohlman in Moscow. At these meetings I ask him whether he would't like to visit Poltava, but he always refuses to accept this suggestion.'

'Now that I am finally here in Sweden, it almost appears as if I had made a mistake. The Swedish press has reported about a scoundrel by the name of Stetzko who has showed up here and placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII. What am I to make of this?'

'Perhaps I have been lured into a trap. Perhaps the Ukrainians want to take me prisoner so that the Swedes can initiate a military campaign against Ukraine? Do you, Mr. Erlander, want to wage war on the Soviet or not?'

Under the title: "Strong indignation in Sweden about Khrushchov's behaviour", the Copenhagen newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* of June 25, 1964, reports on the concern of the Swedes about Khrushchov's security, because in one of his speeches the Chief of the Kremlin indicated that "a Ukrainian scoundrel by the name of Stetzko has turned up in Stockholm and placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII."

What is this supposed to mean. One cannot but assume that one has been lured into a trap. Perhaps the Ukrainians want to take Khrushchov prisoner so that the Swedes can initiate a military campaign against Ukraine. 'We know, however,' Khrushchov continued, 'what happened to Charles XII (at Poltava 1709) and also what happened to Napoleon and Hitler.' Therefore he, Khrushchov, would like to pose a serious question: 'Do you, Mr. Erlander, want to wage war on the Soviet or not?'

Without giving Erlander a real chance to answer, Khrushchov continued as follows: 'For how can the presence of these Ukrainians be explained?' ... Evidently Khrushchov was dissatisfied with the Swedish press for the obvious reason that it made a big fuss about the placement of the wreath. During World War II Stetzko was Prime Minister of Ukraine.

This newspaper further stated that the Swedes were irritated with the fairy tales about the great prosperity of the Baltic countries under Soviet Russian occupation.

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The Copenhagen newspaper *Information* of June 25, 1964 printed an article entitled: "The Swedish political prisoner also has a touch of humour." Khrushchov attacks the Ukrainian emigrants' leader Jaroslav Stetzko because he placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII. What is this supposed to mean? Does one want to lure Khrushchov into a trap? Why? So that Sweden can start a war against the Soviets. But the fate of Charles XII, Napoleon and Hitler should deter anyone

from such an undertaking. 'Do you, Mr. Erlander, want to wage war on the Soviets?' Erlander: 'No, we don't want that, I ...'

Khrushchov curtly interrupts the Swedish Prime Minister and asks: 'But how is the presence of the Ukrainians to be explained? I had planned to take a vacation upon my return, but now I am not sure whether I can. What is the meaning of this wreath? How am I to explain it when I return to Moscow?'

The hosts were not at all pleased that Khrushchov ignored the police cordon in Goeteborg to speak with the Russian dock workers.

In an improvised speech Khrushchov also attacked Swedish art which was also not very pleasing to the Swedes.

One almost failed to note Khrushchov's final statement: for 'bandits', there is still lots of room in the cemetery - for us, life and prosperity.

Neue Züricher Zeitung, Sunday, June 28, 1964

And finally, Khrushchov's words are "peace" and "good neighbourliness". What is meant is peace based on the premise of the *status quo* in Central Europe, which he further consolidated in Germany and Berlin before his departure by a treaty with Ulbricht. The Soviet imperium, so it is stated, must be accepted just as it is: in its inner structure and with its external boundaries. To the spoken and unspoken reservations which he encountered in public opinion here, Khrushchov responded with irritable sensitivity. Especially those reservations concerned with the fate of the Baltic countries and their subjugated peoples, and with the modest demonstration of the Ukrainian nationalist, Stetzko, who placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII, were a thorn in his side which aggravated him again and again.

The following are excerpts from articles dealing with Khrushchov's visit in Scandinavia which appeared in the German press:

Die Welt, Friday, June 26, 1964

In his first humorous off-the-cuff speech on Swedish soil in the Goeteborg Stock Exchange on Monday afternoon, Khrushchov surprisingly went into great detail about the harassing actions by the so-called "June Committee", in which Ukrainian emigrants played a leading role.

The former Prime Minister of the Free Republic of Ukraine Jaroslav Stetzko, placed a wreath on the tomb of King Charles XII, who had tried to conquer Ukraine in the beginning of the 18th century, but was defeated in the Battle of Poltava.

"What is the meaning of this wreath?" Khrushchov asked in his banquet speech in Goeteborg with a touch of sarcasm. "How am I to explain it in Moscow? Does the wreath mean that Sweden again wants to wage war on Russia? Actually, I had planned to take a vacation at the Black Sea upon my return from Scandinavia. Now I am not sure, however, whether I can do so in peace."

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Darmstaedter Echo, Thursday, June 25, 1964

Astonishing Question

The Soviet Prime Minister astonished his host, Prime Minister Tage Erlander, yesterday with the sudden question — whether he wanted to wage war on the Soviet Union or not. Upon the perplexed negation of this intent by the Swedish head of state, Khrushchov wanted to know how the presence of an exile Ukrainian, who had placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII of Sweden, was to be explained.

The incident occurred in Goeteborg. Khrushchov spoke about the fate of King Charles XII, who was vanquished by the Russians in his military campaign against Ukraine in 1709. Suddenly, he turned away from his manuscript and spoke about the "Ukrainian swindler by the name of Jaroslav Stetzko", who designates himself "as the last Prime Minister

of free Ukraine". In Sweden he is the guest of the "June Committee", which has arranged counteractions to Khrushchov's visit.

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Der Spiegel, No. 27/1964

But the second most powerful man of the world was not able to completely swallow his anger at the cold reception. Already he was angered by the fact that rowdies had torn down the Red banners from the flagstaves and by the fact that newspapers recalled his role in the purges in Ukraine, but the appearance of a living shadow of the past put him into a rage.

The former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Jaroslav Stetzko, had come from Munich to place a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish troops that suffered their Stalingrad in Poltava in 1709.

"What is the meaning of this?" blustered Khrushchov before his illustrious audience in the Goeteborg Stock Exchange. With his grim smile, which he always puts on when he wants to shock, he challenged Erlander: "Do you want to wage war on the Soviet Union or not?" The non-plussed listeners took the question for what it was worth: for a bloody joke.

*

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Friday, June 26, 1964

On Wednesday the Soviet Prime Minister astonished his host, Prime Minister Erlander, with the sudden question — whether he wanted to wage war on the Soviet Union or not. Erlander said no. Khrushchov wanted to know, then, how the presence in Sweden of an exile Ukrainian, who placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII on Tuesday, was to be explained. "I ask myself, now, whether I've not been lured into a trap. Perhaps this Ukrainian intends to take me prisoner, so that Sweden could initiate a military campaign against Ukraine", Khrushchov declared, leaving his host in the dark as to whether he was joking or

speaking seriously. This incident occurred at a reception in the city of Goeteborg, which Khrushchov visited on Wenesday.

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On page 17 of the June 19, 1964 issue of *Aktuelt*, an account of the act of protest against the mass-murders committed by Khrushchov in Ukraine was printed. The former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Jaroslav Stetzko, made this accusation at a press conference, which was attended by both local and foreign correspondents. Stetzko stated that more than two million Ukrainians had to emigrate. These people have the right to speak in the name of their country, but Khrushchov, Stalin's former governor of Ukraine, has no right whatsoever to do so. Stetzko stated that hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were deported. This press conference was arranged by *Demokratisk Alliance*, which numbers 1,252 members.

*

Le Figaro, June 26, 1964 printed an article in which the following was mentioned:

Several moments later he returned to his gossip in Goeteborg where he had asked Mr. Erlander whether the Swedes wanted to wage war on the USSR: "I was a little disconcerted yesterday on account of - what was his name - Stetzko, but this morning I woke up in a very good mood and expect that the evening will be a very nice one."

Le Parisien, June 25, 1964 mentioned the following:

In the course of the morning a Ukrainian by the name of Stetzko placed a wreath on the tomb of King Charles XII. "in commemoration of the war against Russia." Mr. Khrushchov, who found out about this, called to mind this war in which the Swedes were defeated. Then he asked Erlander: "Do you want to wage war on the Soviet Union?" Upon his negation, Khrushchov continued: "If you

support Stetzko against the Soviet Union, I cannot take a vacation."

A 40-year old Swede was arrested yesterday in Stockholm because he attempted to cut the Soviet banners which were waved in Khrushchov's honour.

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Süddeutsche Zeitung: June 26, 1964:

Hans Ulrich Kempfski Accompanies Nikita Khrushchov
"Do You Want To Wage War On Us Or Not?"

Stockholm, June 25

... The Soviet Prime Minister does not want to give the impression of being really angry. He is more concerned with demonstrating how much fun an incident which took place the day before in Stockholm arouses in him. A man by the name of Stetzko had placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII. With this gesture he honoured the memory of a hero who 250 years ago defended the freedom ideal of the peoples enslaved by Russia. Khrushchov pretends never to have heard of some of his fellow-countrymen who Stetzko might be, and they asked in return: "Who is Stetzko? What kind of zoological species is that?"

His sarcasm becomes more and more gloomy. To be sure, he puts on a comical front - the bitter tone of his words, however, reveals the depth to which he has been hit: "I begin to ask myself whether I have not been lured into a trap by coming here at the same time as Stetzko is making his appearance - perhaps with the intent of taking me prisoner, so that then Sweden can march into Ukraine." The last traces of embarrassed grins disappear from the faces of the listening ministers as Khrushchov adds: "Seriously, such things have happened in history before. We know how matters ended for Charles XII, for Napoleon and for Hitler. I mean, it is not necessary to make any further references to it."...

... The general embarrassment increases as Khrushchov taunts further: "Actually, I had planned to take a vacation upon my return. Now, however, I don't know whether I can risk it." He waves his forefinger about in front of Erlander's breast and repeats: "I want a serious answer. Will you support Stetzko in a war against the Soviet Union or not?" The constrained laughter of the listeners swallows Erlander's answer. He stammers a forcefully funny reply, by which he seems to say that he would still have to think about it.

It is hardly to be assumed that Khrushchov does not know who Jaroslav Stetzko is: a former Prime Minister of Ukraine who is now living in Munich as the President of an anti-Soviet emigration organization. In Sweden, Stetzko joined in with the *June Committee*, a committee which took it upon itself to spoil the Soviet Prime Minister's visit in Sweden: with leaflets which called upon the people to turn their backs on the guest of state; with demonstrations at which Khrushchov was accused of being a mass-murderer; with harmless pranks, which are printed as headlines in the newspapers. Every night the flagstaffs, upon which Red banners were to wave within the city limits during the day, are demolished. And a pig, which had been sprayed with red paint, was driven through the garden of the government building where Khrushchov talked over coexistence with the Swedes.

But it is not solely the hostile activities of the *June Committee* that cause Khrushchov to conjure up the "spooky ghost" of Charles XII during the Northern traveler's outing to Goeteborg...

... Possibly, the present course of world politics diverts him, so that he regards the obligations of his Scandinavian trip as a matter of secondary importance that appears to tax his elasticity unnecessarily. One thing is certain, however: Sweden gets on his nerves: the supercilious metropolis whose inhabitants ignore him, without even showing the natural indifference of the Danes.

Here in Sweden, it is impressed upon him that he is being received only as an inferior being in the midst of a society, which – reserved, industrious and without metaphysics – is sufficient unto itself. Shielded behind musty, old-fashioned barriers of etiquette, which have long fallen out of use in Central Europe, his hosts, ministers and men of high rank, assume a more and more reserved bearing toward Khrushchov, not to speak of an easy or possibly chummy relationship. Even the working masses whom Khrushchov encounters in his visits to factories, receive him stiffly – entirely untouched by the appearance of the famous champion of the workers.

In addition there is the unfriendly press campaign. The Swedish newspapers have given up asking the same old polemical question – instead they want to know what Khrushchov really wants in Sweden, after having undermined the position of Swedish neutrality – which he now praises – with the help of the spy, Wennerstroem. But the newspapers never tire of asking about the Swedish diplomat, Wallenberg, whom the Soviets are suspected of having abducted in 1945, maintaining today that they know nothing about his fate. The pressure of public opinion on the government to obtain convincing clarity about this possible drama is strong. Erlander, therefore, could not help but ask Khrushchov about this matter personally. The answer is an evasion. Should the answer still not follow, the Swedes will not be willing to reappraise their one-sided picture of Khrushchov, whom they presently regard as a hypocritical tyrant.

Last, but not least, the frosty reception of the guest arises from Sweden's bond to the Baltic countries. Ten thousand refugees from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have found a new home in Sweden. At a reception in the Golden Room of the Town Hall, Khrushchov reaches the point where he feels he can no longer keep quiet about this matter. Received with organ music and fanfares, entertained with champagne and delicacies, served by a

hundred waitresses, who march in with the precision of soldiers of the guard and jerkily empty their silver trays to the beat of cavalry music, he had his justification for the Baltic countries read. Industrial production has quadrupled there. The standard of living has improved enormously. And of every 10,000 inhabitants, roughly 130 graduated from institutions of higher education. As a figure of comparison, he arrives at 40 for West Germany.

Khrushchov uses this occasion to direct the Swedes' attention to the existence of two German states. Before this he had attempted to interest Erlander in a German peace treaty, on the premise that the time was ripe for the consolidation of peace in Europe. Erlander answered that America, the Soviet Union and the Germans themselves were responsible for the solution of the German question — certainly, however, in no respect whatsoever, the Swedes. To such disinterestedness, Khrushchov offered the following warning in the Town Hall: "The Baltic Sea is not broad enough to offer the Swedes any sense of security, if a military conflict should arise on the European continent." No one of the 700 table guests appears to be disturbed by these words. In any case, no one shows any signs of wanting to applaud....

... It appears that the Soviet Prime Minister has already forgotten about Charles XII and Stetzko — but no, he takes up this subject once again. He does so by repeating the complaints of Soviet specialists who are working in Sweden — complaints of the inhospitable weather of the North. He speaks about the rain and the hazy sky, about the cold water and the wind. He himself shivers as he talks about it. Then he confronts this picture with a lively description of the sunny bathing joys in the Soviet Union. The specialists, therefore, as Khrushchov maintains in a not very logical and convincing connection of thought, will do everything to nip in the bud the war planned by Stetzko together with Sweden: "For the climate is not good here." Shak-

ing himself, he repeats: "It is a cold climate." ...

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Chicago Tribune, Thursday, June 25, 1964

Nikita Taunts Swedes On Red Bloc Refugees

Premier Nikita Khrushchov of Russia today taunted communist bloc refugees in Sweden and needled Swedish government officials on whether they plan to join the exiles in a war against the Soviet Union.

The visiting leader displayed irritation at anti-soviet demonstrations that have marked his visit and growing impatience with his tight police guard during a tour of ship yards.

In a speech at a luncheon given by the city, Khrushchov recalled past wars waged by Sweden's King Charles XII against Russia.

He reminded the Swedes that they and rebellious Ukrainians under Hetman Ivan Mazepa had been crushingly defeated in the battle of Poltava in 1709 by Russians under Peter the Great.

By Head of Resistance

Then he referred to exile Ukrainians who placed a wreath at the statue of Charles XII yesterday. The wreath-laying was organized by Yaroslav Stetzko, head of the anticommunist Ukrainian Resistance and Liberation movement.

Khrushchov said he had seen newspaper reports of Stetzko's ceremony. "Now I sit and think: What does this mean? Maybe I have been lured into a trap. When I came here since this Stetzko made his appearance here at the same time, perhaps with the intention of taking me prisoner so that Sweden can then begin a campaign against the Ukraine."

Chuckling, Khrushchov then turned to Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander and said: "As your guest here, I give you a choice: Do you want to go to war with the Soviet Union or not?"

New York Herald Tribune, June 25, 1964
‘Do You Want to Go to War?’

Erlander, after a moment of confusion, replied: “I’m just a bureaucrat, I’m not supposed to think.”

Khrushchov, however, continued his extemporaneous remarks, saying: “What does this wreath mean then? How can I explain this when I get back to Moscow . . . Are you going to support Stetzko in a war against the Soviet Union or not?”

Khrushchov wound up with a final taunt at the exile Ukrainians, saying, “For scoundrels there is a place in the cemetery but for the living there is life.”

Khrushchov went on to recount his conversation with Russian specialists working here. “They told me ‘we want to leave here as soon as possible – By our standards it is very cold here.’”

He concluded his speech with a jibe at Sweden’s abstract art. While handing over drawings of Moscow to Goeteborg Mayor, Ture Hoglund, he said that when the Swedish official got to Moscow he would see the resemblance between the drawings and the buildings.

*Russians Play Up Khrushchov Tour
Call Visit to Scandinavia “Joyful” and a
“Triumph”*

Premier Khrushchov’s visit to Scandinavia is being hailed by Soviet newspapers, radio and television as an affectionate, “joyful” affair and a “triumph of good-neighborly relations.”

Not a word has been said or printed here about the strict security measures, threats of physical harm, arrests of suspects, torn Soviet flags and the relative coolness of the Swedes and, earlier, the Danes.

On the contrary, the impression is created that Mr. Khrushchov has been received with “open hearts” as an envoy of peace and goodwill.

Hint of Ill-Will

The one indication that the climate in Sweden might be cooler than in Den-

mark was in today’s issue of *Izvestia*, which hinted the existence of a militant anti-Communist “reaction” in Sweden. The article in the Government newspaper said the question of relations with the Soviet Union was being discussed in Sweden in sharper form than elsewhere.

The Washington Post, June 25, 1964

Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov mingled with shipyard workers here today, shaking hands ebulliently like a politician seeking votes.

But some of his good humor had bite in it when he half jokingly asked Swedish Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, at a luncheon given later by city officials: “Do you want to start a war with us?”

Khrushchov appeared slightly nettled by reports that anti-Communist Jaroslav Stetzko, who was briefly Prime Minister of the Ukraine when Soviet troops withdrew during World War II, had laid a wreath at the tomb of Swedish King Karl XII.

New York Times International, June 25, 1964

Khrushchov Twits Hosts In Sweden

Premier Khrushchov paid a jovial visit today to this shipbuilding center.

He regaled a luncheon audience with an expanded version of his favorite Swedish story – the disastrous defeat of King Charles XII of Sweden in 1709 at Poltava, in the Ukraine.

Grinning, he said he was no longer sure that Sweden had “really renounced going to Poltava” despite assurances that he had frequently requested and received from Swedish diplomats in Moscow.

The reason, he said, is that he had heard that Yaroslav Stetzko, a Ukrainian exile leader, marked the current Khrushchov visit to Sweden by laying a wreath at the grave of Charles XII.

“I ask you point-blank”, he said with a big grin to Premier Tage Erlander, “do you want to make war on the Soviet Union or do you not?”

The Swedish Premier replied that he was a bureaucrat, so he had to think about it.

Los Angeles Times, June 28

Russian Tourist Startles Swedes

... Nikita Khrushchov was riled again. During his tour of Sweden last week, former Ukraine leader Jaroslav Stetzko and other exiled Ukrainians had placed a wreath at the tomb of King Charles XII.

In a speech at a luncheon given by the city of Goteborg, the Soviet premier referred to newspaper stories of the wreath-laying ceremony. He then recalled past wars waged by Charles XII against Russia....

Hosts "Needled"

... After this little review of history, Khrushchov began taunting and needling his hosts in earnest:

"Now I sit and think: What does this mean? Maybe I have been lured into a trap when I came here since this Stetzko made his appearance here at the same time, perhaps with the intention of taking me prisoner so that Sweden can then begin a campaign against the Ukraine."

Chuckling, Khrushchov then turned to Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander. "As your guest here, I give you a choice: Do you want to go to war with the Soviet Union or not?" ...

Implied Warning

The sally was typical of Khrushchov's behavior so far on his tour through Scandinavia. The tour ostensibly is to promote goodwill, but it also serves as a reminder that the Soviet Union is both powerful and close at hand.

The reception given Khrushchov at the opening of his five-day tour of Sweden was ice cold, in contrast to Denmark, where he got a cool but polite welcome.

Stockholm, the peaceful capital of the nation that hasn't been involved in a war for more than 150 years, looked like an occupied city. More than 3,000 federal,

city and military police were there to protect the premier.

Police kept a careful eye on Sweden's 7,500 East European refugees. Altogether, an estimated 50,000 Baltic European immigrants live in Sweden and a committee representing exile groups called on the population to "turn your backs on Khrushchov."

About 2,000 persons clapped as Khrushchov stepped ashore from his Russian Diesel ship. "Wanted for Murder" leaflets circulated through the crowd. They carried rogue's gallery-style photographs of the Kremlin leader.

There was dead silence as Khrushchov - accused in the "wanted" leaflets of personally conducting Ukrainian purges "estimated to have cost more than 400,000 lives" - drove away in a 1949 bullet-proof limousine used after World War II by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The Stars And Stripes, Friday, June 26

Khrushchov Twits Exiles In Sweden Given a Choice

Khrushchov recounted that he used to ask former Swedish Ambassador Rolf Sohlman in Moscow: "Have you really given up the idea of going to Poltava."

"He assured me that they had and I believed him", he continued.

"When I came to Sweden, it seems I was mistaken in believing Sohlman."

The Soviet leader at one point turned to Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander and said: "As your guest here, I give you a choice: Do you want to go to war with the Soviet Union or not."

Erlander, after a moment of confusion replied: "I'm just a bureaucrat, I'm not supposed to think."

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The Swedish newspaper appearing in Malmö, *Vägen Framåt*, (No. 11, June) expressed itself as follows in an article entitled, "Swedish answer to Nikita Khrushchov":

We are defending ourselves against an aggressor in 1964, exactly as we did

in 1700. In his Goeteborg speech the Russian head of state declared that at the time of Charles XII, Sweden waged war on Russia. In this connection he makes use of the last Prime Minister of an independent Ukraine, who placed a wreath on the sarcophagus of Charles XII on Tuesday, in order to ask Prime Minister Erlander whether he wanted to wage war on the Soviet Union. One would have expected Erlander to answer as follows: 'No, Mr. Prime Minister. I do not assume that you want to attack Sweden in the same way as Tsar Peter once did.' This would have been the only fitting answer.

In a fairly extensive article, the newspaper stated that it was precisely Russia that, together with Saxony and Denmark, attacked Sweden in 1700. The further events of the war are to be viewed as a result of Russia's attack on Sweden.

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"Chicago Daily News", Saturday, June 27

Ike Shares Lithuanians' Baltic Goal

In a message to Anthony J. Rudis, chairman of the council's national congress in Washington next week, Gen. Eisenhower wrote:

"If (Soviet Premier Nikita) Khrushchov is serious in his expressed desire to 'ban war for territories', then the sincerity of this statement should be demonstrated by permitting self-determination for the Baltic peoples. Then they may take again their places as free and selfgoverning nations."

Russia absorbed the independent nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into the Soviet Union after their conquest in June, 1940.

Gen. Eisenhower's letter notes that the United States "denounced the Soviet act of aggression" and observes that "only by keeping alive the hope of liberation, and in taking advantage of each opportunity to realize that hope, that the present situation may be changed."



Prof. Dr. Michel Mouskheli

The Georgians in exile mourn their fellow-countryman, Prof. Dr. M. Mouskheli, who met his death on a mountain climbing trip in the Alps. He was 59 years old. He was Professor of international law at the University of Strasbourg and director of its East European institute.

His work as a Professor and his scientific publications were highly valued. He was also one of the founders and presidium members of the Union of European Federalists in France. Professor Mouskheli comes from an old illustrious Georgian family; his father was Professor of the medical faculty in Tiflis. The fate of this family is an especially tragic one. His older brother, who was a Professor of History, was shot by the Communist hangmen; his second brother, an engineer, met his death in an accident in the firm for which he was working in France. The death of Prof. Mouskheli has hit the Georgians especially hard. They have lost a valuable fellow-countryman and national fighter.

Rudis will head a large delegation of Chicagoans to the capital for the Lithuanians council meeting Friday through Sunday. Resolutions urging U.S. pressure on Russia for restoration of freedom to the Baltic peoples are to be a principal item of business.

John W. McCormack (D-Mass.), speaker of the House, also has written Rudis, expressing the hope that "the day may soon come when Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians will once more breathe the air of freedom in their beloved and historic homelands."

Republicans Criticize The Administration For Abandonment Of Captive Nations

San Francisco, California, July 13 - The Republican Platform Committee criticized the Democratic Administration for turning "its back on the captive peoples of Eastern Europe" and affirmed Republicans' "longstanding Commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America."

The 1964 platform specifically commits Republicans to work for the freedom of "the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Yugoslavia, and its Serbian, Croatian and Slovene peoples, Cuba, mainland China, and many others."

Rejecting the "notion that Communism has abandoned its goal of world domination", the platform declares that "Republican foreign policy starts with the assumption that Communism is the enemy of this nation in every sense until it can prove that its enmity has been abandoned."

Policy planks adopted by the Platform Committee commit Republicans to: Oppose the recognition of Red China and the entry of Red China into the United Nations.

Continue negotiations with Communists, always insisting on advantages for the free world.

Work for the Open Skies policy proposed by President Eisenhower in 1955.

Judge the merit of trade with Communist countries on the basis of whether it would enhance Communist power and influence, or whether it would diminish their power.

Support the United Nations, continually seeking to revitalize its original peace-keeping purpose.

Congressman Edward J. Derwinsky (R., Ill.), Chairman of the Nationalities Division, Republican National Committee, declared that, "This is the wording which nationality leaders, including Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Vytautas Abraitis, George

Mardikian, Dr. Fernando Penabaz, and myself have fought for and which reflects the Republican commitment to freedom of all peoples."

UCCA REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT VIEWS TO REPUBLICAN PLATFORM COMMITTEE

San Francisco, California. On July 9, 1964, papers were presented to the Foreign Policy Section of the Republican Platform Committee by Dr. Lev. E. Dobriansky and Walter T. Darmopray.

Dr. Dobriansky spoke as Chairman of National Captive Nations Committee. He forcefully demonstrated the great need for a permanent sub-committee on Captive Nations in the Congress, citing specific examples and reasons. Dr. Dobriansky also stressed the vital importance of specifically naming each and every one of the captive nations in the platform Resolution.

Mr. Darmopray presented his paper on behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Strong recommendations were made for supporting the Congressional sub-committee on Captive Nations; continued resistance to Red China's admission to the U.N.; limitations and restrictions on the recent Consular Treaty with USSR and trade with USSR and its Satellites and proposed Amendments to the Immigration and Naturalization Act.

Questions were then proposed by members of the Platform Committee which were readily answered by the speakers. The reception of the points raised was excellent.

A Captive Nations Salute was held at the Convention on Wed., July 15, 1964. Stephan Skubik, public relations aide for the Nationality Group Section at the Convention, and Don Miller, Executive Director of the National Captive Nations Committee have been most active in securing the success of this affair.

Moscow's Weapon - Lies

Nikita Khrushchov's angry tirade in Goeteborg, his wild fuming and raging, which betrayed his fear and concern of the liberation fight of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, could not be hushed up even in the Soviet Press. (As is already known, this highly significant political incident was precipitated by the placing of a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII by the ABN delegation.) As usual, however, the Soviet Press did not make use of factual and objective reporting. Instead they printed libelous slanders and attacks against the Ukrainian emigration and especially against the President of ABN, Jaroslav Stetzko. The Central Russian newspapers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* tried to convince their readers that Khrushchov's speech consisted of nothing more than sarcastic and ironic remarks, which were intended to ridicule the ABN delegation's action. But these newspapers accorded ABN's actions various degrees of importance. On the first page of *Izvestia* of June 26th, for example, a long two-column article was printed, which was signed by two corre-

spondents. A considerable portion of this article was dedicated to the placing of a wreath and to the Swedish anti-Bolshevik action. The Kiev newspaper printed in Ukrainian, on the other hand, went into the matter much more extensively. The articles appearing in *Literaturna Ukraina* of June 30 and of July 3 reveal an undisguised hatred and are interspersed with many abusive words. In the first article the name of ABN's President was misprinted, obviously intentionally, in order to mislead the Ukrainian reading public. In this article we read: "The friendly atmosphere of the Soviet-Swedish talks could not be at all cooled by these hypocritical invectives by the national remnants of some character by the name of Stetschko, who put it into his head to place a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII. Nikita S. Khrushchov scorched this pitiable agitator with such deadly sarcasm and humour that he has become the laughing stock of the whole world."

Apparently, this first report did not achieve the desired effect, so the Moscow



A cartoon appearing in "Izvestia" on June 27, 1964, lampooning Jaroslav Stetzko for his honoring of King Charles XII of Sweden.

The Russian text reads: "Stetzko, successor of Mazepa — to Charles XII."

editor must have given orders to take up this subject once again. On the 3rd of July, the Kiev newspaper printed a long article entitled: "Agony of a corpse", in which the name of ABN's President was at least spelled correctly and in which his activity as Prime Minister in 1941 was mentioned. As can be imagined, in this article also the reader was served a heap of provocations, lies and aspersions in order to confuse him and to distort the truth in the eyes of the numerous eyewitnesses of the declaration of independence on June 30, 1941.

Whether this time the Moscow overseer is satisfied with the dictated work of a man by the name of Hnatenko can already be doubted, for the author was not able to print any convincing facts. Instead he confined himself to the piling up of aspersions, which are simply not worth mentioning.

Generally speaking, however, all Soviet newspapers wrote about ABN's actions in Sweden - or at least about the placing of the wreath. In their articles they were not able to conceal their disappointment that the Swedish government remained faithful to its principles of freedom and did not condescend to the Bolshevik desire with respect to the confinement of the anti-Communist emigrants.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Dr. Arin Engin: The Voice of Turkism, written in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Ismail Gaspirali's death, Istanbul, 1964.

It is urgently advised that those who are interested in getting a deeper insight into the pan-Turkish movement and the cruel suppression of this movement, which constitutes a grave danger to the Red Russians, should read this brochure. By the publication of this booklet the author has created an irreplaceable memorial to the outstanding pioneer of the pan-Turkish movement, Ismail Gaspirali, who died in 1914. In the brochure, the author commemorates his role in this movement with great piety.

The consuming desire on the part of the Russians to destroy everything that is non-Russian in the Russian-occupied Asiatic territories is penetratingly reflected in this interesting publication. The Turkish peoples are being artificially divided into various sub-divisions. The slight deviations in their languages are being emphasized and Russian idioms are being forcefully introduced into the languages of the various peoples (Turkistanians, Crimean Tartars, Azerbaijanians etc.) in order to Russify these peoples as quickly as possible.

The fight of the enslaved Asiatic peoples against the suppression methods of the Kremlin is a hard and relentless one. Justice, however, is always on the side of the subjugated, unhappy peoples of Asia, of the North Caucasus, of Idel-Ural and other non-Russian peoples who are followers of pan-Turkism.

The sympathies of the world should always be on the side of the peoples that have been subjugated by Red Russian tyrannical rule, for these peoples are staunch allies of the free world in its fight against the threatening Russian danger, in the modern Russian dress of Communism. For a better understanding of these allies, the free world should attentively read publications such as the one by Dr. Arin Engin.

The book is to be valued as a brilliant contribution to the fight against the Communist danger.

W. Kapotivsky

General Diaz de Villegas: La Guerra Revolucionaria (The War of Revolution). Published by Ediciones EUROPA, Madrid, 1963. 532 pp.

Europa publishing house in Madrid has already printed many publications on various aspects of the struggle for power on our planet, but none which deal with the centre of the contemporary struggle - East Europe. For the latest book also, dealing with the technique of revolution and the psychological action and which is dedicated to Marxism and the Communist world movement, can by no means evoke our enthusiasm. The author becomes entangled in a stereotype presentation of the revolutionary events in tsarist Russia

and the seizure of power by the Red Russians in the so-called USSR.

The USSR, which consists of many different peoples, is regarded by the author as a homogeneous country, which is exclusively concerned with social problems. This is a great error and a great handicap of the book. In addition to the Russian social revolution, there were parallel national liberation revolutions in the non-Russian countries of the Russian tsarist empire. One should by no means treat revolutionary uprisings, so to speak, *ex cathedra*, and apply political and military criteria to the presentation of the revolutions in the individual countries.

To be sure, it is very nice when one analyses the street battles in the cities and describes their technique. But the moving force of the revolutionary uprisings in a country like the USSR is completely left out of account. This neglect makes the publication very one-sided and does not at all give an accurate picture of the course of the revolution in Russia and the revolution in the countries which had been subjugated by Russia. And this moving force is precisely these individual peoples, enslaved by Russia, which the Red Russian rulers in the Kremlin must fight in order to continue the existence of the so-called USSR.

This fight is especially tough in Ukraine, for the fate of the Red Russian empire will be sealed precisely in this second largest country of the Soviet Union.

Otherwise there is nothing to object to in this publication, for it is based on revolutionary experiences of many centuries including antiquity.

W. Iwonisky

The Memoirs of Rouben Der Minasian.

Edited and translated by James G. Mandalian. Published by Hairenik Association, 212 Stuart Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts, 1963. 244 pp.

By the publication of this book, the Armenian patriots have created a permanent monument of their unhappy

fatherland, which has been so afflicted by shocking strokes of fate. First and foremost, the book was published for those Armenians who have already become estranged to a certain extent from their unhappy native country abroad. We believe, however, that also non-Armenians will read this book with special interest and strong sympathy.

The individual phases of the Armenian struggle for freedom are so fascinating that we are able to predict with certainty the immortality of the Armenian character in this unjust world, which is dominated by various predatory peoples. Individual empires pass but peoples like the Armenian will certainly survive the inhuman inclemencies of modern history.

In the unequal fight for the justice and freedom of the Armenian peoples, the spirit of Fedayee will certainly emerge as a proud victor one day.

W. Luzhansky

Eudocios Ravines: Le Gran Estafa (The Great Deception). Published by Editorial Antorchia, Madrid, 1958. 587 pp.

When we refer to the rather extensive book, which was published in 1958, about the great deception of the so-called Communist movement, which found its starting point in Russia under false watchwords and lulled to sleep and misled the unsuspecting free world, we do so solely to make the reader aware of rich and carefully compiled factual material. In this connection the author also quotes a few remarks by foreign sociologists and philosophers of the Western world in order to bring out even more emphatically the great deception of the Russian Communist movement, which was only concerned with the welfare of the autocratic and imperialistic Russians.

The anabasis of many Spanish enthusiasts who thought to find a new paradise in Communist Russia led these same people back in the right way to the free world. This can be gathered from the book.

Unfortunately, the question of nationalities in the Communist movement is

given little attention – which fact will surely have a negative effect on the publication. For in the years 1917–1921 an unequal fight was carried out between Russia, which had become “Red”, and the national liberation fronts of the peoples of the USSR which are now enslaved by the Russians. Since the West remained passive in this fight – indeed even frequently supported the Russian aggressors either directly, or indirectly – it should not be at all surprising that the just cause of the subjugated peoples in the USSR did not win the upper hand.

The author very often mentions the Ukrainian traitor, Dmytro Manuilsky, who betrayed his own people, only to be later relegated to a very modest place in the Russian-Communist hierarchy by Stalin. The author asserts, however, that representatives of other Western peoples also sold themselves to the Russian-Communist reign of terror to serve the great Russian-Communist deception faithfully. Ravines is firmly convinced, however, that the freedom of the peoples and that true democracy (i. e., not one misrepresented by Communism) will carry the victory in the end. W. Zatserkovny

Georges Oliani: Stalinisme sans Stalin et “Pacifisme” de L’Imperialisme Russe II. “Marxisme-Léninisme”? Paris, 1963 (Stalinism without Stalin and “pacifism” of Russian imperialism).

The author of this short book, which has been published in French, is an old Georgian Social Democrat. In the first part of the book, Russian imperialism is instructively presented; and Stalinism, i. e., the subjugation of peoples and individuals, and Russian Communism’s ambitions to acquire world domination, even without Stalin, is excellently described. In the second part, however, in his discussion of Leninism and of its contrast to Marxism, he repeats the old threadbare points. Such an attempt is in vain, however, for his arguments cannot convince anyone. His work has little value in this respect. That he defended the national

rights of the peoples and that he unmasked Russian imperialism, however, is the main thing. N. Ekhadieli

Nicolas Berdyaev: *Les sources et le sens du communisme russe* (Origins and Meaning of Russian Communism). Gallimard, Collection “Idées”, Paris, 1963.

The publishing firm of Gallimard is to be congratulated on the re-edition of this important work by a Russian philosopher on the origins and meaning of Communism. Berdyaev, a famous and courageous thinker who was stirred by the desire to face the truth, set about analysing the antecedents and origins of Bolshevism, of Russian Communism, and, to use his own expression, in doing so was obliged to relive the entire history of Russia in the 19th century.

In our opinion his work, which was edited for the first time by the publishing house of Gallimard in the collection “Les Essais” (Essays) in 1935, is indispensable to all those who wish to comprehend not only the origins and the essence of the present Russian regime, but also its objectives.

Berdyaev was one of the few Russians who were not afraid to acknowledge the truth, and his work certainly deserves the attention of those who are interested in the fate of East Europe.

“Communism” – so Berdyaev wrote – “if one studies it profoundly, in the light of the destiny of Russia, is a deformation of the Russian idea, of Russian messianism and universalism... Russian Communism in general is moreover a Russian creation – has built up its entire programme on this ‘conception of the world’ (the Russian one) ... The Communism of the Stalinist epoch can be defined as the continuation of the work of Peter the Great... The patriotism which has developed in Russia is not only a Communist or even a Soviet patriotism, but, properly speaking, a Russian patriotism.”

So much for the opinions of the Russian Berdyaev, which certainly are in keeping with reality.

Nikolos Dshanelidse: *Die Apostelin Nino. Eine georgische Legendengestalt.* ("The Woman-Missionary Nino. A Georgian Legendary Figure".) Itzehoe, Holstein, 1961. 53 pp.

The author of this little book lovingly and reverently portrays this legendary figure of the brave Georgian people and gives an account of the early beginnings of Christianity in Georgia, a country which at that time was surrounded by countless hostile, heathen peoples of the Near and Middle East. The author rightly affirms that the Georgians were constantly involved in wars with these peoples and that they courageously defended their country and their Christian religion, since religious faith and freedom were their ideals (p. 5).

The easy narrative style in which the author relates the legend of the woman-missionary Nino gives the reader a deeper understanding of her character and personality. Nino was buried in the Sveta Zchoveli Cathedral, the see of the Georgian Patriarch and the burial place of numerous Georgian kings and queens, a fact which emphasizes the important role which she played in the religious and intellectual life of Georgia in earliest times.

The publication of this little book on this Georgian saint seems particularly appropriate if one bears in mind that the present Red Russian rulers in Georgia are endeavouring to eradicate all the political and religious characteristics and traditions of the brave Georgian peoples – to the glory of Russia!

W. O.

Dr. h. c. M. Valters: *Das Verbrechen gegen die baltischen Staaten.* Warnung an Europa und die Welt. ("The Crime against the Baltic States". A Warning to Europe and the World.) Verlag Atlanta, 1962. 243 pp. (Enquiries to the publishers to be addressed to: Mag. jur. Adolfs Silde, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Zuckerbergstr. 153.)

In his book the former Ambassador of Latvia describes the tragedy of the Baltic States and in this connection he carefully examines the political situation in East Europe after the first and second world wars. One of the tasks which the author has set himself in his book is to refute the false attitude – for the most part spread by the Soviets – regarding the right of existence of the Baltic States. Valters sees the future of the Baltic States in the "abandonment of the tendency towards negotiations with the Soviet Union and towards peaceful coexistence". His hopes in this respect are based on his firm belief that "there is a fundamental difference between man's innate urge to freedom and the Soviet system and that freedom will in the end triumph".

Plinio Correa de Oliveira: *Révolution et Contre-révolution* ("Revolution and Counter-revolution"). Sao Paulo Edition "Catalicismo", Boa Imprensa Ltda., Campos. 1960. 125 pp.

This pamphlet deals with the crisis in the world of today and discusses all the intellectual trends of mankind in the past and present which have led to this crisis. The author is of the opinion that this crisis, though it might not be prevented, could nevertheless be restricted and humanized by the intervention of the Christian (and above all of the Catholic) Church. He affirms that we are at present in the throes of a fight which could be designated as a life and death struggle between the Church and the revolution (p. 125). By this he does not mean merely the more recent revolutions after the first and second world wars, but revolution in general. The Christian Church should therefore prevent revolutions, which is indeed its mission.

This work gives the reader a thorough and comprehensive analysis of revolutions from the historical aspect and is based on historical facts. In addition, extensive reference sources are also quoted.

V. Zatserkovny

Wolfgang Appel: *Südost-Asien im Brennpunkt der Weltpolitik.* ("Southeast Asia – the Focal Point of World Politics".) Marienburg Verlag, Würzburg, 1960. 165 pp.

Since the publication of this interesting and informative book on Southeast Asia a number of political changes have occurred. In this respect we have only to recall the invasion of India by Red China and the resultant political and psychological effects on the population of India, as well as the aggravated tension between the two Communist world powers, Soviet Russia and China, since the Cuban crisis, – which to some extent makes the position of the West in Southeast Asia casier. The resolutions of the Bandung Conference have thus to a considerable extent lost their effectiveness.

The territory of Southeast Asia is extremely important in the struggle between East and West, for both power blocs are striving to preserve its existence in the near future. The Communists (both Russian and also Chinese) are planning to attack the rest of Asia and also Africa from Southeast Asia. In that case the democratic remainder of Europe, Australia and also America would be menaced by the Russians to such an extent that they would be in deadly danger. All these political concatenations are revealed to us in this excellent book by W. Appel.

Although chaos and confusion have ensued in the meantime in the Communist world as a result of the increased tension in relations

between the two Communist imperialisms – the so-called Soviet Union and China – the thoughts expressed by the author are still applicable today, if one takes certain conclusions that could be drawn out of recent political events in Southeast Asia into account. Seldom has an author revealed such an excellent knowledge of Southeast Asia and given his readers such an accurate account of this territory.

We should however like to comment on two points: on page 11 the author affirms that Russia is not burdened with the legacy of colonialism. On the contrary, Russia appears to be the largest colonial empire at present. We likewise do not agree with the author's opinion on page 12, namely, that there is a Soviet people in the USSR. For the USSR contains many larger and smaller peoples, who are ruthlessly subjugated and exploited by the ruling Russian minority. The Russians do not even constitute half the population of the USSR.

W. O.

Charles Jelavich: *Tsarist Russia and Balkan Nationalism – Russian influence in the internal affairs of Bulgaria and Serbia, 1879–1886*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958. University of California Press.

The Russian urge to expansion in the Balkans during the second half of the 19th century, the ensuing intrigues in Russian diplomatic circles, and the strained relations between the major powers of Europe at that time are subjects which have hitherto not been studied exhaustively. Many of the treaties which have appeared on this question are distorted and do not always conform to the historical truth. One of the recent contributions towards the clarification of the historical facts pertaining to the relations between Russia and the Balkan peoples in the said period, is this book by Professor Charles Jelavich. Incidentally, Professor Jelavich gives an account of the tsarist Russian policy not only in the Balkans but also in other parts of the world.

As early as 1870 Ljuben Karavelov very aptly described the attitude of the Balkan peoples to the Russians as follows: "If Russia comes to us as a liberator, we shall welcome the Russians sincerely; but if Russia wants to rule us, she will encounter many enemies amongst us". Russia's policy at that time and her desire to assume a position of supremacy in the Balkans were bound to clash with Bulgarian nationalism, whilst the Serbs, however, since they were opposed to the supremacy of Austria-Hungary, sympathized with the Russians.

When writing this book the author used various sources hitherto unknown, as for instance records of the British Foreign Office

and Public Record Office, the Austrian Court and State Archives, as well as a number of other Austrian and also Russian sources. An interesting light is shed on the results of the Congress of Berlin (1878), when Russia under diplomatic pressure was forced to cede her position of supremacy in Serbia to Austria-Hungary.

In those days Russia resorted to watchwords such as orthodoxy, conservatism and Slav fraternity; nowadays her watchwords are Communism and Slav brotherhood. The author stresses that Bulgaria in its differences with Russia at that time was able to rely on the support of Great Britain, Austria-Hungary and Germany. Nowadays Yugoslavia as the heir of former Serbia is in a more advantageous position politically as regards Russia, whereas Bulgaria no longer has any political freedom of movement.

The disputes between Serbia and the Danube Monarchy with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina might create the impression that these countries were Serbian in ethnical, geopolitical and historical respects.

Unfortunately, the author has made many errors. And this is hardly surprising since he used a fairly comprehensive literature, which is not always correct in the statements made to clarify national conditions in the Balkans (especially as regards relations between the Serbs and the Croats). It is a pity that the author relied mainly on Serbian sources.

The unique nature of this work is unfortunately impaired by the author's disregard of Croatian national interests. He could easily have avoided many of the errors he has made if he had also studied and used other literature on Serbia and Croatia.

Tass Attacks The Republicans

On the 13th of July, the *Tass* correspondent in San Francisco published a commentary on the Republican Party platform. In part, he states the following: "The Republican Party is preparing its official platform for the elections. This platform is endorsed by the most reactionary circles in the country – it promotes a "holy war" against Communism. It represents the most aggressive circles of the American imperialists, and contains the boldest ideas of these "savages". It opposes peaceful coexistence, demands a hard policy toward socialist countries, the restoration of capitalism in East Europe, as well as the dissolution of the USSR ("liberation" of Ukraine), etc.."

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Picture on the cover:

Hetman Ivan Mazeppa

by S. Lytvynenko

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Ivan Mazepa

Hetman of Ukraine (1687-1709)

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Hetman of Ukraine, Ivan Mazepa, formed a plan that was so daring in concept that the Western political leaders of his day, like those of the 19th and 20th centuries, did not even dare to consider it or its consequences. This plan was: the destruction of the huge empire which Peter I, (called the "Great" by the Russians) and his father Tsar Alexis, had begun to build upon the bones of the free peoples, an empire to which Ukraine had become linked by the vague terms of the Treaty of Pereyaslav – the terms of which treaty were almost immediately falsified by the Muscovites – the same empire, in effect, which today threatens the entire world and our Christian civilization.

The daring nature of Mazepa's plan, and the personality of the Hetman himself, has been a source of inspiration to countless artists, poets, composers and painters, particularly those of the "Romantic" movement of the 19th century. Among those who fell under his spell were Lord Byron, Victor Hugo, Franz Liszt, and even the Russian writer and poet, Alexander Pushkin. The latter, who lived in the reign of Tsar Nicholas I, glorified in his writings Peter I and other tyrannical Russian rulers, yet even Pushkin, who was violently opposed to the liberation movements that were beginning to spring up among the subject peoples of the Russian empire, found that he could not wholly condemn Hetman Mazepa – much as he wished to portray him as a "traitor" and a "renegade", he found himself obliged to portray him as a tragic hero, a man of great and far-reaching intentions, whose magnetic personality attracted all who came into contact with him.

The Romantic writer, Prosper Mérimée, in his portrayal of Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyj, the predecessor of Mazepa, wrote that Khmel'nyts'kyj was the inventor of "National" wars. (You will remember that it was Khmel'nyts'kyj who had freed Ukraine from Polish rule, thus dealing what was to prove a fatal blow to the historic Polish state). Mazepa followed the example of Khmel'nyts'kyj and, long before the French Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the National Revolution of the Italian people against the power of the Habsburgs, and all those other national liberation movements which have arisen, one after another, to the present time, he raised the banner of Ukrainian National freedom against the imperialism of Russia.

Mazepa himself was the son of a wealthy nobleman. He was educated at the famous Orthodox Academy in Kyiv, where he acquired a first-class knowledge of Latin, which was still, at that time, a necessity for anyone wishing to mix on equal terms with the intelligentsia of Western Europe, and was no less important in political life. (The Hungarian Diet, for example, was conducted in Latin, as late as the mid-nineteenth century). Later, Mazepa acquired a good knowledge of all the modern languages he needed for his political and diplomatic work, and since he had studied in Holland and at the Sorbonne, he had a first-hand knowledge of Western Europe that was far from superficial.

Mazepa's life spans the rise and fall of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. For fifty

years, he played a prominent part in the fostering of Ukrainian Nationalism, in the struggle for self-expression against Poland, Russia and Turkey. The Ukrainian people, who had lost their national status in 1340, and who had been reborn as a state under Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyj, by the Ukrainian National Revolution of 1648, achieved, under the rule of Mazepa, recognition by the nations of Europe. Mazepa's Ukraine, in 1709, broke into the field of international politics, joining Charles XII of Sweden in a desperate attempt to check the growing might of Russia. The combined forces of Sweden and Ukraine suffered a bitter defeat at Poltava on June 27th, 1709, and the supremacy of Russia in Eastern European politics was assured. Charles XII, his army destroyed or scattered, escaped, with the help of Mazepa, to Turkey.

After this fateful defeat of the Swedish and Ukrainian forces, — “dread Poltava's day” as Byron has it — Tsar Peter, who was by no means a saint himself — being, both a tyrant in state matters, and the murderer of his son in private life — nevertheless ordered his bishops to excommunicate Mazepa, as a traitor. (One imagines that it is from Peter that the Bolsheviks have borrowed the idea of making a public mockery and scandal of ecclesiastical institutions; certainly their ideas and methods recall those of Peter's “craziest council”). In spite of this excommunication or, perhaps, precisely because of it, the name and ideals of Mazepa and his followers have remained and still remain, a torch and a legacy for all Ukrainian patriots, a guide for future generations, and a watchword and banner in the struggle against tyranny and oppression.

The Treaty Between Charles XII And Hetman Mazepa

1. — His Majesty pledges himself to defend Ukraine and the territories annexed to the Country of the Cossacks, and to send auxiliary troops without delay if the necessity arises and the Prince and the Estates request help. On their entrance into the Country these troops will remain under the orders of the Swedish generals, but while they are operating in Ukraine, His Majesty will entrust their command to the Prince or his successors. This arrangement will last as long as Ukraine has need of the troops, His Majesty supplying the pay, and the Cossacks the bread and food.

2. — All that is conquered of the old territory of Muscovy will belong by right of conquest to the power which becomes the master of it; but whatever is discovered as having once belonged to the Ukrainian people, will be returned to and kept by the Ukrainian Principality.

3. — The Prince and the Estates of Ukraine, by virtue of the law which they have hitherto enjoyed, will be preserved and maintained throughout the territory of the Principality and the parts annexed to it.

4. — Ivan Mazepa, legitimate Prince of Ukraine, will in no manner be disturbed in the possession of this Principality; after his death (and it is hoped that this may not come for a long time), the Estates of Ukraine will preserve their liberties in accordance with their rights and ancient laws.

5. — No change shall be introduced in the present usage of the Arms and the Title of the Prince of Ukraine. His Majesty shall never be able to assume this Title or these Arms.

(From: “Deduction of Ukraine's Rights” by Hetman Orlyk.)

The Fall Of The Tyrant

On the 5th of March 1950, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, General Taras Tshuprynka, was killed in battle against MVD troops.

On the 5th of March 1953, Stalin was murdered in his sick bed by his best friends, Khrushchov, Mikoyan, Malenkov and Voroshilov.

On the 15th of October 1959, Stefan Bandera was treacherously murdered at orders received from Khrushchov, Shelepin and Voroshilov.

On the 15th of October 1964, the world was informed of the political death of Nikita S. Khrushchov.

The nemesis of history, God's hand, still rules over the world.

Why does the official Western world mourn the fall of the tyrant? In another place we will recall the crimes of the faithful Stalinist, Khrushchov, so that the world will not forget that it was precisely the greatest criminal of modern times after Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, and Mao, who met his political death. This is not at all purported to mean that the new men in the Kremlin are better, for the essence of the matter does not lie so much in this or that person, but in the Russian character and in the Communist system itself. A dictatorship has ever been an inevitable appearance in Russian history and its imperium. To this day, Russia has never had a democratic government and it will never have one under any form of Communism. For the time being, the imperium can be held together only by the use of terror and tyranny. An oligarchy of tyranny must of necessity devolve into the autocracy of one man. This is the law of the imperium of yesterday and of today. It is embodied in the Russian people, who as a myth, need a tsar, a Peter, a Catherine, a Nicholas, a Lenin, a Stalin, a Khrushchov, a Malenkov or Shelepin – a cruel Little Father. Consequently, the trend will of necessity again lead to the autocracy of one man, or a process of disintegration will proceed more rapidly until the final dissolution of the imperium is brought about by a violent overthrow as a result of the national liberation revolutions. In the long run, however, neither the oligarchy of tyrants, nor the autocracy of one man can preserve the imperium and the Communist system.

Why Did Khrushchov Fall?

As a boastful autocrat he proved too weak to control the precipitating events within and outside of the imperium. As a mythical figure he was not able to replace a Lenin or a Stalin for the Russian people, which is no longer in a position to hold its imperium together.

The spontaneously revived national liberation fight during the years 1953–1959, found its expression especially in the insurrections in the concentration camps. This revival of the freedom fight is to be traced back especially to the tenacity of the Ukrainian freedom fighters, as well as to the uprisings in Hungary in 1956, in Poland, and in the period from 1959–1964, to the armed and unarmed mass demonstrations of the workers and the youth in the cities of Ukraine, the Caucasus, Turkestan, the Baltic states and Byelorussia. Evident of a firmly concentrated

force, these uprisings have aimed at the dissolution of the imperium and at the destruction of the Communist system, and have demonstrated Khrushchov's powerlessness to cope with them.

The ideological and political fight of the young generation in Ukraine and the other subjugated countries in literature, art and science proves that the idea of nation, religion, tradition, human dignity and love of freedom has remained vitally alive. On the whole, the Russification and Sovietization process has proved a failure. No Soviet man or Soviet youth has arisen from this process, but there has remained an Ukrainian, a Georgian, a Turkestanian, etc. man and youth.

As Stalin's most faithful disciple and his governor in Ukraine, Khrushchov ordered the murder of OUN leader, Colonel Eugen Konovalets, in Rotterdam in 1938. In 1950, General Tshuprynka was killed in battle against MVD troops, which had been sent by Khrushchov. In 1959, Bandera was murdered. Now Khrushchov has disappeared, without his having been able to weaken our liberation fight with his deeds of cruelty. Neither in Ukraine, nor in the other subjugated countries, was he able to become master of the situation. The re-introduction of the personal cult was not the main cause of his fall, for as history teaches, a personal cult is second nature to the Russians. His coexistence policy was not a consequence of a desire for peace on his part, but a result of the inevitable necessity of obtaining the West's support for the stabilization of the imperium. Nor was he the prime originator of the dissension with Red China, which can be traced back to Stalin's policy in World War II. As a consequence of Russia's inner weakness, he was not able to cope with all the obligations which the world situation demanded of him. It was also clear that the boastful Khrushchov would sooner fall than that a final break with Red China would come about. For each Russian it is more important to save the imperium than to worry about Khrushchov's head. It is true, that the failure of his economic policy (agrarian, industrial, etc.) contributed to his fall, but it was not decisive either. In view of the Communist principles regarding economy and especially regarding agricultural economy in the subjugated countries, it is clear that the Russian policy had to fail, for it is contrary to human nature. Only on ethnographic Russian soil can Communism thrive in every respect, because as Bolshevism, it is a typical Russian phenomenon. Stalin's agricultural policy was also false and contrary to human nature. Stalin knew how to find a scapegoat in time. In Khrushchov's case, however, he himself was selected as scapegoat by the Party.

ABN's action in Scandinavia and the great echo which it received in the whole world compelled Khrushchov to a reaction, which exposed him, for this action demonstrated the strength and invincibility of ABN's ideas in all their nakedness to the free and subjugated world.

Perspectives

With Khrushchov's fall a whole class of leaders, who no longer meet contemporary Russian needs, are being systematically replaced. A younger class of leaders will seize power, a class which did not go through the October 1917 Revolution, but which will endeavour to vitalize and enlarge the imperium anew. The Khrushchovian class of leaders was neither better nor worse than the new one which

is coming. In the end it had simply become rotten, lazy and outdated and was therefore driven out by others. There is no special meaning in the fact that Kossygin is a technocrat or that Breshnev is an *aparatsbnyk* and that both of them are momentarily in power. They are both temporary appearances. The generation of Shelepin, of Semischasny and younger Russian military men are forcing their way into power. The renewal of the Russian tyranny class will endeavour anew to save the imperium. A reconciliation with Red China will take place, though the disparity, Moscow-Peking, will continue. In accordance with the intentions of the tyrants, however, it will not be deepened until "the West has been buried". Only then, are Peking and Moscow to spring at each other's throats. But now the attention of the new men in power will be concentrated on Ukraine and the other subjugated countries to neutralize their fight – for they constitute the Achilles' heel of the imperium and Communism. The so-called anti-Communist, Russian opposition will play into the hands of those who have newly gained power in the Kremlin and in an insidious way, full of intrigues, Kyiv will be set up as the capital of the newly formed imperium and the Ukrainian national emblem will be used as the symbol of this imperium.

Prospects For The West

The Russian Communist system, whether under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchov, Breshnev, Suslov, Malenkov or Shelepin, remains unchangeable. Neither a boastful nor a silent man can touch the central core of this system. The violent overthrow of the whole system is the only solution. In this respect, the main role is played not by the Peking-Moscow conflict, but the Kyiv-Moscow conflict. Kyiv is the key position, not Peking. The West, therefore, must promote a disintegration process in the Russian and Red Chinese empires and help to unfold a national and social liberation revolution from within, and not repeat its error of World War II (joining forces with Moscow against Berlin). Instead it should take up against Moscow and Peking in a common front with the subjugated peoples and transfer the liberation war to the enemy-dominated territories and smash and annihilate both empires and the Communist system from within.

To mourn for Khrushchov shows that one has no understanding of the social conditions in Russia and of Russian social organizations. A predatory, rotten class of leaders goes to pieces, another younger band of gangsters, which will be neither better nor worse than the overthrown, rises to the top. And, as always, a young band of gangsters will be more dynamic and more aggressive in the beginning. It is clear, however, that this Stalinistic, de-Khrushchovized class of leaders will fall even faster than the former Stalinistic, Khrushchovian class of leaders, and this not so much in competition with Red China or with the West, which does not comprehend the organic weakness of the imperium and of Communism, but under the constant pressure of a liberation fight on the part of the subjugated peoples and people.

Red China's Atomic Bomb

The Red Chinese atomic bomb would not present such a great threat, as everyone assumes, if one had not overlooked the most important aspect of the whole

thing. Even those who work in the Red-Chinese factories, the manufacturers and bearers of the atomic bomb, do not as a whole venerate Lenin and Marx, but Confucius and Sun Yat-sen. If the National Chinese alternative is ignored and Taiwan is regarded solely as a US military base, and not as a freedom-radiating island, which inspires hundreds of millions of people on the Chinese mainland, then it is clear that Mao Tse-tung and his atomic bomb represents a threat. As long as Taiwan is not given a free hand to unfold its liberation war on the Chinese mainland, just as South Vietnam and South Korea do not have any possibility of initiating a military offensive toward the North, the curtailment of the so-called red-yellow danger remains unsuccessful. The United States waited until Peking had an atomic bomb; the United States also waited until the Russians stole thermo-nuclear weapons from the Americans, and now one demurs: *What now?* Free hand for Taipei, Seoul, Saigon and all offensive liberation forces of the world! It is neither Moscow nor Peking, both of which are too weak, that are leading the world into the abyss, but lack of determination and indecisiveness on the part of Washington, which, with its enormous power, coupled with the subjugated peoples' thirst for freedom, has never demonstrated the courage to apply its superiority on time, to exert pressure and to exercise force against the criminal system! A year ago, it would have been easier to bring about a National Chinese landing than now. If Mao Tse-tung continues to perfect his atomic power, which did not even exist a short time ago, then it will be even more difficult to land in a year from now. With such rotten politics, the West digs its own grave. The following paradoxical situation could come about: our peoples might overthrow Communism and Russian domination with their own forces while the same Communism seizes power in some Western countries. Then perhaps we might yet help to liberate the West! Let us hope, however, that reason and faith in higher values than a golden calf will be victorious in the West! May Heaven help!



Ukrainian Demonstration In Bonn On The Fifth Anniversary Of Bandera's Death

Five Years Since The Death Of Stefan Bandera

Five years ago Stefan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, was assassinated in Munich, Germany. This tragic event happened at 1 p.m. on 15th October 1959, when Stefan Bandera was on his way home. The assassin, who was later named as Bohdan Stashynsky, met his victim inside the building and sprayed him with poisonous liquid from a specially constructed pistol, which by a method of compressed air passed poison into the skin. Shortly afterwards Stefan Bandera was lying dead in the hospital.

The news of this atrocious murder committed by an agent of the Russian K.G.B. at the direct order from Moscow not only shocked all Ukrainians but many other people in the world. At that time no one knew the name of the assassin or his motives. The leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) as well as its members and sympathisers believed from the first moment that this heinous murder was committed by Russian agents who for years had been trying to eliminate Stefan Bandera, considered by them to be enemy number one. But at the beginning many people in the West were not aware of this. They did not anticipate properly the role of the OUN in the Ukrainian struggle for independence, nor what might happen to the so-called U. S. S. R. should this independence be attained.

The assassin, Bohdan Stashynsky, was able to escape unnoticed after committing the crime. But on the 12th August 1961 this same agent defected to the West and confessed to the murders of Stefan Bandera on the 15th November 1959 and of Lev Rebet two years before on the 12th October 1957. After one year in custody he was tried in October 1962 at Karlsruhe before the highest court of justice in the German Federal Republic. The trial lasted, with some intervals, until the 15th October 1962. On 19th October the verdict was announced. Bohdan Stashynsky, agent of the Russian K. G. B., who was presented with the order of the Red Banner by Alexander Shelepin, the chief of the K. G. B., for his murders of Stefan Bandera and Lev Rebet, was found guilty of those murders and sentenced to eight years imprisonment.

While mourning today the tragic death of Stefan Bandera, that most outstanding Ukrainian patriot, leader and revolutionary, we wish once more to bring the plight of the Ukrainian nation to the attention of the Free World. At the same time we wish to point out to all people interested in justice and human dignity that although the assassin has been tried and sentenced, those who gave him the role of murderer have not been brought to justice. Besides the already mentioned chief of the K.G.B., direct responsibility for the murders lies also on Mr. Nikita Khrushchov who was the head of the Communist Party and Government in Russia, and on all the members of the Presidium of the Communist Party and Government. These are the people who conduct the activities of the K. G. B. and its agents and they should be brought to justice by the International Court. Stashynsky's trial has proved their guilt.

Stefan Bandera — A Man And Symbol



Stefan Bandera in 1939

In his article dedicated to the tragic death and the illustrious memory of the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, Stefan Bandera, the outstanding philosopher of Ukrainian nationalism, Dr. Dmytro Donzow raises the question as to what reasons there could be for the murder of Stefan Bandera by poison on October 15th 1959, in Munich, after Bolshevist agents treacherously murdered the former leader of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian forces, Simon Petlura (in Paris in 1926) and the founder of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Eugen Konovalets (in Rotterdam in 1938):

“Why has Stefan Bandera been murdered at precisely this moment and why, of all people, he? Because the trip of the ‘Peacemaker’ of the Kremlin, which was so carefully prepared by the Moscow loudspeakers and by the ‘leftist’ Jericho trumpets of the West, ended in a complete fiasco. And because the appearance in the West of this ruthless tyrant sufficed to destroy the entire effect of all the publicity fuss, — and because even the simpletons of the West who were taken in most of all by this publicity drive noticed the dev-

vil’s claws on the ‘friendly’ outstretched hand of the ‘peacemaker’ and devil’s horns over his smiling face. His brutal strength was obvious, and even the notorious Russian cunning failed on this occasion; Satan revealed himself as an evil but unwise beast. The deception failed, the psychological demobilisation failed and the ‘Appeasement’ failed . . . Moscow did not succeed in attaining what it desired to achieve by its promises of peace, — namely that the West should cease the ‘cold war’ and put a stop to all anti-Soviet action on the part of the refugees. And the insecurity of the future continues, and the clique of tyrants are afraid. And it is precisely at such times that the latter find it necessary to choose the spirit of fighting Ukraine as their target, — as was likewise the case in May 1926 and in May 1938.”

“And why was Stefan Bandera chosen as the victim, — the man who breathed his last on that fatal day in autumn? . . . Precisely because his name since World War II — even from the point of view of his enemies — has become the symbol of the Ukrainian life — and — death struggle against the rapacious Muscovite occupation of Ukraine; precisely because the name Bandera, which in the old language meant ‘banner’, at a decisive moment for the further existence of Bolshevist tyranny might become a banner under which all the men of courage and honour in Ukraine, disregarding the suggestions of the enemy’s propaganda, would unite.”

The life of the hero

A brief survey of the life of the hero of the Ukrainian fight for freedom will corroborate the fact that the above statements are by no means exaggerated.

Stefan Bandera was born on January 1, 1909, in Galicia (West Ukraine), the son of a much esteemed and patriotic-minded village priest, who played an active part in the West Ukrainian fight for freedom in 1918—1919 against the armed Polish occu-

pation and for this reason — contrary to all amnesty — was later treacherously subjected to repressive measures and harassed by the Polish authorities (in the spring of 1941 both he and his wife, Stefan Bandera's mother, were deported by the Bolsheviks to East Siberia, where they died a few years later as a result of the terrible conditions prevailing there). In 1927, the year that he completed his studies at a grammar school, Stefan Bandera joined the nationalist Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), which was ruthlessly persecuted by the Polish authorities; in the following year he was arrested for propagandist activity. During the next few years, from 1929—1932, he was arrested several times, for the young revolutionary, who by this time was studying agronomy at the Polytechnical College in Lviv (Lemberg), was also beginning to occupy important positions in the OUN-West Ukraine, which in 1929 incorporated the UVO) and in 1932 became head of the said Executive Committee and territorial commander-in-chief of the UVO. In the summer of 1934 he was arrested and imprisoned in connection with the successful attempt on the part of the Ukrainian Nationalists on the life of the Polish Minister of the Interior, B. Pieracki, a fierce enemy and persecutor of the Ukrainian people; in 1936 Stefan Bandera was sentenced to death at the notorious trial against the OUN in Warsaw, but the sentence was then commuted to imprisonment for life; it was not until the autumn of 1939, after the collapse of the Polish state, that he was set free.

The dynamic political activity which he then developed led to his becoming the head of the Revolutionary Executive Committee of the OUN, and a year later the 2nd Congress of the OUN elected him as head of the entire Organisation. It was in this capacity that he played a decisive part in the proclamation of the independence and indivisibility of the Ukrainian State and in the formation of the Ukrainian National Government in Lviv on June 30, 1941; and it was in this connection that he was arrested a week later by the German Nazi occupation author-

ities and imprisoned in the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen (near Berlin) from which he was not released until September 1944; his two brothers were murdered a year earlier in the notorious concentration camp at Auschwitz (Polish chauvinists and enemies of Ukraine were among those who committed these murders).

After the war, Stefan Bandera was elected Head of the Executive Committee of the OUN at a conference of the OUN which convened in Ukraine in 1945, and in 1953, at the 4th Conference abroad, Head of the Executive Committee of the Units Abroad of the OUN; in this capacity he was in charge of the entire activity of the OUN up to the time of his tragic death.

And what is more, — in this capacity he moulded the political character of the OUN and gave it its proper form of organisation. Neither the fact that he was sentenced to death, nor the years he spent in German concentration camps, nor the martyrdom inflicted on his two brothers in Auschwitz could make him swerve from his revolutionary course; he continued to pursue his path unwaveringly, regardless of obstacles or dangers.

He derived his great moral strength from his profound religiousness. Christianity was an inalienable part of his mentality and his entire activity was characterised by his faith in God and by his Christian moral principles. His patriotic nationalism was inseparably united with his Christianity. He was fully aware of the fact that Moscow, the centre of aggressive atheism and totalitarian tyranny, can only be fought successfully if Ukraine once more resumes her historical mission in East Europe, the fight for Christ against the Moscow anti-Christ. And he fought for this cause not only practically, but also and above all ideologically, for it was a direct corroboration of his own personal outlook on life and the world in general.

He was not only an outstanding organiser of the national revolution, but also a far-sighted theoretician, whose conception of Ukraine was always that of a nation standing on the common front of all the

peoples enslaved by Russia and by Communism; for this reason he was a sincere supporter and a determined champion of the ideas of freedom advocated by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), in whose foundation and activity he played an outstanding part. The Ukrainian problem was in his opinion a problem which concerns the whole world; he desired freedom and national independence both for his own native country, as well as for all the other peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism.

When the two totalitarian imperialisms clashed on Ukrainian soil in 1941, he courageously decided to wage the two-front fight, the basis of which was provided by the Ukrainian act of state of June 30th 1941. He regarded the national revolution as an all-embracing revival of the entire nation in every sphere of public and private life.

He had the courage to reach decisions and to assume responsibility in this respect, without casting the blame for possible failures on others. He was relentless in his attitude towards the national enemy, but he respected every honest and righteous action on the part of Ukrainians whose political attitude differed from his, and he was firmly convinced that at the decisive moment in Ukraine's history all sincere patriots of Ukraine would cast aside their internal political differences and would set the interests of the Ukrainian nation above all else.

He was also interested in the problems of the Ukrainian National Revolution regarding a political programme, and he contributed an important share to the ideological contents of Ukrainian nationalism. His ideas, expressed in various publications and also in his political correspondence, will, once they have been compiled, give a clear picture of his views and his political testament.

His death has dealt Ukraine a heavy blow. Moscow has murdered the leader of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom in the firm conviction that this crime, committed at a time of so-called 'peaceful co-existence' and the capitulation mood in the

West will not lead to any external political conflicts. But the Free World should realize that the murder of Stefan Bandera will be a 'memento mori' for all those who do not support the Ukrainian fight for freedom: Moscow's crime is a corroboration of its determination to prepare itself for a decisive fight with the West in the near future. Will the West comprehend this?

Moscow wasted all its forces in order to destroy Stefan Bandera morally and ideologically and thus deal the Ukrainian nationalist movement and the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom a deadly blow. A torrent of disgusting lies and insidious defamations and accusations, — such were the weapons with the aid of which the Muscovite subjugator endeavoured to kill Stefan Bandera morally in the eyes of the Ukrainian people and of the free world. But Moscow failed to do so. Not being able to vanquish the leader of fighting Ukraine ideologically, the vile enemy killed him physically.

Moscow is endeavouring to break the Ukrainian spirit and, by taking Stefan Bandera from our midst, believes that the Ukrainian nation will thus be spiritually crushed, and, overwhelmed by despair, will abandon the national fight for freedom.

Such hopes are futile! — The deceased was the very personification of the ideas of the entire Ukrainian nation, of the ideas which inspire it, of the ideas for which it suffers and for which millions of Ukrainians have already sacrificed their lives. The name of Stefan Bandera has become the symbol of the present anti-Russian fight of Ukraine for state independence and for human freedom. In Bandera's own words: "The enemy has not succeeded in killing the invincible spirit of the fight against evil and violence and for truth and freedom amongst the Ukrainians and the other subjugated peoples". — "The striving for freedom and truth, a sense of right and a noble-minded idealism, have always constituted the principles of the Ukrainian people and of the individual Ukrainian, and have been and always will be the main forces that guide and govern Ukrainian life and Ukrainian mentality".

The Aims Of The Slovakian People

In the West, when people write or speak about the Slovakian problem, I often have the feeling that they are not at all familiar with this problem, and that they do not see us as we really are. Our claim to independence, for instance, is regarded as only a political matter, as a matter of national ambition. Indeed, people attempt to represent our claim as an expression of extreme nationalism. For us, however, the question of independence is first and foremost a human and social question. When we speak of independence, we are thinking of the realization of basic human rights and freedom in Slovakia.

In the West, the unfavourable conditions of life under which we Slovaks had to exist — or to express it more accurately; under which we had to vegetate — are hardly ever taken into account. The fact that the necessary preconditions for the leading of a humanly dignified life were not granted to our people in the past is not taken into consideration. Foreign rule in Slovakia never realized the so highly valued virtues of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". Indeed, the foreign rulers never seriously strove to realize these virtues. Before 1918, foreigners in Slovakia secured privileges for themselves by ordinances, and since then by summary solutions. The Slovak, on the other hand, when he wanted to lead a humanly dignified life, was forced to emigrate. And it is no accident, but an expression of the system that was practiced in Slovakia until 1939, that the Slovak was more likely to succeed abroad than at home.

Above all, the Slovakian problem was a social one. It was a problem of removing the poverty and misery in which the Slovakian people were forced to live. The most diverse foreign elements, who were willing to serve the ruling class in the domination of Slovakia, were given the best possible conditions of existence, while the Slovak was compelled to vegetate on the

periphery of the established social order. Only in this way could a small minority of privileged people rule Slovakia and maintain their own priority.

More and more the Slovakian people became convinced that the existing unjust system could not correspond to the law of God. They were able to observe that the governmental system that was represented by foreigners worked only in the interest of the rulers and not at all in the interest of the Slovakian people. Our people saw ever more clearly that it would only be possible for them to live at home, to develop naturally and to find their happiness when they could, in accordance with the law of nature, determine their own destiny.

Herein lie the roots for Slovakia's strivings for independence. As we can see, it is not a theoretical, political or prestige matter. Rather it is a matter of existence, of the realization of humanity, of the establishment of human dignity, of a just solution of Slovakia's economic and social problems. Slovakian nationalism is a product of the purest democratic ideas, of man's progressive strivings for a better, more just, more humanly dignified life.

For the catastrophic situation in which the Slovakian people found themselves before 1939, they received little or absolutely no sympathy from the outside world. There was no understanding of what might have been done to remove the injustices that the Slovakian people had to endure daily. Only occasionally did someone take an interest in Slovakia's destiny. Where were the preachers of human brotherhood, of humanitarianism? Where were the liberals and conservatives, the democrats, socialists, etc. at that time? The world in which the Slovaks had to endure so much suffering was a world of egotists, of exploiters, of cynics, who upheld the existing, unjust order. It was a ruthless world, in which the basic law of existence was: "Save yourself if you can!"

Who has the right to tell us what we may or may not do on the 14th of March? Who has fulfilled the moral prerequisites to be able to reproach us for having taken advantage of the favourable opportunity to take our God-given right, i. e., to take our destiny, in our own hands? It is well known that we did not make any claim to anything that did not belong to us according to the law of nature. Nonetheless, all those who would like to reprimand us did not make any effort to help us. On the contrary: they let no opportunity pass to create difficulties for us.

But we proved our political maturity. We did not use force of arms against our former oppressors. In the establishment of the Slovakian Republic, there were no acts of violence against the former privileged persons. During the existence of our independence, no sentence of death was passed against anyone, and no one was liquidated by the organs of the Slovakian Republic. In this republic the notion of inequality, which had been formerly designated as minority, was abolished. All citizens, regardless of nationality had equal rights in this new state.

Never had the Slovakian people lived more humanely, never had they witnessed such a favourable development in economic, cultural and social matters as at that time when it controlled its own destiny. The Slovaks did not want to develop at the cost of others. They did not want to exploit or injure anyone. Those who lived in Slovakia will understand that it is not an empty phrase when we declare that if Slovakia will one day be free again and her destiny will be in the hands of the Slovaks, then every person whose home is in Slovakia — the expellees, for example — will be able to return freely and find their happiness there and live as citizens having equal rights.

Unfortunately, the international events of 1945 disrupted this natural development. It is no secret that this happened with the approval — indeed, with the support — of those who constantly speak about democracy, human brotherhood and

justice. In the name of human rights, a tyranny was installed in Slovakia in 1945.

Today the Slovakian people live under a system that negates natural law and basic freedom. In the name of a classless society, a new privileged class has been created that is largely recruited from the non-Slovakian segment of the population. This minute privileged class rules and exploits the entire population.

Never before have the Slovakian people so strongly experienced the absence of freedom as they have since 1945, when the entire Slovakian nation became one large concentration camp. Hence, since 1945, the question of human rights has become very acute. Therefore, we cannot and will not reconcile ourselves to this state of affairs. On the other hand, we see that the many preachers of democracy, humanitarianism and justice worry themselves about the rights of the negroes in the United States — a country thousands of kilometers from here — or of the negroes in South Africa. We see that they speak up on the behalf of the negroes in the rest of the colonies, but that they do not at all want to take cognizance of the inhumanities and injustices that take place just 70 kilometers east of Vienna.

We Slovaks know that today, just as in the past, our lot is so miserable and inhuman because foreigners and not we ourselves determine our own policies. The foreign rulers have always made their decisions in their own interest and have ruled to our disadvantage and harm. We are determined, therefore, to make every effort to decide our own destiny. For us, it is not a matter of ideology or of theory — but a necessity of life. It is an expression of man's self-preservative instinct. We cannot relinquish these aspirations, for we want finally to be regarded as men with equal rights at home. In view of the enormous egotism, dishonesty, hypocrisy and ruthlessness that exist in our country, there is no other possibility for us to achieve our independence. Only by so doing can we carry through and secure our human rights.

These aims are human, progressive and

just. They are the logical consequences of the realization of democracy. One might expect, therefore, that everyone who preaches humanity, who is a friend of democracy, who speaks up on behalf of just solutions of social questions, who poses as a friend of freedom — that all these people would demonstrate an understanding for our just demands and would help us to realize them.

We know quite well that the greatest obstacle in our path to freedom and independence is the egotism and thirst for power of others. The insignificant number of Communists of Slovakian origin would never have been in a position to establish such a system of terror in Slovakia. Without support on the part of Prague, the Slovakian Communists would never have succeeded in establishing and maintaining this inhuman system in Slovakia.

We also know that the Communist Czechs would never have succeeded in gaining power in Slovakia and in restoring Czechoslovakia if they had not gained Russia's support by making concessions.

We Slovaks are very familiar with the old adage: "One will be punished by the instruments of his own sins." The Communist Czech chauvinists did not show any willingness to respect the fundamentals of freedom and humaneness with reference to the Slovaks. It is not surprising, therefore, that they themselves have become victims of the same methods and measures that they have applied against others. Only when the Czechs are honestly prepared as a nation to respect — indeed, even to support — the Slovaks' declaration of independence, will or can their own strivings toward freedom and independence prove successful. For there is only one moral law, or there is none at all.

We Slovaks know that today, more than ever before, the thesis of the indivisibility of freedom and peace is not an empty phrase. Therefore, we are convinced defenders of the freedom and independence of all the enslaved nations and individuals behind the Iron Curtain: not only of the

freedom and independence of the Slovaks, but also the Czechs, the Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Croatians, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, etc.. We are determined to carry through freedom, despite hypocrisy, egotism, thirst for power and ruthlessness of Communist domination. For us there is no doubt that all those people that have been enslaved by Moscow have the same right to determine their own destiny and to live independently in their ethnographic boundaries. For just as there are no privileged individuals, there can be no privileged nations. For the Europeans also, we claim equality of rights and the genuine application of the fundamental precepts of democracy.

We are very serious about democracy, and we are determined to pursue our course according to it. At the same time, we are determined enemies of the abuse of democracy for the purpose of masking injustices. Democracy must never be debased to an instrument for the negation of natural rights.

We know that the prerequisite for a true functioning of democracy is a moral one. By purely technical measures it is impossible to protect a citizen against the egotism and dishonesty of his fellow citizens and to avert this egotism and dishonesty. As we Slovaks are predominately Christians, we maintain that the institution of democracy must be fulfilled by the teachings of Jesus. In that way, we see an increased probability that democracy will fulfil its function.

For us, independence offers a practical solution to the problem of protecting the members of a nation from the egotism and thirst for power by others. It is a realistic means of preventing the others from falling into this temptation. For this reason, it is self-understood that we are prepared — indeed, that we are determined — to work in close relationship with all our neighbours. This working together must be a logical consequence of their cooperation in the interest of their liberation. It must be a working together on the basis of equal rights — in other words, in the sense of a genuine and honest partnership: a working

together that we see developing in free Europe before our very eyes — a working together that has already produced obvious advantages to all free European peoples.

We Slovaks — and we can say the same of all 20 European enslaved nations — we are all determined upholders of the unity of the European nations. We are convinced that this is the right way that can lead to the development of Europe, so that Europe will again fulfil its historical function in the world. At the same time, this is the prerequisite for stability and the assurance of freedom in the world. Our people are waiting for the happy hour when they will be incorporated into a united Europe.

These are the aims for which we stand. They are in keeping with our tradition. In the hope of realizing these human, natural and Christian precepts, we appeal to all people of good will to support us in their own interest.



Danish Youth Honours The Memory Of Stefan Bandera

On the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the assassination of Stefan Bandera, a great son of the Ukrainian people and one of the leaders of the subjugated peoples, it is an honour for the youth of Demokratisk Alliance in Denmark to express their sympathy to the surviving members of Stefan Bandera's family. In so doing, we simultaneously honour the memory of a patriot, a hero of anti-Nazi resistance and concentration camps and a martyr of the subjugated peoples.

By his life and his sacrifice, Stefan Bandera demonstrated the greatness of our time and its heroism.

The cowardly act of murder, which was celebrated by a Communist act of state, shows clearly and beyond all trace of doubt that coexistence is not possible, and that the only way, not only for the subjugated peoples, but for the free world also, is that of a revolutionary fight.

In this tenor we send the greetings of the democratic youth of our country to ABN and the Ukrainian Freedom Movement. To all of us, Bandera's fate will be a warning and a testament.

Sincerely yours,

DEMOKRATISK ALLIANCE

Sören Steen,
President

Henning Jensen,
Secretary General

Russia Always Breaks Her Agreements

A détente and normalization of the East-West relations can be spoken of only if Moscow restores the international agreements that it has broken, and keeps the new ones.

The West's continual attempts to bring about a détente and normalization of the East-West relations have always failed. Nothing else can be expected, however, for Red Moscow's goal has always been the subjugation of the entire world under Communism. It has pursued this goal first and foremost and has, in accordance with this pursuit, either broken or simply disregarded all international agreements that ran counter to its ambitions. Whoever thinks otherwise, deceives himself, as many people have already often deceived themselves regarding Moscow's behaviour toward the West.

As the history of its international life shows, Red Moscow exploits all possible ways and means to compass its goals. The most diverse bilateral and multilateral agreements, which it has made and is still making, has broken, breaks and always will break, are a part of this pursuit, for as far as Moscow is concerned, the goal always justifies the means.

So that the reader of the *ABN Correspondence* can convince himself of the truth of what has just been stated, we would like to attach — in addition to those already given in the March-April 1964 issue of *ABN Correspondence* (p. 30) — a number of examples.

Bulgaria

In Yalta and Potsdam it was agreed to reconstruct a free Bulgaria politically and economically on democratic principles. Moscow, however, did not pay the slightest heed to this agreement. Instead, with the help of a local Communist Party, it obstructed this process and, using cunning and terror, introduced a Communist regime against the will of the people in Bulgaria.

Estonia

In 1920, Moscow recognized Estonia's independence; in 1932 it signed a non-

aggression pact with her which was renewed for 10 years in 1934; in 1939, it forced Estonia to sign a mutual assistance pact. On June 16, 1940, nonetheless, Soviet military forces occupied Estonia, and on the 6th of August of the same year, using deception and force, and contrary to the will of her people, Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Finland

In 1917, Moscow recognized Finland's independence; in 1932, it signed a non-aggression pact with her. In 1934, the validity of this pact was extended to 1945. Already in 1939, however, 6 years before the expiration of the non-aggression pact, it attacked Finland with its military forces.

Georgia

In 1920, Moscow recognized Georgia's independence and established diplomatic relations with her. In the very next year, however, it attacked her.

Japan

In 1941, Moscow concluded a 5 year treaty of neutrality with Japan. In 1945, however, Moscow attacked Japan.

Korea

Only as a consequence of Moscow's corresponding offences, which fully invalidate the mutual agreement between Moscow and Cairo, are there two Korean states today — one under Communist slavery, the other free.

Latvia

Moscow's behaviour toward Latvia is very similar to its behaviour toward Estonia: In 1920, it recognized Latvia's independence and signed a non-aggression pact with her which was renewed for 10 years in 1934. In 1939, it forced Latvia to sign a mutual assistance pact. In 1940, however, it occupied the country and on August 5th of the same year, by the use of its usual machinations, it incorporated Latvia into the Soviet Union.

Lithuania

With Lithuania, Moscow followed the same course as with Estonia and Latvia. In

1920, it recognized Lithuania's independence; in 1926, it signed a non-aggression pact with her which was renewed in 1931 and extended in 1934 to the end of 1945. On October 10, 1939, though it had already agreed to divide Lithuania with the Third Reich on August 23rd and September 28th of the same year, it forced Lithuania to sign a pact of mutual assistance. On the 15th of June 1940, it occupied Lithuania, and on the 3rd of August of the same year, by the use of force, it annexed Lithuania to the Soviet Union.

Poland

In 1932, Moscow signed a non-aggression pact with Poland; in 1934, the validity of this pact was extended for 10 years and was again confirmed in 1938. On the 17th of September of the following year, however, it attacked Poland and a few weeks later divided her with the Third Reich. During the war against the Third Reich, Moscow established relations with the Polish exile government. After a short time, however, it discontinued relations with this government and established new relations with the Polish liberation committee or Lubliner committee, which was sympathetic to Moscow.

Rumania

In 1934, Moscow recognized Rumania's independence and guaranteed her sovereignty. In 1944, however, it invaded Rumania. After occupying Rumania, Moscow declared that it was only a temporary occupation, for the duration of the war — but it never ceased. Moreover, contrary to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and against the will of the people, a Communist regime was introduced into the country, with the co-operation and the assistance of a local Communist Party.

As far as the Red army in Rumania is concerned, the Minister President declared, as early as 1955, that it would remain in the country as long as the American army remained in Europe.

Ukraine

In 1917, Moscow recognized the complete sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. Ultimatums followed hard upon this recognition, however. These ultimatums were

an interference in the internal affairs of this new national republic and aimed at its subjugation under Moscow's domination. Following their rejection by the Ukrainian government of that time, Moscow began to occupy Ukraine with the Red army. Since, on this occasion, Moscow's military campaign failed, owing to the tenacious resistance of the Ukrainian people, it promised, in the Brest-Litovsk agreement with Ukraine in 1918, to remove forthwith the Russian troops and Russian guards from Ukrainian soil, and, in 1920, signed another agreement with Ukraine, according to which Ukraine's right to independence was once again granted. Russia did not relinquish her goal, however, and with all the means at her disposal, including the Red army, Moscow nonetheless succeeded in subjugating Ukraine.

Hungary

Although it had been agreed in the Yalta and Potsdam conferences to reconstruct a free and democratic Hungary, Moscow heeded neither these agreements, nor the will of the people, and just as with Bulgaria and Rumania, using the local Communist Party, which suppressed all non-Communist organizations and parties, a Communist regime was introduced. Moreover, the Red army was supposed to remain in Hungary only to guarantee the security of the Red army units which were stationed in Austria. But it is still there, though Red army troops are no longer to be found in Austria. Furthermore, according to a United Nation's decree, Moscow was supposed to evacuate its troops from Hungary.

Does Moscow keep its agreements pertaining to Germany?

Hasn't Moscow repudiated the "spirit" of Geneva, in the creation of which the former Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Khrushchov, took part, and on which the West had set such high hopes?

Has Moscow kept the promise which it made to the President of the United States in the Cuban crisis?

Does Moscow adhere to the convention of the United Nations concerning the fight against discrimination in the field of education which it ratified on July 2nd 1962?

Not a single one of the oldest states of the world has either broken or disregarded so many agreements as Red Moscow has broken or disregarded in its not yet half-century old history. Despite all this, however, Moscow still urges the signing of agreements, especially with the West. At the moment it is making great efforts to bring about the signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw pact countries. The signing of such a pact will not change the policy which it has pursued in the past, but will certainly serve Communist expansion. With such a pact, Moscow will increase its prestige in the Communist, as well as in the non-Communist world. Just as in the case of its agreement with the West regarding partial test stops, Moscow will use this new pact to demonstrate to those countries which are subjugated to it, or are under its influence, just how unconcerned the West is with respect to their fate, and that they have been completely abandoned to Soviet arbitrariness. It will give

them the opportunity to demand their former allies to evacuate their troops from foreign soil, will create new conditions for the recognition of the so-called German Democratic Republic *de jure* etc.. For Moscow, however, the greatest gain would be to bring about the disarmament of the West — this would be the crowning of all the deception-maneuvers which Red Moscow has undertaken against the free world since the inception of Communism in Russia. The West would indeed experience a “new era”, but as can be imagined, not the one it desires, but a Communist one.

Agreements alone, without their full compliance on the part of Moscow, will never achieve the détente and normalization of the East-West relations desired by the West, for — we have witnessed it again and again — Moscow writes one thing and does another. The West should finally force Moscow, by every means at its disposal, not only to restore its broken agreements, but also to keep its new ones.

The Fortieth Anniversary Of The Uprising In Georgia 1924-1964

In all the countries of the Western world, the Georgians in exile recall the day of the people's uprising in Georgia, in August 1924.

This uprising, which began spontaneously throughout all Georgia, was brutally suppressed in blood by Russian troops. In his memoirs Leo Trotzky writes that at the Politbureau meeting, Stalin said: “Georgia must be ploughed up!” His emissary, S. Ordshonikidse, did just that — thoroughly. Thousand upon thousand of people were shot or deported to Siberia. Neither women, nor children, were spared.

At that time, Prof. Dr. Erick Obst, the chief editor of the periodical *Geopolitik*, chanced to be staying in Georgia. Later he published a detailed description of this Georgian tragedy in his periodical.

Russia's reaction to this uprising was a terrible blow to the Georgians. From that time, they have had to readjust themselves to save the physical existence of their national character.

In the meantime new generations have grown up that offer tenacious and indefatigable resistance to Soviet Russia's merciless suppression.

The Georgians are firmly convinced that some day, the right to freedom and independence which is enjoyed by every individual and every nation throughout the civilized world will become a reality for the Georgian people also.

An Exiled Armenian Politician's View On Russian Imperialism

At an Armenian emigration celebration in Buenos Aires, the Minister of Education of the Armenian exile government, Bedros Han Agopjan, held a memorable speech, from which we have taken the following statements.

Many people think that the Russian people are also hapless victims in the hands of the Communist regime. Certainly, as human beings, the Russians also suffer under Red barbarity. As a national whole, as a Russian nation, however, they are even happy about the fact that the Communist regime has realized all the imperialistic ambitions, of which the Russians have dreamt. The so-called "Soviet Union" was able to achieve the largest expansion in the annals of Russian history. At no time in her history were the Russian boundaries so far extended beyond ethnographic Russia, and never was the Russian language forced upon the conquered peoples to such an extent as it is today . . .

Russia aims at the assimilation of the peoples who have come under her domination. Let me quote you concrete facts. The Armenian independent republic came into being on May 28, 1918. After centuries of decimation by the Turkish conquerors, the Armenian nation was finally able to achieve its independence. Our national sovereignty, however, was short-lived. Already by November 29, 1920, the Armenian Republic had perished. The Armenian government was forced to accept the Sovietization of the country. Russian troops occupied our native country, and since then, the 29th of November 1920 is a day of mourning for the Armenian nation.

The occupation of Armenia by the Russians – whether Communist or tsarist, the Russians have always been and are at present imperialists – resulted in a systematic policy of assimilation and Russification of our people and our culture. To this end the Russians have taken the following measures: They changed the orthography of the Armenian script; they introduced Russian words into the Armenian language, which words constitute 23% of the Armenian vocabulary in our native country at the present time; they demolished all historical relics and ordered the removal of graves of well-known Armenians; they annulled the Orthodox Armenian Church; they either murdered or deported to Siberia 5,800 writers and intellectuals; they erected 2,000 Russian schools on Armenian territory; they organized the forced resettlement of the Armenian population to far off regions.

I am speaking here in a way that is not usual at public meetings. My vocabulary is also not very diplomatic. I know this and accept this criticism – nonetheless, I make a point of expressing myself clearly. The truth must be illuminated directly and plainly, even if by doing so, we may have a disagreeable effect on some people.

I openly accuse Russian politics both in the past and in the present of being false, deceitful and demagogic. The Armenian nation has every reason to think so. Her blood-drenched history justifies our pessimism.

But what happens in the West? Are Western people really familiar with Russian

mentality? Are they capable of distinguishing between words and their true intention?

No – a thousand times no! The West is a blind man with open eyes. We Armenians believe that the liberation of our country will only be possible after the fall of the Communist world. The solution of the Armenian question is dependent upon the liberation of all subjugated peoples. We are convinced that the times of individual solutions are already a part of the past. Either all or none – this is the reality.

The United States of North America spends millions of dollars for the fight against Russian and Chinese Communism. To be sure, we value the extraordinary sacrifices which Americans make for the defence of democracy. Nevertheless, we affirm that something fundamental is missing: namely, they are not familiar with Russian mentality. American dollars have been wasted with the best of intentions, but we doubt that positive results will be achieved.

We certainly do not want to insult the Americans. Nonetheless, we must point out to our American friends the enormous tactical mistakes which they make for the simple reason that they do not know the Russians. The Americans have plenty of dollars, but they do not understand how to invest them. This is our humble but honest opinion.

Today Communism is being promoted all over the world with American dollars. The Americans pay and the Russians laugh in their sleeves. This is the naked truth. It is not enough to have a good pistol. One must also know how to use it.

During Roosevelt's administration all of East Europe was given to Russian Communism and was almost doomed to death. In other words, humanity was sold in Teheran, Yalta and Casablanca, and the very mention of these three names makes one blush with shame.

To be sure, everyone is aware of this world tragedy, but only few have the courage to name the responsible people. We will not leave it to history, but we, his living sacrifices, accuse Franklin Roosevelt. He is accused by our people who are bound in chains today . . .

In speaking of this we are prompted only by the desire to prevent such a calamitous mistake, which can never be forgiven, from being made again in the future. We have cited facts that preclude any discussion. They are exposed to the eyes of the whole world.

We Armenians are convinced that owing to their boundless generosity and good will, the Americans do not recognize the danger of Communism and of Russian imperialism in its fullest significance.

Macedonian Tribune, Volume 37, No. 1909

Diefenbaker, 1962:

"The Communist world is divided against itself today. But though they are divided among themselves, they are united in one thing, and that is their unity against us. Their dispute is about means, not about ends, and we would be running grave risks if we were to base our policies on the assumption that the Communist world is crumbling.

"Of one thing there can be no question. The only places which become danger spots are those chosen by the U.S.S.R. or its communist assistants or associates."

Communism In Mexico

by Jorge Prieto Laurens,

*President of the People's Anti-Communist Party of Mexico
and of the Organizing Committee of the First Latin American Christian Congress*

For many, many years I have struggled against the followers of Marx and Lenin and against those politicians who would like to see Mexico converted into a Communist or Socialist state.

As long ago as 1923, when I was President of the National Cooperativist Party and President of Congress (made up of the House of Representatives and the House of Senators), we very clearly established our position in the face of agrarian and labour demagogism, which the President of the Republic, General Alvaro Obregón, and his Secretary of State (Chief of the President's Cabinet) were determined to establish firmly in our country. The Socialist agitators, such as Felipe Carrillo Puerto and Luis N. Morones, not to mention a score of others, had full official backing and occupied key positions in both federal and state public administration.

When the election of the new President was forthcoming, General Obregón determined to "name" his close friend, General Calles, against the manifest opposition of the Mexican people. Even the Army, born of the 1910-1913 Revolution, was unanimously against the imposition of General Calles for President. His sole allies were to be found among the radical and pro-Communist elements of the Agrarian and Labour parties. However, Obregón was clever enough to obtain the complete approval of the Government of the United States of North America, by signing the Bucareli Treaties, which frankly damaged our national sovereignty and granted extraordinary privileges to the American citizens established in our country or having investments within our boundaries.

Notwithstanding the strong, popular and military uprisings, Obregón's government, ably aided by the United States, as stated in President Coolidge's declaration before the American Congress, imposed General Plutarco Elís Calles as President of the Republic, after one of the most bloody and violent battles which our country has ever witnessed, mocking the basic principles of the Mexican Revolution: Effective Suffrage and non-Re-election.

Calles immediately established the so-called "socialist school", declaring that children no longer belonged to their parents and that they would henceforth be considered wards of the State, which would be in charge of their education. A cruel, merciless, religious persecution began. From it arose the "Cristero" Movement, soon stifled again, with the help of the United States government.

Obregón tried to get himself re-elected, but an assassin's bullet put an end to this. Calles' henchmen prepared the "election" of a drab military man from the state of Michoacan, General Lázaro Cárdenas, who became President of the Republic.

Cárdenas began in earnest the process of making Mexico a Communist country, under the banner of the Agrarian Reform. Hunger, poverty, and unemployment rampaged through regions which had previously been prosperous. The expro-

priation of oil properties was another blow which plunged the country into devaluation, monetary inflation, and other grave economical consequences, which had equally serious social outcomes. Public education passed into the hands of the most radical of the leftists and Communists.

The unending race of State intervention in private enterprise had begun. The national railways were turned over to employees and workers, which resulted in confusion and failure. This was so evident that the Government was forced to take over again, with not much greater success. The oil industry in our country (Petróleos de México) appears to be a bottomless well in the sense that there seems to be no end to the number of employees who receive outlandish salaries. The same is true of the National Railways, where privileged groups of workers flourish, against an enormous mass of workers and farmers who barely earn enough to live on. Both of these enterprises, like many others which appeared afterwards, show tremendous losses every year; losses which are covered by the National Treasury.

Mexico's international relations, from Cárdenas' regime onwards, stand out because of the close friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Bloc, and by the constant sabotage of the Pan American unity, which was upheld only during the World War II period. Since then, Mexico consistently votes against the United States, and against her sister countries in our continent, both in the United Nations and in the O. E. A. gatherings. Mexico's government has always championed the cause of Castro Ruz and his partners of infamy.

Currently, Mexican Communists hold privileged positions. They have been clever in getting footholds in the National Official Party (P.R.I.), and they hold important offices in all the Ministries of State, Departments and State Enterprises, including the most important institutions of the official banking circles.

The PaPoSo (People's Socialist Party) of Vicente Lombardo Toledano enjoys a substantial official subsidy from the so-called "Worker's University", which is nothing but a nest of sabotaging leaders, ably directed by Russian, Czech, Polish, Chinese, and Cuban agents. It is very probable that the PaPoSo will obtain twenty seats in the House of Representatives in the next elections, beside the "travelling companions" who are already in the P.R.I.. In order to cover up a little official support given to Communists, the Government has thrown into jail a few Reds, more or less dangerous, who rather exceeded themselves in their activities, attempting to grab public power from the reigning oligarchy.

The National University of Mexico, with an enrollment of 80,000 students (the largest in America), and which receives an official subsidy of more than four hundred million pesos per year, is a breeding ground of agitation and Marxist-Leninist propaganda, as everyone knows.

The University's publications, as well as their broadcasting station (Radio Universidad) are at the beck and call of the Russian and Cuban embassies.

This same state of affairs is duplicated in the smaller universities of the provinces where leftist students and teachers flourish, in spite of the fact that the majority are not Communists.

The National Polytechnical Institute, with 60,000 students, and numerous branch-schools in the states, dependent on the Board of Public Education, are also

nests of Red agitation and propaganda, from which our future technicians will stem and will hold all our national industries in their hands.

Teachers colleges in the Capital and in the states, are also centres of training for the Socialist "squads" of the future.

The Catholic majority, on the other hand, known as the National Sinarquist Union, has been denied the right to participate in the political election activities. The "Independent parties" are acting as a supporting chorus for the P.R.I..

In the Military Academy, where the future chiefs of our armed forces are trained, military students are forced to take a complete three-year course on Marxism and its world applications.

The Director of the National Public Education Committee, as well as the Director of Higher Education and of Scientific Research, are known as active participants in the pro-Peace Soviet Congresses, and other international organs which the Soviet Bloc maintains in the free world.

In its publications the Mexican Educational Academy, counseled by the Board of Education, has stated more than once that it operates under the International Teacher's Organization, with headquarters in Prague, from which source it receives not only orders, but also financial help.

The press, radio, and television are practically controlled by Government censors and by the "indispensable fools" who travel as "intellectuals" in this media. Bookshops and important publishing houses are also controlled by leftist radicals. There is a large publishing concern: "Mundo de Cultura Economica", established by public funds, and which is dedicated to the publication and distribution of Marxist works, not only in Mexico, but in Central and South America as well as in the Caribbean Islands.

The Government loudly proclaims respect for freedom of the press in particular, and of freedom of expression in general; but it has its own controlling organization: the P. I. P. S. A., an official concern which holds the monopoly for importing paper for newspapers, magazines, etc.. In this way anyone not exactly toeing the line, will soon find himself without paper on which to print. All newspapers, magazines and news agencies receive subsidies from the government.

Farmers, workers and government employees' groups which form the bulk of the P.R.I. are dependent upon Socialist or Communist leaders, who force the working element to assume a reddish tint whether they like it or not, by simply threatening them with the loss of their jobs if they are employees, or with the loss of their land if they are farmers, or with the much feared "exclusion clause" if they are labourers.

Corruption and wanton waste of public funds is a common state of affairs, and the Government has admitted that the enormous annual losses are being covered with foreign loans, which have climbed to incredible figures.

The People's Anti-Communist Party here in Mexico is going to publish a book with sensational revelations on Communist infiltration in our country, with complete details and incontestable proofs. Unfortunately, we can neither print a large edition, nor have it translated into English, because we lack funds. There are very few people who understand our work and who are willing to give us help.

The Ouster Of Goulart's Government In Brazil

by Admiral Carlos Penna Botto

Chairman of the Brazilian Anti-Communist Crusade; Chairman of the International Confederation for the Defence of the Continent

I started my article on Goulart, written for the "Committee on Anti-Communist Action" (Centerville, Ohio, USA) and published a couple of months ago, by accusing the then President of Brazil as "the biggest and most dangerous agitator of the Brazilian proletariat since the year 1953"; and concluded by stating: "To all appearances the government's motto is *the worse the better*, either due to absolute ineptitude or else due to the deliberate purpose of driving the country towards chaos, confusion, despair, and finally Communism. Well, thanks be to Heaven, the traitor Goulart wasn't able to drive the country into Communism, even though he succeeded, as a preliminary stage, in 'driving it to chaos, confusion and despair' . . .

Yes, Goulart was ousted from the government on the 31st March — 1st April, by a military *coup d'état*, which had the people's hearty approval. This was done at the very last moment, so to speak, for the rascal had planned to unleash the Communist Revolution on the 1st of May 1964.

Again I want to say that I duly forecast things to come when I wrote, several months ago, that: "It was impossible, on the basis of the foul conditions obtaining in Brazil, to uphold democracy by relying solely on the available political, administrative and government cadres."

Yes, because those cadres were thoroughly rotten. Politicians, in particular, were a filthy lot — most of them worthy of utter contempt in the eyes of good patriots. They either mixed and collaborated overtly with the Communists, or else purposely ignored the Marxist danger to the country; and, in both cases, in so doing, they always aimed at petty personal profits and gains.

At the very top of the government stood a crypto-Communist as President of the Republic, and in his environment, closely linked and tied-up with him, many well-known Communists kept strenuously devot-

ing themselves to pushing the country into a social upheaval that would make another Cuba of Brazil.

But at last, though almost at the eleventh hour, the Armed Forces awakened and decided to act in order to rescue the country from the impending Marxist threat. Let us see how that "climax" was reached.

On the 13th of March this year, a big popular rally called out and fostered by Goulart took place in a public square of Rio de Janeiro. Over one hundred and fifty thousand people, including all Communists and leftists in town, either card-bearers of the Communist Party or freelances, met there; also workers and federal service employees were forced by the government authorities to attend the meeting. Goulart and others harangued the crowd in a most subversive way, and around him, silently stood all his Secretaries of State, including (believe it or not), the three belonging to the Armed Forces: the Navy (Admiral Silvio Motta), the Army (General Jair Dantas Ribeiro) and the Air Force (Brigadier Anisio Botelho)!! Posters and placards showing the "hammer and sickle" and Communist slogans were everywhere. The gathering shocked the whole country, as it was in reality an undeniable Communist array. Besides, it was held under the exclusive protection of the Army, infantry and war tanks — for the State (of Guanabara) Police forces had been withdrawn due to the fact that the rally was purposely convened in a public square which could not be used for that purpose according to State laws.

That meeting sounded the knell for the people at large: It made crystal clear to everybody that Goulart meant to turn Brazil into a people's republic, into a Communist state, into a big Cuba . . . And the people made up their mind to react in self-defence. Strange to say, the reaction was

begun in earnest among the women of Brazil. Imbued with civic zeal and religious faith, the women of the State of Sao Paulo organized, shortly after the riotous rally of March 13, a "Family March with God for Liberty", which mustered a crowd of over 500,000 people along the main streets and squares of the city of Sao Paulo.

But that did not deter or stop Goulart and his die-hard Communist associates. On the heels of the provocative March 13th rally came, two weeks later, on the 26th and 27th of March, a very serious breach of discipline in the Navy, directly connected with Communist agitation. About 500 sailors and marines rebelled, deserted their ships and barracks, entrenched themselves later in the premises of a Syndicate under Communist control, managed to hold out there for 24 hours and were then set free on government orders!

That ominous blow left the Fleet in a desperate situation and caused a most painful impact on the country, as it mortally wounded, at least momentarily, a Service very dear to all Brazilian patriots: the *Navy!*

The Secretary of the Navy had to quit his post, thoroughly demoralized, and a new Secretary, an over-aged retired Admiral, leftist, by the way, and known as having a rather unsound mentality, was summoned by the crypto-Communist Goulart.

But the strongest impact was felt in the Army, for the Navy rebellion, provoked and carried out by Communists, looked like "the handwriting on the wall", as it concerned the other Service... The impression of imminent danger was further aggravated when another rally, an indoor one, was called three days afterwards, on the 30th of March, at the Automobile Club, in Rio, again on Goulart's command.

This rally was called together to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Military Federal Police, Warrant Officers and Sergeants. Goulart was the key speaker, followed by many other Communist agitators in his retinue. He openly preached subversion! He stirred up and spurred subversion in the Armed Forces!

The ghastly show was televised and broadcast to the whole country and caused sheer dismay, amazement and indignation. Goulart's face, as he delivered his speech, plainly revealed that he was assailed by internal emotion of the highest order. He spoke and acted as an enraged wild beast.

The sad event was truly the "drop that spilled water from the glass"; and by the way, very sour water indeed... Twenty-four hours later, in the evening of March 31st, the Armed Forces of the State of Minas Gerais rebelled against Goulart's government, followed by the Army garrisons of Sao Paulo, Parana and Guanabara, and their actions met with no opposition.

On April 1st the liberating forces were in the city of Rio, where people received them with enthusiasm and a vivid and real feeling of relief. Brazil had been saved from an imminent Communist onslaught. The Brazilian victory over Communism was a wonderful one and is likely to have far-reaching results in both internal and international fields.

Meanwhile Goulart had run away from Rio, going first to Brazilia and then, in hiding, to Uruguay. So did his ill-famed brother-in-law, agitator Brizola.

A "mopping-up operation" was started forthwith. Goulart had his civil rights cancelled for ten years, and, if extradition is granted by Uruguay, will stand trial for high treason and for the many crimes he committed. He certainly was the worst possible type of politician, devoid of any sense of dignity and responsibility. Many Communists who were holding important governmental posts ran away; others were jailed; about a dozen Representatives (lower House) had their mandates annulled; and, as I write, the "mopping-up operation" still goes on.

The A.B.N.'s sphere of fighting activity is all the territory in Europe and Asia which is either ruled or menaced by Bolshevism. A united fighting front against Moscow must be set up on a large scale in all these countries.

Communism Is A Means To Russian World Conquest

by Dr. Arin Engin

(Former member of the Board of Education in the Ministry of Education of Turkey)

Under the guise of working in the interest of the workers, Communism has become the vehicle of modern Machiavelianists to conquer the entire world and to subject it to their own autocratic rule. Under the guise of working in opposition to all forms of colonialism and imperialism, Soviet Russia has established one of the most rigid colonial empires of modern times, in the process of which she has never refrained from resorting to cruelty and the most disgusting forms of hypocrisy to gain her self-glorifying ends, which, regardless of how liberal one's thinking may be, are both anti-social and anti-human.

In Turkey, too, notwithstanding the fact that Communism has been outlawed, an underground movement is in operation. In the name of socialism, peace, love, etc., it carries on the most hideous forms of subversive activities. Most of all it works its way into student associations and labour groups to corrupt them from within. Its primary ambition is to gain control of the younger generation.

Now, though the Communism of Marx and Engels is scientifically outdated and has failed to fulfil its promises, there is a certain fanatical appeal embodied in it that can easily mislead and corrupt ignorant people and especially the younger generation, if they are not made aware of just what Communism in practice is and means.

In this respect the nations now subjugated under Soviet Russian Communism within the Soviet Union are our most instructive examples. What they have had to endure in the past and the present state of their once sovereign nations should more than convince us of what Communism as applied by Soviet Russia means.

Such a system, based as it is on terror and brute subjugation, must ultimately fall. Terror and subjugation have never bred social equality and justice. Indeed, they are violently opposed to the evolution and ad-

vancement of human freedom in any form. But we cannot hope to experience the collapse of the Soviet Russian and Red Chinese Communist systems, unless we are willing and prepared to actively oppose them. The "containment" policy advocated by the American writer, George Kennan, and the "coexistence" policy presently advanced by both sides are simply playing into the enemy's hands. Both these policies deny the inviolable national sovereignty of all the nations — Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, to name but a few — now subjugated within the Soviet empire. "Peaceful coexistence", "neutralism", "disarmament" are merely political camouflages beneath which Moscow carries out its subterfuges.

But if the West is to survive it cannot forever remain on the defensive. An active policy is needed. Fortunately, one is ready at hand — namely, the national liberation movements of the countries behind the Iron Curtain. If the West would only open its eyes to Moscow's real aim — namely, world conquest — it would no longer hesitate to support these liberation movements in every way possible. At present, 40,000,000 Turks, speaking the same language, cherishing the same historical traditions, adhering to the same religious faith, are artificially divided by Soviet Russian and Red Chinese imperialism. "Divide and rule" — this is Soviet Russia's formula to gain world domination. But Soviet Russia has not been content to simply divide the Turks, it has set about exterminating their homogeneous national integrity by applying a ruthless Russification policy. The names Uzbek, Kazak, Kirgiz and Uygour are ancient tribal names which have nothing to do with Turkestanian national unity and integrity. Even the Azerbaijan, Ural-Idel and Crimean Turks are to be regarded as an integral part of Turkish national unity. In sober fact, these so-called independent Republics established in 1924, are nothing but slaves of Soviet Rus-

sian imperialism. We can speak of the Turks under Soviet Russian and Red Chinese captivity, but to speak of Uzbek, Kazak, Kirgiz, Uygour or even Azerbaijan, Ural-Idel, Crimean and North Caucasus Mohammedans is decidedly contrary to Turkish national unity.

The subjugation of the 45,000,000 strong Ukrainian nation is likewise an example of Soviet Russian imperialism. But just as the Turkestanians, the Ukrainians have set a national liberation movement in motion that must ultimately achieve victory over Soviet Russian colonial rule and inevitably re-establish the national independent state which was once hers. All captive nations must inevitably attain their political independence, but the more we help them, the sooner they will realize their historically justified demands in this respect.

The tragic suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956, the willful starvation of 6,000,000 Ukrainians in 1932—33, the killing and starving of some 3,000,000 Turks in Turkestan in 1937—38 — what do all these tragic events signify if not the utter corruption of the Communist system. Yes, Soviet Russian Communism is rotten to the core; the Soviet Russian colonial empire must be disintegrated and independent national states must be made of all the captive nations. National liberation movements throughout the world, but especially behind the Iron Curtain, must be effectively supported. We must always remember that “no team has ever been successful by remaining solely on the defensive.”

It is fairly evident that a tremendous state of unrest exists within the Soviet Union. The West must take advantage of this unrest by supporting the liberation movements there. By so doing it will help to speed up the inevitable collapse of the titanic Soviet Russian imperium. A great state of unrest also exists in Red China. Her attacks on Tibet, Macao, Laos and India are only a futile attempt to avert attention from the real status of her inner condition. Red China, too, must and will collapse — perhaps sooner than the Soviet empire.

But let us return to Turkey. What can be done to counter and subdue the subversive

activities of Soviet Russia and Red China? In Turkey itself we must make every effort to enlighten the people concerning the real state of our brothers in the Soviet Russian and Red Chinese dominated areas. Wireless broadcasts must be transmitted and propaganda leaflets and brochures must be distributed.

In this connection the recent establishment in Ankara of an “Institute for the Studies of Turkish Culture” is very gratifying. Their publications must be distributed among the students of our universities and high schools, free of charge.

A special problem for Turkey is the non-Turkish Moslem minority, which has not yet adapted itself to the spirit of Turkish nationality. To prevent these minorities from being swallowed up by Soviet Russian subversion and other reactionary movements, they must be socially integrated and made to feel an integral part of our communities.

We must by no means accept the policy of fear, retreat and compromise. The Soviet Russian political leaders are not amenable to moral principles and human values — brute force and military superiority are their weapons. In this respect also, Soviet Russian hypocrisy plays the leading role: While openly calling for disarmament, she secretly pursues her utmost ambition — world conquest.

In the hands of the Soviet Russian and Red Chinese leaders, Communism is merely a means of enslaving nations in the name of a Communist “paradise”. World conquest is their ultimate ambition. We cannot sit back and allow this ambition to be gratified. We need a counter action. The Soviet Russian Communist movement must not only be arrested, it must be countered. In this connection we must rely upon the liberation movements of those countries already subjugated by Soviet Russia. We must support these movements effectively and with determination. We must urge nationalism and self-determination as the sole means for the salvation of civilized mankind, as the greatest reality of social evolution. The languages, national customs, folklore, etc., of the captive nations must be rescued and preserved. The struggles of these nations, their in-

The Cyprus Problem

A Bad Example of Love Toward One's Neighbour

The beginning of August of this year was marked by an intensified conflict between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority on the island of Cyprus. Greeks, after obtaining a considerable amount of new arms from Greece, began shooting at the Turkish settlements, causing death and devastation. The official Cyprus radio, which is currently controlled by the Greeks, began calling Greeks to the final battle and victory over the Turks. Of course, Turkey could not stand still at the sight of the bloody massacre of the Cyprus inhabitants related to the Turks by their religion. For this reason, therefore, in the first part of August, she sent her airplanes to Cyprus to fire upon the Greek military position. The Royal government of Greece restrained from retaliating and, perhaps because of this, did not enlarge the conflict in this very important part of the free world. In this case the Greek government was aware that the Cyprus turmoil was actually caused by the Greeks themselves. This type of behaviour on the part of the Greek government angered Archbishop Makarios, who immediately turned for assistance to such "friends" as the USSR, the United Arab Republic and Syria. Khrushchov responded to Archbishop Makarios' call and encouraged him to further "the holy war" and perhaps even secretly shipped some older armament to him. Yet, at this point, Khrushchov ceased to be aware of the mighty American fleet which was cruising around the Island of Cyprus during these critical days. International negotiations have succeeded in restoring peace between Cyprus Greeks and Turks for the time being. Due to the unrestrained character of the Cyprus President, Archbishop Makarios, it is hard to predict how long this peace will last. In brief, this is what happened on Cyprus in the beginning of August of this year.

But one cannot stop here without taking a closer look at the person who is most responsible for all the human tears and blood that have so abundantly poured on the land of this small island during the past several years. This person is the very President of this small state – which was in fact artificially created – Archbishop Makarios, who is also the head of the Autocephalous Cyprus Orthodox Church. The international press baptized Archbishop Makarios "The Black Prelate", not only because he is of dark complexion, but also because black soot covers his soul.

Although we are genuinely sorry to hear this about an Orthodox Bishop, we cannot deny the truth that the actions of this President-Bishop have nothing in common with the teaching of the Oecumenical Orthodox Church, which

sistance on their native right to self-determination and national independence is humanity's most promising hope for salvation from Soviet Russian and Red Chinese despotism. Those countries which enjoy political freedom at present should and must

support this hope. Ultimately, it is in their own interest. "Peaceful coexistence", "neutrality", "disarmament" are decoys cunningly employed by Soviet Russia. To be taken in by them could mean the defeat of the West.

among the Divine Laws stresses love toward one's neighbour. It is indeed this very love that is absent in the heart of Archbishop Makarios, who for several years has stimulated hatred toward local Turks, numbering one hundred thousand. Often, covering his shoulders with the Archbishop's garb, Archbishop Makarios calls for misanthropy and a merciless struggle against a handful of people whom the Almighty has distinguished from other people by blood, language and religion. Tragically, such is Makarios' understanding of the Divine Law concerning love toward one's neighbour and such is his inhuman realization of this love in the eyes of the adherents of his Church, and indeed of the entire Christian world.

But this is not the only Divine Law neglected by Archbishop Makarios. He also sins against other laws. He ignores his own agreements. Among many such agreements there are: an agreement concerning the independence of Cyprus; a state constitution which guarantees the human and national rights of the Turkish minority. Archbishop Makarios has trampled under his feet all these agreements signed with his own hand, thus satisfying only the wild instincts of the Greek mob, which yearns for one thing only: to destroy the Turkish minority on Cyprus. He, as a Bishop of the Orthodox Church, is indifferent to the fact that, in Turkey, Greeks are being suppressed for his actions on Cyprus; that in Istanbul there is a See of the Orthodox Patriarchy; he does not care that hundreds of his Greek brothers are being expatriated from Turkey, and that among those persecuted, there are many priests and bishops and even several Metropolitans, members of the Patriarchal Synod. He is interested in only one thing: the satisfaction of his pride, the lowest instincts of his psyche. Such is Archbishop Makarios.

With great regret he is being watched by the entire world and particularly by the Christian world. The Ukrainians have compassion with the Cyprus Turks. We too understand their hardship and sympathize with them because for decades the suffering and slavery of the Ukrainian people have been manifold. Ukrainians in the USSR are reduced to the status of a minority and are unceremoniously exploited by Moscow. Their souls and bodies are scorched by fire. To all of us Orthodox Christians, the misanthropy of Archbishop Makarios brings ignominy and calamity.

A. M.

Excerpt from a Letter to ABN President

Madrid, August 24, 1964

Your Excellency,

I thank you for your great and devoted work in the struggle against international Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism.

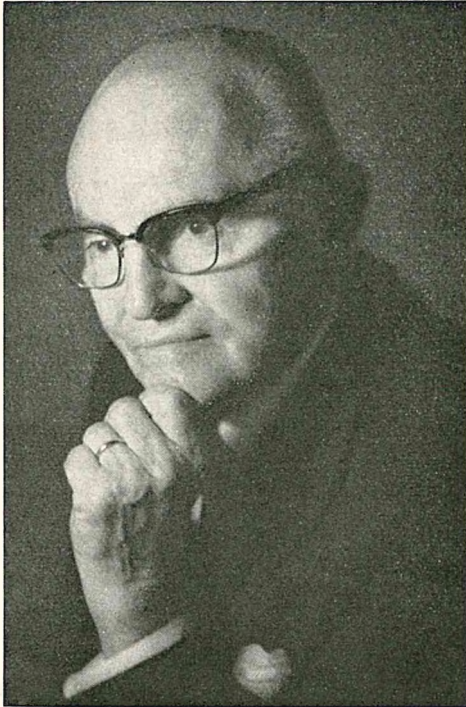
I assure you that the Croatian people will always continue the struggle, together with all other peoples of ABN, until tyranny and totalitarianism, under which the oppressed peoples suffer, are destroyed, and especially until Ukraine and Croatia achieve their freedom and state independence.

*For the Presidium of the Croatian Liberation Movement
President*

Dr. Stjepan Hefer

The Great Dane

After 38 years *Mr. Ole Björn Kraft* is going to retire from the Parliament (Folketing) of his native country Denmark, this autumn. For all those who fight and suffer with the subjugated nations, there is every reason to salute this great and noble man at this moment, when he leaves the Parliament of his nation.



Mr. Kraft is a living reminder of Denmark's glorious past as the home of the Vikings. Fearless, great and magnanimous as they were – so he is today in word and deed. One of the most refined intellects in Danish cultural life, he speaks well-chosen words which vibrate with the emotions of a man of strength and simplicity, who stands up for right and justice, ready to sacrifice himself in the service of his nation.

During the dark years of Nazi Occupation, Mr. Kraft became in the eyes of the Danish people a national rallying point and a defender of the traditional Danish values of Freedom, Tolerance, Representative Government, Law and Justice. No wonder, therefore, that the hired assassins of the Gestapo made an attempt on his life. For months he lay suspended between life and death, suffering from the effects of five wounds in head and body. Owing to his physical and spiritual strength, he gradually recovered.

The spiritual nobility which made Mr. Kraft an enemy of Nazism also caused him to turn against Communism, which he considers a mortal danger to civilization, as expressed in his recent book "Woe to the Defeated". As Minister of Defence from May 1945 to October of the same year, he fought against Communist attempts to infiltrate the Danish forces at a critical stage. As Foreign Minister from 1950 to 1953, he steered a course very close to that of the Great Western Democracies, with whom the Danish people share the ideals of national and political freedom. On the basis of a gradually developing personal friendship with Dr. Adenauer, whom he was the first Foreign Minister to call upon, he also formed still closer relations with Western Germany, despite previous bitterness over the question of Slesvig.

The subjugated, captive nations know Mr. Kraft very well from his attitude in the United Nations Assembly and The European Council at Strasbourg. When the Russian genocides tried to put part of the blame for their limitless massacres on Mr. Oberländer, Ole Björn Kraft became a member of the Committee to in-

investigate the Lviv massacre of the Ukrainian Freedom Fighters. The results of this investigation showed clearly that the Russians, under the leadership of Khrushchov, had tried to annihilate the whole Ukrainian intelligentsia.

Therefore, when Mr. Kraft made his farewell speech in the *Folketing*, it was only natural that his last word should deal with the subjugated peoples. He said that instead of talking of creating atomic-free zones in Europe, it would be better to talk of creating dictatorship-free zones. And he expressed the hope to see the day, when Eastern Europe would be liberated from Communism.

During the recent visit to Denmark by Khrushchov, the Russian dictator was received in the Danish *Folketing* by the President of Parliament. However, Mr. Kraft, as First Vice President, abstained from participating. Two days later, Mr. Kraft received the ABN delegation in his office in the Parliament Building.

In a remote corner of Europe, the Danes lead a quiet and peaceful life as a farming, trading and seafaring people. This capable and industrious people, numbering only 4 million, has a great past. Once the Danes ruled Scandinavia, Estonia, Northern Germany and England. For more than a hundred years, Danish Kings sat on the throne of England. The Norsemen sailed to Island, Greenland and discovered America. They established kingdoms in Sicily and Normandy. In the life of the Danes, there is a strong, subterranean force that sometimes erupts into boldness and greatness. Mr. Kraft personifies this double force in the life of the Danish people. It is our hope therefore, as he expressed it in his farewell speech, that he shall see the Day of the Lord, when peace and justice are restored, and the enslaved peoples are free. When this freedom has been won, we will remember him as one having made a great contribution toward this goal. May he continue to grow in strength and wisdom to be one of the leaders of a reborn Europe.

Jens Nielsen



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Victory Over Communism

On the "Meet the Press" TV interview programme on January 5, Goldwater declared, "Why not victory over the evils of Communism?" He then went on to say:

"The problem we have is a simple problem. The question is, will we be slaves or will we be free? Or are the tentacles of Communism going to spread across the world? . . . We have lost more people to Communism since World War II than we have gained for freedom. Khrushchov has yet to say that Communism is not going to dominate the world."

Speaking in San Francisco on February 12, in discussing U. S. foreign policy, Goldwater said, "I charge that we have been crisis-hopping for an entire generation." The same day in Portland, Ore., Goldwater declared that the American people "are getting sick and tired of the United States being kicked around by every two-bit dictator in the world".

On the subject of appeasement of Communism, Senator Goldwater said that "the dreadful certainty of atomic conflict awaits us if we permit Communist aggression to reach the point where our vulnerability is too great a temptation for the aggressors to resist".

As a means of putting a halt to Communist aggression, Goldwater, in San Francisco, outlined his foreign policy blueprint as follows:

The major objective should be the reduction of Communist power to a level from which it cannot threaten the security of our nation or the peace of the world. This will require full mobilization of the Free World's resolve and its resources to undermine the power now held by Communists and to encourage their eviction from a position of control. This does not mean war. It means a way to win peace.

The January 17 issue of *Life* magazine carried a definitive article by Goldwater in which he stated:

The hope that Freedom and Communism can live peacefully side by side is a vain hope because it takes two to live at peace . . . merely to echo the Communist slogan of "peaceful co-existence" is simply to fall in with Communist propaganda.

In his Republican convention speech Senator Barry Goldwater said:

"I would remind you that extremism in the defence of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Under pressure from various prominent members of the party to elaborate on his use of the term "extremism" in his acceptance speech of July 16 in San Francisco. Senator Barry Goldwater in a letter to former Vice President Richard Nixon said: *"If I were to paraphrase the two sentences in question in the context in which I uttered them I would*

do it by saying that wholehearted devotion to liberty is unassailable and that halfhearted devotion to justice is indefensible."

The Senator said at another point that devotion to liberty and justice *"would not countenance illegal or improper means to achieve proper goals"*.

"We may implement these principles, in the practicalities of day to day affairs, either well or badly — but we must affirm them unreservedly", Goldwater said.

"This affirmation and this belief must be total not only because of our problems at home, but also because of the world we live

in today — the real world, a world divided, between those who would liberate and those who would enslave.”

“Our principles and beliefs, and the nation founded upon them, are neither absolutely flawless nor righteous beyond question, but in relation to the fact of Communist ideology and Communist imperialism, I know that our cause is right, just as it was, and still is, right in relation to Fascism, Nazism and all forms of human tyranny.”

The part of the platform concerned with foreign affairs declares that the nation's leadership must be judged by the stand it takes towards Communism, and that stand must be victory for freedom. A dynamic strategy aimed at victory reduces the risk of nuclear war, it says. Accommodation, not opposition, tempts an aggressor into war. Republicans judge foreign policy by its success in advancing freedom, not by its effect on international prestige polls.

(From: *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 10, 1964)

Excerpts from the Republican convention speech of Senator Barry Goldwater:

The tide has been running against freedom. Our people have followed false prophets. We must and we shall, return to proven ways, not because they are old, but because they are true . . . Now we Americans understand freedom. We have earned it, we have lived for it and we have died for it.

During four futile years, the Administration which we shall replace has distorted and lost that faith (in freedom) . . . It's been during Democratic years that our strength to deter war has been stilled and even gone into a planned decline . . . (The) Secretary of Defence continues to mislead and misinform the American people.

Communism is the principal disturber of peace in the world today. — We must make clear that until its goal of conquest is absolutely renounced and its relations with all nations tempered, Communism and the governments it now controls are enemies of every man on earth who is or wants to be free.

The growing menace . . . to personal safety . . . particularly in our great cities, is the mounting concern . . . of every thoughtful citizen . . . Security from domestic violence, no less than from foreign aggression, is the most elementary and fundamental purpose of any government.

We don't seek to live anyone's life for him. We only seek to secure his rights, guarantee him opportunity to strive with government performing those needed and constitutionally sanctioned tasks which cannot otherwise be performed.

Anyone who joins us in all sincerity we welcome. Those who do not care for our cause we don't expect to enter our ranks in any case . . .

Goldwater is Branded “Chief of the Mad Mob”

Radyanska Ukraina of July 15, 1964, printed the following text on page 4:

San Francisco, 14 July, 1964 (TASS) — The Republican Party Convention opened here in the “Cow Palace” yesterday. It will elect candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States for the Republican Party, and will draft its political platform.

Actually, both tasks have been decided beforehand. Opinion is unanimous that the candidate for President will be the chief of the “mad mob”, Senator Goldwater of Arizona.

The election platform has already been drawn up and published by a special committee. The Republican Party will go to the election with a programme of attack, embodying the darkest reaction in domestic matters and a “holy war against Communism”.

This is the programme of the most militant circles of American imperialism. It contains the crazy ideas of mad people. The programme rejects peaceful coexistence, demands a ruthless policy against the socialists countries, the restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe, the partition of the Soviet Union (“Liberation” of Ukraine) etc..

Why Not Take Advantage Of Russia's Failures?

(Excerpts from a Memorandum to Senator Barry Goldwater by Christo Stateff, the President of the Bulgarian National Front)

After so many bitter disappointments, we greet in your person the responsible representative of the true spirit of America: faithful to the proud traditions of your country, conscious of its greatness, sensible to the tragedy of enslaved nations and impervious to Soviet bluffing. In your bold action and in the positive response of so many voters in the primaries, we rediscover the true face of America, so strikingly distinct from the distorted image of a morally decadent, politically unreliable nation, whose official stupidity and shocking, continuous series of blunders had gradually imposed on the world. It is an undeniable fact that first the tragic shortcomings of Western leaders, and only then Communist initiative, permitted the absurd course of events by which the enviable inheritance of vast advantages for the Western world at the end of World War II was dissipated, and the world situation of 20 years ago practically reversed. To you, dear Mr. Goldwater, goes the great merit to have mobilized the virile forces of your country, to have recalled to many slumbering minds the real issues of our epoch, to have indicated the right way, the only way, for the victorious solution of current conflicts.

We remember Teheran and Yalta where the destinies of Humanity were betrayed and the presuppositions for all present troubles were created.

We remember the ousting of Gen. Mc Arthur at a moment when a firm effort would have resolved positively most of the world's actual problems.

Pig Bay, Congo, the Nuclear Agreement, the Wheat Deal, South Vietnam, etc. etc., are recent and current history.

We have heard recently the would-be Secretary of State of the future Johnson Government, Senator Fullbright, declare that the United States must adopt her policy to a new reality, as if it were not the vocation and responsibility of a great nation and of American leadership to direct, correct and

force, if necessary, the course of history and create new realities.

It is time to say enough! It is time for courage and determination.

The enormous economic and military potential of the West, the ineptness of the Communist system, the centrifugal forces in the Soviet Union itself, which, properly considered, is a big conglomerate of distinct national groups, last but not least, the undaunted will for Liberty and Justice on the part of the peoples of enslaved Europe, would, by a natural process, do the rest.

It is true that underrating our enemy could be dangerous, but it is equally true that only through incapacity to take advantage of Communist shortcomings and failures and by overestimating Soviet power, a backward country like Russia was able to subjugate half of the world.

Senator Goldwater For A Free And Independent Bulgaria

On the occasion of *Liberty Week*, October 25-31, the National Chairman of the Bulgarian Group of the Nationalities Division of the Republican National Committee, *Dr. Kalin Koicheff*, received the following telegram from the Republican candidate for President, *Senator Barry Goldwater*.

As we enter Liberty Week, October 25-31, I want you - as a leader in the Bulgarian-American community - to know that I fully support the Republican Party platform of 1964 on the liberation of all captive nations. As President, I would see that the issues of Bulgaria's independence and self-determination will be raised in the United Nations . . . I shall use every peaceful means - economic, diplomatic, persuasive, moral - to advance the freedom of the people of Bulgaria. We, who are committed to liberty abroad as well as at home, must work together to achieve our common objectives. We can begin now during observation of Liberty Week and, God willing, continue following the November elections, until all peoples once again are free.

Barry Goldwater

Moscow's Influence On The American Continent

Today, under the cloak of Communism, Soviet Russian imperialism reaches into all continents with tentacles. Communistic tactics are applied in virtually all countries, preparing the way for revolution and Moscow's domination. These Russian tactics for expanding their domain and penetrating the entire globe are founded upon long experience and a firmly rooted tradition. In his book *Europe and Russia*, Danilevsky writes: "Messianism — (this means that the Russian nation has been chosen to realize the kingdom of heaven on earth) this is the task of today's Communism, which is an outgrowth of the historical processes of life and of this nation's imperialistic orientation." In the Congressional Record of the United States of January 19, 1956, Congressman Smith of Wisconsin states: "Namely, Russian imperialism with its century-long tradition to expand far beyond its national boundaries, created from itself Bolshevism, and gave it an ecclesiastical aspect."

Throughout its history Moscow has demonstrated imperialistic and expansionist tendencies. It conquered Rus-Ukraine, the Baltic states, Bilorus and Poland and expanded its despotic rule to Siberia and Central Asia, reaching into the Far East and even endeavouring to rule the territories of the Near East. Throughout the centuries Europe and Asia were the arenas of Moscow's imperialistic ambitions. As early as the 18th century, St. Petersburg unfolded extensive plans that included the North American Continent in their imperialistic political sphere. Communistic aggression in Africa, South America, Australia and Oceania during the last decades is a new phase of Moscow's expansionist ambitions.

The history of Moscow's political ambitions with respect to America began in the year 1648, when the Russian sailor Deshnov swam across the strait between Asia and America and maintained that he had discovered the 'Great Land' in the neighbourhood of Russian possessions, namely, in the

northeast corner of the Asian continent. This strait was later named the Bering Strait. Deshnov's discovery, however, remained unknown for a long time.

Sometime between the year 1711 and 1715, the news of the 'Great Land' in the East reached St. Petersburg. It was brought there by the members of a government organized expedition for geographical research. This expedition also appraised the possibilities for the political annexation of the Kamchatka peninsula. According to historical facts, Tsar Peter probably surmised that the 'New Land' was the American continent. He sent V. Bering to Kamchatka to appraise the feasibility of developing navigation there and to see what might be done in the way of expansion towards the East. For the purpose of exploring the Strait and the northwestern coast of America, Bering organized marine expeditions between 1725 and 1741. Bering was to begin the building of ships and also to organize a school for marines.

Even in the earliest phases of its interest in the American continent, St. Petersburg, or rather Moscow, was intent upon the exploitation of the country. Moscow and Siberian huntsmen and tradesmen regarded the Aleutian and Kuril islands and Alaska very optimistically with respect to the expansion of their fur industry and commerce, for pure fur animals were noticeably on the decrease as a result of intensive hunting in the Russian Far East. By general consent, Serebianikov and Trapeznikov organized a purely commercial expedition for the purpose of thoroughly investigating the commercial possibilities of this new land. As a result of the favourable reports of this expedition, many Moscow trappers, huntsmen and fur traders tried to get to Alaska via Aleutian and Kuril islands.

In 1780, the Moscow-Siberian merchant, Hryhorij Sheljehov, financed and organized a marine expedition to Alaska and the neighbouring islands with the intention of setting up a colony. Four years later, in co-

operation with the Golikov brothers, he founded an "Alaskan Company" for the exploitation of the fur opportunities. Sheljechov endeavoured to gain Tsarina Catherine's interest in this company. He hoped to receive considerable help from her to broaden Russia's economic and political influence on the North American continent. He was unsuccessful, however. For one thing Catherine was politically engaged with European matters and regarded the American Revolutionary War with hostility. For another thing she simply failed to give Sheljechov's proposition due consideration.

And here we have a good example of the imperialistic instinct of the average Muscovite. Sheljechov was not discouraged by the negative attitude of the administration concerning his plans. On the contrary he devised broad plans for the penetration of Alaska and even California on his own. The success of Sheljechov and the Golikov brothers at last attracted the attention of the Tsar. In 1799, the name of their company was changed to the so-called 'Russian American Trade Company' by a tsarist decree. This company had a semi-official nature, with privileges of trade monopoly, a police force, with an official right to gain proficiency in the new American territories, and to broaden Moscow's economy in the name of the Tsar.

In 1812, the company began an active colonization of California. And in 1815, an expedition was sent to occupy the Hawaiian islands. Initiator of these daring, but unrealistic, plans was Baranov, the company's administrator. He had grand dreams of a great Russian empire with the Pacific Ocean as an inland sea. Moscow's plans greatly disturbed the Spaniards. Michel said that the Spaniards set up a base in San Francisco to protect their interests before the Russian plan to penetrate California was set into motion. But the Moscow adventure in California ended quickly in a complete fiasco. The Muscovites were simply not capable of developing an overseas colony. The 'Russian American Trade Company', however, successfully continued their commercial operations, enjoying a monopolistic situation.

Already in 1820, the trade interests of the company began to weaken, for they were not able to hold out against American and Canadian (English) competition. These two countries, namely, had an economic system that was based on real economic liberalism and the initiative of private enterprise. A sharp conflict concerning fishing laws sprang up between Russia and the United States. In 1821, the Tsar issued a one-sided decree that reserved the exclusive rights of the sea fishing industry north of the 51' latitude for Muscovite fishermen. The decree was a high-handed proclamation, for it completely ignored the principles of international rights. Strong objections on the part of the American administration forced the Muscovites to negotiate. As a result of this negotiation, the Muscovites were compelled to abide by *official* conditions. From that time on the commercial activities of the 'Russian American Trade Company' began to diminish, and a period of economic and even political retreat began for the Russians on the American continent.

Until 1842, the company tried to hold itself together by using its favourable position in Chinese commerce. Until that time the Chinese government had endeavoured to exclude Europeans and Americans from direct trading in Chinese ports. Russia was an exception, however. Later they annulled their restriction under the pressure of world opinion. The Russian tradesmen were unable to hold out against European and American competition, as a consequence of which the 'Russian American Trade Company' weakened catastrophically. At this juncture the tsarist government suggested to America the possibility of purchasing Alaska.

During the Crimean war Russia felt very uncertain about the American continent and was afraid that England would annex Alaska. Therefore, she handed over all her Alaskan possessions and business enterprises to the 'Russian American Trade Company', which enjoyed U.S. protection. The commercial and administrative problems of Alaska were completely beyond the capacity of the Russians, who were already governing a great empire by force. She had no experience or ability to administrate her

colonies. In 1862, Russia offered Alaska for sale to the U.S. for the second time. Washington was very cautious, for it did not want to cause a misunderstanding with England over the purchase of Alaska from Russia. Consequently, the negotiations were endless. There was apprehension that the extension of the American government to Alaska could mean American military and political influence on Canada, which was a British territory. Initially, Washington was held back by London's negative reaction, but in 1867, the U.S. purchased Alaska for the price of \$ 7,200,000. And so the first phase of Moscow's attempt to penetrate the American continent ended.

Russia and America were never friendly with one another. Catherine II regarded the U.S. with extreme hostility because of the Revolutionary War, which she considered a revolt against a legitimate government. She even weighed the possibility of a military intervention in the Revolutionary War on the side of England. When the new American government sent an envoy to Petersburg in the years 1781—83, the Tsarina refused to accept or see him. The proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine was completely ignored by Russia.

Because of the misunderstanding with England and Germany, Russia had to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the U.S.A.. In the first World War, Russia was allied with the U.S., but this alliance lasted only until the Bolshevik revolution. The Marxist ideology of the Bolsheviks, together with Moscow's imperialistic ambitions, made Russia an enemy of the so-called capitalistic states and nations. The first enemy was the U.S.A..

At this point the second phase of Moscow's attack on the American continent began. In a short time, the reorganized government, from Tsarism to Bolshevism, was able to arrange international Communist ties that paved the way for the further broadening of Moscow's domination of the world.

The Communist ideology that is working in the service of Imperial Russia's political interests continues to destroy the vital forces

of the social, political and economic life in the United States, Canada, Mexico, etc.. The recognition of the Bolshevik government by the Western countries and the maintenance of diplomatic relations with the USSR strengthen Communist activities on the North and South American continents. The political and economic representation of the Soviet Union in these countries became centres of espionage and Communist propaganda.

The Labour Unions in the U.S.A. are penetrated to a large extent by Communist influence, which has also spread among the farmers in Canada, Mexico, etc.. Democratic freedom in the U.S.A. and Canada is cunningly taken advantage of by Communist agents to corrupt and to sabotage. Moscow's hostile Communist aims were only fully disclosed at the end of the second World War. It was revealed that persons holding responsible government positions in the U.S. were working as espionage agents for Moscow. Here we will name just a few who were detected and convicted: A. Hiss, Deckster, W. Latimore, Hopkins, Rosenbergs and others. Also worth mentioning is the Kravchenko affair, which was a spy trial against the Communists in the U.S.A. in the 40ies. These Communists had been exposed in Canada by Guzenko. In all these cases Moscow's plans for the domination of the world under Communism were exposed. In the U.S.A. it was necessary to pass a law, the Taft-Hardley-Act, that curtailed espionage in the Labour Unions. Furthermore, the Communist Party and other pro-Communist organizations and agents are required to register in the Department of Justice as foreign agencies in order to secure the U.S. against Russian espionage and aggression. Congressional Committees for anti-American activities are continuously investigating the possibilities of Communist penetration in American life.

After the second World War, another danger developed, namely, due to the materialistic, unprincipled and atheistic leadership in the American universities, among church leaders, scientists and even rich capitalists. Under the guise of liberal slogans, they are plainly spreading pro-Communist

nistic ideas, demoralizing the younger generation and society with them.

Then came the Cuban venture, which clearly exposed the feebleness of the governmental personnel in the U.S. and revealed to what extent the U.S. is subject to Russian-Bolshevik influence. It was brought into the open, for example, that the American Intelligence Agency had warned the U.S. government concerning Castro's Communistic aims. Unfortunately, this warning was disregarded. For a long time, Washington regarded Castro and his revolution as friendly, supposing that a democrat was only suppressing a fascist dictator, Batista. An identical interpretation of the Cuban crisis was given by Moscow. Moral laziness on the part of the so-called "liberal and intellectual leadership" in the U.S. was shown in the appeal of hundreds of American university professors (this appeal was printed in the *New York Times*), requesting

the United States government to respect Cuban sovereignty and not to interfere with Fidel Castro and his fellow travellers; and also, not to react to the confiscation of American property by Castro. People that once had unanimously engaged in a fight against the crimes of Hitler, were now protecting the same crimes of the brute Communists.

Bolshevik rockets, soldiers and engineers on Cuban soil are another stage in Soviet aggression against America. It is only one of the cold war tactics, by which Moscow strives to weaken the U.S.A. in order to prepare the ground in which she could 'bury' America.

Shortly afterwards, the 'suger-coated' months between the United States and the USSR began. This was brought about by the Moscow-Peiping conflict. Moscow constantly switches from laxity to severity to shatter the nerves of the capitalists.

How Peace Can Be Achieved

From speech by George P. Kersten, Milwaukee Attorney, Republican Candidate for Congress from 9th Congressional District of Wisconsin - June 6, 1964

Some day the monstrous anachronism of the Iron Curtain will come down and the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the Far East will be free. We must not prolong their enslavement by injecting economic strength into the arms of the gangsters of the Kremlin.

The United States was born in liberation from imperialism. Unless we have a Communist imperialism abroad and at the same time have a domestic policy that protects individual liberty at home. Our foreign policy cannot contradict our domestic policy. Eventually one or the other will dominate at home and abroad.

The United States was born in liberation from imperialism. Unless we have a foreign policy that fosters liberation abroad we betray our heritage.

Left-wing extremists in our government have engineered an unconditional wheat deal with Khrushchov. They now advocate expanded unconditional trade with the communists. Such a tragic policy borders on collective treason in the cold war. It helps keep the communists in power and the shackles of slavery on the captive nations.

Peace is a product of justice and the greatest hope for world peace is the liberation of the enslaved nations in the heart of communist imperialism: Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Latvia, Czechia, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Estonia, Rumania, Cuba, Georgia, East Germany, North Vietnam, Armenia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, North Korea, Cossackia, China, Idel-Ural, Turkestan, North Caucasia, Azerbaijan and Albania.

Prince Niko Nakashidze

90th Birthday of General George Kvinitadze



On the 21st of August, the Association of Georgian Combatants in Exile celebrated the 90th birthday of General George Kvinitadze, the former commander-in-chief of the Georgian National army during Georgia's independence from 1918—21. Already in the Royal Russian army, General George Kvinitadze was a famous military leader whose troops conquered Erzurum. Following the restoration of Georgian independence in 1918, he was among the first to set to work to form the Georgian National army. In 1920, he was commander-in-chief of the Georgian army which resisted the Soviet-Russian attacks which Moscow initiated against the Georgian Republic after having conquered Azerbaijan.

Under General Kvinitadze's command, the newly-formed Georgian army defeated the Soviet-Russian army and drove it back from the Georgian border. Owing to this victory, Soviet Russia recognized the independence of Georgia and pledged never to interfere in her internal affairs.

After an interval of ten months, however, in February of 1921, Russian troops invaded Georgia from all sides. At that time, General Kvinitadze was director of the Military Academy, but the government immediately engaged him as the commander-in-chief of the Georgian army. He expertly defended the capital of Georgia, Tiflis, which was exposed to especially heavy Russian attacks; but the Russians invaded the country from the north and the northwest, and the Turks, with Moscow's understanding, attacked Georgia from the south and tried to occupy the seaport-town of Batumi. The Turkish attack could be beaten back, but the Georgian army was not in a position to hold out against the overwhelmingly superior forces of the Russians, and Georgia was occupied by Soviet Russia.

Together with the Georgian government, General Kvinitadze left Georgia. Since then he has been living in Paris. He is still very robust and fresh and is greatly respected by all Georgians.

In our opinion, the Vatican Ecumenical Council presents a unique opportunity not only to initiate all the necessary reforms in the Church and to remove obstacles toward Christian unity, but, first of all, to take a very clear stand in the evaluation of the Communist menace and to accept a definite programme on how to deal with this menace and at the same time to declare full support for the Silent Church of Martyrs behind the Iron Curtain. It is to be hoped that the Ecumenical Council will speak out emphatically against the tyrannical regimes, against the persecutions of the Church and against genocide.

Croats Demand Independence

Interview With Dr. Hefer, Chairman Of The Croatian Liberation Movement

Question: What are the political directions within the present Croatian political emigration? What aims in particular does the exile representation of which you are President pursue?

Answer: In the Croatian emigration there is actually only one political direction, whose aim is the liberation of Croatia. Within the emigration itself there are, of course, various views regarding the carrying out of the liberation programme and regarding tactics in general. The majority refers to the 10th of April, 1941, the day on which Croatia's independence was proclaimed and unanimously greeted by the largest portion of the Croatian people. There is also a small exile group, which, to be sure, is for the liberation and independence of Croatia, but which does not recognize the 10th of April, 1941.

Our representation is called "Croatian Liberation Movement". Ideologically, the principles of the three major movements and parties that the Croatian people had in the last century are united in it. They are: the Croatian National Party which was founded in 1861; the great Croatian Peasant Movement which was organized by the two brothers, Stjepan and Ante Radic. After World War I it was this Movement that led the entire liberation fight. Following the murder of the Croatian Peasant leader, Stjepan Radic in the Belgrade Parliament in 1928, the Croatian revolutionary movement came into existence under the name *Ustascha* (the insurgents), which was founded by Dr. Ante Pavelitsh, a member of parliament from the Croatian capital of Zagreb. This latter revolutionary movement led the liberation revolution in April 1941 – namely, with the help of the entire Croatian people. The policies and principles of these three movements were always supported by the Croats. In short: our "Croatian Liberation Movement" is rooted in the will of the people.

Question: Thanks to its "independence" from Moscow, Yugoslavia's regime is regarded by the West as liberal and progressive. How do you appraise the political situation in Yugoslavia and what do you think of Tito's neutral course in the conflict between the West and East?

Answer: We are convinced that Tito is one of the most important exponents of international Communism, as well as of Soviet Russian imperialism and that his regime and so-called "Titoism" is only one of many tactics employed by international Communism to realize its goals. These tactics serve to lull the Western world to sleep and to create the impression that in the Communist world also, the possibility of ruling according to so-called democratic principles exists.

It is interesting to note that in all Communist states in which several nationalities exist side by side, the monolithic principle dominates: one nation is accorded priority. This is so-called national imperialism. In the USSR, the Russians dominate; in Czechoslovakia, the Czechs; in Yugoslavia, the Serbs.

Question: How do the Croatian people at home feel toward the federative construction of the state and how do the Croatians in general stand with respect to Tito's national Communist regime?

Answer: Ninety-nine per cent of all Croatians absolutely reject a federative state and are for a free, independent Croatia. They do not believe that it will be possible in any way to form a federative or confederative Yugoslavian state. The Croats and Serbs have lived side by side for more than 1400 years. In all this time there was never an indication that the Croatian people would like to join together in some kind of federation – neither culturally, nor politically. It must be admitted, however, that there is a small minority of intellectuals who strive toward the sort of autonomy we enjoyed in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and who are not opposed to a working together with, and coming closer to Serbia. But this idea has never found sympathy among the people themselves. Before and during World War I a tendency existed to work together on a cultural level with Serbia, but never on a political level.

Question: What possibilities do you see for the removal of Communist domination in East Europe and how do you think you will be able to achieve your goals?

Answer: We are convinced that the peoples of East Europe must and will be granted the right to self-determination – just as the peoples of Asia and Africa after World War II. It is our belief that the principles which the United States' President, Wilson, set forth in 1918 and which were included in the Atlantic Charta by the United States President and the English Prime Minister Churchill in August of 1941, must finally be applied to the century-old European peoples of the East – to Croatia also.

At the moment we are in the process of initiating a great action in which all the Croats living outside the fatherland are taking part. We are conducting a plebiscite to demand the freedom and independence of Croatia which will then be submitted to all international organizations – to the United Nations, for example.

Question: Do you think that it could be possible to solve the Croatian problem independently of the world political crisis, and from what quarters do you expect to receive support for Croatia's national cause?

Answer: In the first place we feel that we will have to achieve our goals with our own forces. But we work in solidarity with all other peoples who are pursuing the same goals and are fighting for freedom and independence. We are of the opinion that the subjugated peoples represent an immense force, which must only be more consolidated. The ideal of freedom and the right to a progressive life is much stronger than pure materialism, which is so essential to Communism. In the 18th century these great ideals started revolutions. Today the peoples of Europe and America whose existence is based on these principles are strong, they live in natural prosperity and have a high standard, in contrast to the peoples who are dominated by Russian imperialism.

Question: What was the reaction of the Croatian emigration and its exile press to the decision of the court in Bonn?

Answer: The Croatian emigration as well as the exile press is unanimously against the decision of the Bonn court, for we know that the convicted are idealistically-oriented young patriots who are fighting against a regime under which they have personally suffered much. Though we cannot accept the methods of their fight, we can understand them. It is extremely regrettable that this happen-

ed on German soil, for the Germans have granted us asylum. In any case one must be very cautious in the condemnation of these things, when one is familiar with the methods that serve the Communists to annihilate their opponents.

Question: What is the Croatian emigration's position to the elections in America and how does it feel about Goldwater?

Answer: We Croats regard America as the leader of the free world in its fight for democratic human rights against totalitarianism and dictatorship. We do not wish to interfere in the internal political affairs of America. We hope, however, that after the elections America's official policy will be more radical with respect to the fight against Communism. We Croats were greatly pleased with the Republican Party platform, in which it is stated that the aim of the Republicans is the liberation of the peoples of East Europe who are living under Communist domination – the Croats also.

A. Mykulyn

The Fight In Ukraine During The Last Five Years

Five years ago, on the 15th of October 1959, Stefan Bandera was treacherously murdered by the Soviet agent, Stashynsky, at the order of Moscow. With this act the enemy of Ukraine dealt a heavy blow to the Ukrainian national anti-Russian revolution, which was led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). At his trial in Karlsruhe, Stashynsky stated quite clearly that the main goal of Soviet Russia's extirpation policy with regard to Ukraine was to kill the leader of this Ukrainian liberation fight and to annihilate the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement. Moscow hoped that Bandera's death would also mean the death of the revolutionary liberation fight. Moscow's hopes, however, were not fulfilled. For neither by treachery, terror, provocation, murder, nor by other intimidations and cruel persecutions has Moscow succeeded in weakening the revolutionary liberation fight of the Ukrainians at home and in emigration. Notwithstanding the heavy blow which Ukraine was dealt by the murder of Stefan Bandera, the Ukrainian people, five years after his death, are still waging a tireless defensive fight against the Russian-Bolshevik conquerors. The press of the free world as well as the Soviet press itself frequently testify to this fact.

On December 11, 1959, the Soviet Russian newspaper *Trud* (No. 287) announced that the KGB had succeeded in capturing members of the local Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the village of Nyzy, district of Lviv, where they had taken cover in the woods and were fighting against Soviet soldiers and border patrols.

On the 15th of January 1960, *Robotnycha Gaseta*, an Ukrainian-language Soviet newspaper published in Kyiv, stated that in the town of Belz, district of Lviv, "a four day trial against the Ukrainian nationalists, Dubezky, Kobak, Mukha, Mykhailuk and others was held." "All of them were sentenced to death by the bench of the district court in Lviv."

In a report on the plenum of the administration of the writer's association in Ukraine (convening in Lviv), the January 22, 1960 issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Literaturna Gaseta*, appearing in Kyiv, stated that the plenum had dealt with the combatting of Ukrainian nationalism, especially the combatting of the "Bandera Movement".

In a speech before the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party in Ukraine (1960), Podgorny, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, announced a

stepping-up of the fight "against every form of the bourgeois ideology of Ukrainian nationalism," as well as against the religious convictions of the Ukrainian people. In the newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina* (May, 1960), the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine published a resolution which called upon the subordinate Party and Komsomol cells to wage a wide-spread and ruthless propaganda campaign against Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalism.

In May 1960, the Austrian newspaper *Salzburger Nachrichten* (No. 107) announced that Moscow had initiated a new persecution wave against underground organizations. This wave was mainly directed against three groups: The Ukrainian nationalists; Soviet citizens who had returned to the USSR from the West; and the "unreliable" persons from the Baltic states.

On May 7, 1960, the German newspaper *Westdeutsche Allgemeine* wrote the following: "Today it is more evident than ever before that, for Moscow, Ukraine is most dangerous. This newspaper went on to state that, in Ukraine, a large quantity of anti-Bolshevik literature, calling upon the people to resist Communism, was condemned.

In the July 12, 1960 issue of *Trud*, one could read that in Pochayiv, an old Ukrainian place of pilgrimage and religious centre, the Ukrainian Nationalists-Banderivzi have a refuge, from which they carry out their anti-Soviet political activities. The newspaper stated that the MVD arrested members of the religious sect, Jehova's Witnesses, who, in actual fact, belonged to the Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalists.

The Ukrainian-language newspaper *Molodj Ukrainy* of July 12, 1960 wrote: "The raving survivals of the Bandera gangs, the Ukrainian 'bourgeois' nationalists, have stepped-up their activities in Ukraine as well as in emigration."

In January 1961, well-informed French circles received the communication that on the Ternopil-Drohobych-Uzhhorod railway line, the Ukrainian nationalists were involved in a number of engagements. The encounters between the Ukrainian insurgents and the KGB military units lasted

from the 5th to the 11th of November 1960. The Bolsheviks applied artillery and light tanks against the insurgents.

Notwithstanding the cruel persecutions at the hands of the Soviet-Russian authorities, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine is still active in underground — wrote the French weekly *La France Catholique* of November 25, 1960.

The August 24, 1961 issue of the Munich *Abendzeitung* printed the following information: "The Soviet scientist, Mykola Ivanovych Sereda, who fled to the West from the USSR, disclosed to Austrian officials that there is an active anti-Russian resistance movement in Ukraine."

Reports of the resistance of workers, farmers and youth against the Soviet-Russian power-holders appeared in the following Soviet newspapers: *Lvivska Pravda*, No. 19 of 1961; *Robitnycha Gaseta*, No. 198 of 1961; *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of August 18, 1961; *Radyanska Ukraina* of July 12, 1961; *Molodj Ukrainy* of Juli 2, 1961; and *Kolhospne Selo* of October 8, 1961.

In an ideological meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on February 20, 1962, N. Podgorny called for a strengthened and ruthless fight against the Ukrainian nationalists. (*Radyanska Ukraina*, February 21, 1962)

The Parisian daily *Paris-Press* of July 25, 1962, the English newspaper *Daily Telegraph* of August 7, 1962 and several newspapers appearing in Munich, printed reports concerning the mass strikes and state of unrest existing among the Ukrainian population (Donbas, Kramatorsk). The strikes were bloodily suppressed by "special units of the KGB."

On November 24, 1962, *Nasha Meta*, the Ukrainian newspaper appearing in Toronto, Canada, printed information, which it had received by a circuitous route from Ukraine, that in the village of Borynychy, district of Lviv, an open fight between kolkhoz farmers and KGB men had broken out.

The London newspaper *Sunday Telegraph* of November 25, 1962, and the Parisian newspaper *Le Mond*, stated that Moscow

had taken measures to close the Lavra Church of Pochayiv. But the Ukrainian population sharply protested against this measure.

Radyanska Ukraina of January 24, 1963 printed an article concerning a trial in Uzhhorod (Karpatho-Ukraine) against faithful Ukrainians. It was stated that, in Ukraine, a religious and political underground was well organized and was directed against the Soviet regime.

Dr. Alexander Rathaus, who fled to the West from the USSR, communicated in a report to the *Ukrainian Quarterly*, a periodical appearing in English in the USA, that "the followers of the UPA are now living in their homes and are employed as farmers, truck drivers, teachers, mechanics and accountants — are living, in other words, just like every other average citizen in the Soviet Union. On pre-arranged nights, however, they meet in the woods, take up arms and carry out the actions ordered by the heads of the underground movement. By dawn the insurgents have already returned to their dwellings. They report of their working places on time, and if deemed necessary, even 'protest' against the crimes committed by 'the American spies and their handy-men' (as the Russians call the Ukrainian revolutionary insurgents)."

Pravda of May 4, 1963 reported that, in Ukraine, survivals of "bourgeois" nationalism still existed and were, even to the present day, offering resistance to the Socialist society of the USSR.

Le Figaro communicated further that secret transmissions was one of the methods used by the anti-Russian resistance in Ukraine. Concerning the existence of illegal wireless transmission in Ukraine, *Perez*, (of April 7, 1964) a satirical periodical appearing in Kyiv, also printed an article, according to which, illegal transmissions were found to be especially prevalent in the districts of Poltava, Kharkiv, Lviv, Odessa and the Donets' Basin.

On the 7th of October, 1963, *Pravda* announced that in the district of Wolynia, Moscow had the churches closed as a

counter-measure to the religious resistance of the Ukrainians.

The Soviet illustrated periodical *Ogonyok* (No. 46 of November 1963) featured an article on the discovery of a secret convent in Lviv. The nuns of this convent were employed as assistant nurses in one of the hospitals in Lviv. In the dwelling of these nuns at 43 Muchna St., the KGB found "the blue-yellow Bandera flag, which had been sprayed with moth-powder, anti-Soviet leaflets, foreign passports, in a chest."

Wilna Dumka, (March 1, 1964) an Ukrainian exile newspaper in Australia, received a copy of a Bolshevik rural newspaper *Nowe Zhytia* from Ukraine, in which it was reported that the KGB had destroyed or banished to concentration camps the Bandera-fighters. The same newspaper, however, reported that, a few days beforehand, in the kolkhoz in Rohatyn, a protest meeting directed against the Ukrainian "bourgeois" Nationalists-Banderivzi was held.

On the 3rd of June 1964, *Ukrainske Slovo*, an Ukrainian-language Communist newspaper appearing in Winnipeg, Canada, printed an excerpt from the Soviet newspaper *Prykarpazka Pravda*, which contained the report of a trial held on February 28, 1964, against OUN members, because, over a long period of time, they had been fighting against the Soviet regime in Ukraine. The principle accused in this trial was the OUN member, Dmytro Luhaniuk (pseudonym, "Madiar") of the combat group "Martyn".

This brief and incomplete survey of the resistance movement in Ukraine since the death of OUN leader, Stefan Bandera, five years ago, clearly indicates that Ukraine, as much as ever, is engaged in a hard fight for its political, national, religious, social and cultural liberation from Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.

We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed.

II Corinthians, VI, 9.

Fate's Irony

The World Mourns Mass-Murderer

... When Khrushchov became Party chief of Moscow in 1935, *Pravda* (in its March 3rd issue of that year) called him "an outstanding representative of the post-October generation promoted by Stalin." This "promoting" consisted in the fact that of the 1,966 delegates of the 17th Party Rally of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1934, Stalin had 1,108 delegates murdered, as this same *Pravda* recently informed us on February 7. Khrushchov was not only one of those who survived, but continued his career as "Stalin's neck-shot commissar", as Franz-Joseph Strauss stated in his Ash Wednesday speech in Vilshofen. That this judgment is not too severe as far as Khrushchov's moral responsibility is concerned, can be substantiated by a quotation from the time of Stalinist terror. In 1938, the Party newspaper *Bolshevik Ukrainy* wrote about Khrushchov's activities in Kyiv as follows: "The merciless uprooting of all enemies of the people ... began only after the Central Committee ... had sent the ardent Bolshevik and Stalinist, Nikita Sergejevych Khrushchov, to Ukraine..." Before this, Khrushchov had taken part in the "removal" of the Ukrainian Communist Party chiefs, Postyshev and Kossior, who were not submissive enough.

... "Stalin..." said Khrushchov, "demanded complete submission to his view. Whoever contradicted him and tried to justify his different view or opinion was banished from the ranks of higher leadership, following which he was condemned to moral and physical annihilation." Nonetheless, many demonstrated this courage. Alone in the years 1937—38, over 70% of the members of the Central Committee were deported or murdered. ... Following the death sentences of Pjatakov, Radek and other old Bolsheviks in 1937, Khrushchov declared at a mass rally in Moscow: "The abominable leaders and members of the Trotzki gangs ... have received just punish-

ment for their base betrayal." Roughly 20 years later, however, he makes it clear that "many ... who were designated as 'enemies of the people' in 1937 and 1938 were never, in truth, enemies, spies, robbers or the like, but always sincere Communists. They had been calumniated, and since they were often no longer able to bear the barbarous tortures to which they were subjected, they condemned themselves — on the instruction of the presiding sham-judge — of all sorts of severe and entirely improbable crimes."

... In the battle for Lenin's successor, he put himself behind Stalin in time; Stalin, as Party Secretary, was pursuing a systematic personal policy. As early as 1926, in his first speeches which have come down to us, Khrushchov demanded, wholly in accordance with Stalin's later view, "suppressive measures" against the "intractable" members of the opposition. At the Industrial Academy in Moscow, Khrushchov, again leader of the Party cell, has an especially prominent member: Stalin's wife, Nadeshda Allilujeva, who is studying to be an industrial engineer. At the same time, however, this prominent member is extremely dangerous, for Allilujeva belongs to the most extreme critics of Stalin's collectivization policy, whose hapless victims at that time poured into Moscow by the thousands. In 1932, Nadeshda Allilujeva met her death in an unexplained way, by her own hand or on Stalin's command. In the same year Khrushchov is made 2nd Secretary of the Moscow Party Organization, and already in 1934 its head, as well as member of the Central Committee. He had succeeded in working his way into the centre of power.

In Moscow, Khrushchov distinguished himself as Party whip for higher working norms and demanded the dismissal and loss of quarters of workers who remained away from work for a day, owing to change of quarters, or the birth of a child. Even

“Stalin’s relay plan”, an especially high working norm, is Khrushchov’s invention. Together with Kaganovich and Bulganin, he pushed the construction of the Moscow tube mercilessly. An example of his submission to Stalin is his behaviour in the case of a man by the name of Slatky, whom Khrushchov had expelled from the Party, and by so doing ruined him, because an article on history which this man wrote in a Party periodical displeased Stalin. The reward for such devotion was to follow. In 1939, Khrushchov became a candidate for the Politburo and in 1939, a full member of this highest political organ of the Soviet Union, without whose formal resolution, Stalin did not undertake anything. In 1938, at the height of the persecutions

known under the name of *Jeshovtshina*, Stalin sent the so often proven Khrushchov as Party chief and “purger” to Ukraine, where he operated accordingly, and remained until 1939, with interruptions during out of his “Agro-city” project, a concentration of kolkhozes, without losing favour with Stalin. After the dictator’s death, Khrushchov suspended Malenkov as Party Secretary in September 1953, and step by step conquered absolute power in the Kremlin.

(*Mann In der Zeit*, 1964)

Felix Römer

J. Kairys

How The Communists Are Cured

Nowadays every nation has active and passive Communists in its ranks — Lithuania also. Before the Russian occupation Lithuania, which numbered several million inhabitants, had about 500 members of the Communist Party — and they were mostly foreigners. Even today, after 20 years of Communist dictatorship in Lithuania, after the application of every form of physical and psychological terror — even today, only 2.5% of the population are members of the Communist Party. In Lithuania, Communism is not and never was popular — but is the curse and terror of the 20th century.

As far as Lithuania’s position in the free world is concerned, Moscow attempts, by the use of continuous propaganda, to break up the emigration and to entice the emigrants back to their native country. Now and then, Moscow succeeds in confusing a few older emigrants and induces them to return.

Among those who have returned to Lithuania are to be found mostly Lithuanians who were living in South America, where they had already established themselves, had acquired land and property, etc.. They were taken in by Moscow’s agents who promised them an even better life; they liquidated

their possession and returned to Lithuania.

After grand receptions, extensively exploited by the Russians for propaganda purposes, Communist reality, which, in all its misery, was experienced with double intensity by the returned emigrants, set in immediately. They had been deceived and were bitterly disappointed. Without hesitation, therefore, the more intelligent ones among them immediately began to seek entrance to the embassies of their former countries and to request permission from the competent authorities in the Soviet Union to return to their former places of residence, though it is not at all easy to obtain such permission. Moscow does not like it when persons who have lived in the Soviet Union go to the West and enlighten the people there concerning the true nature of Communism. For this reason there have not been until now, many people who were fortunate enough to obtain permission in a legal way to return to freedom. One thing alone is common to all of them: those who have seen and experienced Communism at first hand are cured of it for the rest of their lives.

The following example shows just how difficult it is for the returned emigrants to obtain permission to leave the Soviet Union.

A family that had returned to the present Lithuania from Brazil has an 18 year old son. He wrote to the military authorities in Brazil that since he was living in the Soviet Union he would not be able to fulfil his military obligation on time. From the Ministry of Defence he received a reply that his delay was excused, but that he should present himself for military service as soon as possible. When he was mustered for military service in the Soviet Union, he went to the competent military board and explained that as a Brazilian citizen he could not serve in the Red army, for by doing so, he would lose his Brazilian citizenship. The head of the board shouted at him, banged his fist on the table and threatened to give him over to a military court. And this he did. Following the trail he travelled to Moscow with his father. After much hesitation and long waiting, Khrushchov received both of them. The father explained to him that he intended to return to Brazil, for the climate was warm and he had relatives there, etc.. Khrushchov promised to send him to the Crimea where the climate was also warm. To this the son told Khrushchov that he wanted to leave the Soviet Union because of the widespread misery, the poor living conditions, the poor food, the eternal queues before the stores, because of the poor service, etc.. Khrushchov waved his hand angrily and said that the Soviet Union had no use for such people and gave orders that they should be given a permit to return to Brazil. But it still took about half a year until they received their visa.

Apart from these requests on Moscow's part that the Lithuanians should return to Lithuania, all kinds of propaganda is used to induce the refugees of World War II and the older emigrants to establish so-called cultural relations with their native countries. In this way Moscow attempts to destroy the unity of the Lithuanians in foreign countries and to weaken their fight for the liberation of Lithuania from Soviet slavery.

For the tourists who visit Lithuania, bombastic receptions are arranged; for them, Wilna has been decked out with appropriate squares, factories, museums, etc., after the Soviet model. They are led around

in groups, flanked by Soviet agents. To travel on one's own and to visit those places which one wants to visit oneself — his native village, for instance — or to speak with the inhabitants of Lithuania is strictly forbidden. Relatives and friends whom tourists would like to see are brought to Wilna, to Hotel "Neringa" which is used for this purpose. From the accounts of one of these tourists, it is known, for instance, that as soon as a conversation with his guests is begun in this Hotel, "some sort of an apparatus would begin to tick in the wall."

Some visitors had brought their relatives gifts. But such high tariffs are placed upon them — far exceeding the value of the gifts themselves — that the visitors take them back home again.

When the tourists return to their native countries, they are met by Moscow agents with prepared propaganda questions, often already answered, which are broadcast over the wireless and printed in the Communist press. They are instructed concerning the answers they should give, when questioned about Lithuania by others. The emigrants who return, however, are often of an entirely different opinion to that which Communist propaganda would like to have. And they also answer the questions put to them their own way and not as they have been instructed.

Naturally there are such people who continue to describe everything in glowing colours. For a convinced Communist it is not easy, after a single visit during which he sees only those things which the officials want him to see, to detest this country.

Despite everything, it cannot be denied that the best cure for Communism is Communism itself. In this respect it would be very desirable and useful, if the Communists living in the free world, or at least the leaders, would live in the Soviet Union for a few weeks, but not as guests — rather as workers, and under the same conditions as the Soviet workers. This experience would permanently cure them of the sickness of Communism. They would no longer infect anyone and would even try to cure those who have already been infected.

Ivan Bezugloff (1898–1964)

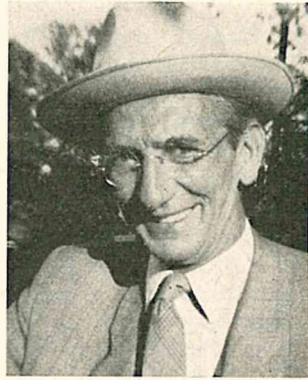


The Central Committee of ABN regrets to announce that the Chairman of the Cossackian delegation in the Central Committee of ABN, Ivan Bezugloff, died from heart failure at the age of 66. He was a great fighter against Russian imperialism and for the freedom and independence of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Already as a young man, he was a conscious patriot and participated in the fight against the Muscovite occupants of his fatherland. He attended the University of Rostov, but, owing to the outbreak of the Revolution, had to interrupt his studies. As a soldier, he fought for the freedom of his fatherland against Denikin's revolutionary army, on the one hand, and against the Bolshevik hordes, that wanted to drown his young fatherland in blood, on the other hand. Owing to his valiant deeds on the battlefield, he was promoted to the rank of an officer and in a Cossackian battalion on the Don continued his fight against the Red Russian occupants. After the Cossacks' defeat, he emigrated to Czecho-Slovakia, where he took up his studies again and graduated with a B.S. in engineering. Then he worked in the Agrarian Institute in Bratislava. Simultaneously, he edited a Cossackian newspaper and actively participated in the liberation activities of the Cossackian emigration. After World War II he emigrated to Munich, where, as leader of the Cossackian delegation, he became a member of the Central Committee of ABN. Later,

he emigrated to the United States and participated in the activities of the American Friends of ABN. Especially in the United States, he was active in the exposure of and fight against Russian imperialism.

His personal qualities won him many friends of various nationalities. He was an ardent patriot of his fatherland, a faithful fellow-fighter with the representatives of the other nations. He was a man of strong principles and a great hater of Russian imperialism and always demanded the dissolution of the Russian empire into democratic national states. By his death, the Cossacks suffered a great loss and ABN lost a great friend and fellow-fighter.



Carl Springer 1891–1964)

After a protracted serious illness, Carl Springer died on August 4, 1964. He was born on April 12, 1891, in Munich. Already as a young man he wore the cowl and tonsure, but later left the monastery cell to study philosophy and journalism at the University of Munich. Equipped with this knowledge, he entered upon a career, which became his inner vocation and life task, as a responsible editor, one of great merit. He was also the chief editor of renowned newspapers. Various stylistically brilliant works, such as *Fürstin Olga rächt den Gatten*, *Segnende Greisin* and *Lemberg* and others, which were printed in the periodical *Ukraine*, testify to his marked literary and poetic talent.

After World War II, Carl Springer worked in the office of ABN's Central Committee

for many years and also as a co-worker with the ABN Correspondence. From the very beginning of its existence, Carl Springer also worked for the German-Ukrainian Society and was a permanent contributor to the periodical *Ukraine*. Being highly educated and having extensive knowledge, he was always able to put across the right understanding of the East European problems against false and unclear interpretations at difficult times.

With Carl Springer's death, ABN has lost a friend of the subjugated peoples and an outstanding expert on East European problems.

Wakhtang Tsitsishvili (1892–1964)

On the 23rd of October, Wakhtang Tsitsishvili, the well-known Georgian patriot, journalist, author of many publicist works, publisher and editor of the periodical *La Nation Georgienne* and knight of the "Notre Dame" order, died in Paris at the age of 72.

Wakhtang Tsitsishvili was an irreconcilable enemy of Russian imperialism, and he published many informative articles, showing wide knowledge of his subject, in his periodical. During the day he worked as a clerk and during the night he edited the periodical and took care of the correspondence and office work.

He was a true friend of ABN, and he understood that the subjugated peoples could attain their freedom only by joint efforts. The second half of his periodical was always dedicated to Ukraine, in the editing of which he had the assistance of Ukrainian friends.

Owing to his modesty and his uncompromising attitude, the deceased was widely respected and enjoyed sympathy from many different quarters.

By his death the Georgian emigration has lost a good countryman, patriot and fighter.

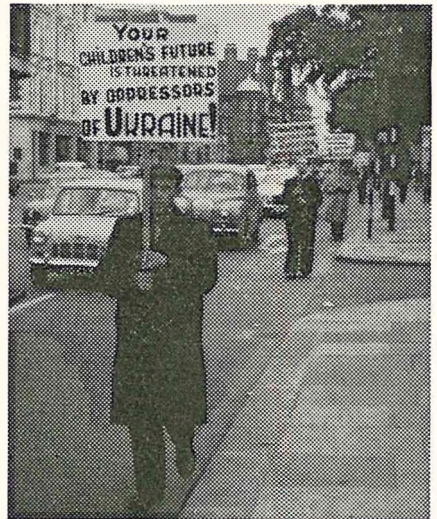
We Accuse Moscow

(Excerpts from a leaflet by the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, distributed in the USA on October 17, 1964)

October 15th is the most tragic date in the recent history of Ukraine. On that day, Ukrainians the world over held sombre observances in commemoration of the 5th anniversary of the cruel death of the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Front – Stefan Bandera.

On this occasion we, the Americans of Ukrainian ancestry, are raising our voice to warn all American citizens against the grave danger which is threatening American security and freedom. The Russian "oceanographic study" does not arrive in the waters surrounding Cuba and in the Caribbean area with any other object than to study the best ways and means of aggression and subversion: to study how to bury the US. This is a military mission, which has come to plant, and has already planted, short and long range missiles at the very gates of the US!

Let the heroic death of Stefan Bandera, a leader for free and independent Ukraine, not be in vain! Let the supreme sacrifice of President Kennedy not be forgotten! Let the countless victims of Muscovite aggression be an eternal light in our quest for human dignity and justice the world over! Let us all stand up and be counted in total opposition to Moscow's colonial imperialism!



Demonstration In London On The Fifth Anniversary Of Bandera's Death

News And Views

IV World Congress Of Hungarian Freedom Fighters

The Hungarian Freedom Fighters' World Federation held its IVth World Congress from July 1st to July 5th, 1964, in Washington, D.C., 25 American and 8 European National Organizations took part; 71 delegates and 20 observers were present from South America, Canada and South Africa.

The Hon. Chairman of the Congress was Mgr. Philip O. Hannon, R. C., Bishop of Washington. Sponsors of the Congress were:

Richard Cushing, Cardinal Archbishop of Boston, USA Senators: Everett M. Dirksen, Frank J. Lausche, John B. Tower, Barry Goldwater, B. B. Hickenlooper, S. Thurmond; Carlos Lacerda, leader of the victorious Brazilian anti-Communist front; the widow of Mr. Paul Bang Jensen; Prof. E. Teller; members of the USA Congress: M. Feighan, T. J. Dulski.

At the banquet which opened the proceedings many prominent members of American and Hungarian public life were present; their number exceeded 200.

The Congress of The Hungarian Freedom Fighters' World Federation published the following resolution:

The H.F.F.F. again and unequivocally identifies itself with every demand and goal of the Hungarian Revolution of October 1956, insists on their fulfilment and continues to fight for them.

We firmly declare that the Freedom Fight of 1956 reflected the common determination of the Hungarian people and it did not intend to restore any previous political system. The freedom fight primarily demanded the achievement of freedom and independence and the realization of basic human rights for the Hungarian people.

We establish the fact that the present period of relaxation in Hungary is a tactical and ideological move, aimed to ensure the preservation of the government without changing the essential facts, namely, the prolongation of Communist dictatorship and colonial oppression in Hungary.

We welcome any steps which help to ease the suffering of the Hungarian people, but we can accept as real relaxation only:

- a) general relaxation affecting every citizen of the country,
- b) if it is not a favour but a right of the people,
- c) it concerns basic human rights.

The present relaxation falls short of these principles. The World Congress declares that the trend toward coexistence, which characterizes contemporary political relations, is one-sided and may secure economic and political advantages for the present Hungarian regime, and it may include the danger of enabling the consolidation of the Communist system forced upon the people behind the Iron Curtain. Consequently, we are apprehensive if the officials of the Western countries sign agreements with the Communist regimes on the basis of economic considerations exclusively, without securing an expansion of the fundamental human rights for the Hungarian people. The same views are held with regard to cultural and other agreements.

The World Federation demands not only the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary, but the termination of Hungary's subjection to threats of and dependence on this military might as well.

At the same time the World Congress establishes the fact that there are still innocent political prisoners in Hungary, that the Budapest regime continues to limit, without change, the self-government and religious freedom of the churches, continues to release to the Soviet Union the economic assets of the country, that the regime's social and wage policy is quite anachronistic. The World Congress finds that the abortion edict of 1956 brought a catastrophe to public health and to natural population growth, that the forced collectivization policy disintegrated the Hungarian villages and produced a tragic social situation throughout the country. The Budapest regime also disregards the interests of the Hungarian people outside the country, especially in Transylvania, where the Hungarian minority's situation is intolerable. The effective protection of the human rights of the Hungarian minority should be a fundamental responsibility of the Hungarian regime.

The World Congress finds freedom of assembly, press, religion, conscience, opinion and trade union organization still not secured. Leaving the country continues to be subjected to often insurmountable difficulties, and the Iron Curtain still exists. In the field of education political discrimination prevails.

The IVth Congress of the H.F.F.F. therefore, once again commits itself to the above mentioned human rights and to its unwavering democratic beliefs and continues the uncompromising fight for their realization in consonance with the spirit of October 1956 and on the basis of the H.F.F.F.'s new programme.

The guiding watchword of the A.B.N., "FREEDOM FOR THE NATIONS AND FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL," expresses the fundamental aim of its fight.

Celebration Of Captive Nations Week In Chicago

The American Friends of ABN and the Captive Nations Week Committee carried out an extensive programme to mark Captive Nations Week. They issued a special appeal to ministers and priests, asking them to enlighten their congregations concerning the essence of Captive Nations Week. This appeal was signed by the representatives of Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine, the Volga-Germans and by the German-American National Congress. The honorary chairman of the Captive Nations Week Committee was Richard J. Daley, Mayor of Chicago.

July 12 was the main date of the celebrations. His Excellency, The Most Rev. Jaroslav Gabro, Bishop of St. Nicholas Diocese of Ukrainians, celebrated the Invocation. Addresses were delivered by Julian E. Kulas, attorney at law, from Chicago, by the guest speaker, the Hon. Barret O'Hara, Congressman from Illinois, and by the Hon. Roman Pucinski, Congressman from Illinois. At the mass meeting, a resolution was passed, excerpts of which read:

"NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Captive Nations Committee of Chicago, that it recommends the adoption by the United States of a national policy which will encourage the aspirations and movements for national self-determination of the peoples enslaved by Communist imperialism, by an expressed and unequivocal commitment of the United States of America to support, by all means possible, such aspirations for national freedom;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations put on the agenda of the United Nations the questions:

a) of the abolition of all concentration camps, slave labour and mass deportations.

b) of the return to their homes and countries of all the deported and exiled who survived the Communist ordeal.

c) of free elections for all enslaved nations mentioned above under the supervision of the United Nations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Committee reiterates its support for the establishment of a permanent Captive Nations Committee (House Resolution 211), which would demonstrate to Moscow that the United States will not cease in its efforts until all captive nations enjoy the God-given rights of all peoples to freedom and national sovereignty."

The American Friends of ABN and the Captive Nations Committee also issued a special appeal to the American public, in which they drew attention to the new colonialism in the subjugated countries — a colonialism which existed in spite of the Atlantic Charter and the resolution concerning the self-determination of nations, adopted by all members of the UN.

Furthermore, the appeal shows the danger resulting from so-called coexistence. It reads:

Under the pretext of coexistence, Communism continues to undermine, to infiltrate, to agitate. It was decided just recently to establish a Russian Consulate General, i. e., another spy agency, in Chicago, as if they did not have enough espionage in our country from all those Communist countries in the United Nations to explore our military, political and scientific situations, and thus do us immense damage.

We advocate that foreign aid to Communist countries should be, if at all, distributed to the people under American control, otherwise we help to keep the oppressors of nations in power and, therefore, to strengthen world-wide Communism.

In the appeal, the Committee recommends:

The establishment of 'Freedom Academies' over the whole of the United States, in which especially our youth will be able to obtain information and enlightenment to prepare themselves against the poison of Communism. In these Freedom Academies the victims of Communism who have

escaped, the expellees and members of captive nations should be the instructors. They know what life is like under Communist rule from first hand experience.

We request our representatives in Washington, D. C., to work for the establishment of a "Captive Nations Committee" whose duty should be to study the tragic fate of those suffering peoples and to prepare for adequate legislation.

We bow in reverence before the dead of the ethnic groups whose number runs into millions in all Communist countries; we honour the millions of expellees from their century-old fatherlands; we solemnly promise to pray and to work for the captive nations until they are free; we beg and appeal to our fellow American citizens as a whole and to the free world to unite with us in Christian solidarity, duty bound in our struggle for Freedom, Human Rights and Human Dignity.

After the reading of the resolution and the appeal, His Excellency, The Most Rev. Vincentas Brizgys, Bishop of Lithuania, gave the Benediction.

The *Chicago Sunday Times* printed a photograph of a Ukrainian group marching with transparents to the assembly for the observance of Captive Nations Week, and an article which, above all, commemorated the speeches by the Republican Congressman, Roman Pucinski, and by Petras P. Dausvardis, Consul General of Lithuania. "Our people are not really affiliated with one party or another", Mr. Dausvardis stated. "But they would lean toward that party with the more forceful plank."

The prospect of liberation, he said, must be inherent in the language of the plank, since "it would strengthen the people's hopes and keep the question alive".

The Observance at Grant Park was preceded by a parade of various ethnic groups to the Grant Park bandshell. Sgt. Thomas J. Delaney of the 1st Police District estimated the audience at ca. 4,000.

Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own!

Benjamin Franklin

President Of The Central Committee Of ABN In Madrid, Paris And Bonn

During his stay in Madrid in March this year, Jaroslav Stetzko had numerous talks: with Spanish anti-Communist leaders; with representatives of governmental circles — above all with the Minister of Information — with high officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Chairman of the Privy Council; with the former Foreign Minister, Martin Artajo; with the director of the Institute for African Questions; with Marquis de Valdeiglesias, the Secretary General of the European Information and Documentation Centre (CEDI); with the director of radio broadcasting stations; with the Chairman of Ecumenic Catholic Action; with the director of the East European Institute; with the Chinese Ambassador and former Ambassador from national Cuba; with the anti-Communist leaders of Rumania, Slovakia, the Congo, Bulgaria and with several journalists.

During his stay in Spain, Jaroslav Stetzko was also received by the Bulgarian King, Simeon II. During all these talks, Jaroslav Stetzko made numerous suggestions concerning how anti-Bolshevik action could be stepped up in the world and how the liberation revolutions in Ukraine and other subjugated countries could be supported.

On the invitation of the radio station's management, Jaroslav Stetzko spoke to the Ukrainians at home on three occasions. During all these talks, conferences etc., the President of the Central Committee of ABN was accompanied by Volodymyr Pastushuk, the director of Ukrainian wireless broadcasts and the representative of ABN in Spain.

The Ukrainians enjoy complete freedom in their activity in Spain. The wireless broadcasts are not subject to censorship. In Spain, the representatives of the subjugated peoples can proclaim their anti-Bolshevik principles in the fight against Russian imperialism without interference, and they are free to do everything that will further

their end, i. e., the establishment of a free, independent national state.

In Paris, in his talks with the ambassadors of Brazil and Madagascar, as well as with representatives of the Foreign Office and other competent personalities of the French government, Jaroslav Stetzko put forward a number of suggestions concerning the unmasking of Russian colonialism. He presented detailed information concerning the problems of the revolutionary liberation fight in Ukraine and other subjugated countries and elucidated the demands which these nations make on the free world.

His communications with the French delegate to the International Jurists Commission aimed at calling the government of the USSR to account for the murder of Stefan Bandera and Lev Rebet and at bringing this subject back to the attention of the world.

His talk with the editor of the French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, was also of an informative nature concerning various current problems.

In Paris, J. Stetzko was accompanied by Volodymyr Kosyk, the editor of the periodical, *L'Est Europeen*, appearing in French, and former chairman of the ABN mission in National China.

In Bonn, Jaroslav Stetzko talked to various representatives of the Asian peoples and met German anti-Communist circles, where he put forward many practical suggestions concerning the celebration of Shevchenko's 150th anniversary.

The A.B.N. aims to give back the subjugated nations their freedom and national independence by co-ordinating the liberation plans of the individual nations and by waging a united war on Soviet Russian tyranny.

ABN President In USA And Canada

Ukrainian Day in Pittsburgh

On August 7, Jaroslav Stetzko arrived at the Pittsburgh air terminal, where he was met by 25 representatives of Ukrainian organizations and institutions. A press conference was held upon his arrival and a social gathering with representatives of the Ukrainian organizations in Pittsburgh and vicinity followed in the evening.

On August 8, Jaroslav Stetzko held a speech before the followers and members of the Liberation Front — a meeting that was organized by the 21st branch of ODFFU (Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine). In his speech, Jaroslav Stetzko discussed Ukraine's mission and role in the conflict with Moscow. At the express desire of the participants, he also talked about ABN's action in Scandinavia.

On the morning of August 9, the President of ABN gave an interview to Mr. W. Mazur, the director of the broadcast, "The Song of Ukraine". Above all he discussed the present-day Ukrainian liberation policies and ABN's action in Scandinavia.

This interview was broadcast all over Western Pennsylvania. Mr. Stetzko gave a second interview to the editor of the newspaper, *Ukrainske Narodne Slowo* (*The Ukrainian National Word*), the official organ of Ukrainian National Aid Association whose 50th anniversary is presently being celebrated.

Over 3,000 Ukrainians from Pittsburgh gathered in West-View Park on Sunday August 9, to celebrate the traditional "Ukrainian Day". This year it was celebrated under the watchword "Fight — and you will be victorious" by Shevchenko. Jaroslav Stetzko's presence gave the national celebrations an especial meaning, for he represented the will of the Ukrainian people to freedom during and after World War II, and he was the last Prime Minister of a free Ukraine. This day was not only a demonstration of the inner solidarity of three Ukrainian generations, it also found a wide echo in the press. The *Pitts-*

burgh Press and *Post Gazette* published extensive reports on the celebrations, together with two photographs of Jaroslav Stetzko and biographical data pertaining to him. The city of Pittsburgh provided Mr. Stetzko with a police escort and treated him as a highly esteemed person. No other Ukrainian politician has ever been so highly honoured.

The "Ukrainian Day" was filmed and shown as a part of the news on TV Channel 4. In his welcoming address, the mayor of Pittsburgh, Joseph Barr, proclaimed this day as Shevchenko Day. Congressman Fulton also gave a talk. Artistic entertainment was provided by the Ukrainian Orthodox Choir, a mandoline orchestra, reciters, solo-singers and dance groups.

Cleveland Honours President Stetzko

From the 14th to the 19th of August, President Stetzko visited Cleveland, Ohio. Upon his arrival a press conference was arranged for him in the Hotel Sharaton. Cleveland newspapers like the *Plain Dealer* and the *Cleveland Press* printed reports of this conference three days running. The importance of Jaroslav Stetzko's international activity for the liberation of the subjugated peoples was given particular stress in these reports. The *Plain Dealer* pointed out that by his action in Sweden, Mr. Stetzko had drawn the attention of the world press.

On the 16th of August, the Ukrainian Organization in Cleveland arranged a reception for the President of ABN. The mayor of the city, R. C. Locher, and his wife participated in this reception in honour of Mr. Stetzko. In his welcoming address, mayor Locher paid tribute to the successful international activity of the Ukrainian politician. In the name of the city of Cleveland, he awarded Mr. Stetzko a special distinction for his services in this field. On the following day, *Plain Dealer* printed a photograph of the Cleveland mayor and President J. Stetzko. At this

reception Mr. Stetzko delivered an extensive talk in which he analysed present-day Ukrainian liberation policies in the fight against Communism. In addition, he commented widely on international policies in general.

Later, the President of the Central Committee of ABN was interviewed by Dr. J. Smetona of the Lithuanian weekly, *Dirwa*. On August 17, "The Baltic Echo" broadcast a 40 minute interview with journalists from Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian groups. During his stay in Cleveland, Jaroslav Stetzko held a series of conferences with representatives of the peoples that are represented in ABN, as well as with the organization of the Ukrainian Liberation Front. His visit in Cleveland greatly activated the work for the liberation of Ukraine and other subjugated peoples.

Press Conference in Washington

In an extensive article, the *Chicago Sunday Times* of July 2nd described the activities of ABN and its President, Jaroslav Stetzko, who held a press conference in Washington. Special attention was given to ABN's action in Scandinavia during Khrushchov's visit there. In addition, the article described ABN's aims and goals. At the interview, Mr. Stetzko stated, that by the use of propaganda on both sides of the Iron Curtain, ABN aimed at the dissolution of the Soviet Union into "independent states within their historically defined ethnographical areas and the destruction of the Communist regimes of every kind."

"As one might suspect, Stetzko is not a popular man in the Soviet Union." the article stated.

"Stetzko now moves unobtrusively throughout Europe, Canada and the United States organizing propaganda efforts against communism. He has no bodyguard but travels under assumed names and avoids publicity except in connection with prearranged demonstrations."

The article concluded with an extensive statement on Jaroslav Stetzko's background.

President J. Stetzko In Canada

On the 25th and 26th of July 1964, Jaroslav Stetzko visited Montreal and took

part in the ABN meeting which was held there. Following this he spoke at an Ukrainian meeting.

Under the title, "Ukraine believes in Freedom - Former Prime Minister of Ukraine charges: 'Khrushchov is a murderer'" *Le Devoir* of July 27 published a three-column interview with Mr. Stetzko.

In this interview the aims of ABN and the fight for freedom of the nations united in ABN were discussed in detail.

Following his long visit in the USA where he spoke in various cities at meetings, gave interviews for the American press and radio and held many talks, Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of ABN, visited Canada in the middle of August 1964. (He had already visited Montreal at the end of July). Already on the 27th of August, the day after his arrival in Toronto, the President held a press conference for the Toronto newspapers, which are printed in various languages. Frederik S. Stinsen, former member of the Canadian Parliament and friend of ABN who is well-informed about the fight which our organization has been waging for many years on all continents, conducted the conference.

On the following day, the 28th of August, positive reports on the conference and on ABN appeared in all the newspapers of Toronto. On that same day, the President gave in interview for radio station CFRB.

The A.B.N. has set itself the following task:

To restore the national state independence of all nations subjugated by Bolshevik Russia, in accordance with ethnographical principles in the U.S.S.R. and the so-called satellite states; to abolish all artificially created state systems, which have been set up against the wish of the nations concerned; to enable all persons who have been forcibly expelled or deported to return to their native country.

Ukrainians Protest Against Russia In Free World

Fifth Anniversary Of Stefan Bandera's Murder



Ottawa, Canada, October 17, 1964



Bonn, Germany, October 17, 1964

For Human Rights

We have been informed by our Turkish friends that Prof. Dr. Dervis Manizade, M.D., F.I.C.S. (President of the Cypriot Turks Cultural Society, *Istanbul*), sent a memorandum to United States' President, Lyndon B. Johnson. In this memorandum Prof. Manizade states the facts concerning the situation of the Turkish Cypriots. In his opinion the responsible person in the USA did not try to understand this situation, in spite of the fact that all possibilities and material power were at his disposal. The memorandum reads as follows:

"One thing I want to point out is, that there is no sense in forcing one of the two different ethnical groups in Cyprus, which completely differ in language, history, religion, customs and national character, to live under the hegemony of the other. If this were done, neither NATO, the USA, nor world peace would benefit. There is only one practical solution to this problem that can secure permanent peace: the physical separation and independent administration of each of the two different ethnical groups living on this small and unfortunate island.

"The USA is not a country which can afford to ignore and circumvent international troubles. It must endeavour to find a just solution to all problems concerning the peace of the world.

"I may remark that by failing in the Hungarian test, the USA lost the opportunity of keeping the East European countries on the side of Democracy. In the same way, if you blunder in this very crucial Cyprus problem, you may lose the entire confidence of all nations that still rely upon the USA as the leader of Democracy. If, however, you prove yourself to be a defender of Human Rights by your energetic behaviour, you will soon gain, not only the confidence and faith of Turkey, but you will also win the sympathy of countries that you are about to lose or have already lost."

Swedish Press Reacts To Khrushchov's Allegations On Baltic

On June 23, 1964, when Khrushchov surprised his Swedish hosts by launching a long apology on the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, he certainly hoped to influence world public opinion on the never-forgotten Baltic case favourably. The reaction of the overwhelming majority of the Swedish press shows that he failed in his efforts. Some typical excerpts follow:

Khrushchov Silent on Baltic Tragedy

"Lenin gave freedom to the Baltic States (- in actual fact, the Baltic peoples expelled Lenin's occupation-minded Red Army from their territories. Ed.); Stalin took it away . . . However large the material progress in the republics of our eastern neighbours may be, the Russian leader has no grounds for bragging about the purely human conditions in the Baltic countries. Deportations and other terror measures were the fate of the Baltic peoples. Khrushchov kept silence on that tragedy."

(*Expressen*)

"Khrushchov felt a special need to talk about the well-being of the Baltic States, but we know what he has committed: deportations, the systematic extermination of national leaders."

(*Gefle Dagblad*)

Let us be Truthful

"Khrushchov has said that the Balts had to suffer under a cruel Nazi occupation, but that is only part of the truth. The Russians have occupied the Baltic States twice. And as regards atrocities, there is no difference between those of the fascists and those of the Communists. The Baltic nations have lost their freedom, and there is little hope that they will recover it soon. This is and remains a tragedy. But if we cannot help them in any other way, let us at least contribute our utmost to make it certain that history is written more truthfully than Khrushchov's version of it in Stockholm's City Hall."

(*Vaermlands Folkblad*)

*Khrushchov Did Not Succeed
In Justifying Soviet Occupation*

"Was it pangs of conscience that compelled the chief of the Russian Government to speak and to apologize that way. If so, he did not succeed in justifying an unjustifiable matter. He showed how Russians write history . . . One occupation, the fascist one, as condemned – and rightly so – but the Russian one is called a favour and a self-understood privilege of a large power. That is how Russians apply in practice their theory about self-determination of nations."

(*Oestgoeta Correspondenten*)

"The conqueror bragged about his deeds in the three small, formerly independent, states, which were deprived of their right to self-determination by terror and violence."

(*Upsala Nya Tidning*)

"Khrushchov . . . has made some improvements in comparison with Stalin's 'iron-era', yet the way to really human conditions is still a very long one."

(*Vestmanlands Laens Tidning*)

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Literaturna Ukraina Follows in the Footsteps of Khrushchov's Attacks on Jaroslav Stetzko

The Russian dictator's attack on Jaroslav Stetzko in Goeteborg, Sweden, also found an echo in the Russian press. The Moscow newspapers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* of June 25th, and the *Pravda* and *Radyanska Ukraina* of June 26th, printed the entire text of Khrushchov's speech in which he condemned Charles XII's policy and his war against Russia. In this speech he attacked Jaroslav Stetzko for honouring the great Swedish King. In some of the texts, Stetzko's name was intentionally misprinted to conceal his identity. A week later, under the title "Agony of a Corpse" *Literaturna Ukraina* published an entire pamphlet against Stetzko. This article was written by a certain *Hnatenko* in social-realist style and was spiced with Moscow invectives. Here, indeed, the author admits that the "Stetzko" referred to is Jaroslav

Stetzko, who in 1941 "staged the comedy of Ukraine's proclamation of independence" and who was now the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, in which capacity he travelled to various countries the world over, with the intent of instigating actions to crash international Communism. In this article, the late great Prince of the Church, Metropolitan Sheptytzky, was referred to as an "Austro-German agent" and Jaroslav Stetzko as a "Hitler mercenary" and a "slavish servant". But that Jaroslav Stetzko spent 4 years in a German concentration camp was not mentioned in *Literaturna Ukraina*.

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Khrushchov's Poor Memory

In your report on Khrushchov's visit in Stockholm (*Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of 26/6/64), it was stated that the Soviet head of state asked his host, Erlander, who "a man by the name of Stetzko" was who dared, just at the time of his visit in the Swedish capital, to honour the memory of the Swedish King, Charles XII, by placing a wreath on his tomb. Even Khrushchov's retinue was not able to tell him who Stetzko was.

Khrushchov's memory can easily be refreshed on this point. From the protocols of the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe, it is known that Khrushchov's Security Chief, Shelepin, personally commissioned Stefan Bandera's hired murderer, not only to "remove" this leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement by a treacherous poison attempt, but also to observe the no-less-known Ukrainian leader, Jaroslav Stetzko, in his Munich exile for weeks on end, to prepare the same fate for him. But in Stockholm, Khrushchov plays the harmless one, and suddenly no longer has any remembrance of the name of his designated victim! One could almost believe that the much extolled liberalization in the East had already been realized to such a degree that even the most treacherous acts of cruelty had been swept away from Khrushchov's memory leaving no trace. Look twice before you leap!

Dr. D. Walschegg,
Muenchen 8, Riedgaustr. 16

Senator Dodd's Advice To President Johnson

Editor's Note: Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, two prominent American columnists, reported recently in their "Washington Report" that top Democratic leaders had warned President Johnson that his "soft policy on the Reds" may cause a mass defection of ethnic voters to Senator Barry Goldwater, and cited the failure of the Johnson Administration to honour the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument for fear of "offending" the Russians. Their cogent and timely report follows:

President Johnson is receiving blunt advice from Democratic party leaders on one of his growing political problems — the defection of ethnic group voters to GOP presidential nominee Barry Goldwater.

Aroused by private polls showing shifts of 10 to 20 per cent among Polish-American voters in the big Eastern and Midwestern cities, Senator Thomas Dodd, (D. Con.), Speaker John McCormack (Mass.), and Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley have privately called on the President to take a tougher stand on the two-major issues affecting these nationality groups.

They warned the President that he must publicly support a stronger stand against continued Communist expansion and control over the Eastern European satellites.

In one White House meeting, Senator Dodd, a long-time political ally, frankly told the President that if the administration's policy of seeking "accommodations" with the Soviet Union isn't shelved, it could cost him the election.

Goldwater's charge that the administration is seeking peace with Russia at the expense of the peoples in Eastern Europe is having as much impact in the nationality groups as the backlash from civil rights, reported Dodd.

"The polls are beginning to show this", agreed the President. "You have always been a strong anti-Communist. Nobody can accuse you of being soft. What do you recommend I do to counteract this development?"

"I would be just as tough on the Communists as Goldwater", replied Dodd. "And I would begin by shelving the policy of seeking accommodations with the Soviet Union. This could be done by inserting a

strong plank in the platform opposing Communist aggression throughout the whole world."

"If I did that, would they accuse me of junking Kennedy's foreign policy?" asked the President. "Any major changes in policy would have all the liberals on my back."

"They don't want Goldwater elected", said Dodd.

"You go ahead and draft a strong plank, and I'll circulate it among my foreign policy advisers to see what happens", concluded the President.

Later, Speaker McCormack and Mayor Daley followed up Dodd's conference with meetings with the President in which they made the same foreign policy recommendations.

Mayor Daley also urged the President to take a stronger stand against racial disorder, stating that he should speak out publicly denouncing the use of street demonstrations to enforce the civil rights bill.

President Johnson said he would seriously consider these suggestions.

The newly-erected memorial to Taras Shevchenko, 19th century Ukrainian poet and freedom fighter, is becoming a major symbol of the growing differences between the Johnson Administration and Republican leaders on policies dealing with Russia and Eastern Europe.

At the historic unveiling of the Shevchenko statue here, former President Eisenhower stirred a crowd of more than 80,000 with a speech that harked back to the "liberation" proposals of the late Secretary of State Dulles.

Highlight of the Eisenhower speech came when he told the leaders of the most in-

fluent groups of Ukrainians, Poles and Hungarians in America that:

"My hope is that your march from the shadow of the Washington Monument to the foot of the statue of Shevchenko will here kindle a new world movement in the hearts, minds, words and actions of men: a never ending movement dedicated to the independence and freedom of people of all captive nations of the entire world."

In sharp contrast to this ringing declaration was the Johnson Administration's complete silence. President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk declined the invitations of the Shevchenko Committee to

appear or even send messages honoring the Ukrainian poet, on the ground that such action would offend Russia and might upset the present U.S. détente.

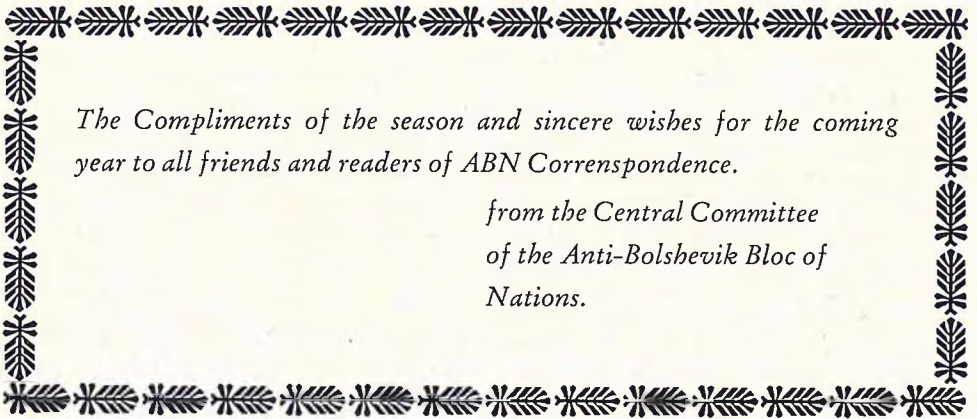
When one member of the committee called at the White House to discuss the possibility of either the President or Rusk attending the ceremony, presidential assistant McGeorge Bundy told them:

"The State Department considers the Ukraine part of the Soviet Union. This administration is against stirring up trouble with Russia by publicly honoring Shevchenko" (who fought for the Ukraine's freedom).

Croatian Leaders In Munich

On the 5th of September, leading members of the Croatian Liberation Organization visited the Central Committee of ABN. These gentlemen had come from various countries: the chairman, Dr. Stjepan Hefer, from Argentina; Milan Segar, from the USA; Ante Markovich from Canada and Otto Negovetich also from Canada; Colonel Josip Biosich from the Federal Republic of Germany and Dr. Andrija Ilich from England.

In their talk with the Central Committee members who were present, the Croatian guests expressed a keen interest in the continuation of the co-operative activity of the subjugated peoples, as well as in the intensification of its political side. The political situation of various countries was discussed. The chairman of the Croatian Liberation Organization presented extensive information concerning the situation in Croatia and the political development of the Croatian Liberation Front.



The Compliments of the season and sincere wishes for the coming year to all friends and readers of ABN Correspondence.

*from the Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of
Nations.*

Ukrainians In New Zealand

The Ukrainians living in New Zealand organized several mass meetings in 1963. One of these was held at Wellington at which a resolution of protest against Communist-Russian colonialism and against acts of murder perpetrated by the Moscow government was adopted:

"To maintain its dictatorial system, the Soviet Russian government does not even refrain from the use of political assassination as a means of liquidating anti-Communist national leaders exiled in the West. In the past 36 years, the Soviets have assassinated the President of the Ukrainian National Republic, Symon Petlura, (assassinated in Paris, 1926), the leader of

Ukrainian Nationalists, Colonel Konovalets, (assassinated in Rotterdam, 1938), a noted Ukrainian journalist and politician, Dr. Lev Rebet, (assassinated in Munich, 1957), and lastly, the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, Stefan Bandera, (assassinated in Munich, 1959).

With accompanying letters, this resolution was sent to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Right Hon. K. Holyoake; to the leader of the opposition of New Zealand; to the then Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Hon. J. Diefenbaker; and to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. U. Thant.

They received very kind answers.

Russian Campaign Against A. B. N.

On the occasion of A.B.N.'s 20th anniversary, Moscow launched a large campaign against A.B.N. and its leading personalities. The Soviet newspaper *Byelorus*, for instance, severely attacked A.B.N. in three different issues in October. These attacks were mentioned in the NTS newspaper *Possev*, No. 40/41. They stated that A.B.N. was indeed contacting the people of "our homeland", but added in their commentary that A.B.N. activities, which aimed at effecting a division of the USSR, were convenient for the KGB. In other words, NTS is of the opinion that the idea of the right to self-determination of nations, their national independence, and the idea of the dissolution of the Russian imperium, would be "easy for the KGB." Strange logic . . .

In the January 6th issue of *Union*, a newspaper appearing in East Berlin, A.B.N. was attacked in an article entitled: "General Secretary - A Prince." The following is an excerpt: "As one might imagine, all the members of this emigrant's clique are anti-Soviet in their orientation, but they are by no means united. For example, the Russian emigrants are not members of the 'Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations', which claims to be head organization. Counter revolu-

tionaries from Ukraine to Cuba are linked together in it. Their General Secretary is the Georgian Prince, Niko Nakashidze. Jaroslav Stetzko, an intimate friend of the Ukrainian bandit leader, Bandera, is one of the leading figures of the organization.

"With its headquarters in Munich, the organization has set up branch offices in all parts of the world. Their main supporters are to be found in the U.S.A.. Among them are Congressman Michael A. Feighan; Senators Kenneth B. Keating, Thomas J. Dodd and Philip Hart. Also, however, the British Major General, Richard Hilton."

The A.B.N. supports the cause of peace and freedom, prosperity and security, freedom from fear and need for the whole world, independence and equality of rights for all nations. Not only Bolshevism must be destroyed in order to achieve these aims, but the Russian empire, the hotbed of imperialist world-aggression, must also be disintegrated.



World Press About ABN Action In Scandinavia

From Behind the Iron Curtain



LITHUANIA

The Colonial Character Of Lithuanian Economy

The Baltic economic region is considered an important one, although its territory comprises a mere 0.8 per cent and its population 3 per cent of the USSR. The region (that includes the Kaliningrad, formerly Königsberg area) includes almost all the branches of industry, except coal, oil, and non-ferrous metal industries. Of greatest comparative weight are the food and light industries, mechanical engineering and metal processing which make up over three fourths of the total industrial production. The development of the chemical industry still lags considerably in the Baltic economic region; progress here is to be made during the next two to three years.

The Lithuanian economic region (including the Kaliningrad area) is behind the Latvian and Estonian ones in regard to the development of industry. Industrial production per capita in Lithuania constitutes 70 per cent of that in the other Baltic republics. Lithuanian industry now concentrates on activities that do not require large quantities of metal: production of tools, electrical engineering, radio and television, electronics. "These branches of industry provide the people's economy of the entire country (USSR. Ed.) with finished articles..." The electrical engines manufactured in Lithuania, for instance, are sent to other republics. A plant now under construction in Panevezys will produce electronic tubes for TV sets manufactured in Moscow, Leningrad and elsewhere. The plant of fuel equipment in Vilnius services the entire Soviet automobile and tractor industry. Other branches of industry that supply almost all regions of the Soviet Union are: precision and specialized machine tools (the economic region of Lithuania occupies fourth place in the

Soviet Union in the production of metal-cutting machine tools), drills, and electric meters. Metal-cutting machine tools are also extensively exported outside the USSR.

In 1961, the total exchange of exports and imports between Lithuania and other economic regions of the USSR amounted to over 800 million rubles. Light industry supplied 43.3 per cent of Lithuania's exports, and food industry — 32.3 per cent. The total value of exports and imports of the products of the light and food industries in 1961 amounted to 600 million rubles, while that of food produce alone to 266 million rubles. The exchange of machinery and metal processing tools is constantly increasing — in 1961 they constituted 22 per cent of all exchanges.

What does Lithuania receive from the other Soviet republics? First of all, various equipment (22 per cent of all imports). Also imported are various items that are not available in Lithuania: coal, oil, and ores. Fuel and lubricants constitute 8 per cent of all imports, while ferrous and non-ferrous metals — over 6 per cent.

(*Komunistas*, Vilnius, No. 7, 1964)

(*Comment*: Lithuanian economy is being tied ever closer to the overall economic system of the Soviet Union. The economic exchanges between occupied Lithuania and the "other republics" are, on the whole, unfavourable to the Lithuanian people. New industries are developed in Lithuania not on the basis of local needs, but on the basis of Moscow's. Typically enough, the economic exchanges between Lithuania and the two other Baltic republics, Latvia and Estonia, are comparatively small — a fact which the Soviets explain by the very similar environment and structure of their economies. Since Moscow sets the extent and the prices in the economic exchanges between the various parts of its colonial empire, the terms "export" and "import" are

inaccurate, as they imply a freedom of decision, which is non-existent. Ed.)

*Lithuanian Intelligentsia Cool
To Atheism Campaign*

Dissatisfaction must be expressed with respect to some members of the intelligentsia: here is an educated person, whose profession is a very "atheistic" one, and yet he is a believer. Of course, the religious convictions of such a person are not as primitive as those of some old women at a kolkhoz. The latter "is afraid of hell, hopes for a life in heaven, says prayers daily, venerates pictures of 'saints,' zealously attends religious festivals, etc.." Yet, "there are religious people, who believe in God as 'something intelligent, universal, and supernatural.' Why do such people believe? Some of them have just graduated from university." One must also be indignant about the written statements of some young engineers who have ceased being believers. One of them, who had become convinced that God did not exist, finished his statement with these words: "God isn't bothering me, and I am not troubling him." Some of the young engineers are reluctant to join the ranks of atheistic agitators. "Finally, other forces may be at work here — such as the 'spiritual fathers,' who are exerting a strong influence."

(Tiesa, Vilnius 1 August, 1964)



Moscow Fears The Subjugated

During his visit to Czechoslovakia, Khrushchov visited the Slovakian city of Banska Bystritsa, where the 20th anniversary of Slovakia's uprising against the Germans and Communist seizure of power was celebrated. In his speech before hundreds of thousands of involuntary participants, Khrushchov warned West Germany not to venture upon another Hitler march to Stalingrad, for it would end exactly like the first one. Recalling the observance of Captive Nations Week in the USA, he shouted that the Western system of "domination

and exploitation" would never again be introduced into the East European countries. In his lies, Khrushchov went so far as to maintain that Communism was not introduced into East Europe by Russian bayonets, but that the East European people "voluntarily adopted Communism".

The Austrian press wrote that the Slovaks who had been compelled to attend this gathering listened to Khrushchov's speech in utter silence — without any indication of applause.



Russians Deport Ukrainian Nuns, Priests

It has been brought to light just recently that the Ukrainian nuns who were caught in possession of crosses, medallions and rosaries in their "underground" nunnery in Lviv, were deported to Siberia, together with some religious leaders and priests.

According to reliable information, altogether about twenty persons were sentenced for the "crime", among them two priests, four nuns, all over sixty years of age, and four "lay sisters" (evidently novices).

The women were members of the immaculate Virgin Mary, the sisters of St. Vincent and the Basilian Order. All worked in the hospital as hospital nurses.

The priests were the Rev. Ivan Soltys and the Rev. Roman Borys Hotra. The nuns: Mary Stepanivna (Sister Valery, Mother Superior), Ksenia Hryhorivna Sokil (Sister Nimfodera), Irena Ostapivna Borodievych (Sister Mary) and Tekla Rudko (Sister Thadeia); lay sisters: Kateryna Krenta, Julia Tverdokhlib and Leontyna Toeflivna Domanasevych.

Father Hotra had already served a 10-year sentence.

The deportation was the result of a vicious attack on religion in an article in the youth magazine OGONYOK, with pictures of the evidence — 3,000 crucifixes, medals and rosaries. The article was titled "A Suitcase with a Double Base".

Prof. Ilarion Holubovych, President of

the Ukrainian Christian Movement central council with headquarters in London, England, writes: "It is our duty to strive for the release of these unfortunate nuns and priests; and so we are again appealing to the conscience of the free world and to all those who mistakenly try to demonstrate that freedom of religion exists in the USSR.

"Not only official channels, but many Christian circles, including left-wing Catholics, are trying very hard to convince the Western world that there is religious tolerance in the USSR. . . One must think of those unfortunate Ukrainian nuns deported to the Siberian wastes for daring to believe that such freedom exists.

"People in Ukraine, in spite of persecution and inhuman treatment in concentration camps, still cling to their Christian heritage. What else could these Ukrainian nuns do, who have devoted their lives to Christ, Our Lord? How can a Ukrainian Catholic priest be expected to stop saying Mass? Because it is a crime in the eyes of the Russian Communists?

"We cannot keep silent. We cannot forget our suffering brothers and sisters in Ukraine. We appeal to all men of good will to demand that something be done to secure their speedy release."

Banderivtsi — The Death of Moscow

Under the title *Sovjetka*, the Kyiv periodical *Ukraine* (No. 29) printed a brief comment devoted to Moscow's annexation of Ukraine 25 years ago. The "happy and carefree" life of the West Ukrainians is described in the article, and invectives against the Banderivtsi were not forgotten either. The author tells about a Komsomol girl who is to be sent to a West Ukrainian local district. She is dissuaded by her friends because there are no electric facilities, radios — in short, there are no conveniences to be found there. The Komsomol director instructs her as to how she should bear herself, since the locality to which she is being sent is infested with bourgeois nationalists and Bandera-men are active there. She must clearly understand that she is about to undertake a difficult task. In an-

other pamphlet also, written by the KGB agent, Eugen Kurtiak, there is a report concerning the revolutionary liberation fight of the Ukrainian nationalists (Banderivtsi).

In the periodical *Dnipro* (No. 5) there is a book review of the novel, *Wikhola*. In this review it is confirmed that Kurtiak quoted actual facts and reported about happenings that really took place in West Ukrainian villages and in Lviv. The story is as follows: The Russian front approached Brody. This news item disturbed the "Fascist Banderivtsi", and to save their lives, the OUN district leadership decided to "pass over from Hitlerism to Anglo-American imperialism". Their political slogan is the independence of Ukraine. "The Catholic Bandera-reactionaries" had numerous youths who were "completely led astray" in their ranks. At this point a list of the names of people who joined the UPA is quoted. They had good contact with the rural population, which actively supported the UPA. The novel ends with the liquidation of the UPA by the KGB.

Kurtiak states that the *Banderivshchyna* (disciples of Bandera) was legally prosecuted, but that the movement lives on in the Ukrainian population. The UPA members who escaped Russian persecution are hidden among the Ukrainian population from the Carpathians to the Don and promulgate their propaganda for an independent Ukraine and the necessity of fighting against the Russian occupants.

Stefan Trofyniuk, the author of the book review in *Dnipro* calls upon the Ukrainian readers to come to the help of the KGB in the persecution of the Banderivtsi, so that quiet and order can again be established. — To this there is nothing to be said . . .

After 20 Years Moscow Admits

After 20 years Moscow has finally confirmed that General Watutyn, the commander of the Soviet Unity Army, the so-called First Ukrainian Front, was killed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — a fact which has long been known in

the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This was confirmed in an article by Lieutenant-General K. Krajniukov, entitled: "The Man who Fulfilled his Military Duty", which appeared in the Russian paper *Ogonyok* on March 15th of this year. In this article it is stated that General Watutyn was mortally wounded in combat against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, namely, on February 29, 1944, when he, together with other high-ranking Soviet officers, including Lieutenant-General Krajniukov, and followed by heavily armed Soviet units, drove from the city Rivne to Slavuta. At the time General Watutyn was carrying the 60th Army strategic plans of attacks on Korsun. The Russian column was using the main road to Rivne; on Watutyn's command, however, it turned off to take a short-cut. Lieutenant-General Krajniukov writes that suddenly shooting broke out. The heavily guarded car of the General made a U turn and began to drive back. A Soviet soldier came running to the car and shouted: "We have run across a UPA unit!" In the course of the fight, General Watutyn was severely wounded and was taken to Rivne; later he was brought to Kyiv, where "Nikita Sergejevych personally attended him", as well as Russian doctors and specialists. All help, however, came too late, for shortly afterward General Watutyn died of his mortal wounds.

*

Balts To Be Resettled To Stem Chinese Tide

Pravda's (September 2, 1964) outburst against Chinese territorial pretensions to Soviet-held Far Eastern territories, throws special light on the recent bulletin published by *Agenzia Continental* on Soviet large-scale plans for population resettlement. According to the news agency, it is planned to resettle, until 1965, 500,000 "volunteers" to the Novosibirsk, Kautsch, Brats, Chabarovsk, Komsomolsk, and Omsk regions. *Most of the persons to be resettled would come from the Baltic states*, the agency asserts. The task of these "voluntary" deportees would be to defend the territories, conquered and colonized by the Czars and their Communist successors.

Disturbances In Central Asia

According to Red Chinese information, disturbances have again broken out on the Chinese East border of Kazakhstan and have led to armed encounters. The Chinese accuse Moscow of continually "sending nationalist, counter-revolutionary and criminal elements" to the Chinese territory to incite the local population.

BOOK - REVIEWS

The Croatian information service in Buenos Aires, Argentina published a brochure entitled: "Communism or Freedom" by Dr. Stjepan Hefer, the President of the Croatian Freedom Movement.

In her book *Blood On the Old Fountain*, Mrs. Sarah Watson Emery published a documented study of the moral and spiritual decay in the USA that has become evident in the most recent events at the University of North Carolina on Chapel Hill.

Milli Türkistan, a publication appearing regularly, printed five articles in its August issue. The first was by V. Kajum-Khan: "On the eve of the forty-year-old consolidation of Red Colonialism". Above all this article is a warning to the nations of Asia and Africa, because some of these nations blindly accept Khrushchov's declarations about "anti-colonialism" and "self-determination". In his article, A. Zavqiy asks: "Is the USSR an Asiatic State?" In a speech held in New Delhi in January 1964, Dr. B. Hayit spoke about Cholpan, the great Turkestanian poet. The new poems of Balaq Basi are devoted to freedom, independence and to his native country. In addition there was an article by Yurtci on "National problems of Turkestan on the Kremlin stage", and an article by Taskentli entitled: "About Akmal Ikram".

In the *Milli Türkistan* September issue there are very interesting articles by V. Kajum-Khan on "Secret Organizations of the Islamic Clergy in Turkestan", and one

by Baymirza Hayit entitled: "Questions Of Islam Research In The Soviet Union". The bulletin also contains the text of the shameless article, "Detachment to Paradise", written by the Soviet-Russian, W. Surkov, and published in the government paper *Izvestia* and in *Soviet Tajikistani* on Sept. 29, 1963. In this article the pious feelings of half a milliard Moslems are derided.

Milli Türkistan published three further articles: by A. Zavqiy, "The Cultural Life Of Turkestan And Soviet-Russian Colonialism"; by Yurtci, "German Question in Turkestan". "Worth and Nature of Soviet-Russian Treaties" and a short biography of the Turkestanian poet, Batu, on the occasion of his 60th birthday, by Taskentli. At Moscow's orders in 1940, Batu was murdered for being a nationalist.

Friedliche Koexistenz?

(Peaceful Coexistence?)

by Laszlo Revesz, Aare-Verlag; Olten, Switzerland, 1964, 112 pages

Let it be stated straight off that this book — a pocketbook subtitled, "Theory and Practice in International Communism" — is most informative, inasmuch as it presents and analyses Communist Russia's political policies excellently.

The author, a Hungarian Professor who has been living in Switzerland since 1957 and lecturing there at various universities, is an outstanding authority on the problems. In this little book he briefly, but concisely discusses peaceful coexistence as tactics in the service of the strategy of World Communism; the aims of the coexistence policy in the capitalist countries; civil war; liberation wars and peaceful coexistence as a dialectical unity in the political strategy of World Communism; the confusion of concepts, etc.. In the appendix he deals with Moscow's deceptive organizations, i.e., the so-called international democratic organizations, their origin and aims; in addition, he describes the nature of the armed forces, the police and disarmament in the Soviet Union. The author frequently makes use of Soviet and Communist sources in general; he cites historical facts which give a special

objectivity and convincing force to his statements.

He also goes into Russian imperialism and Russian conquests, citing the view held by Russian Communist historians, i.e., that the conquest of foreign territories — Ukraine, Georgia, North Caucasus, Turkestan, etc. — is to be considered as a progressive development for these peoples. This is how the Russian Communists attempt to justify tsarist conquests.

In this connection we should like to inform the author that Lenin, contrary to his recognition of the people's right to self-determination, not only occupied the Turkestanian countries, but also occupied Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Byelorussia and others.

Another thing that is surprising is the conclusion which the author arrives at: "The peaceful coexistence of both world systems, the contacts between West and East, must and cannot be rejected. Everything that contributes to a *détente* is useful and necessary." "It must, however," he continues, "be based on mutual advantages." But throughout his book he proves just what a deception peaceful coexistence is. Doesn't he realize that the Moscow Communist rulers will never give in to anything that could be to the advantage of the "capitalist world?" Strange! Nonetheless, the book is excellent for the purpose of enlightening the general public. It would even be valuable if the so-called Western "Russian experts" read it carefully.

N. Ekadieli

Guenther Paschner: *Im Teufelskreis des Terrors* (In the Satanic Cycle of Terror) Bolshevik Reign of Terror under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchov. Published by Harald Boldt Verlag, Boppard/Rhein and by the Studiengesellschaft fuer Zeitprobleme, Bonn, 1964. 280 pp.

The author establishes the fact that in the USSR there is a criminal reign of terror which has never existed in history before. The so-called Soviet Union is the result of an unparalleled uprootal of entire peoples and of an unmatched application of terror against the entire population of the

so-called USSR and its satellite states. Lenin himself stopped at nothing, but Stalin's destructive madness surpassed everything. Entire classes were liquidated. In addition a satanic purge system was set up which victimized millions of people. Millions of slaves had to languish in the concentration camps of the Soviet-Russian empire, finally to perish from unspeakable privations. It is doubtlessly a fact that Stalin was the incarnation of everything evil, and he will go down in history as the greatest tyrant of all times, a tyrant who murdered millions of Ukrainians in cold blood and other innocent people without the slightest pang of conscience.

The author cannot but ask the question whether there have been any changes in this reign of terror since bloody Stalin's death. His opinion is that since Stalin there has not been an essential improvement in the living conditions in the USSR. Khrushchov continued the same terroristic policies toward the Soviet population and pursued the same aims as Lenin and Stalin: the kindling of a world revolution and the domination of the world by Russia. Under Khrushchov, the USSR was no less a perfect police state than it was under Lenin and Stalin.

As an example of the Kremlin's terror measures, Paschner cites the following on pp. 187—188: "In a resolution directed to the United Nations and to the governments of the United States, France, Great Britain, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany, it is stated that 10 million Ukrainians were deported to Siberia, the Far East, the Baltic States and the Caucasian countries. This resolution was adopted by 2,000 delegates of the "First Federal Meeting of the Ukrainians in the Federal Republic of Germany" on September 8, 1962, and demanded also a legal prosecution of Khrushchov, Molotov and Kaganovich by an international court of law on the charge of genocide and also demanded the withdrawal of the Red Army as well as the removal of the state apparatus, set up by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from Ukrainian territory.

In chapter 20, which deals with individ-

ual terror, the author states that now the Soviet Russians have spread individual terror beyond the boundaries of the USSR. The treacherous murders of Prof. Rebet and of the Ukrainian Nationalist leader S. Bandera in Munich which were carried out on Moscow's demand caused a stir in the entire civilized world. "The case of Bandera caused the CIA (the American Central Intelligence Agency) to reexamine the death of approximately 150 politicians, about whom it had been assumed that they died a natural death . . ." (p. 258)

The author banishes any illusions that the West could ever cooperate successfully with the Soviet Russians.

W. Luzhansky

Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens

(Rome and the Patriarchates of the East) by Wilhelm de Vries, in co-operation with Octavian Bălea, Josef Gill, and Michael Lacko; Verlag Karl Alber (Orbis academicus Band III/4) 454 pages.

Again the Patriarchates of the East, which are presently united with the Roman Catholic Church at the II Vatican Council, step into the public's field of vision. Consequently, this great special work encounters intense interest today. Owing to its thoroughness and its objectivity, the book under review deserves wide attention in the Christian world.

The first part of the book pursues the course of events from the beginning, the numerous attempts at closer unities, the successful unions and the attempts that failed. Above all the author dedicates himself to the old Patriarchates of the East, the unions of the Koptes, Syrians, Nestorians, the union of Brest Litovsk (Wolhynia) and Uzhhorod (Karpato-Ukraine), and the unions in Croatia and Rumania.

De Vries especially emphasizes the knightly loyalty of the West Ukrainians of the Catholic Faith: "The last faithful Catholic Bishop of Cholm was Michael Kuzemsky, who finally, to escape the intolerable pressure of the tsarist government, retired to Lviv. Whereupon, the government named Marcell Popiel, a priest tending toward a separation from Rome, as adminis-

trator of the diocese. With the help of the executive power, he undertook to force the unionists into schism (1875). The resistance of the clergy and the people was heroic. Many priests were deported to Siberia, and not a few of the faithful preferred death to separation from the Catholic Faith."

From this historical background arises the problematic history of Rome's attitude toward the East and its individuality. The fundamental question is how unity and Catholicism, which are essential to both churches, can be brought into harmony with one another. Does unity necessarily mean sameness in liturgy, rites and customs and identity of church rights and hierarchical structure? Does this unity in the substance of belief necessarily exclude all individuality in the penetration and expression of this faith, i.e., all individually formed theology? De Vries comes to the conclusion: "An exaggeration of unity in all things, its confusion with uniformity, can lead to the Catholic Church practically setting itself on the same plane as a single organized minority, and consequently make it excessively difficult for other peoples to feel at home in such a narrow church. In other words an over-emphasized unity in the church causes grave danger to its Catholicism."

In its confrontation with the Christian East, Rome has had again and again to face these problems. At various times she has attempted to solve some of them. Viewed from the perspective of our own times, Rome's attitude toward the Christian East in the past centuries, objectively considered, appears in some things to be faulty. The leadership of the Church is in the hands of men who can err in the solution of practical questions. The true greatness of the Church lies precisely in the fact that despite all human frailties, God's Spirit leads its members to their goal.

A. v. S.

UKRAINE-RUS And Western Europe
In The 10th—13th Centuries, by Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko. Published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd., 49 Linden Gardens, Lon-

don N. 1, 47 pp. XIX Plates, Price 12/6
Professor Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko, who holds a Ph. D. in History, is a well-known Ukrainian authority on the history of Eastern Europe. Born in 1884 in Kharkiv, Ukraine, she graduated from the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the University of Kyiv in 1913. Later she held a professorship at that University. From 1924 onward, she was also a research fellow of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kyiv. She has written as many as 150 works. Since 1945, Prof. Polonska-Vasylenko has been living as an emigrant in West Germany, where she is continuing her scholarly work.

The State of Kievan Rus, which flourished in the 10th to 13th centuries in Eastern Europe, was the first politically organized state of the ancestors of the present-day Ukrainians. This fact is well documented by historical records. The Ukraine-Rus of the Middle Ages, which was a powerful state, comparable to Byzantium and the German Empire, had close contacts with both, as well as with other kingdoms of Europe, including the Scandinavian States, England and France. Its political, economic and cultural bonds made it an inalienable part of Europe. Professor Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko traces ancient Ukraine's relations with Western Europe, in particular the close dynastic links between the ruling houses of Kyiv and West European States.

In its May-June issue, the French periodical *Documents* printed a translation of the article by Wolfgang Strauss which has already appeared in the *Rheinischen Merkur*: "Munich — Emigrants' Headquarters; The Bavarian Capital is the Centre of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations."

In this article Mr. Strauss wrote about the various exile groups in Munich, about exile newspapers and periodicals. Above all, however, he reported on ABN, the way it is organized and the nature of its activities.

Dr. N. E. Suduvis: *Allein, Ganz Allein* (Alone, All Alone). München, Lietuviu Fondas, 1964. Price, \$ 1.50. An informa-

tive book on Lithuanian resistance. Lithuanian, Soviet, American, and German sources are used. For copies write to: A. Griniene, 8 München 54, Kristallstr. 8, Germany.

Arnold Purro: *Soviet Farming Failure Hits Estonia*. Stockholm, Estonian Information Centre, 1964, 64 pp. For copies write to: Estonian Information Centre, Drottningatan 85, Stockholm, Sweden.

The Secret Book Market

Recently the Soviet newspaper *Bielorus* printed an article in which the author complained of the fact that a secret book market existed in the USSR where in addition to books, records and photographs of famous Western film stars can be purchased. The Bolsheviks greatly fear that the seeping-in of "dangerous" Western literature, like Hemingway and Edgar Wallace, for instance, to the USSR is on the increase. The population of the Moscow imperium like to read Orwell's *Animal Farm* and Remarque's *Im Westen Nichts Neues*. What is most disturbing to the Russians, however, is the fact that more and more Bibles are being smuggled into the USSR and are finding an extensive reading public. As an example *Bielorus* states the case of an American who was found at a border control point with one hundred Bibles in his possession. Tourists are also found to be in possession of books and sacred pictures. The newspaper is concerned about a scandal, but forgets that the "KGB flock" has been sent to the Ecumenical Council in Rome. By this Moscow wants to prove that religious persecution does not exist in the USSR. The example of the Bibles is not an isolated one, however. Both modern and classical works are being brought into the countries behind the Iron Curtain through various channels. Despite the high cost of these books, they are simply swallowed up by the reading public.

Wietchernaja Moskwa, for instance, writes that the black market in Hungary is in full operation and that it constitutes a serious danger for the Russians.

ABN Demonstration In Edmonton

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the representatives of various national groups held a large demonstration on the 20th of September, 1964 in Edmonton, Canada, to express the solidarity of their will in the fight against Communism.

The organizing committee for this demonstration consisted of representatives of the Croatian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Hungarian and Ukrainian national groups. The numerous participators also came from these national groups, as well as from other active anti-Communist groups in the Canadian population who are friends of the liberation fight of the subjugated nations.

The demonstration began with a march from Albert College Place to the tomb of the unknown soldier, where a wreath was placed.

Following the placing of the wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier by Father Jishyk from Winnipeg, while sergeant Smith played a trumpet salute, Mychailo Luchkovych, former member of the Canadian Parliament, gave a speech.

On the morning of the demonstration, divine services for the subjugated peoples were celebrated in all the churches of the national groups who took part. In the afternoon, under the flags of Canada, ABN and those of the participating national groups, a protest meeting, attended by all the participants, was held in the large auditorium of the Ukrainian National House.

Father Jishyk, the chairman of ABN in Manitoba, addressed the meeting. He conveyed the greetings of the President of the Central Committee of ABN, Jaroslav Stetko, and described ABN's fight for freedom of individuals and freedom of nations.

Following the various speeches, Dudarevicius, the Secretary of the presidium, read the text of a resolution, which was unanimously adopted by all present. This resolution was sent to the UN and the governments of the USA and Canada.

Reports on this demonstration appeared in the Canadian press and were broadcast over radio station CFCW.

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